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LEXICO-SEMANTIC FEATURES OF CULTURAL SCRIPTONYMS (Based on Local Ritual Ceremonies)

The article discusses the lexical and semantic features of scriptonyms in the cultural code, which are formed on the basis local ritual ceremonies. The study aims to analyze the lexical and semantic specificity of secondary-meaning scriptonyms that originate from regional ritual ceremonies. Information related to regional procedures is transformed into linguo-cultural codes, aiding in the identification of the uniqueness of regional ethno-linguistic consciousness and the decryption of encoded information within these codes. This demonstrates the originality of our research. The scientific significance of the research lies in separately considering linguistic units (scriptonyms) formed on the basis of local rituals.

To identify the diatopic (local) variants of scriptonyms, the article compared and studied the rituals and sacred names that originating from four regions of Kazakhstan: South, East, West, and Central Kazakhstan. It was found that the depiction of the universe in a regional language is influenced by the characteristics of the geographical area, the customs of the people, and the mutual cultural influences of ethnic groups. The scriptonyms, linguocultural, and conceptual concepts formed based on local ritual ceremonies analyzed in the research can serve to elucidate the etymology of native words in the Kazakh language and aid in the development of dialectological dictionaries. This demonstrates the value and practical significance of the study. Through the research: the relationships and distinctions between the concepts of tradition, customs, and ritual ceremonies were delineated; the term "code" was examined from a linguocultural perspective; ritual ceremonies were explored as a pivotal source in shaping cultural codes (scriptonyms) with substantial informational influence; and the characteristics of regional ethno-linguistic consciousness were elucidated through the analysis of scriptonyms derived from local ritual ceremonies. The article employs qualitative analysis, including content analysis, to examine and reveal the etymology of the linguistic units of the sacred code that have developed in relation to rituals.

Keywords: scriptonyms, linguo-cultural codes, ritual ceremonies, rites, traditions and customs, sacred names, language codes, ethno-linguistic consciousness.

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Мәдени кодты скриптонимдердің лексика-семантикалық ерекшелігі (жергілікті ғұрыптық рәсімдер негізінде)

Мақалада жергілікті ғұрыптық рәсімдер негізінде қалыптасқан мәдени кодты скриптонимдердің лексика-семантикалық ерекшеліктері қарастырылады. Зерттеудің мақсаты – аймақтық ғұрыптық рәсімдерден бастау алатын, екінші мағыналы скриптонимдердің лексика-семантикалық ерекшелігін талдау. Аймақтық рәсімдерге қатысты ақпарат лингвомәдени кодтарға трансформацияланады, ол кодтардағы шифрленген ақпараттарды ашу – аймақтық этноілдік сананың бірегейлігін анықтауға көмектеседі. Бұл зерттеуіміздің өзінділігін көрсетеді. Зерттеудің ғылыми маңыздылығы – жергілікті ғұрыптық рәсімдердің негізінде қалыптасқан тілдік бірліктердің (скриптонимдердің) жеке-дара бөліп қарастырылуында. Мақалада скриптонимдердің диатопты (жергілікті) варианттарын анықтау үшін Қазақстанның бес аймағы: Оңтүстік, Шығыс, Батыс және Орталық Қазақстанда кездесетін рәсімдер мен олар ұйытқы болған сакралды атаулар салыстырылып, зерттелді. Аймақтық тілдегі ғалам бейнесіне географиялық ауданның ерекшелігі, халықтың салт-жоралғылары, этностардың өзара мәдени ықпалы әсер ететіні анықталды. Зерттеу жұмысында талданған жергілікті ғұрыптық рәсімдер негізінде қалыптасқан скриптонимдер мен оларға берілген лингвомәдени-концептуалдық түсініктерді қазақ тілінің төл сөздерінің этимологиясын түсіндіруде, диалектологиялық сөздіктер түзуде қолдануға болады. Бұл зерттеудің құндылығын және практикалық маңыздылығын көрсетеді. Зерттеудің нәтижесінде: салт-дәстүр және әдет-ғұрып, ғұрыптық рәсім ұғымдарының байланысы мен айырмашылығы сараланды; код термині лингвомәдени аспектіде талданды; ғұрыптық рәсімдер ақпараттық қуаты күшті мәдени кодтарды (скриптонимдерді) қалыптастырушы көз ретінде қарастырылды; жергілікті ғұрыптық

рәсімдер негізінде қалыптасқан скриптонимдерді талдау арқылы аймақтық этнолділік сананың ерекшеліктері анықталды. Мақалада жергілікті ғұрыптық рәсімдерге қатысты екіншілік мағынаға ие болған тілдік қолданыстардың мағынасын ашу үшін сапалық, соның ішінде контент-талдау әдісі қолданылды.

Түйін сөздер: скриптонимдер, лингомәдени кодтар, ғұрыптық рәсімдер, салт-дәстүр, сакралды атаулар, тілдік кодтар, этнотілдік сана.

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Лексико-семантическая специфика скриптонимов с культурным кодом (на основе местных ритуальных обрядов)

В статье рассматриваются лексико-семантические особенности скриптонимов, сформировавшихся на основе локальных ритуальных обрядов. Целью исследования является анализ лексико-семантической специфики скриптонимов со вторичным значением, которые берут начало от региональных ритуальных обрядов. Информация, относящаяся к региональным обрядам, преобразуется в лингвокультурные коды, которые помогают выявить уникальность регионального этноязыкового сознания. Это показывает актуальность нашего исследования. Научная значимость исследования заключается в отдельном рассмотрении языковых единиц (скриптонимов), сформированных на основе локальных ритуальных обрядов. Для определения диатопических вариантов скриптонимов сравнивались и изучались ритуалы, встречающиеся в пяти регионах: Южном, Восточном, Западном и Центральном Казахстане, и сакральные названия, в которых они были иницированы. Установлено, что на этноязыковую картину регионального языка влияет специфика географического района, обычаи народа, взаимное культурное влияние этносов. Лингвокультурологические понятия, сформированные на основе локальных обрядов, проанализированных в исследовательской работе, могут быть использованы в интерпретации этимологии исконных слов казахского языка, в формировании диалектологических словарей. Это подчеркивает ценность и практическую значимость исследования. В результате исследования: дифференцируются связи и различия понятий обычай и ритуальный обряд; анализируется термин код в лингвокультурном аспекте; ритуальные обряды рассматриваются как источник формирования культурных кодов (скриптонимов); через анализ скриптонимов, сформированных на основе местных ритуальных обрядов, выявляются особенности регионального этноязычного сознания. В статье использовался метод качественного, в том числе контент-анализа, для раскрытия смысла языковых применений, которые приобрели вторичное значение по отношению к местным ритуальным обрядам.

