The concept Islam in Kazakh linguoculture  
(based on the Kazakh folkloric texts)  

Abstract  

The analyzed materials confirm widespread penetration of Koran stories, myths, characters and figures, biblical and Koran worldview, recoding of sacred lexis’s into Kazakh folklore and the formation of new religious and mythological syncretism indicate profound changes in the mentality of the Kazakh people, caused by entry into the sphere of Islamic culture (transition to conscious religion) that up to XX century was accompanied by mixing elements of pagan (pre-Islamic) and Muslim worldview.  

Purpose. The article presents a fragment of complex (linguoculturological and semantic-cognitive) study of the concept Islam in Kazakh linguoculture. As exemplified in the texts of Kazakh oral folk arts, in which the Muslim stories are intertwined with archaic, pre-Islamic views, the thesis about specific character of religious (Muslim) worldview of the Kazakhs is being proven.  

Methods. In the course of the study the different methods, widely used in the process of linguistic and cultural analysis of the concept, were used, in particular, the elements of contextual analysis, lexicographical and of comparative method.  

Results. There are a lot of different examples that show us the widespread penetration of Quranic stories, myths, images and figures, biblical-Quranic worldview into the Kazakh folklore. Recoding sacred language and the formation of
new religious and mythological syncretism indicate profound changes in the mentality of the Kazakh people, due to the entry into the sphere of the Muslim culture (the transition to a conscious religion) and until the twentieth century, accompanied by mixing elements of pagan (pre-Islamic) and Muslim world views.

Keywords: Islam, concept, Kazakh folklore, religious worldview, linguoculture.

Introduction

This article is a fragment of the complex (linguistic and cultural and semantic and cognitive) study of the concept of Islam in Kazakh sphere of concepts. It is known that the language accumulates the people’s experience in itself, sometimes reflecting its naïve view of the world. We can find evidence of long-forgotten events in the labyrinths of history, language delayed ideological guidance and moral values in language. Turning to the treasury of the Kazakh culture, embodied in language, we have tried to describe the religious world picture of Kazakh people, reflecting the most important layer of the spiritual life of the people - its moral platform.

Purpose. The article presents a fragment of complex (linguoculturological and semantic-cognitive) study of the concept Islam in Kazakh linguoculture. As exemplified in the texts of Kazakh oral folk arts, in which the Muslim stories are intertwined with archaic, pre-Islamic views, the thesis about specific character of religious (Muslim) worldview of the Kazakhs is being proven.

Methods. In the course of the study the different methods, widely used in the process of linguistic and cultural analysis of the concept, were used, in particular, the elements of contextual analysis, lexicographical and of comparative method.

The influence of Islam on the cultural guise of the Kazakh people

In the ethno-linguistic terms, the modern Kazakh people represent quite a complete picture of ethnic and cultural differences appear mainly in those groups who outlived the influence of cultures of neighboring nations. Thus, Tatar and Russian culture exerted a significant impact on the Kazakhs of northern and north-western regions and the culture of Central Asia people (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Uighurs and others) influenced on the Kazakh of southwestern, southern and south-eastern regions.
The period of atheism left a remarkable imprint on the ethno-linguistic guise of Kazakhs, which along with the initiation of the achievements and values of the world culture, significantly contributed to the destruction of centuries-old foundation, determined the spiritual and moral life of the people.

Nevertheless, the tradition (including religious) is the ever-living source of people’s spirituality, alive, although often underestimated by its bearers. According to impartial remark of Kazakh cultural experts, “ignorance and underestimation of the value components of traditional religions” promotes “the penetration of alien elements of our culture,” which deforms these values and interferes in its entirety use of its spiritual and moral potential (Kairova, 2013, p. 33).

The coming of Islam in the Kazakh land was associated with complex processes in the ethnogenesis of the people. The penetration of Islam in the territory of Kazakhstan belongs to the VIII-IX centuries BC (Artemyev, 2011, p. 301). As shown in some sources, firstly Islam came to the Kazakh land more than 1,200 years ago (Malgazhyuly, 2014, p. 11), it is a considerable period in order to leave a deep mark on the cultural image of the nation and its language. The religious influence affected on the lives of the tribes joined the Kazakh people, who inhabited the southern and south-eastern territories of modern Kazakhstan. This process lasted for several centuries, until the XVI century, “when formed Kazakh community has realized itself as Muslim (Sunni)” (Sultangalieva, 1998, pp. 12-15).

