

## Linguistic Representation of The Concept of Person in The Russian Sub-Dialects of Yakutian Old-Timers

Galina Egorovna Zhondorova

M.K. Ammosov North-Eastern Federal University, Yakutsk, Russia

**Abstract.** This article studies some aspects of the linguistic worldview of the Yakutian old-timers and reveals the concept of person. Since the early 17th century, the Russian old-timers have been allegedly living among foreign languages in the Arctic territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) which is the largest subject of the Russian Federation. Old-timers are the oldest group of the Russian population living in Siberia. The study is based on the folklore and dialectal materials collected from representatives of this ethnic group and reflected in the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers". The authors of the article focus on the structure of the person concept, description of its main characteristics and identification of specific linguistic representation in the Russian sub-dialects used by old-timers. The semantics of this concept is closely connected with the peculiar lifestyle of the Yakutian old-timers.

**Keywords:** concept, linguistic representation, sub-dialect, old-timer, national specifics, linguistic worldview, some aspects of linguistic worldview.

Representación lingüística del concepto de persona en los  
sub-dialectos rusos de los veteranos yakutianos

---

## Resumen

Resumen. Este artículo estudia algunos aspectos de la cosmovisión lingüística de los veteranos yakutianos y revela el concepto de persona. Desde principios del siglo XVII, los veteranos rusos supuestamente viven entre lenguas extranjeras en el territorio ártico de la República de Sakha (Yakutia), que es el tema más importante de la Federación Rusa. Los veteranos son el grupo más antiguo de la población rusa que vive en Siberia. El estudio se basa en el folclore y los materiales dialectales recopilados de representantes de este grupo étnico y reflejados en el "Diccionario de los sub-dialectos rusos de los veteranos yakutianos". Los autores del artículo se centran en la estructura del concepto de persona, la descripción de sus características principales y la identificación de la representación lingüística específica en los sub-dialectos rusos utilizados por los veteranos. La semántica de este concepto está estrechamente relacionada con el peculiar estilo de vida de los veteranos yakutianos.

Palabras clave: concepto, representación lingüística, subdialecto, veterano, detalles nacionales, cosmovisión lingüística, algunos aspectos de la cosmovisión lingüística.

### 1. Introduction

The linguistic and ethnic-linguistic representation of a person is a multi-dimensional and well-structured formation, "one of the most significant aspects of the linguistic worldview" (Druzhinina, 2002). Based "on the national psychology and culture and conditioned by the socio-historical development of some people, it reflects essential properties of their material and ethnocultural world" (Petrova, Zhondorova, 2018). This representation correlates with the concept of wholesome person and is regarded as its integral part, but it also represents a person as the object of perception and evaluation. The concept of person in the naive worldview includes everything that a person objectively and subjectively, pragmatically and aesthetically assumes to be their qualities: physical and non-physical organs, objects adorning a person, covering their body or completing their appearance, dynamic physical characteristics (body movements, facial expressions, postures, manners, gait), external speech characteristics (voice, speech), as well as aesthetic, ethical, social and psychological features of their inner world.

The basis for studying the concept of person is the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers. These sub-dialects used in Yakutia and along the Lena River have been studied by the Department of the Russian Language and General Linguistics at Yakutsk State University since 1958. M.F. Druzhinina, G.I. Popova and N.G. Samsonov organized scientific dialectological expeditions to collect linguistic materials. As a result, M.F. Druzhinina compiled and published the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers" which became the main source of linguistic materials for this research. "This dictionary consists of materials collected by teachers and students of M.K. Ammosov Yakutsk University during dialectological expeditions organized between 1959 and 1986" (Druzhinina, 1997).

The dictionary comprises materials on the sub-dialects of nine Yakutian uluses (districts) where "the Russian old-timers live (the upper reaches of the Lena River, the city of Yakutsk and its surroundings, the lower reaches of the Yana, Indigirka and Kolyma rivers, and other territories) united into two groups – Prilenskaya and Kolyma-Indigirskaya" (Chikachev, 1990).

## 2. Methods

We conducted a theoretical analysis of scientific works and a comparative study of language materials.

## 3. Results

These sub-dialects contain northern features of Great Russian revealed in vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. This is explained by the fact that ancestors of the modern indigenous population of Lensky District came from northern Russia, namely regions between Novgorod and Vyatka. Siberia was being settled by the northern Russians from the late 16th century to the early 18th century. The vocabulary of the Yakutian old-timers has a lot in common with Arkhangelsk and Novgorod sub-dialects. For instance, *баран/baran* 'a horizontal arc of a sled'; *бриткой/britkoi* 'something giving a clean shave'; *шелонник/shelonnik* 'southwest wind'; *вадига/vadiga* 'deep end', etc.

Finding themselves in the far northeast of Asia and growing apart from other sub-dialects of European Russia, locals used the language common to the northern part of European Russia between the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, their sub-dialects (mainly Indigir) seemed to preserve elements of the language of the 1500s and 1600s. As a result, the Russians from Ust-Yansk and Kazachii did not fully understand representatives of the lower middle class living along the Indigirka River and claimed the latter spoke their own language.

ge. There, old-timers managed to preserve ancient Russian songs, tales and customs long forgotten in other places of Russia, including the rest of Yakutia.

