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

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

1 Introduction

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

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

2 Materials and methods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 3 Results and Discussion

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

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

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

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

*Yakut Proverbs and Sayings* was published in 1925 in the collection of scientific works *Саха көөкөс* (the first research society in Yakutia), which included 965 proverbs and sayings and 110 their versions [7]. The materials are given in Yakut (alphabetical order) with author’s translation into Russian, the preface and comments are made in Russian. In the preface the author emphasizes the great importance of proverbs and sayings as a valuable material for studying the worldview, life and household of the people. “A scholar or ethnographer”, he writes, “who studies the proverbs of any people, will always find a lot of interesting and characteristic about this people” [7, p. 3].

Speaking about the ambiguity of folk sayings, A.E. Kulakovsky noted that proverbs fully express their artistic value and full meaning when they are used in live speech: “when you hear a proverb successfully applied to a case or a person, there are no boundaries to surprise and admiration” [Ibid.]. The author writes about “theoretical aspects of studying small forms of verbal folklore, shares experience in collecting, classifying materials, reveals the main methodological directions in their study” [12, p. 113-]
The scientific value of the work of A.E. Kulakovsky was noted by N.V. Emelyanov: “A detailed explanation of the figurative and direct meaning of each saying turned the collection into a kind of interpretative directory of Yakut proverbs. Besides, to fully disclose the content of proverbs, the author cites Russian proverbs similar to the Yakut sayings”. He further writes: “All these detailed interpretations, explanations and comments pull Alexei Eliseevich’s book out of the framework of a simple collection and bring it closer to the original research work on Yakut proverbs and sayings” [13, p. 70].

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

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

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

The presence of a large percentage of obsolete words and names of Yakut deities and spirits (ини) was revealed as a result of the analysis of proverbs and sayings collected by A.E. Kulakovsky. The largest group contains lexical archaism, which can be systematized into parts of speech. The proverbs and sayings contain:

**Nouns:**

- **- names of organs, parts of the body of a person or animals:** 
  - Айах адаңатта, үүңүү бүүлүөү – he – hopple for mouth, delay for the esophagus. People say this about an extra mouth to feed in a family that does not help in work [10, p. 11]. The word үүңүү – pharynx, the beginning of the esophagus. Турүү бооз is not currently used [15].
  - Аяныңыы қыңгыртты – deprived of small intestines. People say this about people who have lost strength in the fight against disease or enemy [10, p. 116]. The word аяң in the meaning of inner fat, inner lard is not used [15]. A modern speaker of the Yakut language can perceive the saying in a distorted meaning, literally as “having lost his grass”, since the word аяң is understood as a couch grass.
  - Аяңдыңыы қыңғырдөрдө – showed his fangs. People say this when the debtor or junior public officer, or generally the one to whom they went for some peaceful affair, will take a resisting or threatening position instead of the expected good reception [10, p. 110]. The word аяңдөр – fangs of a predatory beast [15]. The word аяң is currently used instead of the word аяңдөр.
  - Сурүү эмүрәшем, быңырм толууңыш – (this) ear of my heart and the appendage of my liver. People say this about a dear creature, in particular, about the only beloved child [10, p. 173]. The saying is outdated and almost not used, it is found only in fiction books.
  - Халалыбың хапсыйда, күүгүлүңүңү күрдүңү – his bag corrugated, and shingled with his guts. People joke like this about a hungry person [10, p. 193]. The word күүгүү – the second stomach of ruminants is not used [15]. The word хаалыбың – a bag, a feedbag made of road elk hide (chamois), fish skin or from the bladder of an animal has passed into a number of historicisms, since it is not being made now [15].
  - Халыңы қыңғыры қыңғырдөрдө, сонун салымдая мөхүү күйүүр – plays with thick abdominal fat, like money, plays with thick cervical fat, like scallops. People say this about a rich man – a man of pleasure [10, p. 194]. The word сал – a fat deposit on horse withers is replaced by commonly used жүүр (fat) [15].
  - Оңыңдыңы көрдөрдө – showed his back (i.e. back of a head, back, rear). People say this when someone retreats back, breaking faith to help in something [10, p. 170]. The word оңың – back is rarely used in the meaning of the reverse side of an ax, less often – a knife [15].
  - Хоңон хоңуугуну хөңөрөн ылыңыт күрүүдө хоңоыйдо – was disappointed as if the ribs were taken away from the front horse quilt. Stitch with ribs covered with a thick layer of fat is considered the best gift and present [10, p. 197]. The word хоңоо – fat on the front ribs of a horse passed into a series of archaisms, the word оңоого is used instead [15].
  - Хоңооооо үүңүүүүүү – he has already dried his wings. People say this about preparations for departure or leave [10, p. 142]. The word хоңооо – wing of a bird; upper part of a bird wing [15]. Currently, the word хоңоо is not used, and is replaced by the word кыңыт (wing).
The mind is shorter than her hair. Yakuts suggest that anger be found in fiction in the meaning of “a young man in the daredevil, braveheart” [15]. The word is hardly used, it can be found in fiction in the meaning of “a young man in the prime of life”.

similar to flirting

It is time for becoming a petty thief while growing old. People say this about people who are not responsive to someone else’s grief and need [10, p. 76]. The word тэнисик refers to historicisms.

