Kazakh and Russian Kinship Terminology: A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Analysis of Lacunae

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Abstract

A cross-cultural investigation of lacunae contributes to successful intercultural communication, helping in achieving mutual understanding between cultures and solving communication problems between different nations. This study is aimed at identifying and classifying lexical lacunae in the kinship terminologies of the Russian and Kazakh languages. The comparative study reveals semantic, cultural, psychological, evaluative, and aesthetic factors. The material of the study comprises the terms of kinship, selected by the method of continuous sampling from lexicographic sources of the Kazakh and Russian languages, with a total volume of 300 units. Interlanguage lacunae were described from the perspective of comparative structural-semantic analysis. The analysis of kinship terms in the Russian and Kazakh languages showed that there are more similarities than previously thought. Significant differences in Russian and Kazakh kinship terminology were manifested in connection with the allocation of the seme "gender correlation", i.e., the name depends on the gender of the person concerning whom it was used, as well as the seme "age concerning the speaking person". Analysis of Kazakh kinship terms that act as lacunae in the Russian language and their classification in terms of semantics, structure, etymology and cultural components was not considered an object of research until now.

Introduction

Anthropocentric linguistics pays great importance to the study of the human factor in languages (DeFranza, Mishra, & Mishra, 2020; Fishman, 2019; Kuzembayeva et al., 2019; Sealey, 2018). Globalization and the intensification of intercultural communication contribute to the unification of language processes and an increase in international vocabulary while preserving ethno-cultural markings (Al Rawashdekh, 2019; Anderson, 2020; Egoreichenko, 2018). This is especially noted in the system of phraseological units and reflects all stages of formation of the semantic and lingua-cultural specificity of a language. A series of set expressions and fixed word combinations are a natural way of knowing the world (Aimenova, Ospanova, Rakhimova,

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Vakhitova, Kuzembayeva, Yergazina, Zhumakhanova, Khayrullina / Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics 8(1) (2022) 28-43

29

Sarsembayeva, & Mazhit, 2019; Inurrieta, Aduriz, Díaz de Ilarraza, Labaka, & Sarasola, 2020; Singleton & Leśniewska, 2021; Yegana, 2019).

Comparative studies of different lexical groups in unrelated languages help determine a nation's worldview, its way of life, traditions and customs. In intercultural communication, it is important to adequately perceive the cultural values of other nations. A special role in organizing the national lingua-cultural space belongs to extra-linguistic factors, which include specific lifestyle, work activity, the living environment of the people, etc. (Adamia, Shelia, & Marghania, 2021; Sherman & Homoláč, 2020). The material environment and people's way of life are the ontological basis of their perception of the world (Zalesny & Goncharov, 2019). Differences in languages, due to differences in cultures, are seen at the level of vocabulary, since it is most closely associated with extra-linguistic reality. This led to the selection of Olaf (2006) "community" (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1999), as the object of our comparative study.

The lacuna model represents a framework for the systematic characterization, operationalization and classification of cultural differences in communication (Ertelt-Vieth, 2003; Markovina & Lenart, 2016; Schröder, 1995). The most prominently specific features of national-cultural vocabulary are manifested in kinship terminology (Keen, 2014; Dwight Read, Fischer, & Leaf, 2013). It has an ancient origin in all languages of the world since the family was formed as a social institution and its structure in human society developed long ago (Makarius et al., 1977; D Read, 2015). Various types of family relationships, such as group, polygamous, monogamous, etc., determined the relationships within tribes from the 6th-9th centuries. The establishment of patriarchy led to the emergence of monogamous marriage, a modern form of family relationships (Sultana, 2010). The history of the development of the family as a social institution and kinship between people within tribal groups is reflected in the linguistic picture of the world of all nations. This led to the formation of a closed incomplete thematic group – kinship terminology in languages (Dwight Read & Fischer, 2014).

A comparative study of culturally marked terminology on a broad cultural and historical background allows, on one hand, to illuminate the most important stages in the formation of the lexical fund of comparable languages, and on the other hand, to identify ethnic characteristics of the culture of the people that influenced the semantics and functioning of kinship terminology. The reason for the appearance of lacunae is the peculiarities of the linguistic categorization of reality by the people, as well as the type of culture to which the ethnic group belongs. Determining the factors of lacunarity in kinship terminology, the role of the lacunae of this group in intercultural communication, and studying the trends in the functioning of kin terms in modern languages allow linguists to characterize the value-semantic space of languages, taking into account both linguistic and extra linguistic factors in the development of human culture, thinking and language.

Literature Review

Lacunae are gaps on the 'semantic map' of a language, text, or culture as a whole, i.e. on the 'semantic map' of a certain ethnic language consciousness, and these gaps can be identified only through the comparison of two national languages, texts, or cultures (Markovina & Lenart, 2016). The concept of lacuna focuses both on problems of foreign text comprehension and communication problems between different cultures(Falkheimer & Heide, 2006). The phenomenon of lacunarity is multifaceted: lacunae of the language and lacunae in the speech continuum (Anokhina, 2015).

