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**CULTURE-BOUND WORDS USED IN EVERYDAY COMMUNICATION  
BY YAKUTIAN OLD-TIMERS: ETHNOLINGUISTIC ASPECT**

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**Abstract**

The article considers one segment of the linguistic world-image typical of Yakutian old-timers and reveals the concept of culture-bound words used in their everyday communication, as well as nominations of vehicles and working clothes. From the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian old-timers have been presumably living in small groups in a foreign-language environment of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) – this Arctic territory is one of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. Old-timers are the oldest group of the Russian people inhabiting Siberia. This study is based on folklore and dialect linguistic materials collected from representatives of the ethnic group and reflected in the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by Yakutian old-timers". The author of the article focuses on the structure of the lexical-semantic group of words denoting "clothes" and "vehicles", the description of their main characteristics and the identification of their linguistic representation in the Russian sub-dialects used by old-timers. The semantics of words reveals a close relationship between their lexical meanings and specific facts of life common to Yakutian old-timers.

**Keywords**

Culture-bound words – National-cultural – Ethnographism – Yakutia

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## Introduction

The interconnection of language and culture represents the long-standing issue of the national-cultural component of word meaning, while its concept defines the status of this component in the semantic structure of the word. The national-cultural component is such a component of word meaning that embodies specific features of the material and spiritual culture of Yakutian old-timers. Since the study subject is lexical units selected by the method of continuous sampling from the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by Yakutian old-timers"<sup>1</sup> and other sources<sup>2</sup>, everyday vocabulary is understood as a combination of words and phrases that serve as the nominations of objects and phenomena related to everyday life, household and economic activity. The "national-cultural component"<sup>3</sup> is a component of word meaning embodying specific features of the material and spiritual culture of this linguocultural community (Yakutian old-timers). Moreover, "culture-bound words"<sup>4</sup> are a preferred term and refer to vocabulary that contains the national-cultural component in their denotation, including national-cultural semes present in its semantic structure separately or in various combinations.

## Methods

In the course of the study, we conducted a theoretical analysis of scientific works and used the comparative method to consider the linguistic materials we gathered.

## Results

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the rapid development of the culture of Yakutian old-timers. At the present stage, the Russian sub-dialects of Yakutian old-timers that have preserved the ancient semantics of words and expressions and developed new meanings on its basis throughout many centuries lose their typical features under the influence of literary language and "neighbor" languages. Therefore, preserving a language belonging to the Russian culture is among the most important tasks of modern linguistics. The specific linguistic and ethnocultural conditions formed in the Far North of Russia can be explained by the long and diverse historical processes that took place in this territory and are of great interest for the ethnolinguistic study of its language. Due to complex assimilation processes, certain regional features of the linguistic culture have been formed in this area over the centuries. The study of sub-dialects as a source of ethnolinguistic information and a means of understanding the cultural space of a particular ethnic group is a priority task of modern linguistics<sup>5</sup>. In addition, the identification and systematization of sub-dialects and their vocabulary from the viewpoint of ethnolinguistics enrich the scientific ideas about the nature of Yakutian sub-dialects.

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<sup>1</sup> M. F. Druzhinina, *Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii*, Volume 1: Student's book (Yakutsk: Izd-vo Yakutskogo un-ta, 1997) y M. F. Druzhinina, *Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii*, Volume 2: Student's book (Yakutsk: Izd-vo Yakutskogo un-ta, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> *Folklor Russkogo Ustyia* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1986); A. G. Chikachev, *Dialektnyi slovar Russkogo Ustyia* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 2005) y *Yakutsko-russkii slovar* (Moscow, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Vereshchagin y V. G. Kostomarov, *Yazyk i kultura* (Moscow: Russkii yazyk, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> A. O. Ivanov, *Bezekvivalentnaya leksika* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya izdatelstva SPbGU, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> V. A. Maslova, *Lingvokulturologiya: Student's textbook for students of higher education institutions* (Moscow: Izdatelskii tsentr "Akademiya", 2001).

