

Euphemistic substitution in linguistic worldview of peoples of Siberia (based on comparative material of the Yakut and Evenki languages)

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ABSTRACT: In the present work, an attempt has been made to examine and compare the lexical material of the Yakut and Evenki languages which makes it possible to identify the common and different traits in the ethnic groups' linguistic worldviews. Native peoples of Siberia have long lived together on the vast territory in the same severe climate and have such identical occupations as hunting and fishing. Hunting holds a special place in the lifestyle of Siberian ethnoses as it is the main occupation of the men, the source of food and the object of spiritual reflection, which is why it is a valuable fragment of the linguistic worldview. The semantic structure of euphemisms in the vocabulary of taboo speech is an essential matter in the study of linguistic prohibition. While encompassing certain areas of conventional vocabulary, the prohibition prevents certain levels of vocabulary from being used. This happens in the formal plane but in close connection to the semantic plane of lexis. The result of the prohibition is the need to find a new form to replace the prohibited one. The materials of the Yakut and the Evenki show the same type of euphemistic substitution means; there is the semantic and syntactical transposition. From the point of the semantic transposition, there are common methods of euphemism creation – the nominations based on metaphors are predominant. The usage of dialect words specific to a certain area is a distinct technique that reflects the differences in languages and cultures.

Keywords: traditional culture, linguistic worldview, comparative material, syntactical transposition, Yakut language, Evenki language.

INTRODUCTION

The lexical system of the language is closely connected to the material and spiritual culture of the people which is also reflected in the so-called traditional folk terminology as a part of that system. The terminology of national languages was forming during the process of development of the language system as a whole and, as many researchers note, the formation of national terminologies is always original. That is why

it is very important to introduce into academic circulation the abundant material of national languages that recreates a complete folk perception of reality and reflects the national worldview. The traditional cultures of the North-Eastern peoples of Russian have certain common tendencies in the linguistic worldviews. The particular regard for the Word is the reflection of the ethnic groups' ancient ideas about the magic power of verbal means. In the field of verbal communication, such a reverent superstitious attitude towards the word causes the phenomena known as linguistic taboo (prohibition). Gradually, an entire system of prohibitions was developed that regulates not only verbal communication but also behavior and people's actions. In the past, people's lives used to be regulated by the system of prohibitions, on the one hand, and the system of euphemisms (substitute names), on the other. In the present work, an attempt has been made to examine and compare the lexical material of the Yakut and Evenki languages which makes it possible to identify the common and different traits in the ethnic groups' linguistic worldviews. Native peoples of Siberia have long lived together on the vast territory in the same severe climate and have such identical occupations as hunting and fishing. Hunting holds a special place in the lifestyle of Siberian ethnoses as it is the main occupation of the men, the source of food and the object of spiritual reflection, which is why it is a valuable fragment of the linguistic worldview. The indigenous language material is considered, first of all, from the point of ethnolinguistic studies that provide a favorable opportunity to study facts of language using a broad cultural and historical background. The ethnolinguistic method that consists in comparing the fragments of ethnolinguistic worldviews makes it possible to confirm the uniqueness of the magical function of the language in traditional cultures.

The magical function of the language in archaic cultures is attributable to the mythological beliefs of the people and the spiritualization of the whole world. "Magical power is ascribed to the word, there were numerous superstitions and prohibitions related to verbal communication" (Pavlova, 2002: 10). According to Yakut beliefs, all objects and natural phenomena have supernatural powers, they have *иччи*. According to E.K. Pekarskii Dictionary of the Yakut language, *иччи* is defined as follows, "possessor, owner, master (cf. тойоң); keeper, spirit-master, special type of creature living in certain objects and natural phenomena; content, essence, inner mysterious power of a subject; embryo, the small body in the egg (сымыыт иччитэ)" (Pekarskii, 1959: 989). It was believed that all objects and natural phenomena that have a soul (*иччи*) have magical properties. They could harm or benefit people. In the Evenki culture, the fear of different spells that had magical powers lead to the emergence of taboo words and it was forbidden to name them directly. In the Evenki language, there is a distinction between sacrosanct and general use words. Sacrosanct or taboo words could not be mentioned because, by naming them, the speaker sentenced themselves to agony or even death. As every word had its own "life", the Yakuts divided their words, like their gods, into good and evil, dangerous and heavy. According to O.M. Freidenberg's terminology, "the function of the evil word is that by naming it in the chthonic aspect, we summon a curse, profanity" (Freidenberg, 1978: 59). Curses can kill a person. I.A. Khudyakov writes that in general "evil words are clingy" and "if a curse does not come true for the cursed, it comes down to their children" (Khudyakov, 1969: 141). One can see that the descriptive method identifies common cross-cutting ideas that run through the ancient beliefs that are united by the glorification of the Word, the Logos.

