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**THE IMAGE OF THE ETHNOSES IN THE WORLD VIEW OF THE SAKHA PEOPLE**

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**Abstract**

The article deals with the research in the field of interethnic relations. Reasoning and issue statement are stipulated by the poor study of interethnic relations within the country in the context of today's Russia. The purpose of the article is to present the study of the historical basis and generalization of the current state of interethnic relations in Yakutia. The data may be of use to a wide range of readers interested in obtaining information on the deep interethnic processes occurring in the national state in the context of federal state consolidation. The study can fill in missing and relatively tabooed knowledge in the field of interethnic relations within a particular region, both theoretically and in practice. The article presents the results, obtained and elaborated by the author in the associative dictionary of the Yakut language (1220 respondents) and with the help of the method of quality attribution (450 respondents) (access mode: <http://adictsakha.nsu.ru/corpora/corp>). During the analysis of the legends on the relations of the peoples of Yakutia and the results of the associative experiment and the survey, it was concluded that interethnic relations are based on the available ethnic stereotypes and personal experience of the respondents. Respondents' answers are applicable for creating and developing a policy of consolidation and tolerance in order to avoid ethnic conflicts and tensions in multinational Russia.

**Keywords**

Inter-ethnic relations – Yakutia territory – The peoples of Yakutia – Legends

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DRDA. IZABELLA Z. BORIZOVA

## Introduction

The topicality of the problem presented in the article is stipulated by the fact that the beginning of the 21st century in Russia was marked by a change in the conditions for the regional identity formation and a new stage in the relations between the Center and the regions. Since many parts of post-Soviet Russia claimed their independence, interethnic relations in a number of regions aggravated. Many researchers of theoretical and applied issues of interethnic relations emphasize that the breakdown of the old system led to the search for a new idea and solutions by reviewing the geopolitical foundations developed in the tsarist era and created in the Soviet era.

Studies in the field of interethnic relations are to some extent tabooed because of the fragility of interethnic relations. However, the results of linguocultural and sociolinguistic analyses are necessary in the context of multinational states. First of all, negative relations between ethnic groups are manifested in the language. In this regard, a goal was set to study the historical basis and make a generalization of the current state of the image of ethnoses in Yakutia.

To achieve the goal, the following tasks were set: 1. To elaborate the historical aspect of ethnic images presented in key studies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. 2. To analyze the results presented in the studies on the ethnoses living in Yakutia, in the associative dictionary of the Yakut language (authors - Borisova I.Z., Zamorshchikova L.S.<sup>1</sup>) 3. To conduct a targeted survey with the help of the method of quality attribution. 4. To compare historical and modern data.

The data may be of use to a wide range of readers interested in obtaining information on the deep interethnic processes occurring in the national state in the context of federal state consolidation. The study can fill in missing and relatively tabooed knowledge in the field of interethnic relations within a particular region, both theoretically and in practice.

The researchers note: “In connection with the intensification of interethnic relations, primarily conflict ones, there is the appearance of a certain number of nicknamed ethnonyms, which usually have a lower stylistic character and have a bright pejorative connotation. The reason for their occurrence is connected with economic and social reasons, having also a different psychological basis”<sup>2</sup>. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) will be an example to consider some aspects of interethnic relations, namely the existing images of ethnic groups based on ethnic stereotypes

## Materials and Methods

The reliability of the methods used is achieved through the research algorithm: 1. The study of the historical aspect of ethnic images in key studies of the late XIX and early XX centuries. 2. The analysis of the results of associative reactions to the word-stimulus, representing the ethnonym, set out in the associative dictionary of the Yakut language. 3. The targeted survey of respondents with the use of the method of quality attribution. 4. The comparison of historical and modern data.

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<sup>1</sup> Associative dictionary of the Yakut language. Retrieved from: <http://adictsakha.nsu.ru/corpora/corp>

<sup>2</sup> I. Z. Borisova, “Ethnonym “The Chinese man” / “Chinois” in ethnofolism (foreign disparaging allusions) on the basis of the French language”. *Uchenye zapiski Zabaikalskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Series: Philology, History, Oriental Studies*, num 2 (2014): 69-74.



In the current research of ethnos images, the data of the associative dictionary of the Yakut language were used. The associative field, which is a collection of verbal associations with one word, is represented as “a fragment of the human verbal memory and a fragment of the world view of a certain ethnos reflected in the consciousness of a particular culture bearer, motives, evaluations, cultural stereotypes”<sup>3</sup>. 1220 respondents took part in creating the associative field of words of stimuli for the names of ethnoses living in the neighborhood. A free and directed associative experiment is one of the most productive and informative techniques for studying field structures in the vocabulary of a language when studying stereotypes. Associative analysis of stereotypes and its generalization are used as materials for the study of ethnic stereotypes and the basis for their successful overcoming.

A free associative experiment is one of the variants of the associative experiment. When conducting such an experiment, the primary response is recorded. Associative experiment is conducted, as a rule, on a large number of participants, and on the basis of their associations they can build a table of the frequency distribution of word-reactions for each word-stimulus.

For the complex study of ethnic stereotypes, one of the simplest and most reliable psychosemantic methods, the “method of attribution of qualities” proposed by D. Katz and C. Braly in the 1930s of the XXth century, was used<sup>4</sup>. In the study of these authors, students of Princeton University were asked to choose from 84 traits the most characteristic ones for 10 ethnic groups: the white Americans, Africans, Chinese, English, Germans, Italians, Irish, Japanese, Jews and Turks. After the initial selection, the participants were asked to return to the ten lists they compiled and note the five qualities that are most typical for members of each group. Taking into account only these five qualities, Katz and Braly singled out 12 features most often attributed to each people. This method due to availability, exceptional spontaneity and reliability has become widespread. Rather, Katz and Braly proposed an initial technique such as “Attribution of qualities”. The primary variant proposed by D. Katz and C. Braly was substantially modified, including ethnopsycholinguists of Moscow State University under the guidance of Professor Stefanenko T.G. We used the possibilities of this study, 350 young respondents aged between 17-25 years took part in it.