The term "lacuna/gap" refers to the sphere with zero verbalization as the process of deletion or modification. The category of "lacunarity" nowadays has its paradigm of terms to be further developed from a scientific perspective (Anokhina, 2015). Lexical lacuna is understood as "the absence of any lexical unit in a language while it is present in another language or languages" (Loginova, 2017). Thus, the characteristic features of the lexical lacuna include the discrepancy between the volumes of the meanings of a word, the presence of shades of meaning, their discrepancy in the same concept, and the design of the concept by different words.

The lacuna model has been developed as a specific tool to detect (potential) intercultural and intracultural "gaps", which can contribute to mutual understanding between cultures. According to Mochalova (2014), if the comprehension of "single specific objects or events and specific processes and situations" in another culture "run counter to the usual range of experience" (Piacentini, Chatzidakis, & Banister, 2012), a lacuna is experienced. It is observed that the phenomenon of

lacunarity is very common among the terms of kinship (Usmanova & Ismatullayeva, 2020). The richness in terms of kinship and their quantity is explained by the fact that as the power of a family grows, so does the number of family members in it (Akhati, 2015).

There is a longstanding puzzle in the human sciences: kinship and language, different in content, are intriguingly similar in form(Jones, 2010). As Jones (2010) states, cross-cultural regularities in kinship terminology have been documented that are comparable to regularities in color terminology (D'Andrade, 1971; Goodenough, 1965; Greenberg, 1975, 1990; Nerlove & Romney, 1967). An assortment of formal methods has been devised to analyze systematic variation and universals in kinship terminology (D'Andrade, 1971; Goodenough, 1965; Greenberg, 1975, 1990; Kuzembayeva et al., 2019; Makarius et al., 1977; Nerlove & Romney, 1967; Olaf, 2006). Research in anthropology has shown that kinship terminologies have a complex combinatorial structure and systematically vary across cultures (Jones, 2010).

The origin of kinship terms is associated with the development of social consciousness and the formation of a family as an inseparable part of the culture. Family is the most important social institution; a personality and a language personality are formed within its framework. In the process of intercultural communication, communicants are evaluated from the position of their culture and values instilled in the family. The family is the subject of the historical development of the nation and national culture (Agarkova & Mezenceva, 2015).

In the terminology of kinship, all names denoting persons who are in consanguineous relationships are conventionally combined. In the Kazakh and Russian languages, they are grouped in almost the same way. The first common feature of kinship terms in the Russian and Kazakh languages is their relative and absolute meaning. A person named by a certain term has a relative meaning depending on the relationship to other persons. For example, a son is a male person concerning his parents, but he is a brother concerning the other children of his parents, a grandson for grandparents, and an uncle for the children of his brothers and sisters. A non-relative meaning can be demonstrated by the example *ана,* or "mother", which is not only a woman concerning her children but also just a woman who has children.

The second common feature of kinship terms is the generic correlation in Russian and gender marking in Kazakh, which group words with the meaning of male and female: e.g., "grandfather-grandmother", "father-mother", "son-daughter", "uncle-aunt". The main way of expressing generic symmetry in terms of kinship in Russian is suppletivism or suppletion. In addition to the named method, the words of the lexical-semantic group under study are formed using the suffixal or paradigmatic methods: e.g., *свекор-свекровь, тесть-теща* "father-in-law, mother-in-law"; *кум-кума* "godfather-godmother of one's child"; *племянник-племянница* "nephew-niece"; *внук-внучка* "grandson-granddaughter"; *крестник-крестница* "godson-goddaughter". In the Kazakh language no category of gender exists, thus, some terms of kinship are expressed in one lexeme, without distinguishing between male and female representatives: e.g., *немере* "grandson-granddaughter"; *бөле* "cousin".

Another characteristic of kinship terms is their counter relativity. Each term that names a person concerning other persons corresponds to strictly defined terms denoting these persons in their relation to this person (Nikolenko, 2012). For example, if a person is called an aunt concerning others, then these latter concerning her will be nephews. The words of this thematic group of counter-terms may have an unequal number: e.g., one (father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law – son-in-law), two (father, mother – son and daughter), three (daughter-in-law – father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law). In the Kazakh language, their equivalent are : (*қайын ата* "father-in-law", *қайын ене* "mother-in-law", *қайын аға*, *қайын іні* "brother-in-law", *қайын апа*, *қайын сіңілі* "sister-in-law" – *келін* "daughter-in-law").

The fourth feature of kinship terms is their property of preserving and passing on kinship from generation to generation. For example, if two are brothers or sisters to each other, then their descendants (children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren) will be brothers and sisters to each other. In the Kazakh language, the definition of *немере*, *шөбере* is added to the corresponding names of the cousin and second cousin; in Russian – *двоюродный*, *троюродный* respectively.

Linear differentiation is one of the important features of the Kazakh kinship system. It is typical for the Kazakhs that kinship is conducted along three main lines: 1) the father's line (өз

жұрт); 2) the mother's line (нағашы жұрт); 3) the line of the husband/wife (қайын жұрт). Such a clear differentiation is characteristic of the feudal period of the history of the Turkic-speaking people when patriarchal clan relations played a large role in their tribal system (Beck, 1980). Each of the three lineages is endowed with a certain characteristic based on age-old customs, etiquette norms and life experience: e.g.,

Өз жұртың – күншіл, бар болсаң көре алмайды, жоқ болсаң бере алмайды. Қайын жұртың – міншіл, қолыңның ұзындығына қайрайды, берсең жағасың, бермесең дауға қаласың. Нағашы жұртың – сыншыл, жақсылығына сүйнейді, жамандығына күйінді, әрқашан тілеуіңді тілейді ("Your relatives are envious: if you have something, they envy, if there is nothing, they will not share. Your wife's relatives judge you. If you do not give them a gift, there will be a scandal. Only your mother's relatives are your support and protection: they rejoice with you, they wish only good" (Kulikova, Brusenskaya, & Zhebrowskaya, 2019).

