MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF ETHNOGRAPHISMS IN THE LANGUAGE OF KAZAKHS IN KARAKALPAKSTAN (COMPOUND ETHNOGRAPHISMS)

Gulshat Agitayevna Adilova
Head of the Department of Kazakh Language and Literature, Karakalpak State University, PhD in Philology, Associate Professor

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Received:	7th February 2025	The article examines compound ethnographisms in the language of Kazakhs living in Karakalpakstan. The author argues that compound ethnographisms are formed through various linguistic processes such as combination, fusion, joining, and reduplication of words. Actively used non-fused ethnographisms in the local Kazakh language are classified into two main groups based on the patterns "noun + noun" and "noun + adjective," and their formation methods are analyzed.
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The Kazakhs of Karakalpakstan live within a unique linguistic environment. Their language is a component of the general national language and represents a particular variant of Kazakh influenced by the surrounding linguistic context. Ethnocultural vocabulary primarily comprises elements from the common Turkic lexical layer, native words, and loanwords.

Ethnographisms do not emerge spontaneously within a language; rather, they are the product of several centuries. Numerous ethnographisms belong not only to Kazakh, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Turkmen, and other related peoples but may also be common across a broader range of ethnic groups. Some ethnographisms emerged and evolved following the separation of these ethnic groups, reflecting their distinctive lifestyles and occupations, thereby enriching their lexical resources. From this perspective, ethnographisms represent one of the oldest lexical layers within any given language. Although they may undergo various degrees of change due to evolving societal contexts, their underlying basis– traditional customs and practices–remains intact. Compound ethnographisms constitute a significant portion of the ethnocultural vocabulary in the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan. Compound ethnographisms function in the language as lexemes, similar to simple lexical units. Like all lexical units, they represent structural and semantic unity, denoting a single concept, and are integrated into the language system and its lexical composition [1:31].

The formation of compound terms depends on how well individuals understand the meanings of their constituent elements, thus labeling newly recognized concepts. Hence, lexical meaning plays a significant role in the creation of compound names. Compound words or compound terms represent secondary or tertiary nominations [2:33] because each of their elements independently denotes a separate object or phenomenon. Depending on specific circumstances or events, these elements become complex and unified under one name, merging their meanings. This merging process sometimes involves the individual elements partially or fully losing their original meanings. In the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan, the compound term **zharyskazan/kazanzharys** (literally "pot-race") belongs to the category of terms possessing profound semantic content. This custom, represented by the forms **zharyskazan/kazanzharys**, can be interpreted in two ways. According to S. Kenzheakhmetuly's explanation, **kazanzharys** refers to a tradition where female relatives, upon a woman's labor, quickly prepare a simple meal in a pot, symbolically "racing" to cook it before the child is born. According to popular belief, the unborn child itself participates in this symbolic "kazanzharys," striving to be born first [3:3].

The ethnographism **Zharyskazan** consists of two roots. The root of the word **zharys** is **zhar**. In the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Kazakh Language*, the word **zhar** is treated as a homonym; one meaning is "to split wood into smaller parts or chips with tools such as an axe," as seen in idiomatic expressions like *top zhardy* ("came out on top"), *atagy zher zhardy* ("became widely known"), and *zharyp saldy* ("boldly stated"). More generally, the root **zhar** carries semantic meanings related to separation or division, as in "a steep cliff formed by natural forces," or "a spouse, partner."

