

# Kazakh Gluttonous Discourse analysis of ‘Bas Tartu’ & ‘Tabak Tartu’: Conceptual Image and Institutional Function

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## Abstract

The scientific advancement and globalization have influenced the way fields like anthropolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, and ethnolinguistics should be studied to research intercultural communication. This study examined the national dishes that make up the Kazakh gluttonous discourse, its components, customs, and rituals, and how serving a dish to a guest can cause both positive and negative cultural consciousness in cultures. The data collected in the form of lexical and semiotic units, forming a gluttonous discourse at individual and institutional levels, was subjected to a conceptual analysis. It was felt that gluttonyms as lexical units played an important role in preventing negative cultural consciousness and forming empathy for national dishes. National dishes such as ‘bas tartu’, ‘tabak tartu’ in the Kazakh gluttonous discourse and cognitive conceptual basis of some customs in the preparation process and serving a dish to the guest were studied. It was found that the Kazakh gluttonous discourse was one of the sources of the national conceptual image of the world. This allowed us to determine that some of the institutional functions of the Kazakh gluttonous discourse were based on the national conceptual image of the world.

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## Introduction

The use of the Internet and the process of globalization have transformed both virtual and real communication, for owners of one culture have an excellent opportunity to experience the cultural consciousness of another cultural environment, in the process of acculturation (Mirzayevich, 2023). Before the advent of the internet, language was one of the sources of such acculturation, one of the sources of processing the world consciousness (Sokolskaya & Valentonis, 2020). Language determined the nature of the development and maturity of human culture, systematized by certain rules and norms of human relations. The term cultural consciousness, is defined as “an acute mental state experienced by a person in the process of acculturation”, which can cause both positive and negative emotions, and physical sensations (Suleimenova & Shaimerdenova, 2020). Cultural consciousness in this context can arise from various types of discourses of different cultures that are practiced in everyday life.

One such type of discourse is ‘gluttonous discourse,’ a term built from the word *gluttire* meaning swallowing in Latin and accepted as a “linguistic symbol of food and its components” (Gasperini, 2022; Olyanich, 2004, 2015). Fedorova & Rufova (2016) point out that “gluttonous discourse is divided into frames” and demonstrates the importance and relevance of conceptual research at both individual and institutional levels in intercultural communication. At the individual level, gluttonous discourse is manifest as gluttonous (food-related) in the human mind in the form of menus, recipes, procedure rules and rituals, and builds a cultural consciousness, relevant to the language in the recognition of national culture. At the institutional level, gluttonous discourse represent its own sign system, where cultural capital, national self-identification, personal identification and subjective attitude (taste), tender characteristics (social characteristics) are concentrated (Olyanich, 2004, 2015).

While the individual characteristic of gluttonous discourse is seen in food and its associated discourse, the institutional discourse represents social (class) characteristics and general features. Akhatova (2006) rightly describes individual and institutional discourse as interplay of communication of individual representatives and that of social groups in a typical discursive situation. These types of discourses represent communication within the framework of formal and informal rules, norms, attitudes, embedded in different areas of human activity.”

The Kazakh gluttonous discourse has not been studied for its cultural consciousness, neither at individual nor at the institutional levels nor any attempt has been made to examine the communication between various social groups that make up a society. There is a dearth of research studies on cultural consciousness and intercultural communication demonstrating the use of language in the recognition of the Kazakh gluttonous discourse and its national culture. In this context, therefore, this study examined the gluttonous discourse of the Kazakh people, to understand how food and gluttony could be defined as a communicative situation, how a new type of discourse can bring a person in another cultural environment. The current study is guided by the scientific principles and research methodology of cognitive linguistics in the integration of the fields of ethnology and anthropology. As a result of the conceptual analysis, the conceptual image of the head of a sheep, as an important meal item, is seen in terms of the linguistic consciousness of the Kazakh ethnos. It is believed that this study would help understand the framework of the Kazakh traditions and the presentation of their food, in the Kazakh gluttonous discourse process, and serve as a useful contribution to the domain of discourse analysis.

## Literature Review

For intercultural communication, the gluttonous discourse comprises verbal and non-verbal communication related to various social indicators (gender, age, position, class-group) of the people involved in the process of its presentation and acceptance. This type of discourse is best demonstrated through gluttonyms, which are the main units of any gluttonous discourse, and their semantic content is the part of the conceptual sphere of the world objects in the minds of people. Gluttonyms have semantic, linguacultural and ethnocultural features, which have been empirically tested in studies (Popova & Sternin, 2007), where the conceptual sphere is the area of mental images, or units of the universal object code, which represent the structured knowledge of people, their information base, and the semantic space of the language is a part of the conceptsphere that has received expression (verbalization, objectification) in the system of linguistic signs – words, phrase combinations, syntactic structures and formed by the meanings of linguistic units (Terniievskaya, 2023).

Fedorova & Rufova (2016) identified gluttonous discourse as mental frames stored in the human mind in the form of menus, recipes, procedure rules and rituals. For example, in the Kazakh gluttonous discourse, these mental frames are reflected in ceremonies and rituals. One such ritual is ‘*bas tartu*’ which literally means “paving the way.” The explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language (Zhanuzakov, 2008) provides the following information about the meaning of the word ‘*bas tartu*.’ It is also used as a gluttonous name, which consists of a combination of two words: ‘*bas*’ means “head” or “front”, and ‘*tartu*’ means gifts, valuables

and respect; hence, the phrase 'bas tartu' is recognized as a ritual to show respect for higher people, the heads of clans or tribes, and offer them gifts and valuables. This ceremony takes place at both individual and institutional levels. At the 'bas tartu' ceremony, therefore, the conceptual knowledge of the nation in relation to the 'bas' is reflected in the scene of the ritual of "crossing the forehead" before presenting it to the elder. This ritual is closely connected with the conceptual images of the forehead, according to their belief, destiny is written on the forehead. By presenting the forehead to someone is also showing respect to him.