Nowadays the sub-dialects used along the Indigirka River consist of ancient words and phraseological units that have not survived in the speech of other Yakutians. Thus, the list of old words is as follows: *баять/bayat* (to speak), *прилог/prilog* (a tradition, a custom), *живот/zhivot* (property), *инде/inde* (elsewhere), *ланской/lanskoï* (last year's), etc. In addition to general characteristics of the northern Russian, the above-mentioned sub-dialects also have specific features that distinguish them from sub-dialects of Siberia and European Russia.

The separation from European Russia that lasted more than three hundred years, a completely different way of life and other historical conditions resulted in a certain number of new words that emerged in the territory of the Lensky District. In new conditions, new words appeared in the sub-dialects of Yakutia, the upper reaches of the Lena River and entire Siberia. These were the words derived from roots of the All-Russian national language, "common Russian words which changed their meanings or words borrowed from languages of the local non-Russian population" (Samsonov, 1993).

The Indigir and Kolyma sub-dialects are closely related, which is explained by their common origin. The Russian settlers to the Indigirka and Kolyma rivers came from the same provinces of European Russia, as evidenced by the specific speech and written documents of the 17th and 18th centuries. Therefore, the vocabulary of the Indigir and Kolyma sub-dialects have many unique words and expressions in common. For example, *важенка/vazhenka* (female reindeer), *буйница/buinitsa* (a hole in the ceiling or at the top of the wall serving as a fanlight window), *агеды/agedy* (knee-high fur boots), *огонь угасить/ogon ugazit* (to stay without housewife), etc.

However, each of these sub-dialects has its own words and expressions that cannot be found anywhere else. V.M. Zenzinov was the first to notice unique characteristics of the Indigir sub-dialect. According to the scholar, the Indigir sub-dialect was influenced by inhabitants of Yakutia and Kolyma, as well as the Russians who had settled in Yakutia a long time ago and developed their own language due to isolation from Russia and Siberia. A person living along the Indigirka River can be recognized by typical words and expressions, for example: "*Йо брар! Грех брар!*" / "*Io brat! Grekh brat*" (an expression of pain, astonishment and general strong feelings). A common feature of the Indigir sub-dialect is a limited number of words and expressions borrowed from indigenous languages. People living along the Indigirka River use such words borrowed from the Yakut language as *урун/urun* (a box-shaped object with the same length and width as a three-quarter-sized bed, filled with earth and serving as a bed in uras), *ураца/urasa*

(a cone-shaped dwelling surrounded by an earth bank, with an opening for smoke in its upper part), etc.

#### 4. Discussion

While reconstructing the semantic macrofield "person's image" based on the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers, we have revealed a naive yet not primitive worldview whose linguistic units are characterized not only by realism and scientificity but also by a whole complex of mythical, poetic, national and cultural beliefs. The image of a person as a concept exists in the mind of native speakers and is modified by culture and traditions. According to the cognitive approach, the concept correlates with all the existing information on the designated component recorded and transmitted through linguistic units. We study the naive consciousness of a person who does not possess scientific knowledge objectified by the system of natural language in its canonical colloquial (spoken) varieties and non-canonical (folk-poetic) forms. The naive (linguistic) worldview differs from the scientific one by figurativeness, i.e. evaluation, associativity, idealization, mythologization and expressiveness in a broad sense.

The linguistic worldview realizes this representation during the repeated designation of a person's appearance and character features: language verbalizes such a ratio with special indicators and acts as a subsystem of "signs".

The concept of a person's image is concentrated knowledge of the Yakutian old-timers about external and internal personal qualities verbalized and embodied in figurative, axiological, stereotypical and semiotic categories, which is objectified by the entire system of semantic units used in the lower reaches of the Indigirka River (Yakutia). The main aspects of the linguistic (semantic) categorization of a person's image include the semantic space of external and internal qualities reconstructed in conformity with the dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers (Druzhinina, 1997, 2002). We have distinguished keywords for the above-mentioned concept. The Russian people who had found themselves in the far northeast of the country and avoided the influence of the literary language and other Russian sub-dialects for a long time were forced to use the vocabulary typical of northern European Russia in the 17th century. Therefore, their vocabulary contains words that cannot be found in other modern sub-dialects.

Considering a wholesome person as a kind of microcosm represented in language through different incarnations, we aim to explore the linguistic image of a person in all its manifestations and in relation to the corresponding linguistic images of a wholesome and internal person.

According to the accepted theoretical positions, this study of a person's image as

a fragment of the linguistic worldview of the Russian old-timers was carried out through the characterization of three lexical and semantic subfields: the lexical-semantic group "External person", i.e. the folklore evaluation of a person's appearance, gait, manner of speaking; peripheral lexical-semantic groups; the lexical-semantic group "Stranger", i.e. ideas about the surrounding world recorded in the folklore.

