

## Artículo de investigación

**Linguistic and Cultural Features of the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia (on material of dictionaries of M.F. Druzhinina)****Лингвокультурологические особенности русских старожильческих говоров Якутии (на материале словаря М.Ф. Дружининой)**

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[https://elibrary.ru/author\\_items.asp?authorid=1045457](https://elibrary.ru/author_items.asp?authorid=1045457)**Abstract**

The scientific article studies and analyzes words of the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia, whose lexical meaning is associated with their culture and traditional way of life. The above-mentioned words express culture-bound items that help survive in the harsh conditions of northeast Russia. It is relevant to consider word meanings since modern linguistics has got a second wind and currently examines language processes with due regard to the culture and history of native speakers and dialect users. Such scientific studies show a certain culture from a new perspective and fully reveal the connection between language and culture. The Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia contain unique words evaluating a person (hardworking/lazy; good-natured/evil; smart/stupid) and denoting hunting methods and means (active/passive; means/tools, components/materials for producing hunting tools). The authors of the article have grouped the obtained data according to the frequency of use. This classification reflects the diversity and richness of the words used by Russian old-timers. The vocabulary related to person nominations and nominations of hunting methods and means represents a significant layer in the linguistic world image of Yakutian old-timers.

**Аннотация**

Научная статья посвящена изучению, анализу слов русских старожильческих говоров Якутии, лексическое значение которых связано с культурой и бытом народа. Также данные слова содержат в себе реалии действительности, которые играют важную роль в выживании в суровых условиях северо-востока России. Исследования, посвященные изучению лексических значений слов, актуальны, потому что в настоящее время лингвистика получила второе дыхание, рассматривает процессы языка, связывая с культурой и историей носителей языка, говора. Благодаря таким исследованиям открываются новые взгляды на ту или иную культуру, более углубленно рассматриваются проблемы связи языка и культуры. Русские старожильческие говоры Якутии содержат в себе уникальный материал слов с их значением, которые дают оценку человеку (трудолюбивый / ленивый; добродушный / злой; умный / глупый), а также названия способов и средств охоты (активных / пассивных; средств / орудий, составных частей / материала изготовления орудий охоты). Полученные данные мы систематизировали в группы по частотности. Классификации отображают разнообразие, богатство значений русских старожильческих слов. Лексика, связанная с

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номинациями человека и названиями способов и средств охоты, является важным пластом в языковой картине мира русских старожилов Якутии.

**Ключевые слова:** русские старожильческие говоры Якутии, лексика, лексическое значение, оценка, оценочность, языковая картина мира, лингвокультурология, номинация человека, названия активных и пассивных способов, названия средств и орудий охоты.

## Introduction

This article studies the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia from a linguistic and cultural perspective. We have decided to study these dialects because such research is relevant and their development is unique. The Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia were recorded throughout the 20th century. In 1958, lecturers from the Yakutsk State University under the guidance of M.F. Druzhinina and N.G. Samsonov began a systematic study of the Russian dialects used by old-timers in northeast Siberia. By the early 20th century, there had been three locations in Lensky Krai where Russians retained their identity and language and even transferred them to local tribes. These locations were at the Indigirka River near the village of Russkoe Ustie, in the lower reaches of the Kolyma River near Nizhnekolymsk and in the upper reaches of the Lena River (near the town of Kirenga) and its tributary – the Kireng. These peculiar geographical conditions determined the peculiar formation of local dialects. Nowadays, the dialects used by the Russian explorers of the past have been preserved only by the older generation.

Scholars from the Department of General Linguistics and Rhetoric at the Faculty of Philology of the Ammosov North-Eastern Federal University continue to study the lexical material of Russian dialects and introduce into scientific circulation the recorded dialectic speech included in the card index of the Museum of Russian Dialects of Yakutia.

The relevant aspects in the educational program of the university present unique dialects from a new perspective based on theoretical achievements of cognitive linguistics, ethnolinguistics and cultural linguistics. Conceptual linguistics enables to study dialects

in relation to human activities and living conditions.

