

# Comparing Etymological Characteristics of Plant Naming in Yakut, Even, and Evenk Languages

Marina A. Osorova,<sup>1,2</sup> Ninel V. Malysheva<sup>1</sup> and Ayta V. Timofeeva<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT.** This article considers issues of language contacts between Yakut, Even, and Evenk people through an analysis of plant vocabulary. We define etymological characteristics of fixed lexical units that denote plant names and present results of a comparative analysis of plant naming in these three languages, with emphasis on lexical parallels and structural types in designating plant names. To our knowledge, this is the first research to undertake a comparative study of plant naming in the Yakut and Tungusic languages (Even and Evenk) with consideration of the methods of their formation. The study is highly relevant because of the unique contribution of plant-world vocabulary in helping to clarify peculiarities of native speakers' natural environments. Our results show that, based on lexical units with stable semantic meaning, the Evenk language is in the closest position vis-à-vis Yakut. There are 16 names in Yakut of plants and four of common names of herbs that grow on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and have borrowed names in Evenk and Even. Twenty-eight names have lexical parallels in Evenk (including variations) and two in Even.

**Key words:** phytonyms; word-forming system; naming; etymology; Yakut language; Tungusic language; Even language; Evenk language

**RÉSUMÉ.** Cet article se penche sur la question des contacts linguistiques entre les Yakoutes, les Évènes et les Evenkis au moyen de l'analyse du vocabulaire des plantes. Nous définissons les caractéristiques étymologiques d'unités lexicales fixes dénotant les noms de plantes et présentons les résultats de l'analyse comparative de la nomenclature de plantes dans ces trois langues, en mettant l'accent sur les parallèles lexicaux et les types structuraux de la désignation des noms de plantes. À notre connaissance, il s'agit de la première recherche à entreprendre l'étude comparative de la nomenclature botanique en langues yakoute et toungeuse (évène et evenki) tout en tenant compte de leurs méthodes de formation. Cette étude est d'une grande pertinence, car l'apport unique du vocabulaire des plantes aide à expliquer les particularités des milieux naturels des locuteurs natifs. Selon nos résultats, fondés sur les unités lexicales dotées de significations sémantiques stables, l'evenki est la langue la plus proche du yakoute. En yakoute, il y a 16 noms de plantes et quatre noms communs d'herbes dans le territoire de la république de Sakha (Yakoutie) dont les noms ont été empruntés à l'evenki et à l'évène. Vingt-huit noms ont des parallèles lexicaux en evenki (variantes y comprises), et deux en évène.

**Mots clés :** phytonymes; système de formation des mots; nomenclature; étymologie; yakoute; toungeuse; évène; evenki

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## INTRODUCTION

A large number of people live on the territory of the Russian Federation, including Yakuts, Evens, and Evenks, groups famous for their rich spiritual worlds and diversity of traditions. These ethnic groups, living in some parts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), have had close relationships with nature and wildlife for centuries. As a result of this close contact between Yakut of the Altaic language group and Even and Evenk of the Tungusic language group, a unique vocabulary of the plant world

has formed. Names in plant-world vocabulary, called phytonyms, reflect the cultural, historical, social, and everyday experiences of native speakers (Letova, 2012). Many phytonyms are interpreted by the special connection of people with the plant world. Historically established relationships among Yakuts, Evens, Evenks, and nature make it possible to pinpoint certain issues related to language contacts between the ethnic groups. Yet, despite the value of comparative studies of names in the plant world, these three languages have not been the object of special comparative study until now.

<sup>1</sup> Institute for Languages and Cultures of Peoples of the Northeast of the Russian Federation, North-Eastern Federal University, 677000, Kulakovskogo St., 46, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Russian Federation

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding author: [me.marine@mail.ru](mailto:me.marine@mail.ru)

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Many scientists have undertaken linguistic and ethnographic studies of language contacts between Yakut and Evenk peoples. Gogolev (1986) argued that the appearance of Kulun-Atakh culture (the paleoethnographic culture of the Yakut people) in the central part of Yakutia dates to the 14th or 15th century. Dolgikh (1960) pegged the time of contact between Yakuts and Evenks in this region as first occurring in the 17th century. Conversely, Sherbak (1994) argued that language contact between Yakut and Evenk people began earlier, in the 14th or 15th century, pointing to the presence of Tungusic influence in the Yakut language in contradistinction to other Turkic languages; the absence of lexical parallels in other Turkic languages indicates late language contacts.