Kinship along the father's line, or *өз жұрт,* literally "own yurt, own relatives", through which each Kazakh enters a *ру,* or "clan union of generations descending from a common ancestor", is considered determinative. Paternal relatives up to the seventh generation are called *ағайын жұрт*. The closeness of relatives on the father's line finds its explanation in cultural and historical fact: girls are married to men or boys from other *auls* (villages) and clans. Here the action of the law of seven ancestors is revealed: to avoid incest, which means weakening of the clan, and to preserve the purity of blood, the Kazakhs do not allow young people to marry if, in their genealogy, there are common ancestors up to the seventh generation.

After the wedding the groom takes the bride to his aul, where they continue to live, then, naturally, their "close" relatives turn out to be their father's relatives (Kuzembayeva et al., 2019). In modern society, this tendency is violated, however, the terms of kinship, reflecting this feature, are firmly entrenched in the vocabulary of the Kazakh language and still exist. The father's line in the name of a married woman is designated by the term төркін, which in the ancient Turkic languages means "clan", "tribe", or "house of blood relatives". For a married woman, relatives on the side of her father always have a special meaning: *Төркіні жақын келіннің төсегі жиналмас* ("The bride whose relatives live nearby does not have time to make the bed"), as she spends a lot of time in their house.

The terms of consanguinity along the male line have a clear differentiation according to the degree of relationship, while the terms along the female line are often united by a common name: the lexical unit *нағашы* is included in all terms that name the mother's relatives; *жиен* is used to name the children of a daughter, sister. In the consolidation of relations between his descendants through the terms of kinship, concern about future membership in this group and the desire for its descendants to observe clan exogamy is probably manifested (Befu & Plotnicov, 1962).

In modern Russian, all the terms of kinship are the same in both male and female lines. However, an analysis of outdated terms with Proto-Slavic or Indo-European roots reveal that the term *стрый* (*стрыйко*) was used to refer to the paternal uncle, and the term *вуйко* (*уй*) is used for the maternal uncle. While the paternal and maternal aunts, as well as paternal and maternal uncle's wives, do not have special terms in the language but are denoted by e.g., derivatives from the names of the uncles: *стрыйна* (*стрыя, стрыня*); for paternal aunt (father's sister) and also for the wife of a paternal uncle: (*стрый*); *уйка* (*вуйка*); for maternal aunt and also for the wife of a maternal uncle: (*вуйко* (*уй*) (Sumnikova, 1969).

This study aimed at a comprehensive investigation of the kinship terminologies through Russian-Kazakh linguistic and cultural comparison, identifying and classifying lexical lacunae in the system of kinship terms of the Russian and Kazakh languages.

Research Methodology

A description of ethnic and sociocultural characteristics of family-kinship relations continues to be relevant and necessary, as public knowledge of the historical and sociological specifics of their development is a prerequisite for the preservation of society and its further development (Bogdanova, 2018; Sumnikova, 1969). The objective of this research is a study of the Kazakh and the Russian terms indicating kinship. The subject of the study is the lexical lacunarity in the Kazakh kinship terminology and the semantic, etymological and linguacultural features of such

lacunae in the Russian language. The work identifies and classifies lexical lacunae – Kazakh terms that indicate kinship, but are absent in the Russian language, utilizing a comparative structural-semantic and linguacultural analysis of the Kazakh and Russian kinship terms, as well as to study the causes of lacunarity in this group of words.

To reach this goal, the following procedure was adopted:

1. An analytical review of the scientific literature on the research problem and the definition of the most important scientific concepts for the work: lacuna, lexical gap, linguistic picture of the world, national linguistic picture of the world, linguacultural and comparative approaches to the study of vocabulary, kinship terms;
2. Determination of the linguistic and cultural features of lexical lacunae, defining their role in intercultural communication, the description of the principles of their thematic and structural-semantic classification;
3. Identification of structural, semantic and cultural characteristics of the kinship terms, reflecting the family life of the Kazakhs and Russians, and their national worldview;
4. The description of the universal nature and ethnic specificity of the Kazakh kinship terms in the Russian language.

The material of the study comprised kinship terms, identified by the method of continuous sampling from lexicographic sources of the Kazakh and Russian languages. The total volume of 300 samples included 180 terms of the Kazakh language, and 120 terms of the Russian language. The data were obtained from the *Kazakh-Russian Dictionary* (Robinson, Milner-Gulland, & Alimaev, 2003), *Kazakh Explanatory Dictionary* (Mukhamediev, Mustakayev, Yakunin, Kiseleva, & Gopejenko, 2019), *Kazakh Proverbs and Sayings* (Behrooz, Sari, Bahramifar, & Ghasempouri, 2009), *Thousand accurate and figurative expressions: Kazakh-Russian phraseological dictionary with ethnolinguistic explanations* (Kulikova et al., 2019), *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1999), *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Ushakov, 1938), *The etymological dictionary of Turkic languages: Common Turkic and inter-Turkic vowels* (Falkheimer & Heide, 2006), and *7000 gold proverbs and sayings* (Novgorodov, Lemskaya, Gainutdinova, & Ishkildina, 2015).

