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### Kazakh traditions and rituals in English translations (based on story 'Ardak' by O. Bokey)

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*"I talk about what people feel, what they cry over and what illuminates them with joy ... Each of them deserves a lot of attention, the deepest insight into the inner world, into their lives. With my books, I want to make my contemporaries ponder over their destinies and conscious everyday life, remember and be able to respect them truly, with all my heart."*  
**Oralkhan Bokey**

**Abstract.** This article considers Kazakh national traditions, customs, and rituals reflected in the stories of the famous Kazakh writer Oralkhan Bokey, translated into English in 2017. O. Bokey depicted the cultural events of 1945-1970, typical of the Kazakh society of the socialist era, which had a strong influence on the writer's worldview. Kazakh culture has a rich treasure trove of national traditions dating back to the cultural heritage of the Turkic nomadic civilisation. Due to the change of generations, globalisation processes, and the ideology of society, many Kazakh traditions have diminished in cultural value. Nevertheless, the significance of these traditions is invaluable and is maintained to this day, as this phenomenon is proven by the survey conducted by the authors among people of different ages and professions. Oralkhan Bokey, as a patriot of the country, representative of nomadic culture, vividly described these changes in his literary works. This article outlines methods of translating into English the customs, traditions, and rituals that are expressed in the national code found in the story of the writer Oralkhan Bokey "Ardak" translated into English through the mediator language - Russian.

**Keywords:** Kazakh culture, traditions, transformations, cultural translation, national code, Oralkhan Bokey, vocabulary acquisition.

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## Introduction

The works of O. Bokey mainly represent the rich Kazakh national culture, traditions, customs, and rituals that differ from Western culture. In the translation into English, many of them were not translated, and many points that are important for the Kazakh culture were missed. Our task is to explain to English-speaking readers the origin of these important elements of the Kazakh national culture from ethnocultural aspects. Some of these traditions are losing their relevance in modern Kazakh culture, and about half a century ago, the writer O. Bokey was very worried about this. A detailed linguo-ethnological analysis of these cultural elements allows us to overcome cultural difficulties during translation and will contribute to the convergence of different cultures.

The main goals of our research are the following:

1. To describe in detail all the Kazakh national customs, traditions, and rituals mentioned by the well-known classic writer Oralkhan Bokey in his short story “Ardak” in detail so that English-speaking readers can find more information about them. In the translation into English, many of them were dropped or the values of these traditions were distorted; According to G. Toury, “translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions” [1, 200]. In our case, the translation of the work was carried out between Kazakh, Russian and English languages, and due to the above-mentioned statement, translators always face the problems of cultural aspects embedded in the original texts and how to convey them successfully in the translating language.

2. To define the writer’s worldview and how the work echoes not only with all Kazakh people, but also with the universal heritage of values. By the way, the meaning of life, the purpose and essence of existence, is described in the spectrum of Kazakh being. It can be stated that the literary works narrating national traditions and living style in Kazakh literature are an integral part of world literature, and the Kazakh culture and language are also a part of the universal human values of world civilization. As the outstanding scholar Peter Newmark defines: “... culture as the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression. More specifically, I distinguish ‘cultural’ from ‘universal’ and ‘personal’ language [2, 111].

3. The short story “Ardak” was published in 1969. As of 2024, nearly 55 years have passed after the publication of this short story. What has happened nowadays with the traditions, customs, and rituals mentioned in this work in modern Kazakh society? We conducted a questionnaire on the traditions from this short story among Kazakh-speaking people aged 14 to 75 and analyzed their replies, and the results will be given below. We used questionnaires because they can be classified as both a quantitative and qualitative method. John Dudovskiy emphasizes that, specifically, answers obtained through closed-ended questions with multiple choice answer options are analyzed using quantitative methods and they may involve pie-charts, bar-charts and percentages. Answers obtained to open-ended questionnaire questions are analyzed using qualitative methods and they involve discussions and critical analyses without the use of numbers and calculations [3].

## Literature review

Literary translation is the most complex and multifaceted discipline that ensures the transmission of cultural elements characteristic of each nation. At the same time, it becomes

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urgent for researchers to consider the issue of preserving in literary translation the national traditions, customs, and habits that have accumulated such cultural features. It is well known that literary translation has often been discussed in the context of translation, cultural studies, and comparative literary criticism. Venuti (1995) views the translator as a carrier of cultural information and suggests that cultural features should be adapted to the target audience in translation [4]. Newmark (1988) recommends that translators use cultural equivalence, functional equivalence or descriptive translation to bridge the gap between source and target languages [2]. Nida (1964) suggests that dynamic equivalence can facilitate the transmission of national habits [5], while Baker (1992) says that translators should be constantly guided by glossing, annotation and expository work to ensure understanding without compromising cultural integrity [6]. Empirical studies on artistic translation show different strategies used in different linguistic and cultural contexts. Here, the translation of traditional Russian holidays such as 'Maslenitsa' is often adapted through descriptive translation to ensure contextual clarity [7]. Similarly, studies on translating Arabic literature into Western languages (Almanna, 2016) show that there are difficulties in transferring Islamic traditions without changing their intrinsic meaning [8]. A study by Plyth and Crahan (2020) explores how translation affects literary and cultural systems [9], The problems of translating literary prose offer ways of dealing with the difficulties encountered [10]. Akanova (Akanova, 2024) also notes that such cultural features are little studied [11], and the main problems of artistic translation are the problem of conveying the style and atmosphere of the original, preserving the pragmatic potential of the work in the original [12].

### **Materials and methods**

We consider one of his best short stories, «Ardak», which was published for the first time in a daily newspaper, «Leninshyl zhas», on 4-7 June 1969 [13].

The story «Ardak» was translated into English by the experienced British translator Simon Hollingsworth and edited by Simon Geoghegan in 2017 within the project initiated by the Kazakh Pen-club, designed to expose the best works of classic Kazakh writers to the global literary stage through their translation into English [14]. To solve the tasks set in the work, a set of methods was used, including such general theoretical approaches as the study and analysis of existing literature on the research problem, generalization and systematization of methodological approaches. While writing this paper, the main methods of analysis of the linguistic materials were used widely.