Others have challenged Sherbak's hypothesis, however. Ubryatova (1960) and Rassadin (1980) both dated interaction between the Yakut and Evenk peoples to the 13th century, with Ubryatova arguing that the Evenk language played a significant formative impact on Yakut. Indeed, Ubryatova (1960) surmised that Evenk language elements entered structures of the Yakut language at the earliest stages of the formation of the Yakut people (13th century). Shirobokova (2001) supported Ubryatova and Rassadin's ideas concerning the dating of language contacts between Yakut and Evenk people, observing the presence of archaic forms of the Yakut language in Evenk vocabulary. Burykin (2018), whose work examines interrelationships in folkloric traditions of Yakut and Tungus (Evens and Evenks) and who has defined characteristics of female beauty, motives, and characters in language of the Olonkho epic works of Evens and Evenks, has argued that these elements reveal relationships between these peoples.

Novgorodov (2009) studies interactions between the Yakut and Evenk languages using several linguistic methods. His genealogical analysis, for example, performed as part of his thesis research, showed that Yakuts moved to Yakutia from the south. He demonstrates that the influence of the Evenk language on Yakut is noted in all its tiers, including phonetics, morphology, and vocabulary (Novgorodov, 2009). In his dissertation, entitled "Yakut-Evenk language contacts," he identified more than 600 Evenkisms in the Yakut language and its dialects. Thus, the Evenkisms were borrowed while Yakut people lived in central Yakutia, after their resettlement from the south (14th century), and such Evenkisms are characteristic of the entire Yakut language. There are also Evenkisms that entered individual dialects of the Yakut language during a settlement that occurred after the 17th century, following the entry of the territory of Yakutia into Russia (Novgorodov, 2009).

On the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the Yakut language functions as the state language and is widespread in the adjacent regions of Yakutia that are situated in Siberia (Magadan, Amur, Irkutsk, Chita

regions, Khabarovsk Territory, Evenkia, and the Taimyr Autonomous Okrug). According to the 2010 Russian census (National Census, 2021), there are 466,492 Yakut people, representing 48.67% of the total population living in Yakutia. Evenks living in the region number 21,008, and Evens, 15,071. Regarding language speakers, 11,905 Evenks and 4708 Evens considered Yakut their native tongue (National Census, 2021).

Our work analyzes the languages of neighbouring peoples living on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) as representatives of the Altaic language family; that is, Yakut from the Turkic language branch, and Even and Evenk from the Tungusic language branch. Although they are typologically similar and share many structural characteristics, they represent distinct languages, and there is no mutual intelligibility between Yakut on the one hand, and Even and Evenki on the other. While the predecessors of today's speakers of these languages do share an ancestral home in the Baikal region, the formation of the ethnic groups to which these languages belong took place on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Ushnitskiy and Alekseeva (2016) have argued that there are many common elements in the cultures and ethnic history of Yakut and Evenk peoples. They demonstrate that warrior heroes of Yakut folk epics always opposed the Tungus *khosuuns* (heroes, warriors), revealing some kind of hostility between these two peoples. Indeed, in some way, these peoples have always interacted with each other (Ushitskiy and Alekseeva, 2016). Consequently, linguistic contacts between the neighbouring peoples under consideration have a history of their own. These contacts formed long ago over many centuries and have enriched the vocabulary of each language.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

By continuous sampling we collected most of research materials (i.e., lexical items denoting the various names of plants and growing on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Russia) from various lexicographic sources, including dictionaries of the Yakut, Even, and Evenk languages, and botanical dictionaries, reference books, and indexes. In addition, materials were collected from 18 native speakers ranging in age from 75 to 90 years old. Field and expeditionary observations, dialect records and materials have been collected since 2017 from various regions of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). For example, research team member Malysheva visited the Srednekolymskiy district in 2017 where seven speakers were interviewed and Tomponskiy in 2018 where another seven people were interviewed. In 2019, research team members Malysheva and Timofeeva undertook a trip to Olekminskiy district to meet four residents. Verification of the plant names was carried out during conversations with our native speakers by showing them images of various plants. Material regarding the additional functions of plants

