

Proverbs and sayings collected by A.E. Kulakovsky: language analysis as a source of ethnocultural information

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Abstract. Since proverbs and sayings reflect the historical experience of the people, they are of value to historians, ethnographers, folklorists, linguists. The layer of archaic phenomena of the language found in folklore, lost in the process of its development, can serve as valuable sources in the study of the language, culture, and features of the way of life of the people. In the late XIX-early XX centuries A.E. Kulakovsky managed to collect and record proverbs and sayings expressing the wisdom and spiritual wealth of the Yakut people, their keen and deep aphoristic talent. The researcher believed that proverbs and sayings are the most valuable part of the folklore material he collected as the focus of the accuracy, compression and strength of the language. The paper attempted to study proverbs and sayings from the point of view of the presence of historicisms and archaisms, which not only reflect the realities of the life of the people of a certain historical time, but also serve a valuable source of study of the ethnography of the Yakuts. The division of obsolete words in the composition of proverbs and sayings into parts of speech is dictated by the need to identify signs of the greatest variability in the language development.

1 Introduction

Currently, the study of folklore as a unique source of verbal folklore occupies a special place in international and domestic philology. Even the first researchers of folklore considered proverbs and sayings as a source to study history, culture and ethnography.

The outstanding Russian ethnographer and folklorist I.M. Snegirev (1793-1868) saw a reflection of different eras and events of the Russian history in proverbs: "...Proverbs, being closely connected with the history of the language and people, can serve as monuments of various folk circumstances and manuals for history. In this regard, they can be: a) chronological in terms of time; b) topographic in terms of place; c) and ethnographic in terms of people. In the latter respect, they can be public and family, urban and rural". The researcher noted that "the same proverb, which passed through several centuries and through different places, was expressed in different forms, changing in words and in the structure of speech, was reduced there, spread here, belonged to one there and to another subject here, was taken there in its direct and here in a figurative sense. The proverbs both among the people, and also in the language represent the mixture of ancient and new, indigenous with inculcated, domestic with foreign, urban with rural. An organic integer is thus formed from this mixture of different elements" [1, p. 12-13].

2 Materials and methods

The author of the first bibliographic reference book on Russian paremiography (1435 words) M.I. Shakhnovich (1911-1992) in the dissertation *Russian proverbs and sayings as a historical source* (1936) wrote about the role of proverbs and sayings in the study of history, language, as well as the belief of the people [2].

Another famous folklorist and semiologist G.L. Permyakov (1919-1983) considered the issue of classification of paroemias to be the main issue, without an answer to which paremiology cannot develop as a science [3, p. 11-13]. He suggested dividing proverbs and sayings into the following groups: alphabetical, lexical, monographic, genetic and thematic. However, he noted that "each of the described systems has its own advantages and disadvantages and can be used with a certain success in specific cases. However, these systems have one common defect: they all rely on random signs that are not connected or almost unrelated to the nature of the sayings themselves. That is why none of the existing systems for classifying proverbs and sayings can serve as the basis for creating an objective theory of the genre" [3, p. 11-13].

The first news of the life, morals, beliefs and verbal folklore of the Yakuts is found in the works of travelers of the XVII-XVIII centuries, in which information about folklore is limited to transmitting the content of legends and traditions. A special study of Yakut proverbs and sayings originates from the works of exiled revolutionaries I.A. Khudyakov E.K. Pekarsky, V.L. Seroshevsky and S.V. Yastremsky.

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The first collector of Yakut folklore was I.A. Khudyakov (1842-1876), a student of the prominent Russian folklorist F.I. Buslaev. In 1890, his *Verkhoyan Collection* was published, which included tales, olonkho (Yakut folk epic), songs, riddles, proverbs and sayings collected by him during the period of Verkhoyan exile. The collection includes 123 proverbs and sayings [4].

The next stage in the collection of Yakut folklore is made up of the works of the participants of the Yakut (Sibiryakovskaya) expedition in 1894-1896, which, unlike previous expeditions, included a special section on verbal folklore. E.K. Pekarsky, S.V. Yastremsky, V.M. Ionov and others were invited to the expedition. Literate Yakuts (G.K. Orosin, M.N. Androsova-Ionova, etc.) were also involved, who recorded works of verbal folklore out of the mouth of the population in compliance with the scientific recording method. The results of the expedition formed the basis of the *Samples of folk literature of the Yakuts* by E.K. Pekarsky in three volumes, which is one of the largest publications of texts of the Yakut Olonkho [5]. In 1929 the book by S.V. Yastremsky under the same name, which except olonkho included songs, proverbs, sayings and riddles with the translation into Russian, was published [6].