One of the basic principles of systematic semantics, onomasiology and semasiology is the fact that all words are characterized by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations (links) among groups and subgroups they are included into. "Numerous studies of Russian scholars have demonstrated that systematic-paradigmatic relations at the lexical-semantic level are objectified by lexical-semantic microsystems, i.e. cohesive entities that stand out from the vocabulary of any given language based on the common (integral) semantic attribute of their lexical meanings and differential semantic features of subgroups and individual elements of microsystems. The field is a way of reflecting the world around" (Karaulov, 1976), a hierarchical organization of words united by one generic meaning and representing a certain semantic sphere (Novikov, 1997, Karaulov, 1976, Schur, 1974). Potential combinations of the common and particular in lexical meanings of field components reveal the nature of paradigmatic relations between them (Dibrova, 1989).

Based on differential semantic components common to macrofield components, we have distinguished the following lexical-semantic subfields: "External person" (the semantic nucleus: the "Wholesome appearance", "Body and its parts", "Functional characteristics of a person's appearance" and "Expressive appearance" lexical-semantic groups; peripheral elements: "Related characteristics of appearance"; metaphorical, stylistically marked and euphemistic equivalents of some elements of nuclear lexical-semantic groups); the themed subfield entitled "External person": the "Person's appearance", "External body and its parts", "Sensations", "Physical well-being", "Movements", "Related characteristics of appearance" and "External forms of behavior" conceptual spheres. The field nucleus is represented by lexemes and equivalent word combinations united by the hyperseme 'appearance' and includes the following lexical-semantic groups: "Wholesome appearance", "Body and its parts", "Functional characteristics of appearance" and "Expressive appearance".

A person's appearance is "directed to other people" (Kon, 1978) and, as a result, it is capable of transmitting information about a person's inner world and revealing individual qualities and characteristics inherent only to that person. From this perspective, appearance is informative since it is a means of a "cognitive act realized through the simultaneous inclusion of various levels

of consciousness based on emotions" (Boguslavskii, 1994). In other words, appearance is the object of evaluation and the subject of information characterized by expressiveness and ability to influence others. In addition, appearance is perceived as an aesthetic phenomenon, i.e. it is endowed with "expressiveness and ability to aesthetically influence the perceiver" (Bakhtin, 1979). Thus, appearance is the object of multidirectional cognitive and evaluative activity. The vocabulary of the Yakutian sub-dialects used in the lower reaches of the Indigirka River characterizing a person's appearance can be divided into several groups. Special attention is given to health. People living along the Indigirka River needed great physical strength, dexterity and many special skills. A strong and beautiful person was often described in the following manner: здоровый/zdorovyi (healthy) – бульонистой/bulonistoi (plumpy) – бравой/bravoi (brave) – доброй/dobroi (kind) – корпусной/korpusnoi (stocky) – могучей/mogutnoi (mighty) – коренастой/korenastoi (sturdy) – круглой/krugloi (pudgy) – богатой/bogatoi (rich), красивый/krasivyi (beautiful) – бравенькой/bravenkoi (courageous) – строганной/strogannoi (well-formed) – приятливый/priyatlivyi (easy-going) – смазливый/smazlivyi (pretty) – смазливый по брови/smazlivyi po brovi (cheesy).

Такой бульонистый, а niche работает / Takoi bulonistyi, a niche rabotaet / He is so plumpy but can work (Russkoe Ustie). Родилась, когда она добрая была, хороша, крупна / Rodilas, kogda ona dobraya byla, khorosha, krupna / She was born big, kind and good (Russkoe Ustie). Ой, тутуший он такой! Крупной да круглой / Oi, tutushchii on takoi! Krupnoi da krugloi / Oh, he is so corpulent! Large and pudgy (Russkoe Ustie).

Такой он корпусной парень был, красивый, пиятливый / Takoi on korpusnoi paren byl, krasivyi, piyatlivyi / He was a stocky, handsome and inquiring guy (Russkoe Ustie). Ишь, какой он бравый, красивенький да смазливый / Ish, kakoi on bravyi, krasivenkii da smazlivyi / Look, how brave, handsome and pretty he is (Russkoe Ustie). А молодуха-то их хороша, корпусна / A molodukha-to ikha khorosha, korpusna / Their daughter-in-law is solid and statuary (Russkoe Ustie).

It should be mentioned that "the main occupation of indigenous Russians in the lower reaches of the Indigirka River was Arctic hunting and fishing, collecting eggs, berries and roots of wild plants" (Safronov, 1961). The preservation of the Russian language and people's originality can be explained by the predilection of people living along the Indigirka River for traditions of their grandfathers and an isolated lifestyle. At the beginning of the 20th century, a local could meet from a few dozens to a hundred of fellow countrymen. Each year every family secluded itself for many months while fishing, hunting for geese or Arctic foxes. Women almost never left their summer camps. Thus, no woman from Russkoe Ustie ever visited Allaikhovskiy (only 120 versts away).

