

COLOUR METAPHOR AND SEMIOTICS OF THE TRADITIONAL YAKUT DWELLING

Luiza Gabysheva

M. K. Ammosov North-Eastern Federal University (RUSSIA)
Ogonkova-jenya@yandex.ru

DOI: 10.7813/jll.2014/5-4/15

Received: 28 Jul, 2014

Accepted: 26 Oct, 2014

ABSTRACT

The article analyses the semantics of colour nominations of the Yakut traditional dwelling parts and the motivation of their polysemy in the context of the Yakut mythological-poetic worldview with the use of comparative-historical linguistic and ethnographic material. The elements of the colour symbols system are studied closely with the spatial semiotics of the Yakut house *balaghan*. The author reveals the transfer of meaning, typical of the spatial-temporal vocabulary of the Turkic languages, and analyses the metaphor as one of the semiotic mechanisms for preserving and expressing symbolic concepts of the nation.

Key words: polysemy, Yakut language, colour metaphor, spatial-temporal vocabulary, semantic structure, myth, worldview, folklore, oral memory, semiotics of the house

In order to cumulate and translate information in the oral society, the oral tradition develops a complex polyglottal mechanism of collective memory with the use of multiple codes (verbal, objective, ritual, etc.). A material culture object, an epic formula, a character's proper name, a ritual can preserve and get a culturally significant message across the time. Culture, according to Yuri Lotman, is "the only case when humankind uses that colossal potential for storing and arranging information that they have found in culture and whose nature they do not understand to the full extend" (1).

The subject of the present study is colour nominations of the traditional Yakut house parts, with the metaphor being analyzed as one of the semiotic mechanisms of preserving and expressing symbolic concepts of the nation.

Yakut *balaghan*¹, whose foundation was laid out by cardinal directions, had the northern half, called *khara djie* 'black house', and the southern part, called *urung djie*² 'white house'. From the ancient times, the words for achromatic colours were attributed symbolic meanings, and were widely used by Turkic people in their cultures and languages for constructing various classifications and mythological systems, which, naturally, affected their semantics. The analysis of this antonymic pair has revealed extremely vast semantic structure with the "archived" and preserved "compactly packed" information on the world order.

The names of the habitation sides have several meanings, and the polysemy unites the objects in accordance with the mythological logic. As the material shows, the nominations of the dwelling parts are closely interrelated with the metaphors, typical of most Turkic languages, whose structure is similar to the symbolic matrix of the world description. The Yakut material represents an interesting case when the arrangement of the colour and spatial-temporal metaphors, and their antonymic and synonymic relations demonstrate a system stemming from the myth, in the context of which the polysemy gets its motivation – the linguistic structures intersect with the mythological.

In the traditional Yakut culture, the set expression *urung djie* 'white house' / *khara djie* 'black house' were understood, first, as the opposition of the southern midday and northern midnight, sunny and shadow sides. The adjective *ürüŋ* 'white' also means 'light, bright, so its semantics has the seme of light; in the Yakut folklore it is a constant epithet of the sun. The lexeme *qara* 'black' in Turkic and Mongolian languages has a meaning of 'shadow', 'dark', and in Altai and Uzbek languages it also means 'night' (2).

The house parts *urung djie* / *khara djie* were also referred to as *unga dieki* 'the right³ southern side / *khargas dieki* 'left northern side'; the latter expressions had the following synonyms: *khotu* 'north(ern)', 'midnight' / *soghuru* 'south(ern)', 'midday; *kun ortoto* 'south, 'midday / *tuun ortoto* 'north, 'midnight' (3).

¹ "A hut built from thin logs in the shape of frustum pyramid, the winter yurt (kystyk balaghan) and the summer yurt (saiylyk balaghan)" (45).

² The given names of the habitation parts are used mainly in folklore texts. The folk songs say: "*Urung-khara djieleriger // Uluhuen kelbetegim... Not because of the white-black houses, filled with greed, I came to you...*" (46).

³ The traditional house of the Turkic peoples faced the east, and such orientation was explained by the cult of the rising sun. The dwelling orientation towards the east had a worldview nature. "Only when the eight-legged (devil) saddles us up, we will have a door on the western side (of the house)," – said Yakuts.

The connection between the nominations of the cardinal directions and the times of day⁴ is one the most ancient and lasting; in the Small inscription on the Kyul-Tegin monument, north, the left side, is related to midnight (йырығару түн ортусыңару); south, the right side – with the high sun (биргәрү күн ортусыңару): “...ilgärү күн тоғсық(қ)а, биргәрү күн ортусыңару, қурығару күн батсықыңа, йырығару түн ортусыңару, анта ічрәкі бодун коп м(аңа көрүр)... – ...in front, where the sun rises, on the right, where the sun is in the zenith, behind, where the sun sets, on the left, where the night is in the zenith, - all the peoples living there to m(e dependent)” (4). The Yakut names *kun ortoto* ‘midday’ and ‘south’, *tuun ortoto* ‘midnight’ and ‘north’ are direct parallels to the ancient Turkic phrases “*kün ortu* 1. midday... 2. south... 3. midday (southern); *tün ortu* ‘midnight’ and ‘north’”.

