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THE EXPRESSION OF THE CONCEPTS OF “FRIEND” AND “ENEMY” IN KARAKALPAK CULTURE

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the linguistic and axiological representation of the concepts of “friend” and “enemy” in Karakalpak culture. The study identifies the principal lexical units through which these concepts are verbalized and explains their semantic, evaluative, emotional, and cultural components. Drawing on Karakalpak explanatory dictionaries, selected proverbial expressions, and established theories of linguistic evaluation, the analysis applies descriptive, componential, comparative, and linguocultural methods. The findings show that the concept of friend functions as a positively evaluated cultural value associated with loyalty, trust, mutual assistance, emotional closeness, respect, tolerance, and support. By contrast, the concept of enemy functions as a negatively evaluated anti-value associated with betrayal, distrust, harm, estrangement, envy, confrontation, and hostile intent. The opposition between the two concepts forms a culturally meaningful binary model through which interpersonal behavior and moral expectations are evaluated in Karakalpak linguistic consciousness.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Language is often described as a mirror of culture because it records a community’s worldview, value system, social experience, and models of interpersonal behavior. Culture-specific key words can encode historically developed social meanings and shared values, while cultural conceptualizations provide a framework for explaining how such meanings are distributed across a speech community (Sharifian, 2017a, 2017b; Wierzbicka, 1997). In contemporary linguistics, the concept has therefore become an important analytical category for investigating the relationship between language, cognition, and culture. A concept is not limited to the dictionary meaning of a word; it also contains evaluative, emotional, historical, and culturally specific associations.

Evaluation is central to the linguistic representation of cultural concepts. It is a semantic and discourse-pragmatic process through which speakers express positive or negative attitudes toward a person, object, action, event, or state of affairs (Martin & White, 2005; Volf, 1985). Consequently, concepts connected with human relations are commonly organized around oppositions such as good and bad, valuable and harmful, close and alien, reliable and dangerous. In Karakalpak culture, the concepts of friend and enemy occupy a particularly important place within this axiological system.

The two concepts form a binary opposition that provides culturally recognizable criteria for evaluating relationships between people. Friend represents a cluster of positive qualities, including loyalty,

trust, support, companionship, and moral closeness. Enemy represents a cluster of negative qualities, including hostility, betrayal, distrust, harm, and opposition. Research on belonging and relational models explains why durable attachment, communal sharing, and mutual obligation are central to close relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Fiske, 1992), whereas research on intergroup relations cautions that attachment to insiders and hostility toward outsiders are related but not identical processes (Brewer, 1999). The meanings of friend and enemy have developed not only through lexical definitions but also through the historical experience, social organization, oral traditions, and moral values of the Karakalpak people.

The purpose of this study is to identify the main lexical-semantic realizations of the concepts of friend and enemy in the Karakalpak language and to describe their axiological structure. The article also demonstrates how the opposition between the two concepts reflects broader patterns of Karakalpak cultural consciousness. The analysis focuses on dictionary definitions, culturally marked lexical variants, proverbial expressions, and the evaluative features attributed to each concept.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

The category of evaluation has been examined from semantic, discourse, and philosophical perspectives. Volf (1985) established a functional-semantic account of evaluative meaning, while Martin and White (2005) demonstrated how attitudes, judgments, and affect are linguistically organized and negotiated in discourse. These approaches support the treatment of friend and enemy not merely as denotational labels but as lexical units that carry positive or negative cultural positioning.

Lexical-semantic research further shows that word meaning is context-sensitive, conceptually structured, and connected with encyclopedic knowledge (Evans, 2009; Geeraerts, 2010). Cross-linguistic semantic analysis is particularly important for culture-laden social words because apparently equivalent terms can encode different cultural histories, relationship expectations, and emotional associations (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2013; Wierzbicka, 1997).

From a cognitive-ethnolinguistic perspective, culturally significant lexical units participate in a linguistic worldview through which a community interprets and evaluates experience (Bartmiński, 2009). Cultural Linguistics similarly treats language as a repository of culturally grounded conceptualizations (Sharifian, 2017a, 2017b), while research on metaphor and cultural models explains how figurative and embodied associations contribute to culturally variable meanings (Kövecses, 2005). In the social domain, the positive value of affiliation and the negative evaluation of threat can also be interpreted through research on belonging, in-group attachment, and differentiated emotional responses to perceived danger (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brewer, 1999; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). These perspectives justify analyzing friend and enemy as interconnected axiological concepts rather than as isolated dictionary entries.

The material for the present study was drawn from Volumes 1, 3, 4, and 5 of the 2023 Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language, together with the Karakalpak proverbial and literary examples reported in the source material (Qaraqalpaq tiliniń túsindirme sózligi, 2023). The study used descriptive analysis to identify lexical meanings, componential analysis to distinguish semantic features, comparative analysis to contrast the two conceptual fields, and linguocultural analysis to interpret their cultural and evaluative significance. The research is qualitative and does not claim statistical representativeness. Sociolinguistic observations about age- or gender-associated usage are treated as tendencies in contemporary speech rather than absolute rules.

Karakalpak lexical items are presented in italics, followed by an English gloss. English translations of proverbial and literary examples are provided by the author for explanatory purposes.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Lexical-Semantic Realization of the Concept of “Friend”

In Karakalpak culture, the concept of friend is a positively evaluated linguocultural unit that represents an important type of interpersonal relationship. Its content extends beyond the neutral identification of a person and includes ethnic norms, social expectations, emotional attachment, and moral values. The conceptual field is verbalized through several lexical units whose meanings partially overlap but differ in social nuance, degree of closeness, gender association, or communicative context.

Table 1. Principal Karakalpak lexical realizations of "friend" and "enemy"

Concept	Lexical unit	Core meaning	Cultural or usage note
Friend	*jora*	A male peer, companion, or close friend	Frequent in informal speech among men; may occur in paired expressions referring to companionship.
Friend	*joldas*	A fellow traveler; a respected person close in worldview, social environment, conduct, or feeling	Combines the meanings of companion, associate, and socially or emotionally close person.
Friend	*ashna*	An acquaintance, intimate companion, or close friend	Often implies familiarity and emotional closeness; culturally associated with established male friendship.
Friend	*tuwısqan*	A relative or sibling; figuratively, a brother-like friend	Kinship vocabulary is extended metaphorically to close friendship.
Friend	*bawır*	Literally "liver"; figuratively, a close relative, brother, or dear companion	Expresses affection, intimacy, and solidarity.
Friend	*qurbı*	A female peer or female friend	Traditionally associated with friendship among girls or women; more literary in some contexts.
Friend	*qurdas*	An age-mate or peer	Used for both male and female peers; also occurs in the paired form qurbı-qurdas.
Enemy	*jaw*	Enemy, foe	The most direct and widely used lexical realization of hostility.
Enemy	*jat*	Stranger, outsider, alien person	May acquire a negative meaning through social distance, unfamiliarity, or opposition.
Enemy	*qarsılas*	Opponent, adversary	Emphasizes confrontation, resistance, or opposing position.
Enemy	*qas*	A malicious, hostile, or harmful enemy	Highlights deliberate ill will and the intention to cause harm.

Note. Definitions are synthesized from the relevant entries in the Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language (2023, Vols. 1, 3, 4, and 5).

The noun *jora* denotes a male peer, age-mate, companion, or friend. The dictionary definition emphasizes equality of age and social proximity (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 3, p. 367). In contemporary speech, the term is especially productive among male speakers. It may also appear in paired expressions with words meaning companion or fellow traveler, thereby strengthening the idea of shared experience.

The noun *joldas* has two connected meanings. First, it denotes a person who travels together with someone. Second, it refers to a respected person who is close in worldview, social environment, conduct,

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or emotional disposition (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 3, p. 365). The term therefore combines physical companionship with social and moral closeness. It is productive in both spoken and literary Karakalpak.

The word *ashna* refers to an acquaintance, intimate companion, or emotionally close friend (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 1, p. 239). Its semantic field includes familiarity, mutual recognition, and established personal closeness. The proverb "Oshna bo'lish oson, ayrilish qiyin" may be translated as "It is easy to become friends, but difficult to part." The related expression *ashna-yor-do'st* accumulates several meanings—companion, associate, intimate friend, and familiar person—and presents friendship as a socially meaningful bond.

Kinship terms may also be metaphorically extended to friendship. *Tuwısqan* primarily denotes a relative or a person born within the same family, but in colloquial speech it may be used by young men as a brother-like form of address to a close friend. The word *bawır* literally refers to the liver as an organ, yet figuratively it expresses kinship, affection, and emotional closeness. In friendly interaction it may function as an equivalent of "brother," "dear companion," or "close friend." Such usage demonstrates that friendship is conceptualized through the culturally powerful model of kinship.

The term *qurbı* denotes a contemporary, age-mate, female peer, or female friend (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 5, p. 42). It is traditionally associated with friendship among girls and women, although the more general word for friend is increasingly common in everyday speech. *Qurdas* similarly denotes an age-mate or peer and can be used for both male and female speakers. The paired form *qurbı-qurdas* collectively refers to one's peers and friends.

3.2. Lexical-Semantic Realization of the Concept of "Enemy"

The concept of enemy is a complex linguocultural unit that represents hostility, threat, conflict, social distance, and deliberate opposition. It may denote a concrete hostile person or group, but it can also express an abstract state of antagonism. The relevant lexical units differ according to whether they emphasize direct hostility, foreignness, opposition, or malicious intent.

The noun *jaw* directly means "enemy" or "foe" (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 3, p. 336). It is widely used in both literary and spoken Karakalpak. The proverb "Attı baqsań ardaqlap, jawǵa bermes tar jerde" may be rendered as "If you care for a horse properly, it will not surrender you to the enemy in a difficult place." Another proverb, "Xan kóp bolsa, jaw kóp boladı," means "Where there are many khans, there are many enemies." These examples connect the concept of enemy with danger, political rivalry, and the need for preparedness and loyalty.

The word *jat* means "stranger," "outsider," or "alien person" (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 3, p. 335). Although it does not always mean enemy, it may develop a negative evaluative meaning when social distance and unfamiliarity are associated with distrust or opposition. A traditional expression states: "A relative may not recognize that his kinsman has gone astray, but a stranger will; the owner may not notice that the rear girth has slipped, but the horse will." The proverb contrasts insider and outsider knowledge and shows that the stranger can occupy an ambivalent cultural position: socially distant, yet perceptive.

The word *qarsılas* is derived from the idea of standing opposite or acting against someone. It denotes an opponent or adversary and highlights confrontation rather than necessarily permanent hatred. Related constructions meaning "to oppose," "to speak against," "the opposing side," and "to resist" belong to the same semantic field (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 4, p. 363). The lexical unit thus represents enemyhood as active resistance or conflict between positions.

The noun *qas* denotes a person who wishes harm upon another—an enemy, hostile person, or malicious adversary (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Karakalpak Language*, 2023, Vol. 4, p. 369). A line attributed to the Karakalpak poet Berdaq, "Xiywalı menen qas bolıp, Xojanazar batır bas bolıp," can be translated approximately as "They became enemies of the Khivans, with Khojanazar Batyr at their head."

The term is particularly characteristic of literary and historical discourse, while *jaw* and the general word meaning enemy are more frequent in ordinary speech.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. "Friend" as a Positive Cultural Value

In the Karakalpak worldview, friend belongs to the domain of highly valued interpersonal relations. The concept is structured around a set of positive attributes that define the moral expectations associated with genuine friendship. The most prominent features are loyalty, trust, mutual assistance, closeness, respect, tolerance, support, and companionship.

Loyalty is one of the central features of friendship. A genuine friend is expected to remain faithful, avoid betrayal, and preserve the relationship under difficult circumstances. Loyalty provides stability and transforms friendship from a temporary association into a durable moral commitment.

Trust is the foundation of open and sincere communication. Friendship presupposes the possibility of speaking freely without constant suspicion. Where trust is present, emotional and moral ties deepen; where trust disappears, the relationship becomes unstable and may move toward alienation or hostility.

Mutual assistance is the practical expression of friendship. In Karakalpak cultural consciousness, a friend is not merely a pleasant companion but a person who provides help in times of difficulty. This feature demonstrates that friendship has both emotional and behavioral dimensions. It is evaluated through what a person does, especially when another person is vulnerable or in need.

Closeness represents the spiritual and emotional dimension of the concept. Friends share experiences, feelings, and ways of understanding the world. Such closeness distinguishes friendship from formal acquaintance and creates the sense that two people are "on the same wavelength." The metaphorical use of kinship terms such as *tuwısqan* and *bawır* confirms that close friendship may be conceptualized as chosen kinship.

Respect and appreciation form the ethical basis of friendship. True friends recognize one another as equal persons, value each other's dignity, and preserve fairness and mutual understanding. Respect prevents closeness from becoming domination and allows the relationship to remain balanced and enduring.

Tolerance refers to the ability to understand imperfections, forgive mistakes, and preserve goodwill despite differences. In this respect, friendship is not based on complete similarity but on the willingness to accept another person without abandoning moral responsibility. Tolerance helps prevent minor disagreements from developing into lasting conflict.

Support and companionship complete the axiological structure of the concept. Support includes encouragement, emotional solidarity, and practical help. Companionship refers to shared movement toward a goal, participation in common activities, and continuity of the relationship across time. Together, these features explain why friend functions as a positive cultural value rather than merely a neutral social label.

4.2. "Enemy" as a Negative Anti-Value

Enemy is evaluated negatively because it concentrates actions, intentions, and emotional attitudes that threaten social and moral order. Its principal features are betrayal, distrust, harm, distance, envy, confrontation, premeditated malice, and hostile intent.

Betrayal is one of the strongest markers of enemyhood because it destroys a relationship previously based on trust. In Karakalpak cultural evaluation, betrayal is treated as a serious moral violation. It breaks interpersonal bonds and may transform a former friend or ally into an enemy.

Distrust characterizes relationships in which openness is absent and each person views the other with suspicion. It increases psychological and social distance, obstructs cooperation, and creates conditions in which conflict can deepen. Distrust is therefore both a symptom and a mechanism of hostile relations.

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Harm is the practical manifestation of enmity. An enemy is understood as someone who seeks to damage another person's life, reputation, property, social standing, or emotional well-being. The anticipated harm may be physical, material, social, or moral. This feature distinguishes an enemy from a simple stranger or temporary opponent.

Distance and estrangement represent the emotional and social separation between people who no longer understand, hear, or trust one another. The word *jat* demonstrates how the meaning of outsider can move toward negative evaluation when unfamiliarity is interpreted as alienness or potential threat. Nevertheless, the lexical evidence also shows that stranger and enemy are not identical; cultural context determines whether distance becomes hostility.

Envy is a negative response to another person's success, happiness, or favorable condition. It may produce internal resentment and motivate antagonistic behavior. Within the conceptual field of enemy, envy explains how hostility may arise not only from open conflict but also from concealed dissatisfaction with another person's achievements.

Confrontation is expressed by the concept of the opponent or adversary. It involves disagreement, conflict, and actions directed against another side. Unlike permanent enmity, opposition can be situational; however, repeated confrontation may develop into stable hostile relations.

Premeditated malice and hostile intent reveal the internal motivational basis of enemyhood. They refer to consciously planning harmful actions, maintaining ill will, or seeking an opportunity to injure another person. The lexical unit *qas* emphasizes precisely this deliberate and morally condemned dimension.

4.3. The Binary Axiological Model

The comparative analysis demonstrates that friend and enemy are not simply two unrelated social labels. They form an integrated binary model in which the meaning of each concept becomes clearer through contrast with the other. Loyalty is opposed to betrayal, trust to distrust, assistance to harm, closeness to estrangement, respect to hostility, and support to obstruction. The positive features of friendship are made more visible when compared with the negative features of enmity, while hostile behavior is judged against the moral standards established by friendship. This pattern is consistent with relational models that distinguish communal solidarity from adversarial or threatening relations (Fiske, 1992), and with evidence that out-group hostility should not be treated as a simple automatic consequence of in-group attachment (Brewer, 1999; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

This opposition also reveals that Karakalpak linguistic consciousness draws a strong distinction between socially constructive and socially destructive relations. Friend represents a person who strengthens solidarity and shared life; enemy represents a person or force that threatens security, dignity, trust, or group unity. At the same time, the lexical system contains intermediate categories. A stranger is not automatically an enemy, and an opponent is not necessarily motivated by hatred. Such distinctions show that the conceptual model is structured rather than simplistic.

The use of kinship vocabulary for close friends is especially significant. It indicates that the highest degree of friendship is understood through the cultural model of family solidarity. Conversely, the movement from outsider to enemy reflects the role of social distance and perceived threat in negative evaluation. The friend-enemy opposition therefore provides insight into broader Karakalpak understandings of belonging, responsibility, loyalty, and moral danger.

5. CONCLUSION

The study has shown that the concepts of friend and enemy constitute an important axiological opposition in Karakalpak language and culture. The concept of friend is verbalized through several lexical units, including jora, joldas, ashna, tuwısqan, bawır, qurbı, and qurdas. These words differ in social nuance and usage but collectively represent companionship, emotional proximity, kin-like solidarity, and peer

relations. The concept of enemy is expressed through jaw, jat, qarsılas, and qas, which emphasize direct hostility, foreignness, opposition, and malicious intent, respectively.

Axiologically, friend functions as a positive value associated with loyalty, trust, mutual assistance, closeness, respect, tolerance, support, and companionship. Enemy functions as a negative anti-value associated with betrayal, distrust, harm, estrangement, envy, confrontation, and hostile intention. The contrast between these semantic features forms a culturally meaningful model for evaluating interpersonal conduct.

The analysis confirms that the two concepts should be studied as an interconnected linguocultural system. Each concept helps define the boundaries and moral content of the other. Through this opposition, the Karakalpak language encodes culturally significant distinctions between solidarity and threat, belonging and alienation, constructive cooperation and destructive conflict. Further research may expand the corpus by examining folklore, literary texts, contemporary media, and naturally occurring spoken discourse in order to trace historical change, gender variation, and generational differences in the use of these lexical units.

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COMMUNICATIVE AND PRAGMATIC FEATURES OF COMPUTATIONAL LINGUISTICS TERMINOLOGY IN ENGLISH AND UZBEK

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how computational linguistics terminology performs communicative and pragmatic functions in English and Uzbek scientific discourse. It adopts an exploratory qualitative comparative design and analyzes 21 English-Uzbek term entries representing core concepts in natural language processing, machine translation, corpus linguistics, and contemporary language-model research. The terms are classified according to their principal transfer strategy—international borrowing, calque or hybrid formation, and descriptive or competing translation—and are then interpreted in relation to precision, economy, audience accessibility, conceptual transparency, and compatibility with international research. The analysis shows that the contrast between the two languages is not adequately described as a simple opposition between concise English terms and explanatory Uzbek terms. Instead, Uzbek terminology operates through a layered system in which internationalisms such as token, parser, and transformer coexist with transparent formations such as tabiiy tilni qayta ishlash and so‘z turkumlarini belgilash. First-mention glossing, parallel use of English forms, and hybrid constructions function as pragmatic resources for managing differences in specialist knowledge. The paper argues that future standardization should be evidence-based, concept-oriented, and sensitive to actual disciplinary usage. It also proposes practical principles for building a stable Uzbek terminology resource for computational linguistics.

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Keywords: *computational linguistics; terminology; English; Uzbek; scientific communication; pragmatics; terminology standardization.*

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1. Introduction

Computational linguistics has developed into a rapidly changing interdisciplinary field that connects linguistics, computer science, artificial intelligence, cognitive science, and information engineering. Its terminology therefore carries more than a naming function. Terms identify concepts, organize relationships among those concepts, enable researchers to compare methods, and signal membership in a professional community. Expressions such as corpus, parser, token, language model, part-of-speech tagging, named entity recognition, and transformer architecture provide compact access to complex bodies of knowledge. Their effectiveness, however, depends on whether writers and readers share the conceptual background required to interpret them.

The communicative value of terminology is particularly visible when specialized knowledge moves between languages. English currently supplies a large proportion of the vocabulary used in computational linguistics and natural language processing (NLP). Uzbek researchers, teachers, translators, and students must consequently decide whether to borrow an English form, adapt it phonologically or orthographically, construct

an Uzbek equivalent, combine both forms, or explain the concept descriptively. Each choice has consequences. A borrowed term may preserve international recognizability but remain opaque to non-specialists. A transparent Uzbek equivalent may support learning but become long or unstable. A hybrid form may offer a compromise, although uncontrolled variation can weaken searchability and terminological consistency.

These choices are communicative because they affect the efficient transfer of disciplinary information, and they are pragmatic because their appropriateness depends on the audience, purpose, genre, and stage of concept introduction. A specialist article, a university textbook, a classroom explanation, and a public-facing technology report do not require identical terminological practices. The same term can therefore be presented differently without changing its underlying concept. For example, a specialist may use token without explanation, whereas an introductory Uzbek text may present token together with a brief definition or an English equivalent. The difference reflects audience design rather than a defect in either language.

Against this background, the present study defines an explicit term sample, specifies a transparent analytical procedure, and limits its conclusions to an exploratory qualitative analysis. It addresses three research questions: (1) Which transfer strategies are visible in a selected set of English-Uzbek computational linguistics terms? (2) What communicative and pragmatic functions do those strategies perform? (3) What principles can support the future standardization of Uzbek computational linguistics terminology?

2. Theoretical Background and Related Research

2.1 Terminology as a communicative system

Classical and contemporary terminology studies treat terms as units located at the intersection of concepts, linguistic forms, and specialized communication. Sager (1990) explicitly includes a communicative dimension in terminology processing, while Cabré (1999) describes terminology as an interdisciplinary field connected with linguistics, communication, documentation, and computer science. ISO 1087:2019 distinguishes concepts from their designations and defines terminology work as the systematic collection, description, processing, and presentation of concepts and their designations. ISO 704:2022 further emphasizes concept analysis, concept relations, definitions, and the assignment of designations. These frameworks are important for the present study because they prevent a term from being evaluated only as an isolated word. A suitable equivalent must represent the intended concept, fit the relevant concept system, and function effectively in use.

Terminological communication involves both economy and explicitness. Specialists often prefer short, conventional forms because repeated explanation would interrupt disciplinary communication. At the same time, excessive compression can create barriers for students, adjacent disciplines, and general audiences. Lucy et al. (2023) show that discipline-specific words and senses can facilitate in-group communication while limiting interdisciplinary accessibility. The communicative success of a term is therefore relational: it depends not only on linguistic brevity but also on the knowledge shared by participants.

2.2 Context, variation, and pragmatic adaptation

Traditional terminology theory frequently prioritized univocity and standardization, but later approaches placed greater emphasis on variation, categorization, and actual discourse. Temmerman (2000) argues for a sociocognitive approach that recognizes the role of perspective, function, and intention in terminological description. Kageura (2002) similarly demonstrates that term formation is systematic and dynamic rather than static. Pearson (1998) and Bowker and Pearson (2002) show how specialized corpora can reveal terms, definitions, contextual patterns, and variation in authentic texts. Taken together, these works support a usage-based analysis in which competing forms are documented before one form is prescribed.

Pragmatics concerns the interpretation of linguistic forms in relation to users, contexts, intentions, and communicative goals. In computational research, context is also a technical object: systems model linguistic context, dialogue history, shared tasks, and environmental information. Fried et al. (2023) demonstrate that pragmatic interpretation in language technologies depends on multiple kinds of context and communicative affordances. For terminology, the relevant implication is that a designation should not be judged independently of its setting. The use of an English borrowing may be entirely appropriate in a research paper addressed to specialists but insufficient in a first-year textbook unless it is defined. Conversely, replacing every international

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term with a lengthy descriptive phrase may reduce compatibility with software interfaces, indexing systems, and international publications.

2.3 Computational linguistics as a rapidly developing domain

Computational linguistics terminology changes quickly because the underlying technologies change quickly. Foundational textbooks established terms for corpora, tokenization, parsing, tagging, statistical models, and speech processing (Manning & Schütze, 1999; Bird et al., 2009; Jurafsky & Martin, 2009). More recent language-model research has expanded the active vocabulary with transformer, embedding, prompt, context window, fine-tuning, and related expressions. New terms can enter Uzbek discourse through research articles, software documentation, courses, news media, and translation practice at different times. As a result, several equivalents may circulate before a stable convention develops.

Bilingual terminology also has practical consequences for language technology. Arcan et al. (2014) showed that extracting and integrating bilingual domain terminology can improve machine translation in computer-assisted translation settings. Antia (2000) connects terminology planning with access to specialized knowledge and argues that sustainable terminology work must consider texts, technology, knowledge representation, and language planning. For Uzbek computational linguistics, standardization is therefore not only a linguistic concern; it affects education, translation, search, data annotation, software localization, and the development of language resources.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1 Research design

The study uses an exploratory qualitative comparative design. It does not claim to represent the complete English or Uzbek terminology of computational linguistics, nor does it estimate frequencies across a large corpus. Its purpose is to identify recurring communicative and pragmatic patterns in a transparent, limited sample and to formulate hypotheses for larger corpus-based and expert-validation studies.

3.2 Term sample

The analytical sample contains 21 English terms and corresponding Uzbek forms. The starting items were the terms explicitly discussed in the original manuscript, including parser, corpus, token, machine translation, part-of-speech tagging, neural language model, transformer architecture, model, and context window. The list was expanded with closely related concepts that are established in standard NLP literature, such as natural language processing, named entity recognition, neural network, training data, embedding, prompt, and fine-tuning. English conceptual usage was cross-checked against established NLP textbooks and current terminology literature. The Uzbek forms are treated as documented analytical candidates and common formations, not as officially approved national standards.

This distinction is essential. The present paper evaluates how the forms work communicatively and pragmatically; it does not assert that every Uzbek equivalent is universally accepted. Where more than one form is plausible or already visible in professional use, both are retained in the analysis. Such variation is itself relevant evidence because it indicates that a concept has not yet reached full terminological stabilization.

3.3 Analytical categories

Each term pairing was coded according to its dominant transfer strategy. International borrowing includes forms transferred with little or no structural translation, including established internationalisms. Calque or hybrid formation includes terms whose components are translated or combined with international elements. Descriptive or competing translation includes longer explanatory forms and cases in which a borrowing coexists with a more transparent Uzbek alternative. The categories are heuristic rather than absolute: a form such as transformer arxitekturasi is simultaneously a borrowing and a calque, and annotatsiya/belgilash presents competition between an internationalism and a native explanatory form.

The communicative analysis considered precision, brevity, conceptual differentiation, compatibility with international scholarship, and retrievability in digital environments. The pragmatic analysis considered audience expertise, first-mention explanation, pedagogical transparency, genre, and the likelihood that a form would require an English gloss. Coding was conducted at the level of the term pairing and its likely use in academic and educational discourse. Because the study is interpretive, no inferential statistics were applied.

4. Results

4.1 Distribution of transfer strategies

The sample reveals three broad patterns. Six items are dominated by borrowing or established internationalism, eight are primarily calques or hybrid formations, and seven involve descriptive or competing translations. This distribution indicates that Uzbek computational linguistics terminology does not rely on one uniform strategy. Instead, it combines internationally recognizable forms with locally transparent expressions. The strategy selected is related to the morphological structure of the English term, the degree to which its components already have established Uzbek equivalents, and the expected familiarity of the target audience.

Table 1. Communicative and pragmatic analysis of selected English-Uzbek computational linguistics terms

English term	Uzbek form	Transfer strategy	Communicative-pragmatic observation
corpus	*korpus*	Internationalism / transliteration	Compact and searchable; normally transparent to specialists but may require definition for beginners.
token	*token*	Direct borrowing	Preserves compatibility with software and research; its technical sense differs from general-language meanings and should be defined initially.
parser	*parser*	Direct borrowing	Provides precise professional reference; efficient in specialist discourse but relatively opaque outside the field.
algorithm	*algoritm*	Established internationalism	Highly conventional across technical domains; requires little additional explanation in academic contexts.
model	*model*	Established internationalism	Economical but polysemous; pragmatic interpretation depends on modifiers such as language, statistical, or neural.
chatbot	*chatbot*	Direct borrowing	Immediately links the Uzbek text to a globally recognizable technology; an explanatory gloss may help general audiences.
computational linguistics	*kompyuter lingvistikasi*	Hybrid calque	Combines an international technical modifier with an established linguistic term; supports both recognition and local readability.
machine translation	*mashinali tarjima*	Calque	Transparent to Uzbek readers and closely aligned with the English concept; suitable across specialist and educational genres.
neural network	*neyron tarmoq*	Hybrid calque	Retains the international scientific element neyron while translating network; conceptually accessible with moderate background knowledge.
language model	*til modeli*	Calque	Short and transparent, but the technical meaning of model must be supplied by context.
context window	*kontekst oynasi*	Hybrid calque	Concise and structurally parallel to English; metaphorical meaning may require explanation at first use.
speech recognition	*nutqni tanish*	Calque	Communicates the task clearly to non-specialists, though technical implementations remain context-dependent.
training data	*o‘qitish ma’lumotlari*	Calque	Pedagogically transparent; may compete with borrowed machine-learning phrasing in highly technical communities.
transformer architecture	*transformer arxitekturasi*	Borrowing + calque	Maintains the fixed model-family name while translating the generic head; supports international retrieval.
neural language model	*neyron til modeli*	Hybrid calque	Preserves compact conceptual structure and allows easy comparison with related model terms.
natural language processing	*tabiiy tilni qayta ishlash*	Descriptive calque	Highly transparent for Uzbek readers but longer than NLP; abbreviation and English gloss improve specialist usability.
part-of-speech tagging	*so‘z turkumlarini belgilash*	Descriptive translation	Explains the linguistic operation directly; English abbreviation POS tagging may be retained for software and literature searches.
named entity recognition	*nomlangan obyektlarni aniqlash*	Descriptive translation	Conceptually informative for learners; terminology for entity/obyekt may vary and therefore requires standardization.
embedding	*embedding / vektorli ifoda*	Competing borrowing and explanation	Borrowing supports international compatibility; the descriptive alternative improves conceptual access but may not cover every technical use.
prompt	*prompt / so‘rov yoki ko‘rsatma matni*	Competing borrowing and explanation	The English form dominates specialist usage; an explanatory Uzbek phrase clarifies that a prompt may contain instructions rather than a simple question.
fine-tuning	*nozik sozlash / qo‘shimcha moslashtirish*	Competing descriptive forms	Both forms make the adaptation process visible; consistent definition is needed because fine-tuning covers several technical procedures.

4.2 Borrowing and international recognizability

Borrowed terms are most effective when the English form is already highly stable, short, and closely connected with software interfaces or model names. Token and parser illustrate this pattern. Translating them differently in every text could reduce searchability and make it difficult for students to connect Uzbek explanations with English-language documentation. Transformer is even more resistant to replacement because

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it identifies a specific architecture family and appears in model names, repositories, diagrams, and code. In these cases, borrowing performs a communicative function of intertextual alignment: it allows the Uzbek text to remain connected to the international technical environment.

Borrowing nevertheless creates pragmatic obligations. A form can be internationally recognizable to specialists while remaining semantically inaccessible to novice readers. Token is a clear example because its technical meaning varies according to the tokenization procedure and cannot be inferred safely from ordinary language. Parser similarly identifies a component or procedure whose operation depends on the grammatical formalism and system architecture. The appropriate solution is not necessarily replacement with a long native phrase. First-mention definition, parenthetical explanation, or a bilingual glossary may preserve both precision and accessibility.

4.3 Calques and hybrid formations

Calques and hybrid terms form the largest group in the sample. Their communicative advantage is structural transparency. Mashinali tarjima, til modeli, neyron tarmoq, and nutqni tanish reproduce the conceptual relationships of the English expressions while using elements that are familiar in Uzbek academic language. These forms are comparatively economical and can be extended systematically: til modeli can combine with neyron, statistik, ko‘p tilli, or katta to produce related terms. Such productivity is important because a terminology system must support concept families rather than isolated equivalents.

Hybrid constructions also reflect a pragmatic compromise. In transformer arxitekturasi, the fixed international label transformer is preserved, while the generic category architecture is adapted as arxitektura. In kompyuter lingvistikasi and neyron til modeli, internationally shared scientific elements coexist with Uzbek grammatical structure. These forms reduce the distance between local and global discourse without requiring readers to process a fully English phrase. However, hybridization should remain consistent. Competing spellings, inconsistent word order, and unnecessary alternation between borrowed and translated heads can obstruct indexing and teaching.

4.4 Descriptive translation and audience accessibility

Descriptive translations are especially useful when the English term compresses an operation that Uzbek readers may not immediately recognize. Tabiiy tilni qayta ishlash, so‘z turkumlarini belgilash, and nomlangan obyektlarni aniqlash explain what the process does. Their pragmatic strength is pedagogical: they activate familiar linguistic concepts and lower the entry barrier for students. They are also suitable in titles, abstracts, policy documents, and public communication where unexplained English jargon would restrict access.