A. T. Kaidarov lists eighteen words derived from the semantic root **zhar**. One of these is analyzed as a

synchronic root **zhar+ys**, a syncretic form. Although other derived forms also exist, distinguishing root from affix synchronically is challenging. The second component, **kazan** ("cauldron"), is etymologically linked to the root **kaz** ("to dig"). Words like **kazyq** ("stake"), **qasyq** ("spoon"), and **tobyq** ("ankle") include the suffix **-yq**, while words such as **sazan**, **azan**, **ozan**, **togan**, and **boran** contain the suffix **-an**. A. Turyshev suggests that words like **qasyq**, **kazyq**, and **kazan** share a common etymological origin, emerging from the concept of digging, since a kazan (cauldron) traditionally required digging a space to place it (**kaz→kazan→kazyq→qasyq**) [4]. Mahmud Kashgari's dictionary also supports the root **kaz** (M.Kh., III, 209), evidenced by forms such as **qazuq aruq** ("dug canal"), **qasuq** ("spoon," a vessel made from horse hide used for liquids like milk or kumis; M.Kh., I, 440), **qazyshty** ("dug up": Ol mana yer qazyshty ["he dug up that land for me"], (M.Kh., II, 131), and **qazyldy** ("ditch was dug," M.Kh., II, 138). The word **kazan** itself, meaning a cooking vessel, appears as a placename in Budagov's dictionary [5:235], as well as in Mahmud Kashgari's dictionary (M.Kh., III, 208).

The degree of semantic preservation of components within terms like **Aqsarbas** and **Zharyskazan** varies. Based on their naming motivations and historical longevity, it can be argued that compound words originated historically as free phrases. This is because compound words are formed by combining two or more words into a single lexical unit.

The ethnographism **aqtai quda**, borrowed from Karakalpak, refers to a tradition where families promise to arrange marriages between their yet-unborn children. Another ethnographic term, **qyz korimdik**, denotes a gift or fee presented when one sees a bride-to-be for the first time. The meaning of **aqtai quda** might appear less transparent compared to **qyz korimdik**, primarily due to its first component (**aqtai**). The suffixation in **aqtai** (aq+tai) follows Karakalpak linguistic rules, making the semantic interpretation of **aqtai** challenging without etymological analysis. The historical process that transforms such word combinations into unified compound ethnographic terms is lengthy, and during this process, individual components may undergo various degrees of semantic alteration.

When comparing methods of ethnographism formation, it becomes evident that compound ethnographisms are significantly more numerous and diverse than simple ethnographisms. This has specific objective reasons. Word-formation through compounding occupies a prominent position in all Turkic languages, primarily because words formed by this method transparently express and clearly highlight characteristics of the named object.

Compound words vary considerably depending on their formation source, method, and composition. A significant portion of ethnographisms in the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan consists of compound terms, formed through the combination and fusion of words.

In the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan, the majority of collocational ethnographisms are formed from nouns. Such ethnographisms exhibit significant variety and complexity in terms of their composition. Based on composition, they can be classified into the following primary types:

1) **Noun + Noun type ethnographisms:** Nouns, as semantically rich parts of speech, often establish meaningful relationships with other lexical categories. Some nouns can semantically combine specifically with other nouns. Many nouns serving as the first component appear in the nominative case and combine semantically with another noun without any explicit grammatical markers.

Examples include: *oryn qade* ("customary gift/payment for one's seat"), *el qade* ("customary practice in the community"), *zhanaza namaz* ("funeral prayer"), *shege shapan* ("robe presented at weddings as a gift"), *zhigit tuye* ("camel gifted at weddings"), *besik quda* ("cradle engagement"), *bel quda* ("prenatal engagement agreement"), *shatyr baigazy* ("customary gift upon completion of roofing"), *uryn toi* ("pre-wedding celebration"), *besik toi* ("cradle celebration"), *kelin toi* ("bridal celebration"), *sundet toi* ("circumcision celebration"), and others. In compound ethnographisms, nouns functioning as the first component typically appear externally in nominative case form and primarily function attributively.

Ethnographisms formed using genitive and possessive endings arise from possessive relationships. In ethnographisms like *oryn qade*, *el qade*, *zhigit tuye*, *kuieu tabaq*, *kelin toi*, the genitive and possessive endings are omitted, indicating their archaic origin.