When applied to food and gluttony, *bas tartu* and *tabak tartu*, both are parts of the Kazakh gluttonous discourse, and are not limited to the notion that they are national dishes of the Kazakh ethnic groups. The Kazakh gluttonous discourse emits both national pride and satisfaction as reflected in a few statements: "Our food habits are a reflection of our society" (Murcott, 1988); or "We do not just eat to live, we eat to enter into contact with others" (Levi-Strauss, 2013); or "Food is not just food. It is what unites us together" (Pollan, 2006). Hence, the Kazakh gluttonous discourse turns out to be anthropological discourse as it provides anthropological information about the cultural and social aspects of the life of this ethnic group, namely, religious beliefs, traditions, socio-social structure and ideology, as well as the main ingredient that makes up a dish or a set of dishes. It also contains cognitive information about the conceptual image of the "head" of the sheep in the public mind, religious psychological knowledge, and rituals performed accordingly.

Olyanich (2004) discusses the hierarchy of an elder's position in the family and the elder's place in society. While offering the sheep's head is a manifestation of "personality identification" and as a mark of respect. In the Kazakh traditional ethnographic categories, elders play an important role in the formation of the Kazakh feudal society and also determine the hierarchy between social groups. According to the Kazakh ethnographic, folklore and written sources, only people aged sixty and older had the honor of becoming respected elders at the village, clan, tribe, and even ethnic level (Aktulum, 2018; Kaskabasov, 2011). Bartholdt (2011) also defined an elder person as an honorable man who has no authority, but a long-standing merit, a lot of experience, intelligence and wisdom. This elder also belongs to "higher" and most prominent institutions of organization and regulation of public relations.

Additionally, the conceptual meaning of *bas* also refers to a constant contact with the higher world or celestial world (Nurzhanova, 2007). The semantics of the word "higher" include some common concepts that can be found in the conclusions of Lakoff & Johnson (1990), where metaphorically, consciousness orients upwards to higher levels; life orients upwards because rationally and happiness is at the top; and the unknown is also at the top. This can help to understand the conceptual reasons why the Turkic tribes associated many uncertainties about the "creator god" and associated Him with the higher space. The fact is that they believed that they could communicate with the god of the sky above. The Kazakh religious belief "Man proposes, God disposes" confirms that the head or the soul is in "the God's hands" (Sagidolda, 2003); "The head is a place where prosperity lives and nests" (Shahanova, 1998); the Kazakhs believe that if you throw a hat on the ground, the luck will turn away from person. Lastly, in the Kazakh tradition, there is a notion that all good is written on the forehead: "Some Kyrgyz (Kazakhs) do not give their own head, fearing the consequences" (Valikhanov, 2006).

The authenticity and reliability of these definitions is confirmed by the roots, semantics and phraseology of the Kazakh language (Kenesbayev, 2007). Sabitova (2007) reminds that the ancient Turks used to have an impersonal divine masculine principle, determined by the fate of a person, people and state which gets reflected in the modern-day gluttonous discourse, while Undrintsova (2012) argues that gluttonous discourse is understood as a special type of verbal-social discourse in connection with socio-cultural, religious-ethical, linguo-philosophical properties, the purpose of which is to achieve gluttonous communication.

Gluttonous discourse is also studied at the institutional level. Karasik (1998) defines institutional discourse as the communicative interaction of people, social group representatives who are aware of their status and role within the framework of existing social institutions. Thus, in the institutional context, Karasik (2000) emphasizes the status-role characteristics of social participants in a discourse. Zakharov (2008) defines institutional gluttony as a system of food signs (gluttonyms), variably assigned to socially unequal segments of a population. Pathan (2023) states institutional gluttony gained significance because food has largely been ignored until recently in the sociological sphere, because it was seen as just as only as biological and something we needed for survival.

## Theoretical Framework

Theoretically, the Kazakh gluttonous discourse lacks the world's perspective (Lakoff & Johnson, 1990) as it is too confined to the mechanism of human cognition and thinking. Plungyan's (1991) work "Logical analysis of language: cultural concepts" suggested a few methods of analyzing the image of the ordinary world, which were supported by several philosophers and scientists who unanimously discussed the conceptual and theoretical image of the world (Dzyuba, 2015; Guo, 2018; Nikitina, 2006; Popova & Sternin, 2007; Sabitova, 2007; Serebrennikov, 1988; Vorkachev, 2003), and specifically investigated the field of gluttonous discourse (Bisimbaeva, 2019; Bovayeva, 2012; Fedorova & Rufova, 2016; Olyanich, 2004; Undrintsova, 2012) and the

problems of the institutional discourse (Akhatova, 2006; Karasik, 2000; Otar, 2014; Zakharov, 2008).

Nikitina (2006) theorized that the conceptual picture of the world contains all the results of practical, artistic, technical, scientific knowledge of the humankind, a certain part of which is experienced through language. In other words, linguistic image of the world is “knowledge and ideas about the world around, ordered in human consciousness with the help of the category of language and its means, determined and verbalized” (Nikitina, 2006). Language is also used to decipher the content of the conceptual picture of the world, connecting words through speech and lexical and grammatical means (Dzyuba, 2015). The linguistic picture of the world is conceptualized in several ways, namely through linguistic functions (Serebrennikov, 1988), or through semiotic systems represented in consciousness (Bosova, 1999); or through the perception of objects perceived by hearing, feeling, seeing and analyzing in the human mind and form an interconnected conceptual system (Taussogarova, 2015).