The limitation is length and potential conceptual imprecision. Part-of-speech tagging is often abbreviated as POS tagging in international literature and implemented under that label in libraries and datasets. An Uzbek text that uses only the descriptive form may be understandable locally but difficult to connect with external resources. The most functional practice is therefore paired presentation at first mention—for example, so‘z turkumlarini belgilash (part-of-speech tagging, POS tagging)—followed by a consistent short form. This is a pragmatic strategy of staged introduction: maximum explanation is provided when the concept first appears, and economy increases after shared understanding has been established.

4.5 Competing forms and unstable concepts

Embedding, prompt, and fine-tuning illustrate a different problem: the English terms have entered professional communication faster than stable Uzbek equivalents have developed. Vektorli ifoda can help explain embedding, but it may not capture all uses of embeddings as learned representations located in a vector space. So‘rov matni can explain one type of prompt, yet prompt may also include instructions, demonstrations, system messages, images, or multimodal inputs. Nozik sozlash is concise and increasingly interpretable, whereas qo‘shimcha moslashtirish may communicate the process more clearly in introductory texts. These cases show why terminology standardization must begin with concept analysis rather than literal translation.

Competing forms should initially be documented rather than suppressed. Corpus evidence can reveal which forms specialists actually use, in which genres, and with what meanings. Expert panels can then evaluate conceptual accuracy, linguistic acceptability, derivational potential, and compatibility with related terms. Premature prescription risks approving an elegant translation that practitioners do not adopt, while unrestricted

borrowing can produce an inaccessible technical register. The pragmatic objective is controlled variation: preferred terms should be identified, but admitted synonyms and English equivalents may remain visible where they support communication.

5. Discussion

The findings revise the binary claim that English terminology is communicative whereas Uzbek terminology is pragmatic. Both systems perform both functions. English terms are not automatically precise merely because they are short; their precision depends on disciplinary convention and contextual specification. Model, context, and token are highly economical, but each has multiple possible interpretations. Uzbek descriptive forms are not automatically imprecise merely because they are longer; they can make conceptual operations explicit and thereby improve communication. The relevant difference lies in the distribution of communicative burdens. English often assumes a larger body of shared international convention, whereas Uzbek texts more frequently need to establish that convention for local audiences.

This interpretation is consistent with the communicative theory of terminology and with corpus-based approaches that treat terms as textual units. Terms participate in definitions, explanations, classifications, examples, and argumentation. Their meaning is reinforced by recurring collocations and by their position in a concept system. A national terminology resource should therefore record more than one-word equivalents. Each entry should include a definition, English and Uzbek designations, abbreviations, grammatical information, admitted variants, context examples, source information, and relations to broader, narrower, and associated concepts. ISO 704:2022 and ISO 1087:2019 provide an appropriate conceptual foundation for such work.

The analysis also has implications for academic writing. First, authors should introduce potentially unfamiliar terms through bilingual or definitional support rather than alternating randomly between forms. Second, the selected form should remain consistent throughout a paper unless variation itself is under discussion. Third, English abbreviations should be retained when they are required for connection with established datasets, evaluation tasks, or software libraries. Fourth, translators should verify the underlying concept before selecting an equivalent; formal similarity alone is insufficient. Finally, editors should distinguish between an approved term, an attested variant, and an explanatory paraphrase.

For education, a layered presentation model is recommended. At the introductory level, an Uzbek preferred term can be followed by the English term and abbreviation. At intermediate levels, bilingual glossaries and concept maps can show relations among terms such as token, tokenization, vocabulary, embedding, model, and training data. At advanced levels, English and Uzbek forms can be used flexibly according to genre, while students are trained to identify conceptual differences and terminological variation. This progression preserves access without isolating students from international scholarship.

For terminology planning, the study suggests a five-stage workflow. The first stage is corpus construction using Uzbek research articles, theses, textbooks, course materials, software documentation, and professionally edited translations. The second is automatic and manual term extraction. The third is concept-oriented comparison with authoritative English sources and existing multilingual resources. The fourth is expert validation involving computational linguists, Uzbek linguists, translators, software developers, and educators. The fifth is publication in an openly accessible, versioned terminology database. Because the domain changes rapidly, each entry should record its validation date and revision history. This approach would transform isolated translation decisions into a sustainable terminology infrastructure.

6. Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The study has several limitations. The sample is small and purposive, so the numerical distribution of strategies cannot be generalized to the entire field. The Uzbek forms were analyzed as candidates and common formations rather than as results from a balanced national corpus. No user experiment was conducted to measure comprehension, preference, or processing speed among specialists and students. The categories also overlap: hybrid terms may contain borrowing and calquing simultaneously, while descriptive forms may become conventionalized and lose their explanatory character over time.

Further research should build a comparable English-Uzbek corpus and examine term frequency, variant competition, first-mention practices, collocations, and changes over time. A comprehension study could

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compare borrowed, translated, and paired forms among undergraduate students, language specialists, and NLP practitioners. Expert validation should assess conceptual equivalence and derivational productivity. Research is also needed on terminology in Uzbek-language software interfaces, datasets, annotation guidelines, and machine-translated technical texts. Such evidence would allow future recommendations to move from exploratory interpretation to empirically supported standardization.

7. Conclusion

Computational linguistics terminology in English and Uzbek performs interconnected communicative and pragmatic functions. English terms provide access to an international professional code, but their economy depends on shared specialist knowledge. Uzbek terminology combines borrowings, calques, hybrids, and descriptive translations in order to maintain international compatibility while supporting local comprehension. The most effective forms are not necessarily the shortest or the most fully translated; they are the forms that represent concepts accurately, fit their discourse context, and allow readers to connect local explanations with international research.

The analysis of 21 term entries shows that borrowing is useful for stable model names and software-linked concepts, calques and hybrid formations support productive concept systems, and descriptive translations improve pedagogical transparency. First-mention bilingual glossing is a particularly valuable pragmatic practice because it combines explanation with retrievability. Future standardization should be based on corpus evidence, concept analysis, multidisciplinary expert validation, and versioned terminology resources. Through such a process, Uzbek computational linguistics terminology can develop as a precise, accessible, and internationally connected system of scientific communication.

Data and Ethical Statement

This article is based on qualitative analysis of published terminology and contains no human-participant or personally identifiable data. The analyzed term entries are reproduced in Table 1. The study makes no claim that the listed Uzbek forms have official standard status; they are presented for scholarly analysis and future validation.

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FOLKLORE AS AN AXIOLOGICAL STABILIZER: A CONCEPTUAL SYSTEMS MODEL OF MORAL VALUES IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT
This conceptual article explains how social change alters the relative priority of moral values and how folklore may contribute to their stabilization. It integrates axiology, argumentation theory, folklore studies, narrative research, collective-memory theory, and systems thinking. The model was developed through four analytical stages: delimiting the principal constructs, specifying theoretically supported causal relations, assigning directional polarity, and organizing the relations into feedback loops. The resulting model distinguishes social change, axiological evaluation, value-system priority, stabilization efforts, folklore activation, narrative salience, value internalization, value-congruent conduct, perceived legitimacy, national-value recognition, value conflict, and critical reinterpretation. Two reinforcing loops explain how culturally familiar narratives can increase the intelligibility, circulation, and legitimacy of values and can associate them with collective identity. A balancing loop explains how conflict can stimulate reinterpretation and contextualization. The model also identifies a credibility constraint: inconsistency between proclaimed values and institutional practice weakens legitimacy and internalization. The article does not claim empirical causal effects; it offers a testable conceptual framework for future content analysis, surveys, interviews, experiments, and longitudinal research. Folklore is therefore treated neither as a passive inheritance nor as an unquestionable authority, but as a dynamic and potentially ambivalent resource in moral communication.

ACCEPTED

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Keywords: *social change; moral values; axiological evaluation; folklore; value stabilization; narrative persuasion; systems thinking; causal-loop model.*

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1. Introduction

Every society maintains a partly structured system of moral values through which individuals and communities evaluate conduct, institutions, relationships, and public events. Values are relatively enduring, but they are not equally salient in every historical situation. Schwartz (1992, 2012) describes values as ordered priorities whose relative importance guides judgment and action. Nazarov (2004) similarly places values within historically formed social relations and human evaluative activity. Social transformation therefore need not produce an entirely new moral world. More often, it reorganizes the hierarchy of existing values and changes the circumstances in which they are invoked.

Economic crisis may increase the urgency of solidarity, generosity, and mutual support. Conflict or external threat may foreground courage, loyalty, collective responsibility, and defense of the community. Rapid technological change may strengthen public concern with responsibility, privacy, truth, intellectual autonomy, and information ethics. Migration, social fragmentation, and generational tension

may intensify attention to tolerance, cultural continuity, social trust, and identity. In each case, social change influences which moral principles are perceived as immediately necessary, but it does not mechanically replace one value with another.

A value's increased visibility does not guarantee its practical acceptance. Official declarations, educational slogans, or repeated public references may leave conduct unchanged when the value remains abstract, poorly justified, or contradicted by institutional practice. Stabilization requires interpretation, argumentation, emotional engagement, repetition, social recognition, and credible enactment. It is therefore necessary to explain how a value moves from public visibility to internalized judgment and socially recognizable behavior.

Moral argumentation provides reasons for preferring a judgment, norm, or course of action. Walton (2003) and Medvedev and Murzina (2022) treat moral argumentation as practical reasoning that links facts, obligations, consequences, goals, and evaluative commitments. Fayzixo'jayeva (2021) emphasizes its communicative character: an argument is effective only when the relationship between a claim and an audience's accepted knowledge is intelligible. Mercier and Sperber (2017) likewise locate reasoning within social interaction, where arguments are produced, evaluated, challenged, and revised.

Folklore is important within this communicative process because it presents moral experience in culturally familiar forms. Proverbs, legends, epics, tales, ritual expressions, songs, and traditional narratives classify conduct, associate values with consequences, and provide memorable models of character. Bascom (1954) identified several social functions of folklore, while Ben-Amos (1971) defined folklore as artistic communication in small groups and Bauman (1977) emphasized performance and context. These approaches shift attention from folklore as a static archive to folklore as situated social action.

The central problem is that studies of value change, moral argumentation, folklore, narrative influence, and systems dynamics are often discussed separately. The present article connects them in a single conceptual model. It asks: (1) how can the relationship among social change, axiological evaluation, and folklore be represented through causal-loop logic; (2) through which reinforcing mechanisms might folklore contribute to moral-value stabilization; and (3) under what conditions might folklore mediate or intensify value conflict?

The article's argument is deliberately limited. It does not claim to measure value change in Uzbekistan or any other society, and it does not infer causal effects from a folklore corpus. It develops a conceptual systems model whose propositions can be tested in later empirical research. Although the study is informed by Uzbek philosophical and argumentative scholarship, the model is formulated at a general theoretical level.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Moral values as dynamic priorities

Moral values are conceptions of desirable conduct, character, relationships, and collective life. Justice, honesty, compassion, responsibility, dignity, freedom, loyalty, respect, and solidarity operate as standards through which actions are approved or condemned. Values differ from isolated preferences because they are linked to broader judgments about what deserves protection, recognition, or sacrifice. They also differ from fixed rules because several legitimate values may apply simultaneously to the same situation.

Value plurality produces both compatibility and conflict. Freedom may conflict with security, loyalty with impartiality, innovation with continuity, and individual interest with collective responsibility. Schwartz's (1992, 2012) theory is especially useful because it treats value priorities as an organized system in which some motivations are compatible and others are opposed. Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes (2000) identify moral commitments that recur across philosophical and cultural traditions, but recurrent moral content does not eliminate cultural variation in expression, hierarchy, or application.

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Axiological evaluation is the process through which people and institutions judge the significance and relative priority of values. The process is historically situated. Social needs, collective memories, institutions, perceived threats, and available narratives affect which values are foregrounded and how they are interpreted. A society can therefore retain a recognizable moral vocabulary while substantially changing the practical weight assigned to its terms.

In this article, moral-value stabilization means the process through which a value acquires continuity, legitimacy, recognition, and behavioral influence. Stabilization is not immutability. A stable value may be reinterpreted, expressed in new forms, or applied to new circumstances. Its stability lies in the persistence of normative authority and in its continued availability as a criterion of evaluation.

2.2. Folklore as an axiological and argumentative resource

Folklore preserves and recreates collective experience in forms that can be remembered, repeated, adapted, and performed. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) stresses that living heritage is transmitted across generations and continually recreated by communities in response to their environment and history. This emphasis on transmission and recreation is central to the present model: folklore does not merely carry inherited meanings; it is repeatedly selected and recontextualized.

Many folkloric genres contain explicit or implicit evaluations of conduct. Proverbs condense generalized judgments; tales organize conflict through character and consequence; epics present exemplary or contested models of action; legends connect moral claims with communal, sacred, or historical authority; and rituals connect values with recurring practice. Dundes (1965) demonstrated the breadth of folklore as a field, while Ben-Amos (1971) and Bauman (1977) showed that meaning depends on communicative context and performance.

Folklore can function argumentatively. A proverb may serve as an implicit premise supporting a recommendation or warning. A traditional narrative may provide an analogy by which a contemporary situation is classified. A heroic episode may embody a reason for admiring courage, loyalty, or sacrifice. Such arguments are often enthymematic: speakers do not state every premise because they expect audiences to recognize the cultural rule embedded in the expression. This mechanism fits interactionist accounts of reason, in which successful argumentation depends on audience recognition and the possibility of response (Mercier & Sperber, 2017).

Narrative research helps explain why this form of communication may be influential. Bruner (1991) treats narrative as a mode through which reality is organized and interpreted. Fisher (1984) argues that people evaluate stories partly through coherence and fidelity to lived experience. Green and Brock (2000) show that transportation into a narrative can shape story-consistent beliefs, while Oatley (2016) describes fiction as a simulation of social worlds. These findings do not prove that folklore automatically changes moral behavior, but they support the narrower proposition that narrative form can affect attention, identification, emotional engagement, and the accessibility of evaluative conclusions.

The authority of folklore is neither uniform nor absolute. Different proverbs can support opposing conclusions, and inherited narratives can reproduce exclusion, hierarchy, or stereotypes. Folklore is therefore a plural discursive field rather than a single moral code. Its effects depend on which material is selected, who performs it, which audience receives it, and how the material is connected with current institutions and conflicts.

2.3. Internalization, memory, and legitimacy

Exposure to a moral message is not identical to internalization. Internalization occurs when a value becomes a personally meaningful criterion of judgment rather than merely an external demand. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) show that internalization depends on how messages are perceived and interpreted, while Bandura (2001) emphasizes observational learning, symbolic modeling, and the interaction between cognition, behavior, and social environment. Folklore can participate in these processes by making moral

situations imaginable and by providing characters with whom audiences identify or against whom they define themselves.

Repeated narratives also contribute to collective memory. Halbwachs (1992) emphasizes that memory is socially framed, and Assmann (2011) explains how cultural memory preserves identity through external forms that outlast direct interpersonal recollection. Traditional narratives can therefore connect present moral claims with remembered collective experience. McAdams (2001) further shows how narrative gives continuity and meaning to identity at the individual level. The model extends this logic cautiously to collective moral communication: repeated association between a value and culturally important narratives may increase recognition of that value as part of a community's self-description.

Legitimacy depends on consistency between communication and practice. A society may repeatedly praise honesty while institutions reward deception, or celebrate justice while tolerating unequal treatment. In such cases, the credibility of the moral message declines. Narrative communication can support stabilization, but it cannot permanently substitute for consistent conduct. This relationship is included in the model as a credibility constraint rather than as a separate reinforcing loop.

2.4. Systems thinking and feedback

Systems thinking is appropriate when an outcome arises from interacting processes rather than a single independent cause. Anderson and Johnson (1997) describe causal-loop diagrams as tools for representing patterns of mutual influence. Richardson (1991) traces feedback thinking in social theory, while Meadows (2008) and Sterman (2000) emphasize that system behavior emerges from feedback, delay, accumulation, and nonlinear interaction.

A causal-loop model does not by itself establish empirical causality or quantify effect size. It makes assumptions visible. A positive link means that, other conditions being equal, an increase in one variable is expected to increase the next variable above what it otherwise would have been; a negative link means that an increase is expected to reduce the next variable. Reinforcing loops amplify an initial change, whereas balancing loops counteract change or move the system toward a different configuration. These signs indicate direction, not moral approval.

The value of the method for the present problem is analytical transparency. It requires the author to identify the constructs, state the direction of each proposed relation, define the model boundary, and distinguish reinforcing dynamics from constraints and balancing processes.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND MODEL DEVELOPMENT

3.1. Scope and analytical procedure

This is a conceptual synthesis rather than an empirical investigation. The model was developed from the intersection of four bodies of scholarship: value theory and axiology; moral argumentation and reasoning; folklore, narrative, and collective memory; and systems thinking. The literature was used to clarify constructs and justify directional relationships, not to calculate pooled effects or to claim a systematic review.

Model development proceeded in four stages. First, the initial concepts in the manuscript were delimited so that each variable referred to a distinct process. Second, theoretically supported relationships were identified between pairs of variables. Third, each relationship was assigned a directional polarity and checked for conceptual ambiguity. Fourth, the relationships were organized into closed feedback loops and reviewed for boundary problems, omitted constraints, and overstatement. Claims were then calibrated as propositions that require empirical testing.

The model boundary includes moral communication and value-related social processes. It excludes the detailed structure of political institutions, economic systems, religious authority, media ownership, and demographic change, although these factors can enter the model through the broad variable of social change or can be added in context-specific extensions. The model also does not assume that a society is homogeneous; the same narrative may be interpreted differently by different groups.

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3.2. Variables and operational meaning

Table 1 defines the model variables in a form suitable for later operationalization. The definitions separate public visibility from internalization and distinguish national-value recognition from the intrinsic moral worth of a value.

Table 1.

Conceptual variables and possible empirical indicators

Variable	Conceptual definition	Possible empirical indicators
Social change	Political, economic, technological, demographic, environmental, or cultural transformation that alters the conditions of moral judgment.	Policy or institutional change; public crises; technological adoption; migration; media change.
Axiological evaluation	Collective or individual assessment of the relevance and relative priority of values under changing conditions.	Surveyed value rankings; public discourse; evaluative language; institutional priorities.
Value-system priority	The relative position of a value within a wider hierarchy of compatible and competing values.	Frequency and prominence of value references; trade-off judgments; agenda position.
Stabilization efforts	Communicative, educational, cultural, and institutional activity intended to maintain or strengthen a value.	Curricula; public campaigns; ceremonies; speeches; family transmission; cultural programming.
Folklore activation	Selection and use of proverbs, narratives, symbols, characters, or performances to interpret or justify a value.	Genre frequency; quotation and allusion; performance context; media circulation.
Narrative salience and intelligibility	The degree to which a value becomes memorable, emotionally meaningful, and culturally comprehensible through narrative form.	Recall; identification; emotional response; perceived relevance; narrative transportation.
Value internalization	Adoption of a value as a personally or collectively meaningful criterion of judgment and action.	Reasoning in dilemmas; self-reported importance; spontaneous justification; behavioral choice.
Value-congruent conduct	Behavior interpreted as consistent with the promoted value.	Observed behavior; institutional decisions; reported practices; sanction and reward patterns.
Perceived legitimacy	The degree to which a value claim and its advocates are regarded as credible, justified, and worthy of compliance.	Trust; acceptance; perceived consistency; willingness to endorse or follow.
National-value recognition	Public association of a value with collective identity, cultural memory, and a community's self-description.	Textbooks; ceremonies; official discourse; heritage institutions; intergenerational narratives.
Value conflict	Tension among legitimate values, groups, interpretations, or inherited and emerging expectations.	Competing frames; controversy; polarization; counter-proverbs; interpretive disagreement.
Critical reinterpretation	Reflective examination and contextual adaptation of inherited material in response to conflict or changed conditions.	Alternative readings; dialogue; contextual teaching; revised performances; public debate.

3.3. Causal-loop structure

Figure 1 presents the proposed relationships. The main pathway moves from social change to axiological evaluation, changing value-system priority, stabilization efforts, folklore activation, narrative salience, internalization, value-congruent conduct, and perceived legitimacy. Closed paths form reinforcing and balancing feedback loops. The model also displays two non-equivalent effects of folklore activation: contextualized use may support intelligibility and mediation, whereas selective or dogmatic use may intensify conflict.

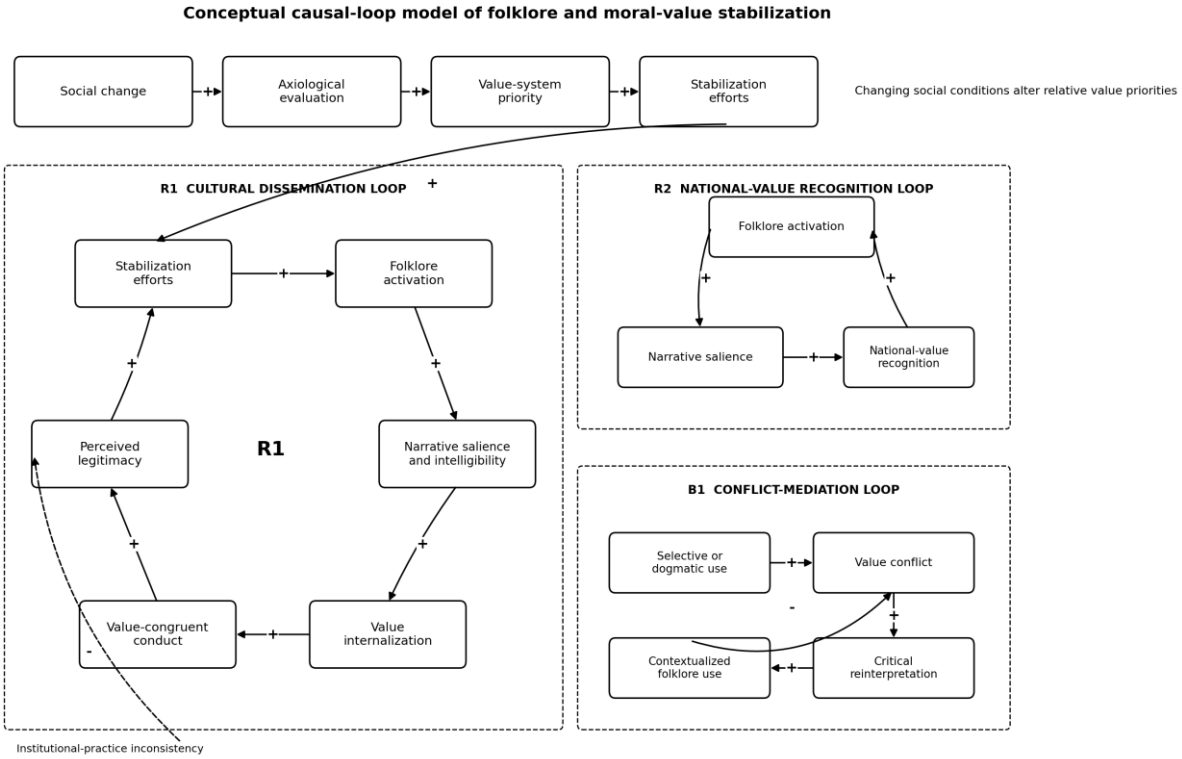


Figure 1. Conceptual causal-loop model of folklore and moral-value stabilization.

4. PROPOSED FEEDBACK MECHANISMS AND THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

4.1. Social change and the reorganization of value priorities

The model begins with the proposition that social change modifies the environment in which moral evaluations are made. A value becomes more salient when it appears capable of responding to a recognized problem. Solidarity may become urgent when isolated action is insufficient; justice may move to the foreground when inequality or abuse becomes visible; responsibility may become central when technological or institutional actions generate consequences at a distance.

The relationship is mediated by axiological evaluation. Social change does not speak in a single voice, and different groups may interpret the same transformation differently. A technological innovation can be framed as freedom, risk, progress, inequality, or loss of control. The model therefore places axiological evaluation between social change and value-system priority rather than assuming a direct mechanical response.

Proposition 1: Social change alters the relative public salience of moral values through contested processes of axiological evaluation; it does not necessarily change the intrinsic content of those values.

4.2. R1: The cultural dissemination loop

The first reinforcing loop links stabilization efforts, folklore activation, narrative salience, internalization, conduct, and legitimacy. When a value receives greater priority, educators, families, cultural institutions, speakers, and media actors have stronger incentives to explain and disseminate it. Folkloric forms are attractive because they are memorable, culturally recognizable, and adaptable to different communicative settings.

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A proverb can condense a general rule into a short expression. A tale can connect an action with its consequences. An epic or legendary figure can embody a moral quality in a socially visible character. Narrative form reduces abstraction by organizing moral information through situation, conflict, agency, emotion, and resolution. Bruner (1991), Fisher (1984), Green and Brock (2000), and Oatley (2016) provide different but compatible reasons for expecting narrative form to affect interpretation and engagement.

Narrative salience does not equal internalization, but it can make a value cognitively accessible and emotionally meaningful. Repeated exposure, identification, discussion, and observed models can support the transition from recognition to personally meaningful judgment (Bandura, 2001; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). When internalized values are expressed in conduct, that conduct supplies visible examples that can increase the perceived legitimacy of the value. Greater legitimacy then strengthens future stabilization efforts, completing the reinforcing loop.

The loop is conditional. If the promoted value is contradicted by institutional practice, the return from conduct to legitimacy becomes weak or negative. A slogan praising justice cannot stabilize justice when audiences repeatedly observe arbitrary treatment. The model therefore includes institutional-practice inconsistency as a negative constraint on perceived legitimacy.

Proposition 2: Folklore is most likely to contribute to value stabilization when culturally recognizable narratives increase salience and intelligibility, and when public or institutional practice does not systematically contradict the promoted value.

4.3. R2: The national-value recognition loop

A second reinforcing loop concerns the association between moral values, cultural memory, and collective identity. A value that is repeatedly linked with familiar narratives, historical figures, rituals, or communal experiences may come to be described not merely as useful in a particular crisis but as characteristic of the community. Halbwachs (1992) and Assmann (2011) explain how socially organized memory supplies continuity across generations; folklore is one of the media through which that continuity is performed.

National-value recognition can increase institutional attention. A value associated with collective identity may enter curricula, ceremonies, public commemorations, museums, artistic production, and official discourse. Institutional recognition can then increase the selection and circulation of folkloric materials associated with that value, strengthening the connection between narrative and identity.

This loop must not be interpreted as proof that a value is unique to one nation or unanimously accepted within it. Kinnier et al. (2000) and Schwartz (1992, 2012) show that many moral concerns recur across cultures. National form arises through specific languages, symbols, priorities, and historical narratives. Moreover, social groups can disagree over which traditions represent the nation and what those traditions mean.

Proposition 3: Repeated and institutionally supported association between a moral value and collective memory can increase recognition of that value as part of national identity, but the process remains selective, contested, and historically revisable.

4.4. B1: Value conflict, mediation, and critical reinterpretation

Reinforcing processes do not continue without limits. Strong promotion of one value may create tension with another legitimate value. Appeals to unity may conflict with autonomy; tradition may be framed as incompatible with innovation; tolerance may raise disputes about boundaries; loyalty may conflict with impartial justice. Such tensions activate the balancing loop.

Value conflict increases the need for interpretation rather than simple repetition. Folklore can contribute to mediation because traditions rarely contain only one narrative pattern. Different stories and proverbs may prioritize caution or initiative, obedience or resistance, collective duty or individual integrity. When plural materials are examined comparatively, they can make the structure of a moral conflict visible and offer culturally intelligible distinctions.

Critical reinterpretation reduces conflict only under certain conditions. It must identify the assumptions of a narrative, the context in which it was persuasive, the values it protects, the groups it may exclude, and the limits of transferring it to a new situation. Contextualization can then weaken dogmatic application and allow a value to be reformulated in relation to dignity, justice, and changed social conditions.

Folklore can also intensify conflict. Selective quotation, decontextualization, or institutional monopolization may turn inherited narratives into instruments of exclusion. A proverb used as a final authority can close discussion rather than enrich it. The plus/minus link from folklore activation to value conflict in Figure 1 represents this ambivalence.

Proposition 4: Folklore can balance value conflict when it is used as a plural resource for contextual interpretation, but selective or dogmatic use can reinforce conflict and reduce the credibility of moral claims.

4.5. Argument refinement and audience responsiveness

The production and evaluation of moral arguments form an additional process within the larger loops. Repeated communication exposes arguments to objections, counterexamples, alternative interpretations, and new social situations. Speakers learn which premises an audience accepts, which analogies are intelligible, and where a traditional expression fails to address contemporary experience. Mercier and Sperber (2017) describe reasoning as socially interactive, while Fayzixo'jayeva (2021) emphasizes the relationship between argumentation and communication.

Folkloric arguments can therefore be revised without losing their cultural grounding. A proverb may be treated as an initial generalization rather than an unquestionable conclusion. A tale may be compared with alternative narratives. A heroic image may be examined for both exemplary and exclusionary features. This approach treats folklore as a field of moral reasoning rather than a collection of commands.

Proposition 5: The stabilizing capacity of folklore increases when traditional narratives remain open to argumentative testing, alternative interpretation, and audience response.

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The conceptual model can guide empirical studies, but its links should not be treated as established effects. Different methods are required for different parts of the system. Content analysis can examine which values and genres become prominent during periods of social change. Historical comparison can test whether particular narratives are reactivated when public concerns shift. Interviews and focus groups can examine how audiences interpret the same proverb or tale and whether interpretations differ by generation, region, occupation, or educational background.

Survey and experimental designs can investigate narrative salience, identification, perceived legitimacy, and value internalization. Participants could compare an abstract moral argument with a proverb-based or narrative version while controlling for message content. Measures should distinguish immediate agreement from delayed recall, dilemma reasoning, and behavior. Network or discourse analysis can identify which institutions and media actors circulate particular narratives.

Longitudinal research is necessary to examine feedback. A causal-loop proposition predicts reciprocal influence over time, not merely a cross-sectional association. Researchers could track public discourse, institutional practice, and audience response before and after a major social event. System-dynamics simulation would require explicit equations, parameter estimates, delays, and sensitivity analysis; the present causal-loop diagram is a preliminary qualitative structure rather than such a simulation.

In the Uzbek context, future research could build transparent corpora of proverbs, epic episodes, public speeches, school materials, and digital communication, with clearly defined periods and coding

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procedures. Such work would allow the general model to be tested without presuming that all groups share the same value hierarchy or interpretation of national tradition.

6. LIMITATIONS

The model has five principal limitations. First, it is conceptual and does not provide evidence of causal magnitude. Second, the literature synthesis is integrative rather than systematic, so it may not capture every relevant theory or empirical result. Third, the broad category of folklore combines genres whose communicative properties differ substantially. Fourth, social groups are heterogeneous, and the same traditional material can produce different or opposing interpretations. Fifth, the model simplifies institutional, religious, political, and economic processes that can independently shape value legitimacy.

These limitations do not invalidate the model's analytical purpose. They define its proper use: the diagram is a transparent set of propositions and a guide for research design, not an empirical representation of an entire society.

7. CONCLUSION

Social change restructures the circumstances under which moral values are evaluated, prioritized, and communicated. It does not necessarily eliminate inherited values or create wholly new ones. Instead, it alters their relative urgency and generates new conflicts over interpretation and application.

Folklore has a distinctive place in this process because it connects abstract moral principles with culturally recognizable language, characters, situations, and consequences. It can function as argument, analogy, warning, example, memory, and model. Its persuasive potential arises not from automatic traditional authority but from familiarity, narrative organization, collective recognition, and communicative performance.

The proposed systems model distinguishes two reinforcing processes and one balancing process. The cultural dissemination loop explains how folklore activation may increase narrative salience, internalization, value-congruent conduct, and perceived legitimacy. The national-value recognition loop explains how repeated association with collective memory may increase institutional and cultural reproduction. The conflict-mediation loop explains how tension can stimulate critical reinterpretation and contextualization. The model also recognizes that dogmatic selection may intensify conflict and that inconsistency between proclaimed values and practice weakens legitimacy.

Folklore should therefore be regarded neither as a passive remnant of the past nor as an unquestionable moral authority. It is a dynamic and ambivalent communicative resource. Its contribution to moral continuity depends on selection, interpretation, context, institutional credibility, and openness to criticism. By making these interdependencies explicit, the systems approach offers a testable framework for studying how societies maintain moral continuity while responding to change.

