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**CEREMONIAL LEXICONS  
BESET WITH RITUAL WEDDING  
IN KHUJAND DIALECT**

*Hasanova Mashhurakhon Inomovna, candidate of philological sciences, Associate Professor of the department of Arabic grammar of SEI "KhSU named after acad. B.Gafurov" (Khujand, Tajikistan)*

**ЛЕКСИКАИ МАРОСИМИ  
ХОСТГОРӢ ДАР ЛАҲЧАИ  
ХУҶАНД**

*Ҳасанова Маишхурахон Инъомовна, н.и.ф., дотсенти кафедраи грамматикаи арабии МДТ "ДДХ ба номи акад. Б.Гафуров (Хуҷанд, Тоҷикистон)*

**ЛЕКСИКА ЦЕРЕМОНИИ  
СВАТОВСТВА В  
ХУДЖАНДСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ**

*Хасанова Маишхурахон Иномовна, канд. филол. наук, доцент каф. грамматикаи арабского языка ГОУ "ХГУ им. акад. Б.Гафурова" (Худжанд, Таджикистан) e-mail: hmi\_82@mail.ru*

*The given article dwells on ceremonial lexicons in connection with the ethnographic notion of wedding and campaigns and ceremonies related to wedding, because the wedding is considered to be one of the popular traditions of the Tajik nation, including Khujand. There is a difference of opinion about the wedding and its stages among the researchers of the relevant field. However, after comparing and distinguishing scholars` opinions and getting familiar with the wedding ceremony in Khujand, following some Tajik wedding researchers, these ceremonies are divided into three stages, and depending on this division, lexicons related to each stage - from the selection of the bride to the splendid wedding, the wedding itself and post-wedding ceremonies have been studied separately; the article under consideration is concluded with the analysis of the ceremonial lexicons of the first period entitled as "intikhobi arus".*

**Key-words:** rite, ritual, dialect, vocabulary, ethnolinguistics, culture, Tajik language

*Лексикаи маросимӣ дар алоқамандӣ бо мафҳуми этнографии тӯй ва маъракаву маросимҳои марбут ба тӯй мавриди баррасӣ қарор гирифтааст, зеро тӯй аз суннатҳои маъмули мардуми тоҷик, аз ҷумла Хуҷанд, ба шумор меравад. Дар бораи тӯй ва марҳилаҳои он дар байни муҳаққиқони ин соҳа ихтилофи оро ба чаши мерасад. Бо вучуди ин, баъди қиёсу муқобалаи ақидаҳои олимони ва ошноӣ бо маросими тӯй дар Хуҷанд, дар пайравӣ аз бархе муҳаққиқони тӯйи тоҷикӣ, маросимҳои тӯйи арӯсӣ ба се марҳила тақсим гардида, вобаста ба ин тақсимои лексикаи марбут ба ҳар як марҳилаи – аз интихоби арӯс то тӯйи калон, ҳуди тӯй ва маросимҳои баъдитӯйӣ – алоҳида мавриди тадқиқ қарор гирифтааст, ки ин мақола бо таҳлили лексикаи маросимии давраи аввал "интихоби арӯс" ҷамъбасти гардидааст.*

**Калидвожаҳо:** оӣин, маросим, лаҳча, лексика, этнолингвистика, фарҳанг, забони тоҷикӣ

*Рассматривается специфика свадебной обрядовой лексики в привязке к этнографическому понятию «свадьба» и к связанным со свадьбой торжествам и обрядам, ибо свадьба является одной из самых распространенных народных традиций таджикского народа, в том числе населения Худжанда. Отмечается, что у исследователей нет единого мнения об определении свадьбы и ее этапов. На основе внимательного анализа точек зрения ученых и практического изучения свадебного обряда г. Худжанда и в согласии с некоторыми исследователями, таджикский свадебный обряд разделен на три этапа: начальный этап - выбор невесты, затем свадьба (свадебный пир) и послесвадебные обряды. Рассматривается обрядовая лексика, относящаяся к первому этапу – «выбор невесты» (сватовство). Подчеркивается, что причины возникновения*

*обрядовой лексики носят социолингвистический и экстралингвистический характер, так как подобные лексические новообразования отражают изменения в инвентаре, составе и свойствах ритуалов вообще, и обряда бракосочетания в частности.*

**Ключевые слова:** обряд, свадьба, лексика, выбор невесты, этнолингвистика, культура, таджикский язык

### **Introduction**

It is well-grounded that language is considered to be as a priceless treasure which preserved the relics of the people`s verbal culture creating the grounds aimed at spiritual relationships and it passes to the achievements of science and culture of different eras in order to be passed to subsequent generations. Into the bargain, one of the actual errands of modern Tajik linguistic studies is the study of living processes of change and the relationship of literary, folk and colloquial, varieties of language dialects and their role in the of national linguacultural development [5; 6; 4].