The Russian sub-dialects used by old-timers<sup>6</sup> are of cultural and ethnographic significance and are characterized by their specificity but they are still understudied in terms of reflecting the language of folklife culture. After the first Russians settled in Yakutia, the Russian sub-dialects of Yakutian old-timers began to form in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. Their development was significantly influenced by such social factors as "cultural integration, contact with the Yakut language and languages of small ethnic groups of the North, economic and trade relations"<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes the dialectical vocabulary presented in dictionaries is the only way to record information about the life and household activities of entire generations of people. The Russian people who found themselves in the far northeast of the country and were not influenced by literary language and other Russian dialects for a long time had to use the vocabulary common to sub-dialects of Northern Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, their vocabulary contains words that are hardly to be found in other dialects.

When performing a thematic classification, we determined the following groups of words for further analysis: "vehicles", "working clothes" and "personality traits". The empirical material demonstrates that the vocabulary of these themed groups is the most frequent and assimilated in the Russian sub-dialects of old-timers.

The specifics of vehicles are conditioned by many factors, including climatic conditions, the level of economic activity among people, local traditions, etc. All vehicles can be divided into land and watercraft. The study considers such a means of land transport as dog sleds and presents nominations of different sleds and their parts. The ability to move guarantees one's existence in the Arctic tundra: "The one who cannot move is doomed to death"<sup>9</sup>. In the Russian sub-dialects of old-timers, sleds got various nominations depending on their purpose or structure. For instance, there are *нарты/narty* (a dog sled, the main means of transportation in the Arctic Region), *кошева/kosheva* (wide and deep sleds with a high counter), *крену/kreni* (summer sleds), *посевни/poshevni* (sleds with armchairs and a special seat for the coachman), *бестарка/bestarka* (a wagon for transportation of grain in bulk), etc.

There is an art to making a vehicle since the technology of preparing materials and manufacturing sleds was polished empirically and passed down from one generation to another. Trees for manufacturing sleds were selected depending on their type and use. In the Arctic Region, driftwood is a popular material since there is no shortage of it: *Из берёзки сани делали. Полозья гнули. Ёлку не загнуть, сосны тоже. Кренёвы сани из ёлки делали. Из кривой ёлки. Она редко встречается, в ручьи. Така пряма ёлка не загнеца. Берёзы тяжельше. Сначала изготавливают части саней. Полозья гнут на бале* (Sleds were made of birch. Then workers had to bend runners. However, conifers and pines cannot be bent. Sway sleds were made of conifers, i.e. a writhen conifer tree. Such a curved tree is hard to be found. If a conifer tree is straight, it cannot be bent. Birches are even harder. First of all, certain parts of sleds are made. Then runners are bent using a balo (steering device)). We should dwell on the origin of this dialecticism. The "balo" word was formed during the decomposition of the "gibalo" word, which means "a

<sup>6</sup> O. I. Blinova, O termine "starozhilcheskii govor Sibiri". Voprosy yazykoznaniiya i sibirskoi dialektologii (Tomsk: Izd-vo TGU, 1971).

<sup>7</sup> I. P. Pavlova y Y. Y. Gorbunova, "Linguistic and cultural features of the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia (as exemplified by the dictionaries of M.F. Druzhinina)", Amazonia Investiga num 8 Vol: 24 (2019): 82-90.