Therefore, according to the sources, the spread of Islam in the mainland of Kazakhstan proceeded irregularly: from VIII c. on the southern and south-eastern areas, until the XVI centuries on the north-western and north-eastern areas. Nevertheless, for several centuries, Islam has expelled all other religions and left a significant mark on the traditional culture of Kazakhs (in the original form combined the features of pre-Islamic beliefs and Islam), which, in our view, largely determined the identities of customs, ethical and legal norms, religious cults, appearance of Kazakhs until the mid-twentieth century.

As B.E. Kairova rightly emphasizes, “it is important to pay attention to the impact that Islam had had on the culture of the Kazakhs. According to public figure and scientist G. Yesim, at that time “when Islam began to penetrate into the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, it had lost its
original militancy. Later, there were missionaries preaching Islam peacefully. For Kazakhs Islam came particularly this path, without bloodshed, spreading along with the Arab-Persian culture” (Kairova, 2013, p. 29).

In the XVI-XVII centuries economic and cultural ties of Kazakhs with the Central Asian nations of the Kazakhs and Volgaic Tatars (particularly at this period the missionaries from Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Khiva and Turkestan were activated) was ministerial to spread of intensive growing influence of Islam in Kazakhstan. Up to a certain period of Islamization of Kazakh population served the interests of the Russian tsarist administration, which until the middle of the XIX century carried out “policy directed at the use of Islam as an important <...> means for forming non-resistance to evil of indigenous population of Kazakh steppe” (Artemyev, 2011, p. 132).

A.K. Sultangalieva, having respect to the problem of the religious consciousness of Kazakhs, with the referring to V.V. Barthold, claims that official Islam is “for the majority of the nomads had more formal meaning” (Sultangalieva, 1998, p. 27). However, N.D. Nurtazina believes that Islamic tradition is widely penetrated into the masses. “Kazakh is permeated by eastern classic spirit, noted by Ch. Valihanov; he wrote that” the nomad was brought up on the fantastic tales of Solomon, The Lord of the magic ring, Seyfulmalik, Prince of Baghdad” <...> According W.W. Radlov, one song “Dzhum-dzhuma” (kissa) contributed to the victory of Islam more than hundreds of mullahs traveled around the steppe <...> (i.e. common ordinary edifications of mullahs). Heard kessa, fairy tales, religious legends forever imprinted in the retentive memory of the nomad, passed from mouth to mouth, complemented, processed and rehashed” (Nurtazina, 2009, p. 15).

**Oral-poetic and mystical-mythological tradition of the Kazakhs**

The most common form of collective ethnic consciousness is folklore. Exactly folklore contains the experience of the mythological and religious development of the world. According to A.K. Sultangalieva orally-poetic and narrative traditions of Kazakh folk go into the depths of the ancient Turkic archaic art, however we find traces of the influence of Islam in it (Sultangalieva, 1998, pp. 24-25). With reference to G.N. Potanin, the researcher writes that “traditional ritual poetry of Kazakhs, including genre “bata”, good wishes, was islamized, complemented by Koranic images”
(Sultangalieva, 1998, p. 25). However, the name of the Kazakh genre “bata”, as the scientists remark, dates back to the Muslim word “Fatiha” (from the name of the surah “Al-Fatiha (“Revealing”), therefore, the mentioned genre has Muslim roots (Nurtazina, 2008).

Kazakh legends borrowed whole scenes and characters from traditional Muslim literature. “The legends of the “local” saints, most often Sufi, mystical characters” were widespread (Sultangalieva, 1998, p. 26). The fact that “akyns” sing Muslim apocrypha, arranged in a “popular” poetry, was written by Ch. Valikhanov (Valikhanov, 1986, p. 71).

In narrative genres as myths, legends, fables, Muslim stories are interwoven with archaic and pre-Islamic ones. “Among the most frequent Muslim images and characters in the Kazakh folklore, certainly, Allah and his prophet Muhammad, the prophets Ilyas (Ilya), Suleyman (Solomon), Dawud (David), the characters of Muslim mythology: angels, jinn, and Islamic servitors: mullahs, imams. Thus, in the mythological legends, along with ancient ideas about evil spirits Albasty there are Islamic and Middle Eastern mythological characters – jinn, duis, peri” (Sultangalieva, 1998, p. 25). The legendary Korkut, shaman, running from death, in Kazakh religious literature became Muslim holy man (Kaskabasov, 1990, p. 98).