One of the significant peculiarities of the qualitative exceptionality of the Tajik language is the increasingly distinct differentiation of three stages of its social functioning: literary language as a set of functional styles, national spoken language and dialects.

The most general portrait of the relationship between TLL (Tajik Literary Language), is revealed also through its popular slang version and dialect sphere as well. In conformity with our opinion, the relevant field appears as follows: on the one hand, as a result of the solid sway over literary forms of speech, certain levelling of the informal language occurs (equalization) with its features; in the mentioned sphere certain changes also take place - literary language norms are gradually acquiring citizenship rights in the slang and dialect speech systems of the simple people. On the other hand, in connection with socio-functional activation of some lexical word-stock dealing with the terminological notions, one should assert that namely the original Tajik ritual lexicon and progressive trends aimed at their preservation in the system of MTLL (Modern Tajik Literary Language) clear it of the medieval archaic Arabic sense, of borrowed elements alien to its structure in order to enrich the Tajik language expressive with background and its word-stock in particular. While canvassing all these phenomena and processes over time, it is possible to establish the causes of language changes, their occurrence and completion and the ways of these phenomena and processes development and elevation in various slangs.

**The object** of the corpus of our study is to canvass theoretical views on specifics of ceremonial lexicons Khujand dialect. As well as, certain specifics of ceremonial lexicons in Khujand dialect being taken into account. In order to study the peculiarities of the vocabulary of wedding rituals, the linguistic nature of the vocabulary of the vocabulary of the wedding ritual was investigated and represents a linguistic description of the peculiarities of ritual (wedding) vocabulary in Khujand dialect, taking into account the tradition of historical and modern lexicology of the Tajik language and ethnolinguistics.

**The aims** of the corpus of our study are:

- to canvass theoretical views on specifics of ceremonial lexicons Khujand dialect;
- to reveal certain specifics of ceremonial lexicons;
- to study the peculiarities of the vocabulary of wedding rituals, the linguistic nature of the vocabulary of the vocabulary of the wedding in Khujand dialect;
- to take into account the tradition of historical and modern lexicology of the Tajik language and ethnolinguistics.

### **Scientific novelty**

The article under consideration dwells on theoretical views on specifics of ceremonial lexicons Khujand dialect. As well as, certain specifics of ceremonial lexicons in Khujand dialect

being taken into account in the field of linguistic studies, for the first time. It is worth mentioning that the most general portrait of the relationship between TLL (Tajik Literary Language), its popular slang version and dialect sphere as well.

### **Methodology**

In order to make our study convincing a visual method of research was used; at the same time, comparative-historical methods, synchronic and diachronic analysis were resorted to as well.

### **Main results and discussion**

It is well-known that dialect represents a valuable source concerned with the study of various social processes in the field of historico-modern lexicology, word formation, morphology, etymology and other aspects of our mother tongue, upon the whole. The lexicons collected in the dialect reflect the centuries-old history of the nation, its way of lifestyle, development of culture, traditions, rituals and ceremonies.

Initially, the Tajik language during the period of its historical existence developed dynamically according to certain patterns. Over a period of more than millennia, political transformations, radical changes in government structures, changes in social life, culture and traditions and rituals had a direct impact on the evolution of the Tajik language, its lexical stock and the phonetico-grammatical system especially.

It is known that the development and enrichment of a language, including its ritual lexical stock is in close connection with social life and the history of its creator - the people. Among unique ritual traditions, for many centuries, a wedding ritual acquired particular significance, it created the grounds targeted at a family formation which regulates the process of its connection with ethnic-national characteristics of Tajik nation's culture. The relevant ritual has regional differences not only between communities belonging to various nations, but they are observed between people belonging to a single nation either. The letters are unique depending on the area of residence of bearers of these relict traditions (city, region, village, locality), and their social stratum as well. The ritual lexicon of each region has certain patterns reflecting its (word-stock) purposeful functioning in the sphere of public life, resorting to the richness and expressiveness of the national spoken language due to which dialects and their lexicons are enriched, the grammatical structure is polished, and their expressive and figurative means are improved. At the same time, it is supra-dialectal coordination that begins to play the role of the link between literary language and dialects reflecting some patterns of mediating the relationship between the styles of literary language.