The basis of ethnic stereotypes is undoubtedly the historically formed stereotypes, which are examined in the most significant studies.

Interethnic relations in Yakutia have been little explored, but in recent years some workshave appeared, in particular, one of the most important is the monograph by A. Mestnikova. “Ethno-cultural aspects of entrepreneurship and employment in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia)” (2005)<sup>5</sup>, Novikov A.G. “The mentality of northerners in the context of circumpolar civilization” (2005)<sup>6</sup>. But the most famous descriptions of the Yakut character are the monograph of A.G. Novikov “On the mentality of the Sakha people” (1995)<sup>7</sup>, Novikov A.G., Pudov A.G. “The mentality of the northerners in the context of the circumpolar

<sup>3</sup> N. D. Arutyunova, Language and the world of man (Moscow, 1999)

<sup>4</sup> D. Katz and K. W. Braly, “Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students”, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol: 28 (1933).

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Mestnikova, Ethno-cultural aspects of entrepreneurship and employment in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) (Yakutsk, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> A. G. Novikov, Mentality of the northerners in the context of circumpolar civilization (Yakutsk, 2005)

<sup>7</sup> A. G. Novikov, On the mentality of the Sakha people. Monography. Publishing house of the Analytical Center under the President of the Sakha Republic (Yakutiya: 1995).

civilization” (2005)<sup>8</sup>, Efimova F.P. “Mysterious and amazing past of Yakutia and the Yakut” (1994)<sup>9</sup>.

The scientific works of the late XIXth and early XXth centuries became the basis for studying the Yakut people. In particular, the works of Lindenau I. “Description of the Yakut” (1741 – 1745)<sup>10</sup>, Middendorf A.F. “Encyclopedia of Yakutia” (2000)<sup>11</sup>, Pekarsky E. A. “Dictionary of the Yakut language” (1959)<sup>12</sup>, Khudyakova I.A. “A Brief Description of the Verkhoyansk District” (1969)<sup>13</sup>, Maak R.K. “Vilyui District of the Yakutsk Region” (1887)<sup>14</sup>, Seroshevsky V.L. “The Yakut” (Reissued in 1993)<sup>15</sup>, Dyachkovsky D.I. “The Past of the Yakut before the Russians came to Lena” (1938)<sup>16</sup>, Kulakovskiy A.E. “Scientific works” (1979)<sup>17</sup>, Okladnikova A.P. “Discovery of Siberia” (1981)<sup>18</sup>, Pukhova I.V. “Olonkho – an ancient epic of the Yakut” (1980)<sup>19</sup>.

The ethnic makeup of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) includes, apart from the Yakuts (466492, 48.67%), Russians (353649, 36.90%), Ukrainians (20341, 2.12%), other ethnic groups of the Russian Federation<sup>20</sup> “...21 regions of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) are inhabited by 39 936 representatives of the small-numbered peoples of the North, including the Evenki – 21008 people, Evens – 15071, Yukagirs– 1281, Chukchi – 670, Dolgan– 1906. The number of small-numbered peoples of the North is 3.2% of the total population of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia)”<sup>21</sup>

The ancestors of the Even and Evenki were settling the territory since the middle of the first millennium AD, and by the XIII century they settled in the Middle Lena, Vilyue, Olekma. The old Turkic Sakha forced them to move to the western and eastern parts of the Lena. The Turkic-speaking peoples settled Yakutia for several periods, the last of which was in the XIV-XV centuries. The Yakuts (Sakha) as a nationality was formed in the basin of the Middle Lena on the basis of a mix of alien Turkic-speaking tribes with local Paleo-Asiatic kins, as well as with Mongolian-speaking foreign chorinets and the Tungus.

The relations between different ethnic groups living in modern Yakutia was described earlier in the ancient Yakut legends, which were carefully collected by D. I. Dyachkovskiy–Sekhen Bolo, a well-known Yakut ethnographer, folklorist and talented researcher. These legends were telling about other peoples, different from the Yakut, about their life and way of life, the origin of certain Yakut naslegs and uluses.

<sup>8</sup> A. G. Novikov and A. G. Pudov, The mentality of the northerners in the context of circumpolar civilization (Yakutsk: Publishing House of the Yakut University, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> F. P. Efimov, The mysterious and amazing past of Yakutia and the Yakut (Yakutsk, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> I. Lindenau, Description of the Yakut. 1741 – 1745. P. 24-25.

<sup>11</sup> A. F. Middendorf, Encyclopedia of Yakutia. Moscow. Vol: 1. 2000.

<sup>12</sup> E. A. Pekarsky, Dictionary of the Yakut language. Moscow. Vol: 1-3, 1958-1959. Vol: 2, 1959.