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VERBAL AND CULTURAL CODES IN SELECTED UZBEK FOLK RITUALS A Linguocultural Analysis of Sust Xotin, Choymomo, Kelin Salom, and Chilla

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ABSTRACT
This article examines how selected Uzbek folk rituals use verbal forms to organize relationships among participants, natural forces, material objects, and socially significant transitions. The study focuses on four ritual complexes: the rain-making ceremony Sust Xotin, the wind-stopping ceremony Choymomo, the wedding greeting Kelin Salom, and the forty-day transitional period known as Chilla. Rather than claiming an exhaustive corpus or new ethnographic fieldwork, the research undertakes a qualitative reanalysis of ritual texts and descriptions reported in published Uzbek folklore scholarship and heritage documentation. The analytical framework combines lexical-semantic analysis, morphosyntactic description, conceptual metaphor, and speech-act-oriented pragmatics. The findings indicate four recurrent tendencies within the selected material: the personification of natural forces through kinship vocabulary; the use of imperative, optative, and hortative forms to express culturally intended action; the association of colour and household vocabulary with purity, protection, and social order; and the use of taboo avoidance and euphemistic naming during periods of perceived vulnerability. These tendencies do not establish a single, uniform Uzbek ritual system, and their historical origins cannot be determined from textual similarity alone. They nevertheless demonstrate how ritual discourse links linguistic form with communal expectations and culturally transmitted models of efficacy. The article concludes by proposing a source-transparent digital corpus of Uzbek ritual language that records regional, textual, and performance variation.

ACCEPTED

07.08.26

Keywords: *Uzbek folk rituals; ritual language; linguoculturology; Sust Xotin; Choymomo; Kelin Salom; Chilla; speech acts; taboo; cultural metaphor.*

CC BY

1. Introduction

Language is not only a system for transmitting information; it is also one of the principal means through which communities classify experience, preserve social memory, and coordinate culturally meaningful action. This premise is central to linguoculturology and ethnolinguistics, which investigate the relationship between linguistic forms and historically transmitted cultural knowledge (Tolstoy, 1995; Telia, 1996; Maslova, 2001). Ritual discourse is especially valuable for such investigation because words are produced together with prescribed gestures, objects, participants, times, and places. The meaning of an utterance in a ritual setting therefore depends not only on its dictionary content but also on what the community understands the utterance to accomplish.

Research on performative language provides a useful basis for describing this relationship. Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) showed that utterances can function as actions under socially recognized conditions. Studies of ritual and verbal art further demonstrate that efficacy is attributed to speech through conventional form, authorized performance, repetition, and communal participation (Tambiah, 1968; Bauman, 1977). In this article, ritual efficacy is treated as a culturally organized belief and practice, not as an empirically proven ability of words to alter physical events.

Uzbek folklore scholarship has documented a broad range of seasonal, agricultural, family, and lifecycle ceremonies (Alaviya, 1974; Sarimsoqov, 1986; Imomov et al., 1990). These descriptions preserve vocabulary, songs, invocations, and accounts of performance that may no longer be widely used in everyday life. The national inventory of intangible cultural heritage also records regional names and practices associated with rain-making and wind-stopping ceremonies. For example, the rain ritual is reported under forms such as Sust Xotin, Sut Xotin, Suv Xotin, and Chala Xotin, while Choymomo is described as a ceremony intended to stop destructive wind (Intangible Cultural Heritage of Uzbekistan, n.d.). Such variation makes it necessary to avoid treating any single textual version as representative of all Uzbek communities.

The present study narrows its scope to four ritual complexes that permit comparison across two functional domains. Sust Xotin and Choymomo address environmental uncertainty in agricultural life, whereas Kelin Salom and Chilla regulate social incorporation and vulnerability during family transitions. The article does not claim to reconstruct a complete archaic worldview or to prove direct descent from Zoroastrian, shamanistic, or other pre-Islamic systems. Historical associations reported in earlier scholarship are treated as hypotheses that require independent philological, archaeological, and comparative evidence.

1.1. Research questions and contribution

The study addresses the following questions:

- Which lexical and morphosyntactic features are most salient in the selected ritual texts and descriptions?
- How do kinship terms, colour terms, household images, and euphemistic expressions organize cultural meanings within these rituals?
- How do verbal forms interact with the social and pragmatic functions attributed to the rituals?

The contribution of the article is methodological rather than archival. It brings four frequently discussed ritual complexes into one explicit analytical framework, distinguishes textual evidence from historical interpretation, and states the limits of the available material. It also demonstrates how a linguocultural analysis can remain attentive to morphology and syntax instead of relying only on broad statements about national mentality.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Language, culture, and ritual performance

Linguocultural approaches examine how culturally salient concepts become conventionalized in words, phraseological units, metaphors, and discourse patterns. Tolstoy (1995) emphasized the parallel organization of folk language and folk culture, while Telia (1996) and Maslova (2001) developed frameworks for interpreting linguistic units as carriers of cultural knowledge. Within Uzbek linguistics, Mahmudov (2011) and Shaxobiddinova (2017) have contributed to the study of national-cultural meaning and the linguistic picture of the world. These approaches are productive when they begin with observable linguistic evidence and avoid assuming that every lexical item directly represents a unified national consciousness.

Ritual speech also benefits from pragmatic analysis. Austin’s distinction between saying and doing, Searle’s account of speech acts, and Tambiah’s analysis of the “magical power of words” direct attention to conventional authority, formal repetition, and the participant’s understanding of what speech is meant

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to achieve. Bauman (1977) adds the dimension of performance: parallelism, marked delivery, and formulaic organization can signal that an utterance should be interpreted differently from ordinary conversation. Because the present data are primarily printed texts, the analysis can describe textual parallelism and grammatical form but cannot make strong claims about intonation, vowel length, rhythm, or audience response.

2.2. Uzbek ritual scholarship

Uzbek folklore collections and studies provide the principal basis for the present analysis. Alaviya (1974) documents ritual songs, Sarimsoqov (1986) offers a systematic treatment of Uzbek ceremonial folklore, and Imomov et al. (1990) situate ritual verbal art within the wider field of Uzbek oral poetic creativity. Eshonqulov (2008) examines the development of mythological images in Uzbek folklore, while Safarov (1984) records forms of children's folklore that also intersect with ceremonial performance. These works establish the importance of formulaic language, but their descriptions differ in regional coverage, transcription practices, and analytical purpose.

Recent documentation reinforces the need to recognize regional variation. The national intangible-heritage inventory lists several names for rain-making rituals and reports different locations of performance. Özkara (2026), focusing on Choymomo and Yalli Momo, likewise identifies regional differences in participants, objects, and symbolic actions while emphasizing the personification of wind. Such evidence supports comparative analysis, but it also prevents the researcher from presenting a single poem, object, or role distribution as an invariant national model.

2.3. Gap addressed by the study

Existing descriptions are rich in ethnographic and folkloric information, yet linguistic observations are often dispersed across discussions of mythology, genre, and custom. The specific gap addressed here is therefore not the absence of any prior research on Uzbek rituals. It is the need for a limited, source-transparent comparison that connects concrete lexical and grammatical forms with carefully defined cultural-pragmatic functions. This formulation avoids an untestable claim of complete novelty and makes the analytical contribution proportionate to the available data.

3. Data and Methodology

3.1. Research design and data scope

The article uses a qualitative, interpretive research design. Its data consist of selected verbal examples and ritual descriptions reported in published folklore studies and heritage documentation. No interviews, participant observation, audio recording, or new fieldwork were conducted. The study is therefore a textual reanalysis of secondary and published primary materials rather than an ethnographic survey of contemporary practice.

Table 1.

Data scope and evidential status

Ritual complex	Functional domain	Main verbal evidence	Principal sources	Limits of evidence
Sust Xotin	Rain-making / agricultural uncertainty	Invocations containing vocatives, imperatives, optatives, and paired clauses	Alaviya (1974); Sarimsoqov (1986); Imomov et al. (1990); ICH Uzbekistan (n.d.)	Regional variants and performance details differ; no audio data
Choymomo	Wind-stopping / crop protection	Vocative address, personification, imperative and hortative forms, offering vocabulary	Sarimsoqov (1986); ICH Uzbekistan (n.d.); Özkara (2026)	Texts and participant roles vary by region
Kelin Salom	Wedding incorporation and	Formulaic greetings, honorific address, kinship	Alaviya (1974); Sarimsoqov (1986)	The present study uses reported patterns, not a

Ritual complex	Functional domain	Main verbal evidence	Principal sources	Limits of evidence
	kinship hierarchy	and household metaphors		quantified song corpus
Chilla	Postpartum or newlywed transition and protection	Avoidance terms, euphemistic reference, temporal vocabulary	Eshonqulov (2008); published ethnographic descriptions discussed in Uzbek folklore scholarship	Practices are locally variable; claims concern language ideology, not causal effects

The sample is purposive rather than statistically representative. The four cases were selected because they permit comparison between environmental and lifecycle rituals and because each case contains or is associated with identifiable verbal forms. Textual variants are presented in standardized modern Uzbek Latin orthography as they appear in the working manuscript and cited publications. Since the original archival recordings and all first editions were not available for direct collation, the analysis does not claim to establish a definitive critical text.

3.2. Analytical procedure

Each example was examined through a five-part coding matrix:

- Lexical-semantic coding: culturally salient words, including kinship, colour, spatial, agricultural, and household vocabulary.
- Morphosyntactic coding: imperative, optative, hortative, possessive, and parallel clause structures.
- Conceptual coding: personification, metaphor, binary contrast, and relations between natural and social domains.
- Pragmatic coding: the culturally intended action of requesting, appeasing, blessing, greeting, protecting, or avoiding.
- Contextual coding: the participants, objects, temporal stage, and social conditions described for the performance.

The categories were applied comparatively across the four cases. Interpretations were retained only when they could be connected to a cited lexical form or an explicitly reported ritual practice. Historical-origin claims were excluded from the findings unless they were clearly marked as hypotheses in the literature. Because the dataset is small and non-random, no frequency claims are made.

3.3. Research ethics and source transparency

The study involves no human participants and uses no confidential data. Its ethical responsibility is therefore primarily one of accurate attribution and interpretive restraint. The article distinguishes among direct textual evidence, descriptions reported by previous researchers, and the present author's analysis. Regional diversity is treated as a substantive feature rather than as noise to be eliminated.

4. Analysis

4.1. Sust Xotin: verbal direction toward rain and communal renewal

Sust Xotin belongs to a group of rain-making rituals associated with communities dependent on dry farming. Heritage documentation records several regional names—Sust Xotin, Sut Xotin, Suv Xotin, and Chala Xotin—and describes processions in which an effigy may be carried while participants sing and pour water (Intangible Cultural Heritage of Uzbekistan, n.d.). The diversity of names and actions indicates that the ritual should be treated as a family of related practices rather than as a single fixed ceremony.

The selected verbal lines contain forms that orient speech toward a desired change in the environment:

(1) *Ko'kdan yomg'ir tila, xotin.*
Yomg'ir yog'sin, sel bo'lsin,
Yer ko'karib, el bo'lsin!

English translation: *Ask the sky for rain, woman. Let rain fall, let there be a torrent; let the*

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land grow green, and let the community flourish.

Source: selected Sust Xotin lines reproduced in the manuscript and attributed to Uzbek ritual-song collections (cf. Alaviya, 1974; Imomov et al., 1990).

Three grammatical features are relevant. First, tila is a second-person singular imperative of tila- "to ask, request, or wish," directly addressing the personified ritual figure. Second, yog'sin and bo'lsin contain the third-person marker -sin, which in this context expresses an optative or directive meaning: "let it rain" and "let it be." Third, the repeated bo'lsin produces syntactic parallelism. The verbal structure progresses from the meteorological event to agricultural regeneration and then to communal well-being.

The sequence yer "land" and el "people, community" is especially significant. The words are phonologically close and form a compact parallel pair, but their importance is not merely aesthetic. The pairing connects ecological and social continuity: the greening of the land is represented as a condition of collective flourishing. The text therefore maps a natural process onto a social outcome without requiring the analyst to claim that the words themselves physically cause rain.

The lexeme xotin "woman/wife" in the ritual name and vocative helps personify the addressee. Earlier scholarship has proposed associations with female water or fertility figures, including Zoroastrian deities; however, such interpretations are not uniform, and phonological resemblance alone cannot establish direct historical descent. The defensible conclusion is narrower: in the recorded ritual discourse, the environmental force is made addressable through a socially familiar human category.

4.2. Choymomo: personification, appeasement, and shared action

Choymomo is described as a wind-stopping ceremony performed when prolonged or destructive winds threaten crops. Sources report significant regional variation in who performs the ritual and which objects are used. The national heritage description records women-led performance in some accounts and male performers in others, while recent comparative work also documents regional differences in symbolic actions (Intangible Cultural Heritage of Uzbekistan, n.d.; Özkara, 2026). The stable analytical point is therefore not a fixed cast of participants but the transformation of wind into a being that can be addressed and appeased.

(2) *Choymomo, jon Choymomo,*

Shamolingni qo'y, momo.

Oq unimiz sochaylik,

Yo'lingni biz ochaylik.

English translation: *Choymomo, dear Choymomo, leave off your wind, grandmother. Let us scatter our white flour; let us open your path.*

Source: selected Choymomo lines reproduced in the manuscript and attributed to Uzbek ritual-song collections (cf. Alaviya, 1974; Sarimsoqov, 1986).

The vocative jon Choymomo uses jon literally "soul/life" and conventionally "dear" to reduce social distance. Momo "grandmother" frames the wind through an elder-female kinship category. Such naming does not simply describe the weather; it creates a relationship in which respectful persuasion becomes possible. This is a form of conceptual personification grounded in kinship language.

The form qo'y is a second-person singular imperative meaning "leave, stop, let go." The noun shamolingni contains shamol "wind," the second-person possessive suffix -ing, and the accusative marker -ni: the wind is linguistically represented as belonging to the addressed figure. By contrast, sochaylik and ochaylik contain the first-person plural hortative suffix -aylik, "let us scatter" and "let us open." The text thus combines a directive to the personified force with a pledge of coordinated action by the human group.

The phrase oq un "white flour" links an offering object with the culturally positive associations of oq "white." In Uzbek cultural semantics, white is frequently associated with cleanliness, blessing, auspiciousness, and peaceful intention (Mahmudov, 2011). The present example supports an interpretation of non-confrontational appeasement: participants offer a valued food substance and symbolically clear a

path. It does not establish that oq has one unchanging meaning in every Uzbek context.

4.3. Kelin Salom: verbal incorporation into a kinship order

Kelin Salom, the bride's formal greeting, belongs to the wedding complex rather than to the legal-religious act of nikoh alone. Its central social function is the public introduction of the bride to members of the groom's family and community. Folklore descriptions present it as a highly formulaic performance in which relatives are acknowledged according to age, kinship position, and social responsibility (Alaviya, 1974; Sarimsoqov, 1986).

The relevant linguistic mechanisms differ from the environmental rituals. Instead of directing an external natural force, Kelin Salom organizes social relations through names, titles, honorific expressions, blessings, and metaphorical descriptions. Senior male relatives may be represented through images such as ustun "pillar" or bosh "head," which foreground support, authority, and structural responsibility. Senior female relatives may be connected with chiroq "lamp/light" or dasturxon "laid table/tablecloth," images associated with domestic continuity, hospitality, and nourishment. These examples should be interpreted as recurrent metaphorical resources in reported texts, not as obligatory labels used in every performance.

The greeting is performative in a social rather than supernatural sense. By bowing, listening to formulaic descriptions, and responding within an authorized ceremony, the bride and assembled relatives publicly recognize a new relationship. The words do not independently create kinship; they contribute to a wider sequence of actions through which kinship is acknowledged and displayed. The verbal, bodily, musical, and spatial components are therefore interdependent.

A critical reading must also recognize that some metaphors encode hierarchical expectations. Descriptions of the father-in-law as "head" and the domestic sphere as organized around fixed gendered roles reflect particular social models. Linguocultural analysis should describe these models without presenting them as timeless, uncontested, or universally accepted by contemporary Uzbek families.

4.4. Chilla: temporal boundary, taboo avoidance, and protective naming

Chilla denotes a forty-day period associated in different contexts with postpartum recovery, newborn care, or the early stage of marriage. The word is conventionally connected with Persian chehel "forty." Within ritual practice, however, the term names more than a number: it marks a socially recognized interval of transition, restricted interaction, and heightened care. The participants are treated as being between established states, which makes temporal vocabulary central to the ritual concept.

Published descriptions report verbal prohibitions and euphemistic strategies during this period. Direct references to death, threatening beings, sharp objects, or other sources of danger may be avoided, while expressions such as yaxshilar "the good ones" or bizdan bo'laklar "those other than us" can be used as indirect designations. The precise inventory of avoided words is locally variable and should not be generalized without field documentation.

The relevant phenomenon is language ideology: speakers attribute protective value to not naming a feared entity directly. Allan and Burridge (2006) describe euphemism and taboo as context-sensitive strategies for managing social, emotional, and sacred danger. In Chilla, indirect naming can reduce explicit confrontation with a feared category and signal compliance with communal expectations. This does not prove linguistic determinism or the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis. It shows that participants may understand naming itself as consequential within the ritual setting.

Compared with Sust Xotin and Choymomo, Chilla relies less on public directive formulas and more on regulation of ordinary speech. The pragmatic mechanism is avoidance rather than command: the socially appropriate utterance is sometimes the euphemism, paraphrase, or silence that replaces a direct term. This contrast broadens the understanding of ritual language beyond songs and incantations.

5. Comparative Results

The comparison identifies four recurrent mechanisms. They are tendencies within the selected data, not universal properties of all Uzbek rituals.

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Table 2.

Linguistic mechanisms and culturally attributed functions

Mechanism	Examples in the selected data	Culturally attributed function	Analytical qualification
Personification through kinship	xotin “woman,” momo “grandmother”; household and family-role metaphors	Makes natural forces or social positions addressable through familiar relational categories	Does not prove a single historical deity or invariant national archetype
Directive and optative grammar	tila; qo‘y; yog‘sin; bo‘lsin; -aylik forms	Expresses requests, desired states, and coordinated participant action	Describes intended ritual action, not demonstrated physical causation
Symbolically marked lexicon	oq un; yer/el pairing; ustun, bosh, chiroq, dasturxon	Links material objects and social values such as blessing, continuity, authority, and hospitality	Meanings are context-dependent and may be contested or variable
Taboo and euphemistic substitution	yaxshilar; bizdan bo‘laklar; avoidance of direct threatening terms	Manages vulnerability and signals adherence to protective norms	Evidence concerns language ideology, not strong linguistic determinism
Formulaic parallelism	repeated bo‘lsin; paired clauses; structured greeting sequences	Marks speech as ceremonial and supports memory and collective participation	Audio-based claims about rhythm or hypnosis cannot be made from printed texts

5.1. From natural uncertainty to social coordination

The environmental rituals transform difficult-to-control phenomena into relational partners. Rain is requested through a female ritual figure, and wind is addressed as a grandmother. This personification allows speakers to use familiar pragmatic strategies—request, affection, respect, exchange, and collective promise—when responding to ecological uncertainty. The important result is not that nature is literally understood as human in every context, but that ritual discourse temporarily organizes it through human social categories.

The lifecycle rituals organize uncertainty differently. Kelin Salom uses public address and metaphor to position a new family member within a kinship network. Chilla uses temporal restriction and indirect naming to manage perceived vulnerability. Across both domains, language helps participants make a transition socially intelligible: environmental crisis becomes a negotiable relationship, and biological or marital change becomes an ordered social stage.

5.2. The verbal code as one component of a multimodal system

The evidence does not support ranking the verbal component as the “ultimate” or independently sufficient code of ritual. Sust Xotin may involve water, an effigy, procession, and household contributions; Choymomo may involve costume, soot, food offerings, and movement; Kelin Salom includes bodily greeting and musical performance; Chilla includes spatial and behavioural restrictions. Words receive much of their force from their coordination with these actions and objects. A more accurate model is multimodal interdependence among verbal, material, bodily, spatial, and temporal signs.

5.3. Cultural continuity and variation

The selected expressions preserve vocabulary and metaphors that connect present descriptions with older agricultural and kinship practices. At the same time, continuity should not be confused with unchanged survival. Different names for Sust Xotin, different performers in Choymomo, changing family expectations in Kelin Salom, and local differences in Chilla demonstrate that ritual traditions are repeatedly adapted. Linguocultural meaning is preserved through variation as well as repetition.

6. Discussion

The analysis supports a restrained version of the claim that ritual language stores cultural

knowledge. It does so not because each word contains a fixed national code, but because recurring forms link lexical meaning with socially learned contexts of use. The suffix -sin in yog‘sin and bo‘lsin is an ordinary grammatical resource of Uzbek; in a rain ritual, its optative force becomes part of a collective appeal. The kinship term momo is also an ordinary word; in Choymomo, it frames wind as an elder figure. Cultural significance therefore emerges through the interaction of grammar, vocabulary, genre, and performance context.

This conclusion has two methodological implications. First, linguocultural interpretation should begin with linguistic description. Claims about purity, authority, protection, or social balance are more persuasive when attached to identifiable words, affixes, contrasts, or discourse sequences. Second, historical reconstruction requires a separate evidential standard. The presence of water, a female figure, fire-water contrasts, or the number forty may be compatible with several religious and historical traditions. Direct origin should not be asserted without dated textual evidence and comparative historical analysis.

The selected data also show why “national mentality” must be used carefully. Rituals may express culturally familiar values, yet communities contain regional, generational, gendered, religious, and individual differences. Kelin Salom, for example, can preserve hospitality and respect while also transmitting hierarchical role expectations that contemporary participants may reinterpret. A linguocultural study should therefore describe the social model encoded in a text without equating it with the beliefs of every Uzbek speaker.

Finally, the analysis suggests that ritual vocabulary is a valuable target for documentation. Terms such as Sust Xotin, Choymomo, Kelin Salom, Chilla, and their regional variants are difficult to represent in ordinary bilingual dictionaries because their meanings depend on participants, objects, times, and beliefs. Madvaliyev’s work on Uzbek terminology and lexicography provides a relevant foundation for designing entries that combine definition, etymology, regional label, textual example, and cultural context (Madvaliyev, 2017).

7. Limitations

The study has four principal limitations. First, it analyses a small purposive sample and cannot establish frequency or representativeness. Second, most evidence comes from printed descriptions and selected textual variants rather than from recordings, which prevents reliable analysis of melody, tempo, intonation, vowel length, gesture timing, and audience response. Third, the study does not systematically compare regions or dialects; regional information is used only to demonstrate variation. Fourth, several historical and etymological interpretations in the secondary literature remain disputed or insufficiently documented. These limitations require cautious conclusions and define priorities for future research.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

This article has examined verbal and cultural mechanisms in four selected Uzbek ritual complexes. Sust Xotin and Choymomo use personification, vocative address, directive grammar, and collective-action forms to organize culturally meaningful responses to environmental uncertainty. Kelin Salom uses formulaic greeting, kinship vocabulary, and household metaphors to publicly acknowledge a new social relationship. Chilla demonstrates a different mode of ritual discourse in which euphemism, avoidance, and temporal naming regulate speech during a period of perceived vulnerability.

Across the selected material, language does not operate independently of action. Verbal forms interact with offerings, gestures, spatial arrangements, social roles, and prescribed times. The most defensible theoretical conclusion is therefore that Uzbek ritual discourse is multimodal and relational. Words help participants identify who may speak, who or what is addressed, which outcome is desired, and which behaviour is appropriate. The texts preserve culturally significant models, but those models vary across regions and change over time.

Future research should develop a digital, source-transparent corpus of Uzbek ritual language. Each record should include the ritual name and variants, location, date, collector, performer information where

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ethically appropriate, original script and transcription, audio or video when permission is available, interlinear glossing, translation, associated actions and objects, and bibliographic provenance. A regional comparison should be based on balanced data rather than on isolated examples. Collaboration among linguists, folklorists, anthropologists, local communities, archives, and lexicographers would allow endangered vocabulary to be documented without presenting living traditions as static remnants of the past.

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Author’s Note on Data Availability

18. The article is based on published folklore collections, scholarly descriptions, and publicly accessible heritage documentation listed in the references. No new field recordings or interview data were collected. The textual variants used in the examples should be collated against the cited editions before submission to a journal that requires page-specific quotation verification.

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AN EXPLORATORY COMPARATIVE PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF GENDERED EVALUATIVE EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH AND UZBEK PUBLIC DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study examines gendered evaluative expressions in English and Uzbek public discourse from a comparative pragmatic perspective. The analysis draws on an author-compiled purposive dataset of 100 evaluative units, with 50 English and 50 Uzbek items, and focuses on the Attitude subsystem of Appraisal Theory: Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. The revised analysis treats the corpus as a source-asymmetric exploratory sample rather than as a representative model of either language or culture. Descriptive results show that Judgment is the most frequent Attitude category in both subcorpora (English: 32/50, 64%; Uzbek: 35/50, 70%), followed by Appreciation (24% and 20%) and Affect (12% and 10%). The principal cross-corpus contrast lies not in category frequency but in the contextual values attached to evaluative choices. In the sampled English materials, favorable gender evaluation is frequently associated with agency, competence, leadership, and professional participation. In the sampled Uzbek materials, favorable evaluation more often invokes responsibility, respectability, family relations, moral conduct, and social obligation, while contemporary texts also explicitly contest restrictive gender stereotypes. Because the data were purposively selected and clustered within a limited number of source texts, inferential significance testing is not used. The findings are interpreted as patterns in the sampled discourse rather than as population-level differences between English- and Uzbek-speaking societies. The study demonstrates the value of combining Appraisal Theory with contextual pragmatic analysis while also showing the importance of source matching, transparent coding, and cautious cultural interpretation in cross-linguistic gender research.

ACCEPTED

07.08.26

Keywords: *gender linguistics, evaluation, Appraisal Theory, pragmatics, discourse analysis, English, Uzbek.*

CC BY

Introduction

An Exploratory Comparative Pragmatic Analysis of Gendered Evaluative Expressions in English and Uzbek Public Discourse

Language is not merely a system for transmitting propositional content; it is also a resource for positioning speakers and writers in relation to people, actions, social categories, and values. Evaluation is therefore central to discourse because it allows language users to express affect, approve or condemn

conduct, assign social worth, and align readers with particular interpretations (Martin & White, 2005). When evaluation is directed toward women, men, femininity, masculinity, or gendered social roles, it can also contribute to the reproduction, contestation, and reorganization of gendered expectations.

Research on language and gender has moved away from treating women and men as two internally homogeneous groups with stable linguistic styles. Contemporary approaches emphasize gender as socially produced, context dependent, and intertwined with institutions, identities, power relations, and communicative practice (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 2005; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). From this perspective, gendered evaluation is analytically important not because particular adjectives or labels are intrinsically feminine or masculine, but because evaluative meanings become gendered through their targets, recurrent associations, interactional functions, and sociocultural histories.

The present study focuses on English and Uzbek, two typologically distinct languages embedded in different histories of public communication. English-language gender discourse has been extensively examined in feminist linguistics, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, and discourse analysis (Baker, 2008; Cameron, 2005; Lakoff, 1975; Mills, 2008). Uzbek gender linguistics is a smaller but developing field in which recent studies have discussed lexical, grammatical, and discourse-level manifestations of gender and have called for greater attention to sociocultural context (Norboyeva & Jabborova, 2024; Ro'ziyeva, 2024). A carefully qualified comparison can therefore illuminate how broadly similar evaluative resources are recruited for different local meanings.

The original version of this study made several claims that exceeded what its dataset could establish. Most importantly, it treated a small purposive corpus as if it represented English and Uzbek discourse generally, compared source sets that were not fully matched by genre or period, described a non-significant chi-square result using the language of statistical significance, and did not provide the item-level coding matrix needed for independent replication. The present revision addresses these problems by explicitly redefining the project as exploratory, using descriptive rather than inferential statistics, separating observed corpus patterns from cultural interpretation, clarifying the Attitude categories used in coding, and expanding the limitations and transparency statements. The revision does not invent missing observations or source metadata.

Theoretical Background

Evaluation and the Attitude Subsystem of Appraisal

Appraisal Theory conceptualizes evaluation as a system of interpersonal meaning through which speakers and writers negotiate attitudes, alignment, and degrees of commitment (Martin & White, 2005). The present study is limited to the Attitude subsystem rather than the entire Appraisal framework. Attitude is commonly organized into three major regions: Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. Affect concerns emotional states and reactions; Judgment evaluates human behavior and character with reference to social esteem or social sanction; and Appreciation evaluates things, processes, performances, and phenomena in terms such as value, quality, impact, or composition.

This distinction is especially useful for gendered discourse because many socially consequential descriptions are not explicit statements about gender equality or inequality. A phrase may praise a woman as capable, responsible, or admirable; criticize a man as irresponsible or weak; or value a gendered role as respectable, successful, traditional, modern, or appropriate. The analytical task is to identify both the attitudinal category and the pragmatic work performed by the evaluation in its context. A lexical item cannot therefore be classified reliably without its surrounding discourse. For example, the label female leader may be descriptive in one context, celebratory in another, and contrastive or marked in a third.

Gender as Discursive and Social Practice

Early work in language and gender drew attention to systematic relationships among linguistic form, gender inequality, and social power (Lakoff, 1975). Later scholarship complicated binary and essentialist accounts by emphasizing variation within gender categories and by treating gender as

something repeatedly enacted and interpreted in social practice (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 2005; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Ochs (1992) further demonstrated that gender meanings are frequently indexed indirectly: linguistic forms may first index stances, activities, or social roles, which become associated with gender through cultural expectations.

This indirectness is crucial for evaluative language. Terms such as strong, modest, ambitious, caring, authoritative, emotional, responsible, or independent do not carry a single gender meaning outside context. Their gendered force arises when they are differentially applied, contrasted, presupposed, or interpreted within a discourse community. Mills (2008) similarly argues that sexism and gendered evaluation can operate indirectly through pragmatic inference, discourse convention, and apparently ordinary lexical choices. Consequently, comparative analysis must avoid assuming that a superficially similar adjective has the same social meaning in different languages.

Uzbek Gender Discourse and the Need for Comparative Pragmatics

Uzbek does not grammatically mark gender in the same way as many Indo-European languages, but gender can be expressed lexically, pragmatically, and discursively. Recent Uzbek-language scholarship has discussed gendered lexical choices, stereotypes, forms of social address, and the relationship between language and social norms (Norboyeva & Jabborova, 2024; Ro'ziyeva, 2024). Public Uzbek discourse also contains explicit debates over employment, family responsibility, women's rights, leadership, religious and cultural values, and the meaning of gender equality. These debates make Uzbek an important site for pragmatic analysis because gender meanings are frequently negotiated rather than merely stated.

A comparative pragmatic approach can identify cross-linguistic similarities in evaluative organization while also examining differences in what counts as praiseworthy, blameworthy, respectable, desirable, or socially appropriate in particular texts. However, such comparisons require caution. Differences between two datasets may arise from language and culture, but they may also reflect outlet ideology, genre, author, topic, historical period, or sampling decisions. The present study therefore treats cultural interpretation as a plausible explanatory layer, not as a direct causal conclusion.

Research Questions

The revised study addresses three questions:

1. What types of gendered evaluative expressions occur in the selected English and Uzbek discourse samples?

2. What pragmatic functions do these expressions perform in their immediate discourse contexts?

3. What similarities and differences are observable in the sampled English and Uzbek evaluative patterns, and how cautiously can those patterns be interpreted socioculturally?

Method

Research Design

The study uses an exploratory qualitative comparative design supported by descriptive frequency counts. A qualitative design is appropriate because the principal analytical goal is to interpret contextual meaning, social positioning, and pragmatic function rather than to estimate population frequencies (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Paltridge, 2021). The numerical summaries are used to describe the coded sample only. They are not treated as inferential evidence about English-speaking or Uzbek-speaking populations.

Dataset and Sampling

The author-compiled dataset contains 100 gendered evaluative units: 50 English and 50 Uzbek. The original manuscript reports that the English items were selected from publicly available written materials associated with BBC News, The Guardian, UN Women, and the World Economic Forum, with publication dates primarily between January 2023 and March 2025. The Uzbek items were selected from four Kun.uz texts published in 2016, 2020, 2022, and 2025. Selection was purposive: an item was retained when it contained an evaluative expression directed explicitly or implicitly at women, men, femininity,

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masculinity, or a gendered social role and when sufficient local context was available for pragmatic interpretation.

The source sets are not perfectly matched. The English pool combines journalistic and institutional discourse, whereas the Uzbek pool is concentrated in one news outlet and covers a wider period. For that reason, this manuscript does not interpret differences as direct language effects or as stable national-cultural characteristics. Instead, the two datasets are treated as exploratory discourse samples. This source asymmetry is a design limitation and is carried explicitly into the interpretation of the results.

Table 1

Composition and Scope of the Exploratory Dataset

Subcorpus	n	Reported source families	Reported period	Interpretive scope
English	50	BBC News; The Guardian; UN Women; World Economic Forum	2023-March 2025	Patterns within the selected English-language public texts
Uzbek	50	Kun.uz (four identified texts)	2016-2025	Patterns within the selected Uzbek-language public texts

Note. The source sets are intentionally described as exploratory and source-asymmetric. Complete item-level metadata should accompany the final submission as supplementary material.