Also, to study a good range of problems related to the relationship and connection between a language and ethnos to identify obsolescent customs, traditions, and rituals in modern Kazakh society, we used ethnolinguistic methods of research. Therefore, comparative, historical, etymological, and sociolinguistic methods are also considered in order to define the important peculiarities of the work.

### **Results and Discussion**

Oralkhan Bokey (1943 - 1993) was born on September 28, 1943, in the village of Chingistay, Katon-Karagay district of Eastern Kazakhstan. He was the only son of his parents, Bokey and Kuliya, who also had five daughters as Sholpan, Aimen, Lazzat, Manshuk, and Galiya. When

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their son Oralkhan was born, his father went to work at one of the Ural military factories supporting the Great Patriotic War. Hoping for the safe return of their father Bokey, his wife Kuliya named her newborn son Oralkhan («oral» in Kazakh means «come back or return») [15].

#### *Literary career*

Oralkhan Bokey entered the literature as a writer swiftly, immediately surprising with his dissimilarity to others. His first collection of short stories and novels, «Kamchiger», published in Alma-Ata in 1970, brought him great recognition as a beginning writer.

Following the first collection, others appeared: «Pleiades» (1971), «Kaidasyn, kaska kulynym?» (Where are you, my white-fled foal? 1973), «Muзtau» (Glacial Mountains, 1975).

#### *Translated collections*

Oralkhan Bokey's collections of narratives and short stories «An salady shagalalar» (The dunes are singing, 1978), «Urker auyp baradi» (The Pleiades are overturning, 1981), «Bizdin zhakta kys uzak» (Our winter is long, 1984) were published and translated into Russian by well-known translators as B. Momishuly, A. Kim, A. Konchits, R. Seisenbaev, Y. Dombrovsky, A. Orlov, V. Miroglov, Ar. Kim.

Oralkhan Bokey's books were published in German, Slovak, Bulgarian, English, Hungarian, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and in the languages of the CIS countries.

In this short story, "Ardak," the writer Oralkhan Bokey described 18 different Kazakh national customs, traditions, and rituals used between 1945-1970 in Kazakh society and we tried to compare them with modern Kazakh national customs, traditions, and rituals used between 2010-2019. Besides that, we used the methods of experimental research, i.e., group and individual questionnaires were organized among various ages, specialities and genders. People aged between 14 – 75 actively participated in this questionnaire, and we received quite a variety of replies from them. Comparing the answers, we gained a lot of points of view and more information about Kazakh national traditions, customs and rituals among modern Kazakh people of the 21st century.

The "Khrushchev thaw" period coincides with total cultural and economic changes in the country in 1960-1970, when the process of partial liberalization of domestic life began, the participants of the intelligentsia layer and student youth revived in the USSR, the activity of which was aimed, among other things, at reviving the national and spiritual heritage. The disappointment in Soviet national politics prompted young people with high intelligence and independent thinking ability to critically reassess the official ideology and express their own positions. In the 60s of the XX century, about 1,400 Kazakh students studied in Moscow universities. Young people enrolled in educational institutions arrived in the capital of the Soviet state from different parts of Kazakhstan. They saw for the first time their possible future in the mirror of Soviet reality, and this caused them unanimous protest, which then grew into a mass movement called «Zhas Tulpar». November 1963 is considered the official date of birth of the Zhas Tulpar youth movement [16].

Love for their people and their cultural heritage pushed the Kazakh youth to the execution of many cases that could leave a mark in the new history. The members of Zhas tulpar understood that the so-called international ideology of the Soviet government was, in fact, an ax, undercut the roots of national identity, and sought to oppose this destructive process by appealing to national cultural values and the revival of Kazakh art. And in this, you can see the origins of the age-old tradition of the Kazakh people, who have been striving for all ages to transfer their life experience to the next generation through the artistic perception of the world, embodied in oral

folk art. The same ideology was described in the short stories and novels written by the famous Kazakh writer Oralkan Bokey.

In the short-story “Ardak” by Oralkan Bokey we identified 18 Kazak national traditions, customs and rituals: 3 of them are about traditions and customs associated with the guest reception; 4 of them are related to marriage; 2 of them are about respect for the elderly, it is another positive feature of Kazakhs; 5 of them are about burial of the dead person; 2 of them about inheritance and patrimony; 1 tradition associated with upbringing of the child; 1 ritual is about dueling (see Table 1).

Table 1. Kazak national traditions, customs and rituals described in “Ardak” by Oralkan Bokey

№	Kazakh national traditions, customs and rituals	What does tradition mean?
Traditions and customs about inheritance and patrimony		
1	Enshi bólisy	To split the properties of the father between his sons, except for the youngest one.
2	Muragerlik, ul balanyń dúniege kelýin qalaý	Inheritance, each Kazakh man wishes to have a son as a descendant or heir to continue his lineage
Traditions and customs associated with the guest reception		
3	Toıǵa arnap mal soıý	Slaughter a sheep or cattle for the wedding
4	Qonaqty tórge shyǵarý	To seat the guest at the place of honor
5	Qonaqqa qonaqasyna qoi soıý	A custom associated with treating a guest, to slaughtering a sheep for a guest.
Traditions and customs related to marriage		
6	Qyzdy attıyrý	To arrange a marriage proposal.
7	Boıjetken qyzǵa jasaý dayndaý	To prepare a dowry for a maiden.
8	On jaqta uatty bolǵan qyzdyń súekke tańba salýy	Shame for an unmarried pregnant girl, reflecting on her family
9	Qalyń mal	Redemption in the form of cattle for the bride girl
Traditions and customs about the burial of the dead person		
10	Máıitti arýlap attandyry	Wrap the departed in a shroud
11	Ólim aldynda ósiet aıtý	To convey an exhortation, last words to his/her children before dying
12	Janazaǵa qatysyp, topyraq salysý	Participate in the funeral and janaza prayer.
13	Máıitti jerley	Funeral, to bury a dead person
14	Qaitys bolǵan adamnyń artynan Quran oqyp, duǵa baǵyshtay	Reading the Quran for the departed and to pray for the soul of the departed
The ritual of dueling		

15	Urandaý	To summon an ancestral spirit
Traditions and customs about respect for the elderly		
16	Jón surasý, rýyn surasý	Dating, ask about the lineage.
17	Úlkenderdiń hálín bilý maqsatymen sálem berip tury	Showing respect to elders by greeting them.
A tradition associated with the upbringing of the child		
18	Tel emý	Raising children of different mothers together, breastfeeding by one woman.