The following research methods were used in this study:

1. General scientific research methods and techniques: a collection of language material, description and classification; method of statistical calculations that determines the total number of related terms in each language and the frequency of use of individual lexemes in languages.
2. The method of component analysis, which allows the revelation of the globalization and verbalization of family relations in the kinship terminology in the Kazakh and Russian languages. It was first used in the study of kinship terms in different languages. The method is closely related to the theory of the semantic field, which is defined as a series of paradigmatically related words or their meanings, which have a common (integral) semantic feature and differing – with at least one differential characteristic. Within the component analysis, three stages were conducted: determining the meaning of a word; establishing the components in the content of the meaning of the word; building formulas that reflect the structure of values.
3. The method of comparative description, allowing the description of the universal and nationally marked features in the structure and semantics of the Kazakh and Russian kinship terms. The application of the comparative method in our study included the following steps:
a. Establishing a gap in the Russian language against the background of the Kazakh language;
b. Determining the value of the language unit of the background language;
c. The use of this value to describe the content of the gap in the language being studied.

Results and Discussion

As a result of the lexicographic analysis of the Kazakh-Russian dictionary (Temirgazina, Bakhtikireeva, & Sinyachkin, 2017), the key terms in the Kazakh patrilineage system *өз жұрт,* which are lacunae in the Russian language, were selected (Table 1).

Table 1. *Kinship terms of patrilineage (өз жұрт)*

Kazakh word / word combination	Lacuna in Russian	In English
Consanguinity		
• Male		
ата	дед; дедушка; предок; отец	grandfather; grandfather; ancestor; father
аға	старший брат; старший по возрасту родственник; дядя	elder brother; older in age; relative; uncle
іні	младший брат; племянник; младший родственник	younger brother; nephew; younger relative
немере аға	двоюродный брат	cousin (elder in age)
немере іні	двоюродный брат	cousin (younger in age)
• Female		
әже	бабушка	grandmother
апа	старшая сестра; тетя; форма обращения к старшей родственнице или старшей женщине; мама; бабушка	elder sister; aunt; form of address to an older female relative or older woman; mother; grandmother
сіңілі	младшая сестра; младшая родственница	younger sister; younger female relative
қарындас	младшая родная или двоюродная сестра	younger sibling or cousin, related to a man
немере апа	двоюродная сестра	cousin (female, older in age)
немере сіңілі	двоюродная сестра	cousin (female, younger in age, related to a woman)
немере қарындас	двоюродная сестра	cousin (female, younger in age, related to a man)

Source: authors' elaboration based on the data from the Kazakh-Russian dictionary (Syzdykova & Husain, 2008)

The ascending line of consanguinity terminology is represented by several terms, the first of which is the term *ata*. It is a lacuna in Russian since there is a division of this term along the paternal line (*ata*) and the maternal line (*нағашы ата*). The term *ata*, according to Zhanpeisova, was borrowed from the Indo-European languages to denote older relatives on the paternal side and has existed for a long time in some Turkic languages (Cygan, Greathouse, Heinz, & Kalinichev, 2009).

About the existing opinion that some of the names of older relatives arose from children's speech as babbling words, Alpysbesuly (1999) writes "Türkic names of kinship *ata, ana, aka, itta, inna* and others, in which there are elements *ta, na, ka*, etc., are united by a common meaning - they denote the names of older relatives (father, mother, older brother, older sister, grandfather, etc.). This can serve as one of the factors confirming the theory of the emergence of such names from the speech of children" (Alpysbesuly, 1999).

The lexeme *ata* in the Kazakh language has a polysemantic nature and is part of various related names: with the meaning of "paternal ancestor", *арғы ата* "distant ancestors"/"great-grandfather", *бергі ата* "closest ancestors"; with the meaning "grandfather," *нағашы ата* "maternal grandfather; with the meaning "father," *қайын ата* "father of husband/father of wife"; with the meaning "generation", *жеті ата* "seven fathers" (Alpysbesuly, 1999).

Vakhitova, Kuzembayeva, Yergazina, Zhumakhanova, Khayrullina / Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics
8(1) (2022) 28-43

34

The grandmother plays an equally important role in the upbringing of the younger generation in the spirit of folk traditions, and in the transfer of spiritual values: *Әже – ақылдың кені, өткеннің шежіресі* "Grandmother is the source of instruction, the keeper of the past". This term in the Kazakh language also received two names depending on membership in the paternal or maternal lines: *әже* "father's mother" and *нағашы әже* "mother's mother".