In the modern Turkic languages, the nominations of the southern part of the sky derive from words *tush* ‘midday’ or *kun, gun, ken* ‘sun’, ‘day’: Alt. *tushtuk*; Teleut. *kun tushtugi* or *tush iany*; Karakalpak. *tuslik*; Kyrg. *tushduk* or *kun zhak*; Bashk. *keniak*; Turkm. *gun orta*; Shor. *Kun orty chany*. The names for the northern horizon, which is associated with night, derive from the words *tun, ten* ‘night’: Alt. *tunduk*, Bashk. *teniak*, Kyrg. *tunduk* or *tun zhak*, Tatar. *teniak*, Teleut. *Tun iany*; cf. ancient Uigur. *Tun sary* (5).

The indicated motivation of the colour nominations of the southern and northern parts of the *balaghan* is confirmed by the folklore. The Yakut riddle about the parts of the house is based on the opposition of the light and the dark: “*Angara kharanga alaas, angara syrdyk alaas baar uhu*. – They say, one side of the *alaas*⁵ is dark, the other – light”. The hero of the Yakut epos *Olonkho*, when building a house, cuts nine windows through the southern wall, “so that my nine-ray high (i.e. at midday) sun, turning to the south, would throw its rays into the house. – *Toghus ergesteekh tolomon kunum soghuru ergiyerin saghana tolonno kiirdin* (6).

The image of the house in the *Olonkho* texts is always introduced along with the theme of the world creation, and serves, in fact, as its metaphor. At midday, the sun reaches its maximum over the horizon and passes through the southern horizon. It is notable that the above description relates the southern part not with the midday directly, but with the sun. The concepts of ‘day’ and ‘sun’ are named in the Yakut and other Turkic languages by one word **kun*.

The dwellings of chthonic characters of the Yakut epos, in accordance with the ‘reversed’ image, have windows on the northern side, thus facing the midnight (7).

The semantics of the nominations *urung djie / khara djie* can be also interpreted as a distinction between the sunny and shadow sides.

One of the peculiarities of the language material conceptual lay-out in the Turkic languages is manifested in the existence of special words for naming the sunny and the shadow sides of the forest, mountain, river, etc, the southern and northern slopes, for example, in the Yakut languages there are names *khaljaaiy* and *kuula* with the respective meanings. The Etymological Dictionary of Turkic languages registers the forms *kuz, kuzai, kozak, kuskai* with the similar meaning ‘northern shadow side of a mountain’, ‘the place where the sun is not seen. Specialists suggest that the Turkish name of the north *kuzey* stems from the dialect word *güz* ‘the place without the sun’, on the other hand, he points out the Turkish *güney* ‘south’, ‘southern side’; Azerb. *gunei*, Karakalpak. *kyungei* ‘the side facing the sun’. In the ancient Turkic language the word *küntün* ‘southern’ derives from *kün* ‘sun’, whereas *-tün* is an indicator of the ablative case (8).

In the Kyrgyz language, the word *teskei* (<terskei) means ‘the northern slope of a mountain’ and ‘not-sunny shadow side; the Uzbek call mountains, not lit by the sun, i.e. northern slopes of mountains, *kora mog* (lit. ‘black mountains’), and in the Uzbek language dialects the northern side of the horizon is referred to as *saya* ‘shadow’, *sayaryui bet* (*sayaravbet*) ‘shadowy side’ (9).

The lexical-semantic group (LSG) of the spatial-temporal terms is characterized by the transfer of meaning, typical of the Turkic languages (the association of notions ‘northern side’ – ‘shadowy side’ – ‘midnight’ and ‘southern side’ – ‘sunny side’ – ‘midday’), as well as by symmetric synonymic and antonymic links of words, which, in their turn, are characterized by the proportional meanings. The semantic structure of the spatial-temporal term LSG is explained by the mythological worldview, which is characterized by the spatial-temporal syncretism.

The division of the Yakut *balaghan* into ‘the white house’ and ‘the black house’ had, secondly, the social significance: the white house, the southern part – the best cleanest part of the house with the seats for honourable guests. According to ethnographic sources, ‘the black’ half of the Yakut *balaghan* was ‘a women’s corner’, where lived labourers (*khamnatchyt*) and there was a khoton, a barn for the cattle (10). From the olden times, in the Turkic languages, the names of the white and black colour have indicated the social differentiation. The Ancient Turkic Dictionary lists the following words and word combinations: *qara* ‘common, not upper class, ‘commoner, crowd, the rabble; *qara baš* ‘slave, *qara жүз* ‘servant, *qara sa(j)yl* ‘poor, and *ürün* ‘noble’ (11). The word *aq* ‘white is used in a number of the Turkic languages as a social term with the meaning ‘noble’, ‘white bone’ (‘blue blood’); its antonym is *qara* ‘the rabble’, ‘common people’, ‘commoner’ (12). The Yakut expressions *urung* (*unguokhtaakh*) *kihhi* ‘a man of white bone’ and *khara kihhi* ‘black man’ mean ‘a noble man’ and ‘a commoner’, respectively. In Turkic cultures, the white colour, opposed to the black one, served as an attribute of the aristocracy; whereas the black colour, as L.N. Gumilev notes, has always symbolized the crowd in Asia (13).

