



Ethnolinguistic Description of Horse Culture in Eurasia

MIKES INTERNATIONAL

The Hague, Holland

2013

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The University of Amsterdam &
L.N.Gumilyov Eurasian National University
05.12.2013

Publisher

Foundation 'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL', established in The Hague, Holland.

Account: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Registered: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

Distribution

The book can be downloaded from the following Internet-address: http://www.federatio.org/mikes_bibl.html

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Address

The Editors and the Publisher can be contacted at the following addresses:

Email: mikes_int@federatio.org

Postal address: P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland

ISSN 1570-0070**ISBN 90-8501-147-7****NUR 616**

ETHNOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF HORSE CULTURE IN EURASIA

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To my father,
Aktai Sarbassov

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INTRODUCTION

*For a long centuries Kazakh nation
eat the horse meat and drink horse milk called Kymyz,
so they saying that «Kazakh nation has a temper of horse».*

Ethnolinguistics is an ethnosemantic, anthropolinguistic branch of linguistics which appeared on the border between ethnography and lexicology and which is engaged into a comprehensive investigation of the mutual relation of ethnos and its language. It aims at transferring to the future generation the ethnic cultural knowledge from diverse lexical riches of language, a so-called treasury inherited by grandsons from their grandfathers throughout centuries.

There are numerous questions of the field of ethnolinguistics. From the aspect of learning about a nation ethnolinguistics investigates the history of ethnogeny and ethnos; the language processes in internal and interethnic mutual relations; the role of language in ethnos formation, in its existence; the peculiarities of thinking of a certain ethnos and language; the language itself and the traditional culture (consciousness, customs, religion). Thus, having defined the essence of a nation it shows its difference from other nations. Moreover, it considers the classification of world languages and many other questions.

Whatever image the national culture has, the whole essence of learning the nation and the picture of its everyday life remains unchanged. The language units give us the data about a certain nation, its culture, its essence of understanding their everyday life. The analysis of such language units in the related and unrelated languages from the ethnolinguistic position it gives us, on the one hand, a unique property, a national feature, figured coloring of each language; on the other hand it allows to reveal the special qualities of such units from the lexicon-semantic and structural aspect. Thus such analysis gives a great contribution to the development of such fields as the forming in linguistics, new comparative phraseology, ethnolinguistics, ethnography and the introduction to culture.

The importance of the present study lies in analyzing the horse culture from the ethnolinguistic point of view in languages of the nations having different ways of social and political development, religion, culture, national identity and history; in finding their general nuances. Also there is a need in the scientific analysis of language units which are considered to be the spiritual inheritance of every nation. Not of the smaller importance is the revealing of the

meanings of horse culture in the languages that are related or unrelated, and of the units with different structures; the determining of the units' primary sources; and the definition of their features on a way of formation, of the changed values they acquired with time.

Thoroughly investigations of ethnolinguistics are given in the article "Ethnolinguistic Description of Kazakh Horse Culture" in this book.

Dr. Guldana Sarbassova

ETHNOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF KAZAKH HORSE CULTURE

Abstract: Horse is the saint and holy animal for Kazakhs. Horses shift from being a quarry, to become a herded economic mainstay, a source of military power and, up to present, a symbol of Kazakh culture and prestige. It is therefore unsurprising to find that horses feature heavily in the rituals, art and cuisine of the region. This paper will focus on the essence of horse culture from the ethno-linguistic view point, ethno-linguistics is an ethno-semantic, anthropolinguistic branch of linguistics which appeared on the border between ethnography and lexicology and which is engaged into a comprehensive investigation of the mutual relation of ethnos and its language. It aims at transferring to the future generation the ethnic cultural knowledge from diverse lexical riches of language, a so-called treasury inherited by grandsons from their grandfathers throughout centuries.

Kazakh traditions, culture, customs, rituals, world outlook, beliefs and many others will be examined in this paper because all of these segments of traditional culture become clear at their consideration through the prism of "horse" and by examining "horse" from the ethno-linguistic view point. The horse here acts as a peculiar key to understanding the culture of Kazakhs – a culture of nomads.

Keywords: horse culture, language, ethnos, ethnolinguistics, traditions, outlook, world view.

Theoretical Background

The word nation etymologically comes from Latin. It was derived from the past participle of the verb *nasci*, meaning to be born. The term was used for signifying blood ties and also to describe the inhabitants of a country regardless of the population's ethno-national composition (Connor 1994: 38). Anthony D. Smith defines the term "nation" as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members (Smith 1991: 14). Nations by Smith must have a measure of common culture and civic ideology, a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas that bind the population together in their homeland (Smith 1991: 11). Greek word for nation is *ethnos* derived from ethnicity (Connor 1994: 43). Ethnicity refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others

(Yanarocak 2011: 47). Anthony Giddens stated that the members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in a society and are seen by those other groups to be so in return. The most common characteristics of ethnic groups are language, history, ancestry, religion and style of dress (Giddens 2001: 246).

Ethnos together with its language may consider ethno-linguistics that part of anthropological linguistics concerned with the study of the interrelation between a language and the cultural behavior of those who speak it. In other words, ethno-linguistics is an ethno-semantic, anthropolinguistic branch of linguistics which appeared on the border between ethnography and lexicology and which is engaged into a comprehensive investigation of the mutual relation of the ethnos and its language (Sarbasova 2010: 120). Several controversial questions are involved in this field: Does language shape culture or vice versa? What influence does language have on perception and thought? How do language patterns relate to cultural patterns? These questions, which had been posed earlier by the German scholars Johann Gottfried von Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt and their followers in the idealist-romanticist tradition, emerged again in the United States as a result of the discovery of the vastly different structure of American Indian languages, as delineated by the American anthropological linguists Edward Sapir and Sapir's student Benjamin L. Whorf.

Edward Sapir, one of the foremost American linguists and anthropologists of his time most widely known for his contributions to the study of North American Indian languages, was a founder of ethnolinguistics which considers the relationship of culture to language. Sapir suggested that man perceives the world principally through language. He wrote many articles on the relationship of language to culture. A thorough description of a linguistic structure and its function in speech, he wrote in 1931, might provide insight into man's perceptive and cognitive faculties and help explain the diverse behavior among peoples of different cultural backgrounds (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/523671/Edward-Sapir>). Sapir's theory considers the relationship of culture to language mostly known nowadays as a Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. In Brown's summary, "Whorf appeared to put forward two hypotheses:

- I. Structural differences between language systems will, in general, be paralleled by nonlinguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of the languages.
- II. The structure of anyone's language native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language" (Brown 1976: 128)

A third hypothesis was tacitly assumed by Kay and Kempton,

III. The semantic systems of different languages vary without constraint (Kay and Kempton 1984: 75).

As of January 22, 2013, the Encyclopedia Britannica listed on its website that the exotic character of American Indian semantic structures, as manifested not only in their vocabularies but also in the relationships expressed by their morphological categories and syntactic patterns, has led a number of scholars to speculate on the relationships between language, culture, and habitual thought patterns or “world view.” It was hypothesized that the unique organization of the universe that is embodied in each language might act as a determining factor in the individual’s habits of perception and of thought, thus forming and maintaining particular tendencies in the associated nonlinguistic culture. As Edward Sapir put it,

“Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, . . . but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society . . . The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation”
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/418877/North-American-Indian-languages/75309/Language-and-culture#ref605176>).

Wilhelm von Humboldt adumbrated his *Weltansicht* hypothesis in the following manner:

“Language appears to present to us subjectively our entire mental activity (in a manner of our procedure), but it generates at the same time to object in as much as they are objects in our thinking... Language is, therefore, if not altogether, at least in terms of perception, the means by which [each] human being constructs at the same time himself and the world or by which he, rather, becomes conscious of himself by discriminating between himself and the world” (cited and translated after Konrad Koerner 1992: 179).

This idea was further developed. The Humboldt-Sapir connection was explored in 1967 by Mattoso Camara (1970) and more recently and more fully by Drechsel (1988) especially with regard to the “inner form” concept (Sapir 1921: 115) and the so called Sapir Whorf Hypothesis.

The ethnolinguistic investigations in linguistics of the Kazakh language were first introduced in Kazakhstan by academician Abduali T. Kaydar (1985), who contributed a lot to the development of Kazakh ethnolinguistics. Kaydar was the first who raised the issue of ethnolinguistics in Kazakhstan and the author of the present paper will conduct the research based on the theoretical principles proposed by Kaydar in 1985. Kaydar's theory investigates ethnos in "Language Vicinity". This means that ethnolinguistics is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its consciousness (Kaydar 1985). To sum up, ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic roots are shown, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved (Sarbasova 2010:122).

The definition of ethno-linguistics is the history of ethnogeny and ethnos; the language processes in internal and interethnic mutual relations; the role of language in ethnos formation, in its existence; the peculiarities of thinking of a certain ethnos and language; the language itself and the traditional culture (consciousness, customs, religion etc.). Thus, having defined the essence of a nation it shows its difference from other nations. Moreover, it considers the classification of world languages and many other questions (Sarbasova 2010:120-122).

The main concepts connected by horse culture and linguistic expressions concerned with horse can, undoubtedly, give information on household life, concepts, outlook of people. This is because they are closely connected with the life of ethnos and basically consist of data having national cultural values. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life – and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. Studying horses promotes the national consciousness of the Kazakhs, the formation of their cultural image and determines their course for the future. Research into the six-thousand-year history of the Kazakh horse, complete with its historical-ethnographic and culturological implications, makes it possible to throw light on the material and spiritual achievements of the Kazakh nation which would not otherwise be clear.

Traditional Kazakh Horse Culture

The horse played a key role in the life of nomads. Ever since its domestication nomads have eaten horse meat and drunk mare's milk – kumyz. *Kumys* i.e. horse milk gives energy and makes you to feel full and horse meat contains various vitamins that help to support organisms, especially in winter when there are no fruits and vegetables. Nowadays, Kazakhs usually eat horse meat during winter times. Horse meat helps to survive the severe weather conditions of Kazakhstan. It heats the blood and it also helps to support the body in the winter to feel full. The American scholar Pita Kelekna, member of New York Academy of Sciences and American Anthropological Association noted that “to withstand long steppe winters, notably the brutal cold of Botai, human population required high consumption of fat to insure sufficient caloric intake. It is therefore interesting to note that by comparison to ruminants, horse meat is low in saturated and high in polyunsaturated fats, and is also high in amino acids, minerals, and vitamins. It is significant that steppe folk beliefs commonly attribute unusual medicinal and nutritional properties to horse products” (Kelekna 2009: 39).

Kumyz is a respectable drink that Kazakhs like. It is prohibited to pour kumyz on the ground and people should not step over it, as for Kazakhs it is a holy drink. In the old Kazakh tradition if a bride was not a virgin she would be placed on a horse back to front and sent home or if people liked the girl they would bathe her in white mare's milk. In this way, the girl could wash away her sins and could then marry her bridegroom. There is a Kazakh saying «*aieldin kunesi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi*» which means that “the sins of a girl not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare's milk (Toktabai 2010: 29). In olden times white mare's milk was drunk only by family members, if white mare's milk was offered to a special guest it meant that the guest deserved respect (Toktabai 2010: 55).