"Taboo speech closely connected to the Evenki worldview, vivid associations that euphemisms are based on, – all this is fruitful material for studying the interaction of the

mind, language and reality, as well as the role of the human factor in the language" (Pavlova, 2002: 3). The comparative-contrastive method used in the study makes it possible to use as the subject the taboo hunting vocabulary in the Yakut and Evenki languages. For the Evenki linguistic culture, the following sources were used: the dictionaries by G.M. Vasilevich (1958), A.N. Myreeva (2004), the works by specialists in Tungusic studies E.I Titov (1926), G. M. Vasilevich (2002: 62), G.I. Varlamova (2002: 62), A.D. Mukhachev, V. G. Salatkin (2000), A.N. Myreeva, V.P. Marfusalova, Zh.V. Zakharova (2008), A.S. Shubin (2007), A.N. Sirina (2012), as well as the authors' field data (AFD, 2015). The extensive dictionary of euphemisms that had been accumulated by researchers of the Yakut language for many years became the subject of our analysis of the Yakut linguistic culture. It was based on the "Yakut-Russian dictionary of hunting and fishing terminology" compiled by A.S. Lukovtsev (1975). The manuscript of the dictionary is stored in the library of the Academy of Sciences in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). In addition to the 326 euphemisms taken from the dictionary, 230 euphemisms were found in various linguistic and historical-ethnographic sources, works by E.K. Pekarskii, I.A. Khudyakov, A.E. Kulakovskii and others.

RESULTS

The semantic structure of euphemisms in the vocabulary of taboo speech is an essential matter in the study of linguistic prohibition. While encompassing certain areas of conventional vocabulary, the prohibition prevents certain levels of vocabulary from being used. This happens in the formal plane but in close connection to the semantic plane of lexis. The result of the prohibition is the need to find a new form to replace the prohibited one. By the type of means, euphemistic substitution is divided into several kinds of nomination:

1. Semantic transposition which does not change the material form of words and results in polysemy. For example, in the Yakut language *огонньор* "old man" is used instead *эһэ* "bear" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1783); *аргыс* "fellow traveler" – instead of *суор* – "raven" (Pekarskii, 1959: 145-146). The examples from the Evenki language: *юктэ* '1) spring, fountain, 2) brook, 3) hole in the ice'; *экин* '1) elder sister, 2) aunt'; *авдү* '1) possessions, household; 2) herd of domesticated reindeer'; *акүн* '1) elder brother, 2) uncle' *бэра* '1) month (time), 2) moon, crescent; *бура* 1) sky, 2) world ' *гэлэн* '1) demand, 2) wish, 3) request; *диктэ* '1) berry (in general), 2) blueberry (berry) '; etc.

2. Syntactical transposition when morphological means point to the change in the syntactical function while the lexical meaning is preserved: the Yakut hunter's *быһах* "knife" is called *кырыылаах* "sharp-edged" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1425); *мас* "wood" – *кытанах* "hard" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1442); *уот* "fire" – *кытарар* "reddening" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1443); whereas in the Evenki language *того* 'fire' – *хутара-ми* 'turn red (about face)'; *дага* 'close' – *эмэсинде-ми* 'approach, I am approaching' etc.

These types have one thing in common – all euphemisms reflect reality through already familiar notions and link the meaning of the nominations with the denoted objects. Therefore, the belief in the magical powers of the word that led to the emergence of a comprehensive system of prohibitions, paved the way for the substitute words, euphemisms. There are various euphemization methods. First, one should note the semantic aspect. Essentially, this is the so-called transposition of the word when

there are no changes to the material form of the reinterpreted unit. All types of secondary nomination are based on the associative nature of the human mind. The reinterpretation of meanings in secondary processes occurs according to the logical form of tropes – metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and functional transfer of meaning. Their usage is based on the logical and psychological patterns that allow them to generalize, compare and reflect in the linguistic form the properties of real objects. It is also necessary to highlight that euphemization is not aimed at presenting reality through images unlike the tropes of poetic language. The purpose of the substitution of word forms is determined by linguistic prohibition.

