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Author/s	Kairat Zhanabayev¹, Karakat Nagymzhanova², Nursulu Shaimerdenova³, Ayzhan Turgenbaeva⁴ & Nazerke Tleubayeva¹	
Affiliation	1,3,4 Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan 2Turan-Astana University, Nur-Sultan, Republic of Kazakhstan	
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Formulaic Language and Style of Turkic *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th Centuries

Kairat Zhanabayev¹, Karakat Nagymzhanova², Nursulu Shaimerdenova³, Ayzhan Turgenbaeva⁴ & Nazerke Tleubayeva¹

¹Department of Publishing, Editing and Design Arts, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

²Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, Turan-Astana University, Nur-Sultan, Republic of Kazakhstan

³Department of Russian and Foreign Literature, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

⁴Department of Religious Studies and Cultural Studies, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

Email: zhanabayev@nuos.pro

Abstract

The article reveals the importance of studying the formulaic style in the oral epic culture of Kazakh (Turkic) *zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries. The purpose of the article is to identify the specificity of the formulaic language and the style of the epic tradition of these singers, as well as to show the degree of their knowledge, based on the principles of oral theory by M. Parry and A. Lord and their followers. *Zhyrau* are singers of the times of the Golden Horde and the foundation of the Kazakh Khanate. In the analysis of the ancient forms of their epic thinking; the genesis of genres, principles of performance and transmission of tradition, formulaic style plays a major role. The method of discourse analysis, system review, referencing, comparative analysis, and the methods of previous researchers were applied in the study. The novelty is that the formulaic style was first studied on the oral material of the *zhyrau* dated the 15-18th centuries, where stable units are represented by a formula - the basis of the epic style and an important means of the singer's oral-style technique. The theoretical significance of the article, and its relevance, is based on a broad discussion of oral theory, and at the same time on its effectiveness and efficiency in studying the Kazakh (Turkic) epic tradition. The practical value of the research gives its results in the analysis of language and style, the distinction of styles and genres of *zhyrau* from other bearers of Turkic poetic culture. The Parry-Lord formulaic grammar can be applied both for the study of Turkic languages and to the quality of artistic translation.

Keywords: Parry-Lord's oral theory, Turk epic, *zhyrau*, *tolgau*, oral technique, individual creativity.

Introduction

Within the framework of the present project, the authors have prepared several theoretical works of value for Kazakh (Turkic) epic studies and modern folkloristics. The authors of the paper also consider that the study of the oral tradition of nomads in Central Asia, the North Caucasus and South Siberia is a significant contribution to the science of folklore and mythology of the East

since the culture of the Kazakh (Turkic) culture nomads are not only specific and unique as a special type of equestrian-nomadic civilization, but also have deep ties with the richest oral folklore of ancient and medieval Europe, Asia and Africa (Nurgali, 2013; Zhakupov et al., 2020). With a long history of studying the language and style of Kazakh (Turkic) *zhyrau* from the 15-18th centuries and comparative epic studies, the authors of the article drew attention to the high productivity of oral theory, two American researchers – M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964). In our country, this theory is presented in detail by the monograph published in 1986 by Harvard University professor A.B. Lord (1964) “The Singer of Tales”. It, as noted in the Introduction, “contains ideas important for the study of epic traditions, including Oriental ones” reference. The authors of the oral theory gave a special role to “the technique of oral performance of the epos” – the source of the formulaic style” the link.

Although traditionality and stereotyping in folklore and epic genres have been mentioned before by American scholars, they have a valuable idea that explains this stereotype (sustainability of forms) not only as a feature of traditional style but as a powerful principle of the artists' creativity. This principle is a formulaic style or formulaic grammar. The effectiveness, efficiency and perspective of the oral theory are particularly evident in the study of Turkic monuments, whose language is perfectly structured, free from external influences, and is characterized by great richness and variety of poetic forms.