(use in the household, appearance, gathering features, etc.) was collected during the conversations with these people. The survey of our speakers was conducted at their homes, as it was difficult for most of them to move anywhere because of age and health issues. The choice of speakers was determined according to the following criteria: profession (reindeer herders, herbalists, *algyschyt*s, or white shamans, i.e., the people who host a blessing ceremony), age, and being a local inhabitant. As part of the study, various names of the following plants were considered: hawthorn, dwarf pine, reindeer lichen, moss, bird cherry, horsetail, red currant, marsh calamus, black currant, young larch, aspen, rhubarb, heather, wild rosemary, dwarf birch, pine tree, common name of small shrubs, medicinal herbs, lacustrine herb, and thicket. Since our paper is devoted to the comparative study of plant names in the Yakut language and their lexical parallels in Even and Evenki languages, the habitat of the plants considered is not the object of our study. We have studied more than 120 plant species, but the object of this article is only the names of plants in Yakut with Evenk and Even reflexes. In 2020 the authors completed a series of trips to remote and inaccessible places of our vast Siberia and began to work on this article. Author Osorova was involved primarily in the maintenance of data and in translation of texts into English while Timofeeva performed work on data planning and implementation that also served as the empirical basis of the study.

## RESULTS

Our analysis of the research materials and empirical evidence revealed 16 Yakut-language names for plants and four common names of herbs growing on the territory of Yakutia with lexical reflexes in the Evenk and Even languages: hawthorn, dwarf pine, reindeer lichen, moss, bird cherry, horsetail, red currant, marsh calamus, black currant, young larch, aspen, rhubarb, common name of small shrubs and medicinal herbs. Twenty-eight Yakut names had lexical parallels in Evenk, and two had parallels in Even.

The common name of small shrubs in the Yakut language is represented by the word *ābylān*, which means “undergrowth of small low shrubs”; its lexical reflex in Evenk is *avlān*, denoting “glade, open forest” (Novgorodov, 2009). The consonant [b] in the Yakut language matches the consonant [v] in Evenk in the inlaut (medial) position, and a long vowel [ā] in Yakut matches the short vowel [a] in Evenk in the anlaut (initial) position. Since the semantics of a word from a source language are, as a rule, extremely narrowed in the borrowing language (i.e., a polysemantic word appears in the form of an unambiguous word), we can surmise that the Yakut nominative form is *avlān*.

The meaning of the common name of medicinal herbs in the Yakut language is contained in the phytonym *chukakta*. The lexical parallel of the nominative word in Evenk is also *chukakta* with the same meaning (Novgorodov, 2009). In

most cases, Evenk words with root and affix stem in Yakut are perceived as non-derivatives; for example, words with the affix *-kta*. The term for “healing herbs” is *chukakta* in both Yakut and Evenk, the word for “insect larvae” is *kuyukta* in Yakut and *kuyikta* in Evenk, the word for “needles” is *mutukcha* in Yakut and *mochukta* in Evenk, and “dwarf pine” (*Pinus pumila*) is *bolbukta* in Yakut and *bolgikta* in Evenk.

Hawthorn (*Crataegus dahurica*), a medicinal plant used in the treatment of diseases of the heart and blood vessels, is called *n'alykta* in the Yakut language (Pekarskiy, 1959; Kuznetsova et al., 2016). Evenk variations of the name are seen in words such as *d'alikta* “hawthorn” (informant E.A. Alekseeva), *n'amnikta*, “flexible, thin willow growing in the mountains” (informant A.N. Matveeva), and *n'alikta*, “ledum” or “azalea” (Novgorodov, 2009). According to Novgorodov (2009), a process of initial consonant development, such as *-n'*, occurs among the borrowings from the Evenk language.

The nominative singular word *n'alikta* in the Yakut language is borrowed from Evenk. Hawthorn grows in the southern part of Yakutia, where some Evenk people live (Aldansky district, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)). It is important here to note that almost half of Evenks in Russia reside in the territory of Yakutia. More than 1800 Evenks inhabit the Aldansky district, 2000 in the Bulunsky district, 1800 in the Zhigansky district, 2000 in the Oleneksky district, and more than 1800 people live in the Ust-Maysky district. From a structural point of view, the Yakut word *n'alykta* and the Evenk words *d'alikta* and *n'alikta* have a stable structural nominative singular word: CVCVCCA. When considering lexemes, there is correspondence in inlaut vocalisms (as [y] in Yakut with [i] in Evenk) and in the initial consonant element of [n'] in Yakut with the occlusive consonant [d'] in Evenk. Changes in the vowel quality in borrowings from Evenk adhere to the overall principles of vowel harmony in Yakut. We can observe the preservation of stable lexical and semantic meaning of the nominative words in the Yakut-language word *n'alykta* and *d'alikta* in Evenk. In comparison with the Yakut *n'alykta*, other variations of hawthorn in Evenk such as *n'alikta* and *n'amnikta* denote other plants.

