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**SYMBOLISM OF ANIMALS AS OBJECTS OF HUNTING IN TRADITIONAL CULTURE
(ON MATERIAL OF THE YAKUT LANGUAGE)**

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Abstract

The article deals with hunting terms in the Yakut language that name the objects of hunting (moose, ermine, sable, hare). The semantics of the nominations encompass a wide cultural and ethnographic background and are confirmed by the facts of mythological (folk) conceptions. The existence of the special taboo language of hunters is illustrated by a number of vivid examples. The conclusion is made about the close connection between language phenomena and the culture of a people.

Keywords

Ethnolinguistics – Terms – Nomination – Semantics – Taboo words – Culture

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Introduction

The connection of the lexical system of the language with the material and spiritual culture of a people is highlighted by the long period of accumulation of folk knowledge that researchers call the prescientific period in the formation of terminological vocabulary. V.V. Vinogradov mentions the particular role that the national-historical aspect plays in the formation and establishment of terminology as a whole, "the history of the terminology of any given area of culture or manufacturing activity is simultaneously the story of the development patterns of knowledge on nature and society"¹. The national origin of terminology is already part of the thematic aspect. This refers to the traditional and the oldest occupations of a people – fishing and hunting, crop and animal farming and other manufacturing activity. All occupations of a people were reflected in the vocabulary. The systematization and analysis of the Yakut hunting terminology as an element of national culture are of interest.

"The Yakut-Russian dictionary of hunting and fishing terminology" compiled by A.S. Lukovtsev (manuscript)² and "The dictionary of euphemisms in the Yakut language" published in 1998³ were used as the materials of the study. The choice of the material was determined by the fact that folk hunting terminology in the Yakut language is exceptionally abundant. The self-sustainability of the hunting meant that the terminology was well-preserved. Moreover, the vocabulary of euphemisms containing 556 items is an independent subsystem directly linked to the issue of the language taboo.

Methods

In the work, we used the method of continuous sampling of material from dictionary sources and ethnographic works which makes it possible to include as many units as possible from the relevant lexical array. The key principle of the ethnolinguistic aspect of studying vocabulary can be formulated as the requirement to comprehensively study words and the material and spiritual phenomena they denote. The comprehensive approach to studied facts allows one to clarify the semantics and etymology of some words and identify the functions of verbal components that belong to various forms of traditional culture. The main reference point of ethnolinguistic studies is the people's language and traditional culture: folk culture is studied through the framework of linguistics, and the idea of the isomorphism in culture and language (the absence of significant differences and therefore a chance to utilize the same principles and methods) is used as the basic principle. According to N.I. Tolstói, "such expansion of the linguistic approach over cultural phenomena is not a 'translation' of culturological terminology into linguistic terminology, rather a different, structurally clearer approach to culture as a systematic whole"⁴. An ethnolinguistic study is aimed at describing, studying and introducing into academic circulation the abundant material of national languages that recreates a complete folk perception of reality and reflects the national worldview.

¹ V. V. Vinogradov, *Vstupitelnoe slovo. Voprosy terminologii* (Materialy Vsesoyuznogo terminologicheskogo soveshchaniya (Moscow, 1961).

² A. S. Lukovtsev, *Yakutsko-russkii slovar terminov okhoty i rybolovstva*. Rukopisnyi fond nauchnoi bibl. YaF AN SSSR, inv. № 432. (Yakutsk, 1975).

³ I. P. Pavlova, *Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya yakutskikh evfemizmov. Metodicheskie ukazaniya k spetskursu "Leksicheskaya sistema evfemizmov yakutskogo yazyka"* (Yakutsk: Izd-vo YaGU, 1998).

⁴ N. I. Tolstói, *Yazyk i narodnaya kultura. Ocherki po slavyanskoi mifologii i etnolingvistike* (Moscow, 1995).