**Traditions and customs about inheritance and patrimony:** enshi bólisý and muragerlik, ul balanyń dúniege kelýin qalaý. In the original text we mention the tradition *enshi bólisý* in the short story “Ardak” by Oralkhan Bokey, when Kozha’s father Esirkegen died Esirkegen’s little brothers Shalabai and Dalabai wanted to allocate a share of the property, arguing that Kozha is the only son and that why as Esirkegen’s blood brothers Shalabai and Dalabai had also rights to share their elder brother’s property: (Qoja) jyrma beske tolǵanda Esirkegen qatys boldy da, jamaǵaıyndary: Shalabai men Dalabai «Esirkegen saǵan áke bolsa, bizge aǵa» dep, *enshini* qyldai ǵyp *bólisip* alǵan da syrǵaqsyp ketken edi [17, 19] - When Kozha was just twenty-five and his father, the youngest son of Kozha’s grandfather Yesirkegen, passed away, his uncles labiabai and Dalabai descended down on him, *split the property* of the deceased into three parts each one with their own considerable share, hurriedly made their departure [18, 338].

In her research, G.A. Satylganova correctly emphasizes O. Bokey’s ideology in writing national traditions and customs: “Author (Oralkhan Bokey) describing related relationship and longing for apa (“apa” means grandmother in Kazakh), transmits the inner regret of the modern citizen, almost for the former past and life, who could not preserve everything valuable. The author (Oralkhan Bokey) is talking about the crack of Apa’s astau (“astau” means tableware in Kazakh, the grandmother’s tableware), symbolizes it as a split between today’s and yesterday, the loss connections, maybe even roots, thereby make nostalgic about all the good things of yesterday’s life and tradition [19, 102].

To convert the original text in Kazakh, we used the online tool sozdik.kz. [20].

Enshi bólisý is one of the most ancient traditions of the Kazakhs. The division of the share of all the cattle remaining after the death of Esirkegen Aksakal between the two brothers of the deceased and his only son, this tradition is called the division of the share (Enshi bólisý).

In the Explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language, Enshi bólisý (to allocate a share of the property) means 1. To allocate sons in a separate family is done by parents; 2. Ownership is in ownership. 3. Figurative meaning. Task, debt [21, 229].

Today, when Kazakhs speak to relatives or friends who have grown children, they often ask, especially adult boys, the Kazakhs ask: “Ulyńnyń enshisin berdiń be?” (Did you allocate to your son a part of the inheritance due to him?). The word “enshi” comes from the word “en” - a label that means to separate from the parental home, to have your own label, that is, your home, living creatures, utensils, and so on.

Enshi is part of the inheritance, which relies on each of the children. This word has another meaning - share. Parents conduct this tradition when they are sure that their sons can already live independently. The head of the family announces his decision at a dastarkhan, a table laden

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with food for guests and publicly designates the inheritance for one or more sons, determining the share they will receive. This practice is seen as a sign of the father's wealth and the son's maturity and responsibility.

*Enshi беру* (to allocate a share of the property)? Why in the present life this national Kazakh tradition is tiring of modern Kazakh people? The root of the word *enshi* is *en*, which is a special label. According to the traditions, the minimum size of the *Enshi* was established in accordance with the customary law of the Kazakhs and taking into account the interest of other sons, who in due time will also need to be given *Enshi*. From now on, all livestock allocated for a separate house received a new label - *en*. Not only cattle but also works of art of the family, clan and tribe marked this label. And only the youngest son lives without *enshi* because he inherits all his father's other properties. The youngest in the family always inherited the house and all that remained after the father. Relatives provided feasible help with animals, things, objects of the yurt, and dishes. To prove his independence to people, the separated son tried to receive guests with a worthy treat. In the absence of proper material wealth, if the father could not allocate *enshi*, he had to pay a fee for his son's bride. There were cases in early times when the adoptive son was given *enshi*. To get ahead in the future with all sorts of complications in the matter of inheritance, the adoptive father promptly invited guests to a festive treat. After the announcement of his adopted son as heir, he gave presents to all those present in that event. If the parents, for some reason, were in no hurry to give to the children, the children themselves demanded for. Then the father was forced to give them the relying their of the inheritance. There are a lot of examples about *enshi* in the traditional Kazakh epics as "Koblandy Batyr" ("Valiant Koblandy") we see such lines:

Arystan týǵan Qobylandy –  
Qaznadan qamqa kiedi.  
Ózimniń enshim bolsyn dep,  
Tobylǵy meńdi tory atty  
Enshi qylyp minedi [22, 2].

The tradition of «*enshi беру*» has passed a peculiar way of becoming an evolution. "*Enshi беру*" among folk traditions occupies an unshakable place. It is often possible to be witnesses of this rite today. Sometimes this happens without an announcement about "*enshi беру*", during the time when the son marries.

The second tradition is *muragerlik, ul balanyń dúniege kelýin qalaý* - inheritance, each Kazakh man wishes to have a son as a descendant or heir to continue his progeny. In the short story, we can read about inheritance when Kozha's daughter Ardak was to give birth to a boy, Kozha was very happy with having his heir after his death: Qoja tyrbańdaǵan qyzylshaqa náresteni joǵary kóterip turyp: - Ákesiniń aýzyn uraıyn! Baıǵa tımese - tımeı-aq qoısyn. Artymda at ustaityn tuıaq qaldy...Kempir, aı qatyn, myna jylbysqa *erkek bala* ǵoi! dep Marqakólge bir malyp ap, qomyna tyǵa saldy [17, 41]. - Raising the *infant's crimson body* high, the old man burst out laughing and roared for all the world to hear: "...Here, take a look at this! Ha! You say that no one will take her in marriage? Well, what of it? I already *have a boy*! Hey, you, you foolish old woman! Do you understand what I have here in my hands? *This is a boy, me heir*! The continuation of my line!" [18, 411].