Ключевые слова: скриптонимы, языковые коды, ритуальные обряды, ритуалы, сакральные имена, языковые коды, этноязыковое сознание.

Introduction

The term “code” initially originated in the scientific and technical realm (e.g., Morse code, genetic code). However, today, when seeking to uncover the deeper meaning of certain phenomena and symbols, we often refer to the concept of a cultural code. Uali (2021) notes that there are two different codes (linguistic and cultural codes) in the language character. The scholar says that in the study of the meaning of linguistic symbols, it is necessary to be able to distinguish between these concepts (Uali, 2021). Zholshaeva (2016) offers the terms notion and concept in defining the cultural code. She explains that the scope of the notion is much narrower and emphasizes that the concept has cognitive components. So, if “notion” in Zholshaeva’s (2016) study refers to a language symbol, then we consider “concept”

or “cultural semantics” as a cultural code. Baiteliyeva (2022) comments that “the content and main arguments of the problems that define the essence of the nation through language are highlighted in the cultural code of the nation” emphasizing that by decrypting the cultural code, it becomes possible to determine the information embedded in the linguistic symbol.

According to Chekasov (2018: 106), “cultural codes help to understand the meaning of certain cultural phenomena”. This implies that codes not only determine the relationship between the symbol and its meaning but also aid in revealing the secrets behind hidden names and symbols. Lotman (2001) asserts that if we regard culture as “genetic information of a higher level” and perceive each component of the cultural entity as a text, it possesses a contextual significance, and its meaning can be decod-

ed and reinterpreted. According to these scientific viewpoints, the cultural code is a system of unique archetypes, values and images that characterize the uniqueness and mentality of the people, their spiritual principles, filtered in the course of their historical development (Hyatt & Simons, 1999). Mankeeva (2018) says that the history, spiritual and cultural wealth, worldview, customs, and traditions of a people are reflected in the content of a word. Therefore, we can regard these concepts as codes and utilize them in analyzing the ethno-linguistic essence of a nation. If we regard ritual ceremonies as an essential component of culture, we deduce that the vocabulary associated with such ceremonies constitutes sacred linguo-cultural codes that illuminate the spiritual and cultural essence of the people.

Despite detailed studies on the cultural code and ritual ceremonies in Kazakh linguistics, codes derived from ritual ceremonies, which have evolved or gained secondary meanings, have not been thoroughly investigated thus far. Examining these codes enables the identification of the uniqueness of each nation's ethno-linguistic consciousness, the nuances in cognition and comprehension shaped by their environment, disparities in world perception, creation, and overall understanding.

Materials and methods

The article draws upon the conclusions of such scholars as Hyatt & Simons (1999), Lotman (2001), Zholshaeva (2016), Mankeeva (2018), Chekasov (2018), Uali (2021) and, as a theoretical foundation for analyzing the concept of the code in the linguo-cultural context. The codes arising from traditional rituals that hold sacred and symbolic significance and a thorough analysis of their types and characteristics was conducted on the basis of scholarly insights of Stuart-Fox & David (2002), Assman (2004), Jossierand & Hopkins (2005), Tolstoy and etc., (2013), Qaidar (2014), Zholdasov (2017), Matyzhanov (2021), Baiteliyeva (2022). In the article "scriptonyms" are defined as linguistic expressions (linguocultural codes), formed in connection with the main attributes of ritual ceremonies, games, holidays, representing the cultural identity of each nation, which acquired secondary meaning as a result of the linguo-creative activity of the language (Knuf, 1980; Wierzbicka, 2002; Bykova, 2005; Khorokhordina & Bykova, 2015; Galona, 2018; Murzinova, 2021).

The article employs qualitative analysis, including content analysis, to examine and reveal the

etymology of the linguistic units of the sacred code that have developed in relation to rituals. First, data were collected on local rituals in the regions under study and classified into thematic groups. Secondly, an analysis of the linguistic units related to the collected rituals was conducted, and the current state of their usage was determined. Thirdly, to determine the secondary meanings of the linguistic units related to regional rituals, research was carried out using phraseological, etymological, and explanatory dictionaries. Fourthly, examples from fiction and mass media were selected to substantiate that the chosen linguistic units have acquired a secondary meaning.

Literature review

Language, through cultural codes, shapes the image of the universe in an individual's mind, serving as a unifier of an ethnic group and distinguishing it from others. Qaidar (2014) identifies this role of language as a "cumulative function". The scholar associates the significance of this term with the idea that language fosters a connection between generations, establishing a "golden bridge" between the past and the future. Telia (1977) asserts that this aspect of language function will find clearer expression in ethno-linguistic semantics. It will also be linked to traditional, contemporary, archaic, or newly developed national-cultural information, which is accumulated within the consciousness of an ethnic group about the world and preserved in language units as a national idiom. According to scholars, linguo-cultural codes within a linguistic sign not only accumulate and convey culturally significant information but also reinforce the connection between generations.

Before we explore the cultural code formed based on ritual ceremonies, let's first define what constitutes a ritual ceremony within the ethno-cultural heritage of a community. It's essential to understand why it differs from the broader concept of tradition and to elucidate the distinctions between tradition and ritual ceremony.

The relationship and difference between the concepts of "traditions and customs" and "ritual ceremony". In scientific literature, there are opinions suggesting that traditions and customs comprise a collection of rituals developed since ancient times, influenced by the beliefs, daily ceremonies, and worldview of a particular nation (Zholdasov, 2017), reflecting the societal norms and the natural order of life.

The concept of tradition itself is defined as “a set of socio-cultural values, traditions, and spiritual heritage transmitted from generation to generation, historically formed, and preserved within the social environment” (QTAS, 4-tom). The Political Explanatory Dictionary defines tradition as the value system of a society or social group, arguing that it encompasses a broader scope than customs (STS). From this perspective, we propose tradition as an alternative to the concept of culture. While culture is a broader concept, tradition can be viewed as the cultural inheritance of life passed down from our ancestors.