The semantics of evaluative nominations conceptualize human evaluative knowledge. We believe that the lexical meaning of such units reflects this knowledge. Thus, evaluative nominations represent evaluative concepts that are closely connected with ethnocultural concepts as a way of reflecting values-based world image. To systematize the above-mentioned material, we consider system-forming concepts as elements of an evaluative person nomination (industriousness/laziness, faith/unbelief, behavior/soul, mind, beauty, etc.). Evaluation is both a category and a function of consciousness. While evaluating something, people correlate the phenomena they perceive with the existing concepts, categories and prototypes. Certain cognitive and linguistic mechanisms are used for the evaluative categorization of a "person". Cognitive mechanisms are as follows: comparison, identification, metonymic transfer, association, typification, profiling, correlation with stereotypes, norms, etc. Linguistic means of representing evaluation are linguistic mechanisms of evaluative categorization (the direct nomination of evaluation and the object being evaluated).

Values-based world image can be represented as two components: the invariable part (universally significant, expressed through the prism of national culture) and the variable part (conditioned by the change of scientific and cultural paradigms). For instance, the evaluative archetype "them" has been altered, as evidenced by derogatory nominations for ethnic groups ("wogs", "gooks") and types of occupation ("placemen", "cops"). At the same time, religious

factors of some concepts are generally forgotten (good, light, blessing, purity). Therefore, evaluative categorization reveals common, typical and homogeneous properties, or evaluative features, that combine a culture-bound item or phenomenon with others.

Conceptualization highlights those evaluative features that are crucial for a person. For example, the evaluative categorization of personal skills and abilities considers such conceptually significant features as professional competence and unprofessional activity based on some interest or ability. The evaluative categorization of physiological features is based on external data, state of health, physical strength, etc.

We should distinguish between evaluative meaning, the evaluative component of meaning and evaluative connotation that form evaluative denotation. The evaluative meaning of a word reflects not the person's real features but their interpretation. The evaluative component of meaning is included into a word's semantic structure as pragmatic together with a cognitive macro-component (for example, "petty thief" – evaluative component – disrespectful; "crook" – evaluative component – disdainful). An evaluative connotation selects non-essential but typical and common evaluative features (Jew – "greedy", Ukrainian – "cunning", teacher – "poor", official – "heartless").

In the process of evaluative conceptualization, a word acquires evaluative information. We examine its inner form as an informative structure that organizes and keeps evaluative knowledge, i.e. records the results of cognitive and interpreting human activity, including evaluative activity.

## Methods

While analyzing evaluative person nominations, we used the linguistic-cultural approach to consider the inner form of a word, including:

- 1) To determine explicit components of the word's inner form;
- 2) To find correlates of these components (based on the theory of isomorphism);
- 3) To comprehend the features conceptualized in the inner form of the word analyzed (based on explanatory and etymological dictionaries);
- 4) To define their status.

From the perspective of motivology, a morpheme is regarded as a separate motivational feature. We consider morpheme as a component isomorphic to any word representing some object of reality.

After analyzing person nominations that characterize the attitude towards work, we decided to describe the everyday life and labor of dialect speakers. To survive in harsh northern conditions, it is vital to get food. To get food, one needs certain hunting tools. Therefore, we began to study the nominations of hunting tools.

The practical material was collected by the method of continuous sampling from M.F. Druzhinina's "Dictionary of the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia" (1997-2007) in four volumes (Druzhinina, 1997a), (Druzhinina, 1997b), (Druzhinina, 1997c), (Druzhinina, 1997d)

The research object is the vocabulary of the dialects used by Russian old-timers as a unified system. The research subject is the vocabulary of one denotative sphere, i.e. hunting considered from the viewpoint of systemic relations, nomination, structure and word formation. We also used the methods of description, comparison of linguistic facts, analysis and generalization. According to N.I. Tolstoy, not only language is dialectic but also culture and folklore. The last two phenomena exist and function exclusively in a dialectic form, i.e. as local and specific local variants (Tolstoy, 1983: 181-190).

## Results

First of all, we should analyze evaluative person nominations. All the nominations we had selected were divided into five semantic dominants: "features of behavior and speech", "character features", "attitude towards labor", "features of appearance and physical state", "mental abilities". Within one semantic dominant, we determined distinctive features to group the nominations under study.