There is a special tradition for pouring somebody a drink of kumyz, offering (holding out) a drink of kumyz and for how kumyz should be drunk. Usually, in accordance with Kazakh tradition, kumyz is poured by careful young women or men dressed in neat national costume; in their left hand there should be a cup, known as a “*tostagan*” and in their right hand a ladle, known as a “*ozhau*” for stirring the kumyz without making any sound. After pouring the kumyz into the cup, the ladle should be placed on the corner of a dish called a “*tabaq*”: then the cup, full of kumyz, is held in the right hand and offered to the guest. Offering kumyz with the left hand would be a sign of disrespect and ill breeding.

Turkish scholar, Sumer, referring to Radloff's note, wrote about how Kazakhs love and respect mare's milk or kumyz. He also noted that kumyz is a satisfying drink which quenches thirst. He added how foreigners also enjoyed this drink, as Rahip W. Rubruck (ambassador to the French King (1253-1254)) once said that "he prefers kumyz as the best wine in the world" (Sumer 1983: 3-4).

Etymology of the Horse

The word horse in Kazakh language is "at" and/or "jilki". Turcolog Sevortiyana noted that the etymology of the word "at" comes from derivative at: 1) denominative verb with affix -lan- -atlan- turkic., turk., azeri, tatar, bashurt, ugur, uzbek, tuva., -attan- kirgiz, kazakh, altay, yakut etc, have meaning "mount get on a horse", "mount get on"; 2) denominative verb -ar-, -kar- -atar- in Turkic lang., atkaz – kirgiz., atkar – altay., ata:r – yakut. have meaning "seat on a horse", "send", "drive/conduct/carry out"; 3) denominative verb with affix -la -atla- in Turkic lang., atta- with the meanings "equip horse for trip", "ride on a horse", "jump", "hop", "come galloping up", "to throw". He also accepted the possibilities of other scholars investigations that at <aqt comes from Mongolian language ayta "castrate/geld". Ayta may also be borrowed from Persian word that means "castrated/gelded". He also noted that behind at may stand ad that in many Turkic languages exist have many meanings like *name, fame, name day, noun, and shoot, hunt* like in *adiyzi* "shooter", "hunter" (Sevortiyana 1974: 197-199).

Kazakh scholar M.K.Yeskeyeva who is studying V model forms in the monosyllabic system of the Turkic languages pointed out that in ancient Turkic word i and at (*multiqatuw* "to shoot a gun", *züregi atqaqtaw* "runaway heartbeat", *suw atilaw* "to gush out (water)" etc.) old kipch. means "to shoot, to throw, to cast"; atta "overstep", adim "step, stride" and other lexemes we can distinguish correspondence $a=i$ and the same content widely used in Turkic languages. With the help of these examples we defined the archesemes of general Turkic i/a former root meant "general movement". If so, she noted, the number of homogeneous monosyllables $at=ad=as=ac=az=aj=aq=ay...$ which retained the meaning "to separate, to part" also can be grouped with the complex of words come from archeroot i/a (Yeskeyeva 2013). B.Sagindikuli investigated the monosyllable at with the meaning "horse" and "name" coordinating with the verbs it/at, he pointed the semes of the verb at connected with movement; compulsion of movement; repetition of movement is based on the general meanings of the verbs at/it (Sagyndykoglu 1994: 40-41). A.Salkynbai deepened the scholar's view about the verb at and she

expands homogeneous monosyllables on the basis of the data in the system of other languages together with the Kazakh language (Salkynbai 1999: 117-120).

Uzbek scholar N.Mahmudov who investigated the etymology of the word “yılkı” combined the root of this word with “yel” that means “wind”. He noted that the root of this word is “yıl” and affix –ги (-gi), if so then uyku (dream), sezgi (feeling), duygu (feeling), bilgi (information) etc. the verbs by the help of affixes made noun. The root of this word “yıl” also means “yelmek” that means “to blow, to drift and swift move”. Turkish word “yıldırım” that means “thunderstorm” also came from “yel/wind” so then there is no doubt the word “yılkı” came from this he concluded (Mahmudov 1995: 158). Turkish scholar A.Çinar (Cinar 1993: 11) and Kazakh scholar A.Toktabai agreed with Mahmudov’s conclusion, even A.Toktabai gave credits by comparing it with the Kazakh saying “jilki – jelden, siyir – sudan, tuye – sordan, eshki – tastan, koy – peyishten jaralğan” that means “the horse born from wind, cow born from water, camel born from desert, goat born from stone and the sheep born from paradise” (Toktabai 2010: 11). Then we can see here if the etymology of “yılkı” came from the root “yel” that means “wind” then it means “the horse can run as wind” or “the horse as fast as wind”. Unfortunately, this conclusion is not trustworthy. The same etymology of “yılkı” was suggested by Vambéry, he noted that the root of the word “yılkı” derived from -йыл “jil, il”, that means “to collect” (Vambéry 1867: 190). A.M.Sherbak (1977) and M.A.Habichev (1980) somehow accepted this theory but E.V.Sevortyan argued that the word needs identification with the real lexemes derived on the bases, the word-formation model should be shown, and first the meaning of the affix -қы (qi) should be revealed (Sevortyan 1989: 282). Here we have to mention that the first syllable of the word “yılkı” is “yıl” that also has many meanings like “year, climb, slide, move, dive and age”.

The word “yılkı” is given as one of the year in 12 year cycle calendar of animals in many studies. Clauson also at first mentioned “yıl” as one a year of the 12-animal cycle calendar and later mentioned this word as “year” generally (Clauson 1972: 917). Sevortyan gave examples that the word “yılkı” means in many Turkic languages “the herd”, “the herd of animals”, “the herd of horses”, “the herd of unriden horses”, and “the herd of wild horses”. He suggested that the etymology of this word should be connected with the word “herd” (Sevortyan 1989: 281-282). I will argue here that the suggestion of Vambéry “to collect” maybe somehow should be connected with the word herd like “to collect”→ “herd”.

Clauson gave “yılkı” first as “livestock” then quite early used in association with sheep, camel, etc. in such a way as to suggest that it meant only “cattle and horses”; in some modern languages it is used even more restrictively for “horses”. It is very possible he noted that the word is a special usage of “yılkı” means “giving an annual increase” or the like (Clauson 1972: 925-926). Sumer stated that the word “yılkı” at the beginning had a meaning “the herd of every 4 legged animals” and then after the sovereignty of the Mongols till now used almost everywhere as “the herd of the horses”. In written sources in Turkey were used two types: “yılkı” and “ılkı”, and used to have a different pronunciation and has a meaning in the text the herd of 4 legged animal, sometimes, the herd of the horses. These two types are widely used in Anatolia until now and specially are used as a herd of the horses, he added. In Kashgarli epoch in 19th century the word “yılkı” was used as a herd of every 4 legged animals he concluded (Sümer 1983:7).

The Russian word “лошадь” that means “horse” was used since XV century. The Russian scholars who investigated the etymology of this word proved and concluded that this word came from Turkic language and it's the combination of two Turkic words “alasa” and “at”. It's known from history that Kazakh nation till XV century was called “Alash”. As for the “Alasha” this is the breed of horse. We also can find this word in many written literatures in Kazakh language. A.Toktabai made conclusion in his work that if the word “Alash” came from “alasha” then the Russian word for horse “лошадь” means “the horse belonging to Alash nation” (Toktabai 2010: 4).

Linguistic expressions related to horse culture.

Horses represents in Kazakh cuisine, Kazakh cuisine is the cuisine of Kazakhstan, traditional Kazakh cuisine revolves around mutton and horse meat, as well as various milk products. The cooking techniques and major ingredients have been strongly influenced by the nation's nomadic way of life. For example, most cooking techniques are aimed at long-term preservation of food. There is large practice of salting and drying meat called *kazi* (horse meat), so that it will last, and there is a preference for sour milk called *kumys* (horse milk), as it is easier to save in a nomadic lifestyle.

One of the popular and traditional Kazakh dish is kazi. Kazi is the horsemeat sausage. Kazi is a dry, spicy sausage in Kazakh cuisine with various spices including cumin, sumac, garlic, salt, and red pepper, fed into a sausage (horse intestine) casing and allowed to dry for several weeks. It can be more or less spicy; it is fairly salty and has a high fat content. Usually, Kazakhs serve

kazi for special guests and prefer to eat in winter. As kazi is Kazakhs delicious meal, there is a saying *ittin bari tazi emes, ettin bari kazi emes* what it means not all dogs tazi (the high qualified Kazakhs' breed of dog), and not all meat is kazi.

There are special linguistic expressions concerned with the size of kazi. For example, Kazakhs measure kazi's fat thickness by finger that is called *eli*. *Eli* is the the breadth of a finger. Kazakhs measure *bir eli kazi* (one finger kazi), *eki eli kazi* (two finger kazi), *ush eli kazi* (three finger kazi), *tort eli kazi* (four finger kazi).

Sevortyan's suggestion of the etymology of *eli* is connected with the word "hand" and "finger". He stated "*eli ~ alig ~ alik ~ ilik* etc. could connect with the word *el ~ elig ~ ilig* "hand" among which adverbs there is also "finger", as well as in a considered form of *eli ~ alik ~ ilik*... Nevertheless other forms of the considered word go back probably to a verbal root *el-*... verbal character of a root *el-* explains all above described forms, which is formed by means of verbal and nominal affixes - *ik/-ig/-ik/-ig/-ig/-y/-i* and older form of the last -*u / -ü*. Thus, *elig ~ elik ~ ilig ~ ilik* "the finger width/thickness of the finger" (hands) and *elig ~ elik ~ ilig ~ ilik* "hand" formed lexically isolated from the derivative meaning, i.e. homonyms as in one of the homonyms the verbal root *el-* participates as one of the meanings, on the second hand – by other meaning" (Sevortyan 1974: 264).

Sere kazi is the size with a fatty layer thickness in a palm. G.Sarbassova gave descriptions to *sere*, she stated that *sere* is the length started between the thumb fingertip and forefinger fingertip in an open form of the hand. 4 *sere karish* is equal to 1 arshin (17 cm.) (Sarbassova 2010: 49). V.V.Radlov stated *sere* (*karis*) as the length size between starting from thumb fingertip to the little finger fingertip in an open form of the hand (Radlov 1893-1911: 458). Turkish researcher Seval Orhan in his MA thesis gave explanation, "*sere* (*karış*) is the given name to the length size starting between thumb fingertip to forefinger fingertip in an open form of the hand" (Orhan 1987: 75). In Anatolian Turkish Dictionary you can see the verb form *sermek* given by Mahmud Kaskari's note the meaning of the root *ser* is *to open, to spread, to widen* (Eyuboglu 1998: 593), it can be stated that the word *sere* etymologically come from the verb *ser* that has a meaning to open as to open the one's hand and make a mesure from fingers starting from thumb fingertip to either forefinger or the little finger fingertips. Another measure of kazi is *shinashak kazi*. *Shinashak kazi* on the size with a fatty layer thickness in a little finger. *Sur kazi* is a smoked and dried kazi (especially prepared kazi in a transparent cover from a intestine). *Kos kazi* long kazi with meat and fat of two opposite edges (literally coupled kazi). *Sinar kazi* from

meat and fat of one edge (Sarbasova 2010). So, all of these sizes related to kazi time to time became the names of measure in Kazakh language.

