



Borrowings as a Process of Language Change

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KEYWORDS Assimilation. Borrowings. Linguistics. Penetration. Vocabulary

ABSTRACT The present paper is devoted to Russian borrowings in the novels of Tatar writer G. Iskhaki. It is of importance to consider the fact that borrowings had one or more meanings. Some words had not also retained their original meanings. The Russian words had correspondingly endured phonetic and morphological changes. Many borrowings had also obeyed phonetic rules of the Tatar language, but some had not changed. Some of them had been so adapted to the system of the Tatar language whose foreign origin could not be felt by native speakers but found only through etymological analysis. From the viewpoint of modern literary language, the use of borrowings may seem inappropriate in most cases. Still, there is a reason - at that time, the national literary language being created. The close neighborhood of the Russian people had also left its traces on the development of the Tatar language.

INTRODUCTION

Interaction between Russian and Tatar languages has its own long and rich history. Bilingualism has also existed even in ancient times. However, the amount of contribution of one language to another has not been usually equal. The language with broad social functions has had a greater impact on that with a narrower sphere of functional use. Strengthening links with the Russian people has been similarly used for further expansion of Tatar-Russian bilingualism and intensive penetration of the Russian words into the Tatar lexicon. Replenishment of the Tatar language due to the Russian words has also influenced the process of improvement of literary language (Kondrateva and Nazarova 2015). The constant development of economy, science, and culture has even caused stylistic assimilation of numerous terms. Moreover, the need for communication has forced people speaking one language to come into direct contact with those communicating in other languages (Yule 2017).

In any case, borrowings reflect all historical events accompanying the development of concrete people. The vocabulary indicates all the events of society. Lexical borrowings also allow for restoring the history of different people as well as the form of these relations. Therefore, borrowing is considered as a very valuable and historical piece of evidence. Bilingualism and linguistic changes are also closely connected with

the problems of cultural and ethnic assimilation. As can be seen from history, the national languages of small nationalities not only continue to exist but also develop. However, the increasing role of the Russian language as a common language does not mean a reduction in the importance of regional, national ones, such as the Tatar language in particular (Khisamova et al. 2015). The role and the importance of separate words in the life of every nation can also lead to significant differentiation of their designations. On this basis, a lexical-semantic system of the language is replenished not only by creating new words but also by mastering the words of other languages (Rivlina 2015).

Linguists have always been attracted by the problem of the correlation between languages and cultures, as well as their interactions in modern society. Each nation is also distinguished by its culture, mentality, and language peculiarities. Within modern society, a native speaker lives in close contact with other people. Besides, people live in the same political and economic space and are forced to learn and perceive languages from each other. All the realities of people's culture are thus expressed in the language spoken by a particular nation. At all times, languages develop as well in the form of a mean of communication between ethnic groups. Communication between one nation and another has correspondingly led to the fact that the language became the result of cooperation between different cultures and their communi-

cation. In this regard, borrowings clearly show the relationship between nationalities and the degree of their cultural interactions (Bromham et al. 2015; Monaghan and Roberts 2019).

Languages do not exist in isolation; each of them, to some extent, is exposed to external influences. A language is also constantly updated with new words. It is well-known that the Russian language had a significant impact on the Tatar language. The diversified influence of the Russian and Western European borrowings entered through the Tatar language is even occurring today. Borrowings come about due to the influence of one culture on another and because of a lack of equivalents or concepts in a native language. In linguistics, a borrowed word means a word that has come into a language from outside. This process is quite natural, even inevitable in some historical periods (Akhunzyanov 1968). Moreover, there is no language in the world with any borrowed words, because it is impossible to cut off political links as well as trade and economic cooperation and also isolate people from each other (Baghana et al. 2018).

Objectives

The present paper is devoted to Russian borrowings in the novels of Tatar writer G. Iskhaki. It is of importance to consider the fact that borrowings had one or more meanings. Some words had not also retained their original meanings.

METHODOLOGY

The main methods used in this study were a comparative-typological method, a descriptive method using techniques of observation, interpretation, comparison, generalization, complete selection of material, and component analysis method (Durkin 2014).

Borrowing refers to the process in which lexicons are taken from one language to another, and there is no need to return. Loan-words are also used to show their prestige, attitude, and speaker's comfort with the language. In this regard, Thomson and Kaufman (1988) define borrowing as "incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language." As major respect for language change, borrowing does not affect a native language,

especially at the lexical level. Haugen (1952) also believes that analyses of linguistic borrowings are major reference points for the field of borrowing. He defines borrowing as the use of language forms from two languages that is not a random mixing, a speaker either switches rapidly from one to other, or switches only for words, phrases, or sentences (Bybee 2015).