Dwellings of most Turkic people were also divided into the southern men’s and northern women’s halves,

⁴ In the Russian language, the expressions полуденные земли and полуночная страна until recently were understood as ‘southern lands’ and ‘northern land’, respectively; the Polish language has preserved this metaphor up to date. As a typological parallel, we point out at the languages of “the Baltic, Romanian, Finnish-Ugric peoples...; in German, one of the definitions of the south is *Mittag* ‘midday’” (47).

⁵ “*Alaas* – an open space, meadow or field, surrounded by hills covered with trees... a clear meadow in the middle of the forest” (48).

which were different socially, as well. The Tatar language used similar colour nominations of the men's grand half *ak ei*, literally 'white house', and the women's kitchen area *khara ei*, literally 'black house', where they cooked and did other housework⁶ (14). Tatars use the word *karei* (*kara* 'black' + *ei* 'house') for a barn; the Bashkir vocabulary has a set expression *ak ei* (lit. white house), meaning 'chamber'⁷ (15).

Whereas the Yakut colour symbols of the dwelling had a verbal representation, only, other Turkic-Mongolian ethnic groups, indeed, had yurts of different colours for the rich and the poor. The rich Kyrgyz had yurts bigger than the poor, which were covered with white felt (16). The Kyrgyz language used to have an expression "*Ak uili amanat* – 'a hostage from a white yurt' – a hostage from a rich and powerful family. In this case, the white yurt is a symbol of wealth and power," – read the comments to Ch. Ch. Valikhanov works (17). G. Kh. Korogly believes that in *The Book of My Grandfather Korkut*, Baiyndyr-khan, Kam-Gan's son, orders to erect a white yurt with the golden crown as a symbol of his khan power (18). A Tuvan yurt covered with dark felt, even new, would signal relative poorness of its owners⁸ (19). As a symbol of their belonging to the white bone – *sagaan yasu*, Buryats raised a white-felt yurt (20).

Another Yakut riddle about the habitation parts is also based on the social contrast attribution: "*Byhaghaha eng syhyy, byhaghaha sut syhyy baar uhu*. – They say, there is a field that is half-abundant, half-starving". In the Olonkho, the descriptions of the left and right halves differ dramatically, with the left side associated with the image of a labourer (*khamnachyt*): "...pressing against the corner, decorating with ornaments, he made a three-section bench, as high as possible, for the right side. As for the left side, he made a bench sloppily, from thin timber with bark, with the parts at different angles, assuming it is going to be the labourer's bed – ...*uugalga okhson, usuordu uyuulaan us suhuokhteekh unguo diekki orunan endechchu okhson kebispit. Khangas dieki ettuger* – "*khamnachyt orono buoluogha*" *dien* – *titirik khatyryktary bahastary khardary-maary annian tutan kebispit*" (21).

The *aiyy bogatyr*, being a guest, sits on the right side: "on the right half of the house there were nine plank beds. Having chosen the best one, he sat on the main plank bed and started looking around with his sharp bright eyes – *unguo dieki toghus oronnookh djie buolla. Onton bulan-talan bastyng orongngo oloro tuste da, ol-bu dieki erges-jerges kere olordo*" (22).

According to ethnographic sources, Turkic people bathed their dead at a respective side: women – on the northern, left, men – on the southern, right (23); little children also grow and learn to walk on their side (24). All the Turkic peoples marked such division of the house by men's and women's items. For example, Kyrgyz people on the women's side (*epchi zhak*) kept dishware and various utensils, on the men's side – saddles, harness, guns, nets, etc. (25). *Aiak-kazan* 'a bowl-caldron' –that was the name of the women's side of the *alanchik*, the traditional Teleut dwelling (26); Uzbek had a similar name: *chap-ayak* or *sol bet*, i.e. the women's left side of the yurt (27). In the Altai epic exposition, the wife of Altyn-kan bogatyr "was sitting at a fireplace (*ot-ayakka oturdy*) – lit. "by the fire – "bowls was sitting", i.e. on the women's side of the yurt" (28).

The epic formula "on the right side – ninety servants, like free cranes, they have, on the left side – eighty servant girls, like eighty graceful Siberian cranes, they have" (29) describes the disposition of characters, which builds the frame of numerous events in the Olonkho, from feasts and rituals to the everyday life.

Thus, the colour nominations of the Yakut *balaghan* parts *urung djie* 'white house' / *khara djie* 'black house' were differentiated by parameters southern/northern, sunny/shadowy, midday/midnight, social top/social bottom, men's/women's. The polysemy, uniting the spatial-temporal coordinates and social groups, is explained by the semiotic structure of the house space, as well as in the dual mythological system of symbolic classifiers. The described semantic structure reflects a fragment of the peculiar world-describing matrix:

White / Black
Sunny / Shadowy
Southern (right) / Northern (left)
Midday / Midnight
Social top / Social bottom
Men's / Women's.

Through the polysemy of the colour nominations and spatial vocabulary, the habitation image gets integrated into the system of symbolic relationships of the colour, spatial directions, times of the day, social status, gender differences, etc.

The multilayer semantics of the dwelling parts nominations is of fundamental nature; behind the system of their meanings, there is the myth, its logic, which is especially revealed in the Olonkho, when describing rituals:

⁶ Physical labour, menial work is called in Yakut *khara yule* (49).