2) **Ethnographisms of the Noun+Verb type.** Ethnographisms of this model typically exhibit a governing relationship. Verbs are the core elements of sentences, a role clearly reflected in forming compound words through phrases. The lexical-semantic characteristics of verbs are broad and complex because, as

A. Yskakov notes about their semantic nature, "their semantics encompass not only the subject's actions but also processes occurring in nature, societal life, and various actions, movements, and states that arise through abstract human thoughts and consciousness" [6:222-223]. Ethnocultural vocabulary incorporates precisely these semantic features and characteristics of verbs, explicitly revealing the process of actions and their underlying motivations. The formation of the

previously analyzed ethnographism *zharyskazan* clearly illustrates this.

Likewise, terms such as *tusaukeser* ("cutting the fetters," a ceremony for a child learning to walk), *toibastar* ("starting a celebration"), and *betashar* ("unveiling of the bride's face") reflect an entire ceremonial process, consolidating everyday customs and rituals into well-defined concepts.

Tusaukeser is a traditional ceremony performed when an infant takes their first steps, intended symbolically to ensure swift and steady walking. A respected and exemplary woman usually performs this rite, and afterward, the child whose fetters have been cut is guided carefully by young people, symbolizing hopes for a long, smooth, and prosperous life path. This ceremony expresses positive emotions, wishes, and expectations, symbolizing the hope that the child will confidently and rapidly find their way through life, achieving prosperity and

success. Today, *tusaukeser* is a celebratory ritual, deeply symbolic of community values, serving as a central aspect of larger celebrations. In terms of morphological structure, the term consists of two components–a noun and a verb–with the linkage originally established through the accusative case, which has become omitted in contemporary usage due to linguistic simplification (*tusau-dy kes-er → tusaukeser*), now functioning as a compound noun.

Nominal words connect to verbs through the dative, accusative, ablative, and locative cases. These case endings not only facilitate connections between nominal words but also define their syntactic functions. The syntactic role of case endings aligns closely with the lexical meaning of the governing verb, so case markers on subordinate elements are chosen according to the demands of the main verb. For instance, the compound term *besikke salu/boleu* ("placing/wrapping in the cradle") involves a dative case connection (*-ke*) since the verbs *salu* and *boleu* express the meanings of "to place" or "arrange," implying action directed towards an object.

Nominal words marked with the accusative case endings (-ny/-ni, -n, -yg/- ig) frequently form meaningful, governed connections with verbs, a phenomenon extensively documented in ancient Turkic written sources. Such examples indicate that connecting nominal words with verbs via accusative case endings to form phrases is an ancient linguistic feature. This traditional Turkic syntactic structure significantly shaped the formation of compound ethnographic terms. According to the various grammatical forms (accusative, dative, ablative, locative) adopted by nominal elements subordinated to verbs in ethnographic terms, they can be categorized into three main types: 1) Ethnographisms consisting of nouns in the **accusative case+verb**. 2) Ethnographisms consisting of nouns in the **dative case+verb**. 3) Ethnographisms consisting of nouns in the **ablative case+ verb**.

Ethnographisms of the Noun + Verb type with the Accusative Case. The accusative case endings represent one of the most productive grammatical forms in the language, linking nouns with verbs to form compound terms. Ethnographisms of this type can be divided into two subcategories: (1) those where the accusative case marker is omitted, and (2) those where the accusative case marker is retained.

1) **Ethnographisms of the noun + verb type with the omitted accusative marker.** Examining the collected data reveals that nouns used without the accusative marker typically exhibit a strong tendency to combine with transitive verbs. This occurs because transitive verbs—acting as governing components— direct their action toward a direct object, which functions as the subordinate component, frequently appearing without the explicit accusative marker.