Kazakhs has many linguistic expressions connected with cattle breeding. For hundreds of years, Kazakhs were herders who raised fat-tailed sheep, Bactrian camels, and horses, relying on these animals for transportation, clothing, and food. I will state here only the linguistic expressions connected with horse culture. Linguistic expressions formed with the horse culture appeared by the help of Kazakhs' believes, traditions, customs, world view etc. For example, *biye sauim vakit* the whole time spend for milking the horse, approximately 30 minute (Sarbasova 2010: 24). *Zhilki zhusar kez* time when people feed the horse early in the morning. *Biye baylar kez* time to milking the horse in spring approximately in May (time when Kazakhs give special feed and care (by separating the horse from the herd) in spring in order to get a lot of kumyz (horse milk), *mal orgende* early morning when cattle expel on a pasture, *bir biyeden ala da tuadi, qula da tuadi*" (from one horse may born marked and bay horse) that means the same female may born as good as bad person. In medieval ages Kazakhs killed marked horses when they born. They believed that the marked color brings unhappiness. So the marked color for Kazakhs has a bad association. The measure phrase *at shaptirim jer* is associated with the ability of the horse to run without becoming tired, this is approximately 25 kilometers. This phrase appeared before the metric system was standardized and was used to show the distance, among others etc. Nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs, certainly, affected to such expressions like idea of time, distance, for measuring purposes, weight, richness etc. (Sarbasova 2010).

There are a lot of many other expressions connected with cattle breeding, exactly related with the horse culture. This theme interested many Kazakh scholars like Toktabai, Muhametkanulu, Baitelieva, Sarbasova and many others. For example, Kazakh scholar Ahmet Toktabai (2010) who is the expert in this field collected from national sources more than 600 terms and names: 358 definitions of horse color; 95 names of exterior terminology; 198 terms, which experts use at an estimation of advantages of the horse. He also classified 20 names of horse equipment. He found out approximately 30 national Kazakh games concerning with the horse and 23 names of "kamshi" (a long stick with the rope), 5 names of dishes made from the leather of the horse in order to keep the food inside usually to save it for a long time. Traditional Kazakh musical instruments also made from the intestine of the horse in order to make a better sound. 39 national songs devoted to the horse, 89 kuis (national music), and 4 dances devoted to horse theme.

Guldana Sarbassova (2010) collected all the old measuring names used by the Kazakhs before the metric system was standardized. She noted that the most of the measuring names was related with horse culture, nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs, affected to such measuring expressions like idea of time, distance, weight etc. in Kazakh language, because language is the mirror of the ethnos. Every word, every speech in one language influences by the ethnos' world view, outlook of people as Kaydar (1985) noted in order to reveal the nations outlook and culture and many others we have to investigate ethnos in 'language vicinity' which means ethnos and language one whole and it should be taken and investigated as a one whole what he proposed and raised the issue ethnolinguistic researches, that is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its consciousness (Kaydar 1985). Ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic rod roots are show, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved (Sarbassova 2010:122).

Zhanar Baitelieva (2007) concluded that the most linguistic expressions concerned with the horse appeared by characterizing the national life and culture of the Kazakhs. The formation of such expressions formed with the help of ethno-cultural view point, she noted that they are formed by the horse age and sex, breeding and natural features, with body parts, coloring, illness, appearance, characters, various horse movements, housekeeping and horse equipment.

Conclusion

Horse played an important role in Kazakhs' life. Horses a symbol of Kazakh culture and prestige, and it's heavily in the rituals, art and cuisine of the region. Nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs, affected to Kazakh language because language is the mirror of the ethnos. Every word, every speech in one language influences by the ethnos' world view, outlook of people. In order to reveal ethnos culture, outlook and world view, ethnos should be investigated with its language as they work as a one whole. Ethnos with its language may consider ethnolinguistic researches, that is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its consciousness. Ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual

treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic roots are shown, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved.

All expressions in Kazakh language have different meanings and formed by different directions. Such linguistic expressions are stable phrases, component words of the phrase lost its first lexical meaning, and its new meaning has more persistency so that phrases having nominative meaning then it is impossible to separate these words from each other, they live as a one whole. Most of them appeared by the help of the environmental action and how people perceive the world. All semantic and meaningful groups of the phrases wholly include men and his action, physiological form and condition that has a various emotions concerning with the psychological processes based on the emotions such likes and dislikes. The reason is that because formation of such phrases formed by men's conception of space environment and made it by various self images, representations, symbols, comparing with other actions, using epithet, depict, and association. By all means the role of such phrase formation is important in language directed to anthropological researches.

The demand of present day is to give people ethnic-cultural knowledge through carrying out various ethnolinguistic researches. This is because the ethnic cultural knowledge is knowledge directed on the preservation of ethnic-personal conformity of a person through mutual mastering of a native language and own culture, values of the world culture.

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CULTURE CONCERNED WITH THE HORSE AS A “PRISM” OF THE KAZAKHS’ NATIONAL HERITAGE

Abstract: Horse domestication totally changed men’s lives. No other beast from the diverse animal world has played such an important role in the history of civilization as the horse. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life - and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. Studying horses promotes the national consciousness of the Kazakhs, the formation of their cultural image and determines their course for the future. Research into the six-thousand-year history of the Kazakh horse, complete with its historical-ethnographic and culturological implications, makes it possible to throw light on the material and spiritual achievements of the Kazakh nation which would not otherwise be clear. The material and spiritual world of the Kazakhs, their traditions, rituals, customs and world outlook will be discussed here, because all these aspects of traditional culture become clear when considered through the prism of the "horse". The horse provides a special key to understanding the culture of the Kazakhs – a culture of nomads.

Keywords: horse, culture, kumyz, horse color, Kazakh heritage.

The horse played a key role in the life of nomads. Ever since its domestication nomads have eaten horse meat and drunk mare’s milk – kumyz. Archeological and scientific research have proved that nomads were drinking mare’s milk as early as 7000 years ago, as Kazakhs do even nowadays. So we can say that kumyz has a history going back to the V or VI millennium BC. The English scholar Alan K. Outram from the University of Exeter found traces of mare’s milk on clay vessels belonging to the Botai culture. Dr. Outram said, in an interview, that it was not clear from the research if the breeding of the tamed Botai horses had by then already led to the emergence of a genetically distinct new species. Yet their physical attributes were strikingly different, he added, and this made the animal more useful to people as meat, a source of milk, a beast of burden and for travel. Botai pottery yielded a third strand of evidence. Embedded in the clay pots were residues of carcass fat and fatty acids that “very likely” came from mare’s milk. This “confirms that at least some of the mares of Botai were domesticated,” he concluded. Earlier excavations at Botai sites, conducted by Victor Zaibert of Kokshetau University in

Kazakhstan, also unearthed piles of horse bones and settlement remains of a people who hunted and herded wild horses for their meat [1]. The recent “Third International Symposium on Biomolecular Archaeology: Trail of Mare’s Milk Leads to First Tamed Horses” reported on research undertaken by Natalie Stear of the University of Bristol. From residues left on 5,500-year-old Botai potsherds, Stear also identified the hydrogen isotope deuterium, indicating mare’s milk. Since it is impossible to milk a wild mare, these data together with new evidence of harness including bits are a clear indication of early horse domestication and riding at Botai [2, p. 368]. Wietske Prummel, an archeologist from Groningen University is convinced that the taming of horses was different from the domestication of cattle and sheep. Those animals have a gene-pool of closely related animals. “May be because they were, unlike horses, herd animals” suggests Prummel. The oldest proof for the existence of the taming of horses dates back to about 6,000-7,000 years ago. The excavation of a “horse farm” in Kazakhstan, which dated back to about 3500 BC, showed that horses were probably used for milking, too. Bowls were found with residues of lactic-acid, Stear stated, in the *De Volkskrant* [3, p. 13].

In answer to the question why nomads used mare’s milk and ate its meat, it could be argued that mare’s milk provides energy and satisfies hunger and horse meat contains various vitamins that keep us healthy, especially in winter when there are no fruit and vegetables available. Nowadays, Kazakhs usually eat horse meat during winter. Horse meat helps people to survive the severe weather conditions of Kazakhstan. It warms the blood and also helps to satisfy hunger in the winter. The American scholar Pita Kelekna, a member of the New York Academy of Sciences and American Anthropological Association noted that “to withstand long steppe winters, notably the brutal cold of Botai, the human population required high consumption of fat to insure sufficient caloric intake. It is therefore interesting to note that by comparison to ruminants, horse meat is low in saturated and high in polyunsaturated fats and is also high in amino acids, minerals, and vitamins. It is significant that steppe folk beliefs commonly attribute unusual medicinal and nutritional properties to horse products” [4, p. 39]. Victor Zaibert also noted in his book *Botai Culture*: “...the food was meat, milk, vegetables, and fish, we have artifacts to prove it. However, the balance of the food was not the same, it depended on seasons... the differences of climate in the continent and weather conditions caused inequality in a year cycle of consumption of meat, the main share of annual meat consumption is in cold periods, it is less in warm periods” [5, p. 241]. In his authoritative book, *The Horse, the Wheel and Languages*, David W. Anthony, an archeologist at Hartwick College in Oneonta, N.Y., wrote in 2007 that horses are supremely well adapted to the cold grasslands where they evolved. People who live in cold grasslands with domesticated cattle and sheep would soon have seen the advantage in

keeping horses for meat, just because the horses did not need fodder or water. A shift to colder climate conditions or even a particularly cold series of winters could have made cattle herders think seriously about domesticating horses. Just such a shift to colder winters occurred between about 4200 and 3800 BCE [6, p. 193-201].

Even today Kazakhs still eat horse meat and drink mare's milk - kumyz. As for the question why some other Turkic counties do not eat horse meat and drink mare's milk, F. Sumer attributes this to the influence of Islam. He said that after the adoption of Islam Mawarannahr (Transoxiana) played an important role in the Islamic world. We should note that in Mawarannahr people did not eat horse meat or drink mare's milk. The Oghuz (Turkmens) probably also gave up this tradition. In any case, he added, there is no evidence that they ever ate horse meat or drank mare's milk [7, p. 15]. Unfortunately, this conclusion is not reliable and there is no link with the adoption of Islam, as the Holy Book of Islam, the Qur'an, does not prescribe that Muslims should not eat horse meat [8]. This has to be checked with real facts. As Sumer added "there is no evidence that they ever used to eat horse meat or drink mare's milk". It could be the case that they never ate horse meat.

The Turkish scholar, Sumer, referring to Radloff's note, wrote about how Kazakhs love and respect mare's milk or kumyz. He also noted that kumyz is a satisfying drink which quenches thirst. He added how foreigners also enjoyed this drink, as Rahip W. Rubruck (ambassador to the French King (1253-1254)) once said that "he prefers kumyz as the best wine in the world" [7, p.3-4].

Kumyz is indeed a respectable drink that Kazakhs like. It is prohibited to pour kumyz on the ground and people should not step over it, as for Kazakhs it is a holy drink. In the old Kazakh tradition if a bride was not a virgin she would be placed on a horse back to front and sent home or if people liked the girl they would bathe her in white mare's milk. In this way, the girl could wash away her sins and could then marry her bridegroom. There is a Kazakh saying «*aieldin kunesi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi*» which means that "the sins of a girl not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare's milk [9, p. 29]. In olden times white mare's milk was drunk only by family members, if white mare's milk was offered to a special guest it meant that the guest deserved respect [9, p. 55].