The widespread penetration of Muslim ideas into Kazakh folklore, according to S.A. Kaskabasov, refers to the XVII–XIX centuries. In the analyzed texts of folklore by scientist, the heroic epic and bogatyr fairytales, heroes are helped by holy Kydyr (Khizr), Zhabrailov angel (Gabriel), assistants “ғайыперен, қырық шылтым” (Kaskabasov, 1972, p. 53). Following N. Nurtazina, A. Zhaksylykov gives the etymology reasonable interpretation of loss of inner form of phraseological unit “ғайыперен, қырық шылтым” (“forty-unseen friends”), dating back to the practice of meditation (dhikr) some Muslim Sufi orders in Kazakhstan (Zhaksylykov, 1999, pp. 91-92).

Based on the analysis of the Kazakh fairy tales and legends, S.A. Kaskabasov concludes that Kydyr (Khizr) is Musulmized immortal spirit of the dead ancestors, being in contact with another world (Kaskabasov, 1990, p. 204). According to A.K. Sultangaliev, “a synthesis of Islamic and pre-Islamic is <...> Allah gave Hizr immortality, so that he “keep Koran until the end of the world and gave it to the Prophet Isa before Judgment Day. <...> in the Hadith, he was given the name Al-Khadir (Khizr), and he became a popular character in Muslim mythology” (Sultangalieva, 1998, pp. 25-26).
In summary, duality of folk religion had a significant impact on the content of Kazakh folklore, manifested in the stratification of ideology of one religion to ritual practice of another one. Stratification is found in almost all genres of oral spoke arts of Kazakhs. Despite the terminological renewal and recoding of old sacred tradition, according to A.Zh. Zhaksylykov, “universal meta- and transphysical model of architectonic of the world, inherent to shamanism and Tengrianism, preserved and it was only partly evolved after replacing the terminology” (Zhaksylykov, 1999, p. 91). The scientists also noted desacralization and travestive profanation of the Saitan (Shaitan) who appears in the Kazakh folklere (in particular – in the household tales) in the role of rogue and often finds himself cheated and folk crafty and mocker by Aldar-Kose (Zhaksylykov, 1999, p. 92).

The symbiosis of the pre-Islamic and Muslim world views in the oral folk art of Kazakhs

We have analyzed the oral folk art of Kazakhs, included in the collection “Tartu” (Divaev, 1992). In the view of many folklore works, especially the children fairytales were censored later with relation to religious content. We see fit to make an analysis of these recordings made at the end of the XIX century by Russian ethnographer Abubakir Ahmetzhanovich Divaev. The collection of Kazakh folklore, collected by A.A. Divaev, includes tales about animals, magic, household and other tales and legends, parables and folk tales. As one of the first collectors of samples of Kazakh folklore, together with A.V. Zataevich, A.A. Divaev lamented the fact that all literary works of Kazaks exist in oral form and soon will be completely lost (Orazaeva, 1992, p. 13).

Noted by writer F. Orazaeva in the foreword to her book, in A.A. Divaev’s heritage differences related to the regional characteristics of Kazakh folklore are clearly presented. Thus, materials collected and recorded in the counties of Aulie-ata, Shymkent, Kazaly and in villages located in the valley of the SyrDarya River, are full of religious subjects, the content of the texts has a didactic character, due to a significant Islamic influence and the spread of Arab-Persian literature and Chagatai language in these regions of modern Kazakhstan (Kyzylorda, Zhambyl, South Kazakhstan region). The materials, recorded by Semirechensk expedition (Almaty region), the influence of
the Tatar language is revealed; many scenes borrowed from Russian folklore, I.A. Krylov fables, texts contain political motives, inspired by the revolution (Orazaeva, 1992, p. 13).

