

**TABOO IN TRADITIONAL LINGUISTIC CULTURES (BASED ON THE YAKUT LANGUAGE AND RUSSIAN OLD-TIME DIALECTS OF YAKUTIA)**

**TABU NAS CULTURAS LINGUÍSTICAS TRADICIONAIS (COM BASE NA LÍNGUA YAKUT E OS DIALETOS DA ANTIGUIDADE RUSSA DE YAKUTIA)**

**TABÚ EN CULTURAS LINGÜÍSTICAS TRADICIONALES (BASADO EN EL LENGUAJE YAKUT Y LOS DIALECTOS ANTIGUOS RUSOS DE YAKUTIA)**

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**ABSTRACT:** *This paper is devoted to the study and analysis of the phenomenon of taboo in the traditional cultures of peoples living in the Arctic zone of Russia. The unique lexical material of the language of the Russian old-timers of the Arctic, reflecting the peculiarities of their worldview, is introduced into the scholarly discourse. The forbidden vocabulary and taboos on actions presented in the material under consideration cover, first of all, such language systems as the semantic fields "Hunting and fishing", "Disease", "Death" in a regular way. Due to the continuity of generations, in traditional cultures, many ancient prohibitions (maybe some in a distorted form) and ideas about them have survived to this day. The area of taboo reflects the features of the traditional life and management of peoples living in the Far North, serving as material for reconstructing fragments of the linguistic worldview.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Taboo. Forbidden vocabulary. Euphemism. Yakut language. Russian old-time dialects.*

**RESUMO:** *Este artigo se dedica ao estudo e análise do fenômeno do tabu nas culturas tradicionais dos povos que vivem na zona ártica da Rússia. O material léxico único da língua dos russos veteranos do Ártico, refletindo as peculiaridades de sua visão de mundo, é introduzido no discurso acadêmico. O vocabulário proibido e os tabus sobre as ações apresentados no material em análise abrangem, em primeiro lugar, sistemas de linguagem como os campos semânticos "Caça e pesca", "Doença", "Morte" de forma regular. Devido à continuidade de gerações, nas culturas tradicionais, muitas proibições antigas (talvez algumas de forma distorcida) e ideias sobre elas sobreviveram até hoje. A área do tabu reflete as características da vida tradicional e da gestão dos povos que vivem no Extremo Norte, servindo como material para reconstruir fragmentos da visão de mundo linguística.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Tabu. Vocabulário proibido. Eufemismo. Língua yakut. Dialectos russos antigos.*

**RESUMEN:** *Este artículo está dedicado al estudio y análisis del fenómeno del tabú en las culturas tradicionales de los pueblos que viven en la zona ártica de Rusia. El material léxico único del idioma de los antiguos rusos del Ártico, que refleja las peculiaridades de su cosmovisión, se introduce en el discurso académico. El*

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*vocabulario prohibido y los tabúes sobre las acciones presentados en el material en cuestión cubren, en primer lugar, sistemas lingüísticos como los campos semánticos "Caza y pesca", "Enfermedad", "Muerte" de manera regular. Debido a la continuidad de generaciones, en las culturas tradicionales, muchas prohibiciones antiguas (tal vez algunas en forma distorsionada) e ideas sobre ellas han sobrevivido hasta nuestros días. El área de tabú refleja las características de la vida tradicional y la gestión de los pueblos que viven en el Extremo Norte, sirviendo como material para reconstruir fragmentos de la cosmovisión lingüística.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Tabú. Vocabulario prohibido. Eufemismo. Idioma Yakut. Dialectos rusos de antaño.*

## Introduction

Linguistics regularly addressed the problem of taboos and euphemisms to one degree or another. In Russian linguistics, topical issues of taboo were raised primarily by well-known researchers in the middle of the last 20th century. A.A. Reformatsky, L.A. Bulakhovsky, B.A. Larin in the 1960s raised the issues of linguistic taboo both in their educational materials and in individual works (Reformatskii, 1967; Bulakhovskii, 1954; Larin, 1961).

The problem of euphemisms is the subject of a special work by B.A. Larin "On euphemisms" (Larin, 1961), where the author recommends clearly distinguishing "surviving substitute words according to the prohibitions of ancient religions (taboos) and modern euphemisms" (Larin, 1961, p. 119). Using the term "renaming by prohibition" for ancient euphemisms, B.A. Larin pays more attention to the classification, analysis, and tendencies of modern euphemisms.

I. Laude-Cirtautas (1976) explores taboos and euphemisms, superstitions, and omens associated with animals, with the designation of natural phenomena, diseases, evil spirits, death, childbirth, etc. in the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek languages (Seleeva, 2020). The paper by Sh. Sata highlights the use of substitute names in the designation of diseases in the Tuvan language, as well as the terms used in communication between the husband and wife (Sat, 1981).

The research of N.A. Baskakov and A.M. Shcherbak, devoted to taboos in the names of wild animals, female speech, and hunting vocabulary in the Altai language, attracts special interest (Baskakov, 1975; Shcherbak, 1961). Works in the field of taboo by foreign authors are also known (Frazer, 1983; Kharitonov, 1974; MacAndrew, Martinez, 2015).

The aforementioned works deeply analyze the issue of the social conditions for the emergence of various taboos, clarify and concretize the volume and content of the term "euphemism", which is certainly of interest in the general linguistic plan.

Thus, having made a review of academic works related to the problem of taboos and euphemisms, we identify a general trend in the development of research. In the general linguistic plan, the presence of universals is traced, i. e. the spheres of the prohibition and distribution of euphemisms. In all languages, the taboo phenomenon affects certain areas of human activity (birth, death, naming, production activities, and others). In the theoretical aspect, there are attempts to construct a theory of euphemism, to link the problem of secondary nomination and the concept of lexical structure and linguistic field. Various classifications are also suggested.

## **Methods**

The material for the study was a card index of nominations extracted by the method of continuous sampling from the dictionaries of the Yakut language and Russian old-time dialects of Yakutia. The Dictionary of Euphemisms of the Yakut language compiled by the authors (*Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya yakutskikh evfemizmov...*, 1998) was used. The dictionary includes the following sources:

1. The Yakut-Russian dictionary of hunting and fishing terms compiled by A. S. Lukovtsev (1975).
2. The Dictionary of the Yakut language by E. K. Pekarsky (1959).
3. The Dialectological dictionary of the Yakut language compiled by P.S. Afanasyev, M.S. Voronkin, M.P. Alekseev (1976).