⁷ Describing the shaman ritual, experts mention the colour nominations of the yurts where the rituals usually took place: *khara ei* – lit. 'black house', i.e. 'wagon', 'yurt' from the Turkmen language, *sagaan ger* or *sagaan balgaahan* 'white house' from Mongol (50).

⁸ In Tuvan tales, the Khan's yurt has the epithet *ak* 'white' (51).

<i>Unga dieki</i>	On the right (southern) half (of the house)
<i>Us uluu oyuuttar</i>	Three great shamans,
<i>Uehee doiduga takhsardy</i>	In order to get to the Upper World,
<i>Ere kyyran</i>	Conjuring upwards (i.e. the upper spirits),
<i>Nirgiye turallar ebit.</i>	Thumping (the drums), they stand.
<i>Khanas dieki</i>	On the left (northern) half (of the house)
<i>Us aattaakh udagattar</i>	Three famous udagans ⁹ ,
<i>Allaraa doiduga tuherdii</i>	In order to descend to the Under World,
<i>Tangnary kyyran</i>	Conjuring downwards (i.e. the lower spirits),
<i>Namylyha turallar ebit ...</i>	Moving slowly, they stand...

(30).

The parts of the house are not only gender-marked, but also related to the vertical structure of the universe, the right southern side, “white house” – with the sky, “black house” – with the bowls of the earth. Cf. with the ethnographic material: when offering sacrifices to the spirits of the Upper World, the Yakuts placed *bagakh* (a post to hang the skin of the sacrifice animal and so on) to the right of the yurt, whereas when offering to the Under World spirits – to the left of the yurt¹⁰ (31).

The logic of the mythological geography, where the north is associated with the bottom and the south – with the top, was described by (32).

As interesting are the lexical data: in the Turkic and other languages, the nominations of the north and the south also mean ‘bottom’ and ‘top’. The Yakut word *khotu* ‘north’, ‘northbound’ had a meaning ‘down’; *allara* also had several meanings: ‘bottom, lower; at the bottom; under down the river, downstream, northbound’. E.K. Pekarsky noted in the lexeme *üöhä* such meanings as ‘height, depth; summit; upper reach, south (33); in the modern Yakut language, *uehe* has preserved the meaning ‘south’ in few dialects, only (34); the south is defined with the word *soghuru*, which some researchers relate to the ancient Turkic *yoqaru* ‘top, upwards’ (35).

In the Khakas, Shor, Salar, Saryg-Yugur and other languages, the original meaning of spatial terms defining the south and the north, is also connected with the top-bottom opposition (36). For instance, in the Khakas language, which is very close to the Yakut, ‘the south’ is called *üstünzaryq*, i.e. ‘the upper side’ (from *ustin* – ‘top’, cf. Yakut *uehe*; sari – ‘side’, cf. Yakut *yoryut*), and the north – *altynzaryq*, i.e. ‘the bottom side’ (cf. Yakut *alyn* – bottom)” (37).

The southern-siberian Turks related the house structure with the universe, which was divided, like the yurt space, into the men’s southern and women’s northern sides, with ‘the south interpreted as ‘top’, and the north – as ‘bottom’; the men’s side of the house was considered top, and the women’s – bottom”. “The things that belonged to the women’s items were placed in that half of the yurt that was described by such attributes as women’s, bottom, northern, underground” (38). “The location of the owner in the yurt, - writes S.N. Solomatina about the Tuvan yurt, - is associated with the honourable part of the habitation (*tör*), whereas the mistress’s place is linked to the fertile land” (39). In other words, the structure of the dwelling and the society was understood as similar to the cosmologic: the social bottom was related to the Earth, the black colour, the ruling top - with the sky and the white colour (cf. the expression from the Orkhon runic texts: born/erected by the sky kagan).

The universal concept of the dwelling as *imago mundi* determined the spatial composition of shaman rituals devoted to the spirits of the underground and sky spheres. The Yakut epic says: “*Djielerin unga dieki ertuger toghus baghaagy aspyttar, toghus mangan atyyry baaibyttar, toghus aiyy oyuunun satyylappyttar, yhyakh yspyttar. Djielerin khangas ertuger aghys baghaagy aspyttar, aghys uer oghuhun baaibyttar yuhyu, aghys aiyy udaghany satyylappyttar, suoratynan maiylattarbyttar ...*” – “On the right (southern) side of the house they placed nine posts, tied nine white stallions, called nine Aiyy shamans, scattered kumys. On the left (northern) side of the house they placed eight posts, tied eight mortal oxen, called eight udagans, spilt *suorat* drink...” (40).

The division of the house into the two parts structures the description of the ritual and shows the worldview, where the southern side is related to such respected objects as the sky, the white horse, divine milk drink kymus¹¹, the numeral nine (*toghus*)¹², men. In Yakut mythology, the southern part of the Upper world is home to Djehegei, the God-protector of horses, whereas the northern part of the Under World is home to Ynakhsyt Old Woman, the Spirit-protector of cattle. As it has been mentioned above, the northern half¹³ of the Yakut balaghan, i.e. “the black house” was the place where the *khoton*, the barn for the cattle was; the horse stables were located south of the dwelling, i.e. on ‘the white house’ side (41).