Men who had been to Kazachii and the Kolyma River were considered experienced. In these conditions, the physical strength, scope and boldness of the Russian soul were especially valued: БРАВАЯ. КОСТКА БРАВАЯ / BRAVA-YA. KOSTKA BRAVAYA. To describe a slim good-looking person (the same as туша шепетка/tusha shepetka) – Невеста хороша, прямо зору посмотреть, костка бравая / The bride is neat and gorgeous, a sight for sore eyes (Russkoe Ustie, Kuzmichevo); БЫТЬ В ЗДОРОВОСТИ / BYT V ZDOROVOSTI. To be healthy and capable of working – Хотелось всегда быть в здорювости, безболезненно помирать / I wish I could be healthy till the end and would die painlessly. Сколькю отпущено, стюлькю и будешь жить. Я желаю всем быть в здорювости / Live as long as you can. I wish you good health (Olyokminsky District); БЫТЬ С ГОЛОВОЙ / BYT S GOLOVOI. To be smart and reasonable – На Севере трудно жить, климат суровой, местность шибкю большая. Тут человеку надо быть с головой, местность хорошо знать, в тёмную погоду, когда пурга ориентир надо знать. Так что хорошая голова нужна / It is difficult to live in the North, the climate is harsh, the territory is too large. Here people must be smart, know the territory to find their way in the darkness or snowstorm. One must have one's head screwed on right (Russkoe Ustie, Kosukhino, Chokurdakh, Osennyi); БЫСТРОЙ. БЫСТРОЙ НА НОГУ / BYSTROI. BYSTROI NA NOGU. To be fast, hard-working, bothersome – Сынова - та жена работная, быстрая на ногу была, много успевала делать, нравилась родителям-то мужа / Sons, that wife was hard-working and fussing, managed to accomplish many tasks quickly, her parents-in-law liked her (Russkoe Ustie, Yakutskoe zhilie, Kuzmichevo); БРАТЬ В ТЕЛО / BRAT V TELO. To get better, gain weight, get stronger – Эти-то собачки пока только по первому алыки, только в это лето начали брать тело. Через год только работать станут, в упряжке бегать / These dogs are only began to get stronger this summer. In a year, they will be able to run in harness (Russkoe Ustie, Chokurdakh, Olyokminsky District).

Specific environmental conditions and economy based on fishing and hunting influenced a person's external qualities disapproved by people living along the Indigirka River: некрасивый/nekrasivyi (ugly) – стыдкой/stydkoi – стыдной/stydnói (shameful) – интересной/interesnoi (interesting) – рыластой/rylastoi (insolent) – хмуластой/khmulastoi (gloomy) – щеголеватый/shchegolevatyi (smug) – хворчистой/ khvorchistoi (sallow) – раскудыстой/raskudystoi (easily distracted).

The lexical-semantic group "Wholesome appearance" embraces smaller groups of words: "Body and its parts", including nominations and characteristics of external anatomical features of the human body and its parts, as well as

the following subgroups:

1) Constitutional peculiarities: высокий – долгий – долгоногий – длинный / vysokii – dolgii – dolgonogii – dlinnyi (tall).

Он долгий парнишка, длинный / On dolgii parnishka, dlinnyi / He is a tall and lengthy boy (Russkoe Ustie).

2) The nomination of parts and organs of the human body: гнусавый – глухоносый – под нос говорящи / gnusavyi – glukhonosyi – pod nos govoryashchi (with a nasal twang).

Он не так говорит, как мы, он глухоносый, подноsgоворящий / On ne tak govorit kak my, on glukhonosyi, podnosgovoryashchii / He speaks differently, he is twangy and snuffling (Russkoe Ustie).

Близорукий – морговатый / blizorukii – morgovatyi (short-sighted).

Глаза у него морговатые, слепой он, близорукий / Glaza u nego morgovatyte, slepoi on, blizorukii / He is short-sighted, blear-eyed and blind (Russkoe Ustie).

Плешивый – плесоватый / pleshivyi – plesovatyi (bald-headed).

Волосья длинные, а на макушке-то, на голове, плесовато / Volosya dlinnye, a na makushke-to, na golove, plesovato / His hair is long, but the top of the head is rather bald (Russkoe Ustie).

А у моего миленка да волосы волнистые, я его не променяю на горы золотистые / A u mogo milenka da volosy volnistye, ya ego ne promenyayu na gory zolotistye / My loved one has wavy hair, I would not give him up for golden mountains (Russkoe Ustie).

The lexical-semantic group "Functional characteristics of appearance" includes nominations denoting a person's movements, the human body and its parts, gait, manner of speaking. Feeling a part of a cruel world, indigenous Russians developed a system of common experience and knowledge that approved skills and ability to do one's job well.

Работник он хлопотливой, без дела не сидит. Старик всегда в бегах да в бегах, везде успевае / Rabotnik on khlopotlivoi, bez dela ne sidit. Starik vseгда v begakh da v begakh, vezde uspevaet / He is a busy worker, does not twiddle his thumbs. The old man is always in a rush but has time for everything (Pokhodskoye, Nizhnekolymsky District, Cherskii District).