Among the concepts containing information about the knowledge and experience of mankind, the image of world objects, is formulated in consciousness (Vorkachev, 2003), focusing on the concept of linguoculture and describing its main functions and features as “the ability to reflect in semantics the national mentality as a set of worldview and behavioral characteristics of an ethnos and national character, as a relatively stable and integral warehouse of the spiritual life of a linguistic personality, which determines its qualitative uniqueness” (Vorkachev, 2003).

In addition, anthropolinguistics, cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics provide a theoretical basis for understanding the relationship between language, culture and food customs, contributing to the study of gluttony. This suggests that information about all human actions, including thinking, knowledge, and culture, is reflected in the language. This shows that integrative sciences such as ethnolinguistics, anthropolinguistics, and cognitive linguistics have developed in the close relationship between “Language and man”, “Language and ethnos”, “Language and culture”, Language and knowledge (cognition). The current study is created out of this belief only and aimed to examine these theoretical underpinnings.

## Methodology

### Research Design

This study utilized a qualitative research design with a historical-linguistic approach, and ethnolinguistic perspectives. The historical-linguistic approach enables understanding of semantic aspects of the Kazakh gluttonous phraseology and reconstructing the discourse across generations. The ethnolinguistic perspective is aimed at understanding the relationship between a language and the cultural behavior of the people who speak that language. The objective of this study was hence to decipher the deep semantic layers of gluttonous linguistic units and gather data about the image and cognition of food objects in ancient times.

### Data Collection

The data was collected from the archives, databases, research articles and Kazakh bilingual dictionaries. The study aimed at collecting information about gluttonous discourse, usually expressed by gluttonyms, and various rituals that are associated with these phrases. The data covered a wide range of subject domains like folk linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and discourse analysis, and mainly focused on collecting knowledge and understanding of the language appearance in the history of mankind. A few examples of gluttonyms were examined with their linguistic manifestations (contextual, paremiological), as well as the symbolic content of the images which represented the cultural consciousness of the Kazakh population.

### Data Analysis

The study executed a conceptual analysis guided by a comprehensive method, which included distributive, comparison and collation approaches to analyze the regular and metaphorical word combinations. The method of analyzing included the understanding of internal form of language units like gluttonyms, and verbal/nonverbal actions attached with them. The data analysis covered aspects like semiotic study of names of a food or phrases denoting gluttonous discourses.

## Results

The qualitative content analysis of the findings revealed several truths about the Kazakh culture, linguistic traditions and ethnographical beliefs. For example, ‘*Bas tartu*,’ in the context of gluttonous discourse, meant “to give an animal’s head as a gift.” According to the ancient belief, after the head of a lamb is cooked, its forehead is cut and put on a plate. This suggests that the notion of the word ‘*bas*,’ as the head or the upper part, is rooted in the ancient idea of worship and is associated with it.

Studying the gluttonous discourse of Kazakh *bas tartu* and *tabak tartu* in the prism of Language-Ethno-Cognition allows to recognize the features and characteristics of the nation as a separate people. Such a



discourse clearly identifies participant subjects, chronotopes, purposes, and scenarios in a frame structure. This can be explained further by making a semantic analysis of the name '*bas tartu*', which refers to 'head' and 'gift', allowing us to determine the purpose of this national gluttonous discourse. As mentioned earlier, gluttonous discourse is understood as mental frames, stored in the human mind in the form of menus, recipes, procedure rules and rituals. In the Kazakh gluttonous discourse, the procedure of '*bas tartu*' is performed in a ritual manner. During '*bas tartu*' ceremony, the conceptual knowledge of the nation in relation to the '*bases*' of the nation is reflected in the scene of the ritual of "crossing the forehead" before presenting it to the elder. This ritual is closely connected with the conceptual images of the forehead and the head, as described above, "destiny is written on the forehead".

In addition, the data in the Kazakh language reflects the image of the '*bas*' for example, *Long live the head, If the head survives, peace will be found*, anything for a quiet life, *Listen to your head, You must think with your head* means that the head is recognized as the organ responsible for thinking. Such a conceptual image of the '*bas*' in the linguistic consciousness is the basis for the formation of hierarchical relations between social groups. Its place in the hierarchy is therefore recognized more than involving the '*bas*' as honorary dish to the elder person.

Another example that refers to the conceptual image of the *head* of an animal in the Kazakh language is a positive mode (assessment) shown for the personalization of '*aksakal*', or one who has a social status. Based on the component analysis of phrases *aksakal biligi*, *aksakal batasy*, *aksakal kenesy*, *aksakal alkasy*, *aksakal instituty*, etc., the semantics revealed included '*Aksakal*' identified as a 1) man; 2) special category of human age; 3) an active individual in society who solves issues of dynasty, village, tribe; 4) one who has a deep knowledge of legal norms and customs; and 5) a teacher. Likewise, phrases like *broad/flat/open/narrow forehead* in the language are also associated with its simple conceptual image. While the *broad forehead* phrase has a positive or positive subjective pragmatic value, the *narrow forehead* has a negative or negative subjective assessment. This is determined by the connection of these phrases with the phraseology *did not fit in the narrow forehead*. According to popular belief, if the forehead is narrow, happiness and luck will not last long. The combination of the word *forehead* with such adjectives as *flat*, *wide*, *narrow*, *open* shows that it is recognized in the minds of the people in the form of a geometric figure.