Kazakhs have many traditional holidays linked with kumyz. One of them is "Kymyzmuryndyk". This holiday is celebrated in the spring when people have overcome the severe winter of

Kazakhstan and when there is a lot of mare's milk in the spring and summer to follow. They all drink mare's milk together and in this way the victory over the hard winter is celebrated. Kazakh nomads began to celebrate this holiday many years ago when they moved to their summer pastures. Toktabay noted that "Kymyzmuryndyk" is a national celebration of an importance equal to that of other national celebrations, such as Navruz and Kurban Ait [9, p. 165].

There is a special tradition for pouring somebody a drink of kumyz, offering (holding out) a drink of kumyz and for how kumyz should be drunk. Usually, in accordance with Kazakh tradition, kumyz is poured by careful young women or men dressed in neat national costume; in their left hand there should be a cup, known as a "*tostagan*" and in their right hand a ladle, known as a "*ozhau*" for stirring the kymyz without making any sound. After pouring the kumyz into the cup, the ladle should be placed on the corner of a dish called a "*tabaq*": then the cup, full of kumyz, is held in the right hand and offered to the guest. Offering kumyz with the left hand would be a sign of disrespect and ill breeding.

When man first milked a mare and intended to make some qurt (dried cheese in a round shape) and cheese just as it is made from cow's milk, he proved unable to do it: so there is a legend among Kazakhs that Kambar-Ata, the spiritual guide of the horse (according to the Kazakhs every cow or horse has a spiritual guide), taught people how to make kumyz. That is why Kazakhs call Kambar-Ata the spiritual guide and protector of the horse, but he is also seen as a real man who taught the Kazakhs how to make kumyz. In addition, Kambar-Ata is also a master of the earth, miracle-worker and a holy man who grants the birth of sons etc. So, worship of Kambar-Ata among the Kazakhs is of great importance and is linked to the worship of the horse in the life of nomads. Even nowadays, compared to shepherds, herders in charge of horses are regarded as more important. In olden times horse herders took part in all social affairs and would dine in the households of the rich. Horse herders would be given a place of honor in a yurt or in a room. Kazakhs call this place "*tör*", that is a recess opposite the entrance to a room. Rich people, the so-called "*bailar*", would even give horse herders their daughters and accepted them as bridegrooms when they protected and saved their horses from danger and violent attack [9, p. 171].

The Importance of Horse Color

The color of horses also played an important role in the life of nomads. Usually, Kazakhs divide horse colors into three types: bay, black and piebald. Kazakh scholars group horse colors in three types. H.Arginbaev's classification of horse colors, for instance, involved: bay (including white,

grey, roan, blue roan, flecked (spotted), dull, yellow, sorrel, sorrel-bay, liver-chestnut, blue, grey, chestnut, bright-red, red, yellow-red), black (including dark-bay, black, black-blue, black-grey, brown, bay, and other shades of brown) and skewbald (including white with yellow, grey or blue markings etc.) [10, p. 52-53].

White was the color expressing holiness and purity. As mentioned above, when people have sinned they could wash away their sins, if they bathed in the milk of a white mare, but not in the milk of a black mare (or mare of any other color). In this way they could wash away the sins they had committed: not only girls who were not virgins but any man, who had committed a sin, could also bathe in a white mare's milk and wash away his sins. Toktabay noted that, due to the fact that a white horse is holy and valuable for Kazakhs, they used not to ask for money for a white horse when it was stolen. One of the advantages of a white horse is that it can be seen very well in the dark at night. That is why in olden times young men used white horses when they went to see their brides in the night [10, p. 53]. White mare's milk is also used as a medicine, but this is really a custom of today's Kazakhs' ancestors: when someone was suffering from an illness or grief he would bathe in white mare's milk and believed that he would recover and get well soon. In the famous Turkic epic, dedicated to a hero named Alpamys, it is written that when Alpamys Batyr won a battle and returned home he made sure that his parents took a bath in white mare's milk as they had suffered while he was on the battlefield. So there is a Kazakh saying "*sheshendi boz biyenin sutine shomyldyratyn zhaiyin bar*" meaning you should bathe your parents in white mare's milk, showing you need to take care of your parents, respect and love them [9, p. 228].

In earlier times when soldiers prepared for battle before going to war there was a tradition of sacrificing a white horse and wishing soldiers good luck so that they might win the battle. When the founder and Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, Genghiz Khan (originally known as Temujin), went to fight the Chinese on his way to the battlefield he stopped on a hill and, together with his heroic soldiers and leaders of the hordes, sacrificed a white horse and prayed to Gök Tengri (one of the names for the chief deity in the religion of the early Turkic (Xiongnu, Hunnic, Bulgar) and Mongol (Xianbei) peoples. Worship of Tengri is sometimes referred to as Tengrism: the all-important figures in Tengrism are the Sky-Father and Mother-Earth. It involved shamanism, animism, totemism and ancestor worship [11]) [12, p. 189-200]. In the battle of Anyrakai field in 1726, the rulers of three zhuzes or hordes; (Kazakhs are divided into three hordes: the Great Horde, Middle Horde and Small Horde) came together to consult each other and elected Abilhaiyr Khan as their chief warlord and ruler. To celebrate this a white horse

was sacrificed as a symbol of future victories [12, p. 201-202]. Whenever there was a war, battle, or litigation between zhuzes (hordes), tribes or khans and it was decided to end a war, battle or litigation between “brothers”, a white horse would then be sacrificed. Those involved would then swear, by putting their forefingers into the blood of a white horse, that they would never again become enemies. The Kazakh scholar, A.Toktabay, cites examples of such customs from written sources referring to a study made by L.Badabamov. Toktabay wrote that after the battle between Abilayhan and the ruler of the Dzungars, they followed this custom. This custom continued till the end of the 20th century [9, p. 229-230].

From history, we know that the color of horses also played an important role in the naming of directions when soldiers mounted their horses. According to A.Cinar, who referred to Sertkaya’s notes: “The East is blue, the South is red, the West is white, and the North is black. Kul Tigin the General of the Second Turkic Khaganate would also change the color of his horse according to the direction in which he was setting off to battle. When he rode to the East his horse was light-colored or grey, when he went to the South the color of his horse was light-colored or brown, when he went to the West his horse was white, and when he went to the North he took a dark horse” and then he added: “The King of the Hunnic Empire, Mete Khan, also arranged the mounted formations in his army on the basis of horse color. Mete Khan, while encircling the Chinese army, used light-grey horses in the East, light-colored horses in the South, white horses in the West and dark-colored horses in the North: this was part of his battle tactics” [13, p. 17].

The main equivalence between the world view of space-structure and space modeling is that by every such means the world view is generated through the symbols of space. We can find evidence of this in inscriptions that give us information about the ancient Turkic culture. In old monuments written in the Uighur language the following colors correspond to animals: *east* – blue, green (the symbol of the dragon), *west* – white (the symbol of the tiger), *south* – red (the symbol of the magpie) and *north* – black (the symbol of the snake) are specified for instance. Nomads also designated parts of the earth by color: *red* – the color of the South, *black* – the color of the North, *blue* – the color of the East, *white* – the color of the West and *yellow* – the color of the zenith (the highest point of the sky) [14, p. 9]. Academician A.N. Kononov noted that the color geo-symbolism of the Turkic peoples apparently only died out recently, replaced by a linear-spatial orientation, as has often happened elsewhere. Even when such customs were only used long ago, they can still remain clearly evident in particular practical activities of individuals [15, p. 160].

Thus, the color of horses can be seen to have played a major role in the life of the Kazakhs – great nomads of the steppes - in both their daily life and their beliefs.

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HISTORY AND MYTHS IN TRADITIONAL KAZAKH HORSE CULTURE

Abstract: Horse domestication totally changed men's lives. No other beast from the diverse animal world has played such an important role in the history of civilization as the horse. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life - and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. Studying horses promotes the national consciousness of the Kazakhs, the formation of their cultural image and determines their course for the future. Research into the six-thousand-year history of the Kazakh horse, complete with its historical-ethnographic and culturological implications, makes it possible to throw light on the material and spiritual achievements of the Kazakh nation. This paper will focus on essence of the horse as a national Kazakh heritage and culture. The material and spiritual world of the Kazakhs, their traditions, myths, believes, world outlook and history of the horse will be discussed.

Keywords: horse, history, rituals, myths & believes, Kazakh culture.

Introduction

For hundreds of years, Kazakhs were herders who raised fat-tailed sheep, Bactrian camels, and horses, relying on these animals for transportation, clothing, and food. Kazakhs as a nomadic people spent summer and winter in different places called djailau (aestivation) and kistau (wintering). The role of horse was special and more important than others, horse helped Kazakhs, the nomadic people to shorten the distance of the great steppes. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life and on the battlefield. They spend all days and nights on horse and horse became a part of their cultural heritage. As Alan Outram noted, "horses shift from being a quarry, to become a herded economic mainstay, a source of military power and, up to present, a symbol of Kazakh culture and prestige. It is therefore unsurprising to find that horses feature heavily in the rituals, art and cuisine of the region" (Outram et al., 2010: 116).

Ethnographers such as Vainshtein (1991), Khazanov (1994) and Masanov (1995) (among others) have long argued that Eurasian nomadism was first facilitated by the domestication and riding of the horse, while they also describe mixed herds of sheep, goats, cattle and camels as key to the socio-economic success of steppe pastoralists (generally Barfield 1993). There is no doubt that the domesticated horse had a transformative affect on the economic, socio-political and military development of Eurasian society (Anthony 2007). However, we have surprisingly limited archaeological evidence to trace the emergence of horses as the predominant domesticate in herds managed by Eurasian nomads – especially in the earlier phases of the region’s pastoralist prehistory i.e. 3000-1000 BC (Frachetti and Benecke 2009: 1023).

Recently, the site of Botai in northern Kazakhstan has become central to debates of horse domestication (Olsen et al. 2006) and horse riding. 20 year archaeological investigations at Botai proved that from 133.000 bones 99, 9 % were horse bones. Nowhere all over the world were found in one place the horse bones more than 1000. The scientists L.A.Makarova, and T.N.Nurymov proved the horse bones in 1981 and between 1983-1986 years. S.M.Ahinzhanov, L.A.Makarova and T.M.Nurymov expertized animal bones that were found in the territory of Kazakhstan and investigated by comparing with the Botai materials. The result showed us that all the bones belong to the horse (Toktabai 2010: 7), i.e. the horse bones, that it proves us no doubt first horse domesticated at Botai. As an evidence it can be referred to The New York Times, they listed on its website as of January 22, 2013 that the archaeologists wrote of uncovering ample horse bones and artifacts from which they derived “three independent lines of evidence demonstration domestication” of horses by the semi-sedentary Botai culture, which occupied sites in northern Kazakhstan for six centuries, beginning around 3600 BC. The shape and size of the skeletons from four sites was analyzed and compared with bones of wild horses in the region from the same time, with domestic horses from centuries later in the Bronze Age and with Mongolian domestic horses. The researches said that the Botai animals were “appreciably more slender” than robust wild horses and more similar to domestic horses.