Verified Uzbek Source Records

The four Uzbek source dates in the original reference list were audited against the live Kun.uz records. Three dates required correction: the first article was published October 31, 2016, not December 5, 2016; the interview on gender justice was published July 28, 2020, not February 17, 2020; and the interview on 'Eastern' gender equality was published October 31, 2022, not September 14, 2022. The January 2, 2025 date for the article on women's employment was verified. Corrected references appear in the corpus-materials section of the reference list.

Unit of Analysis and Inclusion Criteria

The unit of analysis is a contextualized evaluative instance rather than an isolated word. A unit may consist of an adjective phrase, noun phrase, clause, idiomatic expression, or other span whose evaluative target and pragmatic orientation can be established from the surrounding text. Four inclusion criteria were applied in the original study and retained in the revision: (a) the unit contains an evaluative meaning; (b) the evaluation is relevant to gender or a gendered role; (c) context is sufficient to determine the probable attitudinal and pragmatic function; and (d) the unit represents a distinct evaluative instance rather than a duplicate occurrence. Headlines or quotations without interpretable context should not be coded as independent evidence.

Coding Framework

Coding is organized in three analytically distinct layers. First, each unit is assigned an Attitude category: Affect, Judgment, or Appreciation. Second, evaluative polarity is recorded as positive, negative, mixed/ambivalent, or context-dependent where necessary. Third, pragmatic function is coded separately. This separation corrects a conceptual problem in the original manuscript, which treated 'positive evaluation' and discourse functions such as identity construction as if they belonged to the same analytical level.

Table 2

Operational Coding Dimensions

Dimension	Category	Operational question	Illustrative realization
Attitude	Affect	Does the unit construe emotion, feeling, desire, fear, satisfaction, or insecurity?	fearful, proud, worried
Attitude	Judgment	Does the unit evaluate a person or behavior against social norms of capacity, propriety, tenacity, veracity, or normality?	competent, irresponsible, courageous
Attitude	Appreciation	Does the unit value a phenomenon, performance, role, or social arrangement?	valuable contribution, unequal system
Polarity	Positive / negative / mixed	Is the evaluative orientation approving, disapproving, ambivalent, or dependent on reported viewpoint?	successful vs. weak; contested stereotype
Pragmatic function	Contextual discourse function	What does the evaluation do in context?	approval, criticism, identity construction, stereotype reinforcement, stereotype contestation, legitimation, mitigation, intensification

Analytic Procedure

The analysis proceeds from local context to comparative interpretation. Each evaluative instance is first interpreted in its immediate sentence or discourse segment. The target of evaluation, Attitude category, polarity, and pragmatic function are then recorded. Only after within-language patterns are established are cross-language contrasts considered. This order is designed to reduce the risk of assigning culturally stereotyped interpretations before examining the textual evidence.

The present revision does not report intercoder reliability because the original project was completed by one researcher and the manuscript did not contain a second-coder record or a repeated-coding audit. Reporting a reliability coefficient without those records would be misleading. Instead, the revised paper makes the coding criteria explicit and identifies single-coder interpretation as a limitation. For a stronger follow-up study, at least 20%-30% of units should be independently coded by a second trained analyst and agreement should be reported with an appropriate coefficient such as Cohen's kappa or Krippendorff's alpha.

Statistical Treatment

The original manuscript reported a Pearson chi-square test for the distribution of Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. That inferential test is not retained as evidence in the revised paper. The dataset was

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purposively selected, and multiple units were drawn from the same source texts; therefore, the observations cannot safely be treated as an independent probability sample. A recalculation of the original table would yield a very small association between language and Attitude category, but the assumptions required for a population-level significance test are not adequately met. Frequencies and percentages are therefore presented descriptively only.

Ethics and Data Transparency

The study analyzes publicly available written discourse and does not involve direct interaction with human participants, private data, or intervention. Formal participant consent was therefore not required for the textual analysis. Ethical responsibility nevertheless includes accurate source attribution, contextual quotation, and avoidance of unnecessary personal identification. The final journal submission should include a supplementary coding matrix containing all 100 units, context windows, source identifiers, publication dates, URLs, coding decisions, and brief rationales. Because that matrix was not embedded in the uploaded manuscript, this revision does not fabricate it.

Results

Distribution of Attitude Categories

Judgment is the dominant Attitude category in both subcorpora. In the English sample, 32 of 50 items (64%) were coded as Judgment, 12 (24%) as Appreciation, and 6 (12%) as Affect. In the Uzbek sample, 35 of 50 items (70%) were coded as Judgment, 10 (20%) as Appreciation, and 5 (10%) as Affect. The similarity of these descriptive distributions suggests that the most visible cross-corpus contrast is not the broad Appraisal category selected, but the social values and pragmatic functions realized within Judgment and related evaluations.

Table 3

Distribution of Attitude Categories in the Reported Dataset

Attitude category	English n	English %	Uzbek n	Uzbek %
Judgment	32	64	35	70
Appreciation	12	24	10	20
Affect	6	12	5	10
Total	**50**	**100**	**50**	**100**

Note. Percentages are descriptive summaries of a purposive, clustered sample and are not population estimates.

Judgment as the Central Resource for Gender Evaluation

The dominance of Judgment indicates that gender representation in the dataset is frequently organized around assessments of human capacity, propriety, responsibility, authority, and socially valued conduct. This pattern is theoretically plausible because gendered discourse often evaluates not simply what women and men feel, but whether they are perceived as competent, respectable, strong, caring, responsible, independent, modest, ambitious, or otherwise aligned with social expectations.

In the English sample, the original coding and examples emphasize competence, autonomy, leadership, confidence, and professional achievement. Expressions such as independent woman, successful woman, and female leader were interpreted as favorable when their contexts foregrounded agency or participation. Such expressions should not be assumed to be inherently positive; their evaluative status depends on discourse context. The revised interpretation therefore treats them as examples of contextually positive Judgment only when the surrounding text clearly praises agency, competence, or achievement.

In the Uzbek sample, the reported pattern gives greater prominence to responsibility, respectability, wisdom, courage, family obligation, and appropriate social conduct. Terms such as oqila ayol ('wise woman'), mehribon ona ('caring mother'), mard erkak ('courageous/manly man'), and oilaning tayanchi ('support/pillar of the family') can function as positive Judgments when they approve behavior against socially recognized norms. The important analytical point is not that these values are uniquely Uzbek, but

that they are recurrent in the selected Uzbek texts and interact with public discussions of family, employment, rights, and gender equality.

Pragmatic Functions: Approval, Criticism, Identity, and Stereotype Negotiation

Across the dataset, evaluative expressions perform several pragmatic functions. Approval legitimizes desired identities or conduct; criticism marks behavior or social arrangements as inadequate; identity construction associates gender categories with valued attributes; stereotype reinforcement reproduces familiar expectations; and stereotype contestation explicitly challenges restrictive or derogatory assumptions. These functions may overlap within a single passage.

The Uzbek public texts provide particularly clear examples of stereotype negotiation. The 2020 Kun.uz interview rejects the idea that women should have fewer opportunities because they are women and explicitly describes unequal access to rights as a disruption of gender balance. The same interview also criticizes ordinary family practices that can normalize unequal expectations. The 2025 Kun.uz article is even more metapragmatic: it cites stereotypes such as the idea that women are less capable or that paid work damages femininity, but it presents them as stereotypes to be explained and challenged rather than endorsed. These examples show why a phrase cannot be coded outside its reported stance: a text may reproduce a stereotype only in order to criticize it.

The 2022 Kun.uz interview illustrates a more complex coexistence of egalitarian and role-based evaluation. It supports equal access to education, leadership, and work while also describing the preservation of a woman's honor and family position in strongly normative terms. Rather than classifying the entire text as simply traditional or progressive, a pragmatic analysis can identify competing value systems operating within the same discourse. This mixed pattern is more informative than a binary cultural label.

Female-Oriented Evaluation

Female-oriented evaluations show the clearest contrast in the original coding. The English sample frequently foregrounds achievement, autonomy, confidence, and leadership. The Uzbek sample more frequently foregrounds wisdom, patience, respectability, care, and family responsibility, while also containing contemporary evaluations of women's education, employment, entrepreneurship, and leadership. The revised analysis therefore rejects the stronger claim that English constructs women as autonomous whereas Uzbek constructs women as domestic. A more defensible conclusion is that the sampled English texts more often foreground public/professional agency, whereas the sampled Uzbek texts contain a denser interaction between public participation and family- or morality-related norms.

Male-Oriented Evaluation

The reported male-oriented examples similarly associate English masculinity with leadership, achievement, and authority, whereas the Uzbek examples more often include courage, protection, breadwinning, and responsibility. However, the 2020 and 2025 Uzbek materials also explicitly question rigid male dominance and show that gender inequality can constrain men as well as women. Thus, male-oriented evaluation should be analyzed not only as stereotype reproduction but also as a site where provider, protector, authority, and equality discourses are negotiated.

Source-Verifiable Illustrations From the Uzbek Materials

Table 4

Illustrative Uzbek Evaluative Contexts and Pragmatic Interpretation

Source	Short contextual expression	Attitude / orientation	Pragmatic interpretation
Kun.uz, 2016	“ayollarning mavqei mustahkamlanib borayotgani” [women’s position is becoming stronger]	Appreciation/Judgment; positive	Values increased public participation and status

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Kun.uz, 2016	“ayollarning o‘rni oshxonada” [a woman’s place is in the kitchen]	Judgment; negative/quoted stereotype	Reports a restrictive stereotype as persisting in some contexts
Kun.uz, 2020	“erkaklar ustunroq, ayollar quyiroqda” [men are superior, women are lower]	Judgment; negative/criticized	Names and rejects a hierarchy produced by unequal access
Kun.uz, 2022	“ayol degan buyuk nom” [the great name/title of woman]	Judgment/Appreciation; positive	Elevates womanhood while linking it to normative respectability
Kun.uz, 2022	“ayollarning erkaklar bilan teng huquqliligi” [women’s equal rights with men]	Appreciation; positive	Legitimizes equal access to education and leadership
Kun.uz, 2025	“ayollar kamroq qobiliyatli” [women are less capable]	Judgment; negative/quoted stereotype	Cites a stereotype as an object of critique rather than authorial endorsement

Note. Translations are functional glosses. These examples illustrate context-sensitive coding and do not substitute for the full 100-unit supplementary matrix.

Discussion

The revised analysis supports three principal conclusions. First, Judgment is the predominant attitudinal resource in both samples. Second, broad category frequencies are more similar than different, whereas qualitative contrasts emerge in the kinds of social values that are foregrounded. Third, the relationship between evaluation and gender is not adequately captured by a simple opposition between an individualist English model and a collectivist Uzbek model. The selected texts contain overlapping, competing, and changing discourses.

Why Judgment Dominates

Judgment is well suited to gendered discourse because gender norms are frequently articulated as expectations about what people should be able to do, how they should behave, what responsibilities they should fulfill, and what identities deserve recognition. In Appraisal terms, these meanings are closely related to social esteem and social sanction (Martin & White, 2005). Gendered public discourse therefore often evaluates capacity, tenacity, propriety, and normality even when the text is ostensibly about employment, politics, family life, or social policy.

This finding is consistent with a social-practice view of gender. If gender is produced through repeated norms, activities, and interpretations rather than expressed as a fixed linguistic property, evaluations of behavior become a central mechanism through which gendered identities are maintained or challenged (Butler, 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Terms associated with competence, care, authority, modesty, ambition, or responsibility can position individuals relative to culturally available models of femininity and masculinity.

Interpreting the English-Uzbek Contrast Without Essentialism

The strongest pattern reported in the original study is a difference in evaluative focus: the sampled English materials emphasize individual agency and professional participation more often, whereas the sampled Uzbek materials more frequently connect evaluation to social responsibility, family relations, respectability, and moral conduct. This contrast is analytically useful, but it must be bounded by the design. The English and Uzbek source sets differ in outlet type, historical period, and topic distribution. Some of

the contrast may therefore reflect institutional genre and editorial agenda rather than language or culture alone.

Institutional sources that explicitly promote women's empowerment are likely to contain positive evaluations of leadership, equality, agency, and participation. News interviews centered on family, employment, or national values may predictably foreground responsibility, social roles, and respectability. Consequently, the present study can identify patterned differences in the selected texts, but it cannot determine how much of those differences is attributable to English versus Uzbek, to national culture, to genre, to source ideology, or to the particular articles chosen.

A further reason for caution is that the Uzbek material itself contains evidence against a static 'traditional' interpretation. The 2020 interview frames unequal access to rights as a social problem; the 2022 interview combines family-centered language with explicit support for women's equal access to leadership and education; and the 2025 article directly names and contests stereotypes about women's capability and paid work. These texts show an active negotiation of gender norms rather than a single coherent cultural model.

Pragmatics, Reported Speech, and Stance

One of the most important methodological lessons is that gendered evaluation must be coded at the level of stance, not lexical surface. A journalist may quote a sexist statement in order to condemn it. An interviewee may invoke a traditional norm while simultaneously advocating institutional equality. A label such as strong woman may be praise, cliché, irony, or metalinguistic discussion depending on context. The revised coding framework therefore separates the content of an expression from the speaker or writer's alignment with it.

This point also bears on translation. Direct lexical equivalence may obscure pragmatic differences because evaluative expressions evoke local social histories and expectations. For translators and language educators, the relevant question is not only what a phrase denotes but what kind of person, conduct, or role it positions as admirable, blameworthy, normal, or deviant in the target context. Comparative pragmatics thus complements lexical and grammatical comparison by foregrounding communicative force.

Contribution to Appraisal-Based Gender Research

The study should not be described as extending Appraisal Theory in a formal theoretical sense. A dataset of 100 purposively selected units is not sufficient to revise the architecture of the model. Its more modest contribution is methodological: it demonstrates how the Attitude subsystem can be combined with pragmatic function and sociocultural interpretation in a less-studied English-Uzbek comparison. The analysis also illustrates why category assignment alone is insufficient; similar Judgment resources can support different identities, ideologies, and rhetorical purposes.

Methodological Implications

The audit and revision of this study identify four requirements for future comparative work. First, source corpora should be matched as closely as possible by genre, topic, period, and institutional status. Second, the unit-level dataset should be openly documented with context windows and exact URLs. Third, coding should distinguish Attitude category, polarity, target, and pragmatic function rather than mixing those dimensions. Fourth, cultural claims should be presented as interpretations of evidence and tested against negative cases rather than treated as self-evident explanations.

A stronger follow-up design could sample equivalent numbers of English and Uzbek news articles from the same two-year period, stratify them by matched topics such as leadership, employment, family policy, and gender-based violence, normalize expression frequencies by corpus size, and incorporate independent coding. Such a design would permit more credible quantitative comparison and would reduce the confounding effects that constrain the present exploratory study.

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Limitations

Several limitations materially restrict the conclusions. The first is corpus size: 50 items per language are sufficient for exploratory qualitative interpretation but not for claims about typical usage across English or Uzbek discourse. The second is purposive selection, which means observed percentages describe the coded dataset rather than the languages. The third is source asymmetry. English items were reportedly drawn from multiple journalistic and institutional source families, while the Uzbek items were concentrated in four Kun.uz texts spanning 2016-2025. Topic, genre, source ideology, and time can therefore influence the observed contrast.

The fourth limitation is coding reliability. The study was conducted by a single researcher, and no independent double-coding record was included in the original manuscript. The fifth limitation is data transparency: the uploaded paper does not contain the full 100-item coding matrix or exact document-level metadata for the English subcorpus. This revision therefore cannot independently verify every aggregate coding decision. The sixth limitation concerns the treatment of gender itself. The dataset is organized largely around women/men and femininity/masculinity, so it does not capture the full diversity of gender identities or intersectional differences in class, age, ethnicity, region, sexuality, or institutional position.

These limitations do not make the exploratory analysis unusable, but they determine the appropriate level of inference. The findings should be read as hypotheses and discourse patterns worthy of further testing, not as definitive statements about English culture, Uzbek culture, women, or men.

Conclusion and Implications

This study examined gendered evaluative expressions in selected English and Uzbek public discourse through the Attitude subsystem of Appraisal Theory and a comparative pragmatic lens. Judgment was the most frequent attitudinal category in both samples, accounting for approximately two thirds of the coded items. The central contrast was qualitative: the sampled English materials more frequently foregrounded agency, competence, leadership, and professional achievement, while the sampled Uzbek materials more often combined evaluations of responsibility, respectability, family relations, moral conduct, and social obligation with emerging discourses of equality, employment, education, and leadership.

The revised interpretation is deliberately narrower than the original. The evidence does not justify claims that English discourse is inherently individualist or that Uzbek discourse is inherently collectivist, nor can a purposive and source-asymmetric corpus establish what is commonly used in either language. What the data do show is that similar evaluative categories can participate in different pragmatic configurations, and that those configurations are best understood through context, stance, source type, and sociocultural interpretation.

For translation and intercultural communication, the findings reinforce the importance of pragmatic equivalence. Gender-related evaluations may carry different assumptions about competence, responsibility, family, authority, or social respectability even when dictionary meanings appear close. For language education, contextualized evaluation can provide a productive way to teach how social meanings emerge beyond literal semantics. For future research, the priority is methodological: larger matched corpora, transparent item-level data, independent coding, and explicit treatment of genre and source effects are necessary before broader cross-cultural conclusions can be sustained.

Declarations

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Author Contributions. Feruza Baxtiyorova was responsible for the conceptualization, literature review, corpus compilation, analysis, interpretation, and preparation of the manuscript.

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Ethics Approval. The study analyzes publicly available written discourse and did not involve recruitment or intervention with human participants.

Data Availability. Exact public-source metadata for the four Uzbek source texts are provided in the references and Appendix A. Before journal submission, the complete 100-unit coding matrix and exact document-level metadata for the English subcorpus should be supplied as supplementary material or deposited in a public repository. No missing item-level data have been fabricated in this revision.

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A SOCIO-COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS AND ADDRESS FORMS IN THE SPEECH OF A DIALECTAL LINGUISTIC PERSONALITY: EVIDENCE FROM SAMARKAND UZBEK

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the socio-cognitive and pragmatic organization of politeness and address forms in the speech of dialectal linguistic personalities in the Samarkand Region of Uzbekistan. The empirical basis is field material collected from 112 native speakers in Samarkand city and several districts of the region between 2024 and 2026 through participant observation and spontaneous everyday interaction. The analysis is explicitly qualitative and does not make population-level frequency claims. The analysis integrates Karaulov's three-level model of linguistic personality with pragmatic approaches to speech action, face, relational work, and culturally situated politeness. Three recurrent tendencies are identified. First, phonetic and formulaic reduction, including forms such as Somalaykum and Sobo', functions as an interactionally meaningful resource in familiar and informal settings, although reduction is treated as an association rather than a deterministic marker of social closeness. Second, politeness resources can be organized provisionally as a core-periphery field in which broadly shared etiquette formulae coexist with regionally salient forms such as aylansin, aylanay, and qoqindiq. Third, self-lowering expressions such as kamina and faqir contribute to relational positioning by elevating the addressee and indexing conventional social deference in culturally marked situations. The findings show that dialectal politeness is best understood as context-sensitive relational practice rather than as a fixed inventory of etiquette formulae. The study contributes qualitative evidence to Uzbek dialectology, pragmalinguistics, and research on linguistic personality while also identifying the need for future corpus-based work with fuller demographic metadata, verbatim interactional transcripts, and quantitative distributional analysis.

ACCEPTED

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Keywords: *dialectal linguistic personality; politeness; address forms; Samarkand Uzbek; face; relational work; ethnocultural memory; dialectal discourse.*

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1. Introduction

Language is not only a system of signs but also a socially distributed resource through which speakers enact relationships, display local identities, and reproduce culturally meaningful expectations. Dialectal speech is especially valuable for examining this interaction because regional forms are embedded

in everyday routines and may retain meanings that are weakened, standardized, or redistributed in the literary language. From an anthropocentric perspective, the dialect speaker can therefore be studied not simply as a carrier of a regional code but as a linguistic personality whose lexical choices, conceptual knowledge, and communicative motives are organized through social experience.

Politeness and address are productive domains for such analysis. Greetings, blessings, terms of affection, deferential self-reference, and forms of address do more than satisfy etiquette conventions: they position speakers in relation to age, familiarity, status, shared history, and the immediate communicative situation. Classical pragmatics established that utterances perform social actions and that meaning depends on inferential cooperation as well as linguistic form (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1975). Goffman's (1967) account of face and interaction ritual later provided a sociological foundation for understanding how participants sustain a socially recognizable self in interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987) systematized face-related politeness strategies, while subsequent scholarship has emphasized that politeness cannot be reduced to universal face-threat mitigation and must be interpreted through relational, discursive, and cultural norms (Eelen, 2001; Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Locher & Watts, 2005; Terkourafi, 2005; Watts, 2003).

In Uzbek linguistics, the relevance of this perspective is reinforced by work on linguistic economy and pragmalinguistic organization. Eltazarov (2004) treats economy and reduction as important tendencies in spoken language, while Hakimov (2013) develops an Uzbek pragmalinguistic account of how speakers manage communicative relations and intentions. At the same time, Karaulov's (2010) model of linguistic personality offers a framework for linking verbal-semantic resources, conceptual organization, and pragmatic motivation. Ethnolinguistic research on dialect speakers further shows the value of field-based, core-periphery modelling for identifying how local lexical resources encode cultural experience (Tupikova & Starodubtseva, 2023).

Bringing these traditions together requires a method that separates linguistic description from pragmatic interpretation. The present study therefore treats its Samarkand material as qualitative evidence, uses Karaulov's level terminology consistently, distinguishes structurally different greeting and response forms, and interprets face-related meanings through local context rather than assuming that a particular form has a fixed politeness value.

The purpose of the study is therefore to identify recurrent linguistic and pragmatic patterns in politeness and address forms documented in Samarkand dialectal speech and to interpret those patterns through a socio-cognitive framework without claiming statistical representativeness. The study asks how formal reduction, ethnocultural field structure, and relational positioning interact in the speech of the dialectal linguistic personality.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Linguistic personality and dialectal speech

Karaulov's (2010) linguistic-personality model is useful because it separates, while still relating, three analytical planes. The verbal-semantic or zero level concerns the linguistic resources available to a speaker and their formal realization. The cognitive or thesaurus level concerns the concepts, values, and culturally structured knowledge through which those resources acquire significance. The motivational-pragmatic level concerns communicative goals, intentions, and strategies. In the present study, these labels are used consistently as zero, first, and second levels respectively. No additional "third level" is introduced.

Applied to dialectal speech, the model directs attention away from treating regional forms as isolated deviations from a standard. A reduced greeting can be described at the verbal-semantic level, but its interactional value depends on the social knowledge and expectations associated with the situation, while its actual selection reflects a speaker's communicative orientation. This multi-level interpretation is compatible with ethnolinguistic approaches that analyze the lexicon of dialect speakers as a structured representation of local cultural experience (Tupikova & Starodubtseva, 2023). Their core-periphery modelling is particularly relevant to the present material, provided that "core" and "periphery" are treated

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as interpretive categories based on functional breadth and regional specificity rather than as statistically established frequency bands.

2.2. Politeness, face, and relational work

Brown and Levinson (1987) remain important because they connect politeness strategies with the management of positive and negative face. Positive face concerns the desire for one's wants and self-presentation to be appreciated or ratified; negative face concerns freedom from imposition. These concepts should not be equated with a generally "safe" or intimate environment. Familiarity may make some forms of reduction or directness appropriate, but that contextual appropriateness is an empirical interactional matter rather than a definition of positive face.

Later approaches have challenged analyst-imposed judgments about what counts as polite. Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) distinguish everyday evaluations of politeness from theoretical models, while Locher and Watts (2005) place politeness within the broader concept of relational work: the ongoing negotiation of interpersonal relations, which may be appropriate, polite, over-polite, or impolite depending on participant expectations. Terkourafi (2005) similarly argues for a frame-based account in which recurrent context-form associations become socially recognizable. Kádár and Haugh (2013) emphasize multiple participant and analyst understandings of politeness. These perspectives are especially useful for dialectal data because the same shortened form may be affiliative in one setting and inappropriate in another.

Other accounts broaden the analysis beyond face-threat mitigation. Leech (2014) describes politeness as communicative behavior oriented toward others, while Spencer-Oatey's (2008) rapport-management perspective incorporates face, sociality rights, and interactional goals. Together, these approaches support a culturally situated interpretation: the present paper uses Brown and Levinson as one analytical lens, not as a universal template that determines the meaning of Uzbek dialectal forms in advance.

2.3. Linguistic economy and Uzbek pragmalinguistics

Eltazarov's (2004) account of economy in language provides a locally relevant explanation for recurrent reduction in spoken Uzbek. Economy can motivate shorter realizations, but economy alone does not establish a pragmatic meaning. A reduced form becomes socially interpretable only when its distribution is linked to recurring contexts and relationships. The present study therefore treats reduction as a formal process whose pragmatic value is inferred from contextual recurrence, not as an automatic index of intimacy.

Hakimov (2013) emphasizes pragmatic intention, interpersonal positioning, and culturally grounded communicative strategies in Uzbek. This is directly relevant to forms of self-lowering such as kamina and faqir, which can elevate the addressee and conventionally display deference. Such expressions are analyzed here as relational resources rather than as literal claims about the speaker's status.

3. Research Questions

RQ1. What recurrent formal patterns characterize politeness and address resources in the documented Samarkand dialectal material?

RQ2. How do communicative setting, interlocutor relationship, and regional ethnocultural conventions contribute to the pragmatic interpretation of these forms?

RQ3. How can the observed patterns be mapped onto Karaulov's verbal-semantic, cognitive, and motivational-pragmatic levels without reducing politeness to a single universal strategy model?

4. Materials and Methods

4.1. Research design and field material

The study uses a qualitative, field-based contextual-pragmatic design. The empirical material was collected between 2024 and 2026 in Samarkand city and several districts of the Samarkand Region. The field corpus comprises speech samples from 112 native speakers representing different age groups and

social backgrounds. Data were gathered through participant observation and spontaneous conversations in everyday communicative settings in order to preserve naturally occurring dialect use.

The field documentation used for this analysis does not include a complete demographic matrix, total corpus duration, or a tokenized inventory of all politeness forms. For that reason, the study does not calculate frequencies, percentages, subgroup comparisons, or inferential statistics. The number 112 describes the field participant pool; it is not used as the denominator for prevalence claims. The analysis is therefore descriptive and interpretive rather than distributional.

4.2. Unit of analysis and inclusion logic

The unit of interpretation is a contextualized politeness or address form documented within a communicative setting. Examples were interpreted in relation to immediate discourse context, interlocutor relationship, setting, and pragmatic intention. The analytic dataset used for this article does not include verbatim transcripts of complete conversational episodes; accordingly, the Results report attested forms and the contextual categories recorded in the field analysis rather than reconstructed dialogue.

Forms were retained for analysis when they were described as recurrent across naturally occurring interactions and when their functional interpretation could be connected to one or more of the following contextual dimensions: familiarity or social distance, informality or ceremony, culturally marked situations such as hospitality, matchmaking, or condolences, and relational positioning through self-lowering or addressee elevation. Idiosyncratic individual uses are not treated as general dialectal patterns.

4.3. Analytical procedure

Table 1.

Analytical framework used in the study

Analytical level	Primary evidence	Question asked	Interpretive output
Verbal-semantic (zero)	Phonetic/formulaic realization; lexical choice; address form	What linguistic form is used and how does it differ from the standard or full formula?	Description of reduction, lexical selection, or formulaic structure
Cognitive/thesaurus (first)	Shared cultural knowledge; field organization; regional salience	What culturally structured meanings or expectations make the form recognizable?	Core-periphery positioning and ethnocultural interpretation
Motivational-pragmatic (second)	Communicative situation; relationship; speaker orientation	What relational work does the form appear to perform in context?	Affiliation, deference, social distance, addressee elevation, or situational appropriateness

Analysis proceeded in three passes. First, formal variants were classified by their relation to fuller or standard forms. Second, the examples were grouped by culturally and interactionally relevant fields. Third, pragmatic interpretations were checked against the documented situation and relationship rather than inferred from form alone. This procedure follows the contextual emphasis of contemporary politeness research (Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Locher & Watts, 2005; Terkourafi, 2005) and the field-modelling logic used in ethnolinguistic dialect research (Tupikova & Starodubtseva, 2023).

No inter-coder reliability coefficient is reported because the coding record does not document independent double-coding. Accordingly, the analysis is interpretive and exploratory rather than a reliability-tested annotation study.

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4.4. Research integrity, privacy, and scope

The article reports linguistic forms and generalized communicative settings only and reproduces no participant names or other personal identifiers. The research record available for this study does not contain an institutional ethics-approval number or a detailed account of the participant-consent procedure; consequently, the paper makes no unsupported claim about either.

The analysis is geographically bounded. Its conclusions refer to the Samarkand field material represented in the corpus and should not be generalized automatically to all Uzbek dialects.

5. Results

5.1. Reduction and formulaic restructuring

The clearest verbal-semantic pattern is reduction of conventional etiquette formulae. The field material documents Somalaykum, Qullu bo‘sin, and Sobo‘ alongside fuller standard forms. Somalaykum is analyzed as a reduced realization of the initiating greeting Assalomu alaykum, whereas Vaalaykum is treated separately as an elliptical or reduced response associated with Va alaykum assalom. The distinction is important because an initiating greeting and its response occupy different positions in the greeting sequence and should not be treated as equivalent phonetic variants.

The data support a qualitative association between reduced forms and informal or familiar interaction. They do not establish that phonetic reduction “determines” socio-pragmatic closeness. Reduction may be shaped simultaneously by economy, routinization, speech rate, local phonology, and interactional familiarity. The strongest defensible claim is therefore that the documented reduced forms were interpreted in the field analysis as recurrent resources in contexts of lower formality and greater shared interactional familiarity.

Table 2.

Attested etiquette forms and linguistic classification

Full / standard form	Attested dialectal form	Linguistic classification	Pragmatic interpretation supported by the field material
Assalomu alaykum	Somalaykum	Phonetic/formulaic reduction of initiating greeting	Associated with familiar or informal interaction; interpreted as compatible with pragmatic closeness, not as a deterministic marker
Va alaykum assalom	Vaalaykum	Elliptical/reduced response formula	A shortened response within a conventional greeting sequence; should be analyzed separately from the initiating greeting
Qutlug‘ bo‘lsin	Qullu bo‘sin	Phonetic adaptation/reduction	Informal realization of a conventional good-wish formula
Sog‘ bo‘ling	Sobo‘	Strong contraction	Informal, routinized realization in everyday interaction

5.2. Core-periphery organization of politeness resources

The second pattern concerns the cognitive organization of etiquette and address resources. The field analysis distinguishes broadly shared religious-etiquette formulae from more locally salient items and from affective or relational forms. This can be represented as a provisional core-periphery field, but the categories should not be mistaken for frequency tiers. In the present study, “core” means broad functional and cultural accessibility across situations, while “periphery” refers to increasing regional specificity or narrower relational use.

The field material identifies regionally meaningful forms such as aylansin, aylanay, and qoqindiq. These forms are treated as carriers of local ethnocultural meaning because their interpretation depends on culturally shared expectations and patterns of endearment, affection, or relational positioning. The value of the model lies in showing how shared etiquette and regional identity can coexist within one repertoire rather than in ranking forms statistically.

Table 3.

Provisional core-periphery model for the documented politeness repertoire

Zone	Operational criterion	Examples reported in the field material	Interpretive value
Core	Broadly shared etiquette value across multiple settings	Religious-etiquette and conventional politeness formulae	Maintains continuity with widely recognized cultural and etiquette norms
Near periphery	More relationship-sensitive and affective use	Forms of endearment and affection	Indexes emotional closeness and interpersonal involvement
Far periphery	Greater regional specificity or narrower local distribution	aylansin; aylanay; qoqindiq	Makes regional ethnocultural identity more salient and may participate in the management of local social distance or affiliation

5.3. Self-lowering and addressee elevation

A third recurrent pattern occurs at the motivational-pragmatic level. The field material highlights self-lowering expressions such as kamina (“this humble person”), faqir (“this humble servant”), and formulae glossed as “your servant.” In contexts such as hospitality, matchmaking, and condolences, these expressions can position the speaker as deferential while elevating the addressee. Hakimov’s (2013) pragmalinguistic perspective helps explain this pattern as a culturally conventional relational strategy rather than literal self-denigration.

This result is compatible with face-oriented models insofar as the expressions may support the addressee’s desired social standing, but the analysis does not reduce them to positive-face work alone. Rapport management and relational-work approaches are more flexible because they allow sociality expectations, conventional roles, and local norms to shape the interpretation (Locher & Watts, 2005; Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

Table 4.