Turning attention back to gluttonous discourse, we also came across to two other terms "Refuse" and "Tabaq Tartu," which are names of national dishes and stand as a linguistic symbol as well. In their deep semantic structures, these two words contain information about the worldview and culture of this ethnic group related to food. It is closer in meaning to the symbolic status of the "head" of the sheep, which is offered as food. Therefore, both these words reflect the semantic concepts of the word "head" as "main, basic", as well as in the gluttonous discourse, the conceptual image of the "head" member in the linguistic consciousness of the Kazakh ethnos. These two words also play a regulatory role of interpersonal communication in the cultural context of the gluttonous discourse. The gluttonous discourses of "Rejection" or "Tabaq Tartu" occupy a main place in the formation of ethnic cultural identity, social structure of the nation, and interpersonal relations in the Kazakh ethos. This shows that language is a means of conveying and explaining ethnic ideas about the rituals and religious understanding, the conceptual image of the ingredients that make up food, performed in the gluttonous discourse process of "Giving up", "Putting a plate".

Another reason why the head of a sheep is given to an honorable elder as a meal is due to its simple conceptual image. It is the knowledge that *human destiny is written on the forehead*. In the Kazakh language it can be proved on the basis of conceptual analysis of such phrases as *bless your forehead*, *wide forehead*. This was a great revelation of this study that the conceptual images behind the terms, *bas tartu* and *tabak tartu* highlight the concept of fate or destiny reflected not only in linguistic units such as phraseology, metaphorical phrases, but also in the ritual of cutting the forehead of the sheep when serving the head to the guest.

According to conceptual analysis in phraseology, forehead is defined as 'the place where the destiny or the way of life predetermined by the Creator is written. This concept of fate is universally accepted; for instance, in the Russian mythology, fate appears as a conceptual image and a living or inanimate phenomenon: 1) Fate can be a man: a slave or a subordinate; 2) fate is both a criminal and a court: fate pursues/arrests; 3) fate is a patron, for which we thank her; 4) fate sometimes acts as a director; fate imposes a role; 5) when a person tries to fight/argue with fate, or begins to curse it, he considers Fate to be an adversary (Guo, 2018). The Kazakh people are not an exception. They see *fate* as a living phenomenon, the Man-Master; the Ruler of human life in general (written by Destiny); the Human Judge; Soul recipient; Man-opponent (Fate is hostile) and Fate is an inanimate phenomenon or a thing – a pre-written life, a recipe (for example, human destiny); menu to choose from (instead of honey of destiny, I drank poison); like a tangled thread (tangled destiny); There are other conceptual images of the intersecting, intermingling, reversible path (path of destiny, intertwined destiny) (Koptleuova et al., 2023).

All these conceptual images of the concept '*fate*' are reflected not only in linguistic units such as phraseology, metaphorical phrases, but also in the ritual of cutting the forehead of the sheep when serving the head to the guest. It is inferred that '*bas*' is in constant contact with the upper world or that it can communicate with the gods. The Kazakh religious belief confirms that the head or the soul is in the God's

hands, and that all good is written on the forehead. The semantics of the word “*bas*,” therefore, includes the conceptual metaphor that the consciousness is oriented upwards, towards the gods. It also rationalizes why the Turkic tribes associated many uncertainties about the “creator god” in the upper space.

In the context of gluttonous discourse, when the *bas tartu* ritual is performed, an old man or a distinguished guest is presented the head of the sheep. In return, this old man spreads his hands and gives his blessings and good wishes to the people, the host and his children. Scenes such as *cross the forehead, raise your hands for blessing, giving blessing* means *opening the way, wishing good things*. Such images of blessings can be seen in special scenes in the gluttonous discourse. Regarding blessing in the Kazakh language, the following conceptual image can be summarized: 1) blessing- something, you can take (*asked for a blessing, received a blessing, gave a blessing*); 2) blessing is a sentence: the person who received a good blessing or a positive blessing will be successful, the person who received a negative blessing will not have a good luck (*good/positive/negative blessing, return of a negative blessing*); 3) blessing is a promise, an oath; 4) blessing is a message addressed to the Creator and its fulfillment/non-fulfillment is beyond the control of a man; 5) blessing is a talisman or coded word with great energy; 6) blessing is an abstract thing (*white/positive/negative blessing*) that lives in the mind as a person's inner intention, desire, idealized, materialized by words.