The first collector and researcher of folklore and ethnography of the Yakuts from among the peoples is A.E. Kulakovsky, who at the end of the XIX century began an associated work to collect and systematize the materials of oral creativity of his native people. The researcher, as a language speaker and pundit distinguished proverbs and sayings from other genres of folklore noting that they “reflect, as in the mirror, the entire worldview of given people, their life, character, observation and even historical past” [7, p. 3]. A.E. Kulakovsky gave special attention to the language and poetic form of proverbs and sayings emphasizing their alliteration and rhyming. The corps of Yakut proverbs and sayings collected and systematized by him with large material on phraseology contained in them, with dialect versions, their interpretation and author’s translation into Russian serves some kind of a scientific reference for researchers [8, p. 259].

Proverbs and sayings collected by A.E. Kulakovsky in the late XIX-early XX centuries have existed among the people since time immemorial. Being passed on they were modified, refined, influenced by historical time. Used in live folk speech they have undergone changes more than other genres of folklore, for example, fairy tales and traditions. Proverbs and sayings, unlike other genres of folklore, have the strongest connection with the language, being peculiar speech expressions used in spoken and written speech. Language exists in constant motion, development, and the most mobile level of a language is vocabulary: it primarily responds to all changes in the society. The lexical composition of the Yakut language reflects the history of the people. The proverbs capture all the cognitive experience of the people, their moral and ethical, socio-aesthetic, artistic and educational ideals.

3 Results and Discussion

Proverbs in Yakut are called *oc xohoono*. The word “oc” has a meaning corresponding to the general Turkic word “соч” (“соч”, “суз”), i.e. word, speech. And the word “xohoono” in various combinations is used in the meaning of a semantic expression, content. Thus, the Yakut term “oc xohoono” means: meaningful speech, semantic speech, saying [9, p. 340].

It should be noted that the Yakuts do not distinguish proverbs from sayings and commonly refer to them as *oc xohoono*. A.E. Kulakovsky in the preface to the *Yakut Proverbs and Sayings* speaks of the “impossibility of drawing a strict line between some proverbs and sayings... Sayings can be learned from the absence of figurative meaning in them, as opposed to proverbs that have direct and figurative meanings, of which the first is called the autology of a proverb” [7, p. 5].

A characteristic feature of proverbs that distinguish them in form from other genres of folk poetry is extreme brevity. A proverb is a work in one sentence: “Көссүө тыл бэлиэ” – “A smart word is noticeable” [10, p. 146]; “Баҕарбыт маска ыттар” – “The one having a desire can even climb a tree” [10, p. 117]. As the researcher of Yakut folklore G.U. Ergis emphasized: “Such brevity comes from the law of unity of form and content of artistic and literary creativity. Not every judgment becomes a proverb. A proverb is a traditional judgment (teaching, conclusion, etc.), which became part of the speech of a whole group of people, nationalities, nation” [9, p. 345].

The works on Yakut folklore collected throughout his life in the vast territory of the Yakut region A.E. Kulakovsky managed to publish only with the advent of the Soviet power, when, along with the priority tasks of the development of incipient Yakut literature, the issue of collecting materials on all genres and types of Yakut folklore was raised. In 1923 the *Materials for the Study of the Yakut Belief* were published in the *Notes of the Yakutsk Regional Geographical Society*, where the researcher systematically presented the materials on the oral poetic work of the Yakuts [11].

Yakut Proverbs and Sayings was published in 1925 in the collection of scientific works *Саха кэскилэ* (the first research society in Yakutia), which included 965 proverbs and sayings and 110 their versions [7]. The materials are given in Yakut (alphabetical order) with author’s translation into Russian, the preface and comments are made in Russian. In the preface the author emphasizes the great importance of proverbs and sayings as a valuable material for studying the worldview, life and household of the people. “A scholar or ethnographer”, he writes, “who studies the proverbs of any people, will always find a lot of interesting and characteristic about this people” [7, p. 3]. Speaking about the ambiguity of folk sayings, A.E. Kulakovsky noted that proverbs fully express their artistic value and full meaning when they are used in live speech: “when you hear a proverb successfully applied to a case or a person, there are no boundaries to surprise and admiration” [Ibid.]. The author writes about “theoretical aspects of studying small forms of verbal folklore, shares experience in collecting, classifying materials, reveals the main methodological directions in their study” [12, p. 113-

114]. The scientific value of the work of A.E. Kulakovsky was noted by N.V. Emelyanov: “A detailed explanation of the figurative and direct meaning of each saying turned the collection into a kind of interpretative directory of Yakut proverbs. Besides, to fully disclose the content of proverbs, the author cites Russian proverbs similar to the Yakut sayings”. He further writes: “All these detailed interpretations, explanations and comments pull Alexei Eliseevich’s book out of the framework of a simple collection and bring it closer to the original research work on Yakut proverbs and sayings” [13, p. 70].