Inheritance is an ancient tradition of Kazakh culture. In no case does a woman own property; it is the privilege of men. Therefore, the Kazakhs inherited only through the male line. According to the ancient Kazakh traditions, the younger son couldn't hold an independent farm

and remained as an heir of the father's home (Kara Shanrak). In the Kazakh family relations, the most important is the right of inheritance of the father. Usually, he bequeathed it orally, with witnesses, and the execution was strictly adhered to. This is eloquently stated in both literary and archival documents. "Heirs could be sons, wives, brothers and relatives of the deceased. Property of parents who did not have sons after their death by inheritance law passed to the disposal of their relatives on the paternal side, even their daughters could not claim material values" [23, 227].

**Traditions and customs associated with the guest reception:** Тоғға арнап мал сойы - slaughter for the wedding, a sheep or cattle. In "Ardak" we met this tradition when Kozha got married and for the wedding party, he cut a sheep: Жаумен жатса тағы бір сәрі; Қожа тоқты сойып Есіркегеннің сүегіне таңба етті, – десіп ғабаттасыпты [17, 19]. In English, this sentence was dropped.

Қонақты тóрге шығары - to hold the guest to the place of honor: « - Ұйбай-аы, ұлкен қанағам келіп қалыпты ғой, тóрге шығыңыз, - деп жýпп-шайып, Ардақпен даңғурдас ұлының бетінен сүген [17, 24]. - "Oh, look! My brother-in-law has come to see us! *Come in, come in!*" and she set about kissing the boy, who was the same age as Ardak [18, 393].

Қонаққа қонақасына қой сойы - A custom associated with the treatment of a guest, to stab a sheep for a guest. In "Ardak": «Оресте жүрген малды қайрып кеп, тоқтылардың бірін ұстап: - Ал, аға, *ықылас bildirіңіз*, - деп Шалабайды қатты уалтып еді [17, 24]. - He brought in the flock, *selected a sheep* and, leading it to Shalabai, who had wandered outside, said to him, "Well, uncle, give it your *blessing* if it is to your liking!" [18, 393].

Before the stabbing, the sheep the master of the house should ask the guest's blessing to his family. This is considered great respect for the guest. Kazakh people, since ancient times, have been famous for their hospitality. When a guest comes, Kazakhs hold him to an honorable place in the house and show them a gentle and polite attitude toward their guests. Kazakhs always reserve the tastiest food for guests. All these mentioned customs are associated with the treatment of the guests. The Kazakh people, since ancient times, have been famous for their hospitality. All the most delicious food Kazakhs have always reserved for guests.

**Traditions and customs related to marriage:** *Қызды айттыры* - To woo a bride. In the short story: *...қызын сақай деп бетке басып айттырмай* қойа ма демін [17, 22] - ...But who on earth would ever *court* a tongue-tied lass? [18, 391].

Any wedding ceremony in Kazakh society is anticipated by matchmaking. Before the wedding, matchmakers come to the bride's house. Their task is to reach an agreement with the girl's closest relatives regarding her marriage. During courtship, the bride's father receives gifts from the guests as a token or guarantee.

The next marriage-related tradition is *bojetken qyzға жасау дайындау* — preparing a dowry for a young woman. In "Ardak," this tradition is described in the following sentences: Ардақтың *жасай-жабдығын ыңғайлап жүр*, - дейтін Қожа [17, 22]. - We need to start putting something away for a *dowry* [18, 392].

Kazakhs have long prepared a dowry (zhasau) in advance. Part of zhasau included movable and immovable properties. The size and components of the dowry were usually not pre-agreed upon, except during matchmaking, when it was sometimes discussed whether a wedding yurt (otau) and a national headdress (saukele) would be included. Each family, based on their capabilities, prepared a dowry in advance and usually spared nothing for their daughter at her wedding. This often led families of average means to financial ruin. The dowry was always



considered the property of the woman. In case of her premature death, especially if she died childlessly, the dowry was fully or partially returned to her parents [23, 232]. In the book, Kozha wanted to show a sudden guest that his daughter's dowry was ready, so he used various household items to make Ardak's dowry appear bigger and more impressive. So the writer depicted the main importance of the dowry in the Kazakhs' life and mind.

*Oñ jaqta uatty bolğan qyzdyń súekke tańba salýy* – Public shame for an unmarried pregnant girl in front of her parents and relatives.

Tor sholağyn minip taý asyp *qańğyryp* ketkisi kelgen, mynaý *tiri qorlyqty* kórmei *mert bolğysy kelgen*; qyryq jyl qyrgyn bolsa da ajaldy óledi degen osy-aý, on jeti jyl boiy erkek-urğashynyń kim ekenin bilmei taғы bop ósken qyzyn óz qotanyнан uzatpasa da ýyz tazalyğyn ýysynan shyğaryp alypty [17, 37]. - Kozha felt like dropping dead on the spot or jumping on the horse and riding off to wherever his good steed's legs would carry him [18, 407].

The national Kazakh tradition *qalyń mal* (*kalym*) means redemption in the form of cattle for the bride. In the work: “Qoja saqaý qyzyn uzatyp, *qalyń mal* almaq qoi. Kei aqymaqtar tiline emes, túrine qarap attyryp qoiar” [17, 38]. The English version of the sentence was dropped.

In the second half of the XIX-early XX century, *kalym* was mainly paid for cattle. There were also the payments of *kalym* in whole or in part in money. And as the writer, Orkhan Bokey, describes, Kozha also wanted to marry off his daughter Ardak to someone of her age mate and get *kalym* for her. But Kozha's cruel uncle Shalabai didn't let him get *kalym* for his daughter and sent an ill-treated young fellow called Salyk to corrupt his perverse desires to spoil Kozha's only daughter Ardak's life. When Kozha and his wife found out that their daughter Ardak, who was still unmarried, was pregnant with Salyk, their whole world changed entirely. They both had deep grief, biting remorse, and deplored this event; Kozha even decided to die because of the shame.

It is known that the chastity of the bride in a traditional society was attached great importance. The most terrible shame was considered pregnancy and the birth of a child a girl in the house of her parents before the wedding. This was tried to avoid all possible ways. The norms of customary law did not defend the honor of the girl herself but were aimed at protecting the interests of all members of the familial-related groups. A number of sources provide information about the great value attached to the chastity of the bride [24, 53].