Formed on the basis of colloquial speech and polished in the works of great Tajik writers and poets, among whom S. Aini holds a special place, the Tajik literary language as the highest form of the national language has reached a high degree of development of its original expressive artistic and visual means. This advancement was facilitated by a number of factors, among which, in addition to the development, richness and power of expressiveness of the Tajik language, in addition to the high spiritual culture created in this language, a large role should be given to certain structural and linguistic factors. In structural and linguistic terms, an important role in the successful progress of the Tajik language in the space of various spheres of life played by the fact that it is internally homogeneous: the actual monodialectality of the Tajik language determined by the fact that its dialects are not strikingly different from each other that and communication between them is difficult, also it facilitates its use giving the sphere of their functioning a unique character.

As researchers note, the main goal of studying vocabulary in the ethnolinguistic aspect which compiles a linguistic picture of the ethnoculture of peoples. Such studies open up broad opportunities for learning the vocabulary of rituals familiarizing themselves with their specific

features associated with various factors in the social life of the people (marriage, mourning, demonology, the plot of sacred books, the interpretation of worldly and afterlife, anthropology). This knowledge, to a certain extent, lays the foundation for familiarization with the ritual culture of ethnic groups, with the prerequisites for an emergence of ritual traditions, ritual vocabulary, and it contributes to commentary on their semantics, commonality and differences in shades of their meaning.

In the modern era, the science of the lexical structure of the Tajik language is actively developing in different directions based on various theories and methods. Among them, the most constructive and cognitively valuable should be those ones that are built on the basis of the study of dialectal materials and their interpretation of these materials based on their own formal-semantic and functional properties. These are dialectal lexical units implying ritual wedding ceremonies which have a special set of linguistic signs with a characteristic meaning for them, together and in mutual action forming the dialect sphere of Khujand which in itself represents a unique linguistic organization. There are grounds for such a broad understanding of the dialect, since dialect vocabulary includes both the entire area of laws for a plentiful production of new words, and the area of the structure and changes of words that already exist is formed according to the laws of the dialectosphere that were in effect previously.

As it is known, the content of the national linguistic culture is determined by the socio-political, legal, philosophical, moral norms of society, and these norms are the same for a particular community. The form of dialect linguistic culture is determined by the living conditions of the people, their way of life (*modus vivendi*), traditions, language, so that it has a national character. Such a national form makes the content of social culture more accessible to the broad masses of a particular nation facilitating the solution of many issues in the economic, social and cultural life of the people.

The formation of a general and dialectal lexical fund of a language is a single process that occurs in all languages, although the methods of assimilation and development of the literary and dialectal wealth of words that form this fund are different in different languages. It is important to emphasize that dialects, adverbs of various territorial-regional spaces activate their word-formation and structural-grammatical capabilities in national languages, promoting their development and improvement which ultimately determines the evolution of the general spiritual and cultural level of language speakers.

In the wedding ceremony in Khujand concepts are used that define and characterize the various stages of events devoted to the wedding ritual; they are widely used among the population of Khujand.

On the issue of determining the stages of a marriage ceremony scientists adhere to different views. Thus, ethnographer N.A. Kislyakov identifies five stages of this ritual:

1. Matchmaking (**xostgori**). This ritual covers the processes of starting matchmaking until the phase of obtaining the consent of the bride's relatives; their implementation is accompanied by a kind of external and internal (spiritual and religious) differentiation of a wide range of essentially diverse activities.

2. The second stage of the marriage ceremony is the process of blessing (**tʻyi fotiha**) which is carried out after the completion of the matchmaking ceremony and is a betrothal ritual in order to receive parting words and blessings from the bride's parents.

3. The third stage of the ritual is the ceremony performed between the blessing ceremony and the big wedding (marriage).

4. The fourth stage of the marriage ceremony is a wedding celebration, a ceremony on the occasion of the reception of the bride in the house of the groom (husband). This stage of the ritual

covers a number of other unique ceremonies among which the most significant are (**tuybaron**) (offering gifts to the bride's house), (**hammombaron**) (accompanying the bride to the bathhouse), (**khinobandon**) (dying the bride's hands with henna), (**takhtzanon**) (hanging clothes displaying the property of the bride and groom in each parental home), (**jurai domod**) (the first official arrival of the groom and his friends to the bride's house with the aim of inviting her and relatives to their home for their wedding ceremony), (**arousbaron**) (the ceremony of seeing off the bride to the groom's house), (**rubinon**) (the post-wedding ritual of visiting the newlywed by her and her husband's closest relatives), (**jogaghundoron**) (a ritual connected with placing the newlyweds' bed (bed) in a certain place intended for keeping the bedding of the newlyweds).