Borrowings into Yakut from the Evenk and Even languages reflect the peculiarities of exploration of northern phenomena. Dwarf pine is a creeping, short, medicinal woody plant of the pine family that grows in the northern part of Yakutia inhabited by Even and Evenks. Dwarf pine is well adapted to the harsh climatic conditions of the north and does not suffer from low temperatures since, with the onset of frost, its branches straighten, adhere to the ground and are buried in snow. In the spring, they rise and stretch again. In the Yakut language, *bolbukta* means either “dwarf pine” (Novgorodov, 2003) or in dialect, “a cloudberry” (Popov, 2003). The term is borrowed from the Tungus Manchu languages, as lexical parallels are observed in both Evenk and Even. For example, in Evenk, *bolgikta* denotes “dwarf pine,” “pine nut” (Tsintsius, 1975), and “willow”

(informant A.N. Matveeva); in Even, *bolgit* denotes “dwarf pine” (Tsintsius, 1975).

Of the group of lichens of the *Cladonia* genus, reindeer lichen is represented in the Yakut language by the nominative singular word *labykta*, which denotes “cup moss, deer moss” (LEDYL, 2009), “tsetraria Icelandic, Icelandic moss” (Novgorodov, 2003), “white moss, deer moss, reindeer lichen” (Pekarskiy, 1959), and “deer moss, reindeer lichen” (Ivanov, 2003). Evenk variations of the word are concluded in the lexemes as *labikta* “reindeer lichen, deer moss” (P.A. Vinokurov), *lavikta*, and *lavukta* “reindeer lichen (deer treat)” (Novgorodov, 2009). Novgorodov (2009) points to the presence of such sonants as *l-* and *n-* in the beginning of the word as evidence of the Evenk language influence on the Yakut. Thus, the Yakut nominative singular word *labykta* (lichens) is borrowed from Evenk, where it is possible to see a stable lexical meaning and preserved structural nominative word (CVCVCCV). The Yakut lexical units of Evenk origin *nalbykta* and *nalbaka*, meaning “reindeer moss,” were formed from the Evenk *nalbukha* “moss” (Antonov, 1971).

Bird cherry (*Prunus padus*) is a short tree of the rose family that, in the Yakut language, is named using the one-component dialect word *symyr̄yt* (Afanasyev et al., 1976). The nominative singular word is in use among inhabitants of the Ust-Maysky district of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), where some Evenk people live. For instance, in some Turkic languages “bird cherry” is conveyed by words *jymyryt*, *jumurt*, *nybyrt*, and *nuburt* (Pekarskiy, 1959). Evenk variations are represented by the words *simirit*, with the meaning of “a bird cherry” (Myreeva, 2004), and *semirtak* and *symyryt*, also denoting this plant. The presence of polysemy and variations of the word in the language that borrows is one of the indicators of borrowing (Porotova, 2013). On that basis, it is expected that Evenk variations are borrowed from the Yakut word *symyr̄yt*, as the result of language contacts between these peoples.

There are words in the Evenk language with the root *-bor*, for example, *boru*, meaning “places where animals feed, graze, alpine pastures,” and *bor*, meaning “soil, sand, sandstone” (Porotova, 2013). These Evenk words suggest that the Yakut name for horsetail (*Equisetum* sp.), *borū ot* (Ivanov and Ivanova, 2009), is borrowed from the Evenk *boru*, with the meaning of “horsetail” (Myreeva, 2004). It should be noted here that a correspondence of auslaut vocal elements occurs in the presented nominative words. For example, [ū] in the Yakut language matches [u] in Evenk. Compared to the Evenk, in Yakut, there is a narrowing of the semantic meaning of the word from the lexical and semantic point of view. In borrowings that exist in Yakut but came from Evenk sources, the overwhelming majority of borrowed words do not belong to the main vocabulary and are characterized by a narrowing of the meaning in comparison with their Evenk analogs (Novgorodov, 2009).