According to the Kazakh tradition for marriage, it was necessary to observe certain restrictions established by customary law and related to exogamous norms, social, class, ethnic, and tribal affiliation of the bride and groom, and their religion. Kazakh exogamy rules generally restricted marriage within the same family up to the seventh generation. Since the bride's parents and relatives chose the bride, they aimed to arrange a marriage with families of similar social standing. The most common form of marriage involved matchmaking and paying a bride price to cover the costs of the feast. A mutual agreement was fixed by reading the prayer (in Kazakh it is called “*bata*”), the main matchmaker from the groom presented gifts “*ukitu tagar*” (tagging), meaning that the girl was captured. In the modern Kazakh world, this tradition changed its name; now it is called “*syrga salu*” (to present earrings). After that, they were considered official matchmakers and were presented with a special dish (*kuiryk-bauyr*) made of freshly cooked sheep-fat and liver. These mutual treats symbolized the establishment of long-term family relations, and gifts (*kiyt*) were given to all matchmakers from the groom's side. Then the groom's father presented the agreed-upon *kalym* (bride price), while the bride's father prepared a dowry, visiting the future son-in-law's home in return before the wedding arrangements were

finalized. This was the end of a long process of matchmaking and the wedding [23, 230]. Rites and customs related to the burial of a dead person described in the story ‘Ardak’ by Oralkhan Bokey are presented below (see Table 2).

Table 2. Traditions and customs associated with the burial of a deceased person

Traditions and customs	Original text. In the short story “Ardak”:	Translation into English:
Máiiitti arýlap attandyry; - to wrap the departed in a shroud	Qadıshany bul dúnieden ózi kóksegen tynyshty mırdesine arýlap attandyrgan [17, 20]	The old woman Kadisha had long since <i>departed this world</i> , but into it came the comely, strong Ardak. [18, 389]
Ólim aldynda ósiet aıtý – to convey last words and exhortation to their children before dying	Esiń barda elin tap, - degen aryzdasyp jatqan kempir [17, 21]  Munyn jáne bir qimaıtyny – sheshesinin elge kóship bar degen ósieti-tuǵyn [17, 26]	Before she died, the old woman <i>made her final wishes</i> known to her son: “While it is still not too late, be sure to return back to our people in the village”. [18, 389]  In English, the sentence was dropped
Janazaǵa qatysyp, topyraq salysý - participate in the funeral and zhanaza prayer	Qalyn jamıǵattan bir ýys topyraq buyrmaǵan soń – basqa bitken yrzyqtyn moldyǵynan ne paida? [17, 21]	The sentence was omitted in the English translation.
Máiiitti jerleý - To bury a dead person	Qoja sheshesinin qabirin jalǵyz qazdy [17, 21]	The sentence was omitted in the English translation.
Qaitys bolǵan adamnyn artynan Quran oqyp, duǵa baǵyshtay - reading the Quran for the departed person and to pray for the soul of the departed	Qulqy Allany úsh qairyp – aqyretsiz attanǵan anany jarylqan [17, 22]	Kozha <i>moved his lips in prayer</i> , masking his brow and face with his hands [18, 390]

All these given traditions and customs, according to the burial of the departed, are also ancient rituals. All of them are widely used in modern Kazakh society nowadays and haven’t changed at all. The Kazakhs are Muslims of the Islamic faith. All memorial rites were carried out according to Islam. Kazakhs, like other peoples of Central Asia, sought to bury a man in his native cemetery near the place where he lived. In the short story “Ardak,” the writer cites like Qulqy Allany úsh qairyp – aqyretsiz attanǵan anany jarylqan [17, 22]. Here, *Qulqy Allany* – is the first verse of the 111<sup>th</sup> surah Al-Ykylas. In English: Kozha *moved his lips in prayer*, masking his brow and face with his hands [18, 390]. Representations of the dead as a guest and

hostage (amanat) as a guest and living hostage persist until today in modern Kazakh society. He remained in the status of “guest”, “alien” during the whole time of his soul’s conduct to another world, until after the final annual commemoration acquired the status of an ancestor, who embodies, above all, in this spirit [25, 63].

Next Kazakh national ritual referring to dueling is also connected with the soul of a departed, respectful ancestor. It is called *urandai* - to summon an ancestral spirit. We encountered this ritual when Kozha met his uncle Shalabai on the way to his village. They both lived in anger towards each other and were blind with fury; they couldn’t bottle up their wrath and, calling their grandfather’s spirit “Yesirkegen, Yesirkegen!”, rode fighting with whips. At this moment, they both were thinking how to get revenge: Tory sholaqqa qaita sekirip minip, qamshysyn oqtap ustağan: túsi buzylyp, tisin shaqyr-shuqyr qairady da, «*Esirkegen, Esirkegen!*» dep, *urandai umtyldy* aғasyna». «Shalabai da saspatyn marqasqa eken, bul da atynyń aıylyn myqtap tartyp, tymaǵynyń baıyn bailağan da «*Esirkegen, Esirkegen!*» dep aqyryp jiberip qarsy tebindi [17, 27]. - Then he launched into the charge against his uncle, *calling loudly on the spirit of his ancestor to help him: “Yesirkegen! Yesirkegen!”*. As Shalabai, who had never in his life wavered when faced with his opponent, *also called upon the spirit of his ancestor for help*, they both ended up uttering one and the same *battle cry: “Yesirkegen!”* [18, 396].

According to the Kazakh perception or cognition of the worldview, if a person summons his ancestor’s spirit during a battle, fight, or duel, etc., then the soul of the ancestor will help or support him.

The cult of ancestors occupied a prominent place in the beliefs of the Kazakhs. Sh.Sh. Valikhanov noted that the Kazakhs «in difficult moments of life call the name of their ancestors ... In honor of the aruaks (souls), they sacrifice various animals, and sometimes they purposely go to worship at their graves and, sacrificing, ask them for something [26, 226].

**Traditions and customs associated with the respect for the elderly:** *Jón surasý, rýyn surasý* - dating, ask about the pedigree and *Úlkenderdiń hálín bilý* maqsatymen sálem berip turý - greetings to show respect for old people.