Religious-Muslim lexicon was found even in the texts of magic fairy tales. In this way, the hero of fairy tale “Zhakansha”, the prince, who “grows by leaps and bounds”, on the eight days of age he was eight years old. He was sent to study with mullah “Жаканшана молдага беріпі. Бір айда “Әптиєкти” таусыптты. Оны төртке келгенде Құранды қаттапты. Одан соң ашырықты ұйыртты. Оны әлдіңде жұртты жінап, той қылып, озінің өрнің патша қылыпты” (Divaev, 1992, p. 50) (“Zhakansh was given for training with mullah. Within a month, he has mastered “Haftiyak. “In fourteen he learned the Koran. Then he was trained hunting craft. In nineteen years old (King) made a feast and gave him his throne”) (Hereinafter, our translation. – N.Zh., Zh.S.). As you can see, the outstanding abilities of the future king in the fairy tale were bound with a religious education: the prince comes easily to master Haftiyak and Koran, while much-needed hunting skills in the steppe are mastered by him later (“Haftiyak is the seventh of the Holy Koran, which was published in the book form, and served as textbook in pre-revolutionary Muslim school” (Kazakh-Russian Dictionary, 2008, p. 108)).

The characteristics of the hero of next magic fairy tale “Тас болған шаңар” (“The Petrified City”) is also unfolded in a religious manner: “Әуелі заманда бір шаңарда бір қарт пен кемпір болған. Олардың нысатпсы, тауфікты ұлы болған” (Divaev, 1992, p. 56) (“Once upon a time, the elderly couple lived in one city. They had a modest, pious son”). The hero, at the princess’s request prayed three nights and saved the enchanted city: “Соңан соң қызы айтқан: “Бізге бір жақсы, таза кісі керек еді, үш түн патша ұйынде ұяға қылып отыруши болса...” (Divaev, 1992, p. 56). (“Then she said,”We need a good, clean (pious) person who has prayed for three days in the royal house...”). Positive epithets, characterizing the moral qualities of the hero, have religious character: the words нысан and тауфік came to the Kazakh language from Islamic literature and belong to book style. Above-noted words were rarely used, but nowadays returned to the active vocabulary of the Kazakh language along with a layer of the Arab-Islamic religious vocabulary.

The legend about the origin of Genghis Khan is interesting too. It was recorded by A.A. Divaev (“Шыңғыс қызғыц баяны”/”The legend of Genghis
Khan”). The young lady gave birth to a baby, wrapped him in a cloth, placed in the box, and launched it. Floating boat with baby was founded by peri. She brought him, that’s way the boy knew the language of the people and the language of the peri. And later he began to rule over the people. “Элеi бала Шыңғыс хан атанды. Сол Шыңғыс ханның мүсүлмандығы анық емес-ті. Шыңғыс ханнан тұғылғандар мүсүлмандық болды” (Divaev, 1992, pp. 62-63) (“The name of this boy was Genghis Khan. Whether Genghis Khan was Muslim, it was not clear. Then the descendants of Genghis Khan became Muslims”).

The text of other work, written by A.A. Divaev, is full of religious vocabulary too: “Аспандағы күннің баяны” (“The legend of the sun in the sky”). There are acts of God, angels and men, among whom tribes followed the Prophet Muhammad, and the Gentiles, who are described in a following way in fairy form: “Енді күн батарға барады, сонда тағы қызарады, күн батпай тұрады екен. Баганагы кәпір тайпасы қарап тұрады екен, құдайдымызға амандасып қаламыз деп табынады екен. Құдай осы деп тұрады екен” (Divaev, 1992, p. 64) (“Now the sun is going down and has turned red again, but has not gone. Then the men of the tribe of Caffre (Gentiles) have started to look at it to greet and bow unto it. They thought it was God”).