The concept of ritual is defined in dictionaries as “collective actions performed in a customary manner and sequence, influenced by social necessity, customary principles, norms, superstitions, and prohibitions” (QEKUADJ). It emphasizes the significance of ritual across all aspects of an ethnic group’s life, highlighting its distinct organization and execution, which has evolved over centuries. In essence, through ritual, members of ethnic groups impart to future generations the principles and values inherited from their ancestors (Rappaport, 1998; 1999). Indeed, drawing from these conclusions, it becomes apparent that traditions encompass a broader spectrum than rituals, serving a cumulative and organizing function (Grimes, 2014). In essence, a ritual comprises a collection of several ritual ceremonies. For instance, the wedding tradition holds paramount importance in the life of the Kazakh people, comprising numerous rituals performed in a specific sequence (such as *сырға салу* (rite of putting earrings on a bride), *қыз ұзату* (bride’s departure ceremony), *отқа май құю* (pours oil onto the fire), *беташар* (rite of unveiling), and *сәлем салу* (the rite of bridal greeting). If we consider the ritual as a whole, then the ritual will be a part of it.

Now let’s explain why we took it as a ritual ceremony, not customs. In dictionaries, the concept of habit is considered as unusual, habitual activity (QTAS 2-tom). A habit is an action performed reflexively. The ceremony is recognized as the established procedure, order, and method of performing a certain action (QTKSS). Additionally, in scientific literature, the ceremony is regarded as a ritual, a scenario (Zhakhan, 2021), defining it as a “set of rules” (Matyztzhanov, 2021) that establish the order of actions. Based on the provided opinions, ritual ceremonies can be understood as a system of rules and principles comprising a specific sequence of well-established actions (scenario type). These ceremonies are utilized by representatives of a particu-

lar ethno-cultural group to address significant social issues and establish public order.

Formation of linguocultural codes in linguistic elements related to ritual ceremonies. It is known that an individual, as a representative of a certain ethnic group, recognizes and perceives the environment in accordance with the values, principles that are formed in the environment in which he lives. These principles are drawn from the collective cultural memory of their people. And ritual ceremonies are one of the earliest and main forms of cultural memory of the people. Through the repeated “performance of ritual ceremonies associated with certain beliefs, cultural memory was formed and passed down from generation to generation” (Assman, 2004: 20). Indeed, as time progresses, the original significance of ritual ceremonies may undergo transformations, leading to changes in the actions they entail or the meanings they convey. It’s evident that such evolutions will also influence the linguistic elements associated with these ritual ceremonies. Scholars report that “under the influence of various religious and cultural changes, certain prohibitions and beliefs, the primordial code meaning of the material world expands, the previous ones begin to be forgotten and move away from sacral activity, and the meaning of some elements of the national worldview darkens and remains a relic of the past” (Saykenova and etc., 2023: 95).

According to Josserand & Hopkins (2005: 407) texts pertaining to ritual ceremonies can be preserved through the usage of ancient words and archaic language units, morphemes, which are not extensively employed in modern language. According to Stuart-Fox & David (2002), each stage of the ritual ceremony is condensed into a single key word. Both scholars argue that these linguistic units can serve as keys to unlocking the underlying meanings of early ritual ceremonies and beliefs. They contend that such analysis aids in comprehending the social and religious systems of antiquity. In studies conducted in this field, it has been concluded that, in comparison to other aspects of folk culture, objects associated with ritual ceremonies and the roles performed by participants tend to endure over time (James, 1985). This longevity is believed to stem from the repetitive nature of ritual ceremonies. Hence, we cannot assert that the original encoded meanings of language units pertaining to ritual ceremonies will be entirely lost. Through linguistic and etymological analyses, it remains possible to decipher these original encoded meanings. This is

attributed to the cumulative function of language, as noted by the aforementioned scholars.

Then, language does not convey all the information associated with rituals. Only an established, structured language code transmits language units from generation to generation. The study of cultural codes, possessing such powerful informational capacity, enables us to determine the uniqueness of ethnic groups and the specifics of ethnolinguistic consciousness. The ritual ceremonies formed centuries ago convey the worldview of people from that era. In essence, one can “understand the world through cultural codes formed by these rituals, gaining deeper insights into the knowledge accumulated within the language and passed down from generation to generation throughout the history of a specific community” (Maslova, 2015: 103).

Linguistic scientists highlight that “any phenomenon with symbolic significance can serve as a cultural code”. These codes may “manifest in relation to various aspects such as space, time, objects (both man-made and environmental), animals, specific actions, and linguistic elements (including songs, proverbs, riddles, and phraseology)” (Lubimova & Bayanova, 2013:106). Agreeing with the scholar’s viewpoint, we can assert that any element associated with a ritual ceremony (be it a participant, ceremonial object, timing, or location) holds symbolic significance. Tolstoy and etc., (2013) categorizes codes stemming from ritual ceremonies into distinct groups. According to this scholar, within ritual ceremonies, one can discern the actional, real or material, verbal, personal, locative, temporal, musical codes. Notably, verbal, tangible, and conventional codes are prevalent, with their semantic potency being particularly prominent.

Formation and concept of the term scriptonym.

While some scholars perceive ritual ceremonies as a sequence of specific actions (Knuf, 1980), cognitive linguistics acknowledges them as scenarios or scripts. The concept of “linguocultural script” was initially introduced by Wierzbicka (2002) to describe the speech activity and cognitive processes of people belonging to a particular cultural group. The scholar posits that cultural scripts are “one-sided opinions about actions understandable to everyone in the language, right or wrong, which can or cannot be performed” i.e., “the norm of standardized behavior of representatives of an ethnic group (including speech activity) under certain communication contexts” (Wierzbicka, 2002: 8). Bykova (2005) expands the meaning of this concept and introduces the term “scriptonyms” to denote linguistic

elements that originated from ritual ceremonies and have acquired secondary meanings. Khorokhordina & Bykova (2015) confirming the opinion of the scholar, defines rituals as customary repetitive actions conducted within a specific culture, possessing scenario-like characteristics. Furthermore, she identifies language units shaped in connection with these rituals as scriptonyms. In English-language studies, the phenomenon of language units acquiring a secondary meaning in connection with ritual ceremonies is examined under the concept of “semantic shift” (Galona, 2018).