<sup>13</sup> I. A. Khudyakov, Brief description of Verkhoyansk district (Leningrad, 1969)

<sup>14</sup> R. K. Maak, Vilyuysky District of the Yakutsk Region. Part III (St. Petersburg, 1887)

<sup>15</sup> V. L. Seroshevsky, The Yakut. Ethnographic research (Moscow, 1993)

<sup>16</sup> D. I. Dyachkovskiy, The past of the Yakuts before the Russians' arrival to Lena (Moscow, 1938)

<sup>17</sup> A. E. Kulakovskiy, Scientific works (Yakutia Publishing House, 1979)

<sup>18</sup> A. P. Okladnikova, Discovery of Siberia. (Moscow: Molodayagvardiya, 1981)

<sup>19</sup> I. V. Pukhova, “Olonkho – an ancient epic of the Yakut”. From folklore to literature Yakutsk (1980): 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> Sakha population. Retrieved from: [http://sakha.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat\\_ts/sakha/ru/statistics/population/](http://sakha.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_ts/sakha/ru/statistics/population/)

<sup>21</sup> Sakha government. Retrieved from: <http://old.sakha.gov.ru/sakha/node/17611>

The legends are an illustration of the historical relations based on a difficult past full of wars and land conquests. Traditions that are recorded from the words of the old residents in the 30th of the last century can be divided thematically into the following: The Tungus War with the Sakha / TohusSakhanykittasarielihiite; Sahatörütteretoñuhu kittabılaaspittara/ Mutual relations of the Sakha ancestors with the Tungus; Toñusoloğunsahailbit/ The Sakhaconquers the land of the Tungus<sup>22</sup>.

*The war of the Tungus with the Sakha/Toñussahanikittasarielihiite: Bet bılır toñus, sahabuolannarbeye-beyelerinikkiardıgar surah hotukelenaraasbultarıttan, baaydarıttansıltaaniissenkırgıhallara uhu. Araybiirkemñe bultuusıldar toñus Ammasahalarıgar (Hatılı, Tiaraha nehiliektere) kiiresıldansuoratsienbaran, olushayğaañtahasandoydutugardoğor-atas toñuhugarkepsiebit: «Bu sahalaraastarıttansuorattaraolusebit», - dien. Onuohaanaaraa toñuha – «Olkirtayahsiliititten, atırsaarbameyiitittenemieorduk duo!– dienyıppıt». – «Ee, olorgosıhianasuohorduk – sirdere, olohtorodağaniolus!» - diennahaahaygıır. Onuohabarıçugastaağıoruoda toñustarmunnustannar, 40 tabalaahbuolannarAmağaDaaya, Sahıl Sıhı diensirderinenkiiren sir-uot, bıyañbıldaha sahanikittakırgıhallar da, kıattaranbarıtönnön, ürehbahın aayıbıdanallar. Silepsiep, BüötürSiliipebis, 72 saastaah, Bahsıneh., Çurapçıoroyuona, 19-VII 34 s.Kömük.<sup>23</sup>*

Summary: In ancient times the Sakha and the Tungus fought against each other. The Tungus envied the other way of life, new dairy products, and attacked the homes of the new Yakut. Often these attacks ended in defeat which forced the Tungus to leave their homes later.

*Sahatörütteretoñuhu kittabılaaspittara/ The relations between the Sakha and the Tungus: ElleyBooturbastıñuolaLabañhaSüürükdiensıtıı, algıstaah, (ıhıahoyuuna, - S.B.) barısiri-doydunuoloççuaataattaanolohotoloobut, bileeççi, alınbıraattarınkinitus-tuspaolohtuur. Kinilergetoñusoyohorunbıldatalaanılanoyohbietteliir. Olkenneilinergerelohtotoluur. Kuobar ap, MiitereyMeheeleyebis, 88 saastaah, II Öltök nehil.Uus-Allan or, 14-VIII 1934 s. Oluya.*

Summary: The wealthy Sakha chose the wives and daughters of the Tungus and forced them to marry their close people and relatives.

*Toñusoloğunsahailbit/ The Sakha takes away the Tungus' lands: Bılır min ağamKuomaoğonnorkepsıire – «BılırbuMöñküürdealaaskauonnaHatıñkürüöğë, sahasuoherdeğine, toñusoloğoebit. OççoğobuHatıñkürüöğesetteini-biitonustartabasüöhüleeh – baaydaah don olorbıttar.Onusahalarkelenserıileenturan, toñustarıüüren, olohtorunbıladaanılan, Hatıñkürüönen, Möñküüdenen, İmaağınanoloğurbıttar.ToñustarkıattaranılınurehterinenAllaññabaattarauu», - dien.BattakapDögüör. 43 saastaah, Kömökönneh. Nam oroyuona, Bes ıyın 19 k., 1934 s. Ükeçısayılık.<sup>24</sup>*

Summary: Fertile lands on the territory of present-day central Yakutia, where sedentary Tungusused to live, were forcibly taken away bySakha,as a result, the Tungus migrated towards the Aldan.

<sup>22</sup> D. I. Dyachkovsky, The past of the Yakuts before the Russians' arrival to Lena (Moscow, 1938)

<sup>23</sup> D. I. Dyachkovsky, The past of the Yakuts before...

<sup>24</sup> D. I. Dyachkovsky, The past of the Yakuts before...

These examples clearly show that the Yakut were enemies for the indigenous population, taking away their wives and lands. Consequently, the Yakut attitude toward the Tungus was negative. One can notice positive responses from the Tungus about the representatives of the Sakha people: The Yakut have a better life, they are stronger, faster, more fortunate (sirdare, olokhtorodanaanulus / their lifestyle and their lands are better, sytyy, algystaah / they are quick and lucky).