Results

The objects of hunting are a muskrat, hare, fox, wolf, wild deer, moose, bear. The names of the objects are direct nominations (тайах "moose", кырынаас "ermine", киис "sable", кубах "hare"), metaphors (аарыма "very big" about a moose, адьырба "predatory, ferocious" about a bear), compound names (ыарба тойоно "young autumnal hare", адьырба кыыл "ferocious animal", арбаҕастаах кыыл "beast with worn-out fur" about a bear). Some animal names differentiate between sexes and ages (бууру "male moose", анабы "large male moose", атыыр киис "male sable", ньаадьы "godmother" instead of тыһы киис "female sable", кубах оҕото "young hare", etc.). Such detail is primarily characteristic of the terms that name the moose and the hare as they are the most common game animals in central Yakutia. Such differentiation of terms also indicates the particular significance of the objects of hunting, their central place is the fragment of the Yakut native speakers' language worldview.

A lot of units of the hunting terminological system have special semantics that expresses national particularities, nature and soul of the people. Animals act as images of the mythological worldview in the system of traditional folk views of the world. The abundant material of the Yakut traditions in its various forms and genres makes it possible to identify distinguishing characteristics of animals and build a model to describe the ideas of the wildlife. Characteristic traits of animals are identified on different levels: 1. linguistic (names of animals, taboo names, epithets), 2. morphological (appearance, development stage, whole body or a body part, attributes), 3. social (status of the animal, its relationship with other objects, origin). This set of traits makes it possible to recreate an entire fragment of the worldview and discover the zoological code of the cultural language. For this, one needs to consider all forms of traditional folk culture. However, the material of different levels and types (superstitions, rites, linguistic and folklore material) is used as much as required to explain the mythological symbolism.

There are different and numerous terms that denote hunting objects. Let us take a closer look at some of them.

MOOSE

Tajax "moose, elk (ср. кыыл, улуу кыыл, ынах)"⁵.

One of the most important game animals. It is called улуу кыыл "large, enormous beast"⁶, улахан кыыл "big beast"⁷. The nomination улуу кыыл has become a natural part of the set of mythological (folk) concepts. The name Улуу Тойона, the guardian of shamans, has become generic and is used to refer to strong and menacing people and animals that are impossible to fight. V. Seroshevskii wrote that "sometimes Улу-тоен would turn into a big black bull or a black stallion, giant bear or moose, and run across the land, roaring and making noise"⁸. "Улуу" approximately corresponds to the Russian "menacing-terrifying-great"⁹.

⁵ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka Vol. 1-3. (Moscow, 1958-1959).

⁶ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

⁷ P. S. Afanas'ev, M.S. Voronkin, M.P. Alekseev (comp.). DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar yakutskogo yazyka (Moscow, 1976).

⁸ I. P. Pavlova, Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya...

⁹ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

In Olonkho, a bogatyr's maturity is often determined by his ability to win a fight with a bear and a moose. The bogatyr's strength is described with the saying "Тайабы таһытыттан, эһэни сабырбатыттан, бөрөнү бөртөлөөбүттэн сизэтэр киһи. – He is the kind of man to lead a moose by its nostrils, a bear by its hackles and a wolf by its paws". This is a folk saying for a strong person.

The taiga giant has long attracted the interest of hunters, and the Yakuts have always considered this hunt special. Улахан булт "the big hunt" is still the name for hunting moose. This kind of hunt brings a lot of meat to families and increases the hunter's authority. Interestingly, moose hunting is also called хара булт "the black hunt"¹⁰ [A.m. – the author's material]. As the epithet хара gains an intensifying meaning in many combinations (хара маннайгыттан, хара сарсыардаттан, хара төрүөххүттэн "from the very beginning, from the early morning, from the very moment you were born"¹¹, one could assume that the expression хара булт is synonymous to the expression улахан булт.

Size-wise, the moose is larger than many other game animals, and large antlers are its characteristic trait. There is a reason why the moose is called кэтэл "several packhorses"¹², the nomination is interesting due to its semantics, is built similarly to the Russian expression "100 horsepower". The moose's power is compared to the power of several pack animals. Large complex antlers that provide shadow, strong sturdy legs with hooves became the reason for various substitute names for the animal.