It is known that nomads, especially Kazakhs, have eaten horse meat and drunk mare’s milk – kumyz. Archeological and scientific research have proved that nomads were drinking mare’s milk as early as 7000 years ago, as Kazakhs do even nowadays. It can be stated that kumyz has a history going back to the V or VI millennium BC. The English scholar Alan K. Outram from the University of Exeter found traces of mare’s milk on clay vessels belonging to the Botai culture. Dr. Outram said, in an interview, that it was not clear from the research if the breeding of the tamed Botai horses had by then already led to the emergence of a genetically distinct new

species. Yet their physical attributes were strikingly different, he added, and this made the animal more useful to people as meat, a source of milk, a beast of burden and for travel. Botai pottery yielded a third strand of evidence. Embedded in the clay pots were residues of carcass fat and fatty acids that “very likely” came from mare’s milk. This “confirms that at least some of the mares of Botai were domesticated,” he concluded. Earlier excavations at Botai sites, conducted by Victor Zaibert of Kokshetau University in Kazakhstan, also unearthed piles of horse bones and settlement remains of a people who hunted and herded wild horses for their meat (Wilford, 2013).

The recent “Third International Symposium on Bio-molecular Archaeology: Trail of Mare’s Milk Leads to First Tamed Horses” reported on research undertaken by Natalie Stear of the University of Bristol. From residues left on 5,500-year-old Botai potsherds, Stear also identified the hydrogen isotope deuterium, indicating mare’s milk. Since it is impossible to milk a wild mare, these data together with new evidence of harness including bits are a clear indication of early horse domestication and riding at Botai (Travis 2008: 368a). Wietske Prummel, an archeologist from Groningen University is convinced that the taming of horses was different from the domestication of cattle and sheep. Those animals have a gene-pool of closely related animals. “May be because they were, unlike horses, herd animals” suggests Prummel. The oldest proof for the existence of the taming of horses dates back to about 6,000-7,000 years ago. The excavation of a “horse farm” in Kazakhstan, which dated back to about 3500 BC, showed that horses were probably used for milking, too. Bowls were found with residues of lactic-acid. (Keulemans 2012: 13).

Horse riding as well as horse domestication, probably, began in the territory of North Kazakhstan. According to the scholars’ reports Journal of Science affirmed that the Kazakhs mount get on horse 5.5 millennium BC on the territory of North Kazakhstan (See <http://rus.newsru.ua/world/06mar2009/kumys.html>). Anthony also noted that horse riding began in the Pontic-Caspian steppes before 3700 BCE, or before the Botai Tersek culture appeared in the Kazakh steppes. It spread outside the Pontic-Caspian steppes between 3700 and 3000 BCE, as shown by increases in horse bones in southeastern Europe, central Europe, the Caucasus, and northern Kazakhstan (Anthony 2007: 222).

Traditional Kazakh Cuisine – Kumys (mare’s milk) and Kazy (horse meat)

In answer to the question why nomads used mare’s milk and ate its meat, it could be argued that mare’s milk provides energy and satisfies hunger and horse meat contains various vitamins that

keep us healthy, especially in winter when there are no fruit and vegetables available. Nowadays, Kazakhs usually eat horse meat during winter. Horse meat helps people to survive the severe weather conditions of Kazakhstan. It warms the blood and also helps to satisfy hunger in the winter. The American scholar Pita Kelekna, a member of the New York Academy of Sciences and American Anthropological Association noted that “to withstand long steppe winters, notably the brutal cold of Botai, the human population required high consumption of fat to insure sufficient caloric intake. It is therefore interesting to note that by comparison to ruminants, horse meat is low in saturated and high in polyunsaturated fats and is also high in amino acids, minerals, and vitamins. It is significant that steppe folk beliefs commonly attribute unusual medicinal and nutritional properties to horse products” (Kelekna 2009: 39). Victor Zaibert also noted in his book *Botai Culture*: “...the food was meat, milk, vegetables, and fish, we have artifacts to prove it. However, the balance of the food was not the same, it depended on seasons... the differences of climate in the continent and weather conditions caused inequality in a year cycle of consumption of meat, the main share of annual meat consumption is in cold periods, it is less in warm periods” (Zaibert 2009: 241). In his authoritative book, *The Horse, the Wheel and Languages*, David W. Anthony, an archeologist at Hartwick College in Oneonta, N.Y., wrote in 2007 that horses are supremely well adapted to the cold grasslands where they evolved. People who live in cold grasslands with domesticated cattle and sheep would soon have seen the advantage in keeping horses for meat, just because the horses did not need fodder or water. A shift to colder climate conditions or even a particularly cold series of winters could have made cattle herders think seriously about domesticating horses. Just such a shift to colder winters occurred between about 4200 and 3800 BCE (Anthony 2007: 193-201).

Even today Kazakhs still eat horse meat and drink mare's milk - kumyz. As for the question why some other Turkic countries do not eat horse meat and drink mare's milk, F. Sumer attributes this to the influence of Islam. He said that after the adoption of Islam Mawarannahr (Transoxiana) played an important role in the Islamic world. We should note that in Mawarannahr people did not eat horse meat or drink mare's milk. The Oghuz (Turkmens) probably also gave up this tradition. In any case, he added, there is no evidence that they ever ate horse meat or drank mare's milk (Sumer 1983: 15). Unfortunately, this conclusion is not reliable and there is no link with the adoption of Islam, as the Holy Book of Islam, the Qur'an, does not prescribe that Muslims should not eat horse meat (Holy Qur'an, 1424 A.H (year)). This has to be checked with real facts. As Sumer added “there is no evidence that they ever used to eat horse meat or drink mare's milk”. It could be the case that they never ate horse meat.

The Turkish scholar, Sumer, referring to Radloff's note, wrote about how Kazakhs love and respect mare's milk or kumyz. He also noted that kumyz is a satisfying drink which quenches thirst. He added how foreigners also enjoyed this drink, as Rahip W. Rubruck (ambassador to the French King (1253-1254)) once said that "he prefers kumyz as the best wine in the world" (Sumer 1983: 3-4).

Kumyz is indeed a respectable drink that Kazakhs like. It is prohibited to pour kumyz on the ground and people should not step over it, as for Kazakhs it is a holy drink. In the old Kazakh tradition if a bride was not a virgin she would be placed on a horse back to front and sent home or if people liked the girl they would bathe her in white mare's milk. In this way, the girl could wash away her sins and could then marry her bridegroom. There is a Kazakh saying «*aieldin kunesi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi*» which means that "the sins of a girl not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare's milk (Toktabai 2010: 29). In olden times white mare's milk was drunk only by family members, if white mare's milk was offered to a special guest it meant that the guest deserved respect (Toktabai 2010: 55).

Kazakhs have many traditional holidays linked with kumyz. One of them is "Kymyzmuryndyk". This holiday is celebrated in the spring when people have overcome the severe winter of Kazakhstan and when there is a lot of mare's milk in the spring and summer to follow. They all drink mare's milk together and in this way the victory over the hard winter is celebrated. Kazakh nomads began to celebrate this holiday many years ago when they moved to their summer pastures. Toktabay noted that "Kymyzmuryndyk" is a national celebration of an importance equal to that of other national celebrations, such as Navruz and Kurban Ait (Toktabai 2010: 165).

There is a special tradition for pouring somebody a drink of kumyz, offering (holding out) a drink of kumyz and for how kumyz should be drunk. Usually, in accordance with Kazakh tradition, kumyz is poured by careful young women or men dressed in neat national costume; in their left hand there should be a cup, known as a "*tostagan*" and in their right hand a ladle, known as a "*ozhau*" for stirring the kumyz without making any sound. After pouring the kumyz into the cup, the ladle should be placed on the corner of a dish called a "*tabaq*": then the cup, full of kumyz, is held in the right hand and offered to the guest. Offering kumyz with the left hand would be a sign of disrespect and ill breeding.

When man first milked a mare and intended to make some qurt (dried cheese in a round shape) and cheese just as it is made from cow's milk, he proved unable to do it: so there is a legend

among Kazakhs that Kambar-Ata, the spiritual guide of the horse (according to the Kazakhs every cow or horse has a spiritual guide), taught people how to make kumyz. That is why Kazakhs call Kambar-Ata the spiritual guide and protector of the horse, but he is also seen as a real man who taught the Kazakhs how to make kumyz. In addition, Kambar-Ata is also a master of the earth, miracle-worker and a holy man who grants the birth of sons etc. So, worship of Kambar-Ata among the Kazakhs is of great importance and is linked to the worship of the horse in the life of nomads. Even nowadays, compared to shepherds, herders in charge of horses are regarded as more important. In olden times horse herders took part in all social affairs and would dine in the households of the rich. Horse herders would be given a place of honor in a yurt or in a room. Kazakhs call this place “*tör*”, that is a recess opposite the entrance to a room. Rich people, the so-called “*bailar*”, would even give horse herders their daughters and accepted them as bridegrooms when they protected and saved their horses from danger and violent attack (Toktabai 2010: 171).

Rituals connected with the Horse Coat

The color of horses also played an important role in the life of nomads. Usually, Kazakhs divide horse colors (horse coat) into three types: bay, black and piebald. Kazakh scholars group horse colors in three types. H.Arginbaev’s classification of horse colors, for instance, involved: bay (including white, grey, roan, blue roan, flecked (spotted), dull, yellow, sorrel, sorrel-bay, liver-chestnut, blue, grey, chestnut, bright-red, red, yellow-red), black (including dark-bay, black, black-blue, black-grey, brown, bay, and other shades of brown) and skewbald (including white with yellow, grey or blue markings etc.) (Toktabai & Seitkulova 2005: 52-53).

White was the color expressing holiness and purity. As mentioned above, when people have sinned they could wash away their sins, if they bathed in the milk of a white mare, but not in the milk of a black mare (or mare of any other color). In this way they could wash away the sins they had committed: not only girls who were not virgins but any man, who had committed a sin, could also bathe in a white mare’s milk and wash away his sins. Toktabay noted that, due to the fact that a white horse is holy and valuable for Kazakhs, they used not to ask for money for a white horse when it was stolen. One of the advantages of a white horse is that it can be seen very well in the dark at night. That is why in olden times young men used white horses when they went to see their brides in the night (Toktabai & Seitkulova 2005: 53). White mare’s milk is also used as a medicine, but this is really a custom of today’s Kazakhs’ ancestors: when someone was suffering from an illness or grief he would bathe in white mare’s milk and believed that he would recover and get well soon. In the famous Turkic epic, dedicated to a hero named Alpamys, it is

written that when Alpamys Batyr won a battle and returned home he made sure that his parents took a bath in white mare's milk as they had suffered while he was on the battlefield. So there is a Kazakh saying "*sheshendi boz biyenin sutine shomyldyratyn zhaiyin bar*" meaning you should bathe your parents in white mare's milk, showing you need to take care of your parents, respect and love them (Toktabai 2010: 228).