It is worth emphasizing the alphabetical position of proverbs, which is extremely rare in the works of researchers. N.V. Emelyanov in the *Kulakovsky’s Works on Yakut Folklore* emphasized the lack of alphabetical systematization by A.E. Kulakovsky based on the position of V.I. Dahl: “sayings are tagged without any meaning and connection, according to one random, and moreover, often variable appearance” [13, p. 70]. However, such a position of proverbs and sayings by A.E. Kulakovsky is justified by the desire of the researcher to exclude the repetition of samples during thematic separation, since Yakut proverbs and sayings often have a figurative meaning and ambiguity. Besides, the researcher wrote about the predominance of everyday proverbs as opposed to historical, mythological and religious ones, which also creates difficulties in thematic division according to the semantic principle.

Noting the importance of A.E. Kulakovsky as a collector and expert of folklore, P.V. Sivtseva-Maksimova writes that his “conclusions confirm his special understanding of the laws of development and living dynamics of the language, as well as the ability to analytically deepen into processes taking place in the everyday life of the society. But on the other hand, they prove his self-separation from political events related to the revolution, because his principled conviction was the desire to preserve culture, he found the way to educate the people in their original spiritual traditions. Concern for the fate of the native language is the basis and source of his tireless painstaking studies of the figurative word as the evidence of the spiritual identity of the Sakha people” [14, p. 52].

As the researcher of Yakut folklore G.U. Ergis fairly commented: “Proverbs and sayings are a historically developing genre of verbal folklore, constantly updated, responding to all changes in the development of human society. New eras give new sayings” [9, p. 341-342]. He considers two main points in the existence of proverbs and sayings: rethinking and creating new sayings. If there are no questions with the second point, then the first deserves attention, since rethinking occurs when new conditions appear, but the need for the use of proverbs and sayings remains. In this case, words that do not belong to the active vocabulary are dropped out and replaced with new, modern synonyms – the content of already existing proverbs is updated, deepened. If the sayings in content and meaning do not meet the requirements of the new era, then they “go out of fashion” and out of use.

The presence of a large percentage of obsolete words and names of Yakut deities and spirits (иччи) was revealed as a result of the analysis of proverbs and sayings collected

by A.E. Kulakovsky. The largest group contains lexical archaisms, which can be systematized into parts of speech. The proverbs and sayings contain:

Nouns:

- **names of organs, parts of the body of a person or animals:** *Айах адаҕата, буюһах бохсуута* – he – hopple for mouth, delay for the esophagus. People say this about an extra mouth to feed in a family that does not help in work [10, p. 11]. The word *буюһах* – pharynx, the beginning of the esophagus. Turkic *боҕаз* is not currently used [15].

Ачатын ылларбыт – deprived of small intestines. People say this about people who have lost strength in the fight against disease or enemy [10, p. 116]. The word *ача* in the meaning of inner fat, inner lard is not used [15]. A modern speaker of the Yakut language can perceive the saying in a distorted meaning, literally as “having lost his grass”, since the word *ача* is understood as a couch grass.

Анаҕаһын көрдөрдө – showed his fangs. People say this when the debtor or junior public officer, or generally the one to whom they went for some peaceful affair, will take a resisting or threatening position instead of the expected good reception [10, p. 110]. The word *анаҕас* – fangs of a predatory beast [15]. The word *аһыы* is currently used instead of the word *анаҕас*.

Сүрэмим ытарҕата, быарым тулайыаҕа – (this) ear of my heart and the appendage of my liver. People say this about a dear creature, in particular, about the only beloved child [10, p. 173]. The saying is outdated and almost not used, it is found only in fiction books.

Халаабыһа хапсыйда, кутуйалааһын курданна – his bag corrugated, and shingled with his guts. People joke like this about a hungry person [10, p. 193]. The word *кутуяа* – the second stomach of ruminants is not used [15]. The word *халаабыс* – a bag, a feedbag made of road elk hide (chamois), fish skin or from the bladder of an animal has passed into a number of historicisms, since it is not being made now [15].