The unique material of Russian dialects operating on the territory of the republic was also extracted by the method of continuous sampling from the Dictionary of Russian old-time dialects in the territory of Yakutia (in 4 volumes) compiled by M. F. Druzhinina (Druzhinina, 1997; 2002; 2007a; 2007b). Most of the nominations of Russian old-time dialects were revealed from the materials for the phraseological dictionary by M.F.Druzhinina (2013).

Oral and non-verbal communication should include various prohibitions on words, actions, and deeds that unite all traditional cultures. In addition, taboos and the special position of the word are reflected in verbal communication. The systems of prohibitions in the traditional cultures of the Sakha people and Russian old-timers of the Arctic are reviewed by us using a comparative method that allows us to describe the

content and forms of various prohibitions in the most critical situations of human life, like hunting, serious disease and death. We can presumably put forward a hypothesis about the universality of the systems of prohibitions, about the increase in the meaning of the word in special situations. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize the national and cultural specifics of the objects of study. Each of the traditional cultures should be explored using the classical descriptive method.

## Results

In the Yakut spiritual culture, magic power is attributed to the word; there were numerous signs and prohibitions regarding speech communication. The magical function of language in archaic cultures is explained by the mythological ideas of the people, the spiritualization of the entire surrounding world.

As a result of all of the above, a whole system of prohibitions and taboos arose that governed human life in ancient times. It should be noted that this phenomenon is universal, characteristic of traditional cultures. Hunting taboos on the names of animals that are hunted are widely known. In all languages, words associated with death, especially the death of a leader, or an older and revered person, are taboo.

The danger to which in this case people are exposed themselves and expose others is, so to speak, "spiritual", that is, imaginary. However, this does not make it less real: imagination acts on a person as real as the force of gravity and can kill them with the same success" (Frazer, 1983, p. 216). The purpose of the taboo is to isolate these categories of persons from the rest of the world so that they are not reached by fear-inspiring spiritual danger and do not emanate it. Words are temporarily or permanently charged, electrified by the mysterious power of taboo.

We find the clearest interpretation of the essence of the concept of "taboo" in the definition: Taboo (in one of the Polynesian languages ta "highlight, mark"; pu "completely, absolutely"; taputabu "completely, isolated"): 1) a religious prohibition among primitive peoples, imposed on certain actions to avoid hostile manifestations of supernatural forces; 2) a prohibition on the use of certain words due to socio-political, historical, cultural, ethical or emotional factors" (Russkii yazyk: Entsiklopediya, 1967, p. 345).

A.A. Reformatsky considers "taboo" an ethnographic concept, a prohibition arising in the sphere of public life at different stages of the development of society (Reformatskii, 1967, p. 98).

"Taboo is not a specifically linguistic phenomenon," also note the authors of the Linguistic encyclopedic dictionary (Yartseva, 1990, p. 501). There are prohibitions on certain acts of behavior, contact with certain people, the use of certain food, and others. In the sphere of language, the taboo is a prohibition to use certain words, expressions, or proper names. The taboo as a religious prohibition for peoples with an archaic culture is primary. One can point out the fact that the phenomenon of taboo is associated with the magical function of language, the belief in the possibility of a direct impact on the world around us with the help of specific words. The prohibition, due to various social reasons, is possible at all stages of the development of society and culture. Examples of modern taboos are the tendency not to speak directly about death, serious disease, the desire to avoid mentioning the names of physiological functions and some parts of the body, the prohibition on cursing, hiding the names of military units to preserve military secrets, etc.

It is quite natural that the phenomenon of taboo attracted interest in the academic world, first of all, among ethnographers. The problem of taboo is reflected in the works of many foreign ethnologists. Thus, the famous English religious scholar and ethnologist J. Frazer in his book "The Golden Bough" not only describes various types of taboos but offers his concept of the meaning of taboo. In particular, the ethnographer bases the taboo on the idea that some people (princes, priests, women in labor, hunters, and so on) are filled with a special mysterious force (Frazer, 1983, p. 199). Therefore, various kinds of prohibitions are imposed on them.

Of the Russian ethnographic works devoted to the topic of taboo, we need to mention separately the research of D.K. Zelenin "Word taboos among the peoples of Eastern Europe and North Asia" (Zelenin, 1929), where at the very beginning the author disputes the concept of J. Frazer and puts forward his interpretation of the meaning of taboo. Thus, D.K. Zelenin proposed 4 ideas that can underlie most of the verbal prohibitions among the peoples of Eurasia: 1) the name serves as a means of transmitting evil influences through an "evil eye" or in absentia, 2) pronouncing the forbidden word serves as calling, summoning a dangerous creature, causing its appearance, 3) replacement words should influence the nature of the being called in the desired direction, 4) the idea of the miraculous power of the word (Zelenin, 1929, p. 4). Proposed by D.K. Zelenin the concept of the development of verbal prohibitions seems quite convincing to us and corresponds to our specific material.

Thus, the idea of something requiring caution is associated with taboo. Z. Freud in his work "Totem und Tabu" refers to Wundt, "who called the taboo the most ancient unwritten legislative code of mankind" (Freud, 1923, p. 33).

The problem of taboo and euphemism has not previously been considered based on the dialects of the Russian language. On the territory of the Republic of Sakha/Yakutia/, there is a unique Arctic area of distribution of dialects of the Russian language, which was recorded and became the object of detailed academic research in the 20th century. These are the Lower Indigirka and Lower Kolyma old-time Russian dialects. They refer to dialects in the territory of late settlement and have survived as a result of an isolated existence in a foreign-language environment, therefore "they differ markedly from the dialects of the main territory of East Slavic colonization" (Druzhinina, 1979; 1988).

In modern studies, interest in traditional cultures has significantly increased, since even in our time of globalization and informatization, tradition becomes a connecting link with historical memory and helps to preserve national and cultural identity. "Traditional culture, connected with the daily life of the people and being a part of the worldview, retains and consolidates in itself the important elements of the traditional world outlook of a person on the surrounding reality" (Diyanova, 2011, p. 221).