In earlier times when soldiers prepared for battle before going to war there was a tradition of sacrificing a white horse and wishing soldiers good luck so that they might win the battle. When the Great Genghiz Khan (originally known as Temujin), went to fight with Chinese, on his way to the battlefield he stopped on a hill and, together with his heroic soldiers and leaders of the hordes, sacrificed a white horse and prayed to Gök Tengri (Seyfullin 1964: 189-200). Gök Tengri is one of the names for the chief deity in the religion of the early Turkic (Xiongnu, Hunnic, Bulgar) and Mongol (Xianbei) peoples. Worship of Tengri is sometimes referred to as Tengrism: the all-important figures in Tengrism are the Sky-Father and Mother-Earth. It involved shamanism, animism, totemism and ancestor worship (See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tengri>). In the battle of Anyrakai field in 1726, the rulers of three zhuzes or hordes; (Kazakhs are divided into three hordes: the Great Horde, Middle Horde and Small Horde) came together to consult each other and elected Abilhaiyr Khan as their chief warlord and ruler. To celebrate this, a white horse was sacrificed as a symbol of future victories (Seyfullin 1964: 201-202). Whenever there was a war, battle, or litigation between zhuzes (hordes), tribes or khans and it was decided to end a war, battle or litigation between "brothers", a white horse would then be sacrificed. Those involved would then swear, by putting their forefingers into the blood of a white horse that they would never again become enemies. The Kazakh scholar, A.Toktabay, cites examples of such customs from written sources referring to a study made by L.Badabamov. Toktabay wrote that after the battle between Abilayhan and the ruler of the Dzungars, they followed this custom. This custom continued till the end of the 20th century (Toktabai 2010: 229-230).

From history, we know that the color of horses also played an important role in the naming of directions when soldiers mounted their horses. According to A.Cinar, who referred to Sertkaya's notes: "The East is blue, the South is red, the West is white, and the North is black. Kul Tigin the General of the Second Turkic Khaganate would also change the color of his horse according to the direction in which he was setting off to battle. When he rode to the East his horse was light-colored or grey, when he went to the South the color of his horse was light-colored or brown, when he went to the West his horse was white, and when he went to the North he took a dark

horse” and then he added: “The King of the Hunnic Empire, Mete Khan, also arranged the mounted formations in his army on the basis of horse color. Mete Khan, while encircling the Chinese army, used light-grey horses in the East, light-colored horses in the South, white horses in the West and dark-colored horses in the North: this was part of his battle tactics” (Cinar 2001: 17).

The main equivalence between the world view of space-structure and space modeling is that by every such means the world view is generated through the symbols of space. We can find evidence of this in inscriptions that give us information about the ancient Turkic culture. In old monuments written in the Uighur language the following colors correspond to animals: *east* – blue, green (the symbol of the dragon), *west* – white (the symbol of the tiger), *south* – red (the symbol of the magpie) and *north* – black (the symbol of the snake) are specified for instance. Nomads also designated parts of the earth by color: *red* – the color of the South, *black* – the color of the North, *blue* – the color of the East, *white* – the color of the West and *yellow* – the color of the zenith (the highest point of the sky) (Sarbassova 2010: 9). Academician Kononov A.N. noted that the color geo-symbolism of the Turkic peoples apparently only died out recently, replaced by a linear-spatial orientation, as has often happened elsewhere. Even when such customs were only used long ago, they can still remain clearly evident in particular practical activities of individuals (Kononov 1978: 160). Thus, the color of horses can be seen to have played a major role in the life of the Kazakhs – great nomads of the steppes – in both their daily life and their beliefs.

Conclusion

Ancient Greeks had a word for the people who lived on the wild, arid Eurasian steppes stretching from the Black Sea to the border of China. They were nomads, which meant “roaming about for pasture.” They were wanderers and fierce mounted warriors. Essentially, they were “the other” to the agricultural and increasingly urban civilizations that emerged in the first millennium B.C.

Kazakhs are historically a nomadic people, and thus many of their cultural symbols, traditions and rituals reflect nomadic life. The horse is the most central part of Kazakh culture. Kazakhs love horses, riding them for transportation in the villages, using them for farming, racing them for fun, and eating, milking them for celebrations. Horses also represents in Kazakh cuisine, Kazakh cuisine is the cuisine of Kazakhstan, traditional Kazakh cuisine revolves around mutton and horse meat, as well as various milk products. The cooking techniques and major ingredients

have been strongly influenced by the nation's nomadic way of life. For example, most cooking techniques are aimed at long-term preservation of food. There is large practice of salting and drying meat, so called *kazi* (horse meat), so that it will last, and there is a preference for sour milk, so called *kumys* (horse milk), as it is easier to save in a nomadic lifestyle.

A large number of Kazakh believes and superstitions are still present in modern life, such as horse mane and tails are not trimmed, usually, to make sure the horse's owner enjoys good health. When horse owner dies, people will trim the mane and the tail of his horse to make it look mournful. Therefore, the Kazakh associate the trimmed mane and tails of their horses with mourning and death. The rituals related to the horse color are also still exists up to present in the region. Kazakh scholar Ahmet Toktabai (2010) in his PhD dissertation investigated essence of believes and superstitions among Kazakhs. He took interviews and result had shown theirs believes in rituals. He also collected from national sources more than 600 terms and names which 358 of them were definitions of horse color. It can be stated that multitude term of horse color exist only in Kazakh language, I will argue here that no other language in the world has such classification connected with the horse color. All of this proves the greatness and importance the role of the horse in Kazakh life.

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LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN KAZAKH HORSE CULTURE

Abstract: This paper will focus on horse culture as a feature of Kazakh national identity. Kazakh national identity is being reconstructed after the collapse of communism being relevant for all citizens independent of their ethnic background. However, Kazakh national identity relies on some ethnic features that played an important role in the history of the Kazakhs. I will argue here that Kazakhstan is of the ethnic feature of national identity including nomadism and culture concerned with the horse.

Language is one of the main features in the concept of national identity, because language has a cohesive force binding together a nation in its homeland. I will also focus on the essence of horse culture from the ethno-linguistic viewpoint, because ethno-linguistics is an ethno-semantic, anthropolinguistic branch of linguistics which appeared on the border between ethnography and lexicology and which is engaged into a comprehensive investigation of the mutual relation of ethnos and its language.

Keywords: horse culture, national identity, Kazakhstan, ethnicity, language, ethnolinguistics.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Theories of identity, however diverse and rich individually, are generally categorized into three broad schools of thought: primordialist school, instrumentalist (or functionalist school) and constructivist school (or culturalist school) (Young 1993: 1-36). Primordialist studies constitute the foundations of some of the earliest studies on identity. This perspective stresses biological descent, kinship, language, locality, religion and other “immutable” cultural traits as the most intimate, organic and powerful components of ethnic identity (Isaacs 1975). The second perspective, instrumentalism, concedes to the power of emotions ethnicity commands, conceptualizes ethnicity as an expression of group interests competing for scarce resources. Far from being a primordial drive flowing from biological or cultural impulses, ethnicity, like any other identity, is manufactured by cultural and political entrepreneurs (Brubaker 1996: 8). Constructivist theories are situated somewhere between these two perspectives (Surucu 2002: 387).

The definition of national identity by Anthony D. Smith, are shared language, religion, culture, and a common descent. Smith divided national identity, in his book *National Identity*, into Western and Eastern model. He stated that the place of law in the Western civic model is taken by vernacular culture, in the Eastern ethnic model usually languages and customs (Smith 1991: 12). Smith demonstrated the difference between the Western and Eastern model

“... the Western concept laid down that an individual had to belong to some nation but could choose to which he or she belonged, the ethnic concept allowed no such latitude. Whether you stayed in your community or emigrated to another, you remained ineluctably, organically, a member of the community of your birth and were for ever stamped by it. A nation, in other words, was first and foremost a community of common descent... in this conception, the nation can trace its roots to an imputed common ancestry and that therefore its members are brothers and sisters, or at least cousins, differentiated by family ties from outsiders. This emphasis on presumed family ties helps to explain the strong popular or demotic element in the ethnic conception of the nation”(Smith 1991: 11-12).

The word *nation* etymologically comes from Latin. It was derived from the past participle of the verb *nasci*, meaning to be born. The term was used for signifying blood ties and also to describe the inhabitants of a country regardless of the population's ethno-national composition (Connor 1994: 38). Anthony D. Smith defines the term *nation* as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members (Smith 1991: 14). Nations by Smith must have a measure of common culture and civic ideology, a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas that bind the population together in their homeland (Smith 1991: 11). Greek word for nation is *ethnos* derived from ethnicity (Connor 1994: 43). Ethnicity refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others (Yanarocak 2011: 47). Anthony Giddens stated that the members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in a society and are seen by those other groups to be so in return. The most common characteristics of ethnic groups are language, history, ancestry, religion and style of dress (Giddens 2001: 246).

Kazakhstan is of the ethnic, *Eastern type* the ethnic feature of Kazakh national identity. Kazakhstan became independent with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, but there had

been no independent nation or even territory commonly designated as Kazakhs (Sarsembayev, 1999) before the Soviet takeover in the early twentieth century. President Nursultan Nazarbayev noted after independence that one of his first tasks was to “consolidate the political community and built Kazakh patriotism” (Kubicek 1998: 35). A policy of *Kazakhisation* encourages immigration by ethnic Kazakhs, increases political appointments for ethnic Kazakhs, and mandates the use of Kazakh language (Zardykhan, 2004). At the beginning of independence, the Kazakhstani government encoded a dual definition of *nation* into the legal infrastructure of the new state. An all-inclusive territorial citizenship was combined with a *remedial ethno-nationalism* of the indigenous ethnic group. The expectation was to craft a new identity of *Kazakhstani*, officially recognizing the poly-ethnic nature of the republic, while at the same time tilling towards Kazakh culture, history and language as the principle ingredients of the new territorial identity (Surucu 2002: 385).

Ethnos together with its language may consider ethno-linguistics that part of anthropological linguistics concerned with the study of the interrelation between a language and the cultural behavior of those who speak it. In other words, ethno-linguistics is an ethno-semantic, anthropolinguistic branch of linguistics which appeared on the border between ethnography and lexicology and which is engaged into a comprehensive investigation of the mutual relation of the ethnos and its language (Sarbasova 2010: 120). Several controversial questions are involved in this field: Does language shape culture or vice versa? What influence does language have on perception and thought? How do language patterns relate to cultural patterns? These questions, which had been posed earlier by the German scholars Johann Gottfried von Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt and their followers in the idealist-romanticist tradition, emerged again in the United States as a result of the discovery of the vastly different structure of American Indian languages, as delineated by the American anthropological linguists Edward Sapir and Sapir’s student Benjamin L. Whorf.

Edward Sapir, one of the foremost American linguists and anthropologists of his time most widely known for his contributions to the study of North American Indian languages, was a founder of *ethnolinguistics* which considers the relationship of culture to language. Sapir suggested that man perceives the world principally through language. He wrote many articles on the relationship of language to culture. A thorough description of a linguistic structure and its function in speech, he wrote in 1931, might provide insight into man’s perceptive and cognitive faculties and help explain the diverse behavior among peoples of different cultural backgrounds (See: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/523671/Edward-Sapir>). Sapir’s theory

considers the relationship of culture to language mostly known nowadays as a Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. In Brown's summary, "Whorf appeared to put forward two hypotheses: 1. Structural differences between language systems will, in general, be paralleled by nonlinguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of the 2 languages; 2. The structure of anyone's language native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language" (Brown 1976: 128). A third hypothesis was tacitly assumed by Kay and Kempton: "The semantic systems of different languages vary without constraint" (Kay and Kempton 1984: 75).