А она работная женщина, всё на бегах да на ногах / A ona rabotnaya zhenshchina, vse na begakh da na nogakh / She is a hard-working woman, always on her feet (Lensky District, Stanchik, Mukhtuya).

Говорливый – басник – балабол / govorlivyi – basnik – balabol (chatty).

The lexical-semantic group "Expressive appearance" combines lexemes containing the seme of "expressive appearance":

Красавец – приветливый – приемистый – приемной – доброумной – мирной / *krasavets – privetlivyi – priemisty – priemnoi – dobroumnnoi – mirnoi* / handsome – friendly – skillful – resourceful – amicable – peaceful.  
Грамотный – могучий – мудреной – вразумный – вразумительный – головастой – смековатой / *gramotnyi – moguchii – mudrenoi – vrazumnyi – vrazumitelnyi – golovastoi – smekovatoi* / literate – mighty – wise – sensible – intelligent – smart – bold.

Они у них все вразумительные, учились хорошо / *Oni u nikh vse vrazumitelnye, uchilis khorosho* / They are all intelligent, they studied well (Russkoe Ustie).  
Смековатой, все понимает на ходу, головастой он / *Smekovatoi, vse ponimaet na khodu, golovastoi on* / He is quick on the uptake and grasps in a single flash (Russkoe Ustie).

Глупый – алясной – беспонятной – недоумненькой – худоумной – дурашливый / *glupyi – alyasnoi – besponyatnoi – nedoumnenkoi – khudoumnoi – durashlivyi* / stupid – talkative – quizzical – dumb – silly – foolish.

Беспокойный – безумной – бушующий – заполошной – заполошливый – гоношливый – незаладной / *bespokoinyi – bezuemnoi – bushueshnyi – zapoloshnoi – zapoloshlivyi – gonoshlivyi – nezaladni* / restless – crazy – angry – unsettled – bustling – clumsy.

The folklore characterization of a person's appearance reveals the specific functioning of lexical units that can be interchangeable and mutually complement each other. For instance, the word *альясный/alyasnyi* means a stupid and talkative person speaking uselessly without a pause. *Алясный ты человек, мелешь чего сам не толкуешь / Alyasnyi ty chelovek, melesh chego sam ne tolkuesh* / You are a blabber, you do not understand what you are talking about (Russkoe Ustie). Words making the subfield "External person" are based on folklore texts where signs, appraisal and symbolism are put in the foreground. Their originality consists in close connections, a high degree of interdependence and interchangeability. There are situations when antonymic elements are not opposed but compared with one another due to their frequent mutual use, i.e. they can function as synonyms. At the same time, words with similar meanings can turn into antonyms.

The folklore linguistic consciousness is very sensitive to emotional and expressive shades of meaning that usually express people's collective attitude towards events, life situations and actions. In general, both negative and positive emotional evaluation is explained by facts of objective reality, respect, approval, condemnation or neglect.

The periphery of the subfield "External person" comprises the lexical-semantic group "dressed person". Lexemes forming the far periphery of the semantic

macrofield "External person" do not contain the explicit seme "appearance", it is included in the meaning of some word implicitly, placed on the periphery of its lexical meaning. In some contexts, this seme can be actualized, and lexemes begin to refer to a person. A characteristic feature of such nominations is their mandatory "proximity" in the text, i.e. the use with lexemes that are in the macrofield "External person". This correlation is the only way to include nominations of different items into the periphery of the macrofield under consideration.

The Russian people who settled in the far northeast of the country had to adapt to severe Arctic conditions. This approach was clearly manifested in the traditional dress of the indigenous Russian population divided into work and home clothing.

The work clothing of people living along the Indigirka River was ideal for deep sea fishing, regular fishing and hunting. Clothes are among the main cultural elements of inhabitants of the lower reaches of the Indigirka River. While depending on specific conditions, their clothing had preserved its ancient cutout, embellishments and nominations. Besides its main purpose, clothing expresses national identity, is closely connected with the nation's history, and allows defining historical and cultural ties of a particular group of people. To analyze the fragment of the Russian old-timers' worldview denoting a "person dressed in work clothes and shoes", we selected lexical units from the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers" (edited by M.F. Druzhinina). One of its largest lexical-semantic groups among ethnographisms include nominations of clothes, shoes and fabrics (169 lexical units).

For a start, we should mention the archilexeme лопоть/лорот (лапоть/ларот, лопатина/lopatina) which means clothing in general in the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers. Thus, it is in privative (hyper-hyponymic) relations with other lexical units of this lexical-semantic group.