Folk names successfully convey sex distinctions and the importance of an animal for hunting. The nomination мэнээк which means "stray, wild" accurately denotes the animal's way of life¹³. Moreover, there are substitute names in the hunting language that denote moose as game. Hunting can be roughly divided into two parts: tracking down and killing, as well as field dressing. Body parts were taboo: салбанара "the thing used to lick" instead тайах тыла "the moose's tongue"¹⁴, көбүөтүүрэ "heaving" instead тайах тыната "the moose's lungs"¹⁵ and other substitute names that point to the function of the object. The moose's vital organ is the heart which is called кырдык сирэ "the true place"¹⁶. In the E.K. Pekarskii dictionary, the word is defined as follows: кырдык – "genuine, authentic, true, actual, accurate"¹⁷. The shot to the heart for a hunter means a precise hit and certain game.

S T O A T

Кырынаас [contr. изъ кырынастај] ermine¹⁸. E.K. Pekarskii in his dictionary notes the white color of the ermine: кырынаас курдук тарбах "white (as an ermine) finger"¹⁹. To illustrate, an example is given: икки көндөй титтэн икки кырынаас быгыалыыр "from two hollow trees, they say, two ermines are peeking out (snot)"²⁰.

¹⁰ I. P. Pavlova, Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya...

¹¹ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka... 333.

¹² P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

¹³ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

¹⁴ P. S. Afanas'ev, M.S. Voronkin, M.P. Alekseev (comp.). DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

¹⁵ A. S. Lukovtsev, Yakutsko-russkii slovar ... 53.

¹⁶ A. S. Lukovtsev, Yakutsko-russkii slovar ... 71.

¹⁷ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

¹⁸ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

¹⁹ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

²⁰ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

As a quickly replicable word combination, кырынаас бэргэнэ "ermine hat" is used in the Yakut language. Кырынаасчылт is a separate name for hunters of this particular animal. In the hunting vocabulary, the popular name for the ermine is бэлиэлээх "marked"²¹ which refers to the black tip of the tail.

The evidence that the ermine was worshipped has survived to this day. Thus, I.A. Khudyakov writes that "it was only recently that the stoat was admired in Dulgalakh: although its cult image was brought from the Indigirka side"²². Yakut brides cover their faces with ermines. When listing totem animals, N.A. Alekseev also mentions the ermine²³. In the Altai language, the ermine was also called кара куйрук "the black tail"²⁴.

The euphemism бэлиэлээх is the keyword in the ermine-related riddle, saying and myth. L.L. Gabysheva writes: "Бэрт киһи бэйэтигэр бэлиэлээх. – The fine fellow has a mark" – this is the riddle about the ermine. There is an etiological myth about the animal in which the Yakuts attempted to explain the characteristic trait of the ermine – its mark. "The myth ends with the statement: "Онтон ыла кырынааһы – бэлиэлээх" диэн ааттаабыттара" (Ever since the ermine has been called "marked")²⁵. The saying "Оннооһор кырынаас бэлиэлээх. – Even the ermine has a mark" also emphasizes this distinguishing trait. This case is a vivid example of the well-known but insufficiently studied connection between the taboo speech and the short-form folklore (riddles, sayings, etc.).

S A B L E

Rbbc – ric [ch/n.hr/ rii] – 1) sable, = саарба1, үс1 (ср.атас2, нјааны5); хара киис black sable 2) sable hide (=киис тирии), sable fur²⁶. In the dictionary entry, E.K. Pekarskii highlights the word combination киис-танара in the meaning sable-protector (god) whom people ask for protection in important situations (the reference is for V.L.Priklonskii)²⁷.

Precious sable fur has always been valued for its particular beauty, warmth, durability and ability to last. As E.K. Pekarskii notes, the sable tax киис өлбүгэтэ was considered substantially better, and the one who paid it got three times more than those who paid stomach tax (бөтөһө өлбүгэтэ) one and a half times more than those who paid tax in fox (сасыл өлбүгэтэ)²⁸.