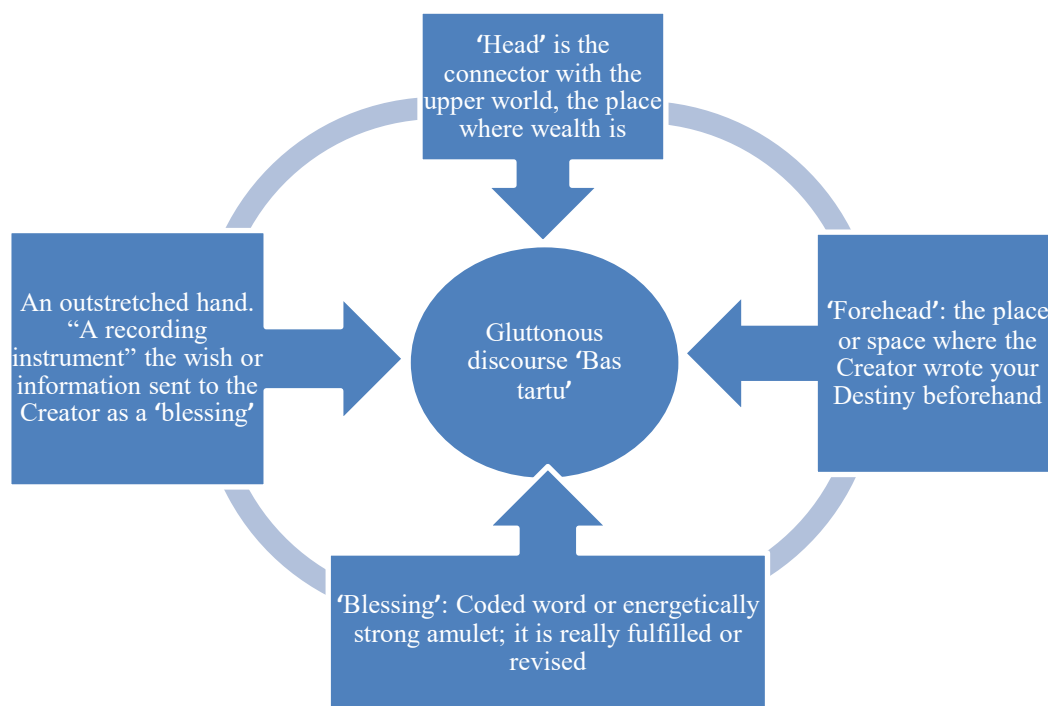
During the blessing scene, a non-verbal “raising your hands for blessing” is obligatory. This symbolizes that the Creator wishes a happy life, material wealth, and success in all endeavors. Blessings are given with both hands outstretched and two palms facing the face. The nonverbal action of “raising hands for praying” or the blessing scene of the gluttonous discourse ‘*bas tartu*’ with the image of the world, is embedded in the concept of ‘*alakan*’. When collecting linguistic data about ‘*alakan*’, which is the “inner sphere between the fingers and wrists”, it was revealed that it is reflected in the minds of the Kazakh people as follows:

1. ‘*Alakan*’ is a tool that records all information. The use of metaphorical phrase ‘*alakanda*’, *alakan ayasynda, alakanga salgandai* means “everything is in sight, clearly, known”.
2. ‘*Alakanyna*’ *saldy, alakanyna kondyrdy, alakan zhaidy* shows that the hand is like a space where something from outside is perceived and placed.
3. ‘*Alakan*’ is the life of an individual, such as a book with information about him (for example, “fortune telling by looking at your hand”).
4. It is possible to make changes in ‘*alakan*’ like in the book, for example, the scene of praying to God with open arms and asking for it.
5. ‘*Alakan*’ is like a signal that conveys a message to the brain (for example, the act of rubbing the face with the hand after blessing).

In the minds of the Kazakh people, therefore, the above-mentioned images of ‘*alakan*’ are reflected in the gluttonous discourse ‘*bas tartu*’. During the blessing, ‘*alakan*’ is raised and good destiny is asked from Allah, the Creator. It is believed that “all the emotions, good wishes and intentions are written in the hand during the recitation of the blessing, and this is a signal to convey that energy to the brain is carried out by stroking the face and forehead with the hand”. Modern research can provide a scientific basis for the simple worldview that underlies the nonverbal action of “spreading out the hands” during the “blessing” scene in the gluttonous discourse of ‘*bas tartu*’. It refers to the scientific principle that “life given by the mystical power” is perceived in the minds of the Kazakh people through ‘*alakan*’ and is spread to the brain or body.

‘*Alakan*’ provides information about the human life, like a tool for recording all information formulated in the palms of the hands, in the functioning of the subconscious, acting as a repository of past accumulated desires, impressions and actions that relate to numerous previous births (Matveev, 2016). The scientific basis for such a conceptual image is given in the following statement: ‘*Alakan*’ is a projection of our brain and our personality. By acting on the active points of the hand, we stimulate certain areas of the cerebral cortex responsible for certain functions. The hand will begin to perceive the new, drawn lines as its own and will send signals to the brain, which will lead to the desired result. It is important to understand that with the help of correction, you will not change the world, you can only change yourself. A person always has a choice. After all, it depends on you whether miracles will happen in your destiny” (Akimov & Krashenninnikova, 2017).

These image of the conceptual world of the Kazakh people, reflected in the gluttonous discourse ‘*bas tartu*’, is presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** *The Conceptosphere of The Gluttonous Discourse 'Bas Tartu': Interrelation of Concepts Bas, Forehead, Aksakal, Blessing, Alakan.*

This figure hints at conceptual images, reflected in the minds of the Kazakh people in connection with the objects of the head, destiny, forehead, blessing, showing the reasons for the special place of the animal's head in the national gluttonous discourse.

To conclude, this study revealed several images of the conceptual world reflected in various ways, namely:

1. The Head – the upper world – the link with the God, occupying the first place in the hierarchy of human body parts; as the ruler, the regulator of all human actions, happiness, success or sorrow.
2. The forehead of the sheep's head is the place where the destiny or way of life predestined by the Creator or Destiny is recorded.
3. Cutting of the forehead, the erasure of the negative way of life predestined by fate or destiny.
4. An 'aksakal' presented a head is a person who controls his own life (he controls his destiny) or other people or human life in general (rewriter of destiny).
5. The blessing requested by the elder from the Creator is the destiny of the people (guests) involved in the process of this gluttonous discourse turned in the right direction.
6. 'Alakan' is raised as a wish or information sent to the Creator as a blessing, and as a 'recording tool' and a 'destiny that can be changed'.
7. 'Alakan' – is the function of a signal or messenger (conductor). After the blessing is read, the transfer of new changes or emotions to the other brain by swiping the face is carried out through non-verbal actions.