In most cases, the euphemism and the taboo word are connected by a metaphor. "A metaphor is a trope or speech mechanism that consists in the usage of a word denoting a certain class of objects, phenomena, etc., to characterize or name an object that is in another class, or to name another class of objects similar to this in some respect" (Yartseva, 1990: 296). A metaphor is "primarily" a way to pinpoint the uniqueness of a particular object or phenomenon, to convey its originality. According to N.D. Arutyunova, the characterization function is typical of metaphors (Arutyunova, 1979: 149). However, besides its primary function, the metaphor can also be a source of new meanings for words that can perform the nominative function. The reason for the metaphorical transfer can be the subject-logical connections of objects perfected in the language that reflect the experience of the speakers. In other words, the name is transferred from one object to another on the basis of similarity in form: ойоѳос "side, rib" instead of айа "crossbow, bow for hare hunting" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1803), мөчөкө "lump, round loaf" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1616) instead of суоһу, кыыл сурэѳэ "animal heart" (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 164), кыталык "crane, white crane" instead of саа "rifle" (Pekarskii, 1959: 144); in color: кытапар "reddening" instead of уот "огонь" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1443), хаптаѳас "red currant, oxalis" instead of хаан "blood" (Pekarskii, 1959: 3324), хапа "black" instead of эһэ "bear" (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 308); in physical state (texture): күл "ash, cinders" instead of бурдук "flour" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1284), сылбырхай "liquid" instead of уу "water" (Pekarskii, 1959: 2446), кытаанах "strong, hard" instead of мас "wood" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1442); similarity in associations, impressions: моохуй "something scary, terrible" instead of абааһы "evil spirits" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1598), ньыкаа "delicate" instead of кыыл оѳото "baby animal" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 98) тойон "mister, master" instead of эһэ "bear" (Pekarskii, 1959: 2708).

According to V.N. Teliya, "the language metaphor is based on objectified associative relations reflected in connotative traits that contain information either about the everyday practical experience of a given language collective or its cultural and historical knowledge (Teliya, 1981: 191). During the metaphorical transfer, the secondary nomination usually describes the characteristic traits of the object without naming it. As a result, the taboo word and the euphemism are different parts of speech: the euphemism is an adjective and the taboo word is a noun. For example, кырыылаах "with a sharp end", "faceted", "with edges", "cut" instead of быһах "knife" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1425), килбиэннээх "sparkling, beaming, radiant, shining" instead of күн "sun" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1086), төгүрүк "round" instead of кытыһа "cup, bowl" (Pekarskii, 1959: 2763), хаптаѳай "flat, smooth" instead of хайыһар "skis" (Pekarskii, 1959: 3323). The Evenki are a hunting people; therefore, there were many words-prohibitions related to taboos in the vocabulary of the Evenki language. Such vocabulary served as a rule aimed at preserving the life and wellbeing of the family. The history of euphemisms is

associated with deeply archaic remnants of language prohibitions, or taboos (in the past, names of dangerous phenomena, objects and topics such as spirits, children, illnesses, and the dead were prohibited). It was believed that if a person named something from the list above then they were likely to cause the phenomenon itself. That is why people tried to avoid certain words, "murder", "slaughter" and others, using substitutes instead: Эжэл тыкэ гунэ, эру бидеңэн "Do not say that or there will be trouble". Instead of the word "died" one said: "Эр бэе ачин оран" (Varlamova, 2002: 62).