It is known that in ancient times, the Yakuts considered the sable their god and hung its pelt on a thin tree for it to swing on it. There is a Yakut riddle: "They say something is swinging in front of the house?" (The sable was the god of ancient people)²⁹. The Yakuts' totemic worldviews were reflected in sable-related euphemisms. The nominations of this animal include terms of relationship ньааадыы "godmother"³⁰ and the phonetic (dialectal)

²¹ I. A. Khudyakov, *Kratkoe opisanie Verkhoyanskogo okruga* (Leningrad, 1969).

²² I.A. Khudyakov, *Kratkoe opisanie...*

²³ N. A. Alekseev, *Rannie formy religii tyurkoyazychnykh narodov Sibiri* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1980)

²⁴ N. A. Yaimova, *Tabuirovannaya leksika i evfemizmy v altaiskom yazyke*. Ph.D. Thesis (Moscow, 1985), 115.

²⁵ L. L. Gabysheva *Semanticheskoe i strukturnoe skhodstvo yakutskikh paremii* (Yakutsk: YaNTs SO RAN, 1993).

²⁶ E. K. Pekarskii, *Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...*

²⁷ E. K. Pekarskii, *Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...*

²⁸ E. K. Pekarskii. *Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...*

²⁹ I. A. Khudyakov, *Kratkoe opisanie...*

³⁰ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), *DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...*

variant наадды, as well as the word атас "friend"³¹. A stylistic variant of the word атаскаан "buddy" formed from it with the diminutive suffix каан/-чаан was very popular³².

Unlike other animals, all nominations for the sable are nominations of people which also speaks in favor of the fact that as a totem, the sable was the forbearer of the humankind.

The names for the animal are differentiated by sex: атас "friend" instead of атыыр киис "male sable"; ньаадды "godmother" instead of тыһы киис "female sable". This distinction might have been significant for the hunter: the pelts of the male and the female animal were different in size.

Later, the sable became more valuable due to its precious fur. There is a Yakut riddle about the value of the sable pelt: "Саалыр сылгы (саарба кыыл) самыытын тириитин уйбатах үһү. – They say that a buckskin horse (the sable animal) could not hold its skin on its croup". The answer: саарба кыыл тириитэ сыаналааба. – The value of the sable pelt³³.

H A R E

Кубах 1) common white hare, snow hare, jackrabbit; 2) a man's nickname (7, 1958: 1220). Кубахсыт (кубахчыт) – someone who hunts or eats hares; someone who jumps like a hare; an owl³⁴.

V.L. Seroshevskii notes: "The white hare – (jackrabbit), кубах, табыскан, дөлөкөн always roams like a squirrel. In some places, especially in the foothills, there are plenty of them; during the winter every hunter catches up to 300 hares. In the autumn when the grass begins to turn yellow, hunters set up hair snares. These loops are tied to a flexible balancing lever similar to the South Russian well sweep; the loop is installed on a certain height in the bushes, on hare trails; using a short wooden "bull" (buckle) and "clips", the loop is held tense until the animal would run into it and fasten the loop on its neck by releasing the "bull", then the lever pulls the hare up and it dies. Hares are very careful and once they suspect a trap, they go off the trail; that is why the hunters create an "abatis" on both sides of the road. The hair used for the loop is black and red in autumn and white after the snow. The Yakuts call this device "тысах"³⁵.

Starting from November, hunters usually set up crossbows for the hares and in March, they use traps. There are few hares on the highlands and in the swamplands, as well as in the northern part of the Kolymskii and Verkhoyanskii uluses, the north-west of the Lena and in the tundra. The hares are more evenly distributed throughout the southern highlands. The animals live mostly in the mountain gorges and on the mountain slopes. In summer, they go up higher into the mountains and in winter, they go down to the river valleys where they particularly favor islands covered with willow groves. The hares also periodically migrate from one area to another since there is no other way to explain their unexpected appearance or their complete disappearance. Hunting for hares in certain periods of the year has long become a tradition in Yakut reality. From ancient times to the present, the Sakha people have hunted hares, stocked up hare for a certain time, acquired very warm

³¹ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

³² A. S. Lukovtsev, Yakutsko-russkii slovar...