Contextual functions represented in the field material

Resource type	Illustrative form / context	Primary relational work	Analytical caution
Reduced etiquette formula	Somalaykum; Sobo‘ in informal everyday interaction	Affiliation and routinized ease	Reduction is associated with context; it is not a direct measure of intimacy
Regional-affective form	aylansin; aylanay; qoqindiq	Endearment, affection, or regionally recognizable positioning	Exact force depends on speaker, addressee, and micro-situation

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Resource type	Illustrative form / context	Primary relational work	Analytical caution
Self-lowering expression	kamina; faqir; "your servant"	Deference and addressee elevation	Should be interpreted as conventional positioning rather than literal social self-assessment
Fixed culturally marked expression	Matchmaking (sovchilik) and related ceremonial interaction	Maintaining social equilibrium within a culturally scripted encounter	Interpretation is limited to the recorded contextual category because verbatim dialogue is unavailable

5.4. Integrated three-level pattern

Taken together, the results support a layered rather than linear account. At the verbal-semantic level, speakers draw on reductions, lexical selections, and conventional formulae. At the cognitive level, these forms are interpreted through culturally shared fields, including distinctions between broadly recognized etiquette and locally salient expressions. At the motivational-pragmatic level, speakers use the available repertoire to manage affiliation, deference, social distance, and participation in culturally scripted situations.

The three levels are mutually constraining. A shortened form is not pragmatically meaningful merely because it is short; it becomes meaningful through recurrent cultural and interactional expectations. Conversely, a culturally valued strategy can only be realized through concrete linguistic resources. This interaction between form, shared knowledge, and communicative motivation is the strongest contribution of the dialectal linguistic-personality framework to the present data.

6. Discussion

6.1. Reduction as contextualized practice, not a deterministic social index

The first research question concerned recurrent formal patterns. The field material supports the existence of reduction and formulaic restructuring, consistent with Eltazarov's (2004) principle of linguistic economy. A contextual interpretation is necessary because it would be circular to identify a form as "close" because it is reduced and then use that reduction as evidence that speakers are close. The present analysis instead treats reduction as a linguistic tendency whose social value emerges through recurring contextual associations.

This approach is compatible with Terkourafi's (2005) frame-based account: if a reduced form repeatedly occurs in a recognizable type of situation, participants may come to associate that form with the situation without requiring an explicit calculation of face threat. It is also compatible with Watts (2003) and Locher and Watts (2005), who caution against treating all socially appropriate behavior as marked politeness. A shortened greeting among familiar speakers may simply be the expected, unmarked form of relational work in that setting.

6.2. Face theory in a culturally situated analysis

The second research question asked how social and cultural context contributes to interpretation. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory remains useful for describing how speakers attend to interpersonal wants, but the Samarkand material demonstrates why it should not be used as the sole explanatory framework. Positive face is not equivalent to a "safe environment," and formal reduction is not inherently positive-politeness behavior. The same reduced form may be affiliative among peers but inappropriate in a ceremonial or status-sensitive interaction.

Goffman's (1967) broader notion of face as socially sustained self-presentation, Spencer-Oatey's (2008) attention to rapport and sociality rights, and Kádár and Haugh's (2013) emphasis on multiple understandings of politeness provide a stronger interpretive combination. They allow local norms to determine whether a form counts as deferential, affectionate, merely appropriate, or potentially

disrespectful. Leech's (2014) account likewise underscores other-orientation but does not remove the need for culturally specific evidence.

6.3. Ethnocultural memory and the dialectal linguistic personality

The core-periphery organization addresses the third research question by showing how linguistic personality links form with culturally structured knowledge. Karaulov's (2010) model is especially useful here. At the zero level, a speaker commands a repertoire of formulae and regional variants. At the first level, those forms are embedded in knowledge about appropriate social relations and locally meaningful situations. At the second level, the speaker chooses among them to achieve interactional goals. Using this hierarchy consistently prevents conflation between formal realization, culturally structured knowledge, and pragmatic motivation.

The comparison with Tupikova and Starodubtseva (2023) is methodologically productive because their ethnolinguistic treatment of dialect speakers also emphasizes thematic segmentation, micro-situations, and field modelling. The present study adapts that logic to politeness resources in Samarkand Uzbek. The resulting core-periphery model should be read as a qualitative representation of cultural salience rather than as a distribution derived from counts.

6.4. Speech action and inference

The data also reinforce a basic pragmatic insight: etiquette formulae are actions, not merely lexical objects. Austin's (1962) speech-act perspective explains why greetings, blessings, deferential self-reference, and ceremonial formulae perform relational work through being uttered in an appropriate setting. Grice's (1975) account of inferential meaning helps explain why interlocutors can recover social intentions from reduced or conventionalized forms when sufficient common ground is available. In dialectal interaction, this common ground includes regional speech norms and shared ethnocultural expectations.

The contribution of the present analysis is therefore not a new universal taxonomy of politeness. It is a context-sensitive description of how a regional repertoire can be organized across formal, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions. That narrower claim is better supported by the available evidence and is more consistent with contemporary critiques of universalistic politeness models (Eelen, 2001; Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

7. Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The study has four important limitations. First, although field material was collected from 112 speakers, the available field documentation does not provide a complete demographic breakdown by age, gender, education, occupation, district, or rural/urban residence. The study therefore cannot compare social groups statistically. Second, the available record does not provide total corpus duration, token counts, or a complete inventory of politeness occurrences; frequencies and percentages would be misleading and are intentionally omitted.

Third, the analytic dataset does not include full verbatim conversational episodes. This limits fine-grained conversation-analytic claims about sequential position, uptake, and participant evaluation. Future research should archive anonymized excerpts that include speaker metadata, interactional sequence, original dialectal form, standardized Uzbek equivalent, and English translation.

Fourth, the coding procedure is not independently reliability-tested in the available record. A follow-up corpus study should develop an explicit annotation manual and use at least two coders for form type, communicative setting, relationship, and pragmatic function, reporting intercoder agreement. Such a design would make it possible to test whether the qualitative associations identified here are robust and whether they vary by district, generation, or social relationship.

Future comparative work should also extend the framework to other Uzbek regional varieties. Such work could determine which etiquette resources are broadly shared across Uzbek, which are specific to Samarkand, and which change under urbanization, mobility, and standard-language influence. The present

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field study provides hypotheses and analytic categories for that larger program rather than a statistically representative map of Uzbek politeness.

8. Conclusion

This study has examined politeness and address forms in Samarkand dialectal speech through a socio-cognitive-pragmatic account of the dialectal linguistic personality. The analysis supports three conclusions. First, phonetic and formulaic reductions are recurrent resources in the documented material, but their pragmatic meaning must be interpreted contextually rather than treated as a direct or deterministic measure of social closeness. Second, the repertoire can be modelled provisionally as a core-periphery field in which broadly recognized etiquette practices coexist with affective and regionally salient forms. Third, self-lowering expressions such as kamina and faqir function as culturally recognizable resources for deferential positioning and addressee elevation in socially marked interactions.

Karaulov's model provides a coherent way to integrate these findings when its levels are used consistently: linguistic form belongs to the verbal-semantic level, culturally structured knowledge to the cognitive/thesaurus level, and interactional goals to the motivational-pragmatic level. Face theory contributes one perspective on interpersonal concerns, but the findings are better understood when combined with relational-work, rapport-management, and discursive approaches that allow local norms to shape politeness evaluations.

The empirical contribution is deliberately bounded. The findings describe the Samarkand material collected from 112 native speakers between 2024 and 2026; they do not establish population frequencies or universal features of Uzbek dialects. Within that scope, the study demonstrates that dialectal politeness is not a static list of formulas. It is a context-sensitive system in which linguistic economy, ethnocultural knowledge, and relational goals interact. This perspective strengthens the place of dialectal evidence in Uzbek pragmalinguistics and provides a defensible foundation for future corpus-based and comparative research.

Declarations

Data availability. The field materials are not deposited in a public repository. The paper reports only anonymized linguistic forms and generalized communicative settings.

Ethics and consent. The research record available for this article does not document an institutional ethics-approval number or the precise participant-consent procedure. The article therefore makes no unsupported ethics-approval or consent claim and contains no participant names or identifying personal details.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERIZATION OF NAZIRA IN ZULFIYA QUROLBOY QIZI'S MASHAQQATLI HAYOT SO‘QMOQLARI (THE PATHS OF A DIFFICULT LIFE)

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the psychological characterization of Nazira in Zulfiya Qurolboy qizi's novel Mashaqqatli hayot so‘qmoqlari (The Paths of a Difficult Life). It adopts a qualitative close-reading method based on a purposive corpus of seven representative passages. The analysis distinguishes direct characterization, internal focalization, inner monologue, psychological portraiture, embodied detail, simile, metaphor, antithesis, and dream imagery rather than treating these devices as interchangeable. The findings show that the central organizing tension of the novel's psychologism lies between Nazira's outward endurance and her concealed need for affection, recognition, and support. Physical details such as wrinkles, the sparkle of the eyes, trembling lips, and greying hair translate emotional pressure into visible signs, while inner monologue marks moments when controlled endurance approaches breakdown. The dream of an expanding flower and a broken pot is interpreted as a symbolic condensation of accumulated distress and exhausted patience. The study also treats the novel's reported biographical basis as paratextual framing, analyzing Nazira as an artistically reconstructed biographical protagonist rather than as a purely documentary figure. Overall, the devices work as an integrated system that makes changes in Nazira's self-perception and emotional agency narratively legible.

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Keywords: *literary psychologism, psychological characterization, Nazira, female subjectivity, inner monologue, psychological portrait, dream imagery.*

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1. Introduction

The representation of consciousness is one of the central problems of narrative art because fictional characters become intelligible not only through what they do but also through how their perceptions, memories, bodily reactions, judgments, and unspoken desires are mediated by narrative discourse (Cohn, 1978; Herman, 2011; Palmer, 2002). Cognitive approaches further suggest that readers infer fictional minds from incomplete textual cues and attribute beliefs, intentions, and emotions to characters as they read (Zunshine, 2003). In contemporary Uzbek prose, this problem is especially important in works that place women's experience at the intersection of family obligation, economic pressure, social expectation, and individual aspiration. Zulfiya Qurolboy qizi's 2024 novel *Mashaqqatli hayot so‘qmoqlari* (The Paths of a Difficult Life) offers a productive case because its protagonist, Nazira, is repeatedly presented through the contrast between external composure and internal strain.

The book's publisher-facing description identifies Nazira Shodmonova, a well-known entrepreneur from Qashqadarya, as the life model for the novel and states that the author researched her enterprises,

family members, relatives, and business associates over several years (Asaxiy Books, n.d.). This paratextual claim matters because it positions the work between biography and fiction. It does not eliminate literary construction: selection, focalization, figurative language, scene arrangement, and the representation of consciousness remain artistic choices. Accordingly, the present study treats Nazira as an artistically reconstructed biographical protagonist rather than as a transparent documentary copy of a historical person.

Earlier scholarship on Uzbek prose has discussed the artistic interpretation of women's psychology and the role of portraiture, inner monologue, dream, memory, landscape, and detail in representing mental life (Eshmatova, 2020). International narrative theory has established more precise categories for consciousness representation, focalization, and characterization (Cohn, 1978; Genette, 1980; Herman, 2011; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002), while cognitive and affective research explains how readers infer fictional minds, simulate social experience, and respond to foregrounded language (Keen, 2006; Mar & Oatley, 2008; Miall & Kuiken, 1994; Oatley, 1999, 2012, 2016; Zunshine, 2003). Nevertheless, the particular interaction of these devices in the construction of Nazira has not been systematically clarified in the available discussion. The problem is not simply to list devices but to explain how they cooperate, what distinctions should be maintained among them, and how they mark changes in the protagonist's self-perception.

The article therefore asks three questions: (1) Which narrative and figurative devices make Nazira's psychological states legible? (2) How does the novel organize the tension between her outward endurance and concealed vulnerability? (3) What kind of character development can be demonstrated from the selected episodes without claiming more than the textual evidence supports? The study argues that the novel's psychological characterization is cumulative and relational: direct characterization establishes a disposition, internal focalization and inner monologue expose self-evaluation, embodied details externalize pressure, and dream imagery condenses conflict into symbolic form.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In Uzbek literary studies, artistic psychologism refers to the literary system through which a work represents the mental and emotional life of characters. Eshmatova's (2020) study of women's psychology in Uzbek novellas of the independence period emphasizes inner monologue, dialogue, authorial narration, landscape, dream, memory, and symbolic imagery. Her work is important for the present article because it treats women's psychological experience as a problem of poetics rather than as a collection of generalized psychological traits. This local scholarly tradition provides the literary-historical basis for examining Nazira, while the present study supplements it with narratological and cognitive terminology.

Narratology provides a precise vocabulary for differentiating the modes through which mental life is represented. Cohn (1978) distinguishes techniques for presenting consciousness, including narrated thought and forms that approach direct interior discourse. Genette's (1980) concept of focalization clarifies the difference between who speaks and whose perspective organizes the information presented. Rimmon-Kenan (2002) similarly shows that characterization can be direct, through explicit statements, or indirect, through action, speech, appearance, environment, and analogy. Herman's (2011) collection further demonstrates that representations of consciousness vary historically and formally across narrative traditions. These distinctions are necessary because not every description of appearance is a psychological portrait, and not every figurative sentence is a metaphor.

Cognitive approaches extend this framework by explaining how readers construct fictional minds from both internal and external evidence. Palmer (2002) argues that fictional minds are inferred from dispositions, emotions, actions, bodily signs, and social relations rather than from direct introspection alone. Zunshine (2003) connects this inferential process with theory of mind, emphasizing readers' efforts to interpret characters' beliefs, intentions, and emotions. Oatley (1999, 2012, 2016) and Mar and Oatley (2008) describe fiction as a cognitive and emotional simulation of social experience. These insights are

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particularly relevant to Nazira: wrinkles, trembling lips, sleeplessness, bodily shaking, and changed appearance after betrayal become part of the reader's evolving model of her mind.

For the purposes of this study, the following working distinctions are used. Direct characterization explicitly attributes a trait to Nazira. Internal focalization filters a scene through her perception or evaluation. Inner monologue presents her unspoken verbal thought with relative immediacy. Psychological portraiture uses appearance or bodily gesture to reveal an inner state. A psychological detail is a small physical or material sign that carries emotional significance. A simile makes an explicit comparison, usually marked by 'like' or 'as,' whereas a metaphor transfers qualities without such an explicit marker. Antithesis organizes opposed states, such as outward calm and inward turmoil. Dream imagery presents psychologically charged images whose meanings are inferential and must therefore be argued cautiously rather than declared as fixed (Cohn, 1978; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002). Foregrounded figurative language is treated as analytically significant when it disrupts ordinary perception and intensifies affect (Miall & Kuiken, 1994).

This framework also avoids essentializing 'women's psychology.' The object of analysis is not an allegedly universal female nature but Nazira's situated subjectivity as constructed by a particular narrative. Family conflict, labor, economic aspiration, social comparison, betrayal, and the need for care are treated as narrative conditions of her experience, not as biologically predetermined characteristics. Research on narrative empathy likewise emphasizes that emotional engagement is shaped by textual design, perspective, and readerly inference rather than by transparent access to another person's mind (Keen, 2006).

3. Materials and Methods

The primary source is the 2024 Read Book edition of Zulfiya Qurolboy qizi's *Mashaqqatli hayot so‘qmoqlari* (The Paths of a Difficult Life), a 575-page Uzbek-language novel (ISBN 978-9910-9544-7-4). The analysis uses a purposive corpus of seven passages cited on pages 33, 35, 153, 233, 256, 268, and 420. These passages were selected because they directly represent Nazira through characterization, perception, figurative language, inner monologue, bodily detail, or dream imagery. The study is therefore an intensive qualitative analysis of representative episodes, not an exhaustive frequency study of every psychological device in the novel.

The procedure involved four stages. First, each passage was classified according to the primary mode of psychological representation. Second, the wording and formal structure of the passage were examined to distinguish, for example, simile from metaphor and direct characterization from psychological portraiture. Third, each device was interpreted in relation to Nazira's changing self-understanding and the surrounding narrative situation. Fourth, the passages were compared across the character trajectory to identify recurrent tensions, especially the opposition between endurance and vulnerability. All English translations from Uzbek are the author's unless otherwise indicated, and all page references correspond to the 2024 Uzbek edition.

The method has two deliberate limits. It does not make clinical claims about the protagonist, and it does not treat dream imagery as having a single universal meaning. Nor does it claim that the selected passages represent every stage or device in the novel. Interpretations are restricted to features that can be supported by the quoted language and its stated narrative context.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Initial characterization: ability, diligence, and inwardness

Nazira is first established through a combination of direct characterization and indirect evidence. The narrator describes her as hardworking in domestic life, academically capable, warm-hearted, and somewhat dreamy:

Despite the numerous household responsibilities and her constant hard work, Nazira studied well at school. Apart from being somewhat dreamy, this diligent and warm-hearted girl was a favorite among her teachers. While other children sometimes had to read something three or four

times before understanding it, Nazira could grasp it after reading it only once; whenever the teacher asked her, she would confidently recite the lesson fluently. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 33)

This passage should not be described solely as a psychological portrait because its main technique is explicit characterization supported by habitual action. The narrator names stable traits - diligence, warmth, intelligence, and dreaminess - and illustrates them through school performance. The adjective 'dreamy' is psychologically suggestive, but it remains a concise dispositional marker rather than a developed representation of consciousness. Its importance becomes clearer retrospectively: Nazira's inwardness and capacity to imagine alternatives later coexist with the practical discipline required by hardship.

A second passage defines her reserve:

Whenever she intended to undertake something, she did not announce it to the whole world before anyone else, as some girls tend to do. In general, until that time, not even her younger sister knew anything about her goals or intentions. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 35)

Here characterization emerges through a pattern of withheld speech. Nazira's privacy is not simply shyness; it is a strategy of self-protection and self-governance. She separates intention from public declaration, keeping plans within an interior space until action makes them visible. The passage therefore establishes a trait that later shapes the novel's psychologism: Nazira experiences deeply but does not readily externalize need, fear, or ambition. This reserve enables endurance, yet it also limits access to support.

4.2. Internal focalization and social self-evaluation

The scene in which Nazira observes other women marks a shift from stable characterization to active self-evaluation:

Looking at the women around her - some nervous and hurried, others calm and seemingly content with themselves and their lives - Nazira felt like a piece of straw being carried along by a vast current. She realized that, amid this crowd in which the diverse interests of life intertwined, it was not easy even to find a modest yet meaningful occupation, let alone accomplish something notable and make herself visible. Her mood deteriorated. She realized that she had become overly confident in herself and had deceived herself. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 153)

The passage is organized by internal focalization: the surrounding crowd is not presented neutrally but as it appears within Nazira's comparative consciousness. Her observation divides the women into visible emotional types and then turns inward. The simile of the straw in a current expresses diminished agency. Straw has little weight and no control over direction; the current stands for the complex social and economic forces into which she has entered. The figure does not merely decorate the sentence. It converts an evaluative judgment - 'I cannot yet direct my life effectively' - into a spatial and kinetic image.

The repeated phrase 'she realized' stages a movement from perception to self-critique. Nazira recognizes both structural difficulty and her own inflated expectation. This double awareness prevents the scene from reducing her to helplessness: she is momentarily discouraged, but she is also capable of metacognition, the examination of her own assumptions. The episode therefore develops character by showing how aspiration becomes more realistic through disappointment.

4.3. Simile, metaphor, and the emotional semantics of warmth and fire

The article's source manuscript originally classified the following sentence simply as metaphor, but its grammar is more accurately described as an explicit simile followed by symbolic elaboration:

Just as a cold person longs for the warmth of a bonfire, she too yearned to warm herself in the glow of love. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 233)

The phrase 'just as' creates the simile: physical cold and emotional deprivation are compared through the shared need for warmth. Within that comparison, however, 'the glow of love' becomes metaphorical, because affection is conceptualized as heat and illumination. The image links body and emotion without claiming that the two are identical. A cold body requires fire; Nazira's deprived emotional

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life requires kindness, intimacy, and recognition. The bonfire also implies a source outside the self, suggesting that endurance alone cannot satisfy every psychological need.

A later passage transforms fire from desired warmth into destructive inner pressure:

Although the woman pretended to be asleep and lay motionless, a merciless fire within her made her whole body tremble, deprived her of peace, and prevented her from concentrating her thoughts. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 256)

Here 'fire' is a metaphor for anguish, agitation, and accumulated tension. The image also participates in an antithesis between the visible body and the concealed mind: she lies motionless and performs sleep, yet her body trembles under internal pressure. The contradiction is not accidental. It condenses Nazira's habitual pattern of concealment. The body partly betrays what the social self attempts to hide. Read together, the two fire images form a meaningful progression. At one point warmth signifies desired emotional rescue; later fire signifies pain that has become internally consuming. The repeated semantic field of heat thus registers both need and crisis.

4.4. Inner monologue and the threshold of exhaustion

The same scene culminates in a sharply segmented inner monologue:

Enough, I can't take it anymore. I won't go to work tomorrow. Not tomorrow - I won't go at all. Whatever happens, happens! (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 256)

Unlike narrated thought, this passage presents Nazira's unspoken language with minimal narratorial mediation. Its short clauses, repetition, correction, and exclamation reproduce a mind attempting to convert distress into decision. 'Not tomorrow - I won't go at all' revises a temporary withdrawal into a total refusal. The final sentence abandons calculation and accepts indeterminate consequences. Formally, the monologue dramatizes a threshold: controlled endurance becomes unsustainable, and language breaks into impulsive absolutes.

The importance of this moment lies less in whether Nazira permanently carries out the decision than in what the thought reveals. Her working identity has been maintained through self-discipline, but discipline has costs. The monologue exposes the psychic labor concealed by her external reliability. It also complicates any one-dimensional description of her as simply 'strong.' Strength in the novel includes fatigue, anger, refusal, and the desire to stop.

4.5. Psychological portraiture and embodied detail

The most accomplished instance of psychological portraiture combines facial detail with explicit concealment of emotional need:

Despite the appearance of yet another wrinkle on her forehead, the worries of married life had not yet deprived her of her youthful vitality. The sparkle in her large eyes indicated that the feeling of hopelessness was still unfamiliar to her. Yet, whenever her heart became restless and she struggled to resist some inexplicable doubts stirring within her, the involuntary, pitiful trembling of her lips still left the same impression on those who observed her. She was a woman, after all, and at the same time, she longed for someone's kindness and support, but she never let anyone notice this. (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 268)

Three details organize the portrait: the wrinkle, the sparkle of the eyes, and the trembling lips. The wrinkle records accumulated pressure, while the sparkle resists a totalizing interpretation of suffering. Hope and vitality remain visible. The trembling lips are more unstable: they appear involuntarily and disclose what Nazira attempts to conceal. These details do not function as a static inventory of appearance. They produce a dynamic portrait by placing contradictory signs on the same face.

The antithesis is therefore more complex than 'sad inside, calm outside.' The exterior itself is divided. Some features reveal endurance; others reveal strain. The observer reads the face as evidence of competing mental tendencies. This is consistent with Palmer's account of fictional minds as constructs assembled from bodily and social signs as well as direct access to thought (Palmer, 2002). The sentence

about longing for kindness makes explicit what the physical signs imply, but the final clause - 'she never let anyone notice this' - reasserts the governing pattern of concealment.

The phrase 'She was a woman, after all' requires critical caution. Taken literally, it risks naturalizing emotional need as an exclusively female condition. Within the scene, its more defensible function is rhetorical: it interrupts the public image of inexhaustible strength and insists on Nazira's human need for care. A contemporary analysis should therefore avoid converting this line into a general theory of women and should keep the focus on the protagonist's socially situated vulnerability.

4.6. Dream imagery as symbolic condensation

After Nazira learns that her husband has taken money accumulated through years of work, the narrative introduces an ambiguous state between sleep and imagination:

Nazira lay staring at the flowerpot on the windowsill. For a long time, she could not fall asleep. Eventually, she felt her eyelids growing heavy. Then she could not tell whether she had fallen asleep and dreamed or whether she had simply imagined it. All she knew was that the stem of the flower in the pot seemed to be slowly climbing upward like a crawling insect, producing branches and buds. In an instant, the sprawling branches of the flower seemed to fill the entire room. Its roots continued to grow larger and larger until the clay pot suddenly cracked and broke, scattering its fragments around. What could this signify? (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 420)

The episode is psychologically significant before any symbol is decoded. Sleeplessness, uncertain consciousness, accelerated growth, spatial invasion, and sudden breakage translate distress into a sequence of sensory images. The flower is ordinarily associated with life and growth, yet here growth becomes excessive and threatening. The stem crawls 'like an insect,' branches occupy the room, roots enlarge, and the container fails. The dream reverses a positive image: vitality without containment becomes pressure.

The most textually grounded interpretation is that the expanding plant condenses accumulating problems, while the pot figures the limited capacity within which Nazira has contained them. This reading should remain explicitly interpretive rather than absolute. The passage itself invites interpretation through the question 'What could this signify?' and provides no fixed symbolic glossary. Nevertheless, the sequence corresponds closely to the surrounding crisis: labor and hope have grown over time, betrayal expands the emotional consequences beyond control, and the structure that has contained strain breaks.

Dream imagery in literary narrative need not be assigned a fixed psychological code. In this episode, its function is aesthetic and interpretive: accelerated growth, spatial invasion, and breakage foreground the crisis, defamiliarize ordinary objects, and intensify affect (Miall & Kuiken, 1994). More broadly, fiction can simulate emotional and social situations without functioning as clinical evidence (Mar & Oatley, 2008; Oatley, 1999). The ambiguity between dream and imagination also keeps the scene close to Nazira's consciousness without requiring a supernatural or diagnostic interpretation.

4.7. The post-dream portrait: time written on the body

The dream is followed by a mirror scene:

The woman awoke from sleep with an uneasy feeling. As she examined herself in the mirror, she noticed that several more wrinkles had appeared on her forehead. Her hair was still as black as a leech, but an almost imperceptible streak of white had appeared through the middle... (Qurolboy qizi, 2024, p. 420)

The mirror converts inward disturbance into self-observation. Wrinkles and the first white strand are conventional signs of aging, but their placement immediately after betrayal and the dream gives them narrative specificity. They register experienced time rather than chronological time alone. Nazira perceives that suffering has altered the visible self. The modifiers are important: the white streak is 'almost imperceptible,' so the transformation is beginning rather than complete. The portrait marks a threshold, not an endpoint.

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This scene also differs from the earlier portrait. On page 268, signs of vitality and strain coexist and are potentially visible to others. On page 420, Nazira herself becomes the interpreter of her face. The movement from being observed to self-observation strengthens the theme of changing self-perception. Psychological characterization therefore occurs not only through what the narrator tells the reader, but through Nazira's own reading of bodily evidence.

4.8. Character dynamics: endurance, vulnerability, and emerging agency

Across the selected passages, Nazira's development can be described cautiously as a change in the organization of self-knowledge rather than as a complete linear transformation. The early passages establish competence and reserve. The social-comparison scene introduces self-doubt and more realistic appraisal. The warmth imagery identifies an unmet need, while the destructive fire and inner monologue reveal the cost of suppressing that need. The portraits translate pressure into bodily signs, and the dream represents a crisis of containment.

This sequence supports a limited claim about character dynamics. Nazira does not move simply from weakness to strength, because she is capable and disciplined from the beginning. Nor does she move simply from hope to despair, because vitality remains present amid distress. Instead, the novel repeatedly revises the meaning of strength. At first it appears as diligence and privacy; later it includes self-criticism, recognition of emotional need, anger at injustice, and awareness that endurance has limits. Psychological depth arises from the coexistence of these tendencies rather than from a single dominant trait.

The devices are therefore best understood as an integrated system. Direct characterization supplies the initial trait structure. Internal focalization reveals comparative judgment. Simile and metaphor embody abstract feeling. Antithesis organizes conflicting states. Inner monologue gives crisis a verbal rhythm. Portrait and bodily detail make concealed strain externally legible. Dream imagery condenses accumulated conflict. Their interaction individualizes Nazira because each mode contributes different evidence to the reader's evolving model of her mind.

5. Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that psychological characterization in *Mashaqqatli hayot so‘qmoqlari* (The Paths of a Difficult Life) depends on the coordinated use of narrative perspective, figurative language, bodily detail, and symbolic imagery. Nazira's inner life is not presented through introspection alone. It is distributed across what the narrator says about her, what she perceives, what she tells herself, what her body involuntarily reveals, and what appears in the ambiguous space of dream and imagination.

The central pattern is the tension between external endurance and concealed vulnerability. Nazira's reserve enables purposeful action, but it also prevents others from recognizing her need for support. Warmth imagery presents love as a desired source of renewal; fire imagery later transforms emotional intensity into destructive pressure. Inner monologue marks the point at which habitual self-control approaches refusal. Wrinkles, trembling lips, sparkling eyes, and greying hair produce a dynamic portrait in which resilience and suffering coexist.

The dream of the expanding flower and broken pot is most convincingly read as symbolic condensation of accumulated distress and limited emotional containment, although this interpretation should remain open rather than absolute. The post-dream mirror scene further develops the protagonist by making her the observer of changes written on her own body. These episodes support the conclusion that Nazira's character develops through increasing awareness of the costs and limits of endurance, not through a simplistic movement from weakness to strength.

The novel's reported biographical basis functions as paratextual framing, while the analysis concerns an artistically mediated character. This distinction preserves the relationship to lived experience without collapsing narrative form into documentation.

6. Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The study analyzes seven representative passages rather than the complete 575-page novel. Future research should map psychological devices across the full text, compare Nazira with other major characters, and examine the contribution of dialogue, setting, temporal structure, and economic discourse. Comparative work on contemporary Uzbek biographical novels could determine whether concealed vulnerability expressed through bodily and symbolic signs is distinctive to Nazira or part of a broader tendency.

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TWENTIETH-CENTURY UZBEK LITERATURE: LITERARY GENERATIONS, GENRE TRANSFORMATION, AND THE DYNAMICS OF TRADITION AND RENEWAL

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ABSTRACT
This article offers a critical historical overview of twentieth-century Uzbek literature by examining the relationship among literary modernity, political transformation, genre formation, and continuity with earlier Eastern and Turkic-Persianate traditions. The study uses a narrative-review and historical-comparative approach, drawing on Uzbek literary histories, primary literary works, and scholarship on Jadidism, Soviet cultural institutions, socialist realism, and post-Soviet literature. Rather than treating literary generations as rigid chronological blocs, the article proposes four overlapping heuristic formations: the Jadid generation, the early Soviet generation that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, the post-Stalin generation associated with the 1960s, and a late-Soviet formation extending from the 1970s through the 1980s. It then considers independence after 1991 as a new literary field rather than a single generation. In prose, Abdulla Qodiriy and Cho'lpon are interpreted as establishing complementary historical-realist and psychological-symbolic trajectories. In poetry, modern lyric forms developed through the interaction of reformist thought, print culture, Soviet institutions, and renewed attention to individual experience. In drama, Behbudiy's chronological priority and Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy's broader dramaturgical practice are treated as distinct but complementary foundations. The article concludes that twentieth-century Uzbek literature is best understood not as a sequence of total ruptures, but as a dynamic process in which national tradition, world literature, political institutions, and aesthetic experimentation continuously reshaped one another.

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Introduction

Uzbek literature entered the twentieth century with a deep classical inheritance and with rapidly changing institutions of education, print, politics, and cultural exchange. The period therefore cannot be described adequately as either a simple continuation of classical literature or a complete break with the past. A more accurate account must hold together at least four processes: the continuing authority of Turkic-Persianate literary traditions; the reformist and pedagogical projects associated with Jadidism; the reorganization of literary life under Soviet institutions; and the diversification of aesthetic positions before and after independence in 1991. The central argument of this article is that twentieth-century Uzbek

literature developed through repeated acts of selective continuity: writers adopted new genres and international forms while reworking inherited poetic, ethical, historical, and linguistic resources (Allworth, 1964, 1990; Khalid, 1998, 2015).

This revised formulation also avoids two problems that often distort literary-historical surveys. First, modernity should not be narrated as a one-directional movement from a supposedly dynamic West to a supposedly stagnant East. Jadid intellectual life was shaped by Russian colonial modernity, but also by dense exchanges with Tatar, Ottoman, Persianate, and broader Muslim intellectual networks (Khalid, 1998). Second, Soviet Uzbek literature should not be reduced to ideological compliance. Soviet cultural institutions constrained literary production, yet Central Asian writers also adapted imported genres, socialist-realist conventions, and national forms to local histories and aesthetic traditions (Fort, 2024; Roosien, 2026). These qualifications allow the literary history of the century to be read as a field of negotiation rather than as a sequence of simple ideological replacements.