Let us compare the semantic and functional features of the terms of kinship *дед* "grandfather", *бабушка* "grandmother" in the Russian language, considering their etymology and derivational properties. In the *Explanatory Dictionary* of Ozhegov and of Ushakov, the word *дед* in its first meaning indicated the father of father or mother. Any old man is also called *дед*. The etymology of this term leads to the Slavic origins, which indicates the Proto-Slavic beginning: Ukrainian *дід*, Bolgarian *дзед*, ancient Slavic *дѣдъ*, Bolgarian *дя́до*, Polish *dziad* (Sumnikova, 1969). Derivative words in Russian are lexemes endowed with various stylistic shades: *дедушка, дедуля, дедуся* (affectionate), *деда* (childish).

The Russian lexeme *бабушка* is used in two meanings: 1. Mother of father or mother; 2. An appeal to an old woman (simple) (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1999). Like the word grandfather, it has proto-Slavic origins and is found in Ukrainian (*ба́ба*), Bolgarian (*ба́ба*), Serbian, and Croatian (*ба́ба*), Polish (*baba*) (Chernyshova, 2014) The analyzed term has derivatives: 1) *бабуся —> бабусечка —> бабусенька*; 2) *бабуля —> бабулечка —> бабуленька* (Usmanova & Ismatullayeva, 2020).

Based on the comparative analysis of the terms of consanguinity in a straight line – *дед, бабушка/ата, әже* "grandfather/grandmother", their linguistic characteristics, and ethnic originality were identified.

Brothers and sisters of various degrees of kinship are designated by special terms concerning the speaker. The meaning of the term is interpreted depending on the speaker's age (older or younger) and gender (a man or a woman). The kinship system encounters terms denoting siblings, cousins, brothers and sisters from the paternal and maternal lines. Such a category of kinship includes "... not just names that have no meaning, but expressions of existing views on closeness and distance, the sameness and dissimilarity of kinship, which can express several hundred different kinship relations of an individual" (Romney & d'Andrade, 1964).

The term brother in the Kazakh language has two names, *аға* "elder brother" (Kirillova) and *іні* "younger brother" (Zalesny & Goncharov, 2019). In Russian, these designations correspond to the word *брат*. For the Kazakh language, the differential seme "age" is relevant in this case. In the examples considered, the discrepancy between the lexical units of the Kazakh and Russian languages in terms of the level of generalization of reality reflected in them reveals the so-called vector, generic-specific, or, as some scientists call them, hyperonymic-hyponymic lacunae.

likewise, the lexeme *аға* in the Kazakh-Russian dictionary has the following translation: 1) older brother; 2) older relative, including uncle on the father's side (Dwight Read & Fischer, 2014; Singleton & Leśniewska, 2021; Ufimceva, 2009). The ambiguous nature of the terms *аға* and *апа* is explained by the peculiarities of the Kazakhs' way of life where, due to the high mortality rate, closely related families tried to live side by side and support each other in every possible way. In case of the death of parents, children were brought up by a brother, sister, uncle, or aunt. Therefore, no distinction was deliberately made between a sibling or an uncle and aunt, and the child called both of them alike *аға* or *апа*.

In the Kazakh etymological dictionary, the term *аға* is recorded in three phonetic variants: 1) *аға* (Kyrg., Tat., Turkm., Azerb.); 2) *аға* (Kaz., Bashk., Khak., Yakut.); 3) *ака* (Uzb., Uyg., Alt.) (DeFranza et al., 2020). According to D Read (2015), a researcher of the Turkic languages, the word *аға* has six meanings, one of which is used in the meaning of *әке* "father". In the southwestern group of languages, this lexeme does not belong to the kinship terms, as it has a different meaning; for example, in the Turkish, Azerbaijani, or Khakass languages, *аға* denotes "master" or "boss" (Nethercott, 1991).

Vakhitova, Kuzembayeva, Yergazina, Zhumakhanova, Khayrullina / Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics 8(1) (2022) 28-43

35

Numerous Kazakh proverbs and sayings testify to the important role of the elder brother in the family: e.g., *Ағасы бардың жағасы бар, інісі бардың тынысы бар* "Where there is an older brother, there is a support, where there is a younger brother, there is help"; or, *Ағаны көріп іні өсер, апаны көріп сіңлі осер* "Looking at the older brother, the younger brother grows; looking at the older sister, the younger sister grows"; or, *Ағадан ақыл, ініден ізет* "Advice from the older brother, respect from the younger brother"; or, *Аға алдында пейіліңді көрсет, іні аддында мейіріңді көрсет* "Show your intention to your elder brother, and kindness to your younger brother".

The important role of *аға* is also confirmed by numerous associations stated in the Kazakh associative dictionary, for example, *қамқоршы* "caring" – 27; *тірек* "support" – 26; *қорғаушы* "defender" – 22; *арқа сүйеу* "support" – 10; *сүйенер тауым* "my protection" – 3 and many others. The listed associations help to understand the background meaning of the word *аға* and to determine some components of the Kazakh mentality. The primary meaning of the term *брат* in Russian is "the son of the same parents or one of them concerning their other children (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1999).