Халын хаһанан харчы кэбиһэр, суон саалынан мохсуо кэбиһэр – plays with thick abdominal fat, like money, plays with thick cervical fat, like scallops. People say this about a rich man – a man of pleasure [10, p. 194]. The word *саал* – a fat deposit on horse withers is replaced by commonly used *жир* (fat) [15].

Өнчөбүн көрдөрдө – showed his back (i.e. back of a head, back, rear). People say this when someone retreats back, breaking faith to help in something [10, p. 170]. The word *өнчөх* – back is rarely used in the meaning of the reverse side of an ax, less often – a knife [15].

Холтон хоннуотун хоннорон ылбыт курдук холмойдо – was disappointed as if the ribs were taken away from the front horse quilt. Stitch with ribs covered with a thick layer of fat is considered the best gift and present [10, p. 197]. The word *хоннуо* – fat on the front ribs of a horse passed into a series of archaisms, the word *ойгоһос* is used instead [15].

Хотоҕойун куурнут – he has already dried his wings. People say this about preparations for departure or leave [10, p. 142]. The word *хотоҕой* – wing of a bird; upper part of a bird wing [15]. Currently, the word *хотоҕой* is not used, and is replaced by the word *кынат* (wing).

Дяхтар санаата аһынаабар кылгас – a woman's mind is shorter than her hair. Yakuts suggest that anger depends on the size of the chest cavity [10, p. 130]. The word *ас* – human hair [15]. Currently, the expression “астыйбыт баттах” is commonly used meaning gray hair.

groups of people: *Эрдэ турар эрдыгэн, хойутаан утуйар кулут* – a quick fellow who rises with the sun and a servant staying up late [10, p. 207]. The word *эрдыгэн* – daredevil, braveheart [15]. The word is hardly used, it can be found in fiction in the meaning of “a young man in the prime of life”.

Симэхсини сизэммикэ дылы – similar to flirting with a decrepit old woman living on someone's dependence. “Симякчин” – in Turkic – a servant, appears only in Yakut fairy tales [10, p. 164]. The word *симэхсин* – used in the meaning of “nullity”, expresses an irritable-contemptuous attitude towards an old woman [15]. The word is not currently used.

Иддыт сааннат, тэнсик куттаммат, кэлбит килбигийбэт – a messenger is not ashamed, the transferring order is not afraid, a person arriving to the point is not confused [10, p. 132]. The word *тэнсик* – a person through whom an oral message, an order is transmitted, a messenger, a courier [15]. The word *тэнсик* refers to historicisms.

Кырдьан баран кыраһым буолбукка дылы – similar to becoming a petty thief while growing old. People say this about people who are mistaken for an unfamiliar affair [10, p. 143]. The word *кыраһым* – a petty thief [15]. The word is completely out of use.

- clothing: *Была быстыбат, холто бараммат* – the miserable remains of the eaten and rags do not end. The meaning of this saying is that while a person is alive, he always has something that he can live for [10, p. 124]. The word *была* – the last balance [15]. The word *холто* – scruffy, wiped fur clothes from the skin [15]. *Была* and *холто* are not used, the proverb is out of use.

Баскар бакаайы, атаһар адаба, илиигэр илгээр буоллун – let it be a bandage on your head, a block on your leg, a burden on your arm [10, p. 120]. The word *бакаайы* – a heavy burden, a burden, a hindrance [15]. The word *илгээр* is not found in the modern explanatory dictionary.

Биир угуньаба угаттаата – put in one bedding (shoe). People say this when they make a common hair washing at once to many children, or servants [10, p. 122]. The word *угуньа* – an insole made of hay or horse hair, put in shoes (for example, in soft boots made of deer skins) for warmth or softness [15]. It is rarely used in literal sense, although the proverb itself is active in the meaning of “approach everyone with the same conditions”, close to the meaning of the Russian proverb “tar everyone with the same brush”.

Күн туллара, күһэнэ быстара буолла – it is time for the sun to fall, and the cord attaching the күһэнэ to break. The proverb is used to express the most critical moment [10, p. 148]. The word *күһэнэ* – a common name for ritual decorations on the back of a shamanic cloak – metal plates in the form of a circle depicting the sun, moon, etc. [15]. The word *күһэнэ* is a historicism.

Сургунах суруксута, мыаннарыйк быыбарнайа – a clerk of pant rings, elective of pant belts [10, p. 168]. The

word *сургунах* – a strap or a copper ring on knuckles, to which the strap of knuckles is attached [15]. The word *мыаннарыйк* – a tie in female belt for knitting knuckles to them [15]. The words completely went into a number of historicisms.