As of January 22, 2013, the Encyclopedia Britannica listed on its website that the exotic character of American Indian semantic structures, as manifested not only in their vocabularies but also in the relationships expressed by their morphological categories and syntactic patterns, has led a number of scholars to speculate on the relationships between language, culture, and habitual thought patterns or *worldview*. It was hypothesized that the unique organization of the universe that is embodied in each language might act as a determining factor in the individual's habits of perception and of thought, thus forming and maintaining particular tendencies in the associated nonlinguistic culture.

Wilhelm von Humboldt adumbrated his *Weltansicht* hypothesis in the following manner:

"Language appears to present to us subjectively our entire mental activity (in a manner of our procedure), but it generates at the same time to object in as much as they are objects in our thinking... Language is, therefore, if not altogether, at least in terms of perception, the means by which [each] human being constructs at the same time himself and the world or by which he, rather, becomes conscious of himself by discriminating between himself and the world" (cited and translated after Konrad Koerner 1992: 179).

This idea was further developed. The Humboldt-Sapir connection was explored in 1967 by Mattoso Camara (1970) and more recently and more fully by Drechsel (1988) especially with regard to the *inner form* concept (Sapir 1921: 115) and the so called Sapir Whorf Hypothesis.

The ethnolinguistic investigations in linguistics of the Kazakh language were first introduced in Kazakhstan by academician Abduali T. Kaydar (1985), who contributed a lot to the development of Kazakh ethnolinguistics. Kaydar was the first who raised the issue of ethnolinguistics in

Kazakhstan and the author of the present paper will conduct the research based on the theoretical principles proposed by Kaydar in 1985. Kaydar's theory investigates ethnos in *Language Vicinity*. This means that ethnolinguistics is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its consciousness (Kaydar 1985). To sum up, ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic roots are shown, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved (Sarbasova 2010:122).

The definition of ethno-linguistics is the history of ethnogeny and ethnos; the language processes in internal and interethnic mutual relations; the role of language in ethnos formation, in its existence; the peculiarities of thinking of a certain ethnos and language; the language itself and the traditional culture (consciousness, customs, religion etc.). Thus, having defined the essence of a nation it shows its difference from other nations. Moreover, it considers the classification of world languages and many other questions (Sarbasova 2010:120-122).

The main concepts connected by horse culture and linguistic expressions concerned with horse can, undoubtedly, give information on household life, concepts, outlook of people. This is because they are closely connected with the life of ethnos and basically consist of data having national cultural values. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life – and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. Studying horses promotes the national consciousness of the Kazakhs, the formation of their cultural image and determines their course for the future. Research into the six-thousand-year history of the Kazakh horse, complete with its historical-ethnographic and culturological implications, makes it possible to throw light on the material and spiritual achievements of the Kazakh nation which would not otherwise be clear. The material and spiritual world of the Kazakhs, their traditions, rituals, customs and world outlook will be discussed here, because all these aspects of traditional culture become clear when considered through the prism of the *horse*. The horse provides a special key to understanding the culture of the Kazakhs – a culture of nomads.

THE POSITION OF THE HORSE AS A FEATURE OF KAZAKH NATIONAL IDENTITY

Kazakh national identity is being reconstructed after the collapse of communism being relevant for all citizens independent of their ethnic background. However, Kazakh national identity relies on some ethnic features that played an important role in the history of the Kazakhs. Kazakh national identity also relies on some ethnic features like common historical memories, common culture, rituals, traditions and language. I will argue here the horse as a feature of Kazakh national identity. Horse plays enormous role in Kazakh national identity, because it is fundamental feature and it is intangible and fixed element because it is holy for Kazakhs. Therefore, horse became one of the main features in Kazakh national identity.

The most influential impact for building Kazakh national identity in contemporary Kazakhstan was through media, art, paintings, and symbols. For example, traditional themes focusing on horses and nomadic life of the steppe are present in a majority of Kazakh music videos and are the most prevalent. Kazakhs yearning for a romanticized past are drawn to image of nomadic life. Clearly, producers of Kazakh music videos include visual references to nomadic heritage not because of genetic conventions but because of the socio-cultural context of Kazakhstan (Johnson 2006: 12-13). The visual images of traditionally dressed Kazakhs on horseback, travelling with families across great expanses, link to an historical past that was squelched during the Soviet era by policies that restricted the Kazakh language and attempted to agriculturalize the steppe. This view of nomadic life builds on a common historical past and shared cultural identity portrayed in print media (Sarsembayev 1999) and thus facilitated development of Kazakh national identity.

The image of the horse also represented in paintings (see picture №1 taken by Alfrid Bustanov from, PhD candidate of the University of Amsterdam, one of the museums of the Republic of Kazakhstan). Kazakhstan illustrated new Kazakh national identity and constructed Kazakh national identity after the collapse of communism. The picture at the bottom where horses are represented is pretty impressive, political leaders appeared on horseback and this is how political leaders see in national identity and how Kazakhs thought about the Kazakh national identity.



Picture 1

A large number of Kazakh believes and superstitions are still present in modern life, founder of the Kazakh state in 15th century Wali-ullah Abul-Mansur Khan better known as Ablai Khan (1711 — May 23, 1781) on the left side, and the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbaev, on the right side and other Kazakh political leaders, famous writers, akyns and batyrs (heroes) are mounted on white horses. The color of horses played an important role in the life of the Kazakhs. Usually, Kazakhs divide horse colors into three types: bay, black and piebald. Kazakh scholars group horse colors in three types. H.Arginbaev's classification of horse colors, for instance, involved: bay (including white, grey, roan, blue roan, flecked (spotted), dull, yellow, sorrel, sorrel-bay, liver-chestnut, blue, grey, chestnut, bright-red, red, yellow-red), black (including dark-bay, black, black-blue, black-grey, brown, bay, and other shades of brown) and skewbald (including white with yellow, grey or blue markings etc.) (Toktabai et al., 2005: 52-53).

White was the color expressing holiness and purity. In the old Kazakh tradition if a bride was not a virgin she would be placed on a horse back to front and sent home or if people liked the girl they would bathe her in white mare's milk. In this way, the girl could wash away her sins and could then marry her bridegroom. There is a Kazakh saying *aieldin kunesi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi* which means that "the sins of a girl not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare's milk (Toktabai 2010: 29).

As mentioned above, when people have sinned they could wash away their sins, if they bathed in the milk of a white mare, but not in the milk of a black mare (or mare of any other color). In this way they could wash away the sins they had committed: not only girls who were not virgins but any man, who had committed a sin, could also bathe in a white mare's milk and wash away his sins. Toktabai noted that, due to the fact that a white horse is holy and valuable for Kazakhs, they used not to ask for money for a white horse when it was stolen. One of the advantages of a white horse is that it can be seen very well in the dark at night. That is why in olden times young men used white horses when they went to see their brides in the night (Toktabai et al., 2005: 53). White mare's milk is also used as a medicine, but this is really a custom of today's Kazakhs' ancestors: when someone was suffering from an illness or grief he would bathe in white mare's milk and believed that he would recover and get well soon. In the famous Turkic epic, dedicated to a hero named Alpamys, it is written that when Alpamys Batyr won a battle and returned home he made sure that his parents took a bath in white mare's milk as they had suffered while he was on the battlefield. So there is a Kazakh saying *sheshendi boz biyenin sutine shomyldyratyn zhaiyin bar* meaning you should bathe your parents in white mare's milk, showing you need to take care of your parents, respect and love them (Toktabai 2010: 228).

In earlier times when soldiers prepared for battle before going to war there was a tradition of sacrificing a white horse and wishing soldiers good luck so that they might win the battle. When the founder and Great Chinggis Khan (originally known as Temujin), went to fight the Chinese on his way to the battlefield he stopped on a hill and, together with his heroic soldiers and leaders of the hordes, sacrificed a white horse and prayed to Gök Tengri (Seifullin 1964: 189-200). Gök Tengri is one of the names for the chief deity in the religion of the early Turkic (Xiongnu, Hunnic, Bulgar) and Mongol (Xianbei) peoples. Worship of Tengri is sometimes referred to as Tengrism: the all-important figures in Tengrism are the Sky-Father and Mother-Earth. It involved shamanism, animism, totemism and ancestor worship (See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tengri>). In the battle of Anyrakai field in 1726, the rulers of three zhuzes or hordes (Kazakhs are divided into three hordes: the Great Horde, Middle Horde and Small Horde) came together to consult each other and elected Abilhaiyr Khan as their chief warlord and ruler. To celebrate this, a white horse was sacrificed as a symbol of future victories (Seifullin 1964: 201-202). Whenever there was a war, battle, or litigation between zhuzes (hordes), tribes or Khans and when it was decided to end a war, battle or litigation between *brothers*, a white horse would then be sacrificed. Those involved would then swear, by putting their forefingers into the blood of a white horse that they would never again become enemies.

The Kazakh scholar, A.Toktabay, cites examples of such customs from written sources referring to a study made by L.Badabamov. Toktabay wrote that after the battle between Ablai-Khan and the ruler of the Dzungars, they followed this custom. This custom continued till the end of the 20th century (Toktabai 2010: 229-230).

From history, we know that the color of horses also played an important role in the naming of directions when soldiers mounted on their horses. According to A.Cinar, who referred to Sertkaya's notes:

“The East is blue, the South is red, the West is white, and the North is black. Kul Tigin the General of the Second Turkic Khaganate would also change the color of his horse according to the direction in which he was setting off to battle. When he rode to the East his horse was light-colored or grey, when he went to the South the color of his horse was light-colored or brown, when he went to the West his horse was white, and when he went to the North he took a dark horse” and then he added: “The King of the Hunnic Empire, Mete Khan, also arranged the mounted formations in his army on the basis of horse color. Mete Khan, while encircling the Chinese army, used light-grey horses in the East, light-colored horses in the South, white horses in the West and dark-colored horses in the North: this was part of his battle tactics” (Cinar 2001: 17).

The main equivalence between the world view of space-structure and space modeling is that by every such means the world view is generated through the symbols of space. We can find evidence of this in inscriptions that give us information about the ancient Turkic culture. In old monuments written in the Uighur language the following colors correspond to animals: *east* – blue, green (the symbol of the dragon), *west* – white (the symbol of the tiger), *south* – red (the symbol of the magpie) and *north* – black (the symbol of the snake) are specified for instance. Nomads also designated parts of the earth by color: *red* – the color of the South, *black* – the color of the North, *blue* – the color of the East, *white* – the color of the West and *yellow* – the color of the zenith (the highest point of the sky) (Sarbasova 2010: 9). Academician A.N. Kononov noted that the color geo-symbolism of the Turkic peoples apparently only died out recently, replaced by a linear-spatial orientation, as has often happened elsewhere. Even when such customs were only used long ago, they can still remain clearly evident in particular practical activities of individuals (Kononov 1978: 160). Thus, the color of horses can be seen to have played a major role in the life of the Kazakhs – great nomads of the steppes – in both their daily life and their beliefs.