We consider the territorial varieties of the language, namely its dialects, as an area of manifestation of traditional culture. According to E.V. Brysina: "Studying the system of the territorial dialect as a way of encoding the culture of its carriers, one can reveal such basic concepts of cultural linguistics as cultural background, concepts, cultural inheritance, and traditions, cultural space, linguistic and cultural paradigm, mentality, way of thinking, cultural connotation" (Brysina, 2012). Indeed, the Russian old-timers of the Yakut north have preserved all their traditions, customs, rituals created by past generations, which have stood the test of time. They still strive to pass them on to their children as something valuable and revered. This is necessarily a kind of recognizable image of the Russian people, retaining the features of past centuries. The uniqueness of this phenomenon lies in the fact that it was possible to preserve the traditional culture of the old-time population of Yakutia in a foreign-language environment. The special linguistic situation that has developed in the northeast of Russia, namely in the Arctic regions of the north, is characterized by interaction, a close connection of linguistic cultures of different origins. At the same time, each ethnicity

has its national specifics, its self-identity. Each traditional culture is based on the main dominant values created by past generations. Moreover, this is no longer just culture, but a special way of organizing the life of the people.

Tradition determines the value-based and normative content of a given culture and the social mechanisms of its transmission. It contains all the experience of practical and spiritual activity accumulated over the centuries, through which moral principles and norms of social relations are formed.

If we talk about spiritual culture, then mythological, religious ideas of a person about the world prevail in it.

## **Discussion**

The systems of prohibitions arise based on cultural and everyday life. In the languages of all peoples, there are systems of taboo words, forbidden due to religious beliefs. Even at the stage of primitive superstitions, as B.A. Larin notes, due to taboos, "the most ancient euphemisms begin to develop, permissible and decent names, by their nature peripheral or figurative, hiding their subject, distracting from its recognition, allegedly turning evil qualities and actions into favorable, desirable or at least harmless ones by the power of word-creation" (Larin, 1961, p. 111). At the same time, the euphemisms that arose based on religious beliefs turn into traditional euphemisms and are preserved in remnants in some places to this day. In this B. Larin sees a faint echo of the ancient belief in the magical powers of the word. "Prohibitions continue to play the role of a regulator of people's everyday behavior, to influence their attitude to certain phenomena, without losing their functions even in modern times" (Diyanova, 2011, p. 221).

Against the background of the entire lexical system of the language, certain aggregates are distinguished that bring moments or meanings, or both at the same time, closer to each other. When analyzing the phenomenon of taboo and euphemism, one should take into account the following point: it is not the content of a word, not a concept, but some forms of words that are subject to linguistic prohibition. After all, the concepts themselves cannot be removed from everyday life, and therefore from linguistic communication. Therefore, the starting point for the classification of prohibited forms can only be their semantic value, the content that the speaker must convey to the interlocutor.

However, not all semantic systems of a language can be covered by a language prohibition. Even within a given system, not all words remain unaffected. Other systems are regularly tabooed (for example, the semantic fields "Hunting and Fishing", "Disease", "Death"). Still, others are partially involved in the sphere of prohibition (in a certain situation — on the road: the semantic field "Thing"). Thus, the division of words covered by a taboo into separate semantic groups is most often carried out on the determination of the general meaning of words based on the semantic community of words.

There are many traditions, beliefs, and customs associated with the hunting industry. Bajanaj, according to E. K. Pekarsky, "is the general name of the spirits patronizing hunters (trappers) and fishermen" (Pekarskii, 1959, p. 341). In Russian dialects, Bayanay is "a spirit that protects hunters: Let Bayanay help hunters, not deprive them. Bayanay is a spirit, it helps hunters, fishermen, however, too" (Druzhinina, 1997, p. 51). Of the hunting terms of the Yakut language in Russian dialects, the majority of all borrowings are found in the field of fishing, which is explained by the predominance of fishing in the Arctic as a type of activity. Russian old-timers, having arrived along the Northern Sea Route, settled for permanent residence in the mouths of the large northern rivers, such as Kolyma and Indigirka. Therefore, fishing has become a permanent craft for them, providing full and healthy food that helps them survive in the harsh northern region.

Prohibitions have been accompanying people since ancient times. Especially revered hunting and fishing grounds are always under various prohibitions: hunters and fishermen are very careful in their actions. The Yakuts cannot shout or swear in the forest, in the taiga. Otherwise, Bayanay (the spirit-master of the forest) will get angry and will not give them game. The cult of animals and prohibitions "are enshrined in the corresponding ideological ideas in the culture of the people and the hunting society" (Seleeva, 2020, p. 361).

The Arctic tundra became a home for Russian old-timers, a place of fishing, which means a special territory that they kept safe, protected from evil forces, and therefore treated it specially, with respect: "You cannot shout, swear, quarrel in the tundra, or it will get angry and give you nothing" (Berdnikova, 2018).

The prohibitions apply equally to the game. Yakut hunters have always been distinguished by their laconicism; even a big catch should not cause joyful



exclamations. Old-timers say: "One can't cheer about a good catch or game loudly" (Berdnikova, 2018).

The process of fishing itself has many prohibitions: "One cannot fry and throw fish in the fire", "One cannot fish during ice drift", "One cannot eat fish caught in this lake on the shore of the lake" (Berdnikova, 2018). In fishing, tackle plays a huge role. Some taboos among the Russian old-timers of the north concern certain actions of a person with nets: "One cannot put nets at the head of a person", "One cannot step over someone else's trammel and net" (Berdnikova, 2018). The old-timers of the Far North highly valued the *Yakut net*, the "horsehair fishing net": "There were different nets. Rusanka is a net made of hemp yarn. The Yakut net is a hair net, it is made of horsehair," — this is what the inhabitants of Pokhodsk at the Nizhnekolymsky ulus used to say (Druzhinina, 2007b, p. 23). "It is forbidden to take out a net or another object dropped into the lake with an iron object" (Berdnikova, 2018). The taboo on the use of an iron object testifies to the desire to preserve natural objects, to prevent objects made of metals from reaching the source of game or fish.

In the field materials of expeditions to the Far North, there is a whole system of prohibitions that regulate human behavior. "Folklore materials, on the one hand, reflect real scenes of hunting life, and on the other, ancient mythological views associated with taboos and totemic cults, beliefs in spirits and deities, rituals and rituals aimed at a successful hunt" (Seleeva, 2020, p. 361).