In respect to the gender symbols and colour symbols, we would like to mention Yakut names for horses and cattle: *er kihi suehu* ‘men’s cattle’, *yurung suuruk* ‘white runners’, i.e. horses, and *djakhtar suehu* ‘women’s cattle’, *khara suuruk* ‘black runners’, i.e. cows. Long time ago V.M. Ionov wrote that “the Yakuts divided the

⁹ In Altai beliefs, the upper world was “accessible for male shamans, only”, “A woman does not serve Ulgen”(52). “Female shamans can address Erlik and the spirits of the earth (jer-su)” (53).

¹⁰ In the ethnographic descriptions of shamanistic rituals, a shaman, imitating the journey down, to the earth bowels, jumps and dances fiercely on the northern left side of the yurt, ‘dives’, lies for a very long time in silence at the foot of the left post of the so-called “black house” (54); the shaman calls the soul (*kut*) of a sick person, stolen by an evil spirit *abaahy*, from underground in the left northern half of the dwelling *khara djie* (55).

¹¹ When offering to the sky deities, the Yakut and other Turkic peoples sprinkle the mare’s milk milked in the morning.

¹² The numerals odd nine and even eight are not only related to the vertical and horizontal division of space, the Upper and Under Worlds, but also marked as gender numerals in the Yakut tradition (56).

¹³ R. Maak writes that he has never seen a yurt with a khoton on the southern side, “I have not found out why, - he adds,- but I was told it is a custom...” (57).

universe, on the one hand, into the upper divine, i.e. the men's, and on the other – into the lower, grounded, i.e. the women's. The first was represented by the horse, the second – by the cow. This explains such rituals at Ysyakh: the sacrifice to the Sky – horses (of fair colour), and the Mother Earth – cows; men being buried with their beloved horses, and women – with their cows (42).

We would like to point out that the mentioned in the text notions – the southern side of the house, Aiyy shaman, horses, kumys – are encoded in the Yakut language through the white colour (*urung djie*, *urung oyuun*, *urung suuruk*, *urung as*); the left part of the dwelling, cattle, suorat – through the black colour (*khara djie*, *khara suuruk*, *khara as*¹⁴). The set expressions *urung djie* / *khara djie* are connected with the spatial-temporal terms by the synonymic relationships; moreover, they are a part of the lexical-semantic group of words united by the colour metaphor in the Yakut language:

urung djie white house – *khara djie* black house
urung suuruk 'horses' – *khara suuruk* 'cattle'
urung as white food 'dairy food' – *khara as* black food 'meat food'
urung oyuun white shaman – *khara oyuun* black shaman
urung (*unguokhtaakh*) *kihi* 'a noble man' – *khara kihi* 'a commoner' (43).

Overall, we see a lexical structure reflecting an original system of dividing the world, its categorization; thus, we can talk about the cultural memory of words; "behind the meanings of image-motivated nominative units – words and idioms – hides the culture" (44). The linguistic metaphor serves a kind of a niche for cumulating culturally significant information, a means of its compression and a transfer channel.

In conclusion, we would like to note the outstanding role of the house image in the culture of Yakuts and other Turkic peoples. The house, on the one hand, is a very familiar and ordinary object for a human being; on the other, it is one of the central cultural concepts, uniting space, time, society, person, ritual into a complex dynamic whole in the mythological-poetic worldview. The interaction of the lexical metaphor with mythological classifications reveals the relation of linguistic structures with the semiotics of the dwelling and the ritual.

REFERENCES

1. Yu.M. Lotman. Semiosfera (Semiosphere). Iskusstvo, Saint-Petersburg, 2000, p. 459.
2. Sravnitelno-istoricheskaya grammatika tyurkskikh yazykov (Comparative-historical Grammar of the Turkic Languages. Vocabulary / E.R. Tenishev, G.F. Blagova, I.G. Dobrodomov et al. Nauka, Moscow, 1997, pp. 593, 597, 601.
3. E.K. Pekarsky. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka (A Dictionary of the Yakut Language: In 3 volumes), Yakutsk, 1958–1959, col. 1875, 2260, 3534.
4. Pamyatniki drevneturkskoi pismennosti (Monuments of the Ancient Turkic Writing: Texts and Studies, Ed. S.E. Malov, Moscow, 1951, p. 34.
5. A.N. Kononov. Sposoby i terminy opredeleniya stran sveta u tyurkskikh narodov (Means and Terms of Defining Parts of the World in Turkic Peoples), Turkic Collection-1974, Moscow, 1978. Pp. 81, 84–88.
6. Ala-Bulkun: Yakutskoe Olonkho (Ala-Bulkun: Yakut Olonkho), teller T.V. Zakharov-Cheebiy, Yakutsk, 1994, p. 74.
7. Kuruubai khaannaakh Kulun Kullustur: Olonkho (Kulun Kullustur with Fierce Blood: Yakut Olonkho), teller I.G. Timofeev-Teploukhov, Moscow, 1985, pp. 84, 356.
8. Etimologichesky slovar tyurkskikh yazykov (Etymology Dictionary of Turkic Languages). 2nd Ed. Obshetyurkskie i mezhtyurkskie osnovy na bukvu 'k' (Common Turkic and Inter-Turkic Stems Starting with the letter 'k'), Ed. G.F. Blagova, Indrik, Moscow, 2000, pp. 106–107.
9. A.N. Kononov. Sposoby i terminy opredeleniya stran sveta u tyurkskikh narodov (Means and Terms of Defining Parts of the World in Turkic Peoples), Turkic Collection-1974, Moscow, 1978. p. 81; A.N. Kononov. Semantika tsvetooboznacheny v tyurkskikh yazykakh (The Semantics of Colour Definitions in Turkic Languages), Turkic Collection-1975, Nauka, Moscow, 1978. pp. 167..
10. O.V. Ionova. Zhilye i khozyaistvennye postroiiki yakutov (Dwellings and Household Buildings of Yakuts), Siberian Ethnographic Collection, Vol. 1, Moscow, Leningrad, 1952, pp. 275–276, 278–279.
11. Drevnetyurksky slovar (Ancient Turkic Dictionary), Nauka, Leningrad, 1969, pp. 140, 423, 627.
12. A.N. Kononov. Semantika tsvetooboznacheny v tyurkskikh yazykakh (The Semantics of Colour Definitions in Turkic Languages), Turkic Collection-1975, Nauka, Moscow, 1978. p. 170.
13. L.N. Gumilev. Drevnie tyurki (Ancient Turks), Moscow, 1967, p. 356.
14. D.N. Suleimanova. Interier tatarskogo doma: istoki i razvitie (Interior of the Tatar House: Roots and Genesis), Tatar Publishing House, Kazan, 2010, p. 27.