Among Kazakh scholars, Smagulova (2010) does not employ the term “scriptonym” in her research. Nonetheless, she expresses the opinion that linguistic units attain a secondary meaning in connection with ritual ceremonies. The scholar associates the emergence of this secondary meaning with the function of linguocreativity of language. It is said that changes in the course of historical, cultural, and social development reconsider values from a different angle and revive linguistic and cultural frameworks. It is also argued that the linguistic unit (ethnophraseologism in G.Smagulova’s study) acquires a new meaning and character, with the example given that the language unit “тысайкеcep” formed in relation to the ceremony of тысайкеcep (to cut ties – a tradition to celebrate the first attempts of a child to walk), has been revitalized based on similar contexts and is now used in the sense of presentation (Smagulova, 2010). Murzinova (2021) expresses the opinion that rituals and rites, which are based on actions, performances, and scenes, are reflected in language through scriptonyms. Confirming the opinions of these scientists, scriptonyms are linguistic expressions (linguocultural codes), formed in connection with the main attributes of ritual ceremonies, games, holidays, representing the cultural identity of each nation, which acquired secondary meaning as a result of the linguocreative activity of the language. Scholars such as Bykova (2005) and Khorokhordina & Bykova (2015) discuss the primary and secondary meaningfulness of scriptonyms in their works. However, it is important to note that lexical units associated with ritual ceremonies are often elevated to symbolic and codified status. Consequently, linguistic units related to ritual ceremonies typically carry a higher sacral significance compared to everyday phrases. For instance, while a “chest” may refer to a common item in everyday life, it takes on a different meaning within the context of a ritual ceremony, such as symbolizing the social status of a girl’s family during the tradition

of presenting a dowry to the groom's family. Consequently, we acknowledge that all language units associated with ritual ceremonies carry some degree of secondary meaning. Bykova & Khorokhordina (2015) emphasize the notable onomastic characteristics of ethnoconnotative scriptonyms, highlighting that the structure of ethnoconnotation entails a

feature of “marker distinctive sign /locus/-regional affiliation and use in a certain environment /social dialect/” (Khorokhordina & Bykova 2015: 57). Based on this distinction, scriptonyms are categorized into diatopic, diastratic, and diachronic types, depending on their specific areas of application (see diagram 1).

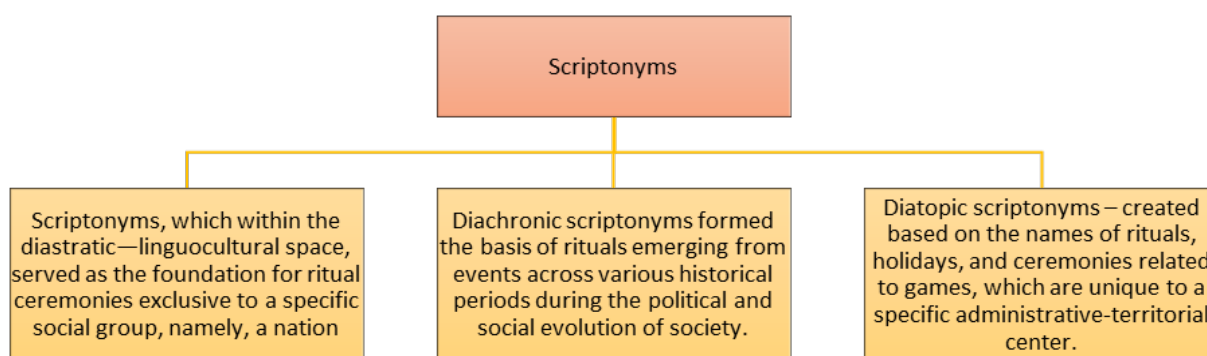


Diagram 1 – Division of scriptonyms by regional affiliation
(based on the theory of Khorokhordina & Bykova)

In this research, we will delve more extensively into the lexical and semantic characteristics of scriptonyms derived from local ritual ceremonies. Throughout historical development, data pertaining to regional ceremonies undergoes transformation into linguistic units, or linguocultural codes. Consequently, deciphering encrypted information within such codes aids in identifying the distinctiveness of regional ethno-linguistic consciousness.

Results and Discussion

When discussing the diatopic variant of scriptonyms, we consider not only ritual ceremonies that have different names in various regions, but also those specific to particular local administrative areas. These are the sacred names from which they originated. The regional language's depiction of the universe is shaped by the geographical area's specifics, natural and climatic conditions, superstitions, prohibitions, rituals of the local population, and the cultural interactions among different ethnic groups. In our study, we will try to reveal the peculiarities of each region, analyzing local ritual ceremonies in the regions of South Kazakhstan (Shymkent, Kyzylorda), Zhetysu region, Central Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan.

In the agricultural regions of Kazakhstan, diverse ritual ceremonies take place on the threshing

floor. Today, the sequence in which these rituals occur has shifted, leading to an expansion in the meaning of linguistic units associated with them, acquiring secondary meaning.

Regional ritual ceremonies associated with farming and the scriptonyms derived from them.

Қырман қандау (bloodletting on a threshing floor) is an agricultural ritual ceremonial in the southern regions of Kazakhstan, aimed at enhancing the yield of crops. “During the early stages of land cultivation and crop planting to secure a bountiful harvest, people would sacrifice animals and mix their blood with water, then sprinkle it onto the fields or threshing floors” (Bolatova, 1993:149). Through the blood absorbed into the earth, people sought to gain the favor of the spirits and Dihan Baba (*Kazakh preislamic deity of farming* – author). Even today, residents of the southern region continue to perform the ritual of bloodletting on the threshing floor. In some areas, it is commemorated as a celebration of gratitude for the harvested crops, while in others, it is observed as a pre-sowing ritual, serving as a sacrificial offering:

Slaughtering animals with the belief that it will ensure a bountiful harvest (Shymk., Bóg.) (QTAS).

This tradition held particular significance in southern Kazakhstan in the past. A farmer would sacrifice an animal at the threshing floor, where wheat, millet, etc., are gathered and stacked. They

would then invite people from their village to partake in the bloodletting and celebration. (QTAS).

The sacral significance of the word “қандау” holds great informational power here. In its primary sense, “қандау” refers to sacrifice, rather than merely spraying the blood of slaughtered animals in the fields. The term “қырман қандау” carried an actional code, implying a specific meaning or purpose.