The phenomenon of taboo covers the most diverse aspects of a person's life. First of all, the so-called critical situations associated with turning points in life are of interest: these are the illness and death of a person, our constant companions. In this case, it is appropriate to talk about the constant regularity of involving critical situations in the area of spreading taboos.

A disease, especially if it is a serious illness, is always surrounded by a special environment, hence the various word usage. The Sakha people taboo the direct names of diseases; instead of them, compound names are often used, which correlate with their designated indirectly, through the semantically supporting name for a given combination. For example, the secondary nomination *yaas buolbut* "he became clean" is used instead of the direct name of the disease ("he has a bone disease") (Pekarskii, 1959, p. 3811). The adjective *yaas* "pure" denotes a serious illness only in combination with the word *buolbut* "became". There are also cases: *okhsorgo ogustarbyt* "to let oneself be hit" instead of "he is paralyzed", *toboto khamsaabyt* "the head moved"

instead of "someone went crazy", *ogo kuopput* "the baby ran away" instead of "premature birth occurred", *ogo turbat* "the baby does not get up" Instead of "the children do not survive, they die" (Nelunov, 1981, p. 51). The words *ogustarbyt*, *khamsaabyt*, *kupput*, *turbat* correlate with their denoted using the basic names *okhsorgo*, *toboto*, *ogo*. Only in combination with semantically key reference words do these nominations realize the so-called related meaning.

As noted by P.S. Afanasyev, a significant part of euphemisms differ in the dialects of the Yakut language (Afanasev, 1977). Thus, the name of one disease (measles) is transmitted by different substitutes: in Bulunsky, Verkhoyansk ulus it is called *itiikteekh* "with fever", in Bulunsky, Vilyui. Olekminsky, Tatty and others it is called *maatyska* (from Russian *matushka*, 'mother'); in Zhigansky, Sakkyryr, Nyurba, Toko it is called *simetii* "decoration", in Ust-Aldansky, Vilyui it is called *ymynakhtaakh djan* "infection, a general illness with a rash", in Vilyui, Verkhnevilyuisky, Toko it is called *khotun* "lady", in Bulushka it is called *ebe* "grandmother", In Toko *edjiy* "elder sister" (Afanasev, 1977, p. 45). Let us note the use as euphemisms of kinship terms denoting female persons, foreign language borrowings and nominations with embellishing connotations.

The situation of the disease also causes special word usage in the dialects of the Russian old-timers of Yakutia. The term *khudaya bolezni* 'bad disease' is used in the meaning of "incurable disease." In the Dictionary of V.I. Dal, the word "*khudoy*" means "wrong, worthless, ugly, bad, not good". In combination *bolet ot khudoby* 'to be sick with a bad condition', the nomination of *khudoba* is used as a substitute for the name of the disease *tabes*, an incurable disease (Slovar Dalya, 2012). The old-timers also call the *yakutskaya bolezni* 'Yakut disease' 'the *bad disease*', "incurable disease": *Khudaya bolezni ona strastnaya bolezni. Neizlechima nikem, tserka da ne mogot pomogchi. O khudoi bolezni mnogoro govorit da greshno* [The bad disease is a grave disease. Incurable to all, even the church can't help. It is even sinful to talk a lot about the bad disease] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 28). The *bad disease* can kill a person, literally "eat them up": *khudoba sela kogo* ('the bad disease ate someone up) "about a person who died from an incurable disease: — Ikhni roditeli- to davno pomerli. Ikh khudoba sela Otets-ot dolgo bolet khudoboi [Their parents died long ago. They were eaten by the bad disease. The father was sick with the bad disease for a long time]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 28).

Fever, as a painful condition, worried people, they said: *Kuma treplet* 'The godmother is beating' about "Fever disease." V molodosti ya bolela etoi strashnoi boleznyu. Treplet kuma ne postoyanno, no krepko, muchitelno [I suffered this terrible disease when I was young. The godmother does not beat you constantly, but beats hard, painfully] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 243). Let's note that a terrible disease is called a *godmother*, the kinship term is used, as in the Yakut material. At the same time, gender differentiation is noted in the nominations of diseases: their names are feminine.

The speakers of dialects have successfully noticed the possibility of getting sick with viral diseases: *vozdukhom bolet (khvorat)* 'to get sick (go down) with air', or *bolet vozdukhom* 'to get sick with air' in the meaning of "have the flu, get the flu". U nas vozdukhom – ot kazhnoi god boleyut, no smertnykh sluchaev, slava bogu, ne bulo [We have people get sick with air every year, but thank God, there were no deadly cases]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 28). Everyone can *get sick with air*, that is, "get sick with the flu, get flu. — Zhily ne podnimayut, kogda ty vozdukhom zakhvoraesh. Bez lekarya ne oboideshsya [Your body can't take it when you get sick with air. You can't do without a doctor]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 28, p. 115).

It is possible to admit the influence of the representatives of the Yakut culture surrounding the Russian old-time population. The semantic side of the combination, successfully conveyed by the use of metonymy, is associated with the fact that the disease is transmitted through the air. Let us note the presence of *salgyn* 'air' in the Yakut nominations of diseases. The Yakuts speak about a paralyzed person, forming a euphemism: *salgyn okhsabut* "the air hit him" (Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya yakutskikh evfemizmov..., 1998, p. 15). There is no direct name for paralysis; further, the substitute expression *okhsorgo o5ustarbyt* is used in the meaning of "he is paralyzed" (Sistemnaya organizatsiya slovarya yakutskikh evfemizmov..., 1998, p. 14).