5. The fifth stage of the marriage ceremony is the post-wedding wedding ceremony "**bozgasht ba khona**" (returning the newlywed to the parental home, accompanied by the groom, his relatives, friends and relatives) [3, p.123-135].

We adhere to the idea that the most relevant moments in the wedding ritual of Khujand region are three groups of events - the process of choosing a bride before the big wedding; big wedding; post-wedding rituals [6, p.10].

In this article we consider the vocabulary of the initial stage of the marriage ceremony.

In the ethnographic works of various scientists the wedding ritual is a branch of comparative - in the broad sense of this concept - meaningful ceremonies involving many differently organized rituals, determined by their specific regional characteristics [1; 2; 5]. Their development was accompanied by a study of a kind of external and internal differentiation of a wide complex of essentially diverse small and large event from characterological (regional) to formal - and content-typological ones. An important step forward was an inclusion of more and more new lexical concepts and units into the orbit of marriage rituals, as well as their dynamics and evolution, i.e. the focus of the typological disclosure and classification of ritual ceremonies were the concepts of their linguistic reflection - vocabulary used in organizing each stage and type of rituals (as a complex of multi-level structural coordinates), typological vocabulary constants, as well as the problem of the relationship between different types and classes vocabulary in uniform rituals. At the same time, especially great attention was paid to determining the historical source of the rituals themselves; the correspondence of these ceremonies to the canons of their expression by linguistics, i.e., became increasingly clear. One needs lexical support for their description. The two central units of language - words and the ways of their applicability to the realities of the wedding ceremony - served as the focus of questions of their correlation with the zone of ritual concepts and the zone of their logically correct ideas. The unambiguity of these relationships and their specificity revealed in linguistics, gave rise to a complex of studies on the theory of ritual vocabulary, both in lexicology and related disciplines, in grammar, in particular.

The theory of ritual vocabulary has been enriched by expanding research on functional grammar. A wide area of work in Tajik linguistics consists of applied linguistic research devoted to ceremonial ritual. Over the past decades, their content has changed significantly, including, along with their traditional problems, a large set of vocabulary from new spheres, organically related to ritual ceremonies and current problems of describing their lexicography and computer science. In terms of studying the nature of content-based ritual vocabulary, in our opinion, the concepts of oriented vocabulary (term concepts), as well as the ethnographic and actual ritual vocabulary that nominate them, should be revealed and reasonably comprehended. In this direction, the most fruitful will be specific linguistic works in which the problem of expressing ritual vocabulary in the language will be posed, as well as studying the specifics of its quality, quantity, space and time of functioning, since these categories constitute a universal conceptual

apparatus for reflecting the diversity of properties, qualities, features of this category of vocabulary.

At the same time, domestic linguistic geography itself, as it accumulates experience and expands the scope of its applicability to new language areas, qualitatively changes its character, more and more transforming from a recording-descriptive language picture into an effective research tool for acquiring new knowledge about rites, rituals, ceremonies and traditions. Ritual vocabulary, clearly indicating the tendency to isolate the foundations of these rituals as some specific rituals, involves mapping the material and the vocabulary that serves them (dialectosphere). Revealing the specific mechanisms of the functioning of ritual vocabulary in the range of each stage of the wedding ritual, the specified class of vocabulary represents the generalized characteristics of this ritual, its categorical essence, conditionality, which reflect the diversity of this layer of vocabulary, its properties, qualities, characteristics and relationships. The vocabulary of the initial period of the marriage ceremony is also connected with the ceremony of choosing a bride and has a number of its own characteristics. The initial stage, called **intikhobi arus** (choice of the bride), consists of two specific features: **gavorabakhsh** and searching for the bride [2, p.26].

The ritual entitled as **gahvorabakhsh** is considered to be the process of engagement, betrothal and matchmaking of a bride at the early age. The relevant ritual is called differently in various regions of our country. At the same time, particular attention is paid to the groom's relatives in both cases of choosing brides, in refers to the following notions *hoka giri az hoktudai baland gir, modar chi guna, dukhtar namuna, dukhtar te moldorba, zotdoru avloddorba* and so on.

### Conclusion

Adducing the results of the conducted analysis beset with the theme explored one can come to the conclusion that the reasons for the ritual vocabulary emergence are sociolinguistico-extralinguistic in nature, since such kind of new lexical formations reflects changes in inventory, composition and properties of rituals and marriage rites in particular. In reference to it, the ritual word-stock necessary for dialect speakers does not linger on its periphery entirely, but goes into wide circulation, because its appearance in most cases is dictated by the urgent needs of speakers preferring regional dialects. The data concerned with the dialect spheres are especially indicative of the pace of replenishment and development of the Tajik language word-stock at the present stage.

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