The lexeme *брат* is common Slavic, its equivalents are used in all Slavic languages: Ukrainian, Bolgarian *брат*; ancient Slavic *братръ, братъ*; Slovene *brát*; Czech. *Bratr*; Polish *brat* with the same meaning as the Russian brother (Fishman, 2019). The use of the word *брат* in phrases allows us to determine the degree of kinship: *родной брат*, or "sibling" with a common father and mother; *двоюродный брат*, or "cousin" which is the son of an uncle or aunt; *троюродный брат*, or "second cousin" who is the son of a great uncle or a cousin; *единокровный брат* or "half-brother" having a common father, but different mothers; *единоутробный брат*, or "half-brother" having a common mother, but different fathers; *сводный брат*, or "half-brother" who is the son of a stepfather or stepmother; *молочный брат*, or "foster brother" who was fed by one woman; *названый брат*, or "named brother" having a conditional relationship.

In the Kazakh language, compared with the Russian language, there are more one-word (simple in structure) designations of each daughter concerning other children of the same parents: *апа* "elder sister" (Fierman, 2005); *сіңілі* "younger sister of a woman" (Fierman, 2005); *қарындас* "younger sister of a man" (Zalesny & Goncharov, 2019). In Russian, all these words correspond to the word *сестра*. This case also demonstrates hyperonymic-hyponymic lacunae.

The lexeme *апа* is ambiguous in its semantics: 1) older sister; 2) aunt; 3) the form of addressing an older relative; 4) mother; grandmother (more often when referring) (Sumnikova, 1969; Temirgazina et al., 2017). The word *апа* is used by both men and women, younger in age, relatives or strangers. In the Bashkir language and many Turkic languages, this word is used concerning a man: *апа* "older brother". The kinship terms that have both feminine and masculine meanings reflect the system of consanguinity that developed at the early stages of tribal relations, before the formation of family-kinship relations. The absence of feminine meanings in terms of consanguinity (for example, the terms *ата, баба*) makes it possible to attribute them to a later time, i.e. to the era when relations of patriarchy became dominant (Ufimceva, 2009).

The second line of kinship in the Kazakh system of related names, the matriline, is named *нағашы*. The lexeme *нағашы* is a lacuna for the Russian language since in the dictionary of the Kazakh language it is represented by a descriptive phrase "relatives from the mother's side" (Ulzhabayeva, Yeralinova, & Zhanuzakov, 2016), or "a relative on the mother's side" (Ulzhabayeva et al., 2016). The lack of differentiation by seniority in the terminology of maternal kinship as opposed to paternal kinship is one of the characteristic features of the classification system of kinship among the Turkic peoples. This is noted by researchers of kinship and marriage relations of some Turkic nations, primarily Dyrenkova and Dulzon (Reniers, 2001).

The basic kinship terms of matrilineage are given in Table 2.

Vakhitova, Kuzembayeva, Yergazina, Zhumakhanova, Khayrullina / Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics 8(1) (2022) 28-43

36

Table 2. *Kinship terms of matriline (нағашы жұрт)*

Kazakh word / word combination	Lacuna in Russian	In English
CONSANGUINITY		
Male		
нағашы ата	дедушка	grandfather from the mother's side
нағашы аға	дядя	uncle from the mother's side
нағашы іні	младший брат	younger brother from the mother's side
Female		
нағашы әже	бабушка	grandmother from the mother's side
нағашы апа	тетя	aunt from the mother's side
нағашы қарындас	младшая сестра	younger sister from the mother's side
Kinship terms without gender distinction		
бөле	двоюродный брат; двоюродная сестра	cousin from the mother's side
жиен	внук; племянник; племянница	male child of a daughter; nephew; niece
жиеншар	правнук; внучатый племянник	grandson from the daughter; great-nephew

Source: authors' elaboration based on the data from the Kazakh-Russian dictionary (Polatova, Lekerova, Kistaubaeva, Zhanaliyeva, & Kalzhanova, 2020)

The lexeme *нағашы* is added to all words denoting members of a clan related to the mother's lineage. For example, children address the grandfather from the mother's side with the words *нағашы ата*, and the grandmother with the words *нағашы әже*. In turn, the children of one's daughter are called by her blood relatives *жиен* ("grandchildren from the daughter's side"), the daughter's grandchildren are called *жиеншар*, the daughter's great-grandchildren are called *дегеншар*, and the daughter's great-grandchildren are called *көгеншар*.

A negative attitude towards *жиен* was regarded as a moral flaw: *Жиенді ұрғанның қолы қалтырайды; Нағашысымен күрессе, жиені жығылар* "Do not beat *жиен*, otherwise your hands will start shaking"; *Жиеннің назасына ұшыраған оңбайды* "one who offended the *жиен* will be displeased". When observing traditional etiquette, *нағашы* and *жиен* establish warm family relations, which were partly motivated by the departure of their daughter, sister to another family and locality after marriage, because of which supporting their children was considered as a sacred duty. The term *жиен* has two meanings, "grandson from daughter" or "nephew on the female side". In Russian, two lexemes are used to name these kinship relations without differentiation of the female and male lines: *внук* "grandson"; *внучка* "granddaughter"; *племянник* "nephew"; *племянница* "niece".

Similarly, the words *племянник/племянница*, which originate from the lexeme *племя* "clan, family, offspring" in Old Russian, were until the end of the 15th-16th centuries, as Vinogradov noted in his work, applied to a relative or a congener in general. There was a differentiated division of terms to designate the children of a brother or a sister in the Old Russian language, taking into account descent from a brother or a sister: brother's son – *братыч (братанич, брательнич, сыновец)*; brother's daughter – *братанина (братана, сыновица)*; sister's son – *сестринич (сестринец, сестрич)*; a sister's daughter – *сестрична* (Chernyshova, 2014). To replace the outdated versions in the literary language, lexemes *племянник, племянница* took their place (Table 3).