The article addresses three questions. First, which historical transformations most clearly explain the development of modern Uzbek prose, poetry, and drama? Second, how useful is a generational model for organizing the century's literary history without turning fluid literary processes into rigid decades? Third, how did Uzbek writers negotiate the relationship among national tradition, political institutions, and world literary forms? The discussion remains selective rather than encyclopedic. Its purpose is to clarify a defensible framework for the general landscape of the century and to identify major lines of continuity and renewal.

Approach and Scope

Methodologically, this study is a critical narrative review combined with historical-comparative literary analysis. It synthesizes Uzbek literary histories and terminology with English-language scholarship on Central Asian reform, nation formation, Soviet cultural policy, socialist realism, and post-Soviet literature. The primary unit of analysis is not the individual text alone but the relationship among literary form, historical context, and institutional setting. The paper therefore uses representative authors and works to illustrate broader tendencies while avoiding the claim that any list is exhaustive.

The proposed periodization uses four criteria: shared historical experience, dominant institutional conditions, recurring aesthetic concerns, and patterns of generational succession. On that basis, four overlapping formations are distinguished: (a) the Jadid generation, active primarily from the turn of the century through the 1910s and early 1920s; (b) an early Soviet generation that entered literary life in the 1920s and 1930s; (c) a post-Stalin or '1960s' generation associated with the cultural thaw and renewed moral and aesthetic inquiry; and (d) a late-Soviet formation extending from the 1970s into the 1980s, when skepticism toward official ideological certainties and experimentation in prose and poetry became increasingly visible. This model deliberately treats the 1980s as a transitional zone rather than leaving them unexplained. Independence after 1991 is considered a new literary field in which multiple generations coexist.

The terminology of literary analysis follows contemporary Uzbek Latin orthography for names and titles. The paper uses such terms as psychologism, symbolism, realism, grotesque, and dramaturgy in their literary-critical senses (Quronov et al., 2010). Because this is a synthetic historical study, it does not claim to offer a complete canon, quantitative bibliometric analysis, or exhaustive archival reconstruction. Its conclusions should therefore be read as a structured interpretation of major tendencies rather than as a final classification of all twentieth-century Uzbek writers.

From Classical Inheritance to Jadid Literary Modernity

The most consequential transformation at the beginning of the twentieth century was the consolidation of a modern literary public around reformist education, journalism, print culture, theatre, and new prose forms. The Jadids sought to reform society through schooling, literacy, the press, and cultural debate, and their activity linked literary production to a broader project of social and intellectual renewal

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(Khalid, 1998). In the revolutionary and early Soviet years, these debates also intersected with new ideas of nation, language, and political community; the modern Uzbek literary language and several modern genres took shape within this turbulent context (Khalid, 2015).

The importance of the Jadids therefore lies not only in individual talent but in the historical convergence between literary innovation and institutional change. Mahmudxo'ja Behbudiy, Abdurauf Fitrat, Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy, Abdulla Qodiriy, and Cho'lpon worked in different genres and intellectual fields, yet collectively they helped establish a literary culture in which drama, the novel, modern journalism, criticism, and new lyric forms could function as vehicles of social reflection. Uzbek literary scholarship has long treated the Jadid period as a foundational phase of modern Uzbek literature (Karimov et al., 1999).

Their biographies also require historical differentiation. It is inaccurate to collapse all of their deaths into a single category of Soviet repression. Behbudiy died in 1919 under the political order of the Emirate of Bukhara; Hamza was killed in Shohimardon in 1929 in a different context; Qodiriy, Fitrat, and Cho'lpon were executed during the Stalinist purges in 1938. What unites these fates is their tragic violence and their relationship to periods of intense political conflict, not an identical mechanism of repression. This distinction matters because literary history becomes less reliable when symbolic narratives of martyrdom replace specific historical contexts (Khalid, 2015; Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2025).

The relationship between national inheritance and world literature was equally complex. Jadid modernity did not amount to abandoning classical Eastern literature. Rather, new genres emerged through synthesis. Fitrat's intellectual work, Behbudiy's drama, Qodiriy's historical fiction, and Cho'lpon's lyric and prose writing demonstrate different forms of mediation between inherited aesthetic resources and modern genres. This dynamic of selective synthesis would remain central throughout the century.

A Heuristic Periodization of Literary Generations

The Jadid Generation

The Jadid formation is defined most clearly by the convergence of enlightenment, reform, national awakening, educational activism, and genre innovation. Its major representatives include Behbudiy, Fitrat, Hamza, Qodiriy, Cho'lpon, Abdulla Avloniy, Ishoqxon Ibrat, and others. These writers did not hold identical political positions, and their careers extended into different historical phases; nevertheless, their work shared a commitment to remaking cultural life through literature, education, language, and public debate (Khalid, 1998; Karimov et al., 1999).

The Early Soviet Generation

A second formation emerged in the 1920s and 1930s under rapidly changing Soviet institutions. Writers such as G'afur G'ulom, Oybek, Abdulla Qahhor, Hamid Olimjon, and Maqsud Shayxzoda entered a literary sphere increasingly organized by state publishing, writers' institutions, ideological campaigns, and eventually socialist realism. Their work cannot be understood simply as a replacement of Jadid aesthetics by Soviet ideology. Recent scholarship emphasizes that Central Asian socialist realism was itself adapted through local social categories, national narratives, Persianate legacies, and existing literary techniques (Fort, 2024; Roosien, 2026). The reorganization of literary institutions also unfolded alongside Soviet campaigns over gender, public culture, and social transformation, which profoundly reshaped everyday life in Central Asia (Kamp, 2006; Northrop, 2004). The early Soviet formation thus involved both coercive institutional reorganization and creative adaptation.

The Post-Stalin or 1960s Generation

The generation associated with the 1960s emerged after Stalin's death within a changed cultural climate. In prose, Odil Yoqubov, Pirimqul Qodirov, Shukur Xolmirzayev, and other writers broadened historical, ethical, and psychological inquiry. In poetry, Erkin Vohidov, Abdulla Oripov, Rauf Parfi, and Omon Matjon helped renew lyric diction, philosophical reflection, national memory, and individual voice.

The label '1960s generation' should not imply that these authors began or ended their careers within a single decade. Rather, it identifies a shared moment in which post-Stalin cultural openings made new forms of moral questioning and aesthetic differentiation more visible.

The Late-Soviet Formation: 1970s-1980s

The late-Soviet formation includes writers who entered the literary field from the 1970s through the 1980s, among them Murod Muhammad Do'st, Xurshid Do'stmuhammad, Ahmad A'zam, Erkin A'zam, Xayriddin Sulton, Usmon Azim, Shavkat Rahmon, Xurshid Davron, and Halima Xudoyberdiyeva. This grouping is especially useful because it corrects the artificial gap created when literary history jumps directly from a '1970s generation' to independence. The 1980s were not empty years; they were a transition in which ideological certainty weakened, historical memory acquired new force, and aesthetic experiments anticipated some post-1991 developments.

The four-part model is therefore a heuristic, not a closed taxonomy. Writers such as Zulfiya, Said Ahmad, Asqad Muxtor, Shukrullo, and Shuhrat may intersect more than one formation. Generational identities are produced by institutions, reading communities, political events, and aesthetic affinities as much as by birth dates. The value of the model lies in making broad patterns visible while preserving overlap and transition.

Prose: Historical Narrative, Psychologism, and Formal Experiment

Modern Uzbek prose developed through multiple trajectories rather than a single line of succession. Two particularly influential early models are associated with Abdulla Qodiriy and Cho'lpon. Qodiriy's O'tkan kunlar established the historical novel as a major form for representing social memory, political disorder, domestic life, and moral conflict. The novel's publication history should be stated precisely: chapters appeared in the journal Inqilob in 1922, and its parts were published separately in book form between 1924 and 1926 (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2025). For that reason, citing the work simply as '1924' obscures the distinction among composition, serialization, and book publication.

Qodiriy's historical fiction did more than reconstruct the nineteenth century. It made the past a medium for thinking about national consciousness, social responsibility, family relations, and political fragmentation. This capacity to connect historical reconstruction with contemporary ethical questions helps explain the novel's foundational status in Uzbek prose. Later historical novels, including works by Oybek, Odil Yoqubov, Pirimqul Qodirov, and O'tkir Hoshimov, developed different relationships to the past, but Qodiriy's example made the historical novel central to the modern canon (Allworth, 1964; Karimov et al., 1999).

Cho'lpon represents a different but complementary trajectory. His novel Kecha va kunduz, whose extant first part is commonly known in English as Night and Day: Night, combines social observation with psychologism, irony, symbolic patterning, and attention to the constrained lives of individuals under colonial and patriarchal structures. The English edition describes the work as an unfinished dilogy and emphasizes its complex treatment of Russian colonialism, resistance, gender, and authorial irony (Cho'lpon, 2020). Rather than defining Cho'lpon's prose only as 'symbolic-allegorical,' it is more accurate to see it as a flexible modernist-realistic mode in which psychological and symbolic techniques intensify social analysis.

These two trajectories - historical reconstruction and psychological-symbolic prose - continued to interact with later developments. The Soviet period added a powerful institutional demand for socialist realism, but the resulting literature was not aesthetically uniform. Central Asian writers combined official expectations with local histories, Persianate forms, Russian realism, and national narrative traditions (Fort, 2024). Roosien (2026) similarly shows that Soviet culture in Uzbekistan was produced through mediation: cultural actors implemented state directives while also reshaping them, exposing tensions and gaps within the Soviet cultural project.

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Late-Soviet and independence-era prose intensified experimentation with interiority, fragmented narration, symbolism, grotesque, and philosophical ambiguity. Writers such as Murod Muhammad Do'st, Ahmad A'zam, Erkin A'zam, Xurshid Do'stmuhammad, Nazar Eshonqul, Isajon Sulton, Qo'chqor Norqobil, Abduqayum Yo'ldosh, Sobir O'nar, Luqmon Bo'rixon, and Zulfiya Qurolboy qizi illustrate the diversity of this field. It is preferable to describe these developments as successive and overlapping waves of experimentation rather than to identify a single date - whether the 1980s, 1990s, or 2000s - as the absolute beginning of renewal. Many post-independence innovations were prepared by aesthetic shifts already visible before 1991.

The broader theoretical point is that contemporary Uzbek prose rests on more than a binary opposition between national tradition and world literature. Those two categories are themselves historically entangled. Uzbek writers have repeatedly adapted foreign forms through local narrative expectations, while 'national tradition' has been reconstructed under changing political and institutional conditions. The most productive account therefore treats literary renewal as translation, adaptation, and refunctioning rather than imitation.

Poetry: Modern Lyric Voice, Ideology, and Interiorization

Twentieth-century Uzbek poetry underwent major changes in diction, form, thematic range, and the construction of the lyric subject. The 1922 collection O'zbek yosh shoirlari, which included poetry by Fitrat, Cho'lpon, Elbek, and Botu, symbolized the emergence of a new poetic atmosphere. Yet the transformation was not simply a rejection of classical poetics. Modern Uzbek poetry retained inherited meters, images, rhetorical strategies, and ethical concepts while also developing new civic, national, revolutionary, and personal modes of address.

The social context of this transformation should be described in terms of transregional modernity rather than a simple West-to-East diffusion model. Russian colonial rule, Jadid schools, newspapers and journals, translation, Tatar and Ottoman intellectual networks, and new forms of political organization all altered the circulation of texts and ideas in Turkestan (Khalid, 1998). These processes expanded the social functions of poetry. The poet increasingly addressed not only a conventional beloved or moral audience but also the nation, the citizen, the worker, the colonized subject, and the self under conditions of historical crisis.

Cho'lpon became one of the most influential modern lyric voices because he joined national and political urgency to a highly individualized poetic language. Later Soviet poets such as G'afur G'ulom, Oybek, Hamid Olimjon, Maqsud Shayxzoda, Zulfiya, and Asqad Muxtor wrote within different institutional and ideological conditions, but their work collectively expanded the range of modern Uzbek verse. The post-Stalin and late-Soviet periods then produced further differentiation. Erkin Vohidov and Abdulla Oripov renewed civic, philosophical, and national themes; Rauf Parfi intensified modernist density and subjective complexity; Omon Matjon, Halima Xudoyberdiyeva, Shavkat Rahmon, Usmon Azim, and Xurshid Davron contributed distinct lyric and historical idioms.

The generational model is especially visible in poetry because shifts in public language and lyric subjectivity often respond rapidly to political change. Nevertheless, ideological labels alone cannot explain poetic value. The same period may contain official public verse, intimate lyric poetry, philosophical meditation, historical memory, and formal experiment. Twentieth-century Uzbek poetry is therefore best understood as a continuing negotiation between public speech and private voice, inherited form and innovation, institutional expectation and individual poetics.

Drama: Behbudiy, Hamza, and the Formation of Modern Uzbek Dramaturgy

Modern Uzbek drama emerged from the interaction of Jadid reform, print culture, public performance, and new conceptions of theatre as social pedagogy. Here, historical precision is particularly important. Mahmudxo'ja Behbudiy's Padarkush was written in 1911 and published in 1913, a distinction

confirmed by recent textual scholarship on the first edition (Avazov, 2025). It is therefore reasonable to recognize Behbudiy's chronological priority in the emergence of modern Uzbek drama and theatre culture.

Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy, however, expanded the range and durability of Uzbek dramaturgy through a larger body of plays and through sustained theatrical activity. Works such as Zaharli hayot, Maysaraning ishi, and Paranji sirlaridan bir lavha yoki Yallachilar ishi demonstrate his engagement with social conflict, gender, satire, and popular performance. The earlier claim that Hamza should simply replace Behbudiy as 'the founder' of Uzbek drama (Hamdamov, 2018) is too categorical. A stronger formulation distinguishes different kinds of priority: Behbudiy holds chronological and pioneering importance, while Hamza's breadth of dramatic production and theatrical practice makes him a foundational figure in the consolidation of Uzbek dramaturgy.

This differentiated account is also more consistent with the evidence than an analogy based solely on Qodiriy's status in the novel. Literary genres do not necessarily have one founder, and criteria for 'foundation' may include chronological priority, formal maturity, institutional influence, performance history, and later canonization. In the case of modern Uzbek drama, Behbudiy and Hamza should therefore be understood as complementary foundational figures rather than as mutually exclusive claimants to a single title.

Hamza's lost or reconstructed works further demonstrate the difficulty of making categorical judgments from an incomplete archive. Some plays associated with the period survive only in fragments, notices, or later reconstructions. Such archival conditions require critical caution when comparing formal achievement across authors. They also remind scholars that the history of Uzbek drama is partly a history of textual loss, censorship, performance, and reconstruction.

In the later twentieth century, Uzbek drama expanded across comedy, social drama, historical drama, satire, and hybrid forms. Sharof Boshbekov is especially important for the late-Soviet and early post-Soviet stage because of his generic range and his experimentation with labels such as serious comedy, melancholy comedy, social comedy, and philosophical comedy. His plays demonstrate that modern Uzbek dramaturgy developed not only by adding new themes but also by testing the boundaries among dramatic genres.

Independence and Twenty-First-Century Continuities

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 transformed the institutional and ideological conditions of Uzbek literary life, but it did not erase Soviet literary inheritances or produce a single homogeneous 'independence generation.' For that reason, post-1991 literature is better treated as a field in which several generations, languages, institutions, and aesthetic programs coexist. The end of Soviet censorship and ideological monopoly opened new possibilities, but literature remained embedded in political, economic, and cultural institutions.

Post-Soviet literary studies increasingly interpret Central Asian writing through the overlapping categories of post-Soviet, postcolonial, and decolonial identity. Koplatadze (2025), for example, argues that literature from Central Asia and the Caucasus reveals forms of identity negotiation that cannot be explained fully by the 'post-Soviet' label alone. Such work is particularly useful for avoiding the earlier assumption that independence automatically removed literature from political tension. Instead, post-independence writing can be read as a space in which national canon formation, Soviet memory, global literary markets, migration, language choice, and new aesthetic experiments interact.

This perspective also clarifies why the prose transformations associated with the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s should be treated as connected rather than isolated. Late-Soviet skepticism, historical revaluation, and formal experimentation prepared part of the ground for post-independence literature. At the same time, independence changed what could be remembered, published, canonized, translated, and taught. The recovery of Jadid writers, the reinterpretation of Soviet literary history, and the expansion of transnational literary exchange became central features of the new period.

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The title 'twentieth-century Uzbek literature' therefore remains appropriate only if the article acknowledges these continuities into the early twenty-first century. The present study does so explicitly: its central chronological focus is the twentieth century, while references to the 2000s serve to identify the afterlives of transformations that began earlier. This approach avoids silently extending the scope beyond the title while still recognizing that literary periods rarely end at calendar boundaries.

Conclusion

Twentieth-century Uzbek literature constitutes a distinct stage in the long development of Uzbek and broader Turkic-Persianate literary culture, but its distinctiveness lies in synthesis rather than total rupture. The century introduced and consolidated modern drama, the novel, new forms of prose, transformed lyric poetry, mass print culture, professional literary institutions, and new relationships between literature and politics. At the same time, writers repeatedly reactivated older literary forms, historical memories, ethical concepts, and linguistic resources.

Four conclusions follow from this analysis. First, Jadidism represents the most important early-century institutional and aesthetic reorientation, but its modernity emerged from transregional exchange rather than from a simple West-to-East transfer. Second, a generational model is useful only when treated as heuristic: the Jadid, early Soviet, post-Stalin, and late-Soviet formations overlap, and the 1980s must be understood as an important transition rather than an empty interval. Third, modern Uzbek prose developed through multiple trajectories, especially the historical-realist model associated with Qodiriy and the psychological-symbolic modernism associated with Cho'lpon, both of which continued to influence later experimentation. Fourth, the emergence of modern Uzbek drama is best described through differentiated foundations: Behbudiy's Padarkush established chronological and pioneering priority, while Hamza's larger dramaturgical and theatrical practice helped consolidate the form.

After independence, these earlier trajectories did not disappear. They were reinterpreted within new national, post-Soviet, postcolonial, and global frameworks. Uzbek literature's modern history is therefore not a story of tradition being replaced by innovation, but of tradition itself being continually reconstructed through new genres, institutions, translations, political conditions, and aesthetic choices. That process of negotiated renewal provides the most coherent basis for understanding the general landscape of twentieth-century Uzbek literature.

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YASHPAL'S SOCIO-POLITICAL NOVELS: REVOLUTIONARY REALISM, GENDER, AND THE POLITICS OF FREEDOM

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ABSTRACT
This article reassesses Yashpal's socio-political novels as a sustained literary inquiry into the meanings and limits of freedom in twentieth-century India. Rather than treating the novels primarily as documentary records of anti-colonial politics, it argues that Yashpal expands the Hindi political novel by connecting national liberation to class relations, labor, caste hierarchy, gender, sexuality, communalism, and the contradictions of postcolonial nationhood. The study uses a comparative textual-historical approach to Dada Comrade, Deshdrohi, Geeta (originally Party Comrade), Divya, Manushya Ke Roop, Amita, Jhutha Sach, and Meri Teri Uski Baat, while engaging major biographical and critical scholarship on Yashpal and the Hindi public sphere. Three movements become visible across this corpus: an early concern with revolutionary organization and political ethics; the use of historical imagination to interrogate caste, patriarchy, and violence; and a later, broader critique of Partition, communalism, and the incomplete social realization of independence. Particular attention is given to women's agency and to the role of dialogue in staging ideological conflict. The article concludes that Yashpal's realism is best understood not as simple political advocacy but as a developing method for testing public ideals against intimate, social, and historical experience.

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Keywords: *Yashpal, Hindi novel, political fiction, critical realism, Marxism, Indian independence movement, Partition, gender.*

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Introduction

The Hindi novel of the first half of the twentieth century developed in a literary sphere increasingly shaped by nationalism, social reform, print culture, and mass politics. Orsini (2009) demonstrates how language, literature, and public debate became deeply intertwined in the Hindi public sphere between the 1920s and 1940s. Within that environment, political fiction was not merely a vehicle for representing public events; it also became a form through which writers tested competing ideas of community, social justice, citizenship, and modernity. Yashpal (1903-1976) occupies a distinctive position in this development because his literary career emerged directly from revolutionary activism while eventually extending far beyond the immediate concerns of underground anti-colonial politics.

Biographical scholarship has long emphasized the unusual proximity between Yashpal's political and literary lives. Friend (1977) situates him simultaneously as an anti-colonial activist and a writer committed to social justice, while later scholarship has stressed the importance of the revolutionary subject in his fiction (Govind, 2014). Yashpal's early engagement with the Non-Cooperation era gave way to participation in the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and to imprisonment under colonial rule.

Yet it would be reductive to read his fiction as a transparent transcription of biography. His novels repeatedly transform political experience into problems of narrative form: who possesses freedom, how ideology enters private life, how gendered and classed subjects are authorized to act, and what happens when nationalist promises encounter social inequality.

This article argues that Yashpal's major socio-political novels progressively broaden the meaning of freedom. In the early revolutionary novels, freedom is tested through organization, discipline, labor struggle, and the ethics of political commitment. In the historical novels, freedom becomes inseparable from caste, gender, slavery, religious authority, and the legitimacy of violence. In *Jhutha Sach*, the achievement of political independence is placed beside the catastrophe of Partition, revealing the distance between national sovereignty and lived security. Across these phases, Yashpal's realism is therefore neither merely documentary nor simply doctrinaire. It is a critical method that brings political programs into confrontation with intimate relations, material conditions, and historical contradiction.

Research Context and Method

Critical approaches to Yashpal have often emphasized different dimensions of this political-literary relation. Malik (1975) treats contemporary Hindi political novels as important sites for interpreting ideology and public life. Govind (2014), by contrast, highlights the revolutionary figure as a problem of both political freedom and social or intimate relations, an approach especially productive for Yashpal because his fiction refuses to keep ideological commitment separate from sexuality, marriage, and gender. Dalmia (2019) situates the Hindi novel within the historical experience of the modern North Indian city and gives particular attention to the urban and national dislocations represented in *Jhutha Sach*. More recent scholarship has further sharpened the analysis of gendered violence and patriarchal control in the Partition novel (Singh, 2023) and of displacement and everyday place-making in its English translation (Saxena, 2022).

The present study brings these strands together through a comparative textual-historical analysis. Its primary corpus consists of *Dada Comrade* (1941), *Deshdrohi* (1943), *Divya* (1945), *Party Comrade* (1946; later published in English as *Geeta*), *Manushya Ke Roop* (1949), *Amita* (1956), *Jhutha Sach* (1958-1960), and *Meri Teri Uski Baat* (1974). Where English translations are available, their publication data are identified in the reference list. Because translation can reshape lexical, cultural, and stylistic effects, claims about translated texts are made with attention to the methodological caution raised by Siddiqui's (2022) study of the English translation of *Divya*. The analysis therefore focuses on recurring thematic and narrative structures rather than on unsupported assertions about individual Hindi words or stylistic minutiae.

A central premise of the study is that Yashpal's novels should not be divided too rigidly into 'political' and 'social' categories. His political plots are social because they ask how ideology reorganizes households, romantic attachments, occupations, and gender roles; his social plots are political because they expose the institutions that distribute dignity, labor, mobility, and power. This continuity explains why works as different as *Dada Comrade*, *Divya*, and *Jhutha Sach* can be read within a single developing project of critical realism.

From Revolutionary Activism to Literary Realism

Yashpal's revolutionary background is indispensable to the political vocabulary of his fiction, but it does not by itself explain the novels' literary importance. Friend (1977) shows that his career was shaped by anti-colonial activism, imprisonment, and a continuing concern with social justice. His fiction emerged from an environment in which revolutionary politics demanded decisions about secrecy, violence, sacrifice, organization, and loyalty. These problems reappear in the novels, yet they are rarely allowed to remain abstract. Instead, they become embodied in characters who must negotiate love, livelihood, family authority, sexuality, and unequal social status.

Yashpal's political orientation also requires precision. His work was strongly shaped by Marxist and socialist thought, and critics have repeatedly read his fiction in relation to class analysis and

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revolutionary politics (Govind, 2014; Malik, 1975). At the same time, it is misleading to collapse his literary position into formal party membership or to treat every novel as a fixed ideological program. His fiction often stages disagreement within the revolutionary camp itself and reveals the costs produced when political abstractions fail to account for individual vulnerability. This dialogic structure becomes especially important in the early novels and later develops into the much wider social panorama of *Jhutha Sach*.

Dada Comrade: Revolutionary Ethics and the Social Meaning of Freedom

Published in 1941, *Dada Comrade* is Yashpal's first novel and one of the clearest starting points for examining his transformation of revolutionary experience into fiction. The novel's protagonist, Harish, becomes dissatisfied with the limitations of secret armed resistance and moves toward forms of political action connected with workers and collective struggle (Yashpal, 1941/2022). That movement is important because it shifts the question of revolution from spectacular acts of sacrifice toward social organization. Freedom is no longer imagined only as the defeat of colonial authority; it must also have a material relation to labor and to the lives of ordinary people.

The novel's political debate is inseparable from its treatment of Shailbala. Her relationship with Harish, including the consequences of sexual intimacy and pregnancy, makes gender autonomy a test of revolutionary consistency (Yashpal, 1941/2022). A movement that speaks the language of emancipation but reproduces patriarchal control in private life remains internally contradictory. Govind's (2014) account of the revolutionary in the Hindi novel is particularly useful here: the revolutionary ideal is not confined to the public sphere but is tested in social and erotic relations. Yashpal consequently enlarges the political novel by making the body, marriage, and sexual morality part of the problem of freedom.

This feature also distinguishes *Dada Comrade* from a simple autobiographical document. The novel certainly draws on environments Yashpal knew, but its significance lies in the transformation of political biography into competing ethical positions. Dialogues and arguments enable characters to articulate conflicting understandings of violence, organization, loyalty, and social duty. Rather than functioning only as exposition, speech becomes a device for showing ideology under pressure.

Deshdrohi and Geeta: War, Party Politics, and Collective Action

Deshdrohi (1943) and *Party Comrade* (1946) continue Yashpal's engagement with organized politics while moving toward the tensions generated by war, nationalism, and party discipline (Friend, 1977). Written at different moments of late-colonial political crisis, the novels ask how revolutionary commitment changes when it encounters broader forms of collective organization. *Party Comrade*, later published in English as *Geeta*, foregrounds its woman protagonist and places political participation within urban and gendered social relations (Yashpal, 1946/2024).

The significance of *Geeta* lies in the way political awakening and women's emancipation are interwoven. Geeta's party work places her in a public sphere conventionally coded as masculine, while her interactions with men expose the persistence of possessiveness and gender hierarchy within ostensibly progressive environments. The novel's Bombay setting and its relationship to the political turbulence of the mid-1940s widen Yashpal's focus from the small revolutionary cell toward mass politics and urban mobilization. The question is no longer only whether an individual will join the struggle, but whether collective organizations can embody the equality they proclaim.

Taken together with *Dada Comrade*, these novels establish a recurring Yashpalian pattern: ideology is judged by its social consequences. Political commitment acquires moral credibility only when it transforms relations of class and gender rather than merely changing slogans or leadership. This is one reason the label 'political novel' should not be understood narrowly in Yashpal's case.

Historical Imagination in Divya and Amita

Yashpal's historical novels extend his political concerns by displacing them from the immediate context of anti-colonial struggle. *Divya* (1945) is set in ancient India, yet the historical setting functions less as antiquarian reconstruction than as a means of examining caste, slavery, religious authority,

sexuality, and female autonomy. The narrative follows a woman whose social position changes drastically as she confronts patriarchal and hierarchical institutions (Yashpal, 1945/2009). The distance of the ancient setting enables Yashpal to expose domination as a social structure rather than as a problem limited to colonial rule.

The novel is therefore important to Yashpal's socio-political project precisely because it denies that national independence alone can define emancipation. A society may be politically sovereign and still reproduce caste and gender subordination. Divya's movement through sharply different social locations reveals how identity is produced by institutions and material circumstances. Siddiqui (2022) also reminds readers that the English translation of *Divya* mediates these social and cultural meanings, making careful attention to translation especially important when the novel is studied outside Hindi.

Amita (1956) similarly uses historical imagination to explore the morality of power. Its frame is connected with Ashoka's conquest of Kalinga, but Yashpal reshapes history through fiction in order to question violence, conquest, and the ethical obligations of rulers (Yashpal, 1956/1977). The child Amita's moral challenge to imperial violence introduces an apparently simple voice into a world governed by military power. The effect is not to turn the novel into a historical chronicle; it is to make the legitimacy of violence itself a political problem.

Read beside the revolutionary novels, *Amita* creates an important tension within Yashpal's oeuvre. His early political life is associated with revolutionary militancy, yet his literary imagination repeatedly subjects violence to ethical scrutiny. This does not amount to a simple return to Gandhian doctrine. Rather, the novel asks whether political transformation can be durable when it reproduces domination through coercion. Historical fiction thus becomes another method for testing the moral claims of politics.

Manushya Ke Roop: Social Mobility, Commodification, and Moral Contradiction

Manushya Ke Roop (1949) shifts the emphasis toward changing social identities and the material pressures that shape human conduct. Its central figures include Soma and Dhansingh, whose trajectories move through sharply different social locations. The novel's title itself directs attention to changing 'forms' of the human under social pressure (Yashpal, 1949/2009).

Soma's aspirations, her encounters with different social environments, and her changing relationships provide Yashpal with a structure for examining mobility, desire, and commodification. Rather than reducing her trajectory to a moralistic opposition between virtue and fame, the novel can be read as a critique of the conditions under which economic opportunity, sexuality, and respectability become exchangeable forms of social capital. Dhansingh's own political and economic uncertainties further complicate any stable distinction between the morally pure individual and a corrupt society.

The novel thereby develops a theme already visible in *Dada Comrade*: individuals do not possess fixed moral identities outside social relations. Their choices are constrained and redirected by work, money, gender norms, and access to institutions. This dynamic is central to Yashpal's realism because it treats character not as an isolated psychological essence but as a changing product of material and ideological environments.

Jhutha Sach: Partition, Communalism, and the Crisis of Independence

Yashpal's most ambitious engagement with the relationship between national politics and ordinary life is *Jhutha Sach*, a two-volume novel originally published in 1958 and 1960 and translated into English as *This Is Not That Dawn* (Yashpal, 1958-1960/2010). Its two-volume structure is integral to the temporal breadth of its response to independence and Partition. The novel's large social canvas has encouraged epic-scale readings; more importantly, its breadth allows public history to be refracted through multiple households, institutions, and social locations (Trivedi, 2010).

The novel follows interconnected lives across the violent reorganization of social space produced by Partition. Its Lahore and Delhi settings allow national history to be experienced through homes, streets, workplaces, refugee movement, political debate, and intimate relationships. Dalmia (2019) reads the

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modern North Indian city as a crucial site where fiction and history meet, and *Jhutha Sach* is a particularly powerful example because the city is not merely a background. Urban space records the breakdown of trust, the movement of populations, and the effort to reconstruct everyday life after displacement.

Saxena (2022) develops this dimension by examining displacement and the everyday making of 'home' in the English translation. The novel's political force lies partly in its refusal to let Partition remain a distant constitutional event. Borders become material through lost houses, insecure bodies, interrupted relationships, and changed possibilities of work. Independence is therefore represented as a historically necessary achievement whose meaning is simultaneously fractured by communal violence and mass displacement.

Gender is equally central to this critique. Singh (2023) shows how *Jhutha Sach* exposes masculinist ideals, gendered violence, and patriarchal control while giving its female characters forms of strategic agency. Tara's experience, in particular, makes clear that the freedoms promised by nationalist politics are not distributed equally. The vulnerability of women during communal violence and within domestic structures reveals a fundamental contradiction: a nation may celebrate sovereignty while many of its citizens remain subject to coercion within family and community.

The relationship among Tara, Jaidev Puri, Asad, and the wider network of characters also enables Yashpal to examine the instability of secular and progressive self-identification. Characters may profess universal principles yet behave differently when religious identity, marriage, reputation, or family authority is at stake. The novel's realism is especially effective here because contradiction is dramatized through conduct rather than resolved by authorial declaration.

For this reason, *Jhutha Sach* marks a development beyond the more programmatic structure of some early political fiction. The political field has become too extensive to be embodied in a single exemplary revolutionary. Instead, multiple characters, institutions, and social spaces generate a dispersed critique of communalism, class privilege, patriarchy, opportunism, and postcolonial disappointment. The title's paradox - the 'false truth' - is appropriate to a novel preoccupied with the gap between public narratives of freedom and the unstable realities through which freedom is lived.

Meri Teri Uski Baat and the Retrospective Politics of the Freedom Struggle

Yashpal's final major novel, *Meri Teri Uski Baat*, was published in 1974 and received the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1976 (Sahitya Akademi, n.d.; Yashpal, 1974). Set primarily against the political atmosphere of the 1920s through the 1940s, the novel looks back on the national movement from the perspective of a writer whose own career had already traversed revolution, independence, Partition, and postcolonial disillusionment.