This lexical-semantic group mostly consists of ethnographisms: дундук/dunduk or куклянки/kukhlyanka (thick clothes made of reindeer skin, flared to the bottom, trimmed with a thin edge of dog's skin, a kukhlyanka comes with a hood, a dunduk without); торбасы/torbasy or щеткарей/shchetkari (boots made of reindeer fur); тяжи/tyazhi or чижы/chizhi (stockings made of reindeer or hare fur); малахай/malakhai (a tight-fitting hood made of Arctic fox's paws); камусных/камусные mittens sewn to dunduk, наборонник/naboronnik or набородник/naborodnik (a fur mask covering the face); the semantic dialectism сапоги/sapogi (knee-high fur shoes decorated with an outward fur skin) is singular. To keep fur clothes dry,

locals used *камлейка/kamleika* (an underway overshirt, underway hoodie, it is worn over fur clothes to keep the latter dry and clean); *лохматка/lokhmatka* (fur working mitten with an outward fur skin); *шабур/shabur* (a coarse peasant's overcoat, homespun coat); *пара/para* (female festive clothes consisting of a long skirt and a sweater).

There are the following phonetic variants of dialectisms: *канчи/kanchi* and *кянчи/kyanchi*, *сари/sari* and *сары/sary*, *убуды/ubudy* and *обуды/obudy*, *камас/kamas* and *камус/kamus*.

The lexical-semantic group under consideration mostly includes nominations of shoes and outer garments intended for the winter use. There is only one nomination of outer clothes connected with other seasons – *лабашак/labashak* (raincoat, cape). Most dialectisms denote winter fur clothes, including fur coats, short fur coats: *борчатка/borchatka* (a fur coat made of special sheepskin); *понюшка/ponyushka* (women's fur coat adjusted to the figure and trimmed with valuable fur); *кашуля/kashulya* (a short fur coat made of sheepskin), etc.

It is characteristic that many nominations of fur shoes and clothes are derived from words borrowed from Yakutian languages: *сары/sary* (Yakutian) 'a kind of knee-high fur shoes made of horse leather'; *алачики/alachiki* (Evenki) 'shoes made of yuft, with deerskin sewn to the top'; *камлейка/kamleika* (Chukotskii *кэмлилюн/kamlilyun*) 'an underway overshirt, robe'; *кохолды/kokholdy* (Evenki) 'mittens made of deerskin'; *санаях/sanayakh* (Yakutian) 'fur outerwear, fur coat'; *курахли/kurakhli* (Evenki) 'a winter hat'; *клеки/kleki* (Chukotskii) 'fur galoshes made of deerskin'; *кукашка/kukashka* (Evenki) 'borderless fur clothes worn over a padded jacket or coat', etc.

In harsh northern conditions, Russians adopted not only Yakutian words but also items of clothing and footwear. For example, such a typical detail of the Yakutian national dress as *сутуро/suturo* (Yakutian *сутуруо/suturoo*) 'fur clothing worn over one's hips, going down to knees or below, and fastened to the belt with straps' had been included into the winter wardrobe of the Russian old-timers.

It is important that there are no borrowings from Yakutian languages among nominations of summer (light) footwear and clothing: *бродки/brodki* (summer boots made of deerskin); *пара/para* (female festive clothes consisting of a long skirt and a sweater); *колокольчик/kolokolchik* (a long wide dress with a yoke); *повойник/povoinik* (headgear of a married woman), etc.

The interpretation of ethnographic meanings demonstrates that nominations of shoes and clothes are differentiated not only by the parameters 'winter (fur)'/ 'summer'. There are also male and female shoes and clothes. For instan

се, калиплики/kalipliki (women's fur shoes decorated with embroidery); чарки/charki (women's leather home-made shoes); агеды/agedy (men's fur knee-high boots); курма/kurma (women's fur coat of special cut), etc.

The semantics of linguistic units denoting a "person with clothes and shoes on" in the Russian sub-dialects of the Yakutian old-timers has a complex structure that reflects linguistic patterns typical of a certain dialect and extralinguistic facts associated with the material and spiritual life of its speakers. The semantics of nominations is characterized by a close connection between the lexical meaning of a word and specific properties of reality: functions and appearance characteristics.

People who settled in Russkoe Ustie (descendants of the first explorers who came to Yakutia in search of better lands in the second half of the 17th century) were always small in number and integrated into the household and economic structure of the Indigir indigenous people. New living conditions and severe weather gave rise to many legends about mythical creatures living in the neighborhood. The fairy tales, legends and songs of locals that survived to these days determine general peculiarities of the folklore images used to describe neighbors. Like some other Russians, people living along the Indigirka River had legends about aborigines who had lived there before the Russians arrived and suddenly disappeared. They were called the "Chandals" in Russkoe Ustie. One of the stories about the Chandals recorded by D.D. Travin in 1928 explains why they became extinct. It is likely a retelling of what the collector heard. Here is the complete version:

They were very mobile and had a lot of deer. However, they enjoyed torturing these animals: they flayed deer and let them go while still alive. These deer decided to take revenge on their masters: they came together in herds and ran away. The Chandals were unable to catch them and died off. Their remaining constructions are called the "chandals". They have survived to this day (one near the summer camp of Shchelkanova – Tolsta area) [The folklore of Russkoe Ustie].

According to the commentator, this text describes aborigines (Russian neighbors) known as the "Chandals". Given the legendary character of this "ancient" nationality (the Chandals supposedly lived "only in summer and fell asleep during winter", during hibernation their snots flowed to the ground and froze, whose snots "broke would die"), it is impossible to claim that the above-mentioned story refers to the Yukagirs, the Evens, etc. Most likely, the Chandals were mythical predecessors of indigenous Russians.