The attitude to the Russians who, according to the greatest command of the Russian throne, began the development of Siberia, can be seen in the early works, articles, speeches, memoirs of D.K.Sivtsev– SuorunOmolloon, the national writer and thinker. “It’s no secret that when the foot of the brave Russian explorer first stepped on the unfriendly land, the Yakut were almost in a semi-primitive state. They destroyed each other with fire and arrows in kinship wars<...>. Even the notion of national unity was alien to them. Paradoxically, the national consolidation of the Yakut people is a gift of the Russian people. It is the Russians who came here 325 years ago, taught the Yakuts to obey the order, rules of social life, statehood. The memory of the people was preserved in the following story about the arrival of the Russians in the region: “Once the Yakuts saw that from the head of the Lena, on rafts of whole trees, a lot of people appeared, completely unlike the Yakuts. The Yakut rich people, frightened by the appearance of strangers, resorted to shamans. For three days one of the famous shamans was beating the tambourine and cursing, but without any luck. The shaman announced at the end that he was not able to do anything, since the latter, apparently, are predestinated from the above. <...>.

The Russians introduced their material and spiritual culture to the ancestors of the Yakut. Peasants, forcibly driven here from the western regions of the Russian Empire, taught the Yakuts to sow bread, mow with a scythe, and use a gun for hunting. The craftsmen showed them how to build houses and build up entire cities. The first alphabet for the Yakuts, more than 130 years ago, was compiled by Russian scientists. The first scientific publication of the oral folk art of the Yakuts, including olonkho, was made in Russian and German languages 115 years ago, by a Russian academician Middendorf<sup>25</sup>. The first scientific grammar “On the Language of the Yakut” was classically developed by another Russian academician Betlingk<sup>26</sup>. The academician Pekarsky devoted 45 years of his life to the compilation of the “Dictionary of the Yakut language”, the only one of its kind in the family of Turkic languages<sup>27</sup>. The first literary monument in the Yakut language was written a century or more ago by Uvarovsky, a Russian by birth. <...> The happy sunny life of all the big and small peoples of the Soviet Union, which we see today, is the result of the unselfish heroic activities of the great Russian people– the hero people, the titan people, who committed the greatest of all revolutions – the October Revolution. The word about October, 1953<sup>28</sup>. These are the words of the national writer, who convey ideas of Soviet internationalism and the theory of voluntary joining Yakutia to Russia. The Yakut people, SuorunOmollyon claim to be backward and incapable of consolidation (unfriendly land, almost semi-primitive state, even the notion of national unity, etc.).

The observations of A.P. Okladnikov, honored scientist, archaeologist, researcher of ancient cultures of Asia one can see evidence of the arrival of the first Russian. His articles

<sup>25</sup> A. F. Middendorf, Encyclopedia of Yakutia (Moscow. Vol: 1, 2000)

<sup>26</sup> O. N. Betlingk, About the language of the Yakut (Novosibirsk, 1983)

<sup>27</sup> E. A. Pekarsky, Dictionary of the Yakut language. Moscow. Vol: 1-3, 1958-1959. Vol: 2, 1959.

<sup>28</sup> D. K. Sivtsev, “Suorun Omolloon. We are all the children of one mother”. Essay, dedicated to the 370th anniversary of the Yakutia consolidation with Russia (Yakutia. 14, 18 Sept 2002).

are based on field research materials, in particular on legends recorded from the representatives of the people.

“In the days of the great Tygyn’s power, unusual people appear on his land – gray-eyed, tall and broad-shouldered, with strong and crafty hands. Tygyn, according to the legend, immediately appreciated these qualities. “With prominent noses, with deep-set eyes, they must be intelligent, fair people; they are poor, very strong, hardworking and capable,” said Tygyn, and immediately seized the strangers to turn them into workers. The children of Tygyn, Chalyaya and Machecke (Badgeke) do the same. Having seized the Cossacks, they decide: “These people are suitable for work, they will be our employees, we will force them to mow the hay. To reduce their strength, they cut their muscles and tissues. In the summer, giving the workers supply, one bull and some koumiss, they sent them to prepare hay on the island of Kharyyala”. The legend shows in this ways the first meeting of the Yakut with the Russians, the strength, diligence and other culture of which immediately amazed the inhabitants of the Far North. It is worth noting that the simple-minded, industrious Russian people are contrasted in the legend to the greedy and treacherous tyrant and his sons, whose only aspiration is the oppression of the people. This atrocity did not bring any benefit to Tygyn.

The strangers are building a ship and sailing up the Lena. After the first appearance of the Russian sons of Tygyn, as the legend says, they turned to the shaman Taalai, who lived near the present Taloe Lake in Yakutsk. Fearing the sons of Tygyn, the shaman always turned into the flame when they approached. However, this time the old woman agreed to help the sons of Tygyn, extinguished her flame and told them: “The fugitives have already reached the upper parts of the river (Lena). Sitting on the clouds, I see how they cut the logs with axes with wide blades and say: Let’s go to the old man Tygyn, the son of Munn’an, he does not let people live, he oppresses and kills everyone. The Russians are the true liberators of Tygyn’s oppression, not the Russian tsar, yrakhtaahyta, who is far away, not merchants and bureaucrats, but the multimillion-strong, mighty and hardworking Russian people; these are the people who helped the Yakut people start a truly new life. This is the conclusion that the Yakut people made from the events of the 16th-early 17th centuries in the legend, which truly reflects historical reality. The Yakut people made an important choice at this crucial time in their history – they did not get back to the patriarchal antiquity and backwardness, which Tygyn called for, but they moved forward and forever with the great Russian people, this was the choice”<sup>29</sup>.

The Yakuts like the Russians for their intelligence, strength and simplicity. The researchers of the Soviet period, because of the ideology of their time, adhered to the idea that it was the Russians who helped the Yakut to live a full life. The theory of voluntary annexation of the Yakut region to Russia was not disputed by anyone, Suorun Omolloon was one of the most active adherents of the popularization of this theory. Observations and comments by Okladnikov are not devoid of an ideological component as well, despite the fact that Tygyn for the Sakha people is a national hero, uniting the scattered Turkic tribes, one of those who resisted greatly to the Russian conquest. One cannot deny that the arrival of the Turkic-speaking peoples on the territory of Yakutia, as well as the annexation of Yakutia to Russia, were of great importance for this severe land.