## Discussion

The results of the study revealed multiple aspects of semantically strong image of the 'bas' in the phraseology of the modern Kazakh language. In all phrases like *the bird of happiness (wealth) landed on/left his head* or *A cloud fell on his head*, there is 'bas' recognized as "space, place, address" or the head as the place of happiness, wealth, misfortune, sorrow, and anxiety. Besides, there is a comparison, assimilation, and a conceptual metaphorization of the image of the 'bas', recognized in the minds of the people as "the higher world – the link with God", "the ruler of all human actions" and the status of 'aksakal' who plays an administrative role in the history of Kazakh society. The notion of being the first in the hierarchy due to the status of chief and elder is reflected in the gluttonous discourse of 'bas tartu'.

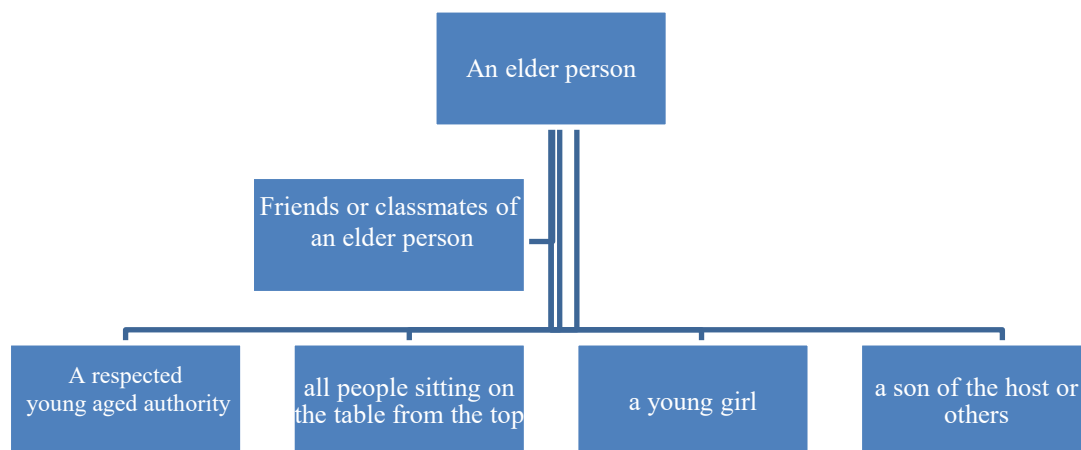
Offering the sheep's head to an elder person from different social groups determines the Information about all actions of a person, including thinking, knowledge, culture, is first of all reflected in the language. This shows the close relationship between "Language and Man", "Language and Ethnicity", "Language and Culture", Language and Knowledge. "Bas tartu", "Tabak tartu" are the names of national dishes as linguistic symbols, and at that time, in their deep semantic structures, they also contained information about the world view and culture of this ethnic group related to food. The discourse of "Rejection", "Putting a plate" is the science of cultural or ethnic, cognitive details in the content of linguistic signs in the context. Language and

food customs can be considered as systems of signs that communicate information about culture and social practices. For example, certain food products or dishes can be symbols of status, religious beliefs, or national identity.

The Kazakh people have a saying "meat is the essence of food". Meat is the main ingredient of the national dish "tabak tartu", which is prepared as a celebratory meal on various holidays or special days and served to special guests. Specifically, according to the knowledge of the Kazakh ethnos, the carcasses of the sheep are placed on a large plate: the head, thighs, midrib, loin, rib, sheep's umbilicus, horse meat. The process of preparing the national dish "tabak tartu" with a centuries-old history has changed throughout history due to the technological development of society.

In early times, both men and women participated in the preparation of this national dish. Men prepare the hearth for cooking meat and firewood and pile up the "head" of the sheep, wash it in warm water and clean it thoroughly, and at the same time, cut off the side and clean it. The women's duty was to wash the carcasses of the sheep: head, thighs, midrib, loin, rib, lamb's udder, horse meat, and the rump with water, put them in a pot full of cold water, and wait for it to boil. During the first boiling, they would remove the foam that appeared on the surface of the soup and stand next to it for 2-3 hours and watch it cook. A bread with a diameter of 50 cm and a thickness of 0.5 mm is prepared from the flour. After the meat in the pot is cooked, it is taken out of the soup, the bread is put in the soup for 1-3 minutes, after it is cooked, and then put on a plate. Then, a little fat soup is poured, and all the organs of the sheep are placed on the bread, except for the "head" part. The "head" of the sheep is placed on a separate plate. These two plates of food are served to the guests. Then according to the social status, age, gender of those guests, the members are distributed. The "Chief" member must be recommended to an older "elder".

An integral part of the Kazakh gluttonous discourse is the implementation of the norms of socio-cultural relations between members of ethnic communities or societies, as well as family members of the '*bas tartu*' procedure. The hierarchy, which is often based on a person's age, is preserved even when sitting at the table and is an integral part of the Kazakh gluttonous discourse: the eldest person sits at the top of the table, and then rest of the people according to their age, as shown in Figure 2.