Additionally, there is a lexeme denoting the name of the branched horsetail (*Equisetum ramosissimum*). In

the Yakut language, *s̄bikte* means “a branchy delicate form of horsetail growing along the edges of the forest in the shade and is distinguished by nutritional value for livestock (especially for horses and deer), motley horsetail” (LEDYL, 2004:360). The lexical parallel is represented by one word in the Evenk language, *sinikta*, which denotes “plant’s name,” “name of a plant with edible roots,” and “name of a plant with edible roots cropped in spring and autumn” (Tsintsius, 1975). From a phono-structural point of view, there is a long vocal element in the Yakut language, [ī], corresponding to a short element, [i], in the Evenk language. But the correlation between Yakut [b] and Evenk [n] is not expected, so the similarity is likely a coincidence.

Red currant (*Ribes rubrum*) is a small deciduous shrub represented in the Yakut language by the lexeme *khaptaghas*, with the meanings of 1) “red currant, oxalis,” 2) “female postpartum blood” (Pekarskiy, 1959), 3) “a shrub with edible sour-sweet berries, red currants” (LEDYL, 2016), and 4) “naked currant (red oxalis)” (Kuznetsova et al., 2016). The Evenk variation of this word is based on the nominative singular word *kaptaghas*, denoting “red currant” (Myreeva, 2004). From the structural point of view, there is stable preservation of the structural type in the form of CVCCVCVC in both words.

In both Yakut and Russian we find plant names that begin with the sonorant consonant [m]. For instance, *manch̄ary*, in the Yakut language means “sedge, water sedge, bison, water wheatgrass” (*Carex*) (Pekarskiy, 1959); “calamus” (LEDYL, 2009; Ivanov and Ivanova, 2009; Kuznetsova et al., 2016); or “calamus marsh, oily root, Tatar potion, flatbread” (Ivanov, 2003), while the Evenk term *manchare* denotes “rump (grass).” The Yakut term *mōnn’oghon* denotes “shrub of a black currant, black currant” (*Ribes nigrum*) (Novgorodov, 2003; LEDYL, 2009) and the Evenk word *monn’egon* denotes “black currant (a berry),” or “gooseberry (a berry).” In Yakut, *muchukta* denotes “young larch” (Pekarskiy, 1959) and in Evenk, *muchukte* denotes “larch needles,” “buds (on a tree),” and “fir-cone, pine-cone.” According to Novgorodov (2009), the Yakut nominative singular word *muchukta* is borrowed from the Evenk *muchukte*. This borrowing could be explained by Novgorodov’s assertion, as noted earlier, that words consisting of a root and affix in the Evenk language mostly become indecomposable and perceived as non-derivative nominative words in the Yakut as the affix *-kta* (Novgorodov, 2009).

Our analysis also revealed that the Yakut nominative singular word *tetiŋ*, denoting “aspen” (*Populus tremula*) (Pekarskiy, 1959; Novgorodov, 2003; LEDYL, 2014), is lexically reflexed in the Evenk as *tetyŋ*, denoting “Aldan poplar” (Myreeva, 2004). From a structural point of view, there is stable preservation of the structural type of lexemes, CVCVC, while correspondence of the Yakut vocal element [i] towards Evenk [y] is recorded.

Rhubarb (*Rheum* sp.) is a herbaceous plant of the buckwheat family represented by the word *ākhta* in Yakut, denoting “a rhubarb” (Petrov, 2002; LEDYL, 2004), and

“name of a plant (species of sorrel eaten by the Yakuts and Tungus)” (Tsintsius, 1975). We identified a lexical parallel of *akta* in the Evenk language, denoting “name of a plant” (Tsintsius, 1975). A partial match of structural type is noted in the lexically reflexed words. For example, there is an initial long vocal element [ā] in the Yakut variant that corresponds to a short [a] in Evenk. As well, there is a match of the slotted Yakut consonant [kh] with [k] in Evenk, in the inlaut position.

