‘NOMADISM’ AS A LINGUO-CULTURAL CONCEPT OF THE MENTAL WORLD OF THE EVEN

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ABSTRACT
This paper presents an attempt to study the concept ‘nomadism’ as a linguo-cultural concept of the mental world of the Even. Nomadism denoted in the Even language by the words нульган, нульгамый is one of the key notions in the linguistic picture of the world of the Even. It is inextricably entwined with traditional modes of economy of the Even – reindeer breeding and hunting. Nomadic way of life of the Even involving their perfect knowledge of the territory where they travel and hunt is certainly represented in toponyms that are an integral part of vocabulary of any natural language. The most informative research objects are oykonyms, hydronyms, oronyms, microtoponyms. Vocabulary related to vegetation of the inhabited area is quite rich. The Even still use the calendar based on nature-economy principle along with the modern calendar in their everyday life. To study the concept in more detail, lexico-semantic groups related to means of transport, housing, everyday life objects of reindeer breeders, produce of reindeer breeding are considered.

Keywords: concept, Even language, nomadism, linguistic picture of the world.

Introduction
Each language possesses its unique way of world perception and reflection, creating its linguistic picture of the world its own way. Information containing in a language provides evidence of the unique world view and perception of a people. This unique world view forms the richness of the picture of the world of any language, resulting from world perception of a people. The linguistic picture of the world is reality reflected in language formed by the system of key concepts and invariant key ideas intertwining them that hold the “key” to its understanding. Key concepts of the Russian linguistic picture of the world are embodied in such words as душа ‘soul’, судьба ‘destiny’, счастье ‘happiness’, справедливость ‘justice’, разлука ‘separation / parting’, тоска ‘melancholy’. The Even language shows the following key notions: бини ‘life, destiny’, том, итка ‘tradition, custom’, томjakic ‘prohibition’, хад’a ‘round dance’, нимат ‘hunting ritual’, хинимкен ‘sin’.

Reindeer breeding related vocabulary is well represented in the works by the Even Language. Among them the monograph by Kh.I. Dutkin Allaykha Patois of the Even of Yakutia is especially noteworthy as it represents the subject group of words related to reindeer breeding in close detail. It carefully considers their lexical semantic groups: general terms for reindeer, reindeer names according to their use, gender-age, color, and antler-type related reindeer denotations [2, 122]. Data on vocabulary of reindeer breeding can also be obtained from the works by V.D. Lebedev, V.A. Robbek, A.A. Danilova. The theme group “Nomadism” in Even suggested the following lexico-semantic groups (further, LSG): general terms for reindeer, gender-age and color related reindeer denotations, conformation and internals, diseases, means of transport, names for reindeer. However, very important reindeer breeding terms have not been studied yet, such as movements and actions of reindeer, grazing areas, food, fell denotations, dressing of reindeer fell, taming, use, grazing, treating of reindeer. Besides, it should be remembered that reindeer breeding terms also include instruments, everyday life objects, housing, clothing, traditional knowledge related to the nomadic lifestyle of the Even.

To fill this gap, this research was based on the field data collected during expeditions to the village Sebyan-Kyuel, Kobyaiskiy district, Sakha Republic (Yakutia), and the lexical material from the five-
volume dictionary by V.A. Keymetinov “Even-Russian Dictionary: Explanation and Etymology”. It is worth mentioning that a compact group of the Lamunkhin Even speaking the Lamunkhin patois of Even reside in the village Sebyan-Kyuel. This ethnic group of the Even referred to as the Lamunkhin Even has been practicing reindeer breeding from the earliest times. The level of native language proficiency among them is quite high, all Lamunkhin Even speak it fluently. This being so, we were able to record the sound evidence on the research subject and present some part of it in this paper.

**Methods**

We used the method of componential and onomatic analysis. To reveal the semantic verb structure, the method of entry analysis was applied. The general research method is the inductive-deductive.

**Results and Discussion**

The Even language contains unique and rich in amount and etymology vocabulary related to reindeer breeding. This economy type involves year-round nomadic lifestyle, thus, the lexeme ‘reindeer breeding’ represented in Even by the word oralchid’ak is interrelated with the notion nomadic life. The latter is denoted in Even by the wordsnulgän, nulgämäy, respectively, nulgädäy ‘lead a nomad’s life’. These words were formed from the word nulga with two meanings: 1) a distance measure – one passage, about 10 km; 2) a line of reindeer, caravan [8, 41]. However, there is another word in Even meaning ‘lead a nomad’s life’: omčin’nomadic life of a separate family’, omčidäy ‘lead a nomadic life of a separate family’. As can be seen, the lexeme omčindefines the notionnulgän.