³³ S. P. Oiunskaya (comp.), Yakutskie zagadki (Yakutsek: Kn.izd-vo, 1975).

³⁴ E. K. Pekarskii, Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

³⁵ V. L. Seroshevskii, Yakuty. Opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniya (Moscow, 1993).

fur, which despite its fragility was particularly warm, easily obtainable, hare pelts could be processed very quickly and were easy to sew. All Yakut families had hare throws, including the poorest of the Sakha. When reminiscing about their childhood, often hungry and cold, old people still warmly speak of нэк суорбун (куобах суорбун) "worn-out clothes or throws made of hare fur"³⁶ that kept small children from freezing in the cold yurts when hair would freeze to the plank bed during the severe cold spells.

Moreover, hare fur was used to make clothes: mittens, trousers and fur coats. E.K. Pekarskii mentions куобах нэгэ сонноох оҕоньор "the old man in a worn-out hare fur coat", as well as Нэк сабыныха which is "the name of one of the baianaï who drove the hares to the crossbow"³⁷.

Куобахтаах сир is the name of the area rich in hares which means it is a place with a lot of game and a lucky hunter could be well-fed and financially comfortable there.

In the Yakut folklore, the hare is a symbol of cowardice: кус сүрэх, кутас куобах "the duck's heart, the hare's cowardice" (about paltry cowards)³⁸; куобах курдук хоргус "cowardly like a hare"³⁹. There are many riddles about the hare: Бөкүңүйэ-бөкүңүйэ бүөр сыата баар үһү "They say there is a round fidgety creature that is kidney fat (that becomes kidney fat)"⁴⁰; Сыһыыга сыалаах кырбас сытар үһү "They say there is a piece of fat lying on the meadow"⁴¹; Ойуурга үтүлүктэр уонна бэргэхэлэр ойуоккалаһаллар "Mittens and hats are jumping-running about the forest" (ibid.) and others. There are many riddles about the hare's ears that have vivid marks on the tips: Саха кыһа сабатыгар бэчээттээх үһү "They say that a Yakut girl has a mark on her collar"⁴² or Хайа төбөтүгэр үйэтигэр Хаар түспэт үһү "They say that it never ever snows at the top of the mountain" (ibid.). The particularity of the hare's ears – their black color – is very accurately pinned down in the riddles. Another typical type of riddle is a riddle that unites the hare and the eagle owl, the hare and the ermine, the hare and the hunter. In fact, the spirit of hunting Baianaï could be favorable to the Yakuts, giving them luck when they hunt hares which provided families with meat and fluffy and warm fur. In the Russian-Yakut dictionary of biological terms (ed. G.S.Ugarov), the white hare has a lot of nominations: besides the main nomination куобах, 13 more are listed⁴³.

Let us examine some of the numerous names for this animal.

БОДЬОЙООН – is the dialectal name for the hare in the Verkhoyanskii and Sakkyryrskii regions⁴⁴. A.E. Kulakovskii compares it with БӨЛӨДЬӨӨК or БӨЛӨЧӨӨК, which, however, means КУОБАХ ОҕОТО "young hare"⁴⁵.

³⁶ P. A. Sleptsov (ed.), YaRS – Yakutsko-russkii slovar (Moscow, 1972).

³⁷ E. K. Pekarskii. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

³⁸ P. A. Sleptsov (ed.), YaRS – Yakutsko-russkii...

³⁹ P. A. Sleptsov (ed.), YaRS – Yakutsko-russkii...

⁴⁰ S. P. Oiunskaya (comp.), Yakutskie zagadki...

⁴¹ S. P. Oiunskaya (comp.), Yakutskie zagadki...

⁴² S. P. Oiunskaya (comp.), Yakutskie zagadki...