Си барыга сымса сыалыйа, бырахса мыаннарыйк буоллаххыный – about those women who are adjacent to any conversation that has nothing to do with them [10, p. 163]. The word *сыалыйа* – short pants sewn from distinguished leather, stumps [15]. The word is found only in fiction texts.

Тураах “мин оҕом саары чаккылаах” диэбитигэр дылы – similar to a crow said that her fledgling crow has shoes made of “саары”. “Саары” – dubbed and black mare skin, from which the Yakuts make good shoes and which is available only to wealthy people. The proverb is used to laugh at those who praise their illaudable taking advantage of only a minor secondary quality of the praised [10, p. 181]. In the Yakut version, the word *саары* is out of use, replaced by the word *замиа* (chamois).

Сүүһүгэр түптүрдээх, харабар ханнахтаах – He has a tire on his forehead, and a bandage on his eyes. People say this about people who are not responsive to someone else's grief and need [10, p. 76]. The word *түптүр* – a cover of something is not currently used [15].

- kitchenware and dishware: *Кытыйа кыырыда, хамыйах хардааччыта, мэхэмэн мэхчиргэтэ* – bowl falcon, spoon hawk, Tursuk owl [10, p. 144]. The word *кытыйа* – a wooden chopped bowl of medium size, *мэхэмэн* – a small birch bark dish with a lid, birchbark basket [15]. With the revival of Yakut dishes, the word *кытыйа* returned to everyday life (made of ceramics and porcelain), the word *мэхэмэн* is out of use.

Түктүйлээх үөр торбос сааба буруолаатар эрэ эрэйригэр дылы – similar to how a үөр locked in a birchbark house counts on a handout even when veal feces smoke from evaporation. The proverb is used when someone too cheekily wants to be shared with him the negligible [10, p. 184]. The word *түктүйэ* – birchbark vessel where earlier the Yakuts kept fish for the future now belongs to historicisms [15].

Күөс харыата өгөлөөххүн диэбиккэ дылы – similar to saying: “I did her a favor by giving shingles from an old broken pot”. People say this about people who do not forget their insignificant deeds [10, p. 149]. The word *харыа* was not found in a dictionary.

Айах үрдүн охтор – take (literally – fell) the top of the cup. People say this to ask the most venerable elder of all, first of all bringing him the kumis cup at the spring festival organized in honor of the heavenly gods [10, p. 109]. The word *айах* – a big cup (choron) for kumis is found only in fiction texts [15].

Айах ыла аба – so much older to take the first kumis cup. People say this about the oldest by age for only a few days [10, p. 109]. The word *айах* – slightly older than someone [15].

- food: *Биир ылбайы сэттэтэ уолпукка дылы* – similar to putting one little in a mouth in parts seven times. People say this in ridicule to women who move and eat exaggeratingly slowly simply coquetting [10, p. 122]. The word *ылбай* – juvenile, young fish (fish) [15]. The word is not currently used.

Сыаны сымаба биэрбиккэ дылы – similar to exchanging fat for rotten fish. People say this about an unprofitable change-deal [10, p. 171]. The word *сыма* – a small fish (lake minnow) leavened in pits dug for this lined with larch bark [15]. With the revival of national cuisine, the word is found in cooking literature.

Тарбаан сиур тар, харбаан сиур хайах – frozen curdled milk, which we eat, scratching Chukhon oil from it, which we eat rubbing with fingers [10, p. 176]. The word *тар* – overbred sour milk product suorat stored frozen for winter, frozen suorat [15]. The word *хайах* – butter churn in warm milk, buttermilk or plain water, used in frozen form [15]. The words *тар, хайах* are found only in special literature, as well as in literary texts.

- **hunting: Куйатыгар-манкытыгар** *обустарбат* – he does not allow even to his *куойа* (kuoya) and *манкы* (manky). The proverb is used when someone does not respond to someone's requests or persuasion [10, p. 141]. The word *куойа* – rim of a fishing saka, which is used to catch sluggish fish situated under the ice through the hole with its rotational movement [15]; *манкы* – a handle of a fishing sack [52]. With the revival of national hunting and fishing species, the words *куойа-манкы* are included in the speech pattern.

Туу киһи кистэтэ суох, тыыннаах киһи аһа суох – a neb cannot be without internal round props, a person cannot be without food. Poor people derive themselves consolation from such thoughts eating the last food supplies and hoping that there will be something to eat in the future [10, p. 181]. The word *кистэ* – an internal hoop (e.g. of a creel) [15]. The word is used by a limited group of people engaged in fishing.