<sup>8</sup> A. G. Chikachev, Dialektnyi slovar Russkogo Ustya (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> N. G. Samsonov, Slovar zaimstvovannykh slov (Yakutsk, 1996).

wooden device for folding sled runners". It contains two or three bars knocked together to make the final construction of one meter wide. An arcuate hole (9 cm wide) is gouged out at one end of this device that will serve as the front part of the runner. A small wooden pipe (hollow) is attached to the other end and a stick is inserted into it. To make a skid runner, it is necessary to cut a birch tree into two or four parts (if the chosen tree is thick). These blanks are weighed and steamed in a black izba (a hut without a permanent chimney). While these blanks are still hot, their upper parts are inserted into the *balo* (a steering device) and bent. Meanwhile, craftsmen gradually drive wedges into the hole between the skid runner and the *balo*. The upper part of the front and bent end of the runner is called *голова/головка* (a head). The back of the runner is tied with a rope and pulled together while wrapping the rope around the hollow. *Копылы/копылу* (poppets, planks-pickets) are cut out of small wooden blocks at the rate of three or four pieces per runner. They are placed on runners at a short distance from each other (perpendicular to the runner). A *нащеп/nashchep* made of a conifer tree is planted on their top (a long bar with holes, whose location corresponds to the location of poppets). The front poppet is connected by a *вардина/vardina* (a willow twig). The top is covered with the flooring or complemented with a *везок/vezok*. A raw birch pole is used for a *баран/baran* (the diameter of 5-8 cm, 130-160 cm long). The ends are slightly chipped. This pole is bent in the form of an arc and wraps around. To achieve greater durability of ropes from the outside, small cuts are made at the top of runners where the ends of the *baran* fit. Small holes are drilled at the ends of the *baran*. The same holes are made at the ends of the poles connecting the upper poppets.

All the words of the "dog sled" themed group are nouns, except for one adjective *крёвёвые/krenevye* (sleds made of a curved conifer tree). Moreover, the sub-dialects of old-timers tend to nominalize this adjective.

## Discussion

The dialecticisms under consideration have a long history since they were first recorded in literary texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that the preservation of vocabulary is conditioned by extralinguistic factors: dog sleds as a means of transportation and transport of goods are still used in the tundra. Furthermore, the themed group "sleds" is characterized by the itemization of different parts. Each constituent part has its own nomination. The main feature of culture-bound dialectal words is unambiguity<sup>10</sup>, i.e. almost all the words under study are monosemants (*бало, нащеп, копыла, вардина*, etc.). Synonymy<sup>11</sup> is not typical of the represented group and synonyms are not recorded. There are accentual, phonetic and morphological variants in the analyzed group of words but derivational variants are the most frequent. Diminutive suffixes -k- and -ok- that do not contain a shade of diminutivity (*копылки, копылок, кренки*) are in wide use. From the viewpoint of genesis, the word "dog sled" is borrowed, while the remaining words refer to the native Russian vocabulary.

<sup>10</sup> N. I. Tolstói. *Yazyk i narodnaya kultura: ocherki po slavyanskoi mifologii i etnolingvistike* (Moscow, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> E. I. Dibrova, *Sinkretizm frazeologicheskogo znaka (razgranichenie frazeologicheskoi sinonimii i variantnosti)*, *Frazeologicheskaya nominatsiya. Osobennosti semantiki frazeologizmov* (Rostov-on-Don, 1989) y L. A. Novikov. *Semanticheskoe pole kak tekstovaya struktura. Teoriya polya v sovremennoi lingvistike* (Ufa, 1997), 3-6.

To analyze the segment "nominations of working clothes and shoes" of the linguistic world-image typical of Russian and Yakutian old-timers, we selected lexical units from the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by Yakutian old-timers"<sup>12</sup>. One of its largest lexical-semantic groups in terms of ethnographisms includes nominations of clothes, shoes and fabrics (169 units). First, we should highlight the archilexeme *лопоть/lorot* (*лапоть, лопатина*) that denotes outer clothing in the dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by old-timers and is in privative (hyper-hyponymic) relations with other lexical units of this lexical-semantic group. This lexical-semantic group comprises many ethnographisms: *дундук/dunduk* or *кухлянка/kukhlyanka* (the dunduk is high necked clothes made of reindeer hides, flared down and sheathed with a thin fringe of dog skin; the kukhlyanka is a similar garment with a hood); *торбас/torbас* or *щетки/shchetkari* (high boots made of reindeer fur); *тяжи/tyazhi* or *чужи/chizhi* (stockings made of reindeer or hare fur); *малахай/malakhai* (a hat made of the fur taken from the legs of a polar fox that tightly fits the head); *капусные рукавицы/kapusnye rukavitsy* (mittens that were sewn to the dunduk); *наборонник/naboronnik* or *набородник/naborodnik* (a fur mask worn on the face). *Сапоги/sapogi* (fur shoes with high shafts and fur on the outside) is the only semantic dialecticism in this group. To protect fur clothes from getting wet, old-timers used a *камлейка/kamleika* (an overshirt, a travelling cloak). It is put on over fur clothes to keep them dry. There are also a *лохматка/lokhmatka* (a working mitten with outer fur), *шабур/shabur* (a heavy working overcoat or homespan coat) and a *пара/para* (long female clothing consisting of a skirt and sweatshirt worn on special occasions).