In most cases, the euphemism and the taboo word are connected by a metaphor. For example, the Evenki say Буга соңолон 'the sky started crying' instead of тыгдэллэн 'it started raining', геван самчэ 'the morning star has died' instead of инэлчэ 'the day has broken', etc. As one can see, when secondary nominations arise, transposition occurs in the taboo speech. Thus, secondary nominations are common in Evenki proverbs, sayings and riddles. For example, the saying Дылвас бучидяв 'I will dry your head' that means 'I will kill you, do away with you, murder you' is obviously a reflection of familial and tribal wars. Currently, this expression has a slightly different meaning – 'I will get back at you in some way' (AFD, 2014). Therefore, when secondary nominations arise in taboo speech a transposition occurs which is based not only on the semantic but also on the functional juxtaposition of linguistic units. N.D. Arutyunova speaks about the same transposition that can accompany the metaphorization of meaning (Arutyunova, 1979: 149). The scholar believes that this leads to a transition from the category of identifying names (mainly specific vocabulary) to the category of predicates (adjectives, verbs, evaluative nouns) or vice versa. The metaphor is capable of performing two functions in the field of taboo vocabulary. The nominative function comes to the foreground when the metaphor serves the purposes of the nomination, that is, it is assigned to objects as a name. At the same time, the characterizing function of the metaphor is also manifested in secondary nominations as the qualifying and evaluative activity of consciousness is reflected in euphemisms. Another large group of euphemisms is nominations based on metonymy. "Metonymy is a trope or speech mechanism that consists in the regular or occasional transfer of a name from one class of objects or a single object to another class or a separate object associated with the first object in terms of adjacency, contiguousness, involvement in the same situation" (Yartseva, 1990: 300). The transfer based on complexity reflects the contact, the connection of objects, things, phenomena with each other, that is, the constant interaction of objects. The prolificacy of metonymic names in taboo speech is easily explained by its characteristic features – the conditions of the situational context, the presence of direct contact between speakers. Various types of metonymic transfers may be noted, for example,

by the connection in space (location): ойуурдаағы "silvan, forest dweller" instead of эһэ "bear" (Pekarskii, 1959: 2932), үрдүкү "located above" instead of күн "sun" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 168);

by the connection in time: сайынны "summerly" instead of эһэ "bear" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 112), түүннү "nighttime" instead of ый "crescent" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 154), кэнэбэски "following" instead of кэнники "afterbirth of cows and mares" (Pekarskii, 1959: 1029);

as the material and the object made from it: мас "stick" instead of тайахха итиллибит айа "crossbow for moose" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 84), хардаҕас "a long

splinter (chip) of wood, log" instead of айа "crossbow" (Pekarskii, 1959: 3357; Lukovtsev, 1975: 84);

as an action and its result: бобуйуохха "choke" instead of баайыахха "tie" (Nikolaev, Kardashevskii, 1961: 66), отой "make an incision" instead of быс "cut" (Lukovtsev, 1975: 103).

Dialect vocabulary is one of the sources of supplementing the dictionary of euphemisms. The usage of dialect words is one of the prolific methods of euphemization. According to our calculations based on the materials of the "Dialectological dictionary of the Yakut language", dialectal expressions used as secondary nominations were utilized in the northern areas – Bulunskii, Ust-Yanskii, Momskii and Abyiskii (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976). For example, a small hare (кыра куобах) in the Momskii ulus was called балтаан "little hare" (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 59); in the Verkhnekolymskii ulus, instead of унуу "spear, pike" they say тайанар "brace" (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 233), the action экирэт, туруор "to awake the beast, chase" was called суһугурт (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 220). All these words are marked in the dictionary as харыс тыл (х.т.). Dialect vocabulary is a prolific source of euphemisms in the Evenki language. Euphemisms-taboos were particularly often found in the Evenki vocabulary associated with the names of animals, for example, the bear and the wolf. The word "bear" was also a euphemism among hunters in ancient times but later, due to fear of this animal, the bear developed a second euphemism, displacing the first one from usage. The people began to call the bear the master, beast, grandfather, etc. Examples: the euphemisms for the taboo word "bear": Амака (Энекэ), коңнорин, хомоты, бакая, галга, гиркэ, делэй, куңку, куты, куликан, корко, маңи, накита, нэлэңэ, неңнекэк, сэпчэкэ, учикан, эһэкэ, амикан. For example: instead of некэ 'sable' one said удьякан 'litedu paw print', чук-ми/чок-ми П-Т. У fig. 'kill a bear'; сагдак Урм, П-Т 'firstborn', ба П-Т 'baby', нэкукэ 'younger brother/sister', омологи 'young man' П-Т, нирайкан '1) newborn, 2) baby' Алд, Учр; хунат '1) girl, 2) young woman' П-Т, cf. куңакан 'child' etc. The Timpton Evenki – the hunters N.E. Kirillov and V. Kolesov called the bear коңнорин 'black'.