⁴³ G. S. Ugarov (ed.), Russko-yakutskii slovar biologicheskikh terminov (Yakutsk, 1993).

⁴⁴ P. S. Afanas'ev; M.S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar... 64.

⁴⁵ A. E. Kulakovskiiю, Nauchnye trudy (Yakutsk, 1979).

БОХОЙ – the name of the hare in the Megino-Kangalasskii ulus⁴⁶.

ДЬҮӨЛЭКЭЭН – the name of the hare in the northern Bulunskii and Verkhoianskii uluses as well as in the Tattinskii. In the "Dialectological dictionary of the Yakut language", the nomination is compared to the Even ДЕЛЭКИ "ermine"⁴⁷. E.K. Pekarskii, having found this nomination in the Tatt, also assumes the Tungus ДЬЕЛЕКИ "ermine"⁴⁸.

МООТОХООН – the Nyurbinskii name for the hare, there is a phonetic variant МООТОКООН⁴⁹.

МУНДУКААН – used in the Eiseiskii dialect, borrowed from the Even МУНДУКАН "hare"⁵⁰.

НЬООРОЙ – this nomination was not found in the dictionaries, however, it is currently used, for example, in the Tattinskii ulus [A.m.].

НЬОРООХ – this variant is used in the Momskii ulus⁵¹.

In the E.K. Pekarskii "Yakut language dictionary" one can see НЬОХОХ and НЬОЧОХ in the meaning "young hare" КУОБАХ ОҕОТО⁵².

НЬУКУРУУТ – used in the Nyurbinskii ulus⁵³.

ОҺООЛО – the name of the Srednekolymskii hare⁵⁴.

ТАБЫСХААН – has many different phonetic variants (ТААБЫСКААН, ТАБЫШКАН etc.) and is used in most uluses. E.K. Pekarskii defines it as follows: "1. common white hare, snow hare, jackrabbit; 2. a man's nickname"⁵⁵.

УСКААН – also occurs in many uluses (Amginskii, Gornyi, Ust-Aldanskii, Olekminskii etc.)⁵⁶. In the E.K. Pekarskii dictionary, besides the meaning "hare", it is used as a man's nickname, formerly as a name of one of the six generations in the family СӨТӨ⁵⁷.

ХОТОНОХ – in the northern uluses – Allaikhovskii, Anabarskii, Bulunskii, Olenekskii⁵⁸.

⁴⁶ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.) DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁴⁷ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁴⁸ E. K. Pekarskii; Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

⁴⁹ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵⁰ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵¹ P. S. Afanas'ev; M.S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵² E. K. Pekarskii; Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

⁵³ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵⁴ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵⁵ E. K. Pekarskii; Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

⁵⁶ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

⁵⁷ E. K. Pekarskii; Slovar yakutskogo yazyka...

⁵⁸ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

Ыларҕа тойоно ситэ улаата илик күһүннү куобах оҕото (young autumnal hare)⁵⁹. The example given in the dialectological dictionary was taken from a literary work (Амма Аччыгыйа, the novel "Beda").

Conclusion

Images of animals in traditional culture are a means of expressing the concepts of the world in its various manifestations. Hunters' speech is characterized by using a lot of euphemisms which is linked to the system of prohibitions that stems from the ancient past and is connected to the magical power of the word. The nominations of hunting objects act as special symbols that hold a particular place in the linguistic worldview of the Sakha people.

Hunting terminology is a system that has an inner structure and hierarchy. Like any other terminological system, it has a strictly limited area of usage and its history. The development patterns of the system cannot be explained outside the real historical conditions where the life of a human collective took place.

The most significant parts of culture and the linguistic consciousness of the people, the unique particularities of the national worldview are reflected in these particular lexical layers. The symbolism of animals that are hunting objects is nation-specific and shows the uniqueness and peculiarity of the Yakut culture.

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⁵⁹ P. S. Afanas'ev; M. S. Voronkin y M. P. Alekseev (comp.), DSYaYa – Dialektologicheskii slovar...

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