As noted above, the concept nulgän, nulgämäy is closely linked to the notion oralcid’ak ‘reindeer breeding’. The lexeme oralcid’ak has two meanings: 1) reindeer breeding as an occupation; 2) search for split off reindeer. First of all, this notion is related to the lexemes oran (reindeer), dälmicäh (reindeer herd), oralchimja (reindeer herdsman), oralchiday (1. be engaged in reindeer herding; 2. search for split off reindeer) [8, 82]. In addition, the lexical semantic domain of the lexeme under consideration involves the notions orikit, orimkin (nomad camp).

Reindeer breeding involves grazing of a great number of animal sdälmicäh over a great area, constantly looking for rich grazing lands. Conditions of breeding, grazing, feeding, locations of continuous and temporary stay of reindeer, places for reproduction and calving are respectively the most significant in economic activity of reindeer breeders. Let us illustrate by some terms reflecting locations and conditions of reindeer breeding: opko (pasture forage), onkuchan (reindeer grazing), onkutta (the verb denoting people’s actions towards reindeer: 1. reindeer grazing; 2. feeding under supervision), onkodai (the verb denoting the animal’s actions: feed on pasture forage, graze), ilbän, ilbäd’äk (reindeer driving), ilbädäi(drive reindeer), koschid’äk(reindeer grazing in the daytime), respectively koschimpjä (daytime herdsman), koschidäi (graze reindeer in the daytime), yavcid’ak (reindeer grazing in the nighttime), yavchimja (nighttime herdsman), respectively yavchidai (graze reindeer in the nighttime), yavtk, n’aıkä (locations of longtime stay of animals, former, at the nomad camp, latter, free grazing), tugäd’äk (1. reindeer calving; 2. place for calving).

Another layer of the Even reindeer breeding terminology is related to gender-age denotations of animals. Besides, this layer reflects the Even counting system. The evidence for that are the following terms: hiekan (male baby reindeer), namukan(female baby reindeer), homyachan (newborn baby reindeer), änkan (baby reindeer older than one month), yavkan(one-year-old male reindeer), itän(two-year-old male reindeer), n’orkan (three-year-old male reindeer), amarkan (four-year-old male reindeer), d’uptohon (five-year-old male reindeer), atkchan (neuter male reindeer over five years old), hattit(one-year-old female reindeer), äni (female reindeerhaving calved at one year old), onmiri (two-year-old female reindeer calving for the first time), n’amichan (three or more years old female reindeer), oroho (female reindeer calving late), manpaj (female reindeer having calved but lost her calf), omiri (female reindeer having calved and lost her calf but still giving milk, useful in household), kotom (female reindeer that has never calved), korbä (sire), nara (not fully neutralized male reindeer with malfunctioning reproductive organs).

An essential part of the reindeer breeding terminology are anatomical terms and terms denoting reindeer diseases. Comprehensive knowledge of the reindeer anatomy allows reindeer breeders to treat their diseases, know animal’s traumas, flay the carcass when butchering. When a reindeer is slaughtered, the customs of meat distribution among relatives is strictly observed. In particular, when
Some 20 oronyms in the Even language: father who worked in reindeer breeding for about 60 years, agree with V. A. Keymetinov who found mountains and elevations. Here, it would be pertinent to note that our informants, one of them was my due to special powers of observation of the Even, their language has various oronyms, names of everyday life and beliefs, their historical contacts and migrations. Due to the presence of cultural and traditional elements in their language, the Even people are able to transmit their knowledge and experiences to future generations through the medium of language. Names of places, activities, animals, are not only used for identification but also carry cultural and historical significance. The presence of such cultural elements in language is a significant aspect, which allows us to study the culture and traditions of the Even people.

Due to the special nature of their lifestyle, the Even people have developed a distinct vocabulary that reflects their nomadic way of life. The following aspect of the concept under consideration is the onomasiological. Nomadic way of life occupies a significant place in the Even vocabulary. It should be pointed out that these lexemes testify to the stability of the Even language. They contain significant cultural information on the language and culture of the Even, informative research objects are oykonyms, hydronyms, oronyms, microtoponyms of the Even represented in toponyms that are an integral part of vocabulary of any natural language. The most represented intoponyms that are an integral part of vocabulary of any natural language. The most

The next lexical semantic group of words is related to denotations of domesticated reindeer antlers. Reindeer antlers are grown and cast annually. Therefore, old and new antlers are detonated differently. Each antler has its particular name. When discussing the conformation of reindeer, breeders often refer to antlers and use the following words: iyoyu (general term for reindeer antlers), nimät (growing antler), nänvun (frontal antler), oyonon (small back tine), nun (back tines), dugë (upper branched part of antler), nimäthopkonni (antlers base).