Бырахпыт быыра курдук барда – disappeared like a shoot bone arrow. People say this about the missing person that “disappeared like a stone” [10, p. 125]. The word *быыра* – a throwing weapon (combat and hunting) – a short spear (dart) or a large knife [15]. The word belongs to historicisms.

Эстэр элбэрээк, сылбырба кымньыы – shooting chelak and lightning-fast whip. Chelak – one of the lever drives of an arblast. People say this about the right hand serving zealously to its cartridge [10, p. 208]. The word *элбэрээк* – a gun trigger [15]. The word *элбэрээк* in literal meaning is replaced by the word *чыыбыс* – a trigger.

- **animals, birds, insects: Курдьабаҕын хомун, кыдьыккын кыан** – collect your insects, exterminate your lust. A woman thus mortifies a heartthrob [10, p. 138]. The word *курдьаба* – insects, small cattle, caterpillars [15]. The word is outdated and out of use.

Тэбиэн саҕа хара санаатааҕар түөн саҕа үрүн санаа ордук – a light thought of *түөн* is better than a black thought of a camel. *Түөн* – a cone-shaped piece of a spunk, which is put in a sick place of muscles, and then lit [10, p. 183]. The word *тэбиэн* – a camel [15]. The word speaks of the Yakuts' knowledge of the camel, which shows the southern origin of the Yakuts. For example, the proverb “*ыытар кыырдым, тэбэр мохсоҕолум*” – my screeching and beating falcon, also confirms the knowledge of the Yakuts of falconry hunting.

Хой баһа тыл – untranslatable. People say this when they hear a word or a sentence that is not at all relevant [10, p. 196]. The word *хой* – a ram [15].

We also find **proper names** that have turned into common names. The origin of some names could not be established. For example: *Буруй эрэ Моттойоҕо диэбиккэ дылы* – similar to saying: *Mottoy-ye* is the one to blame. Similar to Russian proverb: “All cones are thrown to poor Makar” [10, p. 124].

Киллэнэ ийэтин тэнсибитигэр дылы – similar to the situation when Killenge stamped on his mother. The proverb is used when someone offends a very close person [10, p. 134].

Бэс ыйыгар Бээчээн муннун үлүпнүтүгэр дылы – similar to the situation when Byachyan froze his nose in June. Byachyan is a famous warrior of the Dygin era, and whether he froze his nose is unknown. The proverb is used when someone does not dress warm for the season [10, p. 128].

Омоллоон ыты сүлбүтүгэр дылы – similar to the situation when Omollon beat the dog hide off. Autology: Omollon is a legendary hero. Whether the legendary Omollon really beat the dog hide off is unknown, but this is possible. The proverb is used when someone is engaged in a negligible and mean business [10, p. 156].

Кучум булуута, Омоллоон олоҕо, Дьэргэстэй ыһыаҕа – the gain of Kuchum, the life of Omollon, the celebration of Zhergestey. People say this about unexpected gain and luck, about a cheerful and wasteful life [10, p. 141].

Чыныс хаан ыйааҕа, одун хаан онгоһуута [10, p. 199]. The proverb speaks of the knowledge by the ancient Yakuts of Genghis Khan and the Scandinavian god Odin.

Words that do not belong to any noun group:

Өлөөрү гыммыт өлөнтөн тардыһар – a dying person grabs holds of grass [10, p. 160]. The word *өлөн* – marsh manna [12]. The word *өлөн* is not used, stored in the names of the *Өлөннөөх* localities.

Хайыгын охсунна – whelmed himself with хайыгын. In winter Yakuts whelm their yurts around with snow rubble to protect them from the cold. *Хайыгын* – any protection from cold. The proverb is used in the sense that the one in question has already prepared the ground in advance with words to repulse, refuse, protest, even explanations, etc. [10, p. 193]. The word *хайыгын* – a low embankment (e.g. snow) around something. (e.g. yurts), a mound of earth [15]. The lexical meaning of the word *хайыгын* is little known to modern Yakuts, although the proverb is actively used in speech.

Атыыр орус алтаҕа, хат дьахтар хаамыыта – a slow course of the ground and the steps of a pregnant woman. A proverb is about slow, phlegmatic people [10, p. 116]. The word *алтах* – a turtle move [15]. The word is not used as a noun, it is found in the phrase “*алтахтаан хаамар*” – walking slowly.