"How did one get a bear? You come, one day – killed a deer, there you wait, build a platform, and when it comes, you kill it. The two of you remove the skin, skin it. So it was. How many deer got killed to get the bears, I don't know. Usually, we hunt in pairs, not alone. Hunting alone is a sin, they say, therefore one doesn't go alone. You skin it yourself, while saying that ants crawl over it, ants. When you skin the paws, do not say anything, do it silently. I can't talk anymore, I forgot already. Come tomorrow" (AFD, 2015). The cult of the bear has manifested among the peoples of Siberia from the Neolithic Agy until the Middle Ages. It is reflected in the cave paintings on the Angara, Tokko, May. At the archaeological sites, there are many more bear sculptures. These materials allow one to say that the cult of the bear originated in ancient times and survived to this day in the prohibitions, charms, beliefs, traditions and rituals. The Evenki-Oroqen called the bear амикан (grandpa, old man), амакачи (great-grandfather), ами (father), эне (mother), энекан (grandmother), атыркана (big old woman), and аки (uncle). They hunted the bear all year round, along with other animals. Tracking and hunting the bear in a den was particularly popular. Some Evenks were famous as bear trackers and hunters when it was not lying in the den, and they were considered as specialists at bear hunting. They hunted with a spear or long knife. The person hunting the bear was particularly honored. Usually one hunted the bear lying in

the den. One of the hunters got ready to shoot while the other bothered the bear with a pole. When the head showed in the hole, they shot. The hunters pulled the dead beast out of the den by throwing a loop of a lasso over its head. The bear was skinned at the place of hunting. The order was traditional. While separating the skin, the hunters talked to the bear, reassured it, imitated the sounds of the raven shouting "Coo-coo! Coo-coo!"

The bear was one of the totem animals. According to the mythological concepts of the Yakuts, the terms of kinship were often used as names of totemic animals. In ancient times, Yakut families considered some kind of animal to be their ancestor. Thus, V.M. Ionov writes, "Every family, in a more general sense of the word ийэ ууһа /the mother's family/, had its family таһара /protector/ or төрүт /foundation, root/" (Ionov, 1915: 7). Өбүгэ, өмүгэ "ancestor" is a euphemism used by Vilyuysk Yakuts (Afanasev, Voronkin, Alekseev, 1976: 191). This name of the bear is associated with the totemic ideas of the Yakuts, according to which "the bear is a semi-mythical creature that descended from a woman". Myths and legends state that the bear used to be human in ancient times. G. Ergis mentions a legend about brothers-hunters who once killed a female bear but when they skinned her, she had a ring and silver items that belonged to their sister who had run away eight years before (Ergis, 1974: 147). Another variation speaks of hysterical sisters who lived in the Kolyma region. One of them turned into a diver and flew away and since then people do not eat divers. The other started roaring like a bear, and one day she also disappeared. A few years after that, there were a lot of bear tracks in the taiga. The brothers thought that those bears were their sister's children. Both the diver and the bear are totems. A vivid example of taboos is the nominations for the bear. V.L. Seroshevskii who spent about 12 years in Yakutia and visited numerous places including northern and central areas, noted the usage of taboo words by the Yakuts, "In the north, they are wary of speaking ill of the bear or even loudly speaking its name in vain, its name "grandad", эссе, but it is not a good name and the beast is angry about it, that is why they call it "кок" or simply "black"; sometimes they call it "evil spirit of the forest" in secret or even "Улу-тоен". To explain the reason behind the emergence of euphemisms, V.L. Seroshevskii cites a Yakut from Kolyma: "Do not speak ill of the bear, do not boast: he hears everything even though he is not close, he remembers everything and does not forgive" (Seroshevskii, 1993: 634).