Research into the language's formulaicity and style in recent years has also unexpectedly revealed the fundamental role of formulaic grammar in poetic translation. Especially when it concerns the ancient Kazakh poems, the oral text of the medieval nomadic judge and speaker (Kazakh biy), the ancient runic inscriptions of the 8th century of Turkic *Haganat*, where there is no influence of other languages and religions yet, and therefore of exceptional interest both in terms of their pure form and in their unique content and in the prospect of reconstruction of their *initial bases* – the Turkic archaic myth, rite and ritual (Aimukhambet et al., 2017). Criticism is present in several works on Perry-Lord's oral theory. It mainly dealt with the problems of nationality and authorship, and the theory of formulaic style. However, it was based, as the translators of “The Singer of Tales” note, on the special author's terminology, which, in our opinion, should have been different from the existing one, as it is about a living tradition, a living process, that is, oral technique, and not a static grammar and epic. Thus in the classical monograph “Origin of Heroic Epic”, analyzing and criticizing all existing basic theories, the famous scientist E.M. Meletinsky (1963), pointed out that A.B. Lord (1964), who followed his teacher and “derives the epic style from the poetic technique of oral creativity, does not doubt the mythological origin of the contents of epic formulae”. And that's very revealing because the oldest epic formulas are the ones that lead us to myth, rite and ritual. And this theory of the Lord is most vividly demonstrated by the oral-style poetic technique of nomads of Central Asia, South Siberia, North Caucasus and Crimea (Nurgali & Kishkenbaeva, 2013).

Materials and methods

In terms of the formulaic style in the oral tradition one can observe the following important circumstance, in particular, when it comes to a specific formula, for example, an epic thematic or a stable combination close to the formula: traditional epithet, hyperbola, etc., where the epic utterance is also limited by the severity of forms and the law of word distribution, by the word

order within the poetic scheme. The translators of "The Singer of Tales" pointed to some critical remarks that concern the oral theory of Parry-Lord, namely its understanding of the *idea* embodied in the epic formula. It is known that formulas are different semantic echoes of former singers. While providing a new text, the formula gives it a new theme, reinforcing its "essential idea". The degree of significance of the "idea" is revealed in the live process of the performer, but every formula in the oral text is always substantial and subordinated to the general idea.

This peculiarity distinguishes the nomadic Turkic (Kazakh) epic traditional formula in which any idea is extremely utilitarian and hierarchical. This feature distinguishes it from a more "domestic" shade in the English understanding of the idea, discussed in "The Singer of Tales" by translators. The formula is a "building material", a mean for song construction for an oral technique of performance. Өнердің алдықызылтіл, Тазамінсізасылтас. In short, all of these – are "bearing in the poetic air" ideas, thoughts, meanings, images, symbols, and artistic definitions are substantially different from understanding as in traditional literary studies, and in philosophy, since the performance of oral epics is an art and philosophy of a special kind – a live process where stable epithets, such as қызылтіл ("red word") or асылсөз ("pearl word") are the most valuable concepts for the ears of a nomad, with a great meaningful and aesthetic capacity.

It is known that formulae, and formulaic combinations – close to the formula stable units – are the main technical means when creating a new text, not just a source of preservation and transmission. It is the quality of the formulaic language (a formulaic grammar), the style of the performer and the richness of the use of an oral technique that speaks of the singer's art. It is the opinion of M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964) that the performer is the original author of his epic art and his spoken text. In Soviet folklore, the role of the singer was obscured, and his art was considered to be folk, and collective. However, the analysis of epic texts of Crimean-Tatar, Nogai and Kazakh singers-*zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries, their language, style, and genre "register" in conditions of total domination of collective tradition revealed thematic and genre-stylistic peculiarities of each artist and each separate group of bearers of oral poetry culture (Zhanabaev, 2014).

Such a distinction was made by the observation of vocabulary, theme, and formulaicity of all stages of the artistic-determining system of singers. The former science studied the singer only in the general collective, but not in his original form. The authors of oral theory M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964) focused on authorship, referring to the performer as a *unique* author, the creator of new oral work since it is always and everywhere about a creator of a new text. But who is the Zhyrau singer? An epic singer from the 15-18th centuries, *Zhyrau*, is a traditional steppe singer with an ancient history and the highest military and political status in society. In antiquity, he was the spiritual leader of tribes, possessing many knowledge and arts, the designer of tribal rites and rituals, and the creator of odes – solemn songs in honour of the hero at the funeral ceremony. Like the akyn, he expressed collective values, celebrated the people's ideals, and had a collective point of view on everything. And yet it is not an akyn, not a simple singer. *Zhyrau* is a unique phenomenon of the political, historical, social and cultural life of Kazakh nomads of the 15-18th centuries: singer of the individual direction, speaker, state and public figure, commander, advisor of khan and head of khan councils, and diplomat.