There are phonetic variants of dialectisms: *канчи/kanchi* and *кянчи/kyanchi*, *сары/sari* and *сары/sary*, *убуды/ubudy* and *обуды/obudy*, *камас/kamas* and *капус/kapus*. The lexical-semantic group under study comprises many nominations of shoes and outdoor clothes worn on the shoulders. Thus, most of these nominations indicate objects intended for winter. Within this group, only a *лабашак/labashak* means regular outerwear (a raincoat or cape). The rest of these dialecticisms denote winter clothes made of fur, including fur coats and short fur coats. For instance, a *борчатка/borchatka* (a fur coat made of specially tailored sheepskin), a *понюшка/ponyushka* (a female fur coat adjusted to one's figure and trimmed with valuable fur), *кашуля/kashulya* (a short fur coat made of sheepskin), etc. It is obvious that many nominations of fur shoes and clothes are derived from the words borrowed from Yakutian languages: *сары/sary* (Yakutian; a kind of high boots made of horse-skin and trimmed with fur); *алачики/alachiki* (Evenki; shoes made of the Russian leather with deerskin boot-tops sewn to it); *камлейка/kamleika* (Chukchi; кемплиюн/kemlilyun; a travelling overshirt or cloak); *кохолды/koholdy* (Evenki; mittens of climbing skins); *санаях/sanayakh* (Yakutian; outdoor clothes made of fur, a fur coat); *курахли/kurakhli* (Evenki; a winter hat); *клеки/kleki* (Chukchi; rubber overshoes made of reindeer fur); *кукашка/kukashka* (Evenki; fur clothes without breasts worn over a padded jacket or coat), etc.

Finding themselves in harsh northern conditions, the Russians borrowed not only words but also items of clothes and shoes from Yakutian indigenous inhabitants<sup>13</sup>. For example, such a typical item of the Yakut national attire as a *сутуру/suturo* (Yakutian; сутуру/suturo) (fur clothes worn on hips, falling to the knees or lower and fastened with

<sup>12</sup> M. F. Druzhinina, Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii... y M. F. Druzhinina, Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii...

<sup>13</sup> N. G. Samsonov, Dva yazyka – dva rodnika (Yakutsk: Izd-vo "Bichik", 1993) y F. G. Sofronov, Russkie krestyane v Yakutii (Yakutsk, 1961).

straps to the belt) became part of the winter wardrobe of Russian old-timers. It is revealing that nominations of summer shoes and clothes have no borrowed words from Yakutian languages: *бродки/brodki* (summer boots made of deerskin); a *пара/para* (long female clothing consisting of a skirt and sweatshirt worn on special occasions); a *колокольчик/kolokolchik* (a long and wide summer dress with a yoke); a *повойник/povoinik* (a headdress worn by married women), etc. The interpretation of ethnographisms proves that the nominations of shoes and clothes are differentiated not only by such features as "winter (fur)"/"summer" but also two genders (male and female). For instance, *каллики/kalipiki* (female fur shoes decorated with embroidery), *чарки/charki* (female home-made shoes produced of leather), *агеды/agedy* (male high-boots made of fur), a *курма/kurma* (a female fur coat of special cut), etc.