One of the most frequent dominants is the semantic dominant "attitude towards labor". It is not surprising because the surrounding harsh conditions formed the character traits necessary for survival. To survive, one has to work hard. Consequently, labor is perceived as the norm. The semantic dominant "attitude towards labor" can be divided into two evaluative groups:

1. Responsible attitude towards labor, the conscientious performance of one's

duties: бравый/bravyi (dashing), гоношливой/gonoshlivoi (busy), на своем горбу/na svoem gorbu (by the sweat of one's brow), горазд/gorazd (strong), дельной/delnoi (businesslike), жварить/zhvarit (to work hard), быть на жизни/byt na zhizeni (to earn one's living), жить в работе/zhit v rabote (to connect one's life with work), жить житьём/zhit zhitem (to live one's life), зудить/zudit (to hustle about), мантулить/mantulit (to work in harsh conditions), мастерный/masternui (handy), могучий/moguchii (powerful), ожигом ходить/ozhigom khodit (to work one's way through something), переталкивать горшки/peretalkivat gorshki (to do hard and tedious work), положить труды/polozhit trudy (to put a lot of effort into something), etc.

2. Socially condemned attitude towards labor, poor performance of professional duties: трамболить/trambolit (to twiddle one's thumbs), алырщик/alyrshchik (lazy bones), майданщик/maidanshchik (useless mouth), руки скласть/ruki sklast (to rest on oars), etc.

In total, we have analyzed 96 lexical units from the dictionary of the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia and phraseological dictionary compiled by M.F. Druzhinina (Druzhinina, 2013). Some nominations were also found in Russian explanatory dictionaries. For example, the nomination "gonoshlivoi" is defined as "a practical and economic person" in V.I. Dal's dictionary (Vendina, 1998, p. 384). The dictionary of old-timers' dialects states as follows: "GONOSHLIVOI, -aya, -oe. Restless, fussy; Hard-working. – Gonoshlivoi means a good host who knows how to do everything, the jack-of-all-trades. He does not sit without work since he is always busy / Russkoe Ustie, the villages of Kuzmichevo, Labaznoe, Nizhnekolymsk" (Maslova, 2007, p. 19). V.I. Dal's dictionary gives this word not only positive but also a negative connotation (the concept of "economic" contains the meaning of "stingy"). However, the dictionary of old-timers' dialects presents only positive assessment. It is evidenced by the following metatext: "gonoshlivoi means a good host who knows how to do everything, the jack-of-all-trades". In this case, the feature of professional competence is conceptualized.

Let us consider the verbal nomination "zudit" that means "to work hard, to hustle about"

(Maslova, 2007, p. 96]. In V.I. Dal's dictionary, this word has a completely different definition – "to tease, make angry, bother" (Vendina, 1998, p. 720) but there is the word "zuit" which has a similar lexical meaning – "to fuss about, hustle about" (Vendina, 1998, p. 720). It is worth mentioning that there is also the nomination "zuditsya", which is semantically close to the word "zudit" from V.I. Dal's dictionary. For instance, "ZUDITSYA, -dyus, -dishsya, imperfective. Idiomatic meaning. To argue, quarrel. – Two officers are arguing (zudyatsya) about something / Hangalas District, Sinsk. Why does he nag (zuditsya) and argue with everyone? / Yakutsk, Marha" (Maslova, 2007, p. 96). These nominations have an idiomatic meaning that explains the transformation of the above-mentioned semantics. They conceptualize such features as activity, diligence, duration, i.e. a responsible attitude towards labor, one's duties.

We paid special attention to those nominations whose meanings have changed. For example, the evaluative adjective "bravyi" in Russian meant "dignified, prominent, beautiful; worthy, kind, sound, good" (Vendina, 1998, p. 124). Its inner form has already expressed the mode of approval (derived from the French "bravo"). In the Russian old-timers' dialects of Yakutia, the word marks a positive attitude towards labor, which is evidenced by the metatext: "BRAVYI, -aya, -oe. 1. Friendly /about a person/. – He is a friendly (bravyi) man. Our people are bravyi, they work well / Lensky District, the village of Vitim /. Our people are smart, they know how to work / Olekminsky District, Beryozovka" (Dal, 1881, p. 78). The lexical meaning conceptualizes such a feature as "friendly", while the metalinguistic consciousness conceptualizes the feature "hard-working" (they work well; they know how to work). Yakutian old-timers see no difference between "benevolence" and "industriousness".

The linguistic consciousness of old-timers considers such human qualities as industriousness, diligence and self-sufficiency as values-based orientations. There is a popular saying: "Even a shot glass will not be served for free". Cf. "EVEN A SHOT GLASS WILL NOT BE SERVED FOR FREE. It is necessary to be employed and work hard. – Who lives poorly? Those who are too lazy to work live in bad conditions. Even a shot glass will not be served for free. You cannot buy anything without money (Srednekolymsk)". This example realizes the following belief: Everything is achievable through hard work. The proposition is as follows: Labor is the person's need and necessity, they will not survive without labor.