*Respect for the elderly* is another positive feature of Kazakhs. Traditionally, a child from early childhood is taught to be moderate and honest when dealing with older, wiser, and experienced people in life. These traditions were described by the writer Oralkhan Bokey when Kozha’s mother Khadisha offended his husband’s brothers for their not visiting her to know how she was getting on Shalabai men Dalabaidyń jat baýyr, qayrymy joq qatygez bolyp ósýi Qojanyń sheshesi Qadishanyń kóńiline synyq túsirip, aq sútin tel emip óspese de, qanyларынын айна-жылында «jeñeshe, aman otyrmysyń?» dep *sálem bermeyi* arqasyn aıazdaı qarıtyn [8, 20]. This sentence wasn’t translated into English.

The same national ritual was depicted in the short story when a cunning as a fox fellow Salyk came to Kozha’s house, hoping for something good. Kozha asked him a lot of questions in order to know him better: - Iá, balam, jón-josyǵyńdy aıta otyr, - dedi Qoja jigit didarynan áldenedei jaqsylыqtyń nyshanyn tinte. – Qai aýyldan shyqtyń? – Aqshoqynyń arǵy qaptalyndaǵy Mámetek aýylynanmyn, súegim – Qojambet [17, 32]. - Tell me, son, *who are you and from which village do you hail?* [18, 402].

Unfortunately, all the words referencing the young person’s family, ancestors, tribe and zhuz (khanate) like *jón-josyǵy, qai aýyldan, súegim* were removed in the English version.

**A tradition associated with the upbringing of the child:** *tel emý* - growing two children of different mothers together, breastfeeding by one woman. In the source text: Shalabai

men Dalabaidyń jat baýyr, qaiyrymy joq qatygez bolyp ósýi Qojanyń sheshesi Qadishanyń kóniline synyq túsirip, aq sútin *tel emip* óspese de, qainylarynyń aýyna-jylynda «jeńeshe, aman otyrmysyń?» dep sálem bermeýi arqasyn aiazdaı qarıtyn [17, 20]. This sentence wasn't translated into English.

*Tel emý* - one of the ancient traditions in Kazakh national culture.

Earlier in traditional Kazakh society, women often gave birth 12–15 times, and parents, realizing that they could not feed so many children, with gratitude, passed their children to families of childless relatives. Indeed, according to statistics, at the beginning - mid-XX century, the main reason for adoption was the difficult economic situation of the family giving up the child, it was the only way to save the life of a newborn [24, 131]. Sometimes, when a woman gave birth to her baby and because of the hard life she couldn't breastfeed or if she had no breast milk to save her newborn child, the woman gave her baby to her close relatives. This tradition is used between the wives of brothers in one family. Because if the women breast someone's child who is not of her or her husband's kin, when the children grow up they couldn't not get married they considered that they were breast by one woman in the childhood and they were close, blood relatives.

Therefore, we underlined 18 Kazakh national traditions, customs and rituals in the short story by Oralkhan Bokey (see Table 3).

Table 3. Names of traditions and rituals in translation

№	In the source text	In the translation into English
1	<i>enshini bólisiip</i>	<i>split the father's property</i>
2	<i>toqty soıyp</i>	-
3	<i>sálem bermeýi</i>	-
4	<i>tel emip</i>	-
5	<i>arýlap attandyrgan</i>	<i>Had departed this world</i>
6	<i>aryzdasyp, ósieti-tuǵyn</i>	<i>made her final wishes known</i> -
7	<i>bir ýys topyraq</i>	-
8	<i>qabirin qazdy</i>	-
9	<i>Qulqý Allany úsh qaiyryp</i>	<i>Silently moved his lips in prayer</i>
10	<i>aıtyrmai</i>	<i>Appeal</i>
11	<i>jasay-jabdyǵyn</i>	<i>dowry</i>
12	<i>tórge shyǵyńyz</i>	<i>Enter, please!</i>
13	<i>toqtıylardıń birin ustap:</i>	<i>selected a sheep</i>
14	<i>«Esirkegen, Esirkegen!» dep, urandai umtyldy</i>	<i>calling loudly on the spirit of his ancestor to help him: "Yesirkegen! Yesirkegen!"</i>
15	<i>jón-josyǵyńdy aita otyr</i>	<i>May I ask, who are you?</i>
16	<i>tiri qorlyq, ýyz tazalyǵyn ýysynan shyǵaryp alý</i>	<i>Felt utterly exhausted</i>
17	<i>qalyń mal</i>	-
18	<i>at ustaityn tuıaq qaldy... erkek bala</i>	<i>I already have a boy! This is a boy, my heir! The continuation of my line!"</i>
%	100%	61% of them were translated into English totally and in some cases partially (1, 5, 6, 9, 15, 16)

It should be noted that this translation into English was conducted through a mediator language, specifically Russian. This story was translated into Russian in 1978 by the well-known translator Anatoly Kim [27]. In 2017, experienced translator Simon Hollingsworth translated this short story, “Ardak” by Oralkhan Bokey, into English.

Simon Hollingsworth has been translating the books of Kazakhstani authors into English for several years. Thanks to him and his colleague Simon Geigan, the works of Oralkhan Bokey and Herold Belger were brought into English. Simon Hollingsworth, translator: - “The Art of Animal Style” is one of the aspects that resonates with me the most. I gained many valuable insights while translating books by Kazakhstani authors. I am amazed not only by the images of animals but also by the way people interact with them. Animals serve as reflections of human emotions and personal characteristics. For example, the wolf in Auezov’s «Kokserek» is portrayed as a wild, gray creature closely connected to nature. And the translation itself reflects its essence better than, for example, Jack London’s “White Fang”. Kazakh literature does not seek to please the reader; it is always realistic and accurately reflects the essence [28].