The nominative singular word *n'albykta* in Yakut, denoting “a lacustrine herb” (Pekarskiy, 1959) is represented in Evenk by *nilb'akta* “green herb on a burnt area, cattle pasture” (informant V.K. Ksenofontova). As it is known long vowels in Yakut correspond to the short, stressed ones in Evenk. Tungusic borrowings into the Yakut language are characteristic of palatalization of the same type of sounds, since softness is already expressed in the borrowings' sources (Kuzmina, 2017). Thus, the Yakut word *n'albykta* is borrowed from Evenk *nilb'akta*.

The Yakut nominative word *tyube* with the meaning of “a thick forest, thicket” (Myreeva, 1992) has a borrowed Evenk parallel expressed by the identical lexeme *tyube* with narrower semantics “a shrubbery” (informant V.M. Andreev). Here we have a monosyllabic word in which vowels, as a rule, are not influenced by combinatorial factors (Novgorodov, 2009). Accordingly, for the most part, vowels in such words do not differ from their counterparts in the source language.

Reindeer moss (*Cladonia rangiferina*) is presented in Yakut by the dialect variation word *lapyrya* (Afanasyev et al., 1976), which is characteristic of the Srednekolymskiy district of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The Evenk variation of the word is the nominative unit *lepure*, denoting “a feather, fluff.”

The small shrub with narrow scaly tetrahedral leaves that is a heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) has the singular nominative word *archi* in Yakut, denoting “a heather” (Romanova and Myreeva, 1968) and Evenk variation *ard'a* with the meaning of “a juniper, wild rosemary” (informant N.I. Kaplin). In this case, we most likely see the development of the Evenk affricate *-d'* into Yakut *-ch*. Wild rosemary (*Andromeda polifolia*), an upright evergreen shrub, is represented in Yakut by the singular nominative word *semkire* “marsh wild rosemary” (Antonov, 1971). This word is borrowed into the Evenk by the lexical parallel *sengkire*, meaning “a juniper, wild rosemary” (Afanasyev et al., 1976). The consonant *-m* has changed into *-n* in the middle of a word.

A strongly branched shrub that grows mainly in swamps and forms dense thickets in the Arctic tundra is transmitted

in Yakut through the nominative unit *uokhtala*, “tundra, dwarf birch” (*Betula nana*) (Afanasyev et al., 1976). In this case, the Evenk parallel is represented by the word *oktan* in the meaning of “a birch (polar, mountain)” (*Betula occidentalis*) (informant M.I. Evdokimova) that is the word stem in Yakut nomination. Moreover, in the Evenk language, the name of a young pine tree is represented by the nominative word *berd'yges* in the meaning of “a young pine” (*Pinus*) (informant V.Ya. Dolgunov). The Evenk variant is a borrowing from the Yakut *berd'yges* (Romanova et al., 1975) with a similar meaning, since it is formed with the help of an unproductive affix *-s*.

## CONCLUSION

We have analyzed 16 plants names and four common names of herbs in Yakut denoting such phytonyms as *n'alykta* “hawthorn” (*Crataegus dahurica*), *bolbukta* “dwarf pine” (*Pinus pumila*), *labykta* “cup moss, deer moss,” *nalbaka* “moss” (lichens), *symyrýt* “bird cherry” (*Prunus padus*), *borū ot* “horsetail” (*Equisetum* sp.), *khaptaghas* “red currant” (*Ribes rubrum*), *manchāry* “marsh calamus” (*Carex*), *mōnn'oghon* “black currant” (*Ribes nigrum*), *muchukta* “young larch” (*Larix*), *tetiñ* “aspen” (*Populus tremula*), *ākhta* “rhubarb” (*Rheum* sp.), *lapyrya* “reindeer moss” (*Cladonia rangiferina*), *acrhi* “heather” (*Calluna vulgaris*), *semkire* “wild rosemary” (*Andromeda polifolia*), *uokhtala* “tundra, dwarf birch” (*Betula nana*), *berd'yges* “young pine tree” (*Pinus*), *ābylān* “common name of small shrubs,” *chukakta* “medicinal herbs,” *n'albykta* “lacustrine herb,” and *tyube* “thick forest, thicket.” All of these plants grow on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and are lexically reflexed in the Evenk and Even languages. Thus, the total number of names in Evenk (taking into account their variations) was 28, with only two language parallels recorded in the Even. It is commonly acknowledged that, due to their lexical and semantic features, borrowings from Evenk in Yakut are characteristic of natural phenomena of northern latitudes and the conduct of reindeer husbandry.

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