The person's attitude towards labor is realized through verbal evaluative nominations in Russian dialects. For example, "ZHVARIT, -ryu, -rish, imperfective. 2. To work hard. – If you keep working hard (zhvarit) in such a way, we can finish rowing in two or three days / Olekminsky District, Tochilnaya / He works (zhvarit) like crazy to complete the task ahead of schedule / Hangalas District, Batamai, Sinsk/ Their team sweat away (zhvarit) at the construction site / Yakutsk, Marha " (Maslova, 2007, p. 70). The lexical meaning of this verb derived from the old meaning "to beat hard, pound" (Vendina, 1998, p. 544) based on the seme "strong" that marks the intensity of this action. This semantic transfer could be influenced by the consonance with the word "zhar" that stands for "hotness, strong desire, strive to do something" (Vendina, 1998, p. 541). The lexical meaning of this verb conceptualizes the mode of approval (diligently). The metalinguistic consciousness conceptualizes the feature of "intensity". Apparently, this feature was relevant in the Soviet times when workers tried to fulfill and overfulfill their plan ahead of schedule. Here is one of the Soviet slogans: "Yesterday it was a record, today it will become a norm".

The verb "mantulit" also means "to perform hard work, to work in harsh conditions". Cf. "She got around, girls, and started working (mantulit) once again (Olekminsky District, the villages of Macha, Tochilnaya). They used to work (mantulit) all the time (Delgey, Chapayev). It was difficult and we had to work hard (mantulit), otherwise we would not have survived (Amginsky District)" (Sidorova, 2006, p. 61). V.I. Dal's dictionary defines the verb as "to lick, eat the remains from the master's table" (Dal, 1880, p. 304). "Mantulnik, mantulnitsa" is a "lickspittle, hanger-on, fawner, lackey, servant at the table" (Dal, 1880, p. 304). The Russian worldview condemns such human characteristics as servility and flattery. The conditions when a person has to indulge and flatter are regarded as harsh ones; therefore, the above-mentioned verb acquires a new lexical meaning.

A negative attitude towards labor is criticized in the linguistic world image of Russian old-timers. For instance, "TRAMBOLIT, -lyu, -lish, imperfective. Expressive. To lounge. – He is still twiddling his thumbs (trambolit), he has not done anything and is not doing anything now (Lensky District)" (Tolstoy, 1983, p. 88). Perhaps the verb derived from the well-known "baayt". V.I. Dal's dictionary recorded the word "bolyan" ("lyasnik, krasnobai") (Vendina, 1998, p. 116). Idle talk has

always been associated with laziness in the Russian world image. We believe that the first component -tram- is used to strengthen the feature (cf. tram-pam-pam). We also suppose another option. Thus, the Russian linguistic world image considers light labor as laziness. Therefore, the verb is presumably based on the verb "trambovat", which means an easy action (to trample something). Thus, the verb compares laziness with idle talk or light labor. In addition, there is such a nomination as "alyra, alyrshchik" that confirms this negative attitude. Cf. "ALYRA – ALYRSHCHIK DA. Archaic. Loafer, dodger. – It is the kind of person he is. He never stays in one place for a long time. Today he is here and tomorrow you look for him but he is gone. He is a real alyra-alyrshchik (loafer), does not want to work but needs to eat. He is a rogue, alyra (dodger). He does a great job cheating people, that is what he can do (Allaikhovskiy District, Yurtushka area, Yakut Zhilo)". The archaic Russian words "alyra", "alyr", "alyrnik", "alyrshchik" and "alyrnitsa" stand for a "buffoon, magician, deceiver, rogue, swindler, crook, loafer, idle, lazy bones, useless mouth and merry-maker". The verb "alyritsya" was used as a synonym "to cackle, mock" (Vendina, 1998, p. 13). The denotative situation associated with the magician highlighted the seme "deception". It gave rise to the meanings "rogue, crook and maidanshchik" (the one who offers to roll the dice or play cards on the maidan) and stressed the semes "deception and festivity". The linguistic consciousness of old-timers narrowed this meaning and identified idleness with deception. While examining the phraseological units used by old-timers, we have found some units that differ from the generally accepted only in their grammatical form. For example, RUCHKI SKLAST. To do nothing; to be lazy. – He has been doing nothing (sklast ruchki) a long time ago and refused to conclude a contract with us (Nizhnekolymsky District, the village of Cherskii)". The structure of this phraseological unit comprises a colloquial form of the verb. Cf. tirelessly (to work like a beaver).