¹⁴ In the Turkic and Mongol languages, the words denoting the white colour are used for naming dairy food. The word *khara* in some Turkic languages serves a component in names of meat products; for example, Yakuts distinguished white and black food – *urung as* 'white food' – *khara as* 'black food', i.e. dairy and meat ones. The nomination *urung as* 'white food' – *khara as* 'black food' were used not only to distinguish dairy and meat food, but also for differentiating butter and cream from fermented milk, food of the poor. Cf.: "ynakh *kharata* = *khara as*, i.e. fermented milk, *tar*" (58).

This article is written with the support of the Russian Philological Research Fund, grant № 12-06-98507-p_восток_a

15. Bashkirsko-russkii slovar (Bashkir-Russian Dictionary), Eds. K.Z. Akhmerova et al., Moscow, 1958, p. 29; S. N. Muratov. Ustoichivye sochetaniya v tyurkskikh yazykakh (Set Expressions in Turkic Languages), Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury (Oriental Literature Publishing House), Moscow, 1961, p. 82.
16. S.M. Abramzon. Ocherk kultury kirgizskogo naroda (Review of the Kyrgyz Culture), Frunze, 1946, p. 33.
17. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov. Collected Works in Five Volumes, Vol. II, Kazakh Soviet Encyclopedia, Alma-Ata, 1985, p. 367.
18. Kh. Korogly. Oguzsky geroichesky epos (Oguz Heroic Epic), Nauka, Moscow, 1976, p. 164.
19. S.I. Weinstein. Istoricheskaya etnografiya tuvintsev: Problemy kochevogo khozyaistva (Historical ethnography of the Tuvans: Nomadic Economy Issues), Nauka, Moscow, 1972, p. 254.
20. T.M. Mikhailov. Iz istorii buryatskogo shamanizma (s drevneishikh vremen po 18 v.) (From the History of Buryat Shamanism (From the Ancient Times to the 18 Century), Novosibirsk, 1980, p. 162.
21. Obraztsy narodnoi literatury yakutov, izdavaemye pod redaktsiei E.K. Pekarskogo: v 3 tomakh (Samples of the Yakut Folk Literature Published in the Edition of E.K. Pekarsky: In 3 Volumes), Saint-Petersburg, 1907-1918. Part II: Obraztsy narodnoi literatury yakutov, sobrannye I.A. Khudyakovym (Samples of the Yakut Folk Literature Collected by I.A. Khudyakov), p. 74.
22. Juluruyar Nurgun Bootur. Nurgun Botur Stremitelnyi (Nurgun Botur the Swift), text by K.G. Orosin, Ed., transl., introduction article and comments by G.U. Ergis, Yakutsk, 1947, p. 324–325.
23. N.F. Katanov. O pogrebalnykh obryadakh tyurkskikh plemen s drevneishikh vremen i do nashikh dnei (On Obsequies of Turkic Tribes from the Ancient to Modern Times), Izvestiya Obshestva arkhologii, istorii i etnografii pri imperatorskom Kazanskom universitete (Newsletter of the Archeology, History and Ethnography Society of the Kazan Imperial University), Vo, 12, 2nd ed., Kazan, 1894, p. 116.
24. L.E. Karunovskaya. Iz altaiskikh verovaniy i obryadov, svyazannykh s rebenkom (From Altai Beliefs and Rituals related to child), Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography Collection, Vol. 6, Leningrad, 1927, p. 31.
25. S.M. Abramzon. Ocherk kultury kirgizskogo naroda (Review of the Kyrgyz Culture), Frunze, 1946, p. 33–34.
26. V.P. Diakonova. Altaitsy: materialy po etnografii telengitov Gornogo Altaya (The Altai People: Materials on the Ethnography of Altai Mountains Telengits), Yuch-Syumer, Gorno-Altaysk, 2001, p. 38.
27. K.L. Zadykhina. Uzbeki delty Amu-Darii (Uzbeks of the Amy-Daria Delta), Works of the Khorezm Archeology and Ethnography Expedition, Vol. 1, Moscow 1952, p. 356.