Results and discussion

During the creation of the Kazakh Khanate (1465), he was an ideologist of statehood and its legal designer. *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries had a special status. Such a social and political image has left an imprint on its poetry and stylistics, which made it much different from all other bearers of the Kazakh (Turkic) oral poetry culture. All types of ancient speakers of oral tradition, including *Zhyrau*, were first described by E. Tursunov (1994). He singled out four major groups: *Zhyrau* (singers in the Khan rate), *Akyn* (folk singers of the democratic group), and *Sal-seri* (eccentric singers of the theatrical style). Among them, a dominant position in the 15-18th centuries was occupied by *Zhyrau*, who performed important public and state functions under khans councils and khans, acting as their advisors. E. Tursunov (1994) and M. Magauin (1978) showed the connection of *Zhyrau* with the ancient *Akyn* tradition, while “when folklore knew everything” and when specialized carriers of knowledge began to stand out and form. The word “*Zhyrau*” has in its basis the root “zhyr” (song, legend).

The function of the ancient ritual mediator – the future *Zhyrau* – was to compose and perform an epic song in honour of the hero at a funeral ceremony. The analysis of the formulaic style and grammar revealed the connections of these ancient paeans of praise (or “ancestor’s testament”) with modern hortatory-didactic and dedicated genres: *arnau*, *maktau*, *zhoktau*, *esiet*, etc. All Turkic epic poems: “KoblandyBatyр”, “Kyrymnykyrykбатыры”, “Alpamys”, “ErTargyn”, “ErSayyn”, “ErEdige” (“Қобландыбатыр”, “Қырымныңқырықбатыры”, “Алпамыс”, “ЕрТарғын”, “ЕрСайын”, “ЕрЕдіге”) and others have in their foundation this beginning that became a source for the further hortatory-didactic genres. Therefore, a structural-semantic analysis of the language and style of oral works of these genres is of primary importance for the reconstruction of the initial bases – myth, rite, and ritual.

From deep antiquity, the *Zhyrau* performed an ode (a song of praise) in honour of the heroes at the funeral ceremony. It was the main component of a future heroic legend. Until recently, the *Akyns* were the bearers of democratic, folk poetry, all of its forms, genres and songs, mainly social-domestic and lyrical storage. Accordingly, the themes, objectives and target audiences of these two different types of nomadic poetry culture were different. For example, the *Akyns* performed at aytyses, defending the honour of the family, and the *Zhyrau* spoke with important messages to the whole people. According to the status, the language, style, and manner of performance were different (Magauin, 1978). *Zhyrau* are the creators of a powerful epic culture called *Zhyr*. All known to Turkic world poems such as “Koblands”, “Alpamys”, “Forty Heroes of Crimea”, “ErTargyn”, “ErSayyn”, “ErKabanbay”, “ErEdige” (“Кобланды”, “Алпамыс”, “Сороккрымскихбогатырей”, “ЕрТарғын”, “ЕрСайын”, “ЕрКабанбай”, “ЕрЕдіге”), are based on one ode, once created by an epic singer. *Zhyrau* is also the author of lyro-epic *tolgau* – philosophical and educational reflections. The formulaic analysis carried out by the authors of the article revealed the originality and idiosyncrasy of each of the *Zhyrau*.