The vocabulary of traditional occupations and crafts plays an important role in the Russian dialects used by old-timers. Hunting is of special interest among all other crafts and trades typical of Russian old-timers. The language forms some themed layers of words that have developed due to certain social and historical reasons. Each lexical layer reflects some aspect of human life and everyday activity, i.e. hunt vocabulary is a part of the national worldview. Language is the symbolic storage of social experience gathered by some people. Its units encode the historical

practice of a particular people, reflect its inner world and unique mindset.

There are different lexical-semantic groups that represent the hunt vocabulary used by Yakutian old-timers. Each lexical-semantic group comprises the corresponding subgroups, which can be further classified. This fact indicates a wide variety of hunt vocabulary, while its detailed classification proves the crucial role of these terms for people living in harsh conditions of Arctic Yakutia. The hunt vocabulary used by Russian old-timers is characterized by a complex structure and lexical-semantic diversity. In this article, we consider the lexical-semantic groups "Nominations of hunting tools and methods" and "Nominations of hunt-related actions":

- a) The subgroup "Nominations of active hunting methods" – "Hunting with the use of weapons": разломка/razlomka "a type of a firearm", серебрянка/serebryanka "an old rifle lined with silver on the gunstock", турка/turka "a type of a gun", бердан/berdan "a single-shot Berdan rifle", двостволка/dvoestvolka "a double-barreled hunting rifle", дуяк/duyak "a type of a firearm, the same as dulyak", дуляк/dulyak "a type of a firearm", etc.

Nominations of rifle components: руковетка/rukovetka "a handle", руковятка/rukovyatka "the same as rukovetka", хвостовка/khvostovka "a shank, the upper thickened portion of a gun", резка/rezka "a thread; foresight", обсечка/obsechka "misfire", накладка/nakladka "an iron plate on a gun-butt", стволina/stvolina "a shotgun barrel", etc.

- b) The subgroup "Nominations of passive hunting methods" – "Hunting without the person's presence": пленка/plenka "a snare made of hair for catching birds and small animals", пасть/past "a catch, trap for an animal", петля/petlya "a hare trap, snare", плашка/plashka "the same as a chopping block", кулёма/kulema "a big trap made of chopping blocks, a bear trap"; плах/plakh "a trap, catch; the same as a chopping block", кулёмник/kulemnik "the same as a bear trap", чиркан/chirkan "an ermine trap", etc.

Nominations of the constituent parts of certain traps: гнеток/gnetok "a falling, pressing part of a trap", язычок/yazuchok "one of the constituent

parts of a catch", щеток/shchetok "a stick to cover a trap", пади/padi "the constituent part of a trap", целак/tselak "a tripping mechanism in a trap on fur-bearing animals, a tripping mechanism of a trap", губа пастная/guba pastnaya "one of trap components", ломовая пасть/ломовая пасть "a trap on fur-bearing animals", сторожельная палочка/storozhelnaya palochka "a constituent part of a trap on fur-bearing animals", etc.

Nominations of baits: подсов/podsov "a bait, lure for animals and birds", юхала/yukhala "dried fish as a polar fox bait", едук/eduk "a bait for fur-bearing animals", юхла/yukhla "the same as dried fish", etc.

- c) The subgroup "Nominations of different hunting means and tools":

Nominations of knives: батас/batas "a large hunting knife", пальма/palma "a large knife with a wooden handle; spear", переченник/perechennik "a penknife; the same as perochinka", переченной ножик/perechennoi nozhik "a penknife", двоестрильной/dvoestroilnoi "a double-edged knife", урох/urokh "a knife with no edge", etc.

Nominations of bows and arrows: рогатка/rogatka "an arrow of a special shape with a split tip", тамар/tamar "an arrow for a bow", томар/tomar "an arrow for a bow", конечник/konechnik "a tip of a hunting arrow", верхонка/verkhonka "a part of an arrow connecting its tip with the plumage", ергиш/ergish "a kind of a hunting arrow", двойнуха/dvoynukha "archaic; a type of a hunting arrow", площадь/ploshchad "a kind of a hunting arrow with an iron tip", костянка/kostyanka "an arrow with a tip made of bone", etc.