The Kazakh people have always placed great importance on the tradition of giving *сыбаға* (*сыбаға* refers to a portion of the animal that is slaughtered

for the winter, specifically preserved for relatives, in-laws, and elders who reside far away), *shares*, and *zakat*. This stems from the hospitality and generosity ingrained in Kazakh culture. When it comes to *сыбаға*, we take into account not only reserving the prime cuts of the slaughtered animal for esteemed guests but also contributing to other shared benefits. Depending on the geographical and economic peculiarities of each region of Kazakhstan, these rituals exhibit unique characteristics in their implementation and name (refer to table 1).

Table 1 – Ritual ceremonies performed in various regions of Kazakhstan for the purpose of giving sybaga, shares, and Zakat, and linguistic units (scriptonyms) formed in connection with them that carry a secondary meaning

Name	Meaning	Did it have a secondary meaning? What?
<i>Rituals associated with sybagas, shares, and Zakat in the context of agriculture.</i>		
<i>Кеусен</i> (Q-orda: Jal., Qaz., Qarm., Aral; Jamb.: Shu, Mer., Qord., Lug.; Shyg.Qaz.: Zais.)	An ancient tradition in the lives of farmers involves giving a share, (typically in the form of grain) to the person who arrives when the grain is being winnowed (QTAS).	The meaning of the word “кеусен” was expanded and acquired the second meaning-donation, contribution. There is a proverb in the Kazakh literature: “ <i>Кер кеткен еріншек кеусен сұрауға ерінеді</i> ” (The proverb implies that someone is incredibly lazy, to the extent that they won’t even make the effort to claim his rightful share or portion of the harvest). In this context, the word “кеусен” means “share”. For example: 1. <i>Қара қарға гұмырымен неге мені өліседің? Неткен жанмын таусылмайтын талқаны мен кеусені?</i> (Why have you measured my life against that of a black crow? What kind of person am I, left with an inexhaustive share (кеусен)?) (M. Maqataev). 2. <i>Кеусен құлақ сұрай келген жалқаудың ат дорбасындай аузы ырсып кетінті</i> (The lazy person’s mouth which was as big as a horse’s feedbag, who came to ask for his share, was parched due to the hot weather) (B. Qydyrbekuly, Shoiynqulaq).
<i>Аққұла</i> (Aral, Q-orda)	The portion, sybaga or keusen, given by the farmer to poor, impoverished people at no charge during the grain harvesting season (QEKUADJ)	Today, the word “аққұла” carries the meaning of “in vain” or “waste”. As “аққұла” is provided free of charge at the threshing floor to people in poor conditions as alms or a charitable deed, the underlying concept of giving freely formed the basis for its secondary meaning of “in vain” or “waste”. For example: <i>Жаздыгүні бұл су [Талғар] бұдан да күшті, бұдан да мол болып аққұла болып ағады</i> (In the summer, the water of Talgar flows even stronger and more abundantly, seemingly <i>wasteful</i>) (M. Auezov, Qarash-qarash).
<i>Қырмантүп</i> (Q.orda: Jal., Syr., Qarm.)	A “қырмантүп” is a portion or superstitious share that is given once the winnowing of the grain on the threshing floor is complete. Additionally, in the Atyrau and Mangistau regions, “қырмантүп” is also used to refer to donations made to the poor and physically challenged individuals (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony
<i>Қоян қаишты</i> (Zhamb.: Shu, Mer., Lug., Moiyn., Qord.)	The portion of grain that is given to those who ask for it when the harvesting is complete (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony. The ritual of giving “қоян қаишты” is now forgotten.
<i>Дөйек</i> (Turikm.: Krasn., Tash.)	a reward or keusen that is given for everyone from the threshing floor (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony. The ritual of “дөйек беру” is now forgotten.

Continuation of the table

Name	Meaning	Did it have a secondary meaning? What?
<i>Кенсен</i> (Shyg. Qaz., Kursh.; Aug.)	The share given to the person who arrived when the grain was first winnowed (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony.
<i>Құлақ</i> (Sem., Abai)	The share of grain that is given to those who ask for it during the winnowing of the grain on the threshing floor (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony. The ritual of “ <i>құлақ беру</i> ” is now forgotten.
<i>Десте беру</i> (Zhezq., Agad.)	The custom of giving gifts or sybaga from the harvest to people who come during harvesting (QTAS)	A secondary meaning does not exist; it is solely used within the context of a ritual ceremony. The ritual of “ <i>десте беру</i> ” is now forgotten.
<i>Кепен</i> (Shyg. Qaz., Zais.)	A small amount of grain that people request during the threshing process	The term ritual of “ <i>кепен беру</i> ” lacks a secondary meaning and is now forgotten, remaining solely within the framework of a ceremonial ritual
<i>Бүйрек</i> (Oral, Chap.)	A small amount of grain is given to people who ask for it during the winnowing process.	“ <i>Бүйрек беру</i> ” does not have a secondary meaning and is now forgotten, being used solely within the framework of a ritual ceremony.
<i>Қол үзік</i> (Koksh., Q.tu)	A small amount of wheat given to those who request it during the packing process.	The term “ <i>қол үзік</i> ” originating from a ritual ceremony, has broadened in meaning. Originally, “ <i>қол үзік</i> ” referred to a portion given to those who requested grain when wheat was packaged. Today, its meaning has expanded to denote a sybaga or share obtained from anything. For example: 1. <i>Қаймана қазақ бізге бөйгесінен шашып жатқанда, Наймантай інің саған тым құрыса қол үзік қалдырмаған ба?</i> (While the Kazakh, unknown to us, was giving us a share from the horse race, didn't your brother Naimantai give you at least “ <i>қол үзік</i> ”?) (А.Кекілбаев). 2. <i>Даусы анық шығып, кепкен ағаштан жасалғанын білгендіктен “домбыраңды маған қи” деп сұрағанда Әлімнің аулынан алып қайтқан “қолүзігім” болсын деп қазақ салтын көлденең тартады</i> (When he heard that the dombra's voice was clear and realized it was made of dried wood, he expressed his desire to obtain it. However, the owner refused to give it to him, stating that it would be “ <i>қол үзік</i> ” he received from Alim village) (А.Кекілбаев).
<i>The rituals of giving sybagas, shares, and zakat in relation to livestock and fisheries</i>		
<i>Әлі сыбаға</i> (Q.orda: Aral, Syr., Qarm.)	The share given to orphans and widows who do not have a breadwinner in fishing villages (Kenzheakhmetuly, 2006)	In fiction, the phrase “ <i>әлі сыбаға</i> ” is used to signify a share that is received without having worked for it. For example: <i>Сүйеу қартты сыйлайтын жұрт Итжемес жұмыс істемесе де, оны үлестен қалдырмай, қыс бойы әлі сыбаға бөліп кеп еді</i> (The people who respect the old man Suyeу, even though his son Itzhemes does not work, do not exclude him from receiving a share; they would give him “ <i>әлі сыбаға</i> ” throughout the winter) (А.Нурпейысов).
<i>Пышақ ұшты</i> (Qost.: Fed., Semioz.)	It is a type of sybaga given to the person who arrives while the animal is being slaughtered for winter (QTAS)	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used only within the framework of a ritual rite. The ritual of giving “ <i>пышақ ұшты</i> ” is now one of the forgotten rituals.
<i>Аромыртқа</i> (Zhezq., Uly.; Res., Omby)	The type of sybaga given to neighbors from the slaughtered animal for winter (QTAS)	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used only within the framework of a ritual rite. The ritual of “ <i>аромыртқа беру</i> ” is now one of the forgotten rituals.
<i>Сыралғы</i> (Aqt., Jur.; Gur., Mang.; Q.orda, Aral; Turikm.)	Sybagas, booties, or shares taken from hunters, businessmen, etc. (QTAS)	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used only within the framework of a ritual rite.
<i>Қымызмұрындық</i> (Shu, Merki)	“The tradition of inviting guests to drink kymys after milking a mare for the first time” (Akбай, 2013: 309)	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used only within the framework of a ritual rite.