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<sup>29</sup> A. P. Okladnikov, *Discovery of Siberia* (Moscow: Molodayagvardiya, 1981)

I.V. Pukhov, who devoted his life to the study of the Yakut heroic epic, wrote: "... the olonkho plot does not reflect such an important event in the life of the Yakut people as the arrival of the Russians to Yakutia. There is also no mentioning agriculture, exchange of goods, the monetary system, cities, everything that has to do with the arrival of the Russians and has long been the legacy of the Yakut people"<sup>30</sup>. Olonkho is a Yakut heroic epic, the oldest valuable monument of the Yakut culture, the treasure of all Yakutian imagination and spiritual wealth. In the text of the olonkho, according to Pukhov I.V., one can find evidence of the unkind attitude of the Yakuts to the Tungus. Nevertheless, they had close economic ties. It is the skills and skills formed by the centuries by the northern peoples that helped the outgoing Sakha to survive and develop in the conditions of the northern climate. The researcher attributed to the Tungus all the indigenous peoples of Yakutia, including the Evenks. Pukhov analyzes the image of the Tunguska bogatyr as a reflection of the relations of the Yakuts with the Tungus (Evenks). "In the Yakut olonkho, along with the heroes of the aiy and the abaasy, there are also images of the Tunguska heroes: Ardyama-Djardyaamaana, Achyryman-Chachyrymana, WatSoksoryukene, AyyyHalyana, HaanOlbokhtoi, ElliganKulantaya and others. The interpretation of their images is more complex and contradictory than, the interpretation of the heroes of the Abaasa or other heroes. As opponents of the hero, along with the negative traits, they also have some positive one. If the Tungusbogatyr is a hero, he also has comic features that somewhat reduce his image in comparison with the usual image of the hero. In addition, inOlonkho, the image of the hero's relationship with the Tungus hero is accompanied by a description of many household details showing the life of the people of the north, their occupations, customs, etc."<sup>31</sup>.

The inter-tribal conflicts between the Yakuts and the Tungus, which took place in the form of clashes between separate kins and even families, are reflected in olonkho as a hero's battle with the single Tungus hero, and the Tungus hero is portrayed not as an ordinary Tungus, and most of all as the ancestor or leader of the Tungus

In the descriptions there, according to Pukhov, one can find evidence of the unkind attitude of the Yakut to the Tungus. Nevertheless, they were tied with close economic relations. He attributes all indigenous peoples, including the Evenks, to the Tungus. Soviet historians emphasize the complexity of historical relations between the Yakut who arrived in the region and the aboriginal population, particularly, the Tungus. N.N. Stepanov, for example, in his work: "The Tungus in the XVII century in Yakutia" writes: "The Tungus-Yakut relations in general were quite complex. First of all, in the 17th century the Yakuts moved up the Aldan, Viluyu and Olekma rivers; the advancing people that came to the headwaters of the Lena, witnessed the hostile relationsbetween the Tungus of the Lower Tunguska and the VerkholenskTungus. The latter lived under the eternal fear of attack from the former"<sup>32</sup>.

In the well-known monograph "The Yakut" written by a political Polish exile, the rebel V.L. Seroshevsky, the author also sees conflicts between the Tungus and Yakut.

Wherever the Yakuts went to, they had to break through the ring formed by the Tungus. <...>Although the Tungus mountaineers resisted the invasion, they had to surrender

<sup>30</sup> I. V. Pukhov, "Olonkho – an ancient epic of the Yakut". From folklore to literature. Yakutsk, (1980): 22-23.

<sup>31</sup> V. L. Seroshevsky, The Yakut.Ethnographic research (Moscow, 1993).

<sup>32</sup> N. N. Stepanov, "The Tungus in the XVII century in Yakutia". Yakutia in the XVII century (Essays). Yakutsk (1953): 182-219.



to the well-armed and well-organized aliens, they moved deeper into the mountains, to the headwaters of the rivers, inaccessible and unnecessary for the horse riders. <...>It is possible that there was a time when the Tungus tried to get along side by side with the Yakut, as it is still found on the outskirts. But the Yakut burned the forest, frightened the beast, the number of which had already diminished with the increase of hunters. Moreover, cunning and crafty tradesmen deceived and exploited the Tungus, abducted their women, looted their bags. The simple-minded mountaineers, always moving away from Yakut settlements, held grudge and hostility in their hearts. The Yakut look down on the Tungus, but respect their combat abilities: “as quick as the Tungus”, they say. “The Tungus is quick, he can feel the iron pointed at him in his dream and slip away as fast as possible” (Kolyma District, 1882). “We defeated the Tungus because of their stupidity ... we will build wooden houses with holes and kill them from there”(Kolyma District, 1882) “The Tungus can shoot on the move, on skis, on a boat, riding a deer, lying, standing, jumping ... and hit the target. He can run up to a high mountain, without having a rest, without eating, drinking, or sleeping for several days ...” (Kolyma District, 1882). The fight against such adversaries was difficult and time-consuming. The Olekmin-Vitim, Aldan and generally southern Tungus have long been known as a rich, independent, warlike people”<...><sup>33</sup>. In the monograph by Khudyakov I.A. “A short description of the Verkhoyansky District” one can read: “We know the Yakut, sprinkling their homes with soil...”, the Tungus bitterly responds to the peace-loving rhetoric of the Yakut<sup>34</sup>

Seroshevsky V.L. also notices the attitude of the Yakuts to the Yukaghirs and Russians, the attitude that, as shown by the results of the actual associative experiment, to some extent is still vital.