Air plays a certain role in the nominations of the semantic field "Disease" in the materials of Russian dialects. This fact also unites our studied objects. The old-timers say: *Puskat po vetru* chto 'let (something) fly with the wind' which as a superstition means "Use witchcraft to spread disease on someone". — Govoryat, kolduny vse umeyut, znayut. One umeyut po vetru puskat zlo, dazhe bolezn [They say that sorcerers can do everything, know everything. They know how to let evil go down the wind, even disease] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 47). The disease can travel through the air. Air can be included as an integral part of the semantics of the name of the disease: *wind gonorrhea* "superstition. Spells against ugliness. — Ya ne znayu mnogo- to, a vot ot nekotorykh

pomnyu: "Shepchu – lazhu, raba bozhya Leksandra, ot vetryanogo pereloyu, ot deistvii samokrutki..." [I don't know much, but I remember the ones against some diseases: "I whisper — I heal God's servant Alexander from the wind gonorrhea, from the actions of the roll-up..." (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 47). The meaning of the word *pereloy* 'gonorrhea' is interesting. Along with the name of the disease itself, it is "the popular name of some plants of the sundew family, orchis, etc., which were considered a good remedy for the treatment of gonorrhea and tripper; the gonorrhea grass" (Bolshoi sovremenniyi tolkovyi slovar russkogo yazyka, 2012). In the Russian language, the lexeme *pereloy* 'gonorrhea' has been known for a long time, a similar interpretation is presented in the dictionary of V.I. Dal (Slovar Dalya, 2012). In the East Siberian dialects of the Russian language this nomination has retained its archaic semantics; it is given in dictionaries with the label "obsolete".

One can get sick with one's head: you can *golovoy umeret* 'die of/with one's head'. "To die of headache". — On rano ushel, golovoi umer [He died early, died of his head]. Bolezn on zapustil, lechilsya redko. Prishlo vremya – golovoi umer [He neglected his disease, didn't get treatment regularly. When his time came he died of his head]. Malchik ee bolel dolgo golovoi, tak golovoi i propal [Her boy had a headache for a long time, and so he died of his head]. Skazali: on s lesnitsy upal golovoi [They said: he fell off the stairs with his head] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 251). Ona, odnako, s detstva dipertonikom byla [She, however, has had hypertension since childhood]. Do starosti dozhil, no umer vse zhe golovoi, sestra ee tozhe golovoi pomerla [He lived to an old age, but still died of his head, her sister also died of her head] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 251).

There are throat ailments: *Gorlovaya bolezn. Angina* 'Throat disease. Tonsillitis'. — U menya chasto gorlovaya byla, ona menya i letom muchila [I often had a throat disease, it tormented me even in summer]. Stradaet on kazhnyi god gorlom, u nego gorlovaya bolezn [Every year he suffers from his throat, he has a throat disease]. U menya dazhe gnoynaya gorlovaya bolezn byvala [I even had a purulent throat disease] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 80).

About catching a cold, the following is said: *Zhar napal* 'Fever attacked (someone)' — Tyazhelo mne, zhar napal, vsya spotela . Odnako, tak-to ot prostudy [It's hard for me, fever attacked me, I'm all sweaty. This is how it is from a cold] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 103).

The expression *nedovolen glazami* 'unhappy with the eyes' is used when a person has sick eyes: Sick with eyes. — Govoryat, on na voine byl, s tekh por nedovolen glazami [They say he was at war, and since then he has been unhappy with his eyes] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 171).

People were always afraid of bleeding: *izoyti krovuyu* 'to bleed out'. The same as *kraskoi izoiti* 'to bleed out with paint'; to die of bleeding. — Bog znaet, che tam bulo: izoshlis krovuyu dvoe [God knows what was going on there: two people bled out] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 142). Or *kraskoi izoiti*: 'to bleed out with paint' Have severe uterine bleeding, lose a lot of blood. — Ona dolgo bolela, kraskoi izoshla, mnogo krovii poteryala. Molodaya shibko bulla [She was ill for a long time, she bled out with paint, she lost a lot of blood. She was very young] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 124). Note that blood is associated with paint, a metaphor that emphasizes the color intensity of the paint. In the euphemistic expression *kraskoi izoiti* 'to bleed out with paint' the metaphor allows a substitute to replace the direct taboo name of a frightening bleeding phenomenon.

Neurological diseases caused great concern in people. A person could get a concussion without leaving home, just working hard. Thinking is also hard work, one can *tryakhnutsya umom* 'shake one's mind': "Nash sosed slishkom mnogo rabotal golovoi. Tyazheluyu rabotu tozhe rabotal. Vot i tryakhnulsya sebe umom, seichas v bolnitse on [Our neighbor worked too much with his head. he did some hard work too. So he shook his mind, now he is in the hospital]. Ot ispugu rebenok mogot tryakhnutsya umom [A child could shake his/her mind from fright]. Ona v sendukhe- to odna zhila v yurtushke, zaboilela bednaya potom, azh tryakhnulas umom. Golova krugom idet, govorit [She lived in a small yurta alone in the tundra, she became sick later, the poor thing, and even shook her mind. She would say that her head was spinning]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 252-253).

A *bolnoy mozgami* 'brain sick' person is feeble-minded: Odin syn u ikh utop, a drugoi bolnoi mozgami [One of their sons drowned, and the other is brain sick] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 29). Na voine otets byl, v kontse domoi priekhal. A vot pod starost let stal bolet mozgami [My father went to war, came back home at the end. But when he got old he became brain sick] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 28). *Nedovolnyi umom* 'unhappy with the mind' is a feeble-minded person: Nedovolnyi on umom stal posle travmy-to [He became unhappy with the mind after the injury] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 253). *Byt ne v poryadke* 'to be out of order' means to be mentally retarded, feeble-minded: U sosedei moi sestry na Kirenge est odin podrostok, vot on ne v poryadke. S

rozhdeniya on byl takim, ne v poryadke [My sister's neighbors in Kirenga have one teenager, so he is out of order. He has been like that since birth, out of order] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 197).

*Pripadok beret* 'the seizure takes': that's what the old-timers used to say about epilepsy. "To be ill with epilepsy — Vnuchek bolen, kak s utra pripadok vzyal [The grandson is ill, the seizure took him in the morning ...] (Druzhinina, 1997, p. 81). Ona dolgo bolela, lechilas vezde. Vyrosla uzhe, no net-net da pripadok beret [She was ill for a long time, was treated everywhere. She has grown up already, but sometimes the seizure takes her]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 23).