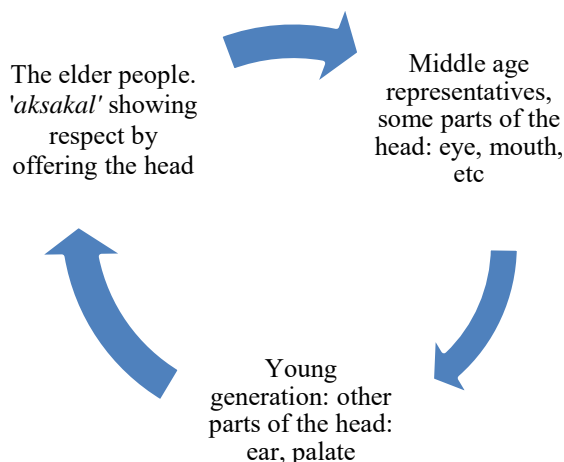


**Figure 2:** The Hierarchy of Distribution of "Parts of The Head" in The Kazakh Gluttonous Discourse '*Bas Tartu*'.

Another goal of '*bas tartu*' is to achieve cooperation in dialogue between an older social group with extensive life experience, a deserved middle-aged person and the younger generation. Offering the ear and palate to the little boy and girl from the head is accepted by the elder as a courtesy. In connection with the regulation of relations between social groups of the Kazakh people, this cultural-ethical, legal norm '*bas tartu*' is not only in the Kazakh gluttonous discourse, but also in winged words like "The first elder brothers, the next younger brothers." A few proverbs like *He that respects not is not respected*, or phrases like *to follow the elders*, show the hierarchical relationship in the tradition of '*bas tartu*,' but not based on the principle of subordination.

A dialogue of cooperation, based on the best wishes of older people to representatives of social groups, seems to be born from an understanding of the human life cycle: the old generation is replaced by the middle generation, the middle generation is replaced by the young generation. The Kazakh gluttonous discourse '*bas tartu*' also contains the cycle concept of the principle, if the person's father is alive he is not offered a sheep's head, as shown in Figure 3.





**Figure 3:** The Cooperation Dialogue Reflection of Social Groups by Age in A Gluttonous Discourse.

In the gluttonous discourse *'bas tartu'*, one can understand the state of interaction between the host and the guest, depending on whether a tooth is knocked out in the sheep's head or not. Usually, it is offered to a guest without any teeth, and if the head is presented to the guest without a tooth, it means that the owner has some kind of resentment and indignation. This determines the place and institutional function of the Kazakh national gluttonous discourse as one of the means of nonverbal (gestures, hints, sign) interpersonal communication.

In the context of *'bas tartu'* gluttonous discourse of the Kazakh people, gender classification occurs in two cases: 1) the head of a sheep is not given to a woman. For example, if there is no elder at the table, it is given to a respectable middle-aged man; 2) a woman does not offer a head on a plate to a guest. The cooked head is placed on a special plate and offered to the guests by the son or a close relative of the house with the beak of the head forward. From this we can see the hierarchy of family relationships and the fact that gluttonous discourse performs institutional functions: a man is the owner of the house, the person who plays a key role.

The reasons for this can be found in the cognitive, conceptual data that the only creator of the ancient Turkic era, rooted in the Kazakh ethnos, was "man" – God. From the given data in the context of *'bas tartu'* tradition from the religious beliefs of this people (the understanding that the *'bas'* is close to God, fate is associated with it, written on the forehead (parts of the head)), cultural communication between family members and social groups (the principles of sitting at the head of the table, the involvement of the main member with the elder and the representation of its members in social groups or family members), the semantic meaning of the word *'bas'* includes the linguistic and philosophical concepts of *upper*, *first*. That is, the Kazakh gluttonous discourse *'bas tartu'*.

Thus, in accordance with the above data, the institutional characteristics of the gluttonous discourse *'bas tartu'* in the Kazakh tradition are determined by the performance of the following functions:

1. Regulatory activities. Includes a set of legal rules governing relations between family members and social groups (gender classification and hierarchy: principles of sitting at the table, offering the head to elders).
2. Directive function. Includes various instructions, advice, prohibitions (do not sit in front of the elders, do not interrupt the elders at the table, do not attack the food without blessing the food, do not leave without blessing the table, etc.).
3. Communicative or phatic activities (mutual dialogue, mutual cooperation between an older social group and the next middle and younger generations: offering the parts of the head according to their social group).
4. Humanistic activity. Social care and goodwill of members of a social group (offering the "eye" means to have mutual respect, the right attitude towards each other, offering the "mouth", means «let it be always the laugh and joy in our faces»).
5. Service for conflict prevention. People's attempts to understand each other (offering the head without teeth during the *'bas tartu'* ritual).

The next food that makes up the Kazakh gluttonous discourse is the *shoulders*, *ribs*, *spine*, *bones*, *kazy-karta*, and *zhal-zhaya*. The meat consisting of special parts is served with dough and sauce. This dish is offered to guests during various weddings and dinners in the tradition of *'tabak tartu'*, taking into account the guests' different social status.

The institutional nature of the national gluttonous discourse in this context is particularly evident in medieval feudal formations: Judges, beys and feudals would immediately protest if the twelve bones and other