Table 3. *Kinship terms of the line of husband/wife (қайын жұрт)*

Kazakh word / word combination	Lacuna in Russian	In English
CONSANGUINITY		
Male		
күйеу	муж;	husband;
	зять;	son-in-law;
	жених	groom
қайын ата	свекор;	father-in-law;
	тесть	father-in-law
қайнаға	деверь;	older brother or any relative of husband;
	шурин	older brother of wife
қайын іні	деверь	younger brother of husband
бажа	свояк	younger brother of wife
Female		
келін	сноха,	wife of a relative;
	невестка	wife of a son
ене (қайын ене)	свекровь;	mother-in-law, related to a woman;
	теща	mother-in-law, related to a man
қайын апа (бике)	золовка;	sister-in-law;
	свояченица	older sister of husband/wife
қайын сіңілі	золовка	younger sister of husband
абысын	невестка	wife of older brother related to the wife of younger brother
Kinship terms without gender distinction		
балдыз	свояченица;	younger sister of wife;
	шурин	younger brother of wife

Source: authors' elaboration based on the data from the Kazakh-Russian dictionary.

After marriage, a Kazakh family faces the problem of building relationships with a new member, the *келін* or "daughter-in-law", who brings the customs and traditions of her tribe. According to the dictionary of Sevortyan, the word *келін* in the Turkic languages means "a daughter-in-law, the wife of a son or a younger brother, the wife of a younger brother concerning the wife of an older brother (in Bashkir dialects), a young woman" (Singleton & Leśniewska, 2021).

In the Explanatory Dictionary, the following definition is stated: *келін* 1) the wife of a son; 2) wife of a younger brother or any younger relative (Zalesny & Goncharov, 2019). Along with the word *невестка* "daughter-in-law" in Russian, the synonymous term *сноха* is used. However, there are differences between these two lexemes. *Сноха* is "a woman concerning her husband's father and mother" (Fishman, 2019; Olaf, 2006; Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1999); "the wife of the son," (Fishman, 2019). *Невестка* is the wife of a brother or also a married woman concerning her husband's brothers and sisters (and their wives and husbands) (Ulzhabayeva et al., 2016). The relationship between communicants is of great importance in Turkic verbal culture.

Kaidar writes in this regard that the common property of the Turkic languages is the cult of the word, the presence of sacred meanings in words, the use of stable expressions with ethnographic content (Kurganova & Ye, 2016; Levelt, 1999). Russian speakers tend to use kinship terms along with the name of the relative. In the family community of Kazakhs, age and gender differentiation, as one of the main reasons for the emergence of lacunarity, is reflected in the following names of related persons: *қайнаға* (the elder brother of a husband and wife); *қайын* (the younger brother of her husband); *қайнапа* (older the sister of the husband and wife); *қайын сіңілі* (the younger sister of the husband).

The Russian language does not have a division of the names of kinship that considers age characteristics. The brother (older and younger) of the husband is called the brother-in-law, and the sister (older and younger) is called the sister-in-law. There are separate terms for the name of the husband's brother, or *деверь,* the wife's brother, or *шурин*, the husband's sister, or *золовка,* and the wife's sister, or *свояченица*.

Daughters-in-law, concerning each other the wives of siblings, are close and try doing things together with ease and joke. The role of the daughter-in-law is reflected in the proverb: *Абысын тату болса, ас көп, ағайын тату болса, ат көп* ("If the daughters-in-law are friendly, there is plenty of food, if the brothers are friendly, there are many horses"). The meaning of this is as follows: friendly, peaceful relations between brothers contribute to ordering in the economy; mutual understanding between daughters-in-law leads to the creation of a favorable family atmosphere.

The rich and varied terminology of the relationship of the languages under study is undoubtedly a kind of encyclopedia that allows tracing of the evolution of the development of society, understanding of the nationally specific features of the family, and the family relations and traditions of the two ethnic groups, Kazakhs and Russians. Knowledge of the aspects listed allows a deeper comprehension of the national mentality and understanding of linguacultural values. This helps us conclude kinship terms as a kind of cultural code. The following can be indicated as common features characterizing the system of kinship terminology in the Kazakh and Russian languages:

1. the poly semantic nature of the terms (the presence of denotative and connotative, primary and derived meanings);
2. the development of the suffixal way of word formation with a predominance of expressively abbreviated forms of the word in Russian;
3. the use of kinship terms as vocatives concerning strangers: aunt – *апа*, brother – *аға*, grandmother – *әже*.

Having conducted a comparative linguacultural analysis of the terms of kinship, considering the linear differentiation in the Kazakh language, we found the following differences (see Table 4).