The Yakuts considered the bear one of the most dangerous animals. V.M. Ionov wrote: "Эһэ "bear" is the name of the species as well as the male bear. When addressing him, one says "эһэ" /grandad/, the female bear is addressed as эбэ "grandма". That is why one can think that эһэ is a name used out of бережи /харыстаан/, out of caution and the real name of the bear is forgotten" (Ionov, 1915: 7). Эһэ is the name of the most respected person in the family – the grandfather. A.E. Kulakovskii also assumed that the real name of the bear was either forgotten or hidden in one of the three names: аабый, талкы, хохтуула (Kulakovskii, 1979: 44). Words-prohibitions are used primarily instead of the names of dangerous animals or animals that provide valuable products. As for the bear, it was dangerous and gave a lot of tasty meat, good-quality skin and folk medicines (bile, lard). When the ancient Yakut went fishing, he had quite primitive hunting tools, such as a long hunting knife and a spear. Therefore, there are many prohibitions and rituals connected to bear hunting. Thus, killing a bear in the den is considered a sin: then other bears will also eat the hunter in his sleep. That is why the hunter has to wake the beast and only then start fighting it. This custom is in effect to this day. There is still a belief that "among bears, there is a shaman bear" that differs from the others in intelligence, invulnerability, skewbald fur, mane and tail. The bear has

never been killed. As a rule, the bear meets with a famous hunter who exterminated hundreds of bears in his lifetime and, therefore, has a ripened "сэт". This encounter is fatal for the hunter. The big black bear, very ferocious and bloodthirsty, terrified the Yakuts. They call him "the king of groves and forests". I.A. Khudyakov describes bear hunting in detail, all the rituals performed by hunters after the death of the beast. Customs compare bear hunting to a dangerous, risky war against the strongest and bravest enemy, who, even having lost the battle, is given an honorary burial. The great war with the bears is chronicled in folk legends by many different tales. Even now there are many stories about the bear's intelligence and nobility, as well as cunning and bloodthirstiness. Such stories are mostly based on real cases and relatively realistic. I.A. Khudyakov noted that people who went bear hunting were convinced that the bears avenged each other and understood the Yakut language, were in dire need of moral and actual practical support to bolster their vigor in the fight against such a formidable enemy. That is why, when hunting, hunters pray to the spirits of deep flowing waters, the shaman asks for the hunters to return unharmed after hunting a bear. Moreover, "hunters speak a special language, different from the regular" (Khudyakov, 1969: 210).

There are over 50 substitute names for the bear in the dictionary of euphemisms of the Yakut language. There are a lot of nicknames for the bear: арҕахтаах "with a den", кини "he", моһус "gluttonous", тыатааҕы "of the taiga", хара "black", хараҥа түүлээх "with black fur" and others. The bear cult is manifested in particular, in the existence of rich and varied terminology of the animal's names in the Evenki language. АВДУН Тк, Тмт, Ие, З, Учр, М, Брг, П-Т, Н, Е, И; абдун Тк, Тмт, Алд, Чмк, З, Е, И, П-Т; агдун Ие, Сх, Е, Хнг den, lair; тар некэденэ 'унадин авдунма бакача then his daughter discovered (found) the den; коңнорин дюван агдун гуниҕнэрэв the den (lit. home) of the bear (lit. black) is called агдун, авдун Тк, Тмт, Ие, З, Учр, М, Брг, П-Т, Н, Е, И; абдун Тк, Тмт, Алд, Чмк, З, Е, И, П-Т; агдун Ие, Сх, Е, Хнг lair; тар некэденэ 'унадин авдунма бакача then his daughter discovered (found) a lair; ко²норин дюван агдун гуни²нэрэв lair (lit. home) of a bear (lit. black). АМАКА II Тнг, П-Т, Н, Е, И, С, Ткм, В-Л, С-Б 1) grandad, grandfather; 2) uncle (mother's or father's older brother); 3) ancestor; cf. э'э; амака III Тк, Тнг, Е, Н, И, В-Л, Ткм, П-Т, С, С-Б; амикан Тк, Тнг, Брг, И, П-Т, С bear; ср. э'э 2; АМАКА III Тк, Тнг, Е, Н, И, В-Л, Ткм, П-Т, С, С-Б; амикан Тк, Тнг, Брг, И, П-Т, С bear; cf. эһэ 2; амака IV 1) П-Т, Ткм, В-Л god; cf. сэвэки 1; 2) В-Л sky; ср. няҕня II; амака-ми П-Т hunt, trade in bear; амакады П-Т, Н, Е, И, С, Урм; амакакады Урм temporary; амакакса Тк, Е, Н, И, П-Т, С bearskin; амакамикит П-Т place for bear hunting; АМАКАҕИН П-Т dog (used for bear hunting); АМАКАЧИ П-Т, Е, И one who has a bear; one who possesses a bear; эр буга амакачи there are bears in the area; АМАКТУ Члм; амикту Тк, Сх, Урм, Н, П-Т; амэктү П-Т; амэктүра П-Т 1. sleepy; drowsy, somnolent; 2. sleepyhead, lie-abed; авдундук нямалчалан амэктүра ючэн during the thaw, the sleepyhead came out of the den; АМҒАКСАН П-Т entrance to the bear's den; АЛТАН-МИ П-Т, С-Б fig. eat bear meat. А.А. Petrov writes about the commonality of the bear cult for Siberian peoples, "By granting the bear a soul and considering the creature to be close to human, the Evens recognized its ability to understand the language of all animals and the human language. It is forbidden and dangerous to speak ill of the bear or boast about a successful bear hunt. A similar idea that the bear hears and understands human speech has been noted among the Evenki, Nganasans, Altaians, and the Yukaghir" (Petrov, 1992: 27). The nominations of totem animals are particularly interesting from the point of view of the semantics, as well as their position in the linguistic worldview of the studied ethnic groups. The set of beliefs connected to bear worship of the Yakuts, the Evenki and