The best known and most widely cited approach to contact-induced change is that of Thomson and Kaufman (1988). They distinguish two basic types of contact-induced change according to whether the language changing has been maintained or shifted to by a speech community: 'borrowing' and 'interference through the shift.' "Borrowing," for Thomson and Kaufman, "is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but changed by the addition of the incorporated features", while "interference through shift" takes place when "a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language perfectly" (Andersen 2014; Lucas 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the early 20th century, when most of the works by G. Iskhaki were written, the vocabulary of the Tatar language was intensively replenished with new words expressing new concepts and phenomena of social life generated in the process of the historical transformation of Russia (Akhunzyanov 1978; Baghana et al. 2018). Borrowings were primarily associated with the rise of literacy, huge role of schools, radio, as well as periodicals. Along with the widespread use of terms that emerged after the revolution, there is a very intensive process of penetration of international terms concerning various spheres of life. In this regard, the Russian words representing a great interest and used in his work by the great Tatar thinker and writer Iskhaki were artist, boycott, gectar, zayom, culture, class, club, commissia, partiya play, teatr, telephon, telegramma, telegraph, universitet, and others.

In the work of Iskhaki, one can also find a large number of Russian and Western European words. It should be noted that in some works, borrowings are also used more. From modern literary language, the existence of some borrow-

ings from the Russian language may seem strange, but this is understandable - at that time, the national literary language was not created up to the end (Babenko and Kazarin 2004; Monaghan and Roberts 2019). According to some examples, it can be assumed that certain borrowings from different areas of science, social life, and everyday life began to be utilized for the first time in the national language.

In the works of Iskhaki (2001), lexical dialect occupies a prominent place. These are also words used in the Tatar dialects in the presence of the Tatar words existing in the literary language, for example, *'putalak'* (Russian. potolok, Tat. tushem), *'prashenie'* (Russian. zayavlenie, Tat. garisa), *'greble'* (Russian. grabli, Tat. tyрма or kul tirma-si), and *'kalpana'* (Russian. kompaniya, Tat. terkem or shirket). First of all, it should be noted that such words cannot serve as a useful addition to the vocabulary of the literary language, because they do not bear any special meanings and do not differ from their corresponding meanings of the Tatar words themselves. They are only minor doublets of all famous Tatar words.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that the unregulated flow of Russian words transferred into the Tatar dialects and gave rise to borrowings of such vocabulary (Iskhaki 2001), suggesting that it is important to distinguish the results of the interaction of Tatar dialects with the Russian language, formed in the pre-October period and the Soviet period. In this respect, it should be noted that in the pre-October period, the Russian vocabulary penetrated the Tatar national language from the Russian dialects in the process of verbal communication, and it was then limited by household and administrative terminology. It is not surprising that the post-October period is characterized by a rich replenishment of the vocabulary of the Tatar villages with new words denoting new concepts and phenomena of social life. Of course, there were significant changes in Tatar dialects under the influence of, firstly, the Tatar literary language, and secondly - Russian at this time (Ismagilova 2008). The language of Tatar people, in the course of historical transformations, was also purified from outdated words meaning the old technique of farming (Murphy 2006; Bybee 2015).

It is worth noting that borrowings are used only in cases where a native language does not

have a specific word for the designation of a concept. For example, the word *'kniga'*, which is so often found in the novels "The beggar" and "Mullah Babay" was employed only as a result of spontaneous imitation. This is typical for an area wherein a population is bilingual. Bilingualism also creates conditions for mixed lexical units, which in their turn leads to unregulated inflow of foreign words into spoken languages, dialects, and literary works. In spite of the word *'kniga'* there are words from the Russian language such as *'shkola'*, *'uchitel'*, *'tansa (dance)'*, *'sorochka'*, *'gospodin'*, *'malchishka'*, *'nachalnitsa'*, *'postoyal dvor'*, *'zapiska'*, *'paradny'*, and *'marshevat'* that intensify expressiveness, sometimes comicality, sarcasm, in different situations, depicted in novels.