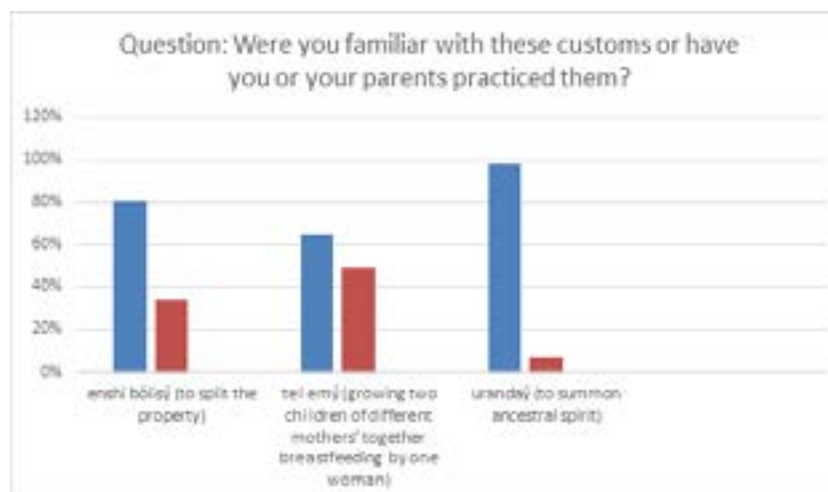
In the short story, “Ardak,” the writer Oralkhan Bokey described 18 different Kazakh national customs, traditions and rituals used between 1945 and 1970 in Kazakh society and we tried to compare them with modern Kazakh national customs, traditions and rituals used between 2010 and 2019. To identify and compare them, we used the methods of experimental research, i.e., group and individual questionnaires among various ages, specialties and genders. A diverse group of 73 Kazakh-speaking individuals aged 10 to 75 actively participated in this survey, and we received a wide range of responses. By comparing the answers, we obtained numerous perspectives and valuable insights into Kazakh national customs, traditions, and rituals among modern Kazakh people in the 21st century. We specifically inquired about three ancient traditions: *enshi bólisiý* (to split the property), *tel emý* (growing two children of different mothers’ together breastfeeding by one woman) and *urandaý* (to summon ancestral spirit), asking if they were familiar with these customs or if they or their parents had practiced them (see Picture 1).

Picture 1. Responses of voluntary participants

№	The participants	Age	Profession	<i>enshi bólisiý</i>		<i>tel emý</i>		<i>urandaý</i>	
				know	use	know	use	know	use
1	Askar	66	retiree	+	+	+	-	+	-
2	Maira	66	retiree	+	+	+	+	+	-
3	Anar	35	unemployed	+	+	+	+	+	-
4	Dana	29	programmer	+	-	-	-	+	-
5	Nurayla	30	economist	+	+	-	-	+	-
6	Erlan	35	mathematician	+	-	+	+	+	-
7	Alan	37	programmer	+	+	+	+	+	-
8	Amira	34	unemployed	+	-	+	+	+	-
9	Nurayev	21	student	+	-	-	-	+	-
10	Gylnar	40	state employee	+	+	-	-	+	-
11	Erlan	45	PhD student	+	-	+	-	+	-
12	Jeldir	75	retiree	+	+	+	+	+	-
13	Bakyt	37	cook	+	-	+	-	+	-
14	Alan	31	unemployed	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Gylnarym	29	unemployed	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	Gyldar	29	nurse	+	+	-	-	+	-
17	Tolayn	36	accountant	+	-	-	-	+	-
18	Zyln	33	doctor	+	+	-	-	+	-
19	Dana	38	teacher	+	-	-	-	-	-
20	Arylbek	45	reporter	+	-	+	+	+	-
21	Gylnabek	37	reporter	+	+	-	-	-	-
22	Arshyn	35	herkologist	+	+	+	-	+	-
23	Asma	29	physicist	+	+	-	-	-	-
24	Arslana	48	assistant professor	-	-	-	-	+	-
25	Alina	49	cleaning lady	+	-	+	-	+	-
26	Azerbek	42	businessman	+	-	-	-	+	-
27	Gylnar	36	teacher	+	+	-	-	-	-
28	Bakytgyly	36	dressmaker	+	+	+	-	+	-
29	Mambayev	37	methodist	+	-	+	-	+	-
30	Bakyt	61	retiree	+	+	-	-	+	-

31	Jasar	37	translator	+	+	+	+	-	-
32	Alkeke	30	master student	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	Aspil	33	teacher	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	Iskra	32	psychologist	+	-	+	-	+	-
35	Jasayr	35	teacher	+	-	-	-	+	-
36	Amangoldi	39	teacher	-	-	-	-	+	-
37	Barbolat	38	teacher	+	+	-	-	+	-
38	Milana	14	pupil	+	+	+	+	-	+
39	Alqel	17	pupil	+	-	+	+	+	-
40	Talant	16	pupil	+	-	+	-	+	-
41	Anel	13	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
42	Mahambet	14	pupil	-	-	-	-	+	-
43	Dana	17	pupil	+	+	+	+	+	-
44	Jana	15	pupil	+	+	+	+	+	-
45	Asur	33	teacher of mosque	+	+	+	+	+	-
46	Asel	36	unemployed	+	-	-	-	+	-
47	Aslana	30	teacher	+	-	+	-	+	-
48	Dana	22	state employee	+	+	+	+	+	-
49	Aspil	35	teacher	+	+	+	+	+	-
50	Armagul	35	state employee	+	+	+	+	+	-
51	Asdyr	36	translator	+	+	+	+	+	-
52	Almazul	34	PhD student	-	-	+	+	+	-
53	Perizat	38	PhD student	+	+	+	+	+	-
54	Maktagul	37	teacher	+	+	+	+	+	-
55	Dana	33	teacher	+	+	+	+	+	-
56	Gylymat	36	unemployed	+	+	+	+	+	-
57	Arjyn	12	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
58	Mirda	15	pupil	+	+	-	-	+	-
59	Danar	12	pupil	+	+	-	-	-	-
60	Eshet	12	pupil	+	+	+	+	+	-
61	Tamurbek	13	pupil	+	+	-	-	-	-
62	Bektur	11	pupil	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	Beyn	11	pupil	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	Arum	10	pupil	-	-	-	-	+	-
65	Kamkat	10	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
66	Anjan	12	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
67	Muzambek	14	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
68	Asdyr	11	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
69	Tamyr	12	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
70	Aslym	11	pupil	+	-	-	-	+	-
71	Aslym	11	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
72	Asylm	11	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
73	Iskra	10	pupil	+	-	-	-	-	-
				14 (80%)	48 (34%)	52 (65%)	64 (49%)	28 (98%)	73 (100%)

Table 4. The results of the questionnaire



*enshi bölishi* - 80% of the participants know about the tradition, 34% of the participants have used it in their or their parents' lives;

*tel emi* - 65% of the participants know about the tradition, 49% of the participants used it in their or their parents' lives;

*urandai* - 98% of the participants know about the tradition, 100% of the participants have used it in their or their parents' lives;

If the main goal of translation is to enrich the target language and culture, in this case it is obvious that the translator is mainly guided by both of these approaches [29, 97]. However, both of these approaches have their limitations: a translation with too many foreign elements can never be integrated into a new culture, and integration is the strongest evidence of a successful translation. In this case, it means that the translation was unsuccessful. Considering the concept of these researchers, the specificity of cultural translation must necessarily be taken into account.