Table 4. *Differences in the kinship terms of the Kazakh and Russian languages*

Kazakh	Russian
• Less exact differentiation of generations of kinship: *ата, баба, ағайын, бөле*	More exact differentiation of generations of kinship: *пра-, прапра-, дво-, троюродный*
• Linear differentiation: matrilineage – patrilineage	No linear differentiation: matrilineage – patrilineage
• Differentiated naming of kinship terms of the side lineage: brother – *аға, іні*; sister – *апа, қарындас, сіңілі*	No differentiated naming of kinship terms of the side lineage: *брат, сестра (brother, sister)*
• No gender differentiation: *немере, боле, жиен (grandson/granddaughter, nephew/niece)*	Gender differentiation: *внук-внучка (grandson-granddaughter), двоюродный брат-двоюродная сестра (cousin), племянник-племянница (nephew-niece)*
• The high level of generalization: a) the presence of secondary meanings related to names of relatives: *ағайын* – brothers; relatives b) a large number of concepts that unite relatives in pairs: *ата-ана, ағалы-қарындас (brothers and sisters), аға-іні (brothers), апа-жезде (older sister and brother-in-law), апа-қарындас, апалы-сіңілі sisters – older and younger), немере-шөберелер (grandchildren, great-grandchildren)*	The low level of generalization: a) no secondary meanings related to names of relatives; b) a small number of concepts that unite relatives in pairs: *мать-отец (mother-father), брат-сестра (brother-sister)*
• No differentiated naming of terms of property: *кайната* – father-in-law, *кайнана* – mother-in-law	Differentiated naming of terms of property: *свекор, свекровь, тесть, теща (father-in-law, mother-in-law)*

Source: *authors' elaboration based on the analysis of the kinship terms*

Kinship terms are part of the national linguistic picture of the world. They contain information on the customs and character of the people. Their transfer into another language is therefore one of the most important and difficult tasks in the process of intercultural communication. However, it is precisely the differences in pictures of the world among the representatives of various nations, and the presence of untranslatable elements of a language that makes it possible to better understand and evaluate one's language and to distinguish its specific properties.

Conclusion

The system of designating kinship among different nations, including Slavic and Turkic, is a valuable source for studying the forms of tribal and marriage-family relations and their reflection in the linguistic picture of the world. A comparative analysis of languages shows that differentiation in the designation of the degree of kinship depends on the type of culture. Family as a universal human social and cultural institutions determines the formation, for the most part, of semantic and formal indicators of lexical units, or kinship terms.

Especially interesting in the linguistic study of the terms of kinship is their semantic aspect that includes reflection of meaning in dictionary definitions, and a culture-logical aspect that allows to identify the peculiarities of the family way of life of different nations. The ethnic uniqueness of a people's lifestyle, traditions and customs, and family structure are expressed in the nationally marked part of this terminological system, which are lacunae in another language.

Fully evolved linguistic lacunae appear in the terms of kinship in Kazakh and Russian languages. The formation of lacunae is due to non-linguistic factors (the way of life of the people, the family, material living environment, etc.) on the one hand, and word usage traditions of a particular community on the other hand. Kazakh terms of kinship are lacunae in the Russian language, due to the specifics of family and its relationships traditionally based on Islamic moral values and rules of interpersonal communication. The universal nature of the terms of kinship is determined by the general human social status of the family and each member in it; ethnic specificity is determined by the differences of cultures, to which the peoples, carriers of the compared languages, historically ascend.

Significant differences in the system of Russian and Kazakh kinship terms manifested in connection with the allocation of the *seme* "gender correlation" (the name depends on the gender of the person, concerning whom it was used), as well as the *seme* "age concerning the speaking person". The results of the study indicate the presence and strict observance of the "senior-junior" presupposition in the Kazakh system of kinship, which serves as the basis for upbringing, the senior should be an example for the younger, and the latter, in turn, must respect the one older in age and status. The Russians do not have a separation of kinship terms that takes into account age-related characteristics. In the Kazakh family community, along with age differentiation, there is also gender differentiation in the names of relatives by husband and wife. Kazakh kinship terminology is a more hierarchical and ramified lexical system due to the principle of linear differentiation. Thus, many Kazakh kinship terms are lexical gaps in the Russian language. The system of the kinship of the Kazakhs is diverse and is associated with the complex genealogical structure of the tribe and the separate family, or *shezhire* (lineage), which is currently becoming an important topic in the context of studying Kazakh culture and society as a whole.

The terminology of kinship in all languages consolidates the centuries-old traditions of people in the way of family life. In the era of globalization, many family traditions and their nominations are lost. The rich and varied kinship terminologies of the languages studied are undoubtedly a kind of encyclopedia that helps to trace the evolution of the development of society, to understand the national-specific features of family relations and the traditions of two ethnic groups, the Kazakhs and the Russians. Knowledge of the listed aspects makes it possible to more deeply comprehend the national mentality and understanding of cultural values, which allows us to conclude about the terms of kinship as a kind of cultural code.

However, some limitations are present. Only the data on kinship terminology of the Kazakh and Russian languages were considered in this study. Describing the lexical composition and functioning of the kinship terms in the languages of different nations would contribute to the identification of ethnic features of life, family relations and traditions of different ethnic groups in a wide sociocultural and historical context. A further study of lacunarity in different structural

Vakhitova, Kuzembayeva, Yergazina, Zhumakhanova, Khayrullina / Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics 8(1) (2022) 28-43

40

languages has great prospects as a topic for scientific research. The comprehensive approach developed in the research may be regarded as a new step in the development of the Lacuna theory.

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Data Availability

Data will be available on request.

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