28. Primechaniya i kommentarii. Prilozhenie / Podgotovleno Z.S. Kazagaehvoi. Altaiskie geroicheskie skazaniya. Ochi-Bala. Kan-Altyn (Notes and comments. Appendix, prepared by Z.S. Kazagacheva. Altai Heroic Legends. Ochi-Bala. Kan-Altyn), Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1997. (Pamyatniki folkloru narodov Sibiri i Dalnego Vostoka. T. 15 (Folklore Monuments of Siberia and Far East, Vol. 15)), p. 600; Maadai Khara, Altaisky geroichesky epos (Maadai Khara, Altai Heroic Epic, teller A.G. Kalkin), Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoi literatury izdatelstva Nauka (Editorial Board on Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House), 1973, (Epos narodov SSSR (The Epic of the USSR Peoples)), p. 383.
29. S.V. Yastremsky. Obraztsy narodnoi literatury yakutov (Samples of Yakut Folk Literature), Leningrad, 1929 (Works of the Commission on the Study of the Yakut ASSR), p. 83
30. Bes byraana ketegin bystybyt kurduk Bekir Cier attaakh Beriet Mergen / Beriet Mergen na Podzharo-serom kone, pokhozhem na obrushivshuyusya s zadnei storony osnovuyu goru: Rukopis (Bes Mergen on a Fit Grey Horse, Resembling a Hill Covered with Pines and Collapsed on the Backside: Manuscript), recorded by A.S. Poryadin from his own repertoire, Megino-Kangalassky region, 1941, Archive of the Yakut Scientific Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences, F. 5, Op. 10, 88 items, 76 sheets.
31. N.A. Alexeyev. Traditsionnye religioznye verovaniya yakutov v 19-nachale 20 vv. (Traditional religious beliefs of the Yakuts in 19-early 20 centuries), Novosibirsk, 1975, p. 156.
32. Vyach.Vs. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov. Slavyanskie yazykovye modeliruyushie semioticheskie sistemy (drevny period) (Slavic Linguistic Modelling Semiotic Systems (Ancient Period), Moscow, 1965, pp. 175–189; E.M. Meletinsky. Poetika mifa (Poetics of the Myth), 3d ed., Vostochnaya Literatura RAN, Moscow, 2000, pp. 249-250, 216-217; V.Ya. Petrukhin. Pogrebalnya ladia vikingov i korabl 'mertvykh' u narodov Okeanii i Indonezii (Burial Boat of Vikings and the Ship of 'the Dead' in Peoples of Oceania and Indonesia) // Simvolika kultov i ritualov narodov Zarubezhnoi Azii (Symbols of Cults and Rituals of Foreign Asia Peoples), Moscow, 1980, p. 81; L.L. Gabysheva. Semanticheskie osobennosti slova v folklorom tekste (na material yakutskogo eposa Olonkho) (Semantic Peculiarities of the Word in the Folk Text (on the Material of the Yakut Epic Olonkho), Candidate of Philology Dissertation, Yakutsk, 1986, pp. 34-39; V.V. Evsyukov. Mify o vselennoi (Myths of the Universe), Novosibirsk, 1988, pp. 59-61, and others.
33. E.K. Pekarsky. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka (A Dictionary of the Yakut Language: In 3 volumes), Yakutsk, 1958–1959, col. 353, 78, 3157.
34. Bagdaryn Syulbe. Doidu surakhtaakh, alaas aattaakh, Yakutsk, 1982, p. 206.
35. E.I. Ubryatova. Voprosy dialektologii tyurkskikh yazykov (Turkic Dialects), Voprosy dialektologii tyurkskikh yazykov (Turkic Dialects), III, Baku, 1963, p. 92.
36. A.N. Kononov. Sposoby i terminy opredeleniya stran sveta u tyurkskikh narodov (Means and Terms of Defining Parts of the World in Turkic Peoples), Turkic Collection-1974, Moscow, 1978. p. 82–84.
37. N.K. Antonov, Materialy po istoricheskoi leksike yakutskogo yazyka (Materials on the Historical Yakut Vocabulary), Yakutsk, 1971, p. 12.

38. Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie tyurkov Yuzhnoi Sibiri. Prostranstvo i vremya. Veshny mir (Traditional worldview of the South Siberia Turkic Peoples. Space and Time. The World of Thing), E.L. Lvova et al., Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1988. pp. 43, 63, 149.
39. S.N. Solomatina. Tuvinskaya yurta: k modeli mira kochevnikov (Tuvan Yurt: On the Nomadic World Model), Kultura narodov Sibiri: Materialy Tretikh Sibirskikh chtenii (Siberian Cultures: Materials of the Third Siberian Readings), Saint-Petersburg, 1997, p. 162.
40. Obraztsy narodnoi literatury yakutov, izdavaemye pod redaktsiei E.K. Pekarskogo: v 3 tomakh (Samples of the Yakut Folk Literature Published in the Edition of E.K. Pekarsky: In 3 Volumes), Saint-Petersburg, 1907-1918. Part II: Obraztsy narodnoi literatury yakutov, sobrannyye I.A. Khudyakovym (Samples of the Yakut Folk Literature Collected by I.A. Khudyakov), p. 24.
41. A.E. Kulakovsky. Nauchnye Trudy (Academic Works), Yakutsk, 1979, pp. 15-16; Istoricheskie predaniya i rasskazy yakutov (Yakut Historical Legends and Tales): in 2 parts, Moscow, Leningrad, 1960, Part 2, pp. 251, 255
42. Quoted by the book: I.A. Potapov. Yakutskaya rezba po derevu (Yakut Wood Carving), Yakutsk, 1972, p. 116.
43. L.L. Gabysheva. Slovo v kontekste mifopoeticheskoi kartiny mira (na materiale yazyka i kultury yakutov) (The Word in the Context of Mythological and Poetic Worldview (On the Material of Yakut Language and Culture, Russian Humanitarian University, Moscow, 2003. (Readings on History and Theory of Culture, Issue 38), pp. 76-79.
44. V.N. Teliya. Russkaya frazeologiya. Semanticheskii, pragmaticheskii i lingvokulturnyi aspekty (Russian Phraseology. Semantic, Pragmatic and Linguistic-Cultural Aspects), Moscow, 1996, p. 233.
45. E.K. Pekarsky. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka (A Dictionary of the Yakut Language: In 3 volumes), Yakutsk, 1958–1959, col. 347.
46. Yakutskie narodnye persni (Yakut Folk Songs): in 4 parts, Yakutsk, 1976-1983. Part 2: Pesni o trude i byte (Songs about Labour and Everyday Life), 1977, p. 235.
47. V.A. Nikonov. Naimenovaniya stran sveta (Names of the parts of the world), L. Etymology-1974, Ed. O.N. Trubachev, Nauka, Moscow, 1986, p. 163.
48. E.K. Pekarsky. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka (A Dictionary of the Yakut Language: In 3 volumes), Yakutsk, 1958–1959, col. 67.
49. N.S. Grigoriev. Sakha tylyn somogo domogun tylyjta (Fraseologicheskii slovar yakutskogo yazyka (Phraseological Dictionary of the Yakut Language), Yakutsk, 1974, p. 104.
50. V.N. Basilov. Perezhitki shamanizma u turkmenov-cheklenov (Relics of Shamanism in Cheklen Turkmen) // Drevnie obryady, verovaniya i kultura narodov Srednei Azii (Ancient Rituals, Beliefs and Culture of Central Asia), Nauka, Moscow 1986, p. 97; D.S.Dugarov. Istoricheskie korni belogo shamanstva (na materiale obryadovogo folklore buryat) (Historical Roots of White Shamanism (on the Material of Buyat Ritual Folklore), Nauka, Moscow, 1991, p. 258; M.N. Khangalov. Collected Works I 3 volumes. Volume 2, Ulan-Ude, 1959, p. 153.
51. Tuvinskie skazki /Sostavlenie, vstupitel'naya statia, podgotovka i podstrochnyi perevod tekstov, kommentarii i slovari Z.B. Samdan ((Tuvan Tales, collection, introduction, preparation and interlinear translation of the texts, comments and glossaries by Z.B. Samdan), Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1994. (Pamyatniki folkloru narodov Sibiri i Dalnego Vostoka (Folklore Monuments of Siberia and Far East), p 70.
52. A.V. Anokhin. Materialy po shamanstvu u altaitsev, sobrannyye vo vremya puteshestviya po Altayu v 1910-1912 gg. po porucheniiu Russkogo Komiteta dlya izucheniya Srednei i Vostochnoi Azii (Materials on Altai Shamanism Collected During the Journey over Altai in 1910-1912 by the Commission of the Russian Committee on Study of Central and East Asia: Reprint edition), Ak Chechek, Gorno-Altaysk, 1994, pp. 9, 33.
53. V.P. Diakonova. Altai: materialy po etnografii telengitov Gornogo Altaya (The Altai People: Materials on the Ethnography of Altai Mountains Telengits), Yuch-Syumer, Gorno-Altaysk, 2001, p. 166.
54. I.A. Khudyakov. Kratkoe opisanie Verkhoyanskogo okruga (Review of Verkhoyansk District), Nauka, Leningrad, 1969, pp. 343–344.
55. Yakutskii folklore, teksty i perevod A.A. Popova (Yakut Folklore, Texts and translation by A.A. Popov), Sovetsky Pisatel, Leningrad, 1936, pp. 264–265.
56. L.L. Gabysheva. Sakralnye chisla v kulture yakutov i drugikh tyurkskikh narodov (Sacral Numbers in Culture of Yakut and Other Turkic Peoples), J. Myth, Symbol, Ritual. Siberian Peoples, Russian Humanities University, Moscow, 2008, pp. 23-35.
57. R.K. Maak. Vilyuiskiy okrug (Vilyui District), AO Yana, Moscow, 1994, p. 201.
58. E.K. Pekarsky. Slovar yakutskogo yazyka (A Dictionary of the Yakut Language: In 3 volumes), Yakutsk, 1958. 163, 3331.