“..The Yakut call the seaside Tungus either Omuk, or Yukaghyr. Both of these names are well known; few people know the names of tribes and clans. Russian Yakuts are called nyuchcha, uhchcha, luchc a, depending on the location. <...>This word in the Yakut language has no meaning, but in Tungus it means “scarecrow”, “ugly person”, “freak”. The fact that the Russians, especially at first, seemed to be monsters for the Yakuts is proved by the descriptions of the devil in the Yakut fairy tales, where he always looks like the Russian. Apparently, they were especially disgusted with the typical features of the Aryans: a long nose, a beard, hollow eyes. Even now the Yakuts are disgusted with these signs. “With a long nose, hairy, with icy eyes looking to and fro,” they say with disgust. The white skin, if it does not become red, looks nice for them; their dark kinsmen are described as: “Red-skinned, like a copper pot”; magan– white, meaning the same as beautiful; Nyur– ulan – fair-faced, a common noun for fairy-tale beauties. Light-haired, golden hair are also very popular with the Yakut, but they cannot stand red. Blue, bright eyes are mockingly called: muus-kharakh (icy eyes); now the Yakut begin to like blond hair and blue eyes with a distinctly marked pupil; I have often heard the admiration of Yakut women about blue or light blue eyes and light blond hair. Facial hair still causes ridicule and disgust among commoners, and only the rich, Russified Yakuts occasionally dare to let go their mustaches and small beards or sideburns. <...> The Yakut people name all the Europeans nuchcha, although they already know the names of some nationalities: Belyak (Polish), pren’tzus (French), nemetz (German), and amerikan (American), kokol (khokhol-Little Russian)”.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> V. L. Seroshevsky, The Yakut. Ethnographic research (Moscow, 1993).

<sup>34</sup> I. A. Khudyakov, Brief description of Verkhoyansk district (Leningrad, 1969).

<sup>35</sup> V. L. Seroshevsky, The Yakut. Ethnographic research...

Historical background represents unstable relations between the peoples living in the territory of modern Yakutia. At the present time, legends, the recording of both everyday stories and some fixed expressions that determine the stereotypical perception of neighboring peoples make it possible to state the presence of great latent tension in interethnic, stereotypical mutual perception. Modern images of ethnic groups are also based on stereotypes that were formed during centuries of coexistence and described in scientific sources of researchers of the XIX and XX centuries in works of art and in the texts of the traditional epic. The results of associative research and quality attribution method prove this.

## Results

One of the methods for studying the current state of relations is the associative experiment. The representatives of three different communities gave their associations to the words-stimuli: the Yakut, Evenki, Russian, Yukaghir, Even. The words were given in the general list of the most common stimulus words, which are commonly used in the study of linguistic consciousness; the associative dictionary of the Yakut language was used.<sup>36</sup> In the second part of the study the young people aged 17 to 23 years (350 respondents) were asked to record the association-characteristic of some peoples.

According to the results of the experiments, the word-associations are listed, the words are associative reactions prevailing in the responses.

1. The Yakut: The following associations for the word “the Russian” are most frequent, according to the Yakut: Omuk / people (84), Yakut (65), blue eyes (39), sharp smell of sweat (32), light (20), nose (18), Russia (14), Ubaidar / Elder Brothers (12), beak (12), long nose (11), red, blonde hair (8), stranger (7).<sup>37</sup> Characteristics-associations: hypocritical (7), Ivan the fool (6), stupid (6), greed (6), arrogant (6), sociable (5), defiant (5), Van’ka (4), kind (4), good-natured (4), intrusive (4), bold (4), always right (4), excellence (4), cultured (3) self-confident, generous, emotional, responsive, friendly, generosity, quick, talkative, cheerful, rude, sensitive, hardworking, understanding, with a sense of humor, purposeful, mind, joyful, always in the mood, impatient, believing, religion, selfish, weak, sincere.

There are 15 negative connotations, 6 most frequent positive connotations. The frequency associative reaction “ubaidar” / “elder brothers” is a historically formed cliché.

The Yakut associations to the word-stimulus “Evenk, Even” give mainly character traits of the small peoples of the North (Even, Evenki): quick-tempered (13), cunning (10), Yakut (10), narrow eyes (9), nationalist (5), distrustful (7), close (6), secretive (6), grudge-holding (5), easy to get offended (5), lazy (5), greedy, calculating (4), naive (4), selfish (3), friendly (3), tonus (local name of the northern peoples) (3), non-economical (3), sociable (3), hardworking (2), North (2), Olenek, Nadia, tabalar (deer), haidakhtar ere (strange), akaary (fool), anala (stupid).

Association for the ethnonym Evenk– Nation (214), people (67), Tungus (57), north (52), deer (50), Chukchi (37), man (36), Even (27), tundra (16), Yukaghir (13), small-numbered, dance haad’ye (9), deer (8), cold (7), ma’ad’ym / ubyu (6).<sup>38</sup> Associations for the

<sup>36</sup> Associative dictionary of the Yakut language. Retrieved from: <http://adictsakha.nsu.ru/corpora/corp>

<sup>37</sup> I. Lindenau, Description of the Yakut. 1741 – 1745. P. 24-25.

<sup>38</sup> I. Lindenau, Description of the Yakut...

ethnonym Even - Nation (142), north (84), Tungus (74), Chukchi (65), deer (50), man (41), Evenk (37), Bytantai (20), tundra (13), maad'ym (6), deer (6) [7].