Тимир илии, кытаҕас ытыс – a hand like an iron, a palm like tongs [10, p. 177]. The word *кытаҕас* – large blacksmith tongs [15]. With the revival of blacksmithing, the word began to be used by a limited group of people, namely masters of blacksmithing.

Омук сирэ одурууннаах, өһүк сирэ өһүргэстээх – a foreign side is dangerous, and your own is offensive [10, p. 156]. The word *өһүк* – neighbors, relatives, insiders – is completely out of use [15].

Adjectives: *Сон сабыы тюрхай, ыгыыр сыттык ыарыылаах* – a coat blanket is cold, a saddle pillow is hard. People say this about bachelors persuading them to marry [10, p. 166]. The word *тюрхай* – not suitable enough for anything, useless [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Килэгир харах, көндөй көбүс, хонхо бас – rattled eyes, hollow body, empty head. People say this about about stupid people [10, p. 134]. The word *хонхо* – empty, weak-minded, fool [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Соххор *собоуна, балай баталлыата* – an outrage of a ghastly, the scandal of a blind. People say this about a drunken landfill-confusion [10, p. 167]. The word *соххор* – a scandal with noise and fight, a big riot [15]. The proverb is found in fiction texts.

Эн соххор, мин соххор диэбиккэ дылы – similar to when two one-eyed persons offended each other calling one another one-eyed. People say this about people who reproach each other with weaknesses or misconduct inherent in both [10, p. 207]. The word *соххор* – seeing with only one eye, blind in one eye [15]. The word is rarely used in the meaning of “a person with a physical disability”.

Тор *суолун тордообут, ир суолун ирдээбит* – searching along frozen (old) traces, chasing hot on the heels. People say this in the imminent persecution of someone [10, p. 180]. The interpretation of the words *тор* and *ир* is not found in dictionaries, but presumably *тор* суол – an old trace, *ир* суол – a fresh trace.

Хохумай *бас үбүгэр кирибит* – entered the property of a lonely sticking dry head. People say this about the fosterlings of rich and childless old people that inherited all wealth [10, p. 198]. The word *хохумай* – dried, burnt (about a tree, a branch and leaves of which dried up, burned from severe heat or fire) [15]. The word is not currently used.

Мыынньык *оҕо үүтүн тоҕор* – a child who seems to have been given little milk, and then spills this milk. Meaning: a person not grateful for small favours, loses all [10, p. 152]. The word *мыынньык* – always dissatisfied with what he has [15]. The word is rarely used, although the verb “мынар” – dissatisfied with a small number – is quite used.

Таар *мунурга хааттарар, уһук мун күн* – the last critical day has come when we get into a hopeless deadlock [10, p. 177]. The word *таар* – to get into a hopeless situation [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Spirits, ichchi: *Кээлээни мунур харыйа устатыгар тобус хоммутугар дылы* – similar to the spirit of Keeleeni, which, according to the belief, passes a distance equal to the length of one spruce during 9 days. People say this about slow travelers [10, p. 47]. The word *кээлээни* has 2 meanings: 1. Shaman spirit (presented by shamans as a spirit of love, stuttering, lame and hungry). 2. Shrub snail [10, p. 610]. The second meaning of the word is used in this proverb.

Күөсчүт айабын Барылаах хаайбат – even Barylaah (the spirit of the forest, the deity of hunting) does not forbid a cook to taste the dish. The Yakuts had a custom, according to which, before starting to eat the hunted food, it was necessary to pour something edible

into the fire, intended for Barylakh to placate him [10, p. 149].

Сиргэ түспүт силик, окко түспүт оноһуу – (this) a toss that fell to the ground. Meaning: such is fate, predestination [10, p. 164].

Verbs: *Мэниги таратыма – мэйиигэр ыттыа* – do not indulge a fool with caresses, it will get on your head [10, p. 152]. The word *тарат* – to spoil a lot, to dissolve is rarely used, replaced by the word *атаахтам* – to spoil [15].

Ойуун ойууну көрдөбүнэ көһүөркүүр – a shaman seeing another shaman has more arrogance (or gains exaggerated energy) [10, p. 155]. The word *көһүөркүүр* – to yell, to chant, to show arrogance (out of a sense of rivalry, surviving each other – usually about shamans) [15]. The word belongs to historicisms.

Туораабыты тураах сиир, салыйбыты сарт сиир – a crown beaks the whirling (to a foreign land), a rooster pecks the leaving (from the homeland) [10, p. 182]. The *салыйбыт* – to abandon the attachment to someone/something, to be alien, to stand aside from someone/something. [15]. The proverb is not used, found in fiction texts.