There are various denotations of reindeer antlers according to their form, thickness, and height: norita (reindeer with branched antlers), chaläkk (reindeer with one antler), kurbuti (male reindeer with cut to base antlers), n’ibgarancha (reindeer with stripped off skin on its antlers at the beginning of antler peeling), ohabcha (reindeer with cut antlers after peeling), markäti (reindeer with round antlers), kalban’a (reindeer with wide antlers), chupun’a (reindeer with straight antlers without tines), chochilän (reindeer with backwards bent antlers, ref. to the main stem). We’ll illustrated the denotations of reindeer according to color as follows: n obati, giluldi (white), hanga, yaldanya (black), mäntä (grey, brownish), karav (dark grey), imachik (white reindeer with reddish young antler), buvdi (marked), hud’allä (reindeer with white snout).

Further, let us present some reindeer denotations according to their character, habits, and behavior: girkun (hardy, lit. walker), n’amnilan (well riding, hardy reindeer), giltilämän (reindeer always chewing food), bodagan (reindeer often following people), bodumagan (reindeer capable of leading other reindeer), boragan (reindeer that doesn’t like being alone), mäkuk (anxious, kicking reindeer), bärinpäätä (reindeer splitting off the herd), bann’uk (uncontrollable reindeer), taychagin (reindeer on a tight lead), nihiitmägän, nihiinätä (always stumbling reindeer), utmägän (reindeer always grazing near the camp), guyata (apt to butt), d’abägän (reindeer eating everything including stuff), okotä (suckling, ref. to baby reindeer), ondimagan (loving swimming), n’urämägän (reindeer that is not afraid to run among people during lassoing), gälun (running away during lassoing).

The presented examples of terms allow us to suggest that the vocabulary layer related to nomadism occupies a significant place in the Even vocabulary. It should be pointed out that these lexemes testify extraordinary power of observation of the Even in finding and denoting specific features of the animal world as shown by domesticated reindeer.

The following aspect of the concept under consideration is the onomasiological. Nomadic way of life involves their perfect knowledge of the territory where they travel and hunt and is certainly represented intoponyms that are an integral part of vocabulary of any natural language. The most informative research objects are oykonyms, hydronyms, oronyms, microtoponyms of the Even language. They contain significant cultural information on the language and culture of the Even, everyday life and beliefs, their historical contacts and migrations.

Due to special powers of observation of the Even, their language has various oronyms, names of mountains and elevations. Here, it would be pertinent to note that our informants, one of them was my father who worked in reindeer breeding for about 60 years, agree with V.A. Keymetinov who found some 20 oronyms in the Even language: uräkčän – a general term for a mountain, amkan – hill, mound.
ömkär – mound or steep bank, hälän – peaked mountain, nöndiki– a rocky mountain rising above others, hörlä – a mountain with a rock or a cliff on top, kadär– gorge at the foot of middle of a mountain, n’ulka – steep rock from which one can fall down, kaldin – a solid rocky blick, höltuni – a rock consisting of separate rocks that one cannot drive a wild sheep onto, hövnäk– pass in a mountain, bohak – North mountain slope, arbun– mountain slope between two streams, nirgin – mountain with fine loose stones on the side, állämä – mountain with a steep slope, noydan – cape, jut, rock on the seashore, etc. Also, anatomic terms are often used for oronyms: Hörgä– mountain looking like a thumb, niri – ridge, lit. ‘mountain’s back’, onjot – cape, lit. ‘nose’, uräkän iin – mountain slope, lit. ‘mountain face’, mjävän – mountain or elevation that looks like heart, etc. [3,16-24].

The given examples of nominations suggest that when designating mountains and hills the Even always paid attention to the ground condition, landscape, water resources availability, configuration and height of mountains, properties of slopes guided by the concern of the main people’s wealth, reindeer, looking for richer grazing lands. To illustrate, in summer, time of gnat and mosquitos, reindeer herds were driven to open windy places like tundra, mountain passes. For mountain-taiga Even the most suitable pasture places in this period were: avlan – open space with sparse low trees and bushes, river head on plain, oba – lowland surrounded by elevations at the source of a mountain river. The proper care of reindeer during the season of gnat and midge allowed animals to survive the most uneasy period of their lives easier, they fed and fattened at ease, preparing for the cold season. All migrations of the Even were correspondingly dependent on the traditions of reindeer breeding.