The birth of a child and their upbringing, funeral rites, and second-meaning scriptonyms formed based on these rituals. The Kazakh people have always placed special emphasis on blessing their young children by aqsakals (elders), country-worthy bi-orators, and brave heroes. The Kazakh proverb “Батаменен ел көгерер, Жаңбырменен жер көгерер” (English equivalent: A blessing

from the aged is like a jewel of gold) exemplifies this belief. Various ritual ceremonies were conducted with the hope that they would guide the child into adulthood, imbuing them with the qualities of renowned and respected individuals. Each region of Kazakhstan has distinct characteristics in how these ritual ceremonies are performed (Table 2).

Table 2 – Rituals performed to receive blessings and the scriptonyms associated with them

Name	Meaning	Did it have a secondary meaning? What?
<i>Үзеңгіден өткізу</i> (Western Kazakhstan, Altai, Tarbagatai)	The child, on their 40th day after birth, is passed through the stirrup of a famous person – a poet, orator, or hero. The person riding the horse withdraws their right leg from the stirrup. The swaddled child is passed through the strap of a horse. Such a rite is found in Central Kazakhstan and Zhetisu, but it is not as revered as in the East and not practiced at all in Western Kazakhstan.	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used only within the framework of a ritual rite. This ritual is now one of the forgotten rituals
<i>Аузына түкірту</i> (there is no specific regional affiliation)	In many regions of Kazakhstan, there is a ritual of spitting into the mouth (<i>Auzyna tukirtu</i>), which is still practiced today to receive a blessing. The dictionary describes this ritual as being caused by an indigenous form of contagious magic. It is said to transmit the positive qualities of authoritative figures to young children. (QEKUADJ).	This ritual is still performed today, where the person giving the blessing spits into the young child’s mouth. Today, based on this ceremony, a common expression in our language is “ <i>as if they spit in each other’s mouth</i> ” (“ <i>бір-бірінің аузына түкіріп қойғандай</i> ”) used to describe people who resemble each other in appearance and behavior. For example: <i>Бастапқыда Қасқырбай әкемізбен екеуі жұптары жазылмай, бір-бірінің аузына түкіріп қойғандай бір жерден шығып, кемпірлері де бір-бірінің шөй ішпей, осыниша ауызжаласқан татулықтарына ел таң қалатынды</i> (At first, he stayed together with our father Kaskyrbay, appearing as if they had spit in each other’s mouths, and their old wives did not drink tea without each other; the village was surprised by their friendship) (adebiportal.kz)
<i>Қолына су құю</i> (South Kazakhstan, Shymkent)	In central Kazakhstan, the concept of receiving blessings from adults is associated with the ritual of passing under the stirrups, while in South Kazakhstan, including the Shymkent region, there is a ritual of pouring water into the hands of adults. The difference is that the stirrup ritual is performed for a child after their 40th day since birth, whereas the ritual of pouring water into hands is performed by teenage children. Moreover, this latter ritual continues to be practiced at large parties and gatherings.	The phrase has a secondary meaning, which refers to serving somebody for personal gain. For example: <i>Бұл көкең кешегі осынау Ақмола медициналық институтын бітіріп, кілең кеудесіне нан піскен орыс, еврей білгіштерін паналап, солардың қолына су құйып жүріп, әуелі санитарлық-эпидемиологиялық стансаға бастық болды</i> (This man recently graduated from the Akmola Medical Institute and became the head of the sanitary and epidemiological station, dealing with conceited Russians and know-it-all Jews and “pouring water into their hands”) (D. Doszhan Zhan tattu). 2. <i>Асырып айтты демеңіз, қазіргі таңда ұлт мәселесін шешуге келгенде Ши Жинпин Назарбаевтың қолына су құйып бере алмай қалды!</i> (Don’t accuse me of exaggeration, but when it comes to solving the nation’s problems, Shi Zhinpin has proven unable to pour water into Nazarbayev’s hands! (here the phrase means: not being as good or competent as someone else) (abai.kz).

Continuation of the table

Name	Meaning	Did it have a secondary meaning? What?
<i>Тақымынан өткізу</i> (Kazakhs of the city of Nebidag, Turkmenistan)	The ceremony of passing a child's cradle under the hips is practiced among Kazakhs in Turkmenistan, symbolizing the blessing of a person who has achieved great respect or longevity within the community.	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used solely within the framework of a ritual rite. Today, this ritual is rarely performed.
<i>Аунату,</i> <i>сарқытын жегізу</i> (there is no specific regional affiliation)	When a cherished guest visits the house, it is customary to roll the child over to where the guest is lying or sitting so that the child will resemble the guest. Additionally, there is another ritual where <i>leftover food from the plate of a batyrs</i> , whose name is renowned throughout the country, is eaten by a child in hopes that they will become as brave as the batyr.	It does not have a secondary meaning; it is used solely within the framework of a ritual rite. Today, this ritual is rarely performed.