Probably, this legend was formed at the intersection of Russian and indigenous folklore traditions. At the same time, the death of mythical Chandals due to

their cruel treatment of deer was clearly borrowed by the Indigir people from stories of northern peoples that regulated human behavior in relation to animals and showed how to treat them. The legend explains why the Chandals died out, but also lets the Russians understand the etymology of nominations of the buildings that "remained" after them. It reflected beliefs common to Russkoe Ustie that reindeer could act like people. People living along the Indigirka River believed that if during a hunt for deer crossing a stream they did not kill them all, the survived animal would warn the others, and the next year these deer would not go that way.

Stories about the so-called "thin Chukchi" or "Chuchans" repeatedly mentioned by collectors of the Indigirka folklore are no less interesting. Here is an excerpt from one of them recorded by A.M. Krotov according to the oral information provided by A. Kiselev:

<...> A long time ago, a Chukchi came across two men. He fired an arrow. One man roared with pain and fell down. The Chukchi began to leap with joy and laugh. The other man shot him between shoulder blades, and the Chukchi fell too. He had a human-like face. He wore a coat made of deerskin and fastened with belts. He could run fast and shout using different voices, barking like an Arctic fox or crying like a person. The sound of his scream sent shivers down the spine. "They" were usually armed with spears and bows... [Russkoe Ustie, 217, No. 91].

There are several viewpoints regarding the origin of this text. Some researchers believe that it describes an encounter with a relic anthropoid; others claim that it reflects memories about clashes with hostile groups of hunters or lonely hunters carried away on ice floes and emphasizes the legendary nature of this image.

The folklore of Russkoe Ustie comprises more realistic images of the neighbors and population surrounding indigenous Russians. According to collectors of the Christmas divination in Russkoe Ustie, there was the following custom: "girls came to the crossroad and drew a circle in the snow, placed their face in it and listened. If they heard a horse trampling or neighing, then the girl's future husband would be a Yakut. In case they heard dogs barking or howling, then they would marry a local. If they heard a deer bleating, a Chukchi would be their husband" (Kamenetskaya, 1986).

The word "tundra" does not exist in the Indigir sub-dialect, but its meaning is expressed with the word "sendukha". We assume that the modern meaning of "tundra" (a swampy and treeless plain covered with mosses and small bushes) developed in the early 18th century after the Russians arrived at the mouth of the Indigirka River. Therefore, the ancestors of people living in Russkoe Ustie

did not know this lexeme. While conquering vast areas of the Arctic Ocean and the Indigirka River, they borrowed the word "sendukh" from the Yukaghir language.

## 5. Conclusion

The concept of a person's image is concentrated knowledge of the Yakutian old-timers about external and internal personal qualities verbalized and embodied in figurative, axiological, stereotypical and semiotic categories, which is objectified by the entire system of semantic units used in the lower reaches of the Indigirka River (Yakutia). The main aspects of the linguistic (semantic) categorization of a person's image include the semantic space of external and internal qualities reconstructed in conformity with the dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers. We have distinguished keywords for the concept above. The Russian people who had found themselves in the far northeast of the country and avoided the influence of the literary language and other Russian sub-dialects for a long time were forced to use the vocabulary typical of northern European Russia in the 17th century. Therefore, their vocabulary contains words that cannot be found in other modern sub-dialects.

Considering a wholesome person as a kind of microcosm represented in language through different incarnations, we aim to explore the linguistic image of a person in all its manifestations and in relation to the corresponding linguistic images of a wholesome and internal person. According to the accepted theoretical positions, this study of a person's image as a fragment of the linguistic worldview of the Russian old-timers was carried out through the characterization of three lexical and semantic subfields: the lexical-semantic group "External person", i.e. the folklore evaluation of a person's appearance, gait, manner of speaking; the peripheral lexical-semantic groups "Hard-working person"/"Lazy person" characterizing speakers' attitude towards labor (the basic life parameter); the lexical-semantic group "Stranger", i.e. ideas about the surrounding world recorded in the folklore.

To determine the composition of the macrofield "person's image", we used the "Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers" and the information on the Russian sub-dialects of old-timers stored at the Department of General Linguistics and Rhetoric of the North-Eastern Federal University. The materials were sampled based on the presence of the following integral semes: "appearance, a person's appearance"; "person's qualities".

We aimed to describe the "person's image" macrofield based on similar and

adjacent meanings of its constituent units (the first refers to lexical-semantic groups, the second relates to themed groups). While analyzing groups of the first type, it is necessary to identify lexical-semantic groups, highlights their semantic similarities and differences, refer them to the nucleus or periphery of the field, describe systematic-paradigmatic and syntagmatic features of elements included in this macrofield. To consider groups of the second type, one should identify spheres and microgroups related to the same conceptual situation.