The semantics of lexical units denoting "clothes" and "shoes" the sub-dialects of Russian old-timers is a complex structure that reflects the linguistic patterns common to dialects in general and extralinguistic facts related to the specific material and spiritual life of dialect speakers. The semantics of such nominations reveals a close connection between the lexical meaning of a word and certain facts of reality, i.e. some inner function and appearance. The person's appearance consists of three main components: the head and its parts, body and legs; therefore, appearance can transmit information about one's inner world to other people and determine individual qualities and properties inherent only to this particular person. In this regard, one's appearance is highly informative. It stipulates "a cognitive act realized through the simultaneous inclusion of various levels of consciousness based on emotions"<sup>14</sup>, i.e. appearance is an object of evaluation and a subject of information, which is characterized by expressiveness and ability to influence others. In addition, appearance is perceived as an aesthetic feature, i.e. it is endowed with expressiveness and can aesthetically influence the perceiver. In other words, appearance is an object of multidirectional cognitive and evaluative activity.

The dialectic vocabulary used in the lower Indigirka River basin and associated with the person's appearance can be represented in several ways. The main value was good health. For life in such conditions, people needed great physical strength, dexterity and many special skills; therefore, people living along the Indigirka River were often described as strong and good-looking: healthy – *бульонистой/bulonistoi* – *бравой/bravo* – *доброй/dobroi* – *корпусной/korpusnoi* – *могучной/mogutnoi* – *коренастой/korenastoi* – *круглой/krugloi* – *богатой/bogatoi*. Beautiful – *бравой/bravo* – *бравенькой/bravenkoi* – *строганной/strogannoi* – *приятливый/priyatlivyi* – *смазливый/smazlivyi* – *смазливый по брови/smazlivyi po brovi*. *Такой бульонистый, а ниче работаем/He is in a roaring good health and is capable of work (Russkoe Ustie). Родилась, когда она добрая была, хороша, крупна/She was born a big, healthy and beautiful child (Russkoe Ustie). Ой, тутуций он такой! Крупной да круглой/Oh, just look at him! He is such a big and well-built guy (Russkoe Ustie). Такой он корпусной парень был, красивый, пиятливый/He was handsome, stocky and kind (Russkoe Ustie). Ишь, какой он бравый, красивенький да смазливый/ Well, is not he all smart and pretty (Russkoe Ustie). А молодуха-то иха хороша, корпусна/This young girl is gorgeous and slender (Russkoe Ustie).* We should mention that the main occupation of the Russians living in the lower Indigirka River basin was Arctic fishing and hunting, collecting eggs, berries and roots of wild plants. Their language and cultural identity were preserved due to the tenacious addiction to antiquity and centuries-long traditions, as well as the insulated way of life among a very narrow and limited circle of people.

<sup>14</sup> Yu. N. Karaulov, *Russkii yazyk i yazykovaya lichnost* (Moscow, 1987).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Russians living along the Indigirka River could encounter dozens or, at best, hundreds of their fellow countrymen per year. Each family became isolated for many months during while fishing or hunting for a goose or polar fox. Women almost never left their summer camps. For example, no woman from Russkoe Ustie had ever been to Allaikh (only 128 km away). At the same time, men who visited the village of Kazachii and Kolyma were considered experienced. Under these conditions, physical strength, bravery and greatheartedness of the Russian soul were especially valued: *Невеста хороша, прямо зору посмотришь, костка бравая/The bride was a sight for sore eyes, a beautiful and healthy girl* (Russkoe Ustie; Kuzmichevo); *Хотелось всегда быть в здорювости, безболезненно помирать. Сколькó отпушено, столько и будешь жить. Я желаю всем быть в здорювостии/I always wanted to be healthy and die a painless death. Everyone will live as much time as is given to them. I wish all of us could be in good health* (Olekminsky District). While denoting the most important part of human body, the "head" characterizes a person from various perspectives (mainly positively) and indicates intellectual abilities: *На Севере трудно жить, климат суровой, местность шибко большая. Тут человеку надо быть с головой, местность хорошо знать, в тёмную погоду, когда пурга ориентир надо знать. Так что хорошая голова нужна/It is hard to live in the north where the climate is harsh and territory is very large. Here a person should not lose their head. They should know the territory and move across it at the night or in a snowstorm. As I said, one need to be smart* (Russkoe Ustie; Косухино; Chokurdakh; Osennyi). *Сынова – та жена работная, с головой, быстрая на ногу была, много успевала делать, нравилась родителям-то мужа/His wife was intelligent and hard-working. She could do a lot of things at home. His parents liked her* (Russkoe Ustie; Yakutia; Жиганск; Kuzmichevo)<sup>15</sup>.