If we compare the linguistic units related to rituals of receiving blessings such as *passing through the stirrup* (*үзеңгісінен өткізу*), *pouring water into the hands* (*қолына су құю*), *spitting into the mouth* (*аузына түкірту*), *rolling over* (*аунату*), and *eating leftover food* (*сарқытын жегізу*), we see that not all of them have a secondary meaning. Here, only the linguistic unit formed based on the rituals of *pouring water into the hands* (*қолына су құю*) and *spitting into the mouth* (*аузына түкірту*), as a scriptonym, expanded its sacral-symbolic meaning and acquired a secondary meaning. The rituals of *rolling over* (*аунату*), *passing through the stirrup* (*үзеңгісінен өткізу*), *passing a child in a cradle under the hips of a person* (*тақымынан өткізу*), and *giving leftovers of a cherished guest to a child* (*сарқытын жегізу*) are rarely performed today; it can even be said that they are forgotten.

The ritual known as *шілде күзет* is still preserved and performed in the East Kazakhstan region. (QAGSD, 2001: 120). Older sisters and grandmothers did not participate in this ceremony; all responsibilities were entrusted to the younger generation. According to Akhmetov (2009), in accordance with our ancestors' beliefs, young people guarded the child, who had just entered the world, at night by lighting candles to protect them from the influence of demons. (Akhmetov, 2009). Additionally, throughout the night they sang, played the dombra, and had fun. These activities formed the basis for calling the young people who performed the duties of the *шілде күзет* "*shildehana guards*". This ritual acquired a secondary meaning, creating a figurative image of entertainers. For example: *Шілдеhana күзеткендер оған тағы да ән айттыра алмай қойды* (Those who guarded the shildehana could not make him sing again (K. Mubarak. Aidyn songy kuntizbesi).

Жыртыс жырты – is performed when wealthy elderly people die. Money is distributed or pieces of cloth are handed out as *tabarik* (gift) to those gathered at the funeral. This ritual is still practiced today in the Enbekshikazakh, Kegen, and Karatal districts. The individuals distributing the cloth scraps are called *jyrtysşy*. A scriptonym with an actional code "*жыртысын жырты*" is formed based on this ritual, which has a secondary meaning of protecting someone's interests. For example: *Тобымның тартам тартысын, Жарлының жыртам жыртысын, Мешедің мейірін қандырам* (I. Zhansygyrov) it can be translated into English: I will solve the conflicts of my people, will protect the interests of the poor, and show kindness towards backward people). *Герольд Белгер ұлты басқа болса да қазақтың жыртысын жыртып, соның мұңын мұңдап өтті* (Despite being of a different nationality, Harold Belger protected the interests of the Kazakhs (*қазақтың жыртысын жыртып*) and showed concern for them (el.kz).

Бәсіре – is one of the oldest customs of our people. The child's grandparents or parents dedicate an animal, usually a foal or a bull, to the child, marking it as his. According to the custom, *bassire* is reserved solely for the needs of this child, as it is considered his property (Aqbai, 2013: 91). This custom is still preserved in the south of Kazakhstan. However, because the animal, specially marked and passed into the child's property, was used exclusively for their needs, the word "*Бәсіре*" acquired a secondary meaning of "proprietary, privately owned". In the Zhambyl, Shu, Kordai, Shymkent, and Arys regions, the word "*Бәсіре*" is used to mean "intended for somebody, privately owned" (DS). In the Uly Zhuz of Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, it is called "*бәсіре малы*" or "*баланың бәсіресі*". In the Middle Zhuz and Junior

Zhuz, they say “we designated cattle to a child” or “we marked a foal to be the child’s horse”, but these expressions do not contain the word “*Бәсіре*”. For example: *Сосын ол лоджияда құрулы телесқопқа үңіледі, кең аспанның оңтүстік жартысы бұның бәсіресі, таныс жұлдыздары бар, битанысы және бар – аспанды шарлап кетеді, содан түн ортасында төсекке басын бір-ақ қояды. Бұл семьяда сөйлесу, сырласу салтқа айналмаған* (He looks through the telescope set on the loggia at the southern half of the wide sky as his “*Бәсіре*”, observing familiar and unfamiliar stars. Then, he navigates across the sky and lays his head on the bed at midnight. In this household, it is not customary to share secrets) (A. Tarazi).

Көрісу – a ritual widely practiced in the West Kazakhstan region. Every year on March 14th, Western Kazakhstanis perform the rite known as “*Көрісу*” or “*Амал мерекесі*”. Relatives and neighbors greet each other by chest-to-chest embrace to celebrate the beginning of spring and the safe passage of all family members through the severe winter. On this day, people set aside all arguments and conflicts, asking each other about their well-being and wishing them “a happy year”. Although the ritual of “*көрісу*” is still preserved in the western regions, the term “*көрісу*” as an actional code has expanded, and inquiring about well-being has acquired a secondary meaning. This word is used in Aktobe, Uralsk, Atyrau, and Mangistau. According to scholars, the ritual of “*korisu*” is practiced in the southern regions of Kazakhstan during funerals, while in the western regions it is practiced to inquire about well-being. For instance, In the context of greeting: *Сен маған неге көріспейсің? (Why don't you ask me about my well-being?)* (Oral, Qazt.) *Мен әжекеңмен көріскен жоқ екенмін ғой (I haven't greeted with the grandmother)* (Aqt., Oiy) (QTAS). In the context of expressing condolences: *Бұл бос кергілес, итырқылжыңнан бойын тысқары ұстап, араласпай жүр еді. Ана бір жылы аталы бір ауылға көріскелі бара қалды (He was avoiding conflicts and not socializing with relatives, but that year he had to visit the village to express his condolences)* (A. Kekilbaev).

Қонақасы – is a customary way of serving food during funerals. After a person’s death, their loved ones gather with relatives and village elders to decide on the burial arrangements, assign responsibilities for serving guests, and organize tasks such as dish preparation and table setting. A dinner organized for such arrangements is called “*қонақасы*” in Kazaly, Zhasaly, and Zhetysu regions, “*шілдеhana*” in Kar-

makshinsky district, and “*мәслихат*” in Shieli and Zhanakorgan districts. Initially, “*қонақасы*” was a meal for people who gathered to discuss the funeral arrangements of the deceased, but now it serves as a meal for those who come to express condolences in many places, including the Zhetysu and Almaty regions. Some public figures criticize the current practice of “*қонақасы*” as being too lavish and elevated to the status of a celebration. We have already noted that the regional language’s perception of the universe is influenced by the geographical specifics and cultural interactions among different ethnic groups. In Shieli and Zhanakorgan districts, naming “*қонақасы*” as “*мәслихат*” is likely due to the proximity of these settlements to the border with Uzbekistan. In Uzbekistan, a “*мәслихат*” is convened for meetings related to the funeral arrangements of the deceased. Although the meaning of the word “*қонақасы*” has not changed drastically, it has evolved from referring to the meal served during initial consultations to now denote food provided to those expressing condolences.