This proverb is used when someone too cheekily wants to be shared with him the smoke from evaporation. People say this about the oldest by age for only a few days [10, p. 109]. The word бакайы is a historicism.

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

Тардыан си ир тар, тардыан си ир хайх – frozen curdled milk, which we eat, scratching Chukhon oil from the situation when Killenge stamped on his mother. The word хайх – butter churn in warm milk, buttermilk or plain water, used in frozen form [15]. The words тар, хайх are found only in special literature, as well as in literary texts.

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

Түү кын киештүү суюх, тыыннаах кын ана суюх – a neb cannot be without internal round props, a person cannot be without food. Poor people derive themselves consolation from such thoughts eating the last food that “disappeared like a stone” [10, p. 125]. The word киеш – a trigger. The proverb is outdated and out of use.

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

Энээр зээлэрх, сээлээрэд кымныры – shooting chelak and lightning-fast whip. Chelak – one of the lever drivers of an arblast. People say this about the right hand serving zealously to its cartridge [10, p. 208]. The word зээлэрх – a gun trigger [15]. The word зээлэрх in literal meaning is replaced by the word чыныбыс – a trigger.

- animals, birds, insects: Куръяаҕыр бээчээн, кыныңык кыаан – collect your insects, exterminate your lust. A woman thus mortifies a heartthrob [10, p. 208]. The word куръяаҕыр – insects, small cattle, caterpillars [15]. The word is outdated and out of use.

Төбөз кыя хара санаатар бер түүн сиаага урук кыяа оорук – a light thought of муун is better as a black thought of a camel. Түүн – a cone-shaped piece of a spunk, which is put in a sick place of muscles, and then lit [10, p. 183]. The word төбөз – a camel [15]. The word speaks of the Yakuts’ knowledge of the camel, which shows the southern origin of the Yakuts. For example, the proverb "кыястар кыяырбэл, пүзэр молдоозолум" – my screeching and beating falcon, also confirms the knowledge the Yakuts of falconry hunting.

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

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

Кыллэнг эзети тээнийгэр дэллы – similar to the situation when Killenge stamped on his mother. The proverb is used when someone offends a very close person [10, p. 134].

Бээс мыйдар Бээчээн мунун үлүүнүүгэр дэллы – similar to the situation when Byachyan freezeed his nose in June. Byachyan is a famous warrior of the Dygin era, and whether he froze his nose is unknown. The proverb is used when someone does not dress warm for the season [10, p. 128].

Омоллоон ойры суунуунүүгэр дэллы – similar to the situation when Omollon beat the dog hide off. Autology: Omollon is a legendary hero. Whether the legendary Omollon really beat the dog hide off is unknown, but this is possible. The proverb is used when someone is engaged in an unprofitable change-deal [10, p. 160]. The word ойры – marsh mimana [12]. The word суунуун – is not used, stored in the names of the Omolloan localities.

Хайлычы охунна – whelmed himself with хайлычы. In winter Yakuts whelm their yurts around with snow rubble to protect them from the cold. Хайлычы – any protection from cold. The proverb is used in the sense that the one in question has already prepared the ground in advance with words to repulse, refuse, protest, even explanations, etc. [10, p. 193]. The word хайлычы – a hand like an iron, a palm like tongs [10, p. 177]. The word хайлычы – a low embankment (e.g. snow) around something. (e.g. yurts), a mound of earth [15]. The lexical meaning of the word хайлычы is little known to modern Yakuts, although the proverb is actively used in speech.

Атывыр оук алтаа, хат дээртэр хаамыыт – a slow course of the ground and the steps of a pregnant woman. A proverb is about slow, phlegmatic people [10, p. 116]. The word атывыр – a turtle move [15]. The word is not used as a noun, it is found in the phrase “алтатая хаамар” – walking slowly.

Тыны кылы, кытыптыс кылыс – a hand like an iron, a palm like tongs [10, p. 177]. The word кытыптыс – large blacksmith tongs [15]. With the revival of blacksmithing, the word began to be used by a limited group of people, namely masters of blacksmithing.