Let's look at the large number of phrases that are used to describe about mental disorders. Examples refer to the northern uluses: Nizhnekolymsky, Allaikhovsky, Ust-Maisky. Going crazy as a result of everyday shocks and as a disease resulting from stress or fright. The mind is like a reference point, like a normal state. But one can *lose the mind* (*poteryat*), *get off it* (*soyti*), *roll out* (*vykatitsya*), *shake it* (*tryakhnutsya*), *be shaken off it* (*stryakhnutsya*). *Umom teryatsya* 'to be lost with mind' is used by the old-timers in the meaning of 'to go crazy'. — Govoryat, khudaya zhizn prikatit, togda možno budet umom teryatsya vovse [They say that a bad life will come, and then it will be possible to be lost with the mind completely" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 252). Or *um teryat* in the meaning of "lose one's mind": Troe ikh bulo, rybachili one tam. Veter, shtorm podnyalsya, dolgo sered reki melkali, spasalis. Odin paren molodoi ispuzhalsya shibko, um nachal teryat. Zhiv ostalsya, v bolnitse lezhal [There were three of them, they were fishing over there. A wind arose with a storm, they kept appearing in the middle of the river for a long time trying to save themselves. One young guy got very scared and started losing his mind. He survived, he stayed at a hospital]. Another example: U lesochka tam zabroshennoi dom stoyal. V proshlyi god tam staroi starik stal zhit. No dom tot, govorat, puzhal, kogda- to tam shaman zhil. V takom dome um možno poteryat. Govoreli, starik tam chasto um teryal ot ispugu li, ot odinochestva li [There was an abandoned house over there near the forest. Last year an old man came to live there. But they say that the house was scary, a shaman used to live there at some point. One can lose one's mind in such a house. They said that the old man there often lost his mind from fright or loneliness] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 249). It is possible to *torknutsya umom* 'get a kick of one's mind', that is, "go crazy, lose one's mind" — "Olenka-ta togda nikogo da ne poslushalas, poyakhala nochyu i zabludilas. Iskali ee, obnaruzhili na vertolete. Strashno da ei bula, chut ne torknulas umom [Olenka didn't

listen to anyone then, she went there at night and lost her way. They searched for her and found her from a helicopter. She was scared, she was almost jolted with her mind]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 252). However, one can also lose one's mind from strong love: "Paren odin u nas shibko polyubil, bezumno polyubil devku, uchitelshu, a ona nol vnimaniya. Ona letom dolzhna bulla uekhat. Paren etot ne vyderzhal, um poteryal [One of our guys here fell in love big time, he was madly in love with one girl, a teacher, and she didn't even notice him. She had to leave in the summer. This guy could not stand it, he lost his mind]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 249).

*Sdvinutsya s uma* 'to move from one's mind' or *sdelatsya bez uma* 'to become a person without a mind' are used when a person can lose their mind or become reckless: "A detyam che, igrat nado, katatsya na ldu. Led tonkii – rebenok v kholodnoi vode. Mat tut byla, ona chut s uma ne sdvinulas [Why, the children, they need to play, to skate on ice. The ice is thin so a child ends up in the cold water. The mother was here, she almost moved from her mind" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 252). "Bolnoi rebenok rastet, on kogda-to ot silnogo ispuga sdelalsya bez uma I seichas on shibko nervennyi [This child is growing up sick; at some point he became without a mind because of a huge fright. And he's still very nervous] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 252).

The mind can become thin, attack a person, then we are talking about gloomy thoughts: *khudoy um napal* 'a bad mind attacked' — "Ot odinochestva na nego khudoi um napal: reshil lyagchi v zemlyu. Rodstvennikov ne nashel, pokhoronili ego drugie [A bad mind attacked him because of loneliness; he decided to lay into the ground. He had not found his relatives, others buried him]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 249). However, one can acquire such diseases for no reason: "palo na nego s vetru" [it fell on him from the wind]. "Past s vetru" 'to fall from the wind' means to get sick mentally, without a special reason. — A vot palo na nego s vetru i zabolet [So it fell on him from the wind and he got sick]. Zagrustil chelovek, tak i s vetru palo na nego [The man became sad, and it fell on him from the wind] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 183).

Let us also note the presence of the evil eye as a cause of the onset of the disease: in this case, people talk about "khudoy glaz" (the evil eye). "Glaz upal na kogo" (the eye fell on someone). Superstition. To jinx. *Khudoy um u kogo* 'someone has a bad mind' means gloomy thoughts; madness. — Bolel on dolgo. Bolezni-to, govoryat, neizlechima, khudoi um u nego byl, govorat [He was ill for a long time. They say that the disease is incurable, that he had a bad mind] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 249). In the field of traditional medicine, spitting should be classified as an archaic magical action. Old-

timers of the Russkoe Ustye say: "One should spit from the evil eye" (Berdnikova, 2018). "Spitting as a magical, protective and repelling action, especially from the evil eye, damage, disease, evil spirits, is widely used among the Slavs as a common way of averting evil and danger" (Levkievskaya, 2009, p. 69).

The disappeared city of Zashiversk, one of the outposts of the Russian state in the Arctic, which had existed since the middle of the 17th century, had been located since 1639 on the Indigirka River. In 1776, smallpox decimated the city's population. Both the Russians and the Yukaghirs were sick, the disease did not spare anyone. *Zashivorskaya pogan* 'the Zashiversk filth' in the meaning of "Acute viral highly infectious disease; smallpox: *Zashivorskaya pogan* – eto strasnaya bolezn, ona neizlechima, mnogoro lyudei unesla, govorat [The Zashiversk filth is a terrible disease, it is incurable, it has killed many people, they say] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 190). Dosele, govoryat v Zashiverske, tozhe po Indigirke, bolezn byla khudaya, mnogoro lyudei pogibli. Pogan zashiverskuyu isho chernaya ospa nazyvayut [They say that before in Zashiversk, also along the Indigirka, there was a bad disease and many people died. The Zashiversk filth is also called smallpox]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 190). The extinction of the city of Zashiversk is associated with a curse sent to the townspeople by a grief-stricken shaman after the death of his only daughter. He cursed the city and the people who lived in it forever and ever. According to legend, an unwittingly sick merchant brought smallpox, and the shaman foresaw misfortune and claimed that he really saw "grandmother sisters" (as shamans called smallpox spirits in Yakutia) sitting on the branches. Note that in the culture of the Sakha people, instead of direct names for serious diseases, kinship terms are often used as euphemisms that refer to female persons, as well as foreign words (namely, Russian — *sestra* (sister), *matushka* (mother), *babushka* (grandmother), etc.).