The search for better pasture for reindeer forced people to make observations on the condition of the ground. This requirement of the nomadic life resulted in representation of further nominations: törnä – soft ground, kintak – hard ground, kirgin – waterless piece of ground, Isinkäg – ground with stones coming out from under the ground, iyari – ground surface consisting of stone chips, nirgin – pebbled ground surface, tagin (stony, hard cover), on’on– sandy, clay ground, sand and clay, navjan – ground with reindeer moss, orakag – ground with thick grass.

Vocabulary related to vegetation of the inhabited area is quite rich. It can be arbitrarily divided into three groups of nominations: name of place according to vegetation available, name of place according to berries and berry bushes available, name of place according to annual or other grass. Let us illustrate some of these nominations:

the first group: astakag – fir tree forest, burgag – poplar forest, djagdakag – pine forest, döktökäg – alder grove, holgikag – mountain pine, etc.

the second group:kabavli – place with abundance of Siberian cow-parsnip, nergätäpči – place with prevalence of moss crop, Isibäkäpči – place with abundance of horsetail, etc.

the third group: igätäpči – place with abundance of redcurrant, orbatapči – place with abundance of blackcurrant, kujkitapči – place with abundance of blueberries, etc.

Taking into account that the linguistic picture of the world of the Even is closely related to traditional way of life, let us turn our attention to the issue of ways of orientation in space. The art of orientation in space, ability to see basic signs of the environment is a tradition of the Even, culture of life passed from generation to generation.

Being reindeer breeders and hunters, the Even oriented themselves to stream direction, mountains, depressions, less common to rock exposures, dwellings, vegetation direction. To begin with, words and word combinations denoting travel through mountainous relief during reindeer grazing, hunting are given.

Reindeer breeder travel is best illustrated by lexicology and phraseological system of the Even language. In the Lamunkhin patois moving uphill is represented by the word ojcidaj, going up the cleft of mountain streams – Holdaj, going down the mountain – Hököhöndaj, going down the cleft of mountain streams – Hittäj. Going on the mountain slope in some direction can are representedasphraseologisms:itilinbudaj – go on the mountain slope, lit. ‘onmaountain’s face’, oopotlinbudaj – go on the mountain slope, lit. ‘on mountain’s nose’, nirilinbudaj – go on the mountain slope, lit. ‘on mountain’s back’, i.e. mountain ridge, kojdosbudaj – go lit. ‘across the mountain’, i.e. taking as hort cut.
A special attention should be paid to nomination of orientation to water bodies. From ancient times people tried to build their houses near rivers, lakes, the sea as the main object of human life. The river gave water and food, life depended on it, and it served as one of the main ways of orientation for man. To have a full picture of orientation to river and its course represented by the word okat one must take into account that the Even language has more detailed variants of hydronym nomination: birakčän – a small mountain stream, birandja – a large mountain stream, d’uskän – a mountain stream with the origin from under the mountain slope, d’upka – a small spring, älgän – a small but deep river with smooth banks in a valley, mun – a river built of a great number of tributaries, n’öt – spring, ihlän – inflow of river into a lake due to flow water from melted snow in springtime. The analysis of the given hydronyms allows to consider them as independent means of orientation in space. It is worth noting that the given examples of nominations support the idea that the Even as well as other peoples of the North are distinguished by exceptional powers of observation in finding and giving names to finest specific features of one or another environment, area or place of residence. However, the main way of nomination of movement direction is the notions hołgida, hołaski – upstream, ädgidä, äeski – downstream, bargida – the opposite bank to mark location of an object. Here it is worthwhile mentioning dreams and their interpretations related to man’s travel. It is believed that if a man in a dream travels up the river or the mountain, this dream is positively loaded, signifying success and luck in business.

In the nighttime the Even as other peoples oriented themselves to the moon that has some variants of nomination – bjag, atikkan, ilaan – and stars osikat [10, 540]. Besides, they had an idea of the four corners of the earth. The east and the west are the starting and final points of Sun trajectory nöltän meaning ‘something rising and emerging’. Correspondingly, the east in Even is nöltänIsiptun lit. ‘the sun is rising’, in other sources d’uptä or d’yugpañä, the west in Even is nöltäniktänmän lit. ‘the sun is going down’, in other sources tikutapä. Names of the north and the south were related to wind directions: the south – n’jamgida or tırgani, the north – iṣän’gidä or hitjultän [3, 52-53].