In ethnographisms used among the Kazakhs of Karakalpakstan, concrete nouns (without the accusative marker) in combination with verbs occur more frequently compared to abstract nouns. Examples include: *qaryn shashu* ("celebration for pregnancy announcement"), *shilde kuzet* ("watching over a newborn during its first month"), *spant tutetu* ("burning incense"), *ysyryq salu* ("burning harmal for purification"), *asyqty zhilik ustatu* ("presenting a sheep's knuckle bone"), *bauyr alu* ("ceremonial tasting of liver"), *tana tagar* ("ceremony of placing a nose-ring on cattle"), *mal bagar* ("shepherding"), *esik-tor korsetu* ("showing the house and rooms to a new bride"), *un zhagar* ("ritual flour rubbing"), *koz zharu* ("giving birth"), *kiim ilu* ("ceremonially presenting clothing"), and others.

2) **Ethnographisms of the noun + verb type with the retained accusative marker.** Accusative case endings linking nouns with verbs to form unified lexical units are also fairly productive grammatical structures. In contemporary Kazakh, accusative case markers appear as the suffixes *-dy/-di, - ty/-ti, -ny/-ni, -n*, facilitating the syntactic linkage of nouns to verbs. Such ethnographisms conform to the "accusative-marked noun + verb" structure.

Analyzing collected examples reveals that noun + verb ethnographisms with explicitly marked accusative nouns are less frequently encountered compared to those without an explicit marker. Examples include: *qaryn shashyn alu* ("ritual removal of pregnancy hair"), *olitirisin beru* ("funeral rites"), *basyn tikeytu* ("raising the deceased's head symbolically").

In summary, nouns in the accusative case combine with

verbs to convey a single, unified meaning. Their frequent co-occurrence has ultimately resulted in their lexicalization into a single semantic unit.

Ethnographisms of the Noun+Verb type in the Dative Case. In contemporary Kazakh, the morphological indicators of the dative case are **-ga/-ge, -qa/-ke, -na/-ne**, through which nouns form combinations with verbs. Such phrases follow the pattern of "noun in the dative case + verb." Ethnographisms of this type are relatively rare in the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan. Examples include: *besikke boleu* ("wrapping in a cradle"), *besikke salu* ("placing in a cradle"), *suiekke kiru* ("participating in funeral rites"), *syryqqa ilu* ("hanging on a pole," symbolic punishment), *azaga salu* ("mourning ritual").

Ethnographisms of the Noun+Verb type in the Ablative Case. In modern Kazakh, ablative case forms (**-dan/-den, -tan/-ten, -nan/-nen**) enable nouns to combine with verbs, creating phrases based on the model "noun in ablative case + verb." Such ethnographisms are also relatively rare among local Kazakhs. Examples include: *aldynan otu* ("passing in front," ritual greeting or respect), *qyrqynan shygaru* ("ritual celebrating the 40th day after birth").

Compound words are formed by combining two separate roots, each having distinct meanings, to create a new lexical meaning. Sometimes, the complexity of their structure is not evident in speech, and their compound nature is only detectable through historical-etymological analysis.

In the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan, ethnographisms formed through compounding are frequently encountered. Examples include: *kindikkeser* ("umbilical cord-cutting ceremony"), *sutaqy* ("payment for nursing a child"), *ittime* ("dog-related ritual"), *kozmonshaq* ("amulet against the evil eye"), *qalynmal* ("bride price"), *atbailar* ("customary horse-tying gift"), *toibastar* ("starting the celebration"), *shashsipatar* ("symbolic hair-touching gift"), *korpeqiymyldatar* ("ritual movement of blankets"), *kulshashar* ("sprinkling ash ceremony"), *qolustatar* ("ceremonial handshake or gift-exchange ritual").

Reduplication is one of the productive methods enriching lexical inventory with new meanings. Consequently, this method occasionally contributes to lexical formation in ethnocultural vocabulary. Examples include: *urp-adet* ("customs and traditions"), *zhar-zhar* (a ceremonial wedding song), *tai-tai*, *qaz- qaz* (words encouraging babies to walk). However, such words occur infrequently.

In conclusion, the analysis of the structure of compound ethnographisms in the language of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan indicates that word compounding is the most productive method in ethnographism formation. Within compound ethnographisms, those of the "noun + noun" and "noun + verb" structures hold the most prominent position.

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