Among the borrowings from the Russian language, the following thematic groups could be distinguished in Iskhaki's novels:

1. Words from the field of state and local government: gubernia, doverenny, imenie, proshenie;
2. Words from the field of science and education: zadacha, uchilische, uchitel, tsyfr;
3. Words relating to arts and culture: gar-mun, royal;
4. Military vocabulary: soldat;
5. Words from the field of production and technology: parachut, poezd, tormoz;
6. Words from medicine: vrach, chakhotka;
7. Words meaning units of measure and time: minute, srok, chislo;
8. Names on the basis of occupations, professions, and social layers: gorodovoy, dvornik, kucher, lomovoy, muzhik, narodnik, okolotochny, nachalnitsa, prikazchik, upravlyayuschy, yamschik;
9. Words from the sphere of finance, office, and mail: zhalunya, konvert;
10. Words denoting the names of natural phenomena, plants, and animals: burazna, metrushke "oregano", ozim "winter crops";
11. Words of public places, institutions, and buildings: gostinitsa, zal, imenie, kandit-erski, postoyal dvor, kharchevnya, yarmarka, chirkew "church"

An overview of the given words clearly shows that Russian borrowings had penetrated the Tatar language not from the books, but the

national language. Revolutionary writer Iskhaki was one of the supporters of the enrichment of the national language by lexical units of the Russian language. Therefore, verbal borrowing is not just some mechanical labels sticking on the place of others but implies a complex lexical phenomenon. There is a need to deal with the fact that vocabulary is calculated even when there are similar words in a language very often. In the end, the relationship between borrowing and words of a native language takes the complex and peculiar features. These borrowed words can displace existing ones, or coexist with them, applying as synonyms to them when the need arises (Sakaeva 2008; Monaghan and Roberts 2019).

Iskhaki, being an educated Tatar intellectual, loved the works of Russian writers Gorky, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Chekhov, in which he repeatedly admitted in his work. In the novel "The beggar," where the majority of Russian and Western European lexical units are used, the author himself is a prototype of Mansur. He had a good command of the Russian language and even taught it to the sons of wealthy Tatars. The author writes by means of irony that the children of wealthy families did not miss a single chance to use Russian words in their speech. To talk via inserting foreign words into speech was considered to be very important at the beginning of the 20th century.

There are also metaphors among the words with figurative meanings that differ based on their semantic and functional features. Moreover, borrowings under consideration in the context of Tatar words form an expressive, figurative, and metaphorical phenomenon are *chirkewler alarny yottya* "churches swallowed them", *shul eshlerne ulchep alarga proba sugarga* "to make a decision after weighing these affairs".

Literature is one of the forms of art that reflects human's life artistically and figuratively. Writers depicting the reality of a particular time, turn to a variety of mysterious concepts. These new concepts also force researchers to look for explanations of figurative and expressive ways (Singatullova et al. 2017).

As already mentioned, the development of lexical elements of the Russian language led to the growth of new concepts in the Tatar language. These facts indicate that there are many

lexical elements of the Russian language in the works of Iskhaki. It should be noted that not all Russian borrowings equally serve to the enrichment and development of the language. Even though some words, especially in the speech of the characters, could be replaced by those of the Tatar language, Iskhaki used Russian words instead of them. There was also no common morphological formalization of the borrowed words and firmly established rules. However, there are many unmotivated doublet forms in his literary works. All Russian borrowings confirm once more that the progress of civilization brings about various changes in the language.

All the examples reviewed clearly reveal the number and the degree of utilization of Russian borrowings in the Tatar national language. Thus, it can be observed that verbal changes take place in the conditions of bilingualism, representing a very complex process whose examination can provide a large volume of valuable materials to deal with topical issues related to the literary language and Tatar dialects. Despite the fact that dialectology reflects on modern dialects, it is characterized by its retrospective character. Dialects are thus needed to learn the history of the language. Meanwhile, the desire to keep the literary language unchanged and unwillingness to replace words with expressions of interethnic communication may eventually result in the disappearance of the literary language. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to consciously put the development of the language in the right direction.

CONCLUSION

Mother tongue always remains as the main form of an expression of national culture. National culture, art, and literature also exist and evolve on the basis of the national literary language. In this respect, national language takes a stronger position in everyday life, wherein additional means of communication are dialects and sub-dialects. In recent years, the correlation of the sphere of use of Russian and native languages among Tatars has drastically changed. Particularly, favorable conditions are formed for the penetration of the Russian language in cities wherein this event is supported by territorial locomotion, social displacement, and an increase

in mixed marriages. Very few fundamental studies of the Russian language among the Tatar people of Russia have been so far published. So, it is implied that the spelling of the Russian borrowings should be brought in balance with the rules of modern Tatar pronunciation, taking into account all the specific features of different structural-lexical units.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The current study is devoted to Russian borrowings in the novels of Tatar writer G. Iskhaki. It was recommended to devote other writers to compare them and provide a general overview

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The work is performed according to the Russian Government Program of Competitive Growth of Kazan Federal University.

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Paper received for publication in October, 2019
Paper accepted for publication in December, 2019