The novel's retrospective quality allows Yashpal to revisit the freedom struggle without treating it as a single unified experience. Political commitment appears in different ideological and social forms, while personal choices remain entangled with religion, family, profession, and marriage. The interreligious dimension of Amarnath's life, for example, gives concrete form to the problem of whether political nationalism can coexist with inherited social boundaries. In this sense, the final novel returns to a question present from *Dada Comrade* onward: what kind of social transformation must accompany political freedom if independence is to alter everyday life?

The Sahitya Akademi recognition of *Meri Teri Uski Baat* is significant not simply as an honor but as evidence of Yashpal's continuing literary importance near the end of his career. By this stage, the revolutionary novel has become retrospective and plural. It evaluates a historical movement through accumulated experience rather than through the urgency of immediate underground action.

Narrative Method: Dialogue, Realism, and Political Characterization

Across Yashpal's fiction, dialogue occupies a central structural role. Conversations, debates, and speeches do more than provide exposition: they place political positions in conflict and allow events to test

what characters say they believe. Ideology is thus dramatized rather than merely announced. A character's speech is not necessarily the author's final judgment; it is one position within a field of competing claims.

This method helps explain why Yashpal's realism should not be reduced to the accumulation of social detail. Ushakumari (2021) emphasizes psychological dimensions in Yashpal's novels, while Govind (2014) demonstrates the importance of linking political ideals to social relations. Together these perspectives point toward a realism that works simultaneously at material, ideological, and psychological levels. Characters are placed under pressure by institutions and historical events, but they also interpret those pressures, rationalize their behavior, and often reveal discrepancies between principle and action.

Women are especially important to this narrative method. Shailbala, Geeta, Divya, Soma, Amita, Tara, and other female characters are not interchangeable symbols of virtue or victimhood. They occupy different class and historical positions and confront different structures of authority. What connects them is Yashpal's recurring interest in the extent to which political emancipation can remain meaningful when women lack autonomy over marriage, sexuality, labor, public participation, or bodily security. Singh's (2023) analysis of *Jhutha Sach* shows the maturity of this critique in the Partition context, but its foundations are visible much earlier.

Yashpal's relationship to realism consequently develops over time. The early novels are often closer to explicitly organized ideological debate; the historical novels use temporal distance to expose durable structures of domination; and *Jhutha Sach* expands toward a broad, multi-character social panorama. The continuity lies in the testing of ideals against lived conditions. Political claims become credible only when they survive contact with class inequality, gender hierarchy, communal identity, labor, and the contingencies of ordinary life.

Conclusion

Yashpal's socio-political novels constitute a sustained examination of freedom rather than a sequence of isolated political themes. From *Dada Comrade* through *Meri Teri Uski Baat*, political liberation is repeatedly placed in relation to social structures that may survive a change of regime. Labor exploitation, caste hierarchy, patriarchal authority, sexual regulation, religious division, and communal violence all become measures of whether freedom has entered everyday life.

The development of Yashpal's fiction is therefore best understood as an expansion of revolutionary realism. The early novels interrogate political organization and the ethics of revolutionary commitment. *Divya* and *Amita* use historical imagination to show that domination is not reducible to colonialism and that violence requires continuing ethical scrutiny. *Manushya Ke Roop* explores the instability of identity under economic and social pressure. *Jhutha Sach* then brings these concerns together on the largest scale by confronting the nationalist promise of independence with Partition, displacement, communalism, class difference, and gendered violence.

This trajectory also clarifies Yashpal's place in the Hindi novel after Premchand. His importance need not be established through a hierarchical ranking of writers; it rests on a demonstrable literary achievement: he made political ideas answerable to social experience. Through argumentative dialogue, changing social environments, historically situated characters, and persistent attention to women's autonomy, Yashpal transformed the political novel into a form capable of criticizing both colonial power and the inequalities reproduced within nationalist and postcolonial society.

Future scholarship can extend this argument through closer comparison of Hindi editions and translations, especially where translational choices affect caste, gender, political vocabulary, and register. Such work would also help distinguish more precisely between Yashpal's authorial idiom and the interpretive effects produced by English translation. Even with that necessary caution, the novels considered here show a coherent and evolving critical project: freedom, for Yashpal, becomes meaningful only when it can be recognized in the structures and relationships of ordinary life.

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FOLKLORISM, HISTORICAL MEMORY, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN DZHUBATKAN MURATBAEV'S HISTORICAL NOVEL DIGIRIQ

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines how folklorism functions in Dzhubatkan Muratbaev's historical novel Digiriq. Rather than attempting an exhaustive inventory of every folklore element in the novel, the study analyzes two representative passages: Sasik biy's appeal for political unity and the embedded legend of Korkyt Ata, Balgali Dawlen, and Karmakchi Ata. Drawing on Karakalpak scholarship on the relationship between folklore and written literature, as well as contemporary approaches to folklorism and cultural memory, the analysis combines close textual reading with folkloristic and structural-semantic interpretation. The findings show that Sasik biy is constructed through an epic-like model of the wise communal leader, whereas the Karmakchi Ata episode functions as an etiological naming legend shaped by mythopoetic motifs. In both cases, folklore is transformed into a narrative resource rather than inserted as decorative ethnographic material. It supports characterization, encodes communal ethics, preserves culturally meaningful memory, and mediates between historical narration and the people's remembered past. The study distinguishes literary historical memory from documentary historical verification and therefore does not claim to establish the factual accuracy of the legends represented in the novel. Its contribution lies in a focused functional analysis of how Muratbaev recontextualizes oral-traditional forms within Karakalpak historical prose.

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Keywords: *folklorism, historical novel, Digiriq, Dzhubatkan Muratbaev, Karakalpak literature, historical memory, etiological legend, cultural identity.*

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Introduction

The relationship between folklore and written literature is especially consequential in historical fiction because the past enters the literary text through more than documentary information. It is also mediated through legends, inherited narratives, collective values, customary knowledge, and culturally recognizable modes of characterization. In this sense, folklore is not merely background material: when a writer reworks oral-traditional forms, those forms can influence plot, character construction, ethical evaluation, and the representation of historical memory. The concept of *folklorism* is useful for describing this process. Turayeva (2024) treats folklorism as the literary and artistic adaptation of folklore elements such as plots, motifs, and images, emphasizing that the concept concerns transformation and creative reuse rather than mechanical reproduction (p. 825).

Karakalpak folkloristics has long emphasized the social and historical embeddedness of oral tradition. Aimbetov (1977) argues that folklore is created and continually reworked by the people across

generations and therefore reflects the worldview, spiritual needs, and lived experience of different periods (p. 4). This understanding is important for literary analysis because it positions folklore as a changing cultural repertoire rather than a fixed archive. When folklore enters a novel, it has already passed through processes of transmission and reinterpretation; the literary text becomes another site in which inherited material is selected, reshaped, and assigned new functions.

The connection between folklore and literary national character is also central to Maqsetov's (1975) work on Karakalpak literature. Maqsetov identifies folklore as an indispensable source through which literature may intensify culturally specific features and deepen artistic meaning (p. 3). Such an approach helps explain why historical prose frequently draws on legends, proverbial thought, traditional ethical models, and oral modes of remembering. The presence of such material, however, is analytically meaningful only when its function in the new literary context is demonstrated.

Research on Karakalpak poetry has documented this creative interaction in detail. Bekbergenova (1995), for example, examines folk-poetic traditions in twentieth-century Karakalpak poetry and stresses the textual presence and artistic role of folklore-derived devices (p. 123). More recent scholarship likewise distinguishes different modes of assimilating and stylizing folklorism in the poetry of Ibrayim Yusupov (Ayimbetova, 2022). These studies are significant because they shift attention from the simple question of whether folklore is present to the more productive question of how it is artistically transformed.

Karakalpak prose has also been studied from this perspective. Begmuratova (2019) addresses folklorisms in Karakalpak novels of the independence period and argues that prose writers may stylize the formal, generic, or ideological features of folklore for literary purposes. The present article builds on that broader line of research but narrows the unit of analysis to one historical novel and to two particularly revealing mechanisms: the folkloric construction of a historical leader and the embedding of an etiological legend within historical narration. This narrower design avoids claiming an exhaustive classification of all folklore elements in the novel and instead permits closer attention to textual function.

Dzhubatkan Muratbaev's *Digiriq* is a productive text for such an inquiry because the novel connects the representation of historical figures and places with culturally transmitted narratives. The revised study therefore asks two questions: (1) How are oral-traditional models recontextualized in the selected passages of *Digiriq*? (2) What artistic functions do these folkloric elements perform in characterization, historical memory, and the articulation of culturally marked values? The article uses the term *cultural memory* in a limited literary sense: the socially transmitted remembrance through which communities connect narratives of the past with shared identity. This usage is consistent with Assmann's (2011) account of cultural memory as a form of socially sustained remembrance that can extend beyond individual experience and participate in the formation of group identity.

Materials and Method

The primary material is Muratbaev's 1991 edition of *Digiriq* published by Qaraqalpaqstan. The analysis is qualitative and interpretive. It does not attempt a quantitative inventory of every proverb, custom, genealogical reference, or folklore motif in the novel. Instead, it uses purposive textual sampling to examine two extended passages already central to the manuscript's argument: Sasik biy's speech concerning political fragmentation and collective unity (Muratbaev, 1991, p. 78), and the legend connecting Korkyt Ata, Balgali Dawlen, and the name Karmakchi Ata (p. 158). These passages were selected because they represent two distinct forms of folkloric mediation: character-based epic stylization and an embedded etiological narrative.

The analysis proceeds in four interpretive stages. First, close reading identifies the lexical, narrative, and evaluative features through which the passages acquire a folkloric character. Second, folkloristic analysis classifies the relevant mechanism - for example, heroic or wise-leader stylization, etiological explanation, and mythopoetic motif. Third, structural-semantic analysis considers how the folklore element is integrated into characterization, narrative causality, and thematic organization. Fourth, the findings are

contextualized in relation to Karakalpak scholarship on folklore-literature interaction (Aimbetov, 1977; Begmuratova, 2019; Maqsetov, 1975) and broader work on folklorism and cultural memory (Assmann, 2011; Turayeva, 2024).

A historical-comparative method is deliberately not claimed in the revised design because the present evidence does not include archival documents, chronicle sources, or multiple historical versions against which the novel could be tested. Accordingly, references to "historical memory" concern the literary representation of remembered history rather than verification of historical fact. This distinction is essential: a legend can be culturally and artistically significant even when the study does not establish its documentary accuracy.

The English translations of the two Karakalpak passages were revised from the author's draft translations for semantic clarity and academic readability. Proper names are retained as names and are not translated lexically; thus, Sasik biy remains a proper name rather than being rendered through the ordinary lexical meaning of "sasik." Spellings of recurring names and terms are standardized within the article, whereas titles in the reference list preserve the orthography of the cited sources.

Results

Folkloric Construction of Sasik Biy

The first passage constructs Sasik biy through a mode of characterization that resembles the wise communal leader of oral-traditional narrative. Muratbaev places the character's authority not primarily in military power or private ambition but in his ability to interpret collective danger and formulate a unifying response. Sasik biy reflects on rivalry among regional rulers and the vulnerability produced by political fragmentation:

They treated the fate of the people like a toy, waging war against one another and driving many people from their ancestral lands. The rulers of Samarkand, Shash, Andijan, Bukhara, Urgench, and Turkestan intensified their rivalries. External enemies could take advantage of this and bring still more suffering. Therefore, he repeatedly advised: "Let us bring our people together; let us unite and become one nation." (Muratbaev, 1991, p. 78; author's translation)

Several features of the passage are important. First, the speech is organized around collective rather than individual categories: the people, ancestral land, external danger, unity, and a shared future. Second, Sasik biy is presented as a figure who reads political disorder in moral and communal terms. His authority derives from foresight and responsibility. Third, the culminating appeal to "unite and become one nation" gives the speech an aphoristic, orally memorable quality. These features elevate the character beyond an ordinary participant in political events and align him with a traditional model in which wisdom is demonstrated by counsel offered for the survival of the community.

The folkloric effect does not require Muratbaev to reproduce a specific epic episode word for word. Rather, the novel stylizes a recognizable narrative function: the leader as wise adviser whose speech interprets crisis for the collective. This is a form of transformation rather than direct borrowing. The historical figure remains situated in a prose narrative, but his characterization is strengthened by an oral-traditional ethical model. In this way, folklorism operates at the level of characterization and value: it tells the reader not only what Sasik biy says, but also how his role in the moral imagination of the community should be understood.

The passage also clarifies the relationship between national identity and folklore in the novel. "National identity" here should not be treated as an abstract or essential quality. It is textualized through specific values: attachment to ancestral land, concern for collective survival, resistance to fragmentation, and responsibility for future generations. Sasik biy becomes a carrier of these values because the narrative frames his political counsel in a culturally resonant mode of communal wisdom.

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The Karmakchi Ata Legend as an Etiological Naming Narrative

The second passage uses a different folkloric mechanism. Muratbaev inserts a legend associated with Korkyt Ata and the fisherman Balgali Dawlen into the historical-geographical world of *Digiriq*. The narrative combines a recognizable place, an extraordinary musical motif, an ethic of generosity, and an explanation of how Dawlen came to be remembered as Karmakchi Ata:

Some legends say that this is the place where Korkyt Ata, after fleeing death for forty years, finally died. In the mornings and evenings, when Korkyt Ata went to the riverbank to play the kobyz, the old fisherman Balgali Dawlen also came to the river and cast his lines. When the fish heard the pleasant sound of Korkyt Ata's kobyz, resounding in a thousand joyful and sorrowful melodies, they gathered near the place where he sat. ... Dawlen distributed the fish among orphans, elderly people, and anyone who wanted some, taking home only enough for one meal. From those days, the old man's name Dawlen was forgotten, and he came to be called Karmakchi Ata. (Muratbaev, 1991, p. 158; author's translation)

The clearest generic function of the passage is etiological: the narrative explains the emergence of a remembered name. More precisely, it is an etiological naming legend rather than a strictly toponymic origin legend, because the explicit outcome is the renaming of Balgali Dawlen as Karmakchi Ata. The surrounding geography anchors the story in local space, but the narrative endpoint concerns the person's remembered designation. This distinction makes the folkloristic classification more precise.

The episode also contains a mythopoetic motif in the fish gathering to the sound of Korkyt Ata's kobyz. The novel does not present this event as a claim requiring empirical verification. Within the legend, extraordinary causality expresses the cultural power attributed to music and to the figure of Korkyt Ata. The kobyz is therefore more than an instrument in the scene: it becomes a narrative sign of a cultural order in which music can affect nature, memory, and human relationships.

Balgali Dawlen's conduct adds a second layer of meaning. He does not hoard the abundant catch generated within the marvelous logic of the legend; he distributes it to orphans, elderly people, and others, keeping only enough for his immediate household. The legend therefore links naming with ethical memory. Karmakchi Ata is remembered not simply because he fishes, but because the story associates his identity with generosity and communal responsibility. Folklorism here preserves an evaluative memory: the past is transmitted through a narrative that explains which qualities are worthy of remembrance.

This combination of geography, extraordinary motif, naming, and ethical evaluation demonstrates how folklore mediates historical space in the novel. Muratbaev does not treat place as a neutral coordinate. The landscape is narratively populated by remembered figures and stories. As a result, historical prose becomes a meeting point between chronological narration and culturally inherited memory. This supports Assmann's (2011) broader observation that cultural memory links transmitted representations of the past with group identity, while the novel gives that process a specifically Karakalpak literary form.

Functional Synthesis of the Two Cases

The two passages use different folklore forms, but they perform related artistic work. Sasik biy is shaped through a stylized wise-leader model; the Karmakchi Ata episode is organized as an etiological legend with mythopoetic and ethical motifs. In both instances, folklore transforms the meaning of historical material by connecting it to communal values. Table 1 summarizes the principal mechanisms identified in the analysis.

Table 1

Principal Folkloric Mechanisms and Their Narrative Functions in the Selected Passages

Folkloric mechanism	Textual manifestation	Principal narrative function
Wise-leader / epic stylization	Sasik biy interprets fragmentation as danger and calls for collective unity.	Constructs moral-political authority through communal wisdom and responsibility.
Etiological naming legend	Balgali Dawlen becomes remembered as Karmakchi Ata.	Explains a remembered name and embeds local memory in narrative.

Mythopoetic musical motif	Fish gather to the sound of Korkyt Ata's kobyz.	Represents the extraordinary cultural power attributed to music and inherited tradition.
Communal ethical motif	Dawlen distributes the catch to orphans, elderly people, and others.	Encodes generosity and social responsibility as qualities worthy of remembrance.

Note. The table summarizes functions demonstrated by the two analyzed passages; it is not an exhaustive inventory of all folklore elements in the novel.

The synthesis also clarifies why it is more accurate to describe these elements as functional components of the novel than as decorative "national color." The folkloric material changes how characters and places are interpreted. It supplies models of authority, explains remembered names, intensifies the symbolic value of music, and makes ethical behavior part of the novel's historical imagination. The result is a form of historical prose in which the remembered past is represented through both event and inherited narrative.

Discussion

Folklore as Transformation Rather Than Repetition

The findings support the long-standing Karakalpak view that folklore is a major source of written literature while also demonstrating the need to analyze the mode of transformation. Maqsetov (1975) emphasizes folklore's capacity to strengthen culturally specific features of literary art, and Aimbetov (1977) stresses that folklore itself is reworked in transmission. Muratbaev's practice can be understood at the intersection of these propositions: inherited cultural material enters the historical novel after being reorganized according to the demands of prose characterization and narration.

This result is also consistent with contemporary definitions of folklorism that focus on adaptation rather than copying (Turayeva, 2024). Sasik biy is not presented through the literal insertion of an epic tale; instead, an epic-like ethical role is transferred to a historical character. Likewise, the Karmakchi Ata narrative retains the recognizable structure of a legend while being embedded in a larger historical novel. In both cases, the important analytical question is not whether the source is "folklore" in isolation but what happens to the folklore form once it becomes part of the novel.

The analysis extends observations made primarily in relation to Karakalpak poetry. Bekbergenova (1995) and Ayimbetova (2022) show that folklore-derived forms and devices can be assimilated, stylized, and given new artistic functions in poetic texts. The present findings demonstrate an analogous process in prose, but the novel offers different structural possibilities: folklore can be attached to the construction of a historical character, inserted as an embedded narrative, or used to connect geography with cultural memory. This supports Begmuratova's (2019) broader argument that folklorism in the Karakalpak novel may be realized through the stylization of formal and ideological features rather than through simple reproduction of complete oral genres.

Historical Memory and Cultural Identity

The revised analysis also requires a more precise understanding of historical memory. The novel's legend of Karmakchi Ata should not be treated as equivalent to documentary history. Its significance lies in the way a community can remember the past through meaningful narrative. The story binds place, music, moral behavior, and naming into a form that can be transmitted. In Assmann's (2011) terms, cultural memory depends on socially maintained representations that connect past and identity; Muratbaev's novel literaryizes such a process by incorporating a remembered legend into written historical prose.

This distinction strengthens rather than weakens the historical-literary argument. If folklore is treated as a factual source without qualification, the analysis risks confusing cultural significance with historical verification. If it is treated merely as fiction, however, its role in collective memory is overlooked. The more defensible position is that the novel stages an interaction between historical narration and remembered tradition. Folklore contributes a culturally meaningful interpretation of the past, while the novel gives that interpretation a new written form.

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A similar point applies to the concept of national identity. The selected passages do not provide a comprehensive definition of Karakalpak identity, nor should two scenes be made to carry such a claim. They do, however, articulate culturally marked values that the narrative associates with collective continuity: unity in the face of fragmentation, attachment to ancestral space, reverence for inherited cultural figures, generosity toward vulnerable members of the community, and the preservation of names through story. It is through these concrete values - rather than through an undefined notion of "national spirit" - that the analyzed folklorisms contribute to identity in the novel.

Limitations

The study has three principal limitations. First, it is a focused qualitative analysis of two representative passages and therefore does not claim to classify every instance of folklorism in *Digiriq*. A full monographic study could extend the corpus to proverbs, phraseological units, genealogical narratives, customs, blessings and curses, and other ethnographic details. Second, the study analyzes the literary representation of historical memory but does not compare the novel with archival records or independent historical sources. Third, the English quotations depend on authorial translation from Karakalpak; although the translations have been revised for clarity, future publication could benefit from review by an additional specialist in literary translation.

Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that folklorism in Dzhubatkan Muratbaev's *Digiriq* functions as an integral narrative resource in the selected passages. Sasik biy is constructed through a stylized model of communal wisdom that transforms political counsel into a culturally resonant form of leadership. The Karmakchi Ata episode operates as an etiological naming legend in which Korkyt Ata's kobyz, the marvelous gathering of fish, and Balgali Dawlen's generosity combine to preserve an ethically charged memory of person and place. These are different mechanisms, but both connect historical prose to oral-traditional ways of interpreting the past.

The study therefore answers its research questions in functional terms. Muratbaev recontextualizes oral-traditional material through character stylization and embedded legend, and these mechanisms contribute to characterization, collective memory, communal ethics, and culturally marked identity. Folklore is not merely decorative material surrounding historical events; it influences the meanings through which those events, figures, and places are remembered in the novel.

The contribution of the study is deliberately specific. It does not claim the first or exhaustive analysis of folklorism in Karakalpak prose. Instead, it offers a close functional account of two mechanisms in *Digiriq* and thereby provides a more precise basis for future comparative work. Subsequent research can expand this approach across the full novel and compare Muratbaev's use of folklore with other Karakalpak and Turkic historical novels, particularly in relation to genealogy, proverbial discourse, ritual practices, and competing forms of historical memory.

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A SUFI INTERPRETATION OF ALISHER NAVOI'S HAYRAT UL-ABROR: HAYRAT, ABROR, AND THE QAHR-LUTF AXIS IN THE CONCEPTUAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE KHAMSA

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ABSTRACT
This article offers a systematic Sufi, Qur'anic-semantic, and poetic interpretation of the concepts of hayrat (mystical bewilderment), abror (the righteous), ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul (rejection/acceptance), and qahr/lutf (wrath/grace) in Alisher Navoi's Hayrat ul-abror and assesses their value as a conceptual framework for reading the later poems of the Khamsa. The primary text is the sixth volume of Navoi's 2011 collected works. The Revan-808 and Fatih-4056 manuscripts are treated as auxiliary textual controls where relevant, while the study does not claim to establish a critical text. The analysis combines qualitative hermeneutics, comparative-historical contextualization, and Sufi conceptual interpretation. The findings show that hayrat denotes not ordinary surprise but an epistemic-spiritual state linked to ma'rifa, divine self-disclosure, inner vision, and fana; abror likewise occupies a broader Qur'anic and ethical semantic field than a simple equivalent such as "good people." The oppositions ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul and qahr/lutf support reading the Khamsa as a shared meta-ethical and aesthetic architecture rather than as one linear plot. The argument distinguishes textually demonstrated findings from broader comparative hypotheses that require systematic testing across the remaining four epics.

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Keywords: *Alisher Navoi, Hayrat ul-abror, Khamsa, Sufism, hayrat, abror, wrath and grace, acceptance and rejection, fana.*

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Introduction

In Eastern classical literature, the Khamsa tradition is associated above all with Nizami Ganjavi. Contemporary Nizami scholarship treats the chronology of his five masnavis as a complex and debated matter rather than assigning them a single simplified date range. Drawing on de Blois's reconstruction, Parrello (2012) dates Makhzan al-Asrar to approximately 1166 or slightly later, Layli and Majnun to 1188, the Iskandarnama to approximately 1194, and Haft Paykar to 1197. It is therefore not sufficiently cautious to confine Nizami's Khamsa to an unqualified span such as 1170-1204. More importantly, the five masnavis were subsequently canonized as an integrated literary model under the titles Khamsa or Panj Ganj.

Amir Khusraw Dehlavi is recognized as the first poet to compose a Khamsa as a sustained response to Nizami's model; his quintet was written between 1298 and 1302 (Sharma, 2017). This development consolidated the tradition of tatabbu, allowing later poets not merely to repeat inherited plots but to enter into creative dialogue with earlier models and reinterpret them. Navoi brought this tradition to a new stage

in Chagatai Turkic. Modern scholarship dates Navoi's Khamsa to 1483-1485: Hayrat ul-abror and Farhad and Shirin to 1483, Layli and Majnun and Sab'ai Sayyor to 1484, and Saddi Iskandariy to 1485 (Toutant, 2023).

Navoi himself presents tatabbu not as simple imitation but as a test of creative capacity. A well-known couplet from Hayrat ul-abror expresses the severity of this standard:

Many have longed to attempt a poetic response,
Yet before the cypress and the rose they brought only straw. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 64)

The logic of the couplet suggests that tatabbu is not the copying of a prior text but the ability to produce a response worthy of it aesthetically and spiritually. Toutant (2023) shows that in Sab'ai Sayyor Navoi openly criticizes elements of the Nizami and Amir Khusraw models and restructures both plot and ethical emphasis. This supports reading the first poem of the Khamsa not as a simple repetition of earlier Khamsa practice, but as a programmatic text that articulates Navoi's own creative conception.

In this article, the expression "overall plot of the Khamsa" is used in a precise methodological sense. It does not refer to a single linear sequence of events uniting the five poems. Rather, it denotes a system of meta-ethical, mystical, and literary-aesthetic coordinates that recur across the Khamsa and are reworked in different plots. The central thesis of this study is therefore as follows: Hayrat ul-abror is not a plot map that predetermines every event in the subsequent four poems; instead, it is a conceptual prolegomenon that makes those poems readable through oppositions such as knowledge and ignorance, acceptance and rejection, grace and wrath, love and the lower self, and truth and fame.

Literature Review and Research Gap

The Sufi layers of Hayrat ul-abror have been studied from several perspectives in Uzbek Navoi scholarship. Muhiddinov (2022, p. 51) links the heart's experience of hayrat to fana and mystical perfection; his later article likewise analyzes the three "hayrat" chapters through the Sufi symbolism of the heart (Muhiddinov, 2023). G'afforova (2024) examines the ideological and artistic function of the poem's hymns of praise and emphasizes the compositional importance of hamd, na't, and munajat. Imomnazarov (2022, p. 144) regards the elevation of the heart's bewilderment to an artistic center in Navoi as an important innovation in classical literary thought. Komilov's (2009) synthetic study of Sufism in Uzbek scholarship also provides a theoretical basis for interpreting Sufi categories in their terminological and historical contexts.

In international Navoi studies, the poet's relationship to Persian models and his restructuring of those models has become increasingly important. Using Sab'ai Sayyor as a case study, Toutant (2023) demonstrates that Navoi reshaped the Nizami and Amir Khusraw plot in accordance with ethical-political and Naqshbandi Sufi criteria. This work provides an important methodological basis for explaining the internal coherence of the Khamsa not only through formal tatabbu, but also through the author's sustained ethical and mystical choices.

Nevertheless, existing studies often treat separately the term hayrat, the Qur'anic semantics of abror, the ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul and qahr/lutf oppositions in the "Bismillah" chapter, the ethics of authorship in the prologue, and the conceptual criteria that may connect the later poems. The contribution of the present article does not lie in an absolute priority claim such as "for the first time," but in integrating these elements into a single conceptual model and explicitly distinguishing conclusions directly supported by the text from hypotheses that require further comparative research.

Research Questions

1. What Sufi-epistemological meaning does the term hayrat acquire in Hayrat ul-abror, and how is this meaning internally related to the poem's three chapters devoted to hayrat?

2. What semantic layers does the term abror combine from Qur'anic and lexical perspectives, and what do these layers imply for interpreting the title of the poem in a modern language?

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3. To what extent can the oppositions ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul and qahr/lutf be justified as a conceptual axis extending from Hayrat ul-abror to the later poems of the Khamsa?

Materials and Methods

The primary text for this study is Hayrat ul-abror as published in the sixth volume of Alisher Navoi's ten-volume Complete Works (Navoiy, 2011). Where necessary, the Revan-808 manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library and the Fatih-4056 manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library, both in Türkiye, were consulted. Because this article does not aim to establish a critical text or provide a complete apparatus of manuscript variants, the manuscripts are used as auxiliary controls; a stemmatic description of their variants remains a separate textual-critical task.

The conceptual sources include Qur'anic verses, Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf's Tafsiri Hilol, Usmonxon Temurxon Samarqandiy's Tafsiri Irfon, Süleyman Uludağ's dictionary of Sufi terminology, and Aziziddin Nasafi's The Book of the Perfect Human. The frequency and forms of abror in the Qur'an were checked against the Quranic Arabic Corpus. Hadith material was not included in the analytical corpus because the article's central argument relies on the Qur'an, tafsir, Sufi terminological sources, and the literary text.

The analysis proceeded in three stages. First, the semantic and mystical fields of the terms hayrat and abror in the poem's title were identified. Second, the prologue's "Bismillah," hamd, munajat, na'‘t, and praise of predecessors were read as internally connected conceptual layers. Third, the applicability of these concepts to the later poems of the Khamsa was evaluated not as a rigid classification of characters but as a model for comparative reading. Methodologically, the study combines qualitative hermeneutic analysis, comparative-historical contextualization, and religious-Sufi semantic analysis.

Quotations are cited by page number using the APA 7 author-date system. Qur'anic passages are identified primarily by surah and verse number; when an interpretive rendering is drawn from an Uzbek tafsir, the relevant tafsir source is also cited. Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of Navoi's Chagatai passages in this article are the author's own and aim to remain close to the semantic structure of the cited edition.

Results and Discussion

The Programmatic Role of Hayrat ul-Abror within the Khamsa

As the opening poem of the Khamsa, Hayrat ul-abror differs generically from the subsequent epics: rather than an uninterrupted romantic or historical plot, it relies on a complex composition of maqalat, exemplary tales, hamd, munajat, na'‘t, and philosophical-mystical reflection. This feature means that its function cannot be reduced to that of merely being "the first poem." It formulates in advance Navoi's criteria concerning the human person, divine grace, love, reason, authorship, justice, and perfection, thereby providing a normative vocabulary for reading the later epic narratives.

For this reason, calling Hayrat ul-abror "the key to the treasury of the Khamsa" is productive as a poetic metaphor, but as a scholarly thesis its meaning must be specified. In the present article, "key" does not mean that the poem pre-encodes the plots of the next four works; rather, it means that Hayrat ul-abror supplies a conceptual vocabulary for naming ethical and mystical oppositions that recur within them.

The Sufi Meaning of Hayrat: From Tajalli to Fana

Uludağ (1995, p. 231) explains Sufi hayrat as a spiritual state in which ordinary rational comprehension becomes insufficient as a result of a tajalli (divine self-disclosure) or an inward visitation received by the heart of the spiritual wayfarer, and he associates its meaning with contemplation of divine manifestation. This definition corresponds to the logic of Navoi's title and the three chapters on hayrat: bewilderment is not mere surprise at an unexpected event, but the point at which deepening knowledge brings cognition to a new threshold.

In the prose explanation associated with the title, the heart's arrival at hayrat is represented as a four-stage movement: liberation from the "night of nonbeing" and entry into the "dawn of existence";

contemplation of the variegated realm of the angels; recognition that created beings glorify the Real, causing the "flowers of hayrat" to bloom; and, finally, an altered state of consciousness under the force of that disclosure (Navoiy, 2011, p. 64). This sequence may be read as ontological awakening → unveiling/contemplation → cognitive recognition → ecstatic self-loss.

The opposition between the "night of nonbeing" and the "dawn of existence" figures the heart's transition from biological existence to an existence illuminated by ma'rifa. Here, "life" is not defined by physical survival but by the light of knowledge. The image of the angelic realm likewise signifies the ascent of perception from the outward world to an inward order. Nasafiy (2021, pp. 128-129) distinguishes the realms of mulk, malakut, and jabarut as ontological levels; Navoi's "spring garden of the angelic realm" is semantically consonant with this Sufi cosmology.

Navoi alludes directly to Qur'an 87:1, reproducing the divine command in Arabic:

سَبِّحِ اسْمَ رَبِّكَ الْأَعْلَى

The phrase is transliterated as "Sabbih isma rabbika al-a'la" and means "Glorify the name of your Lord, the Most High" (Qur'an 87:1; Samarqandiy, 2019, p. 568). Navoi thus connects the source of hayrat to the recognition that creation itself glorifies the Real. Hayrat therefore arises not from the strangeness of an object but from basira, the inner vision that begins to perceive the divine signification of existence.