There are 16 frequency negative connotations, 5 most frequent positive connotations.

The following associations and characteristics of the word "Yukaghir": Nation (108), people (57), Chukchi (44), north (42), Tungus (35), man (30), tundra, Even (16), rare (11), yurt of uras (9), yurt (7)<sup>39</sup> smallnumbered (8), ancient (7), aborigine (7) proud (7), national (6), Andryushkino (4), Terentiy (2), Kurilov (2), d'ukeebil (2), they do not know the language, there are few of them.

There are 2 negative connotations, 1 the most frequent positive connotation.

The representations of the same Yakut respondents (both pupils and students) about their people are: Nation, people (262), Russian (65), language (52), native (20), motherland (17), traditional house / booth (14), the Even (10), Tungus, Tradition, Chukchi.<sup>40</sup> The main characteristics are: direct (11), honest (10), (9), generous (9), soul (8) stubborn (8), brave (7), purposeful (6), fair (6), intelligent (5), understanding (5), loyal (5), gifted (5), talented (4), crafty (4), skillful (4), able to get along easily with anybody (3), envious (3), unsociable (3), lazy (3), hospitable (2), simple-minded, arrogant, disciplined, secretive, rude, light-minded.

There are 17 most frequent positive connotations, 8 less frequent negative connotations.

2. The Russians: The first ten places were taken by the following most common words about the character of the Yakut in the opinion of the Russians: serious (9), creativity (8), caring (7), family (7), cheerful (6), quick-tempered (6), sociable, responsive (4), hospitality (4), persistent (3), purposeful (3), grumpy (3), direct (2), stubborn (2), stupid.

There are 11 most frequent positive connotations, 4 frequency negative connotations.

Here is what the Russians wrote about themselves: warm hearted (9), good-natured (9), less persistent (6), lazy (6), hospitable (5), responsive (4), desperate (3), spiritual, sympathizing, aggressive, stubborn, with a sense of humor. The autostereotypes of the Russians were unexpected. The characteristic "less persistent" is written in comparison with the Yakuts.

There are 7 most frequent positive connotations, 4 less frequent negative connotations.

The assignment to write about associations related to the small peoples of the North showed that almost all the representatives of the Russian people answered: "they have never thought about it", "Do they differ from the Yakut?", "I do not know", "It is difficult to answer".

<sup>39</sup> I. Lindenau, Description of the Yakut...

<sup>40</sup> I. Lindenau, Description of the Yakut...

3. Small-numbered peoples of the North: The same words-stimuli were obtained from the results of the Evenki and Even peoples surveys. Mainly character traits of the Yakut are represented in such associations as: rude (7), purposeful (7), knowledgeable (6), uncultured (6), impudent (6), impertinent (5), crafty (5), skillful (4), easy to get offended (4), closed (3), do not respect each other (2), lazy, arrogant, self-confident, open, silent, strong, sociable, intelligent, bold, brave, deceitful, cunning, scrounger.

13 negative associations, which are most common when describing the Yakut by the small peoples of the North, may imply a hidden hostility towards the Yakut. Non-frequency are positive associations (4), 7 positive associations are met only once.

As for the Russian people, there are only 5 negative characteristics.

The prevailing word-association to the word-stimulus “the Russian” consists basically of the characteristics of Russians: Ivan (7), sympathetic (6), hardworking (5), greed (5), kind (5), arrogance (4), intelligent (4), talkative (4), do not recognize authority (4), elder brother (4), Russia (3), polite (2), cultured (2), arrogant (2), open, simple, drunk, proud, sincere, cheerful. The presence of only 5 negative associations named by the small indigenous peoples of the North, shows a more tolerant attitude towards the Russians in comparison with the perception of the Yakut. Frequency associations are positive associations with the stimulus “the Russian” (12).

Autostereotypes of northern peoples contain both positive and negative connotations: Lazy (8), simple (8), open (8), trustful, (7) patient (6), closed (4), insecure (4), understanding (4), thrifty (4), kind (4), nationalistic (3), hardworking (3), cruel, stubborn, cunning, desperate, bold, aggressive, poverty.

7 positive associations that occur most often when one's own people are characterized, most likely, attribute a people with positive qualities; the theory and practice of studying auto-stereotypes confirm that. The presence of 3 associations expressing negative features and predominance of one of the negative connotations by frequency is not typical for autostereotypes. There are also non-frequent negative associations (5).

4. The Yukaghirs: the Tundren Yukaghirs presented the following associations for the stimulus word “Yakhal” / “the Yakut”: Yakutia (3), Omo (people) (3), Anya (3), large (2), yahadaasya (Yakutian person) (2), greed (1), language (1), national (1), people (1), friend (1), person (1), mother, father (1)

Unlike the associations of the Russians, Yakut, Evens and Evenks, the Yukaghir associations contain only two associations that determine the quality of the Yakut.

The following associations were obtained on the stimulus word “Erpaye” / “the Even”: Deer (4), Omo (people) (3), Taiga (3), National, Flat, Arcana, Killer, Aasye (face), Blood, Andrew.

The associations of the forest Yukaghirs differ to a slight extent: 1. Yokhol (Yakut) – small, Yakutia (2), n'archelavye (vodka), yokhodile (horse) (3), Yakut, horse breeder, but (3), ko\*de (man), milk of a cow; nyana– but (4), lien\*i and, help each other, toilet; Hoyle – faith, allmighty, amurinaagh, huruul, prayer 2, fire; nyaavei– snow (2), pure, ugurche, nyaache, notinay, face. 2. Erpaye (even) – heat, light, but (5), ylenen\* (deer), pee (louse), the Even language (2), reindeer breeder, ile (deer) (2) .3. The word-stimulus “vaaveche” / “the Russian” the following associations were obtained: Vaaveche (the Russian) – people,

Lenin (2), chamuon'yuodii (big eyes), aruu (tongue) (4), ananpuguche (smell), the Russian, tourist, Vaaveche (the Russian) – but (3), ko\*de (person).