Even more interesting text, from the perspective of the studied problem, is “Аспандағы жұлдыздар баяны” (“The legend of the stars in the sky”), containing Muslim parable based on the Koran plot how clairvoyants get their knowledge: “Аспандағы жұлдыздар қөрініп тұрады... Асыл тас екен-ді. Бұл тастар өзірініл шайтан жер жұғынға келгенен кейін пайда болыпты. Себебі көрдісіз? Жын-шайтандар бір-бірінің үстіне шықты, періштерді бұл ғаламан отін тұрған ғаламаттарды айтықандарын естіп алып, мұндайы бакшыларға келіп айтар екен. Бәзісы рұс айтады. Үстіңдегілер астындагылыларға жасалған айтып келіп тұрады екен. Сол ушін Алла тағала аспанда тастарды жұлдыз қылым тұраты. Өлі жын жылылығы, аспанға шыққан халде періштерге бүйірді, жұлдыз таспап алып ұрасың,- деп” (Divaev, 1992, p. 66) (“Do you see the stars in the sky ... These are precious stones. These stones came after Gazreyl-Shaitan appearance. Say, why? Turns out, the jinn and shaitans, climbing on each other, eavesdrop what angels say about the wonders of the world, came back, they pass it to here soothsayers (baksy). First they tell the truth. Those
who are on the top, passing to lower ones, are lying. Therefore, The God placed rocks in the sky as stars. He commanded the angels to throw stars in the jinn when they gathered, raised to the sky. This story is clearly inspired by the Islamic texts, compare the next ayats from Koran: “Indeed, we put up constellations in the sky and decorate them for those who are looking. We protected it from every fallen and beaten devil. And if he will listen furtive-ly, then he is followed by a bright light” (Koran, sura 15, ayats 16, 17, 18), as well as: “But if someone from the devils snatch word, then he is followed by a bright flaming fire” (Koran, sura 37, ayat 10) (Al-Saadi, 2012, p. 199). Here we see the mixing names of Muslim mythology characters: devil Azazil (Əzəzil-Satan) (Kazakh-Russian Dictionary, 2008, p. 98) was named after the angel of death, extinguishing the souls of men by Azrael (Ազրեայի/Əzirai-перипре) (Kazakh-Russian Dictionary, 2008, p. 99), which once again demonstrates the oral nature of the Islamic myths and legends (кисса-дастан) spreading in a nomadic environment.

Analysis of narrative works texts of the Kazakh people is included in the collection “In the country of fairy tales” of B. Sh. Kaziev (Kaziev, 1983). There are more than 60 folk tales, legends, fables, parables and apologies, translated into Russian and Kazakh which, together with Uighur, Kirghiz and others show the extensive use of religious motives, on the one hand, and the many layers of people’s ideas, on the other.


The duality, discussed by scientists, is manifested in the fact that in the Kazakh folk tales, included in this collection, we find, on the one hand, Muslim vocabulary and phraseology: Suleiman (Solomon) (p. 80, p. 126), oraza (p. 66), namaz (p. 67, p. 139), “without hope, there is one Satan” (p. 70), God’s help (p. 94), Allah (p. 134, p. 139), Paigambar (p. 130), the Creator (p. 148), God save (p. 154), and on the other – the pagan relics of the era: The Sun-god! (p. 112), the Lord of the Underworld - Erlik (p.113), the Gods (p. 124), balger (fortunetellers) (p. 78) (In the country of fairy tales in 1983).
The idea of God-Creator can be seen in didactic contents tradition of “human life” (from “The Diary of a trip to Issyk-Kul” by Chokan Valikhanov, included in the collection): “The wise old men told that in the beginning of creation, the Creator of the Earth, the Sky and all living things on the Earth decided to define the terms of their lives” (Kaziev, 1983, p. 148).

In the legend “Three girls” from the same “Diary of a trip to Issyk-Kul” by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, we can find the following lines: “Every time when the evening clouds floated over the Altai mountain range and the last rays of the sun were disappearing, crowds of Kazakh peasants and ranchers, as a stream, rushed to the old trees in the field, to the riverbanks to sing the prayer song: Allah! Allah! / Protect! Save! / Let the seven suns in the sky / go away quietly with sunset, / And tomorrow let rise again! / Allah! Allah! / Defend! Save! / <...> but once a ferocious shaitan came to the old mountain valley <...> This shaitan was a spirit of hundred years old owl, from birth, he loved the darkness and feared of light <...> magically he turned himself into a hundred winged people with iron eagle’s beaks. They <...> every day shoot steel arrows in the suns. <...> The Kazakhs <...> all day did namaz, signed sprayers, then rushed to the mountains and began to pray, but could not do anything” (Kaziev, 1983, p. 139).

As you can see, in the legend, people turn to Allah, they do namaz, sing prayers. Simultaneously, the shaitan (satan) is the “spirit of a hundred owl” – an obvious stratification of the Islamic view of the world on the archaic mentality.