The lexical and semantic characteristics of scriptonyms within cultural codes, derived from local ritual ceremonies, were examined. The concept of cultural code was interpreted as a tool for expressing the intellectual identity of each nation. The relationship and specificity of the concepts of ritual and ritual ceremonies were also delineated.

To identify diatopic variants of scriptonyms, the rituals and sacral names originating from four regions of Kazakhstan: South Kazakhstan, East Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan, Central Kazakhstan, and others – were compared and studied in the article. For example, in West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan, there is a ritual called “*көрісу*” (seeing). However, the locations, procedures, and the semantic nuances of the scriptonyms associated with them differ. In Western Kazakhstan, the ritual of “*көрісу*” is performed to inquire about well-being, whereas in the South, it is performed to express condolences to the loved ones of the deceased. It was also discovered that certain ritual ceremonies and the secondary-meaning scriptonyms formed around them are unique to specific regions. For instance, the ceremonial of giving a child “*бәсіре*” is still observed in southern regions of Kazakhstan. This ritual has also developed a secondary meaning of denoting a special, proprietary substance, leading to the creation of a scriptonym for something belonging to someone. Neither the custom of giving “*бәсіре*” nor the scriptonyms derived from it are found in western regions of Kazakhstan. Additionally, it was

observed that the regional language's perception of the universe is shaped by geographical specifics, natural and climatic conditions, local rituals, and the cultural exchange between different ethnic groups. For instance, in the Zhetysu and Kazaly regions, the death ritual is referred to as “қонақасы”, whereas in the Shieli and Zhanakorgan regions it is called “мәслихат”. This difference is likely influenced by the proximity of these regions to Uzbekistan. In Uzbekistan, there is a ritual known as “мәслихат” where a meeting is convened to organize the funeral of the deceased.

The regional identity of settlements also influences the formation of sacral secondary language units. For example, it has been observed that in regions with a well-developed agricultural economy, ritual ceremonies related to agriculture are more prevalent. In these regions, linguistic units such as “share”, and “zakat” are associated with professional agricultural ceremonies. For instance, *кеусен, аққұла, қырмантүп, қоян қаишты, дәйек, кепсен, құлақ, десте беру, кепен, бүйрек, қол үзік*. In regions focused on animal husbandry, language units such as “share”, and “zakat” are associated with the local economy. For example: *өлі сыбаға, пышақ ұшты, аромыртқа, сыралғы, қымызмұрындық*. Simultaneously, it has been established that although the same procedure is called differently in different regions, not all language units related to them carry the same sacral significance and symbolism. For instance, when comparing established linguistic units associated with rituals such as *қырмантүп, қоян қаишты, дәйек, кепсен, құлақ, десте беру, кепен, бүйрек, пышақ ұшты, аромыртқа, сыралғы, and қымызмұрындық* found in various regions for distributing shares, zakat, or sybaga to socially disadvantaged individuals, the terms *кеусен, аққұла, өлі сыбаға, and қол үзік* have expanded in meaning to also signify alms or share.

In each region of Kazakhstan, ritual ceremonies performed to receive blessings from esteemed individuals such as *үзеңгіден өткізу, қолына су құю, аузына түкірту, тақымынан өткізу, аунату, сарқытын жегізу* were analyzed. As a result, it was found that among these rituals, the language units formed based on the rituals of *қолына су құю* and *аузына түкірту* have expanded in meaning, leading to the formation of scriptonyms. Today, the phrase *қолына су құю* in Kazakh has acquired a negative secondary meaning, referring to serving one's own interests. Meanwhile, *бір-бірінің аузына түкіріп қойғандай* is used to describe people with similar behavior. The ritual of *қолына су құю* here

is associated with the concepts of service, respect for elders, and blessings, emphasizing the ethnolinguistic consciousness specific to the southern region.

Conclusion

The informational potency of scriptonyms related to ritual practices and their sacral-symbolic codes, which elucidate the early spiritual and cultural life of people, will be significant. These linguocultural codes assist in uncovering and comprehending the meanings of various informational and cultural phenomena within the language corpus.

In our research, our aim was to analyze the lexical and semantic characteristics of scriptonyms that carry secondary meanings, particularly focusing on regional ritual practices. In pursuing this objective, we differentiated between the concepts of tradition and ritual ceremony. Furthermore, we examined the concept of code terms from a linguocultural perspective, recognizing ritual ceremonies as pivotal in the formation of cultural codes (scriptonyms) with significant informational influence. Our analysis focused on ritual ceremonies and the scriptonyms derived from them in relation to sybaga, Zakat, childbirth, child upbringing, and funeral rites across various regions of Kazakhstan. It was observed that the distinctiveness of regional ritual ceremonies influences the linguistic corpus of the same region, leading to the emergence of scriptonyms with secondary meanings.

The theoretical contribution of this study draws upon the theories of O. Bykova and Khorokhordina. The study presents theoretical conclusions regarding the formation of linguistic units (scriptonyms) and their lexical and semantic specificity, originating from ritual practices in Kazakh language studies, which now also carry secondary meanings.

Practically, we believe that the scriptonyms analyzed in our research and the linguocultural concepts attributed to them can be valuable for compiling etymological dictionaries. They can also help to explain the essence of language units whose meanings may be unclear to advanced learners of the Kazakh language. Additionally, these findings can assist in analyzing the meanings of various dialectal expressions used by poets and writers.

Due to the widespread presence of ritual ceremonies across various aspects of people's lives in the region, our study could not equally cover all of them. Therefore, we propose that future research

should focus on individually studying regional ritual ceremonies associated with events such as childbirth, weddings, funerals, cooking, and daily life, especially those unique to specific regions. By

examining the language units formed in relation to these ceremonies, we aim to derive the most valuable theoretical and practical conclusions. This will be the primary direction of our future work.

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