We see that in Even denotation of a month as a time period and that of Moon are identical – ilaan, atikkan, bjag. A time unit is a day inäŋi and a year anyani. Division of time within a year used to have two variants reflecting different calendar principles: natural-economic and according to parts of human body. According to the first principle the year was divided into six seasons corresponding with natural climatic conditions of the North. The economic year cycle starts with late summer mōntalsä which is end of August until end of September, i.e. early fall. In this time gnat and mosquitos disappear, mushrooms, berries appear, it is time of free pasture and rut of reindeer. It is an important period for reindeer breeders, reindeer gain weight, preparing for long winter. Reindeer rut also depends on pasture conditions which directly affects spring calving of she-deer. It is in this period when reindeer breeders count their herds. The next season is early fall holani (the second half of October – beginning of November) that is beginning of traveling of the Even to hunting grounds for winter nomadic route and pasture of reindeer. The third season tugäni is the longest, it is time for hunting of fur animals. Pre-spring or early spring nālkäni (end of February – March) is time of crunching ice over snow, i.e. elk hunting by pursuit on skis. Nālkäni is followed by nāgnäni (April – May). This time is characterized as most awaited and responsible for nomads as in this period calving of reindeer starts. Welfare of the Even used to depend on this time. Nāgnäni finishes with the approach of summer djugani or irili (June – July). In the past, in this period the Even celebrated Avınäk, the festival of new year and celebration of newborn reindeer calves.

The second type of calendar ‘according to parts of human body’ developed later. Probably, it was introduced under influence of Russian folk time dividing according to arm joints [9, 49]. It moves clockwise starting from the right hand, then up the arm to the head and down the left side ending up with the left hand. The Even months are literally translated as the ‘rising’ palm, wrist, elbow, shoulder, top of the head and back ‘going down’ parts of the left side. The traditional calendar looks as follows: Êäe – the top of the head corresponds to January, âvrinim âvrinim – the left shoulder February, âvriecän – the left elbow March, âvribilän – the left hand April, âvrinuma – the first joints of the left arm May, âvrîcordâkî – the second joints of the left hand fingers June, djugani (irili) Háæen – the third joints of the left and right hands July, ojčirîcordâkî – the second joints of the right hand fingers August, ojčirinuma – the first joints of the right arm September, ojčiribilän – the right hand October, ojčiriecän – the right elbow November, ojčirimim – the right shoulder December [1, 148].
At present, the Lamunkhin Even still use the traditional calendar based on the nature-economy principle along with the modern calendar. Thus, the language of the traditional calendar as well as other lexemes of reindeer breeding and related nomadic lifestyle not only reflects culture, records its previous state, but transmits its values from generation to generation as well. In other words, language cumulates axiological, spiritual, and lexico-semantic properties of culture and allows their inheriting. Therefore, language may be considered a depositary of culture, spiritual values of a people, its world view.

Conclusions

The research results demonstrate that the linguistic picture of the world is based on specific features of social and labor experience of each people. Nomadic way of life, traditional economy – reindeer breeding and hunting – found its reflection in differences of lexical nomination of natural objects, phenomena and processes, their etymology in the Even language.

The scope of this paper was restricted to the analysis of the linguistic picture of the world of the Even related to nomadism. The analysis of ethnographic and lexicographic studies enables one to follow the formation of nominations of the reindeer breeding terms proper as well as to reveal their interrelation with toponymy, traditional way of orientation in space and time.

Since the main reindeer breeding conditions are favorable grazing and feeding lands, places of temporal and continuous stay, reproduction and calving, thus, it seems reasonable to put these terms into a separate lexical semantic group of words reflecting reindeer breeding specifics. It is this group of lexemes that reveals characteristics of reindeer breeding according to the principles of sustainable land use, contributing to conservation and development of reindeer breeding as a traditional type of economy.

Based on the available data, we can divide the terms mentioned above into separate lexical semantic groups: grazing land, feeding land, places of temporal and continuous stay, places of reproduction and calving, anatomic terms, reindeer diseases, terms related to behavior and habits, terms related to reindeer movements and actions as well as working actions of breeders. To investigate the concept in more detail, we need to involve the lexical semantic groups related to reindeer breeder vehicles, housing, household items, and reindeer breeding products. All mentioned lexical semantic groups make up the core of the concept ‘nomadism’ in the modern Even language. Further investigations in this direction will be represented in following papers.

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