## Conclusions

Specific natural conditions and a traditional economic system based on fishing and hunting left an imprint on the appearance unapproved by the people living along the Indigirka River: *ugly – стыдкой/stydkoi – стыдной/stydnoi – интересной/interesnoi – рыластой/rylastoi – хмуластой/khmulastoi*. *Smug – щеголеватый/shchegolevatyi – хворчистой/khvorchistoi – раскудыстой/raskudystoi*. *Интересной он человек, некрасивый, рыластой парень, страшной, стыдной он/He is not a pleasant man, ill-favored, wretched and pitiful* (Russkoe Ustie). *Видон-король стыдкой, да есь кров в нем православная/Vidon is a bad ruler but he is also a man of God* (Russkoe Ustie; Boba Korolevich). The lexical-semantic group "integral appearance" comprises smaller classes of words – "human body and its parts". It includes nominations and characteristics of external anatomical features and body parts. There are the following subgroups: physique: *высокий/vysokii – долгий/dolgii – долгоногий/dolgonogii – длинный/dlinnyi*; *Он долгий парнишка, длинный/He is a tall and lanky kid* (Russkoe Ustie); nominations of body parts and inner organs: *гнузавый/gnuzavyi – глухоносый/glukhonosyi – под нос говорящий/rod nos govoryashchii*; *Он не так говорит как мы, он глухоносый, подноsgоворящий/He does not speak the way we do, he is deaf-nosed and always mutter* (Russkoe Ustie); *близорукий/blizorukii – морговатый/morgovatyi*. *He always blink his eyes, that is because he is short-sighted* (Russkoe Ustie).

The lexical-semantic group "functional features of appearance" comprises nominations denoting the person's movements, human body and its parts, manner of walking and speaking. Feeling part of a wild and harsh environment, Russian old-timers

<sup>15</sup> E. M. Vereshchagin y V.G. Kostomarov, *Yazyk i kultura* (Moscow: Russkii yazyk, 1990).

developed a system of experience and knowledge, which approved dexterity and high performance. *Работник он хлопотливой, без дела не сидит. Старик всегда в бегах да в бегах, везде успевает/He is a diligent worker and does not fiddle his thumbs. The old man works like a beaver and has time for everything* (Nizhnekolymsk; Походское; Cherskii). *А она работная женщина, всё на бегах да на ногах/She is a hard-working woman and never sits idly* (Lensky District; Старая Мухтя). *Talkative – говорливый/govorlivyi – басник/basnik – балабол/balabol. Бай не бай, а толку с ей нету, да и жизнь у ей всю дорогу худая была/Ануway, she is of no help to us because she has a hard life* (Колыма; Походское). *А чё к нему делается? Учи не учи, бай не бай ему, а толку ничуть, он всё своё твердит. Он какой-то скоропостижной/Everything we say will roll off his back! No one can teach him a lesson, he stays his ground. Why should we waste our breath anymore? He is that stubborn* (Пеледуй; Старая Мухтя). *Чё и бать, молодые-то сейчас совсем другие/Well, the youth is different now* (Russkoe Ustie). *Вот шухума-то ты баешь, ты же не знаешь, как у нас там было да. Алляшишь да ладно как из ума вышедшой/Why are you peddling stories? You do not know how it was. Are you out of your mind?* (Labaznoe; Косухино; Kuzmichevo). *Я сам знаю, куды идти да кому писачь. Шухума баять не стану/I know whom to address and what to write. I will not fool around* (Russkoe Ustie; Старый Яр).