other peoples of Siberia is regarded as the bear cult "with the archaic elements going back to the most ancient Eurasian-American layer of the cult" (Alekseev, 1980, 125).

CONCLUSION

The following similarities have been identified:

1. The abundant material taken from the languages of the indigenous peoples of Siberia has a lot in common in terms of the particular regard for the Word. The glorification of the Word, the impartation of unique properties upon it determine the seeming reticence of the northern people. In ancient times, people believed that their words would be heard by nature or spirits and would affect them: Алгыска онногор абааны тохтуур. A Yakut saying goes, "A spell makes even the devil surrender". Numerous Yakut proverbs regulate the communication process, prescribing certain rules of speech behavior and etiquette in the form of prohibitions and advice. Therefore, in ancient times, every word was pronounced very carefully: Эппит тыллааҕар эппэтэх тыл ордук. "An unuttered word is better than the uttered"; Этилибит тыл иһилибэт буолбат. "The uttered word cannot be heard" which means that even a secret word would be circulated (Kulakovskii, 1979: 207-209). As every word had its own "life", the Yakuts divided their words, like their gods, into good and evil, dangerous and heavy.
2. The history of euphemisms in the Evenki language is associated with deeply archaic remnants of language prohibitions, or taboos (in the past, names of dangerous phenomena, objects and topics such as spirits, children, illnesses, and the dead were prohibited). It was believed that if a person named something from the list above then they were likely to cause the phenomenon itself. That is why people tried to avoid certain words, "murder", "slaughter" and others, using substitutes instead: Экэл тыкэ гунэ, эру бидеҕэн "Do not say that or there will be trouble". Every language has some specific topics that must not be mentioned in conversation. The forbidden topics are related to the areas of activity that have been considered special, forbidden, sacrosanct, and mystical from ancient times. Consequently, they required a replacement, and euphemisms became that replacement. We see common cross-cutting ideas that run through ancient beliefs, they are united by one glorification of the Word, the Logos.
3. The materials of the Yakut and Evenki show the same type of euphemistic substitution means; there is the semantic and syntactical transposition. From the point of the semantic transposition, there are common methods of euphemism creation – the nominations based on metaphors are predominant. The myths and legends about the kinship of people and animals prevail in the ethnic groups where metaphors are widely used. The common traits include the characteristics of the animal's appearance, as well as the descriptions of its strength, power and age-specific qualities. The materials of the two languages have the same superstitious attitude towards animals: fear and, at the same time, reverence and respect.

The lexical and semantic material of languages is naturally distinguished by the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of the object of euphemization. The figurativeness of the connotative semantics remains unique in every language. There is also a variety of local names depending on the area of residence of the Evenki who are nomads, unlike the settled Yakuts. The usage of dialect words specific to a certain area is a distinct technique that reflects the differences in languages and cultures. Euphemization in

hunting speech is always closely linked to the mythological basis which is confirmed by the presence of an animal cult, for example, a bear cult. We have first attempted to consider the Evenki and Yakut euphemisms and compare them to establish common and different elements in the ethnic groups' worldviews. Further studies could become the basis for studying the material of the languages spoken by native peoples of Yakutia in the ethnolinguistic aspect.

Footnotes

AFD – Authors' Field Data.

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