A special case is the presence of carriers of a dangerous disease (rabies) in the tundra among the animal world: if a sick animal bites, a person becomes terminally ill. This caused fear. *Umom nedovolnyi* 'unhappy with one's mind' was the term that the old-timers used if "sobaka beshenaya emu vsyu ruku iskusala, on teper umom nedovolnyi stal [a mad dog bit his whole hand, he now became unhappy with his mind]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 253).

The complex of rituals associated with another eternal "problem" of mankind, i. e. death, also turned out to be stable. The so-called rituals of the life cycle play a significant role in the ritual practice of any people. These include rituals and actions



related to the death of a person, i.e. a member of society. This rite is associated with the transition from one state to another, moving from the "locus of life" to the "locus of death". Burial is a stage of transition. In the Yakut spiritual culture, these ideas are associated with a wealth of vocabulary in verbs with the semantics of "to bury". In the Yakut language, the dominant in the synonymous row "to bury" is the verb *kəm*, which has the corresponding meaning "to bury": *kəm* "to bury, bury someone somewhere, fill with something, put under ground, bury"; *attygar tohoghos ot sagha khara buor baaryn onon kömnüler* "near him there was a black earth the size of a haystack — they covered it (the pit in which the hero lay and died)"; *onno bahyn kömmüte buoluo!* "There he probably buried his head! (it is said if someone stays in one place for a long time)" (Pekarskii, 1959, p. 1138). Ritual vocabulary is divided into the nominations of ritual actions expressed by the verbs: *arangastaa* "to lay bread or food supplies on the cache; put the corpses on the cache out of reverence, respect — to bury them in the cache" (Sleptsov, 2004, p. 531), and the nomination of ritual actions expressed by a noun: *sadagha byhyy* (*sadagha byhar*), "the custom according to which the meat of a killed horse was distributed among all people present at the burial to the people" (Sleptsov, 2004, p. 138), *aghynnaryy* "reminder; commemoration (of the departed), funeral reception" (Pekarskii, 1959, p. 23).

The Yakuts believed that *iye-kut*, i.e. mother-soul never dies, and *ergiye-ergiye törüü turar* "is reborn again and again" (Sleptsov, 2004, p. 592). It turns out that death is the loss of the physical shell and, to some extent, the beginning of the "new life" of the soul. Death and life are captured by a specific space and time.

"During the funeral ceremony, people strictly adhere to all prohibitions..." (Slepenkova, 2017, p. 203).

At present, the ritual process still includes many verbal prohibitions. Thus, there are several euphemistic expressions about death in the Yakut language: *barda* "he went" (Kharitonov, 1947, p. 40), *duuhata takhsybyta* "his soul went out", *duuhatyn tagara khaaryyaakhtaabyta* "God took the soul". In the dictionary of euphemisms of the Yakut language, a certain place is occupied by compound names composed of verbs. First of all, attention is drawn to the fact that most of these secondary nominations are stable combinations of phraseological character that are characteristic of the language system at present. For example: *atagyn tenneebit* "he leveled his legs" instead of *ölbut* "died"; *salgyn okhsbut* "hit the air" instead of *tөрuur* "gives birth" (Kulakovskii, 1979; Nelunov, 1981). In the work of A.G. Nelunov "Verbal phraseology of the Yakut

language" euphemisms are considered one of the sources of the formation of phraseological units. According to the author, fixed expressions can be "based on the phenomenon of taboo, euphemism" (Nelunov, 1981, p. 50). Thus, the meaning "to die, to pass away" is conveyed by several phraseological units: *ayyy siritten arakhshyam* "I leave the world of God", *kuhagan buolbuttar* "became bad", *atagyn tenneebite* "leveled his legs".

In northern Russian dialects, the theme of death is closely related to Christian ideas. *Zatyanut savanom* 'to tie with a winding sheet' in the meaning of "to bury": about a sick person who is dying. — "Babushka-to Malanya shibko-shibko stara, boleet davno, da i gidov-to k nei mnogo. Skoro ee nado budet zatyanut savanom. Deti-ti, dva syna-ti, poka zhivy, pokhoronyut [Grandma Malanya is very old, she has been sick for a long time and her years are many. She'll need to be tied with a winding sheet soon. The children, the two sons, will bury her while they're still alive]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 115).

The deceased must be buried in the ground: *byt v zemle* 'to be in the ground' means "to be buried in the ground" — "Pridet vremya i nam byt v zemle, bessmertnykh netu [The time will come for us to be in the ground, there are no immortals]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 37). *U mene godov-to mnogoro, mene skoro byt v zemle* [I'm many years old, I'll have to be in the ground soon] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 37). *V zemlyu polozhit kogo* 'to put someone in the ground' in the meaning of "to bury, to bury the dead" — "Gore u mene, gore bolshoe: nedamno starukha svoyu v zemlyu polozhil [I have a sorrow, a great sorrow, I've put my old woman in the ground recently]. Dva syna bednym-bedno zhili. Potom odnogo-to eshche pri ottse v zemlyu polozhili [Two sons lived very poorly. Then one of them was put in the ground while the father was still alive]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 117). *Legli v zemlyu* 'they laid down in the ground'; "about the dead, buried" — "Iz byvshikh frontovikov seichas malo ostalos pri zhivnosti, mnogie posle vozvrashcheniya v zemlyu legli [Of the former front-line soldiers, now very few are left alive, many laid down in the ground after coming back]". About the deceased (children, parents, etc.). — *U ikh deti – to buli v molodye- to gody, no vse legli v zemlyu, one isho malye byli* [They had children when they were young, but they all lay in the ground, they were very small]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 117). *Lyagchi v zemlyu* 'to lie in the ground' means "to die, to pass away". "Ot odinochestva khudoi um napal na nego. Vot i reshil lyagchi v zemlyu. Iskal on rodneykh, no ne nashel [From loneliness, a bad mind attacked him. So he decided to lie down in the ground. He looked for relatives, but did not find any]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 154). *Uyti v zemlyu* 'to go in

the ground' means "to die, to be buried" — "Vot nedavno zhená moyá ushla v zemlyu, na 82-om godu zhizni ushla. Troe nashikh detei rano ushli v zemlyu [Just recently my wife went into the ground, at the age of 82 she left. Three of our children went to the ground early]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 247). *Ukhodit v zemlyu* 'to go in the ground' means "to die, to pass away" — "Okhto ranshe ukhodit v zemlyu, okhto potom. Moyá starukha rano usla, a ya vot isho na zemle [Some people go to the ground earlier, and some later. My old woman went early, but I am here on earth]." *Ushli v zemlyu* 'they went into the ground' ("about the dead") — "A roditeli moi rano ushli v zemlyu, ya rano osirotela [And my parents went to the ground early, I was orphaned early]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 247). *Uyti v mogilu* 'to go to the grave' means "to die, to lose one's life" — "Shibko ya bolel, byla odna nadezhda na vrachei, ya mogla uiti v mogilu. Spasiba Bogu, on pomog vracham. Oni mne ne dali uiti v mogilu [I was very sick, my only hope was in doctors, I could have gone to the grave. Thank God, he helped the doctors. They did not let me go to the grave]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 161).