Nominations of different wooden devices: ратовище/ratovishche "the shaft of a spear, hunting knife", ратовье/ratove "a wooden part of a spear", ботог/botog "a stick, staff", рожон/rozhon "a pointed stake, pole; the same as rozhen", пошатина/poshatina "a stick, staff", биток/bitok "a long stick, pole that marks the location of a trap", шомпа/shompa "a stick, hunter's staff", etc.

The lexical-semantic group "Nominations of hunt-related actions":

- a) The subgroup "Nominations of the animal's actions":

прикаsnуть/prikasnut "to appear, show up (about a seal)", шарить/sharit "to smell, find something by instinct (about animals)", стадиться/staditsa "to gather in a herd", таскать/taskat "to give birth to cubs (about animals)", царкнуть/tsarknut "to bite, sting (about a snake)", авкать/avkat "to roar (about a bear)", крачить/krachit "to croak (about a raven)", зарычать/zaryachkat "to growl (about a bear)", кикать/kikat and кыкать/кыкат "to make sounds (about a swan)", дрестать/drestat (expressive, to run away, hide (about animals)", грызть/gryzt "to lick (about animals)", etc.

- b) The subgroup "Nominations of person actions": гонять/gonyat "to hunt for something (about hunting)", юнуть/yunut "to shoot from a gun", охотать/okhotat "to hunt", распускаться/raspuskatsya "to be scared, lost, be afraid", стрелить/strelit "to shoot", пулиться/pulitsya "to run fast", промущлять/promushlyat "to hunt for something", маякать/mayakat "to give a sign warning about something", краулить/kraulit "to guard, watch over", etc.
- c) According to the animal hunted for: соболить/sobolit "to hunt for a sable", песцевать/pestsevat "to hunt for a polar fox", побелочить/pobelochit "to hunt for a squirrel", оленевать/olenevat "to hunt for deer", лебедовать/lebedovat "to catch flocked swans", белочничать/belochnichat "the same as hunt for squirrels", гусевать/gusevat "to hunt for geese", уточить/utochit "to hunt for ducks", etc.

The lexical-semantic group "Nominations of hunting means and methods" is characterized by different types of systemic relations: genus-species, variability, doubletness, synonymy and antonymy.

In this case, a hyperonym is a common Russian one-word nomination. Both single-word and compound nominations act as hyponyms, i.e. designations of specific concepts. All the above-mentioned subgroups have genus-species relations. In the first and second subgroups, the generic word is a method and subnotions are represented by various types of methods. The generic word is a "gun" in the first subgroup "Hunting methods with the use of weapons",

while subnotions are the names of different guns. The generic word of the second subgroup "Hunting without the person's presence" is a trap and subnotions are expressed by different kinds of traps.

As a rule, the sequences of cohyponyms are extensive. Hyperonyms are active in all the above-mentioned paradigms. Most hunt-related lexemes denoting subnotions are included in the active dialectic vocabulary. For instance, the word "trap" is the main one in the paradigm denoting "catching devices", including the following cohyponyms: morda, berdo, perevyazok, ez and zaezka (nominations of various types of traps). The most popular semantic relations in the vocabulary under study are synonyms and doublets: poshatina – palka – posokh – botog – bitog – shompa; primanka – podsov – yukhala – eduk; teterya – palnik, etc.; obsechka – osechka; stvolina – stvol; ratovishche – ratove, etc. This vocabulary also contains antonyms, including past (a large trap) vs. petlya (a small trap); palma (a large knife) vs. perechnik (a penknife). The hunt vocabulary used by Russian old-timers is also characterized by variability. These dialects comprise accent, phonemic, structural and word-forming variants. Accent variants are as follows: pelyag – pelyag. Here are phonemic variants: rukovetka – rukovyatka, bitog – botog; rozhon – rozhen; tomar – tamar; tamarik – tamarchik; yukhala – yukhla. Structural and word-forming variants include dvustvolnoe ruzhe – dvoestvolka, pushnar – pushnarnya.

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Synonymic relations are common to the following words: ushka – zapadnya – past – plakh – chirkan – kulema; petlya – silok – plenka; palma – ratovishche – drevko kopya; rozhen – shest – kol; palka – poshatina – posokh – botog – bitog – shompa; primanka – podsov – yukhala – eduk; nozh – batas – palma – urokh – perechennik.