## Conclusion

In the conclusion, we'd like to share that African-American artist Renee Green reflects on the need to understand cultural difference as the production of minority identities that 'split' - are estranged unto themselves - in the act of being articulated into a collective body [30, 3]. According to Catford J [31], Nida E. [5] and Newmark P. [2], translation was not known as a branch of linguistics, and besides, it was also understood as a linguistic, social, and cultural phenomenon. Therefore, in the process of analysis, each detail of the literary work is pivotal and by «disassembling» and reassembling the literary text, the true reality of the author's idea will undoubtedly manifest itself [32]. So rich Kazakh national culture is an inseparable part of world culture. Therefore, this culture in order not to lose its primitive essence and value, we believe that the following actions should be carried out:

1. The works of well-known Kazakh writers should be translated into English without an intermediary language;

As we can see above, the translation of Kazakh writers as Oralkhan Bokey was translated into English with the help of the intermediary language and as a result, valuable materials, plots, historical moments and traditions, cultural values were missed during the translation through the intermediary language.

2. Joint work of English and Kazakh translators will achieve the best results and missing in the translations will be fewer; the translated texts will be closer to the original texts keeping all cultural aspects.

3. By analyzing the short story "Ardak" by Oralkhan Bokey, we had the opportunity to identify the writer's inner thoughts and worldview. The writer lived alone, without being surrounded by others. This is not an accident. The master himself seems to be torn between desperate nostalgia for his native land and the literary work that kept him in the city with weights. In his diary, Oralkan Bokey confessed: "Now I just found out that I have no real friend ... Living in the city, you start to forget about your home, your origin. Why are there ancestors - you forget that there is a moon in the sky, a sun, you forget about the stars..."

4. In 2019, exactly 50 years passed after the publication of the short story "Ardak" by O. Bokey. A lot of changes have happened since that time. According to our questionnaire, we found out that participants between 10-37 years old know little about these national traditions and half of them almost don't know anything about these given traditions. It's not only their fault; it concerns the language and cultural policy of the country. Such problems should be researched extensively and thoroughly.

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**Қазақ дәстүрлері мен әдет-ғұрыптарының ағылшын тіліне аударылуы  
(О. Бөкейдің «Ардақ» әңгімесі негізінде)**

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақалада белгілі қазақ жазушысы Оралхан Бөкейдің 2017 жылы ағылшын тіліне аударылған әңгімелерінде көрініс тапқан қазақтың ұлттық дәстүрлері, салт-дәстүрлері мен әдет-ғұрыптары қаралады. О.Бөкей әңгімесінде жазушының дүниетанымына күшті әсер еткен социализм дәуіріндегі қазақ қоғамына тән 1945-1970 жылдардағы мәдени оқиғаларды бейнелеген. Қазақ мәдениеті түркі көшпелі өркениетінің мәдени мұрасынан бастау алатын ұлттық дәстүрлердің бай қазынасына ие. Ұрпақтардың ауысуына, жаһандану процестері мен қоғамдық идеологияға байланысты көптеген

қазақ дәстүрлері өздерінің мәдени құндылығын жоғалтты. Дегенмен, бұл дәстүрлердің мәні баға жетпес және әлі күнге дейін сақталып келеді, мұны авторлар әртүрлі жастағы және мамандықтағы адамдар арасында жүргізген сауалнама растайды. Оралхан Бөкей елдің патриоты, көшпенділер мәдениетінің өкілі ретінде бұл өзгерістерді өзінің әдеби шығармаларында жарқын сипаттады. Бұдан басқа, мақалада аралық тіл арқылы аударманың мәдени тілін талдау жолымен аудару тәсілдері қарастырылады. Бұл мақалада жазушы Оралхан Бөкейдің аралық тіл - орыс тілі арқылы ағылшын тіліне аударылған «Ардақ» әңгімесінде кездесетін ұлттық кодты білдіретін әдет-ғұрыптар, дәстүрлер мен салт-дәстүрлерді ағылшын тіліне аудару әдістері сипатталады.

**Түйін сөздер:** қазақ мәдениеті, дәстүрлері, трансформация, мәдени аударма, ұлттық код, Оралхан Бөкей, лексиканы меңгеру

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### **Казахские традиции и обряды в переводах на английский язык (по рассказу О. Бокея «Ардақ»)**

**Аннотация.** В данной статье рассматриваются казахские национальные традиции, обычаи и обряды, отраженные в рассказах известного казахского писателя Оралхана Бокея, переведенных на английский язык в 2017 году. В рассказе О. Бокей запечатлел культурные события 1945-1970 годов, характерные для казахского общества эпохи социализма, которые оказали сильное влияние на мировоззрение писателя. Казахская культура обладает богатой сокровищницей национальных традиций, восходящих к культурному наследию тюркской кочевой цивилизации. В связи со сменой поколений, процессами глобализации и идеализацией общества многие казахские традиции утратили свою культурную ценность. Тем не менее, значение этих традиций неопределимо и сохраняется по сей день, что подтверждает опрос, проведенный авторами среди людей разных возрастов и профессий. Оралхан Бокей, как патриот страны, представитель кочевой культуры, ярко описал эти изменения в своих литературных произведениях. Кроме того, в статье рассматриваются способы перевода путем анализа культурного языка перевода через язык-посредник. В данной статье описываются методы перевода на английский язык обычаев, традиций и ритуалов, выражающих национальный код, которые встречаются в рассказе писателя Оралхана Бокея «Ардақ», переведенном на английский язык через язык-посредник - русский.

**Ключевые слова:** казахская культура, традиции, трансформации, культурный перевод, национальный код, Оралхан Бокей, усвоение лексики.

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