At dawn the robe of morning flashed with golden thread;
No thread remained of night's dark curtain.
Across the arch of heaven the pen of fate inscribed
The verses "By the sun" and "By the morning brightness." (Navoiy, 2011, p. 64)

The contrast between dawn and night represents the inward passage from knowledge to ignorance and back into illumination. The allusions to "By the sun" and "By the morning brightness" intensify the semantics of sunlight and radiance, creating a Qur'anic intertext for the opening of the heart through the "light of guidance." This allows the Sufi interpretation to be grounded not in external symbolism but in the Qur'anic and poetic relations within Navoi's own text.

This world is a garden in bloom,
Indeed, a world concealed within a flower.
It cannot have sprung into being by itself,
Unless there is a Gardener who made it so. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 69)

The comparison of the world to a garden and of the Creator to a "Gardener" gives poetic form to an ontological argument. Yet Navoi does not make hayrat an end in itself. An angelic voice urges the spiritual wayfarer to move from "fruitless bewilderment" toward seeing the secrets of Reality with the eye of basira:

What use is bewilderment without benefit?
What profit does this bewilderment bring you?
Partake of the secret of Reality,
And look with the eye of inner vision.
When these words, like pearls, reached his ear,
His eyes opened with the light of guidance. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 69)

This passage prevents Navoi's hayrat from being interpreted as irrational paralysis. Hayrat is a dynamic state that moves toward basira and guidance. In the second hayrat, bewilderment intensifies as ma'rifat Allah (knowledge of God) deepens; in the third, hardship and ecstatic self-loss strengthen the movement toward fana. Muhiddinov (2022, p. 51; 2023) interprets the image of the heart as "master" and its relation to fana through this internal evolution. Thus, the sequence hayrat → basira/guidance → fana constitutes the poem's mystical anthropology.

The traditional comparison according to which the journey of the heart in Nizami's Makhzan al-Asrar is structured through "retreats," whereas Amir Khusraw's Matla' al-Anwar organizes it through

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"conversations," is useful for demonstrating the structural emphasis placed on hayrat by Navoi. An absolute claim that this occurs "for the first time in the history of Khamsa writing," however, would require caution in the absence of a broad manuscript and comparative corpus. This study therefore locates Navoi's innovation not in a formula of absolute priority, but in the exceptionally central and systematic role assigned to hayrat through the title, three dedicated chapters, and the logic of fana. Imomnazarov (2022, p. 144) likewise regards the elevation of the heart's bewilderment to this degree of artistic centrality as a significant innovation.

The Qur'anic and Lexical Semantics of Abror

The second component of the title, أَبْرَارٌ (*abrār*), identifies the ethical subject of the poem's interpretation. In the original philological discussion, أَبْرَارٌ (*abrār*) is identified as the plural form of بَرٌّ (*barr*). Baranov (2006) records within lexical items derived from the b-r-r root such semantic shades as goodness, piety, obedience, righteousness, kindness to parents, charity, and beneficence. Replacing *abror* simply with "good people" therefore narrows its semantic field.

According to the Quranic Arabic Corpus (n.d.), the specific form al-abrār/abrār occurs six times in the Qur'an: 3:193, 3:198, 76:5, 82:13, 83:18, and 83:22. For example, Qur'an 3:198 emphasizes the excellence of the reward reserved with God for the abror; 82:13 states that the abror are in bliss; and 83:18 and 83:22 connect them with their record of deeds and eschatological felicity. Tafsiri Hilol likewise interprets this category as a conjunction of faith, righteous action, beautiful character, and charity (Muhammad Yusuf, 2008a, p. 126; 2008b, pp. 405, 414).

On this evidence, translating the title Hayrat ul-abror simply as "The Amazement of Good People" is limited in two respects. First, hayrat denotes a mystical state broader than ordinary psychological surprise; second, abror gathers together ethical, confessional, and eschatological qualities. A philological rendering should therefore preserve the term, for example "The Bewilderment of the Abror," or provide an explanatory translation such as "the mystical bewilderment of the righteous and God-conscious." This is not proposed as a definitive equivalent, but as a translation principle designed to preserve the semantic density of the original term.

The "Bismillah" Chapter: Ahl al-Radd/Ahl al-Qabul and the Qahr/Lutf Opposition

The poem's opening with an exposition of "Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim" is not incidental compositional ornament. Navoi figures the letters and words of the formula as "peerless pearls" and the thread that connects them as the "vein of life":

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful—
He strung several peerless pearls upon a thread.
Each pearl surpassed the jewel of life;
In worth, it exceeded both worlds.
Its thread itself was the bond of the world—
Nay, not the world's bond, but the vein of life. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 6)

In this chapter, the human response to the divine formula is expressed through the categories ahl al-qabul and ahl al-radd, while their conditions are associated with lutf and qahr. The opposition condenses the poem's ethical theology: acceptance signifies openness to divine grace; rejection signifies closure through denial or the lower self; lutf forms a semantic field of mercy and guidance, whereas qahr approaches deprivation and punishment.

Dividing every character in the Khamsa into two rigid groups would, however, be methodologically reductive. Epic characters often undergo development, error, repentance, conflicting motivations, and multilayered political functions. Accordingly, this article treats ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul and qahr/lutf not as prosopographical labels but as interpretive axes for evaluating a character's ethical choice in a particular situation.

This approach provides a more persuasive account of the Khamsa's internal unity. Across the later poems, oppositions such as love and self-interest, fidelity and betrayal, justice and oppression, knowledge and the lower self, grace and deprivation are repeatedly reworked in different plots. Toutant (2023) shows that in Sab'ai Sayyor Navoi raises an ethical objection to the inherited image of Bahram and reshapes the narrative according to Naqshbandi ethical and political criteria. This evidence supports the productivity of the normative categories articulated in Hayrat ul-abror for reading the later epics, but it does not prove a rigid binary classification of all their characters.

Divine Artistry, Reason, and Love in the Hamd and Munajat

The prologue to Hayrat ul-abror contains religious-poetic sections including an exposition of "Bismillah," a hamd, four munajats, and five na'ts. These sections are not merely detachable "introductory ornament" preceding the maqalat; they establish criteria for knowledge and authorship. G'afforova (2024) likewise emphasizes the role of the hamd chapters in the poem's ideological and artistic system. Navoi seeks to demonstrate divine power not through abstract praise alone but through images of the cosmos, light, reason, and the human body.

In the hamd chapter, the human brain is figured as a "narrow chamber," and reason as a lamp burning within it:

He made the brain a narrow chamber,
And lit within that chamber the lamp of reason. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 10)

The image of reason as a "lamp" associates it with divine favor and guidance. Navoi therefore does not reject reason; rather, he presents it as a necessary but not ultimate instrument of knowledge. Love, by contrast, may carry the human being beyond ordinary rational order toward a higher mode of experience:

When the wind of love blew fierce and swift,
It shattered the frail hut of reason into pieces. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 11)

This opposition creates a natural theoretical background for reading the poetics of love in Layli and Majnun. Yet the entire poetic mechanism of the later epic cannot be deduced from two couplets in Hayrat ul-abror. A more defensible conclusion is that the first poem provides a terminological and axiological basis for the relationship between love and reason; the manner in which that relationship is modified in Layli and Majnun requires a separate comparative analysis.

The four munajats likewise strengthen conceptual continuity through themes such as creation and the place of the human being; God as the sole object of worship; grace and intercession; generosity and forgiveness. On one level these themes elaborate the qahr/lutf axis, and on another they reveal human weakness and dependence on divine mercy. In this respect, the prologue provides a theological foundation for the moral anthropology of the Khamsa.

The Ethics of Authorship: Truth, Concealment, and the Renunciation of Fame

The praise of predecessors and of Jami in the poem's prologue also reveals Navoi's literary-aesthetic program. The following couplet on Jami presents writing not as a means of producing fame, but as a veil that conceals the writer's true inward state while guiding the seeker toward meaning:

He made a veil to conceal his inward state,
And filled the page with lines in order to hide it. (Navoiy, 2011, p. 43)

Here, the semantics of concealment in satr and kitman express the distance between the author's inward state and the outward text. If literature becomes an instrument for acquiring fame or rank, its spiritual status declines; if it is oriented toward expressing truth, however, the word acquires transformative force:

A subtle word can melt stone like water
If it takes its savor from the fire of truth.
If it is far from the jewel of truth,
Better that the thread of words remain unspoken. (Navoiy, 2011, pp. 44-45)

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This principle shows Hayrat ul-abror not merely as a collection of moral counsels but as a programmatic reflection on the epistemic and ethical conditions of literary creation. Artistic skill detached from "truth" is insufficient; the value of form is tied to meaning and spiritual responsibility. At this point the methodological function of Hayrat ul-abror becomes clearer: it establishes criteria not only for how to live, but also for how to write, how to read, and how to relate to literary inheritance.

The Conceptual Architecture of the Khamsa: A Synthesis Model

The foregoing analysis does not license an automatic interpretation of the four later poems through a single formula. It does, however, make it possible to construct a testable conceptual model for their comparative reading. The model's principal axes are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

A Conceptual Reading Model Derived from Hayrat ul-Abror

Conceptual axis	**Basis in Hayrat ul-abror**	**Question to test in the later Khamsa**
Hayrat → basira → fana	The three hayrat chapters; deepening ma'rifa and guidance	How is a character's inner transformation constructed as a process of knowing, loving, or passing beyond the lower self?
Qahr ↔ lutf	The two poles of divine relation in the "Bismillah," hamd, and munajat	How are grace, trial, deprivation, and salvation connected to ethical causes within the plot?
Rejection ↔ acceptance	Faith and the response to the divine formula	How is a character's choice represented as openness to truth or closure through the lower self?
Reason ↔ love	The images of the lamp of reason and the wind of love	In what poetic forms is the tension between rational norm and the experience of love reworked?
Truth ↔ fame/lower self	The praise of Jami and the authorial ethics of the "fire of truth"	How does inward truth, rather than outward success, determine the value of poet, ruler, or lover?

Note. The table is not a rigid classification of characters; it organizes comparative questions that must be tested against specific textual evidence in the later poems.

The advantage of this model is that it does not force the unity of the Khamsa into a single plot. Instead, it allows comparison of recurring value problems across poems of different genres and narrative structures. Navoi's respectful but critical reassessment of his predecessors' plots and his modification of particular ethical motives (Toutant, 2023) justify the search for precisely this kind of conceptual continuity.

At the same time, Farhad, Shirin, Majnun, Layli, Iskandar, and other characters should not automatically be classified as ahl al-qabul, nor should Khusraw, Shiruyah, Ibn Salam, Bahram, Darius, and Mallu automatically be classified as ahl al-radd. Such a classification is an interesting hypothesis, but it cannot become a final conclusion without sufficient textual evidence from each later poem, attention to narrative dynamics, and analysis of character development. Complex and changing figures such as Bahram are especially liable to lose their pedagogical and evolutionary logic when reduced to a single ethical label.

Limitations

First, this article is not a critical textual study describing all variants of the Revan-808 and Fatih-4056 manuscripts. Consultation of these manuscripts is limited to controlling the primary text; a full apparatus of variants requires a separate specialized study.

Second, the four later poems of the Khamsa were not fully coded and statistically or systematically classified in this article according to qahr/lutf or rejection/acceptance for every character and episode. The

conclusion that Hayrat ul-abror serves as a conceptual key to the Khamsa is therefore an interpretive conclusion grounded in the programmatic categories of the opening poem and existing comparative scholarship, not a final demonstration covering the entire epic corpus.

Third, no absolute priority claim is made concerning the precise extent to which hayrat was used in the Khamsa tradition before Navoi. Such a conclusion would require terminological and conceptual comparison across a complete electronic or manuscript corpus of Nizami, Amir Khusraw, and other Khamsa poets.

Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that the title and compositional structure of Hayrat ul-abror condense Navoi's mystical-aesthetic program. Hayrat is not ordinary amazement; it is a state in which, under the influence of tajalli and ma'rifa, the heart passes beyond the limits of ordinary cognition, opens toward basira and guidance, and moves toward fana. The three chapters on hayrat deepen this process stage by stage.

From Qur'anic and lexical perspectives, abror is a category broader than "good people." It unites a semantic field encompassing God-consciousness, righteous action, integrity, generosity, justice, and eschatological felicity. An unannotated translation of the title as "The Amazement of Good People" therefore loses part of its mystical and ethical content; a form that preserves the term—such as "The Bewilderment of the Abror"—is philologically more cautious.

The ahl al-radd/ahl al-qabul and qahr/lutf oppositions in the "Bismillah" chapter form an important ethical-theological axis of Hayrat ul-abror. When this axis is applied to characters in the later epics, however, it is more methodologically sound to use it as an interpretive criterion for examining choice, transformation, and spiritual condition within the narrative than as a rigid two-group classification.

The hamd, munajat, and praise of Jami establish criteria concerning reason, love, truth, and authorship. Hayrat ul-abror may therefore be interpreted not as the linear plot of the Khamsa, but as a conceptual and meta-ethical prolegomenon for reading the subsequent poems.

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EMBEDDED POETIC FORMS IN SAYQALI'S BAHROM AND GULANDOM: FUNCTIONS OF MUSADDAS, MUSTAZAD, AND QUATRAINS

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ABSTRACT
This study examines the compositional and narrative functions of three embedded poetic forms in Sayqali's eighteenth-century love epic Bahrom and Gulandom: musaddas, mustazad, and four-line stanzas (to'rtliklar). The epic is predominantly organized in masnavi couplets, yet these inserted forms alter the pace, voice, and psychological density of key scenes. Using qualitative close reading, structural-poetic analysis, and contextual interpretation of the 1960 printed edition, the study asks how formal change contributes to characterization and narrative development. The musaddas spoken by the vizier Dastur employs six-line stanzas and a recurring closing distich to transform astonishment into counsel, recollection, and the restoration of Bahrom's royal identity. The mustazad suspends plot progression during the meeting of Sarvoso, Ruhafzo, and Gulandom, using supplementary short lines and concentrated imagery to create a lyrical pause of visual and social harmony. The sustained sequence of quatrains in the first extended conversation between Bahrom and Gulandom functions differently: each stanza forms a compact speech act, while the alternating sequence gradually discloses identity, desire, resistance, humor, and mutual recognition. The findings show that Sayqali does not employ these forms as decorative insertions. Rather, formal shifts serve distinct compositional functions within the larger narrative and demonstrate a deliberate integration of lyric and stanzaic techniques into epic storytelling.

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Keywords: *Sayqali, Bahrom and Gulandom, musaddas, mustazad, quatrain, Uzbek classical poetry, masnavi.*

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Introduction

Sayqali's *Bahrom and Gulandom* occupies a distinctive place in Uzbek classical narrative poetry because its masnavi framework incorporates shorter lyric and stanzaic forms at moments of heightened emotion, recognition, description, and dialogue. Previous scholarship has emphasized the epic's folklore motifs and the poet's broader poetics, showing that the work combines written literary convention with structures and images associated with oral narrative traditions (Jumanov, 2023; Mamatqulov, 2021). What remains less clearly explained is how changes of poetic form operate inside the narrative itself. A form can be present without being functionally significant; the more important question is what happens to voice, pace, characterization, and meaning when the poem temporarily moves away from its dominant masnavi organization.

This article therefore narrows the broad problem of "genre characteristics" to three embedded forms for which the 1960 edition supplies complete and analyzable examples: musaddas, mustazad, and four-line stanzas (to'rtliklar). Muxammas is also present in the epic and appears frequently, but a full account of that

form requires a separate inventory and analysis and is not claimed here. The present study asks: How do musaddas, mustazad, and quatrain-like four-line stanzas perform different compositional and psychological functions within the masnavi narrative of *Bahrom and Gulandom*? The argument is that the three forms are differentiated by function. The musaddas organizes recognition, lament, counsel, and social restoration; the mustazad creates a descriptive and affective pause; and the four-line dialogue sequence becomes an engine of incremental revelation between Bahrom and Gulandom.

This approach treats poetic form as a compositional resource rather than as a label alone. Studies of medieval Persian and Perso-Turkic poetics have long shown that formal organization, rhetorical structure, repetition, and segmentation can contribute directly to coherence and meaning (Meisami, 2003). In *Bahrom and Gulandom*, the transition from couplet narrative to an embedded stanzaic or lyric form similarly changes the reader's experience of a scene. The significance of these insertions is therefore best understood through close attention to both their formal properties and their position in the plot.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Traditional Uzbek scholarship describes musaddas, mustazad, musammat, and related forms primarily through stanza length, rhyme, and meter (Hojiahmedov, 2008; Homidiy et al., 1970; Hotamov & Sarimsoqov, 1983; Nosirov et al., 1979). In the broader Persianate tradition, musaddas belongs to the family of musammat stanzaic forms, which are classified according to the number of lines or hemistichs in a stanza. Van den Berg (2016) notes that musammat forms are defined by recurrent stanzaic organization and that musaddas is the six-part form. This terminology is more precise than translating musaddas as "hexameter," because hexameter ordinarily names a metrical line with six feet rather than a six-line stanza. The present study therefore uses "six-line stanza" and "musaddas" rather than "hexameter."

Mustazad also requires careful classification. Rather than a simple stanza type, it is a verse form in which a shorter supplementary phrase is attached to the principal line or hemistich. Van den Berg (2016) treats it as related to stanzaic poetry while also noting its distinct status. Classical descriptions often associate mustazad with particular aruz patterns, but the evidence does not justify the categorical claim that only one meter is possible. Accordingly, this article describes the meter and supplementary-line principle conservatively and concentrates on the form's compositional effect in Sayqali's text.

The terminology surrounding four-line poems is especially important. A four-line stanza is not automatically a rubai. Uzbek scholarship distinguishes metrically defined rubai from other four-line forms, including generic quatrains or to'rtliklar (Rakhmonova, 2019). Recent work on Ottoman and Turkish receptions of Persian quatrains likewise emphasizes the historical distinction between the Persian rubai and the broader Turkish dörtlük, a four-line stanza that may follow different rhyme and metrical patterns (Balıkçıoğlu, 2024). For that reason, this article refers to Sayqali's dialogue units as "quatrains," "four-line stanzas," or "to'rtliklar" unless the available evidence establishes rubai-specific metrical criteria.

Four-line organization nevertheless has deep roots in Turkic literary practice. Mamatqulov (2006) traces the use of compact four-line units in early Turkic written literature and argues that later authors inherited an established tradition of semantically concentrated strophic expression. That historical background helps explain why the quatrain can function as an independent unit of thought while still participating in a larger sequence. In Sayqali's epic, this dual capacity—local completeness and sequential linkage—is crucial to the dialogue between Bahrom and Gulandom.

Scholarship specifically on Sayqali provides the immediate context for the present study. Mamatqulov (2021) demonstrates the importance of folklore motifs in *Bahrom and Gulandom*, including childlessness, hunting, heroic combat, and love initiated through an image. Jumanov (2023) places the epic within a broader discussion of Sayqali's poetic craftsmanship and classical forms. These studies establish the poet's engagement with literary and folkloric traditions but do not systematically distinguish the narrative functions of musaddas, mustazad, and quatrain sequences within the same work. The present article addresses that narrower compositional problem.

Method

Text and Scope

The primary text is the 1960 Tashkent edition of Sayqali's *Bahrom va Gulandom*, edited for publication by R. Aliyev (Sayqali, 1960). Page references in the analysis correspond to that edition. The study is interpretive rather than statistical: it examines the single musaddas discussed on pages 154-155, the single mustazad on pages 189-190, and the extended sequence of four-line exchanges between Bahrom and Gulandom on pages 130-134. The analysis does not collate manuscripts, reconstruct textual variants, or provide a complete metrical inventory of every lyric insertion in the epic. Claims are therefore limited to the printed text and the forms examined here.

Analytical Procedure

Three complementary procedures are used. First, structural-poetic analysis identifies stanza length, recurrence, rhyme behavior, supplementary lines, and speaker alternation. Second, close reading examines imagery, address, rhetorical questions, repetition, allusion, and semantic progression. Third, contextual analysis relates formal change to the surrounding narrative: what immediately precedes the insertion, what the inserted poem accomplishes, and how the narrative changes after it. These procedures are appropriate because the research question concerns function within a specific literary text rather than a general historical survey of Uzbek verse forms.

Terminology and Translation

The article standardizes the poet's name as Sayqali and the title as *Bahrom and Gulandom*. The terms musaddas, mustazad, muxammas, masnavi, and musammat are retained in commonly used Latin transliteration. Four-line dialogue units are called quatrains or to‘rtliklar rather than rubai unless formal evidence supports the narrower genre label. Uzbek quotations follow the 1960 edition. English renderings are sense translations supplied for analytical clarity; they preserve the principal semantic movement rather than attempting to reproduce the original meter and rhyme.

Analysis and Discussion

Musaddas: Recognition, Lament, and Restoration

The musaddas appears when Dastur, the wise vizier of Rum, finally encounters Prince Bahrom in China. The prince, formerly associated with royal splendor, is discovered in a degraded and grief-stricken condition near Gulandom's palace. This contrast between social identity and present appearance generates the emotional premise of the poem. Dastur does not simply report what he sees; he turns recognition into a sequence of questions, recollections, appeals, and reminders of kinship and duty.

Formally, the musaddas consists of nine six-line stanzas, or 54 lines. In the printed text, the first stanza establishes a six-line rhyme, while later stanzas introduce a new rhyme in their opening four lines and repeat the closing two lines of the first stanza. The resulting pattern can be represented schematically as AAAAAA / BBBBAA / CCCCAA and so forth. The recurring closing distich functions as a refrain and keeps Dastur's personal attachment to Bahrom present even as the content of the intervening lines changes (Sayqali, 1960, pp. 154-155).

The opening stanza makes astonishment inseparable from affectionate address:

Bu na holu bu na savdo sanga, ey mahi aqolim,
Bu na sho‘ru bu na g‘avg‘o, to‘lon oydek hilolim,
Na jafo ediki, soldi boshingo sipehri zolim,
Yuzi shamsi anvar o‘xshar, ko‘zi qotil g‘azolim,
Ey begim, jonim, azizim, ey amirim, e’tiborim,
Ey ko‘rar ko‘zim, afandim, o‘z elimda shahsuvorim.
(Sayqali, 1960, p. 154)

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Sense translation: What condition and affliction have come upon you, moon of my realm? What turmoil has the tyrannous sky cast upon you? O my lord, my soul, my dear one, my prince and honor; O light of my eyes, master and champion of our land.

The stanza works through accumulation. The first four lines are dominated by interrogation and visual shock; the final two lines reverse that instability by naming Bahrom through a stable series of relational identities: lord, beloved, prince, honor, light of the eyes, and champion. Because the refrain returns after each subsequent stanza, Dastur's recognition becomes the structural anchor of the whole poem. Whatever has happened to Bahrom's appearance, the repeated lines insist that his identity in relation to his people has not disappeared.

The middle stanzas enlarge the argument. Dastur asks why Bahrom has chosen beggary over sovereignty and who has taken possession of his mind. He recalls the prince's former majesty through allusions to Jamshid, Fereydun, Plato, Layli, and Majnun and then shifts from courtly memory to familial obligation. Bahrom is reminded that his parents remain in grief and that a child is the lasting light and continuation of the household. Thus the musaddas moves through a carefully staged sequence: astonishment, diagnosis, memory, comparison, homeland, parents, and counsel. Its stanzaic amplitude allows Dastur to accumulate reasons without losing the emotional refrain.

The narrative consequence confirms the form's function. Dastur's aim is not merely to lament Bahrom's condition but to restore him to social action. After the counsel, Bahrom returns to royal dress and proceeds toward the Chinese ruler's palace with his countrymen. The musaddas therefore occupies a hinge position in the plot. It transforms private suffering into remembered public identity. Rather than functioning as an ornamental interruption, the embedded poem mediates Bahrom's movement from the role of abject lover back toward the role of prince.

Mustazad: Lyrical Suspension and Collective Delight

The mustazad occurs in a different narrative environment. Dastur has requested Gulandom's hand for Bahrom, and after the Chinese ruler voices concern about his daughter's temperament, Sarvoso and Ruhafzo are sent to meet the princess. The three women gather in a scene of beauty, hospitality, conversation, and festivity. Unlike the musaddas, which responds to crisis, the mustazad responds to plenitude. Its dominant task is not to redirect a character but to intensify the atmosphere of the moment.

The defining feature of mustazad is the addition of a shorter supplementary phrase to the principal verse unit (van den Berg, 2016). In Sayqali's printed text, the short additions visually and rhythmically interrupt the longer lines, creating a pattern of extension and echo. The opening lines introduce Sarvoso, Ruhafzo, and Gulandom as three newly blossomed flowers who admire one another's beauty with delight (Sayqali, 1960, p. 189). The form's added phrases reinforce the sense that description itself is overflowing the bounds of the main line.

The poem develops through a dense chain of conventional but functionally coherent images. Faces radiate like the moon; lips are compared to red tulips; the women are associated with houris, the Tuba tree, and Kawsar; Zulaikha is imagined as unable to resist such a gathering; and solar, lunar, nocturnal, and stellar images are brought together to magnify the scene (Sayqali, 1960, pp. 189-190). These are not random ornaments. They convert a social encounter into an idealized visual field in which all three women appear mutually compatible and equally elevated.

The mustazad also differs from the musaddas in narrative temporality. Very little plot advances while the poem is being recited. Instead, the narrative pauses so that the reader can inhabit the emotional atmosphere of the gathering. This suspension is especially clear in the final self-address, where Sayqali turns toward himself and urges attention to the passing spectacle. The poet's self-reference foregrounds the act of witnessing: the scene is valuable precisely because it is transient and should be enjoyed while present.

For that reason, it is more accurate to say that Sayqali adapts an established mustazad technique to the needs of a large narrative than to call him a "pioneer" without comparative historical evidence. The significance lies in placement and function. The form creates a lyrical chamber inside the epic—a temporary space in which description, shared pleasure, and aesthetic contemplation take precedence over forward motion.

Quatrains: Dialogue, Psychological Disclosure, and Narrative Delay

The four-line stanzas used in the first extended conversation between Bahrom and Gulandom perform the most explicitly dialogic function of the three forms. Their importance depends on a structural paradox: each stanza is compact enough to form a complete speech act, but the sequence remains open because each answer generates another question, objection, or response. The local completeness of the quatrain therefore supports, rather than prevents, a prolonged conversation.

Gulandom begins by asking the unknown young man to explain his condition:

Aydi Gulandom: – Ayo, jo‘lida ahvolim gapur,
Ey, falak urg‘on, alamlik malbusi sholim, gapur,
Ne sababdin san bu rasvolikda bo‘lding mubtalo?
Emdi izhor ayla ich dardingni abdolim, gapur.
(Sayqali, 1960, p. 130)

Sense translation: Gulandom says, "O wanderer, tell me your condition. O one struck by fate and clothed in sorrow, speak. Why have you fallen into such a wretched state? Now reveal the pain within you."

Bahrom answers in the same four-line scale but refuses full disclosure:

Aydi shahzoda: – Mani arzimni, ey mohim, eshit,
Holima ermas tonuqluq, nolau ohim eshit,
Sandin o‘zga hech kishi holimni so‘rg‘on yo‘q edi,
Aytayin dardimni kam-kam duxtari shohim eshit.
(Sayqali, 1960, p. 130)

Sense translation: The prince says, "Hear my plea, O my moon; hear my lament and sighs, witnesses to my state. No one but you has asked about my condition. Let me tell my sorrow little by little, daughter of the king—listen."

The phrase "little by little" describes the logic of the entire scene. Bahrom's communicative strategy is delay. He treats each question as an opportunity to remain near Gulandom and to turn biography into metaphor. When she asks about his home, parents, and army, he answers that the place where he lies is his home, that God has brought these trials upon him, that passion and longing are his parents, that madness is his army, and that Gulandom's threshold is his palace (Sayqali, 1960, p. 130). The answers are evasive in a factual sense but revealing in an emotional sense. They disclose the identity of a lover before disclosing the social identity of the prince.

Gulandom's role changes in response. Her questions move from concern to suspicion, teasing, rebuke, and increasingly personal engagement. She advises the apparent beggar to seek another girl; Bahrom answers that he is her devoted lover and has long waited at that very place. She calls his speech tasteless and shameless, but he recasts her criticism as another opportunity to name her as the only physician capable of curing him (Sayqali, 1960, pp. 130-131). The exchange is therefore competitive as well as intimate. Each speaker appropriates the other's language and turns it toward a new rhetorical purpose.

As the dialogue intensifies, humor becomes an important form of psychological negotiation. Bahrom imagines physical closeness; Gulandom responds with comic insults and tells him, in effect, to recognize his own condition. When she calls him a "murdasho‘" (corpse-washer), Bahrom pretends to take offense and reminds her that she first treated him as a confidant. Her harshness does not terminate the

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scene; instead, it becomes another stage in growing familiarity. The ability to sustain insult, joke, desire, and seriousness within successive four-line units gives the conversation a quasi-dramatic rhythm.

The later quatrains gradually move from metaphor toward identity. Gulandom begins to suspect that the beggar-like stranger must have some royal connection and even raises the possibility that he may be Prince Bahrom. The name itself creates a turning point. Bahrom then reveals that he is indeed a prince of Rum, while still postponing the final disclosure of his name (Sayqali, 1960, pp. 133-134). By the end of the encounter, only a small part of the mystery remains, and Gulandom leaves with the expectation that the conversation will continue.

The form is essential to this pacing. If Bahrom answered in a single extended speech, the scene would lose its oscillation between approach and resistance. The quatrain sequence divides revelation into manageable units and gives Gulandom equal verbal presence. Each stanza has closure, but the dialogue as a whole resists closure. This is why the four-line form is especially effective for characterization: Bahrom emerges as persistent, rhetorically agile, and strategically indirect, while Gulandom appears curious, verbally forceful, humorous, and increasingly receptive. Their relationship is not narrated from outside; it is built through alternating speech.

Comparative Function of the Three Forms

Viewed together, the three embedded forms reveal a coherent principle of compositional differentiation. The musaddas is expansive and repetitive. Its six-line stanzas and recurring refrain are suited to accumulation: Dastur can pile question upon question, memory upon memory, while the refrain continually returns Bahrom to a network of social bonds. The mustazad is supplementary and ornamental in a functional sense. Its shortened appended phrases make the description feel extended beyond the principal line, matching a scene in which beauty and delight exceed ordinary narrative statement. The quatrain is compact and alternating. Its brevity permits rapid changes of speaker while still giving each utterance a complete semantic contour.

These formal properties correspond to three different kinds of narrative time. The musaddas transforms a crisis by recalling the past and reorienting the future. The mustazad suspends time so that the present moment can be contemplated. The quatrain sequence stretches a single encounter through incremental revelation. In each case, the shift of form is therefore also a shift in temporal organization and focalization.

The comparison also clarifies why the embedded poems should not be treated as detachable lyrics. Their meanings depend on narrative placement. Dastur's refrain matters because Bahrom has lost contact with the identity it names. The mustazad's luxuriant imagery matters because it follows a tense marriage negotiation and temporarily replaces anxiety with conviviality. The quatrains matter because they occur at the threshold of mutual recognition. Remove the surrounding narrative, and each poem remains intelligible; restore the narrative, and its compositional function becomes much sharper.

Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that musaddas, mustazad, and four-line stanzas occupy distinct but complementary roles in Sayqali's *Bahrom and Gulandom*. The musaddas is a form of recognition and restorative counsel. Through six-line accumulation and a recurring closing distich, Dastur converts shock at Bahrom's degraded appearance into remembrance of royal identity, family obligation, and return to social action. The mustazad performs almost the opposite temporal task: it pauses the plot and intensifies a scene of shared beauty and delight through supplementary short lines, dense imagery, and the poet's self-conscious act of witnessing. The quatrain sequence turns formal compactness into dramatic mobility. Alternating four-line speech acts allow Bahrom and Gulandom to negotiate curiosity, secrecy, love, resistance, humor, and identity step by step.

These findings support a more precise account of Sayqali's artistry than the general statement that the epic "contains several genres." The important feature is not simply coexistence but functional

integration. Formal change reorganizes voice, time, and psychological access. The embedded forms therefore participate in the architecture of the narrative rather than decorating it from the outside.

The study also resolves several terminological problems that can obscure this architecture. Musaddas is treated as a six-line stanzaic form rather than "hexameter"; mustazad is described through its supplementary-line principle without claiming an exclusive meter; and four-line units are not automatically labeled rubai. These distinctions are necessary for placing Uzbek classical poetry within the wider Persianate and Turkic history of poetic form while remaining attentive to local terminology and practice.

The principal limitation is textual. The study relies on the 1960 printed edition and does not compare manuscript witnesses or scan every inserted poem metrically. Future research should examine the epic's muxammas passages systematically, compare printed and manuscript forms, and investigate whether different embedded forms cluster around particular character types or narrative situations. Even within the present scope, however, the evidence shows that Sayqali's movement between masnavi narrative and shorter poetic forms is deliberate, structurally meaningful, and central to the epic's representation of emotion and dialogue.

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