About suicide the following expression was used: *Lech v zemlyu* 'to lie in the ground' meaning "To commit suicide". — Ded v odinochestve zhil, tama-ka khudoi um napal na nego. I on reshil lech v zemlyu, bole terpet ne mog [Grandfather lived alone, and there bad mind attacked him. And he decided to lie in the ground, he could not stand it anymore] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 117).

Ritual vocabulary is divided into the nominations of ritual actions expressed by verbs: *lezhat na kladbische* 'to lie in the cemetery' in the meaning of "to be buried" is the same as *lechat v zemle* 'to lie in the ground' — "Mne davno pora lezhat na kladbische, godov- to mne mnogo, da i zdorove davnym- davno raskachalos [It's time for me to lie in the cemetery, I am many years old, and my health has been bad for a long time]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 148). *Past nedvizhimo* 'to fall motionless' means "die, perish" — "Na voine mnogoro pali nedvizhimo [In the war, many people fell motionless]" (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 183).

If a person was dying, they had to be washed, and the following expression was used: *Uronit vodichku na kogo* 'to drop water on someone'. To perform the rite of washing the deceased. — Shurinoi babushke – to mnogoro godov bulo. Ona pomerla v dekabre. Ya pomula ee. Pered konchinoi – to babushka mene skazala: "Vodichku uroni, ty mene pomoi" [Shura's grandmother was many years old. She died in December. I washed her. Before dying the grandmother told me "Drop some water on me, wash me"] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 254). And then you have to *polozhit v zemlyu* 'put (the body) in

the ground'. About the burial of the deceased. — Zhenu svoyu on davno v zemlyu polozhil, zhivet odin [He put his wife in the ground long ago, he lives alone]. Deti-ti u nee byli, dvukh v zemlyu polozhiva, odnogo na voine ssubili [She had children, two were put in the ground, one was killed in the war] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 117).

In a situation of death, there are also nominations for ritual actions expressed by a noun. The combination of a *pechatnaya mogila* 'a pressed grave' means "a pit, a grave, the depth of which is equal to the pressed height" is rather interesting: Yamu gluboku delali dlya ryby glubinoi v pechatnuyu vysotu. Tri dni skolachivali grob, delali krest i ryli mogilu v rost cheloveka s makhom, s podnyatoi rukoi. Takaya mogila nazyvaetsya pechatnoi [They made a deep pit for fish with the pressed height. For three days they made a coffin, made a cross and dug a grave with the height of a person with some extra space, with a raised hand. This type of grave is called a pressed grave] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 187).

The compound nomination *vonny svet* 'the world over there' in the meaning of "afterlife" is found in the dictionary of dialects marked "superstitious": A nam uzh pora na vonnyi svet [For us it's time to go to the world over there] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 216). The combination of *pomoschnik smerti* [death assistant' in the meaning of "severely thinned sick person. — [Dolgo bolel, izmuchilsya uzh, na sebya ne pokhozhii stal, pomoshchnik smerti da i vse] I was sick for a long time, I was exhausted, I became not like myself, an assistant to death and such] (Druzhinina, 2013, p. 195).

Peculiar rituals were performed after the funeral. In the Yakut culture, the ancient condition of returning from the cemetery is known — one must go *kenninen* "backwards", thereby deceiving evil spirits, preventing them from finding a person's true dwelling (Sleptsov, 2004, p. 496). Russian old-timers also performed similar actions. There was a prohibition: *after seeing off the deceased, one cannot immediately go home, one must go further than one's house, it is better to go somewhere along the road, thus confusing the tracks* (Berdnikova, 2018).

"Many centuries later, thanks to the succession of generations, many ancient prohibitions (maybe some in a distorted form) and ideas about them have come down to our days (Slepenkova, 2017, p. 207).

## Conclusion

Thus, it should be noted that the semantic areas of language and culture associated with critical moments in a person's life are regularly covered by taboo, which

we observe in the functioning of nominations associated with the situation of illness and death. Let's pay attention to the frequent use of phraseological units in this critical situation. Fixed expressions can be based on the phenomenon of taboo and euphemism. Thus, the meaning "to die, to pass away" is conveyed by several phraseological units: *ayyy siritten arakhsyam* "I will move away from the world of God", *kuhagan buolbuttar* "became bad", *atagyn tenneebite* "leveled my legs", *to be in the ground, put in the ground, lie in the ground*. Note that the formation of idiom phraseological units proceeds as a semantic rethinking of a combination of words and is a special case of a secondary nomination, a distinctive feature of which is the use of combinatorial language techniques in the process of forming a new linguistic unit. A compound name correlates with its designated name indirectly, through the semantically supporting name for a given combination. For example, the secondary nomination *ataghyn tengneebit* "leveled the legs" is used instead of *өлбүт* "died", *to lie in the ground* instead of *to die*. The words *tengneebit, lie* correlate with their designated concepts using the basic names *atah, ground*. Only in combination with semantically key reference words do these nominations realize the so-called related meaning.

In the dictionary of euphemisms, a certain place is occupied by compound names composed of verbs. First of all, attention is drawn to the fact that most of these secondary nominations are stable combinations of phraseological character that are characteristic of the language system at present.

Linguocultural and semantic analysis of linguistic units, as well as various non-verbal prohibitions in critical situations, show that traditional linguistic cultures are rich in nominations associated with the mythological and religious ideas of the people.

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