The lexical-semantic group "expressive appearance" combines lexemes containing the corresponding seme: *handsome – красавец/krasavets – приветливый/privetlivyi – приемистый/priemisty – приемной/priemnoi – доброумной/dobroumnoi – мирной/mirnoi. Она же красавец человек, долго поваром поварила/She is kind person and worked as a cook for a long time* (Russkoe Ustie). *Доброумной человек посоветует людям хорошее, он спокойный/He is a good-natured person and will give a good piece of advice. He is reasonable* (Russkoe Ustie). *Smart – грамотный/gramotnyi – могучий/moguchii – мудреной/mudrenoi – вразумный/vrasumnyi – вразумительный/vrazumitelnyi – головастой/golovastyi – смековатой/smekovatyi. Они у них все вразумительные, учились хорошо/They all are intelligent and studied well* (Russkoe Ustie). *Смековатой, все понимает на ходу, головастой он/He has his head screwed on right and is a quick learner* (Russkoe Ustie). *Stupid – глупый/gluruu – алясной/alyasnoi – беспонятной/besponyatnoi – недоумненькой/nedoumnenkoi – худоумной/khudoumnoi – дурашливый/durashlivyi. Он все к вам моготсказать, чё знает да не знает да. Безголик он просто/He could tell you a lot of things regardless of his awareness. He is a quipster. Безголик/bezgolik -a, (masculine) – остряк, насмешник (a funny man, mocker). Загнали наших в тупик, да и болото кругома-ка, лес, а имям, варягам, только бы человеческу силу уничтожать/They drove our people to a dead end, pushed them into the middle of a swamp and forest. These foreign entrants have the only purpose to destroy us. Варяг/varyag -a, (masculine) – disapproving. Фое. Restless – беспокойный/bespokoynyi – безуемной/bezuemnoi – бушуетный/bushueshnyi – заполошной/zapoloshnoi – заполошливый/zapoloshlivyi – гоношливый/gonoshlivyi – незаладной/nezaladnoi. Она сильно бушуетныбыват, когда рассердиться или выпьет/He is quick-tempered and easily becomes angry when he is drunk* (Russkoe Ustie). *Председателю нас заполошенный/Our chairman is restless* (Russkoe Ustie). *Безуемны как дети пошли, никак не уймешь, не остановишь их/They are just like children. If are unstoppable* (Russkoe Ustie). Characteristics of one's folklore appearance reveal the undoubted peculiarity of lexical units which can be interchangeable and complement each other in certain cases.

For example, the word *альясный* can be used to describe not only a stupid and dumb person but also a chatty one who speaks uselessly and incessantly. *Алясный ты человек, мелешь чего сам не толкуешь/How stupid you are! You have no idea what you are talking about* (Russkoe Ustie).

The groups of words that make up the subfield "external man" are based on "folklore texts"<sup>16</sup> and highlight significance, evaluativeness and symbolism. Their specifics are expressed by a close connection, a high degree of interdependence and interchangeability. It is a common practice when antonyms that are often used together cease to be opposed and become compared, i.e. they can function as synonyms. At the same time, words with a similar meaning can turn into antonyms.

Folklore linguistic consciousness is very sensitive to expressive shades of meaning, which usually convey a collective attitude to events, life situations and people's actions. In general, both positive and negative emotional assessment is explained by facts of objective reality, an expression of respect, approval, condemnation or neglect.

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<sup>16</sup> R. V. Kamenetskaya, Russkie starozhily v nizovyakh r. Indigirki (Etnograficheskii ocherk). Folklor Russkogo Ustyia. Leningrad. 1986.



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