Омук сирэ одуруунчаах, омук сирэ одурууэээх – a foreign side is dangerous, and your own is offensive [10, p. 156]. The word омук – neighbors, relatives, insiders – is completely out of use [15].
Adjectives: Сон сабын түрөхүй, кынчыр сыйттык шарылык – a coat blanket is cold, a saddle pillow is hard. People say this about bachelors persuading them to marry [10, p. 166]. The word түрөхүй – not suitable enough for anything, useless [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Кынчыр ырар, көндөй көөс, ындоо бас – rattled eyes, hollow body, empty head. People say this about about stupid people [10, p. 134]. The word ындоо – empty, weak-minded, fool [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Сохгор сообуна, балык баталхийтана – an outrage of a ghastly, the scandal of a blind. People say this about a drunken landfill-confusion [10, p. 167]. The word сохгор – a scandal with noise and fight, a big riot [15]. The proverb is found in fiction texts.

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

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

Хохумай бас уүгүү кийбүт – entered the property of a lonely sticking dry head. People say this about the fosterlings of rich and childless old people that inherited all wealth [10, p. 152]. The word хохумай – dried, burnt (about a tree, a branch and leaves of which dried up, burned from severe heat or fire) [15]. The word is not currently used.

Мынынъык ордо уутун төөр – a child who seems to have been given little milk, and then spills this milk. Meaning: a person not grateful for small favours, loses all [10, p. 152]. The word мынынъык – always dissatisfied with what he has [15]. The word is rarely used, although the verb “мыныар” – dissatisfied with a small number – is quite used.

Таар мүүлүр алаттарыр, унук мүү күн – the last critical day has come when we get into a hopeless deadlock [10, p. 177]. The word таар – to get into a hopeless situation [15]. The word is completely out of use.

Spirit, ichichi: Кылкыл кынчыр чырый кытышкыр төөрөө кымматууга ыйылы – similar to the spirit of Keeleeeni, which, according to the belief, passes a distance equal to the length of one spruce during 9 days. People say this about slow travelers [10, p. 47]. The word кылкыл has 2 meanings: 1. Shaman spirit (presented by shamans as a spirit of love, stuttering, lame and hungry). 2. Shrub snail [10, p. 610]. The second meaning of the word is used in this proverb.

Куусүчү айарын Барылыхаа хайыбат – even Barylakh (the spirit of the forest, the deity of hunting) does not forbid a cook to taste the dish. The Yakuts had a custom, according to which, before starting to eat the hunted food, it was necessary to pour something edible into the fire, intended for Barylakh to place him [10, p. 149].

Сыркү түпсүз эмил, окко түпсүз онгөрүү – (this) a toss that fell to the ground. Meaning: such is fate, predestination [10, p. 164].

Verbs: Мынсы уранымына – мыйзыр кыткыр – do not indulge a fool with caresses, it will get on your head [10, p. 152]. The word ураным – to spoil a lot, to dissolve is rarely used, replaced by the word атааххат – to spoil [15].

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

Түрөрдөөкөтүр түрүүгө сыыр, салыбыбыты сарт сиyr – a crown beaks the whirling (to a foreign land), a rooster pecks the leaving (from the homeland) [10, p. 182]. The салыбыбет – to abandon the attachment to someone/something, to be alien, to stand aside from someone/something. [15]. The proverb is not used, found in fiction texts.

Words borrowed from the Russian language: Барылыхаш бугуу сыйлдан маныкырык мүнүлүкүү дылы – similar to a bankrupt forestaller [10, p. 120]. Маныкырлык – bankrupt.

Дюй болушуда эбит – happiness of only half a pound. A joking saying in Yakutsk about a small failure [10, p. 131]. Болушуда – half a pound.

Кырыстисе башнып келген убатпаатарым – I did not burn the bath of Christ (Yakutsk). The speaker does not recognize special criminality [10, p. 134]. Кырыстисе – Christ.

Бурук күүшөнүүнү күүсүүлүү көзүр, ырар кылдырмашкыр халыха ханымыр – when the grains will fall – a mouse comes hearing the sound of copper money – the Kazakh moves. Autology: in ancient times, the Kazakh in brinbery did not lag behind officials [10, p. 123]. Халыха – Kazakh.

There are also untranslatable paroemia: Кыркык кыынгытта таасыбат, түрөрүү түрөккүүнү таасыбат. Untranslatable. The proverb is about the fact that the children of bad parents will be bad [10, p. 147].

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

Үндөүр ыралым, умсүр сыйл, ылтым-сүмүт уругуу – untranslatable. Meaning: they are relatives through their relatives [10, p. 186].

Бардыктаары ырдатыр, кылкыл кылкыл – what a joy upon equipage and what a disappointment upon return. This proverb is ridiculed by young people after weddings and spring festivities [10, p. 119].

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

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

4 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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