## Discussion

A brief analysis of associations represents a fragment of auto- and heterostereotypes of peoples living on the territory of Yakutia. First of all, it should be noted that auto- and heterostereotypes are not absolutely objective, they can only point to a certain trend or represent some evidence for the hypothesis.

The results of the survey among small nations were unexpected in some aspects. The most frequent words to describe the Russians were the words “kind” and “sympathetic”. This is the image the small peoples of Yakutia created about the Russians. The attitude to the Russians is more tolerant and positive than to the Yakut.

The Sakha Republic (Yakutia) had at times manifestations of interethnic intolerance; the issue of domestic nationalism is not studied well. The reason for these negative phenomena is the stereotypical perception of another people, their culture. Negative stereotypes take place not only between the peoples who have been neighbors from the earliest times, but also between peoples who have always been considered local population. Stereotypes are formed on the background of historical events – wars, conquests, various contacts. Sometimes they are aptly noticed by the result of age-old observation of the people. In most cases they are the result of rivalry and ill-will, a sense of superiority over strangers. For example, among the Yakut there is the following stereotype about fraternal small-numbered peoples of the North: they are quick-tempered and do not think about tomorrow (do not stock). The autostereotype of small nations claims that they are open-hearted and openly expressing their thoughts and emotions, and do not make stocks, because they take only what is needed. The heterostereotype about the Yakut, which is formed among the northern peoples, states that the Yakut are deceitful and cunning. The autostereotype of the Yakut claims that they are crafty, skillful, able to easily get along with everyone.

As the analysis shows, the eight negative features most often given by the representatives of small communities point to a self-deprecating attitude, inferiority complex, which, first of all, are related to the history of these peoples.

Negative, or critical remarks, were mainly observed when the Yakut described the small-numbered peoples of the North (the Evenki, the Even), and vice versa, when the peoples of the North (mostly the Evenki) characterized the Yakut. In each answer, such words as “quick-tempered”, “easy to get offended”, “grudge-holding” mostly prevailed.

The Yakut also take great merit to themselves. Autostereotypes put them in the position of the best of all peoples inhabiting the Republic. A more positive image of the Russians is observed among the northern peoples. As for the opinion of Russian students, it turned out that they could not characterize the northern peoples, which is most likely due to the fact that the Russians in most cases do not distinguish the indigenous peoples of the Republic.

## Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn: the analysis of hetero- and autostereotypes proves the fact that representatives of different nationalities have stereotyped perception of each other. Negative character of stereotypes of neighboring peoples is connected,

naturally, with historical facts. It is known that many northern peoples have forgotten their native language and lost their national identity. The stereotyped image of the Yakut person as “cunning, strong, skillful, crafty, in charge, secretive” has gradually been reinforced in the course of historical development of the mutual relations of these peoples. It is assumed that the historical experience of communicating with the people, who displaced small ethnic communities from their homes, led to some stereotypical qualities which others want to have as well. This attitude, stipulated by the economic superiority of the conquering people, made many representatives of small peoples forget their roots. The Olenecks and the Syul'dyukersky Evenks, who almost completely became Yakut-like, have an expression that is used when characterizing the ethnic Yakut, conveying positive economic traits Sakha Buollata dii / i.e. “He is Yakut”. The expression “satabyllaakhsakha”, common among the northern peoples, characterizes the Yakut as crafty, skillful, in other words, worthy people to take after.

The recognition of positive qualities is mixed with a feeling of jealousy and dislike, which manifests itself in associations. Stereotyped, negative attitude towards one's own culture and language reshaped and deformed the national self-awareness among many representatives of small-numbered nations and communities. The same is noted among the Yakut people in relation to the Russian language and Russian culture. The recognition of the Russian language and culture as signs of elitism, uniqueness, resulted in 2-3 generations of marginalized urban residents, completely alien to the Yakut culture. Russified descendants, as a rule, refer to their homeland, to the native people disdainfully and scornfully. The same situations takes place among the small-numbered peoples of the North. The expressions “ubaydar, ed'yiiider”, meaning “elder brother, elder sister” show that the Yakut perceive Russian culture and Russian language as superior to their own culture and language. This is due to the historical fact of the annexation of Yakutia to the Russian Empire by the policy of the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, it can be assumed that marginalization, spiritual impoverishment of many representatives of the people leads to a gradual loss of linguistic and cultural identity. This is explained by the negative influence of a positive stereotype about a foreign ethnos and a negative and pejorative stereotype of one's own people. This topic is relatively tabooed both in scientific and popular literature, meanwhile, the deep processes that manifest themselves in simple associative analysis, points to the need for large-scale psycholinguistic and socio-cultural research in this area.

The results of our research can be applied to the process of regional national policies development in the context of globalization and region consolidation. The knowledge of the deep processes of emotional stereotype evaluation of neighboring ethnoses will help to avoid difficulties in interethnic communications and choose a competent approach to solve interethnic conflicts.

As the analysis shows, a stereotypical, negative attitude to one's own culture and language has reshaped and deformed the national self-awareness of many representatives of small-numbered peoples. Only through overcoming stereotypes other peoples could identify themselves as equal members of the world community. The results of the research can also be used in official events to preserve cultures and languages in places of compact residence of the small peoples of the North of Yakutia.

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