Other famous Kazakh people that played a crucial role in the history of the Kazakhs are depicted in this painting. Kazakh girls dressed on national Kazakh dress, Kazakh national instruments *Dombyra* and *Kobyz* also handed out. The enormously important Khodja Ahmet Yasawi mausoleum in Turkistan city up built by Aksak Temir and Kazakh yurt – traditional wooden framed nomadic shelter covered with heavy cloths are represented. The historical theme in this picture is noteworthy because many Kazakhs see history and nomadic traditions as a solution to contemporary social problems. One author offered an *alternative history of Kazakhstan* in which he boldly attempted to assimilate Chinggis Khan and his Eurasian empire as Kazakh, although the term *Kazakh* makes no appearance as an ethnonym in the historical record until centuries later. Thus, he asserted, “We must prove to Kazakhstani scholarship that the Kazakhs are a most ancient and historically well-known people [nation] than the Mongols. False theories are not only falsification of history but also encroachments on history, on the territorial integrity and culture of the Kazakh people”(Daniyarov 1998: 175).

It is known all over the world that Kazakhs divide themselves into three *zhuz* (tribal confederation), Ulu zhuz (Great Horde), Orta zhuz (Middle Horde) and Kishi zhuz (Small Horde) and further sub-divided into *ru*. These three zhuz has its own bii's (leaders). The leader of Great horde was Kazibek bii Keldibekulu (1659-1765), the leader of Middle horde was Tole bii Alibekulu (1657-1756) and the leaders of Small horde was Ayteke bii Baibekulu (1644-1700). They are in the middle of the painting and praying for the prosperity of the Kazakh nation. On the right side near to them Kazakh associates of the Prophet Muhammed (Sahabalar), who helped Kazakhs to learn writing, and reading as well as spread the Islam in the territory of Kazakhstan, and at the top represented the Golden Man on the leopard (barys). Golden Man is one of the unique archeological excavations in Kazakhstan. It was found in 1969, the Kazakh archeologists under the supervision of K. A. Akishev, located 50 km to the east of Almaty. The archeologists named the burial *Issyk* since it was never mentioned in any folk legends.

Leopard running fast, it was mentioned here as an aspiration to the future and development of the state under the sun which has a deep meaning for shining as a sun of the holy state. The image of the sun is a sign of wealth and abundance. Its graphical picture is a symbol of vitality. The sun is also a great guide for the nomad. He arranges his life according to it. He subordinates his life to the sun. *Be always on the move!* that is what he is learning from the sun. The great image of the sun which is always moves over the blue sky is a real symbol of life for nomads. Therefore, in the language of art, the Sun is given as an eternal life. This is how Kazakhs perceive the Kazakh

national identity. The history and historical events play important role in Kazakh national identity. The horse also became one of the fundamental features, because the horse is holy and intangible and it plays enormous role in Kazakh national identity, because the role of the horse in Kazakh history was valuable. Kazakhs appeared on the historical stage together with their horses, the horse was always their true friend and protector, who helped them to overcome all difficulties both in the economic challenges of their everyday life – and on the battlefield. While for other peoples horses are just for riding and transport or for sport, for Kazakhs horses are part of their cultural heritage. It is therefore unsurprising to find that horses feature heavily in the rituals, art and cuisine of the region. As Outram stated that the horses shift from being a quarry, to become a herded economic mainstay, a source of military power and, up to present, a symbol of Kazakh culture and prestige (Outram et al., 2010: 116). This sort of painting and pictures you can find in many museums, and hanged in the walls of the universities, schools, and probably in offices of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Many Kazakhs also like to hang the portraits of the horses at their houses.

Culture concerned with the horse in Kazakhstan also influenced in theirs believes from the mythological view point. The national emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan composed a pair of golden-winged horses with horns in the shape of crescent.

Picture 2



The image of horse embodies such features as courage, sagacity and will power. The picture of winged mythical horses on the emblem has a deep meaning and content. The wings symbolize high dreams of multinational peoples of Kazakhstan to build a strong and a prosperous state.

They indicate pure thoughts and intention to perfection, achieving harmony in society with nature and global civilization, achieving high aims. Winged animals with the body of a horse and the head of a man like centaur created from the dreams of a man and carved on the stones are often met on the pictures of the early period. A pair of mythical fast horses is depicted on the national emblem. It seems like they protect a holy place (shanyrak) on both sides against misfortune (trouble), libal and danger (See http://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/kazakhstan_gerb). See picture №2 (taken from Google Gosudarstvenniy Gerb Respubliki Kazakhstan).

THE ROLE OF THE HORSE IN KAZAKH LANGUAGE IDENTITY

Language is one of the main features in the concept of national identity, because language has a cohesive force binding together a nation in its homeland. There are Kazak sayings *til zhok zherde ultta zhok* that means *there could not be a nation where there is no language*; *özge tildin barin bil, öz tilindi qurmette* that means *you can learn all foreign languages, but you have to respect your Mother Tongue*. These examples prove us that the language indeed is one of the most important features in the concept of national identity. Anthony D. Smith's (1991) definition of national identity includes ethnic features, like shared language, culture, religion, and a common descent.

Kazaks have many linguistic expressions connected with horse but most of them are connected with cattle breeding. For hundreds of years, Kazakhs were herders who raised fat-tailed sheep, Bactrian camels, and horses, relying on these animals for transportation, clothing, and food. I will state here only the linguistic expressions connected with horse culture. Linguistic expressions formed with the horse culture appeared by the help of Kazakhs' believes, traditions, customs, world view etc. For example, *biye sauim vakit* the whole time spend for milking the horse, approximately 30 minute (Sarbassova 2010: 24). *Zhilki zhusar kez* time when people feed the horse early in the morning. *Biye baylar kez* time to milking the horse in spring approximately in May (time when Kazakhs give special feed and care (by separating the horse from the herd) in spring in order to get a lot of kumyz (horse milk), *mal orgende* early morning when cattle expel on a pasture, *bir biyeden ala da tuadi, qula da tuadi* (from one horse may born marked and bay horse) that means the same female may born as good as bad person. In medieval ages Kazakhs killed marked horses when they born. They believed that the marked color brings unhappiness. So the marked color for Kazakhs has a bad association. The measure phrase *at shaptirim jer* is associated with the ability of the horse to run without becoming tired, this is approximately 25 kilometers. This phrase appeared before the metric system was standardized and was used to show the distance, among others etc. Nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs,

certainly, affected to such expressions like idea of time, distance, for measuring purposes, weight, richness etc. (Sarbasova 2010).

There are a lot of many other expressions connected with the horse culture. This theme interested many Kazakh scholars like Toktabai, Muhametkanulu, Baitelieva, Sarbasova and many others. For example, Kazakh scholar Ahmet Toktabai (2010) who is the expert in this field collected from national sources more than 600 terms and names: 358 definitions of horse color; 95 names of exterior terminology; 198 terms, which experts use at an estimation of advantages of the horse. He also classified 20 names of horse equipment. He found out approximately 30 national Kazakh games concerning with the horse and 23 names of *kamshi* (a long stick with the rope), 5 names of dishes made from the leather of the horse in order to keep the food inside usually to save it for a long time. Traditional Kazakh musical instruments also made from the intestine of the horse in order to make a better sound. 39 national songs devoted to the horse, 89 *kuis* (national music), and 4 dances devoted to horse theme.

Guldana Sarbasova (2010) collected all the old measuring names used by the Kazakhs before the metric system was standardized. She noted that the most of the measuring names was related with horse culture, nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs, affected to such measuring expressions like idea of time, distance, weight etc. in Kazakh language because language is the mirror of the ethnos. Every word, every speech in one language influences by the ethnos' world view, outlook of people as Kaydar (1985) noted in order to reveal the nations outlook and culture and many others we have to investigate ethnos in 'language vicinity' which means ethnos and language one whole and it should be taken and investigated as a one whole what he proposed and raised the issue ethnolinguistic researches, that is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its consciousness (Kaydar 1985). Ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic rod roots are show, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved (Sarbasova 2010:122).

Zhanar Baitelieva (2007) concluded that the most linguistic expressions concerned with the horse appeared by characterizing the national life and culture of the Kazakhs. The formation of such expressions formed with the help of ethno-cultural view point, she noted that they are

formed by the horse age and sex, breeding and natural features, with body parts, coloring, illness, appearance, characters, various horse movements, housekeeping and horse equipment.

CONCLUSION

Ancient Greeks had a word for the people who lived on the wild, arid Eurasian steppes stretching from the Black Sea to the border of China. They were nomads, which meant *roaming about for pasture*. They were wanderers and fierce mounted warriors. Essentially, they were *the other* to the agricultural and increasingly urban civilizations that emerged in the first millennium B.C.

Horse plays an important role in Kazakh life. In contemporary Kazakhstan the horse became one of the main features in new Kazakh national identity. Identity can be changed it is not fixed, but the image of the horse is constant element because it is holy and intangible. Nowadays, horses a symbol of Kazakh culture and prestige, and it's heavily in the rituals, art, language and cuisine of the region. Therefore, the horse image is important as a feature of Kazakh national identity because Kazakhs are historically a nomadic people, and thus many of their cultural symbols, traditions and rituals reflect nomadic life. The horse is the most central part of Kazakh culture. Kazakhs love horses, riding them for transportation in the villages, using them for farming, racing them for fun, and eating, milking them for celebrations.

A large number of Kazakh believes and superstitions are still present in modern life, Kazakh scholar Ahmet Toktabai (2010) in his PhD dissertation investigated essence of believes and superstitions among Kazakhs. He took interviews and result had shown theirs believes in rituals. He also collected from national sources more than 600 terms and names which 358 of them were definitions of horse color. It can be stated that multitude term of horse color exist only in Kazakh language, I will argue here that no other language in the world has such classification connected with the horse color. All of this proves the greatness and importance the role of the horse in Kazakh life.

Nomadic way of cattle breeding lifestyle of the Kazakhs, affected to Kazakh language because language is the mirror of the ethnos. Every word, every speech in one language influences by the ethnos' world view, outlook of people. In order to reveal ethnos culture, outlook and world view, ethnos should be investigated with its language as they work as a one whole. Ethnos with its language may consider ethnolinguistic researches, that is the research of language questions which are connected with the spiritual and cultural life of a certain territory (ethnos) speaking that language; with the everyday life of the ethnos; with its outlook, its traditions, its

consciousness. Ethnolinguistics makes it possible for us to reflect on a nation's outlook and, the spiritual treasury of the people. This is because ethnolinguistic data is a widely open window into a bottomless depth of history of people, the history where the genetic roots are shown, the mutual relations with other people are revealed, the original spiritual and material culture is preserved.

All expressions in Kazakh language have different meanings and formed by different directions. Such linguistic expressions are stable phrases, component words of the phrase lost its first lexical meaning, and its new meaning has more persistency so that phrases having nominative meaning then it is impossible to separate these words from each other, they live as a one whole. Most of them appeared by the help of the environmental action and how people perceive the world. All semantic and meaningful groups of the phrases wholly include men and his action, physiological form and condition that has various emotions concerning with the psychological processes based on the emotions such likes and dislikes. The reason is that because formation of such phrases formed by men's conception of space environment and made it by various self images, representations, symbols, comparing with other actions, using epithet, depict, and association. By all means the role of such phrase formation is important in language directed to anthropological researches.

The demand of present day is to give people ethnic-cultural knowledge through carrying out various ethnolinguistic researches. This is because the ethnic cultural knowledge is knowledge directed on the preservation of ethnic-personal conformity of a person through mutual mastering of a native language and own culture, values of the world culture.

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