Words borrowed from the Russian language: *Барыһымсах буола сьлдьан манкырыыт буолбукка дылы* – similar to a bankrupt forestaller [10, p. 120]. **Манкырыыт** – bankrupt.

Дьол боппууда эбит – happiness of only half a pound. A joking saying in Yakutsk about a small failure [10, p. 131]. **Боппууда** – half a pound.

Киристисэ *баанныгыын убанпатабым* – I did not burn the bath of Christ (Yakutsk). The speaker does not recognize special criminality [10, p. 134]. **Киристисэ** – Christ.

Бурдук тобуннабына кутуйах кэлэр, харчы тыаһаатабына хаһаах хамныыр – when the grains will fall – a mouse comes hearing the sound of copper money – the Kazakh moves. Autology: in ancient times, the Kazakh in bribery did not lag behind officials [10, p. 123]. **Хаһаах** – Kazakh.

There are also **untranslatable paroemias:** *Кэриэхэ кэриниттэн тахсыбат, торуоха торунуттан тахсыбат*. Untranslatable. The proverb is about the fact that the children of bad parents will be bad [10, p. 147].

Харбатын тэбинэр – untranslatable due to the loss of meaning of the word “харба” [10, p. 195].

Удьуор харалыы, умсуор силик, итим-ситим уруулар – untranslatable. Meaning: they are relatives through their relatives [10, p. 186].

Бардахтаабы махтааты, кэллэхтээби кэмсилэни – what a joy upon equipage and what a disappointment upon return. This proverb is ridiculed by young people after weddings and spring festivities [10, p. 119].

Thus, the analyzed proverbs containing obsolete words undoubtedly serve as a source of ethnographic information, where historicism and archaisms expressing the realities of Yakut life of the late XIX-early XX centuries are preserved in their original form. A.E. Kulakovsky recorded proverbs and sayings during the period when the Yakuts lived separately along the alas, the distances between which were several tens of kilometers even within one ulus. In such conditions, the most

quintessential living speech was transmitted from mouth to mouth, expressing the characteristics of the life of the pre-revolutionary Yakuts.

Obsolete vocabulary from the composition of proverbs and sayings collected by A.E. Kulakovskiy was included in the Great Explanatory Dictionary of the Yakut Language in 15 volumes published by the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Institute for Humanitarian Studies of Small Peoples of the North SB RAS. The studied proverbs and sayings are used as examples, which indicates their active use at the time when they were compiled by the researcher. The fact that they are placed in the *Dictionary of the Yakut Language* by E.K. Pekarskiy also confirms the demand for the A.E. Kulakovskiy's corpus of proverbs and sayings. The scientist noted: "The high cost (of the 8th issue of the dictionary) is explained by the abundance of inserts that had to be made due to my desire to use such beautiful material as Kulakovskiy's *Proverbs and Sayings*, which I thoroughly studied during the printing of the issue" [16].

4 Conclusion

The proverbs and sayings collected by A.E. Kulakovskiy contain a lot of archaisms, historicisms and names of Yakut deities and spirits, which, as a fact of the language culture of the Yakuts of a certain historical time, can act as a source of ethnocultural information. They preserved words from the sphere of economic activity, hunting and fishing, folk crafts, clothing and utensils, housing in an unchanged form, as well as social relations of pre-revolutionary Yakutia and cosmogonic ideas of the Yakuts about the universe.

Obsolete words that are out of use or replaced by modern synonyms reveal the customs, traditions, features of the Yakuts' worldview, their mentality and the intricacies of the estimated attitude of the people to reality and its perception. They reflect the long process of developing the culture of the people, they record and transmit cultural attitudes, stereotypes and standards of behavior from generation to generation. According to the fair comment of F.I. Buslaev, proverbs and sayings contain "both moral law and common sense expressed in short sayings, which the ancestors bequeathed to the descendants" [17, p. 209].

The study revealed that there are more obsolete nouns than other parts of speech. As a basic lexical category, the noun is more subject to changes with the development of society, and is also replaced by modern synonyms depending on the logical and figurative component of paroemias. Thus, in the process of historical development of the genre, proverbs and sayings reach us in a slightly modified form, in an expanded and figurative sense.

The living speech of the people, engrave by time, recorded by a professional collector and a native speaker, can serve as a valuable source in the study of the language, culture, and lifestyle features of the Yakuts in their centuries-old development. Over time, the folklore works of A.E. Kulakovskiy did not only lose their significance, but also became the object of close attention in addition to

researchers of the Yakut word and scientists of other specialties, including ethnographers.

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