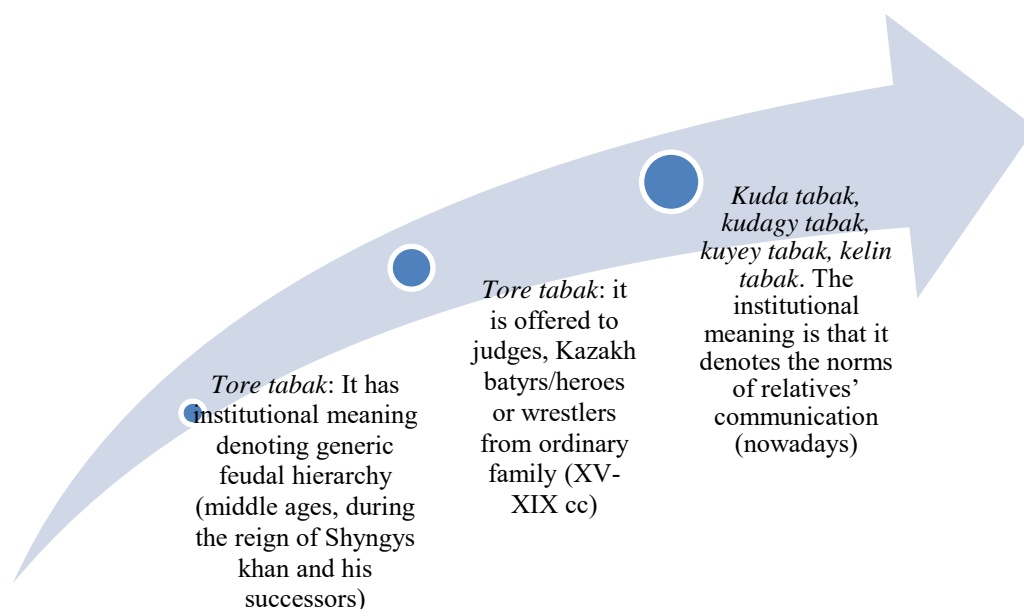
parts of the animal were not given to the person's level in society. According to the social status of the guest in society, it was considered a shame not to give or confuse parts of the bones, and it was a sign of humiliation of some people in public.

The tradition of '*tabak tartu*' has also changed in accordance with different stages of development of history, the change of social formations shows that the gluttonous discourse is characterized by dynamic and diachronic features. For example, the Kazakh proverb "Four plates for a Tore, two plates for a hodja, one plate for four kara/poor man" provides information on the ancient institutional rules of the national gluttonous discourse '*tabak tartu*'. The hierarchy of increasing or decreasing the number of plates of meat, consisting of different parts of the animal offered to people, also indicates who has the highest or more legal advantages in the role of consumers in society in the past.

The word *tore* which was mentioned above is the name of the descendants of Genghis Khan, who ruled in the territory of Kazakhstan in the XIII century, and the word *hodja* – is the name of the missionary Arabs who propagated Islam in the territory of Kazakhstan in the VII-VIII centuries. E.C. Otar (2014) wrote in his work about the role of *Tore* and *Hodja* during the above-mentioned periods. He noted that the social structure of Kazakh society was of a class-caste nature, consisting of two status groups, divided into *aristocratic* and *ordinary*. According to historical data, special social rights and privileges were granted not on the basis of ownership of economic goods, but on the basis of their origin" (Otar, 2014).

Although the above class hierarchy in the Kazakh society of the past was once reflected in the gluttonous discourse '*tabak tartu*', it can be said that it has disappeared. This shows that the Kazakh gluttonous discourse includes changes in the content of social and legal norms in society associated with the change of formations. For example, these diachronic, dynamic features (changes in history) can be identified from the semantic layers of the language unit *tore tabak* in the field of Kazakh gluttony. The phrase *tore tabak* consists of the dish name with the meat– *tabak* and the name of the person's social status– *Tore* (successors of Genghis Khan, sultan, bek, sir). Thus, in the past, it meant "a gift or a plate of offerings to a *Tore*". In the Kazakh society, Genghis Khan's successors – in the later stages of the decline of the social status and role of judges (the establishment of Soviet power and its predecessors) in the national gluttonous discourse retained the name of meal *tore tabak*, but the content is changed: it is offered to the wrestlers.

In modern Kazakh gluttonous discourse, the name *tore tabak*, which once had a class-ancestral institutional significance, became historicism. It was replaced by *tabak tartu* rituals, which define the role between relatives and systematize the norms of their interaction: *Kuda tabak*, *Kudagi tabak*, *Kuyeu tabak* and others. The gluttonous purpose of the following rituals is to strengthen the mutual respect between matchmakers.



**Figure 4:** Diachronic Changes (Dynamics) of '*Tabak Tartu*' Tradition.

Figure 4 illustrates the procedures that make up the Kazakh gluttonous discourse '*bas tartu*', '*tabak tartu*' contain some information about the set of legal rules governing any area of public relations. It mainly allows family members to identify the hierarchy between social groups and organize chronotope of communication, which is subordinate, as well as coordinated in different situations.

## Conclusion

In the Kazakh gluttonous discourse unit, '*bas tartu*', the place of the animal's head as the main food component is closely related to the conceptual worldview of the population. The collected and analyzed linguistic data show that the '*bas*' is recognized in the minds of the Kazakh people as a point of spatial orientation, communication with the higher world, management of all activities, the activities of other members, as well as a "luck, prosperity, a place of wealth".

The image of the world in the minds of the Kazakh people is determined in close connection with several concepts in scenes performed in the process of the gluttonous discourse '*bas tartu*' namely: 1) the concept of the forehead, understood as the place where the destiny of man is given by the Creator; 2) the concept of the '*alakan*', which is understood as the recorder of the indicated desire or blessing, the place of receiving the command from the Creator (non-verbal actions stretching the hands); 3) obligatory and reversible offer, oath, promise (broken blessing), connection with the upper world (God), amulet or a coded word with great energy; the concept of the blessing (white blessing, positive blessing, negative blessing) as "an inner intention, a person's desire lives in the mind, is an ideal, abstract thing materialized in word".

The conceptual image of the main member of the national consciousness *connecting the upper world with God, managing all human actions* and the status of '*aksakal*', who plays an administrative role in the history of Kazakh society, are intertwined. As a result, we conclude that offering the head to the elder during the gluttonous discourse '*bas tartu*' led to his personalization. The conceptual image of the gluttonyms '*bas tartu*', '*tabak tartu*' in the Kazakh gluttonous discourse performs such institutional functions as regulatory, directive, phatic and prevention of a conflict.

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