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**TYPOLOGY OF TABOO VOCABULARY IN THE CONTEXT OF  
ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION AND ITS REPLACEMENT BY MEANS  
OF EUPHEMISED SPEECH<sup>13</sup>****Yusupova Shohsanam Mirzali kizi***Denau Institute of Entrepreneurship and Pedagogy,**Denau, Uzbekistan**E-mail: [shohyusuf9400@gmail.com](mailto:shohyusuf9400@gmail.com)**ORCID ID: 0009-0009-9137-4537***ABSTRACT**

The article examines the typology of taboo vocabulary in Russian and Uzbek linguocultures through ethnographic descriptions of rituals, everyday practices, and family-life scenarios. Based on lexicographic sources, ethnographic records, and contemporary media texts, it identifies the central thematic domains of tabooing and the cultural codes that underlie them. Particular attention is given to euphemisation strategies, including metaphorical and metonymic renamings, periphrastic constructions, borrowings, and clipped forms that enable indirect reference while preserving culturally salient meanings. The study demonstrates that the selection of a euphemism is shaped not only by the degree of prohibitedness of the referent but also by communicative intention, discourse type, and the addressee's expectations. The proposed model, correlating categories of taboo vocabulary with corresponding types of euphemistic substitution, offers a more precise account of the dynamics of value orientations and the shifting boundaries of the permissible in Russian and Uzbek linguocultures, and provides implications for lexicography, corpus annotation, and the teaching of intercultural communication.

**KEYWORDS**

Taboo vocabulary, euphemisms, cultural codes, linguoculture, ethnography.

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**ETNOGRAFIK TASVIR KONTEKSTIDA TABU LEKSIKASI  
TIPOLOGIYASI VA UNING EVFEMIK NUTQ VOSITALARI BILAN  
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**ANNOTATSIYA**

Maqolada rus va o‘zbek lingvomadaniyatlarida taqiqlangan so‘zlarning tipologiyasi marosimlar, kundalik amaliyotlar va oilaviy-maishiy vaziyatlarning etnografik tavsiflari asosida tahlil qilinadi. Tadqiqot lug‘atshunoslik manbalari, etnografik yozuvlar va zamonaviy ommaviy axborot vositalariga tayanib, taqiqlarning asosiy mavzuviy sohalarini va ularning negizidagi madaniy kodlarni aniqlaydi. Evfemizatsiya usullariga, xususan, metaforik va metonimik qayta nomlashlar, perifrastik tuzilmalar, o‘zlashmalar va qisqartirilgan shakllarga alohida e‘tibor qaratilgan bo‘lib, bular madaniy ahamiyatli ma‘nolarni saqlagan holda bilvosita murojaat qilish imkonini beradi. Tadqiqot shuni ko‘rsatadiki, evfemizmi tanlash nafaqat taqiqlangan tushunchaning darajasi, balki muloqot maqsadi, nutq turi va tinglovchining kutishlari bilan ham bog‘liq. Taqiqlangan so‘z toifalarini evfemik almashtirishlarning tegishli turlari bilan bog‘laydigan taklif etilayotgan model rus va o‘zbek lingvomadaniyatlarida qadriyatlar yo‘nalishlarining o‘zgarishini va ruxsat etilgan chegaralarning siljishini aniqroq tavsiflash imkonini beradi. Shuningdek, lug‘atshunoslik, til korpuslarini izohlash va madaniyatlararo muloqotni o‘rgatish bo‘yicha tavsiyalar beradi.

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**KALIT SO‘ZLAR**

Tabu leksikasi, evfemizmlar, madaniy kodlar, lingvomadaniyat, etnografiya.

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**ТИПОЛОГИЯ ТАБУИРОВАННОЙ ЛЕКСИКИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ  
ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКОГО ОПИСАНИЯ И ЕЁ ЗАМЕНА  
ЭВФЕМИСТИЧЕСКИМИ РЕЧЕВЫМИ СРЕДСТВАМИ****Юсупова Шохсанам Мирзали кизи***Денауский институт предпринимательства и педагогики,**Денау, Узбекистан**E-mail: [shohyusuf9400@gmail.com](mailto:shohyusuf9400@gmail.com)**ORCID ID: 0009-0009-9137-4537*

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**АННОТАЦИЯ**

В статье рассматривается типология табуированной лексики в русской и узбекской лингвокультурах на основе этнографических описаний ритуалов, повседневных практик и семейно-бытовых сценариев. Опираясь на лексикографические источники, этнографические записи и современные медиатексты, исследование выявляет ключевые тематические области табуирования и лежащие в их основе культурные коды. Особое внимание уделяется стратегиям эвфемизации, включая метафорические и метонимические переименования, перифрастические конструкции, заимствования и усеченные формы, которые позволяют осуществлять косвенную референцию при сохранении культурно значимых смыслов. Исследование показывает, что выбор эвфемизма обусловлен не только степенью запретности референта, но и коммуникативным намерением, типом дискурса и ожиданиями адресата. Предлагаемая модель, соотносящая категории табуированной лексики с соответствующими типами эвфемистических замен, обеспечивает более точное описание динамики ценностных ориентаций и смещения границ допустимого в русской и узбекской лингвокультурах, а также предоставляет рекомендации для лексикографии, аннотирования корпусов и преподавания межкультурной коммуникации.

**КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА**

Табуированная лексика, эвфемизмы, культурные коды, лингвокультура, этнография.

## INTRODUCTION

Linguistic taboo, as a form of sociocultural and communicative regulation, remains a relevant and multifaceted subject of linguistic research. In today's multilingual world, where intercultural interaction is intensifying, the study of mechanisms behind the prohibition, masking, and substitution of “unacceptable” words becomes particularly significant. “Totem and taboo form the foundation of cultural prohibitions” (Freud Z., 2022, 115). This issue is particularly relevant in the context of contemporary transformations of public consciousness, the expanding boundaries of public discourse, and the ongoing re-evaluation of socially acceptable and condemned forms of expression. “Taboo vocabulary and slang reflect the metapragmatic orientations of society” (Abdullaev M., 2025, 148). In both Russian and Uzbek, taboo vocabulary constitutes a distinct lexical stratum whose usage is restricted by social, religious, cultural, and ethical norms. The choice of a comparative analysis between Russian and Uzbek is motivated by the fact that these languages belong to different typological systems - Slavic and Turkic, respectively yet display similar cultural mechanisms of taboo formation. Such a comparison makes it possible to identify both universal features of euphemisation (for instance, in reference to death, illness, or intimate topics) and culturally specific linguistic strategies for circumventing the forbidden. “The sacred is perceived as an absolute, necessitating linguistic prohibitions” (Medvedev A., 1999, 45). Attempts to explain the phenomenon of taboo through the concept of the unconscious, as proposed by Freud Z. (2023) and Jung (2023), encounter the inherent ambiguity of the unconscious itself and its ontological status, rendering such explanations questionable and insufficiently substantiated.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

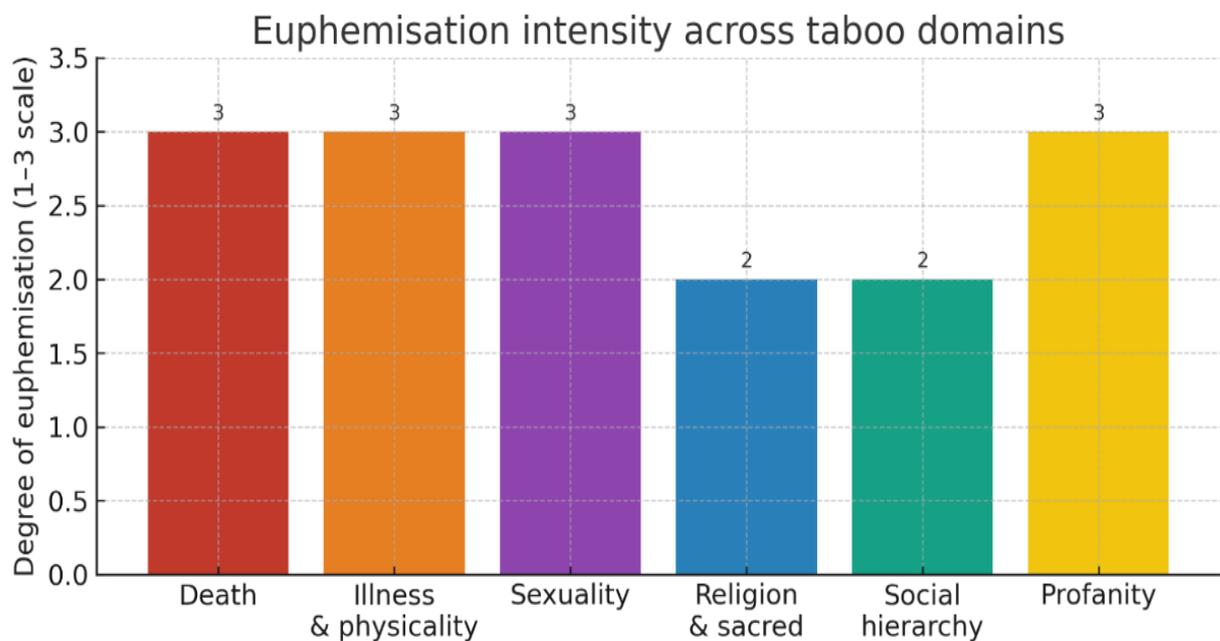
The study of taboo vocabulary and euphemisms represents an interdisciplinary field situated at the intersection of linguistics, ethnography, cultural studies, and psycholinguistics. “The classification of thematic taboos makes it possible to identify both universal and local elements of culture” (Salimova G.,