Antonyms are as follows: past (a big trap); petlya (a small trap).

Palma is a large knife, while perechennik a pecker is a penknife.

Doublets: plashka – plakha – plakh; dulyak – duyak; rukovetka – rukovyatka; khvostovik – khvostovka; obsechka – osehka; stvolina – stvol; ratovishche – ratove; bitog – botog; rozhon – rozhen; tomar – tamar; tamarik – tamarchik; yukhala-yukhla.

Padog, padozhok, m (northern, eastern); batog, badig, baidig; palka, trost, posokh, dubinka. We need to prepare sticks (padog) to use them on the road [Dal].

Partitive relations (between the whole and its constituent parts) are also common to the lexical-semantic group "Nominations of hunting tools and methods". For example, the holonym "ruzhe" (gun) includes a large number of partitives: руковетка/rukovetka "a handle", хвостовка/khvostovka "a shank, the upper thickened portion of a gun", резка/rezka "a thread; foresight", накладка/nakladka "an iron plate on a gun-butt", ствольина/stvolina "a shotgun barrel".

Hyper-hyponymic relations correlate with holopartitive relations and the variability of units. For instance:

Ruzhe (shotgun) – dvoestvolka, rukovetka, khvostovka, rezka, nakladka, stvolina.

"We killed a black beast using a double-barrel gun (dvoestvolka). To shoot a bear, you will need a double-barrel gun. It will not be harmed with a handgun" / Lensky District, the village of Khamra (Dal, 1880, p. 38).

"A penknife (perechenoi nozhik) is small and can be carried in a pocket in a folded form. It is folding" / Russkoe Ustie, the village of Yakutskoe zhilie (Dal, 1881, p. 148).

"We place a special mark near the trap (past) to later find it. We hunters do it like that" / the villages of Chokurdakh, Osennyi, Labaznoe (Dal, 1881, p. 136).

Word formation: suffixes are the most common word-forming methods within the lexical-semantic group "Nominations of hunting tools and methods", including:

1. -k-: razlomka, serebryanka, khvostovka, nakladka, plashka;
2. -yan-: serebryanka, kostyanka;
3. -in-: stvolina, poshatina;

4. -ishch-: ratovishche;
5. -ik-: tamarik;
6. -nik-: konechnik, kulemnik;
7. -ok-: yazychok, etc.

When we analyze the mechanism of word-formation we can better understand "what elements of extralinguistic reality are marked by means of word-formation, why they are kept in consciousness because the very choice of a particular phenomenon as an object of word-formation determines its vital and social relevance in the linguistic consciousness of people" (Vendina, 1998, p. 9). Word-forming tools introduce certain evaluation into lexical meaning and demonstrate the person's attitude to the above-mentioned phenomenon of reality.

We should note that there are certain evaluative nominations in the lexical-semantic group "Nominations of hunt-related actions": дрестать/drestat (expressive, to run away, hide (about animals), пулиться/pulitsya (to run fast), шарить/sharit (to smell, find something by instinct (about animals), стадиться/staditsa (to gather in a herd).

## Discussion

Evaluative nominations objectify different characteristics of a person and form their image in the minds of native speakers. The analysis of the lexical meaning and the inner form of nominations that characterize a person's attitude to labor shows that work plays an important role in the life of Russian old-timers. Labor is perceived as a need and a means of survival. In harsh northern conditions, hunting was widespread among Arctic old-timers as a type of labor activity and was an inseparable part of the life of both males and females. Hunt vocabulary is a fragment of the lexical-semantic system of language that represents the linguistic world image of Russian old-timers. Game- and hunt-related nominations are heterogeneous, i.e. they comprise a large number of lexical and semantic groups, as well as subgroups. The hunt vocabulary used by Russian old-timers is characterized by the following relations: hyper-hyponymic, cohyponymic, variability, doubletness, synonymy and antonymy. Lexical-semantic groups and subgroups mostly realize hyper-hyponymic (genus-species) relations of units.

## Conclusion

The conducted analysis has proved that hunt vocabulary and dialects of Russian old-timers is



a complex and multifunctional system. Many game terms are associated with common words of the above-mentioned sub-dialects as evidenced by numerous examples of synonyms, antonyms and doublets. Paradigmatic relations are step-like. Hunt vocabulary includes both dialectal and literary words, which testifies to the connection between the literary language and the dialect.

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