Even more striking expression of the religious consciousness of duality is found in the “Tradition of the origin of Borovoy”: “Once, one of Kazakh tribes was guilty and angered Allah. Allah was very angry at the people, he gathered from all places: forests, mountains, rivers, put them in a bag and walked off to the north. But a bag of Allah was with a hole. Allah walked and walked. He wanted to sneeze. Allah sneezed and did not notice how a part of assembled forest, land, mountains, lakes fell out of the hole” (Kaziev, 1983, p. 134). The image of Allah in the tradition of anthropomorphic Allah endowed with human qualities (“walked”, “went”, “sneeze”, “did not notice”). According to the canons of Islam, Allah is impossible to attribute human qualities, and in the traditional Muslim society strictly adhere to this canon.

The image of Payghambar (Prophet Muhammad) in Kazakh legends is also specific: in the tradition of “Hay and Kun” (“Moon and Sun”).
Payghambar commands rich landowner’s daughters Aisulu and Kunsulu, quarreled who is the most beautiful girl between them, left people: “Every living person on the land is beautiful himself, his beauty, and you did not understand it. Be you away from the people forever!”. The sisters have become celestial bodies: the Moon and the Sun” (Kaziev, 1983, pp. 130-131). In this passage, you hear an echo of Koran text, according to which “Allah <...> gave you appearance and made it beautiful.” (Koran, Sura 40, ayat 64) (Al-Saadi, 2012, p. 364). According to the canons of Islam only Allah can rule the destiny of all things. In the text of the traditions we see a mixture of images of Allah and the Prophet, which once again demonstrates the kind of comprehension of God by nomads.

The contradictory nature of the religious consciousness manifested in the animal tales. So in the fairy tale “The Fox and the Wolf”, the sly fox saw a piece of meat on the footpath, offers the wolf tastes it, but absence of appetite explains that it keeps the sawn (oraza/sawn - Muslim fast). In the end, the wolf fell into the trap and the fox ate a piece of meat: “- Dear friend, wolf asked in surprise – you keep the sawn. – Now you keep it, – cried fox funny and ran away “(Kziev, 1983, p. 66). In the fairy tale “Fox and Chicken “Chicken beckons Fox: “- Chicken, cheep, cheep! ... Down to earth – it is time for namaz. Chicken: – Indeed, Fox: it is time to pray. Here the Imam lies, go and wake him up. Delighted Fox ran, where Chicken pointed out. There a dog laid. Dog saw Fox and chased its. Chicken from the tree: - Fox, where are you? Prayer time will pass; we agreed to make friends ... “(ibid).

We believe that the ascription for animal the ability to pray, do namaz, keep the sawn (Muslim fast), on the one hand, shows the popularity of these key components of the Muslim religion in nomadic environment and on the other hand, the elements of the original meaning of the rituals of desacralization in the popular mind, characterizing the spiritual and political crisis of Islamic civilization in XIX- early XX centuries.

Conclusion

Consequently, according to the analyzed materials, there are following linguistic units, representing the concept of “Islam” in the texts of works of Kazakh folklore: Allah (Аллах), Алла тагала (the Most High), Құдай (God), Жаратуши (Creator), Қуран (Koran), Muhammad, Пайғамбар
(the Prophet), the Prophets Ilyas (Ilya), Lukman, Suleymen (Solomon), Dawud (David), Zhabrail (Archangel Gabriel), “Гайын ерен, қырық шайтанд” (“forty-unseen friends”), Фазирэйил (Azrael - the Angel of Death), Қыдыр (Khizr), Әзәзил (Azazel), шайтанд (devil/Satan/shaitan), жын (jinn), жын-шайтанд (jinn -devils), namaz (prayer), джaza (prayer-petition), ораза (sawm), перштате (Angel), молда (Mullah), имам, джаз (div), перы (peri), мусылман (Muslim), кәпир (kafir), тауфык (diligence, piety), Əptiək (Haftiyak), ұмітсіз шайтанд (Satan, deprived of hope) and others.

These and other examples show that the widespread penetration of Quranic stories, myths, images and figures, biblical-Quranic worldview into the Kazakh folklore. Recoding sacred language and the formation of new religious and mythological syncretism indicate profound changes in the mentality of the Kazakh people, due to the entry into the sphere of the Muslim culture (the transition to a conscious religion) and until the twentieth century, accompanied by mixing elements of pagan (pre-Islamic) and Muslim world views.

References


Kazahsko-russkij slovar’: około 50 000 slov. [Kazakh-Russian dictionary: more