2015, 409). In global scholarship, interest in linguistic taboos emerged as early as the 19th century: the classical works of E. Tylor, J. Frazer, and S. Freud laid the foundation for understanding taboos as both cultural and linguistic phenomena. “Anti-Latin polemics in Old Rus’ were accompanied by the formation of specific taboos” (Kostromin K., 2014, 110). Later, linguistics began to actively explore issues related to language censorship, semantic substitution, and the social marking of speech both in Slavic and Turkic languages. In Russian linguistics, significant contributions to the study of taboo vocabulary and euphemisms have been made by scholars such as N.D. Arutyunova, V.I. Karasik, and E.V. Paducheva. Their works examine the semantic mechanisms of euphemisation, as well as the cultural and semantic aspects of speech restrictions. In Uzbek linguistics, the issues of taboo and euphemisms have been explored less extensively. Existing studies are generally descriptive in nature and tend to focus on specific topics such as sacred vocabulary, references to death, or kinship terms (e.g., the works of Kh. Yuldashev, Sh. Turaev, and others). The study of taboo vocabulary and its euphemistic substitutes within the context of ethnolinguistic realities becomes especially important in an era of expanding cultural dialogue and growing interest in cross-linguistic and intercultural interaction. “Direct borrowings enrich vocabulary and may serve as a means of euphemisation”. Emphasis was placed on the contextual and situational nature of taboo. “The reasons for tabooing in the Russian language are related to moral, cultural, and social factors” (Romodanovskaya V., 2012, 66). As part of the third objective, a thematic typology of taboo vocabulary was developed. It includes a classification of lexemes based on spheres of taboo (such as death, body, sexuality, illness, power, religion, social identity, and others) and reflects the frequency and degree of social markedness of specific lexical groups in the target languages. Based on a comparative approach, the similarities and differences in systems of taboo and euphemisation in Russian and Uzbek were analyzed. “Linguistic taboos are regarded as universal constraints grounded in cultural and historical contexts” (Zhamankulova G., 2020, 63). Euphemisation is considered not merely a stylistic

device but a complex cultural and linguistic process that plays a significant role in maintaining verbal politeness, moral norms, and psychological comfort among speakers. “Euphemism and dysphemism are opposing linguistic strategies associated with taboo”. Taboo vocabulary constitutes a distinct layer of the language system, closely linked to a peoples perception of the sacred, the forbidden, the dangerous, and the intimate. In every language, such lexical units are either directly silenced or replaced with euphemisms a process influenced not only by the internal logic of the language but also by a system of ethnocultural, religious, and social norms. “Euphemisation is a key strategy for circumventing linguistic taboos in contemporary Russian” (Mei Wenzhang, 2012, 52). This is particularly evident in societies with deeply rooted traditional structures and stable moral-religious norms, such as Russian and Uzbek cultures. The study of taboo vocabulary and euphemisms requires a comprehensive approach that combines linguistic, ethnographic, cultural, and contrastive methods. As a multifaceted phenomenon, linguistic taboo manifests itself not only in speech structures but also in ritual practices, everyday communication, folklore, religious symbolism, and traditional value systems. *Applied to systematize taboo vocabulary and its euphemistic substitutes according to thematic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics (e.g.: “death – died – passed away”, Uzbek: “Vafot etdi - dunyodan ko‘z yumdi” – “passed away – closed one’s eyes to the world”)*. This method was applied to identify both shared and distinctive features of taboos and euphemisms in the two languages. For example, the Russian euphemism “*по нужде*” (“according to need”) and the Uzbek “*hojatga bormoq*” (“to go to the toilet”) serve the same communicative function but are constructed through different figurative systems. **Semantic analysis.** This method allowed for the description of meaning shifts during euphemisation: “*rak*” (“cancer”) → “*onkologia*” (“oncology”), “*chert*” (“devil”) → “*lukaviy*” (“sly”). Euphemisms were analyzed in speech acts as tools for observing etiquette and face-saving strategies for both speaker and listener. **Content Analysis.** This method was applied to analyze data from mass media, social networks, YouTube, and online forums (a

sample of 500 texts, including 200 in Russian and 300 in Uzbek). It enabled the identification of current trends in the substitution of taboo words in modern discourse. **Statistical Processing.** To measure the frequency of euphemistic substitutions across different thematic domains, percentage analysis was used. The data are presented in the “Results” section in the form of tables and charts. The statistics were based on a corpus sample of approximately 15,000-word usages. **Thematic Fields of Tabooing.** Based on the analysis of corpus material (approximately 15,000 lexical units drawn from folklore, media sources, literary, and conversational texts), six key thematic spheres most subject to tabooing were identified:

**Table № 1: Main Thematic Fields of Tabooing in Russian and Uzbek**



Overall, six thematic domains were identified. Four out of six of them ( $\approx 66.7\%$ ) exhibit a high degree of euphemisation, while two domains ( $\approx 33.3\%$ ) show a medium degree. The mean euphemisation index on a three-point scale is approximately 2.67, indicating that the overall level of euphemisation in the material is closer to high than to medium.

**2. Euphemisation Strategies.** Both languages exhibit similar mechanisms for

replacing taboo vocabulary:

- 1. Metaphorisation.** Rus.: *ushel v mir inoy* (*passed away*) instead of *umer* (*died*). Uzb.: *ko 'z yumdi* (“closed his eyes”) instead of *o 'ldi* (*died*).
- 2. Stylistic Softening.** Rus.: *onkologia* (*oncology*) instead of *rak* (*cancer*). Uzb.: *og'ir kasallik* (*serious illness*) instead of *rak* (*cancer*).
- 3. Homonymisation / Loan Translations.** Rus.: *dela semeyniye* (*family matters*) instead of *intimniye otnosheniya* (*intimate relations*). Uzb.: *aloqa qilmoq* (“to make a connection”) instead of directly referring to sexual intercourse.
- 4. Figurative Speech / Paraphrase.** Rus.: *v polojenii* (*in a delicate condition*) instead of *beremenna* (*pregnant*). Uzb.: *yuk ko 'targan, yukli* (“carrying a load”) instead of directly saying pregnant
- 5. Marked Silence / Substitutes.** Rus.: *nu vi ponyali...* (*well, you got it...*). Uzb.: *o 'sha gap...* (“as they say...”)

In the Uzbek language, a high level of euphemisation is observed in the domains of death and religion, which can be attributed to Islamic ethics and reverence for the sacred (compared works: in contrast, Russian demonstrates a more active use of euphemisms in the fields of illness and intimacy, reflecting secular politeness norms and the pursuit of psychological comfort in communication (compared works: Arutyunova N.D. notes that “euphemisation is a form of verbal self-restraint that reflects cultural distancing from the dangerous” (*Language and the Human World*, 1999). According to the dictionary by Selivanova A.M. (2015), the Russian language contains over 3,000 euphemistic constructions, whereas in Uzbek lexicography, euphemisms are explicitly described in only two or three recent monographs, indicating a need for more thorough systematization. “Communicative taboos and euphemisms play an important role in maintaining the harmony of communication” (Sakbayeva M., 2023). A comparative analysis revealed that both linguistic cultures share the same universal taboo domains: death, illness, the body, intimacy, power, and the sacred. This aligns with Sigmund Freud’s claim that “the roots of taboos lie in psychological repression and the collective unconscious”

(*Totem and Taboo*, 1913), as well as with N.D. Arutyunova's conclusion that euphemisation is "a linguistic act of self-censorship reflecting the cultural barrier between consciousness and a dangerous object" (*Language and the Human World*, 1999). For example, instead of *умер* ("died"), one says *ушёл в мир иной* ("passed away"); instead of *тюрьма* ("prison") - *места не столь отдалённые* ("places not so distant"). In the Uzbek language, euphemisation is more often rooted in Islamic norms of verbal propriety (*adab*) and cultural perceptions of the sacredness of speech. As a result, respectful or neutral constructions are widely used in place of direct expressions - for example, *vafot etdi* ("passed away"), *ko'z yumdi* ("closed one's eyes"), *aloqa qilgan* ("had relations"). This study has confirmed that euphemisation and tabooing are not solely linguistic phenomena, but deeply cultural processes that regulate speech, thought, and social behavior. "*Euphemia emerges as a response to strict linguistic prohibitions*" (Tsydendambaeva O., 2010, 34). The research has demonstrated that tabooed vocabulary is not merely a set of forbidden words, but a complex linguocultural phenomenon that reflects mental constructs, sacred beliefs, ethical norms, and the collective memory of a people. "*The collective unconscious gives rise to archetypes, including those related to taboos*" (Jung K., 2023, 210). A comparative study of Russian and Uzbek revealed that, despite differences in typology, religious traditions, and historical-cultural development, both languages exhibit similar mechanisms of linguistic tabooing, particularly in such thematic domains as death, the body, sexuality, illness, kinship, and power.

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