The lexical-semantic macrofield "person's image" fully and precisely denotes the conceptual sphere displayed by the constructed semantic macrofield. A lexical-semantic group is a lexical set within a semantic field, whose elements are united by a semantic invariant and distinguished by a differential component (a seme or semes). Thus, differential components play a major role in the structural organization of the field itself and its lexical-semantic groups.

The existence of lexical-semantic groups and subgroups within some macrofield is important yet not the only evidence of paradigmatic relations among lexemes in the macrofield under study. Like any other lexical-semantic system, this set can have different types of paradigmatic relations: synonymy, antonymy, semantic and word-forming derivation.

According to the systematic-structural concept of language, the second type of systematic relations at the lexical-semantic level is syntagmatic relations of words that include rules for the compatibility of single-level linguistic units adopted in modern linguistics.

To describe syntagmatic combinations of lexemes within the macrofield "person's image", one should determine grammatical, lexical-grammatical and lexical conditions of their compatibility contributing to the actualization of the "person's image" seme in the structure of lexical meanings possessed by the units under study.

The initial principle of analysis is to recognize that syntagmatic relations common to a word derive from its semantics.

The primary characteristic of such a lexical-semantic macrosystem as a field is the existence of smaller lexical-semantic microsystems (lexical-semantic groups and subgroups) within its structure.

After analyzing the above-mentioned macrofield based on differential components of the meaning of its elements, we have distinguished the following lexical-semantic groups and subgroups: the lexical-semantic subfield "External person" (the nucleus: the "Wholesome appearance", "Body and its parts", "Functional characteristics of a person's appearance" and "Expressive appearance").



rance" lexical-semantic groups; the periphery: the lexical-semantic group "Related characteristics of the person's appearance"; metaphorical, stylistically marked and euphemistic equivalents of elements of nuclear lexical-semantic groups); the lexical-semantic subfield "hard-working person/lazy person" (the nucleus: the "lazy person", "hard-working person" lexical-semantic groups; the periphery: the lexical-semantic group "hunter and a fisher"); the lexical-semantic subfield "stranger".

#### Acknowledgments

This article was financed by the grant of the Ministry of Education in the framework of implementing certain activities of the state program of the Russian Federation "Development of Education" (Agreement No. 073-15-2018-197).

#### References

- Bakhtin, M.M. 1979. *Estetika slovesnogo tvorchestva* [The aesthetics of written words]. Moscow.
- Boguslavskii, V.M. 1994. *Slovar otsenok vneshnosti cheloveka* [The dictionary of the person's external characteristics]. Moscow.
- Chikachev, A.G. 1990. *Russkie na Indigirke: Istoriko-etnograficheskii ocherk* [The Russians living along the Indigirka River: Historical-ethnographic review]. Novosibirsk, 189.
- Dibrova, E.I. 1989. *Sinkretizm frazeologicheskogo znaka (razgranichenie frazeologicheskoi sinonimii i variantnosti)* [The syncretism of phraseological signs (the distinction of phraseological synonymy and variation)]. *Frazeologicheskaya nominatsiya. Osobennosti semantiki frazeologizmov*. Rostov-on-Don.
- Druzhinina, M.F. 1997. *Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii* [Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers]. Volume 1. Yakutsk: Izd-vo Yakutskogo un-ta, 137.
- Druzhinina, M.F. 2002. *Slovar russkikh starozhilcheskikh govorov na territorii Yakutii* [Dictionary of the Russian sub-dialects used by the Yakutian old-timers]. Yakutsk: Izd-vo Yakutskogo un-ta, 2, 117.
- Folklor Russkogo Ustyia* [The folklore of Russkoe Ustie]. (1986). Leningrad: Nauka, 383.
- Kamenetskaya, R.V. 1986. *Russkie starozhily v nizovyakh r. Indigirki (Etnograficheskii ocherk)* [The Russian old-timers living in the lower reaches of the Indigirka River] (Ethnographic review). *Folklor Russkogo Ustyia*. Leningrad, 337-356.

- Karaulov, Yu.N. 1987. Russkii yazyk i yazykovaya lichnost [The Russian language and language personality]. Moscow.
- Kon, I.S. 1978. Nazvanie: Otkrytie Ya [Nomination: Revealing "I"]. Moscow: Politizdat, 367.
- Novikov, L.A. 1997. Semanticheskoe pole kak tekstovaya struktura [Semantic field as a text structure]. Teoriya polya v sovremennoi lingvistike. Ufa, 3-6.
- Petrova, S.M., Zhondorova, G.E. 2018. Graphic and symbolic teaching the Russian language to foreigners as the basis of linguodidactic resource "Russian philology in the Russian northeast and APR countries (China, Korea, Mongolia, Japan)". Espacios, 39(29).
- Samsonov, N.G. 1993. Dva yazyka – dva rodnika [Two languages – two sources]. Yakutsk: Izd-vo "Bichik", 176.
- Shchur, G.S. 1974. Teorii polya v lingvistike [Field theory in linguistics]. Moscow: Nauka, 256.
- Sofronov, F.G. 1961. Russkie krestyane v Yakutii [Russian peasants in Yakutia]. Yakutsk, 241.