The article is intended to reveal the theoretical-methodological and practical significance of Perry-Lord’s oral theory (formulaicity of language and style) in the study of the epic tradition of the Kazakh (Turkic) *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries: to reveal the peculiarities of their oral-style technique, to discover the effectiveness, efficiency and prospects of the *formulaic* style method and traditional means for Turkic-language poetry. The main purpose of the article is to justify the

effectiveness of oral-style techniques, methods of formulaic analysis of the language and style of Kazakh (Turkic) *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries, suggested by folklorists M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964) in the study of the oral epic tradition. To achieve the objectives, it will be necessary to:

1. Analyze the available Kazakh sources that highlight the scientific approach of Parry-Lord and draw up their results; apply them in the analysis of *Zhyrau* texts.
2. Use modern foreign sources to highlight the achievements of Parry-Lord's oral theory: its effectiveness, efficiency, and promise.
3. Provide an example of how the formula-style components function in the *Zhyrau* poetry; their connection with mythological structures, symbols and archetypes.

Nowadays the authors of the article are preparing for the publication of a multi-volume "Poetic Dictionary of the *Zhyrau* Language". In the process of collecting, analyzing, counting and classifying stable lexico-semantic and phraseological units, formal-style components and by the means of the structural method and "oral" theory are introduced into the system for the first time, according to the thematic headings of the structure of the linguistic image of the *Zhyrau* world and its oral technique. The account of words, phrases, artistic means, and formal components will reveal their qualitative and quantitative indicators and the "formulaic density" of the text. This is important for the creation of the National Corps of the Kazakh Language and for understanding the links of the genre to its initial grounds: myth, rite, and ritual. The Parry-Lord methodology can also be applied to the question of authorship attribution, and to the theory of poetic translation of Kazakh (Turkic) and Ancient Turkic classical monuments of the 15-18th centuries.

For many reasons, in Kazakh science, there is a lack of fundamental research on the language, style, and oral-stylistic technique of *Zhyrau*, although there are interesting works in the field of pure literature studies and linguistics. They have little direct relevance to formulaic language and style, yet they have already drawn attention to oral theory. Therefore, the articles and monographs of the most famous authors-philologists should be mentioned in our article. The authors to varying degrees deal with various aspects of Parry-Lord's oral theory.

One of the objective reasons for *Zhyrau* phenomenon, its formulaic language and style not being explored and studied is the lack of methodology and the lack of a proper view of the phenomenon and its art. A special issue is the singer's worldview, which harmoniously combines ancient knowledge with military administrative and spiritual management in the nomadic state. Their worldview must be studied at the intersection of folkloristics and linguistics, Turkology and ethnography, ethnopsychology and cultural science. It is important for an oral theory that the singer implements all his multifaceted activities, particularly in the oral form of poetry. This art distinguishes him from all European or Eastern classical advisers. He also acts as a unique cultural type of spiritual teacher of the people and wise advisor of the Khan. This multifunctionality requires many methods, the main of which has become a complex concentric one. It is extremely useful both in the study of nomadic languages and cultures and in the understanding of the general laws of origin and the development of the arts, the theory of law and statehood.

The scientific and theoretical basis of the research consists of the achievements of Kazakh and foreign scholars on individual oral creativity: linguists, folklorists, poets-scholars, who wrote about the language and style of *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries:

- a) Kazakh critics: Z.A. Akhmetov (1970), O. Aitbaev (1975), B.Sh. Abylkasimov (1984), M.O. Auezov (1987), S.A. Akataev (1993), A. Kodar (1999), Z.M. Bazarevaba (2008), K.Sh. Hussein (2009), U. Erkinbayev (2010), T. Zhanuzak (2010), K. Zhanabaev (2014), A. Zhaksylykov (2016), A.B. Nauryzbaeva (2017).
- b) Researchers of Russia and CIS: I. Stebleva (1965), E.M. Meletinsky (1963), Y. Borev (1988), A.F. Losev (1989).
- c) foreign scientists: M. Parry (1932), A. Lord (1986), S. Rankovich (2012), A. Bannister (2014), S. Reece (2019), Dm. Nikolayev (2020), C.J. Selvaraj (2020), A.P. Tate (2020).

All of the scientific literature used is based on two main approaches: *structural-semantic* and oral Parry-Lord theory. In the analysis of formulaic stylistics and grammar of poetry modern methods were used both as a *justification of the ways* to achieve the stated goals and as confirmation of *the main hypothesis* of the study:

The main methods of investigation of the oral text, language and style of Zhyrau are:

– *Structural-semantic* analysis solves the question of interdisciplinary meaning: the genesis of epic poetry, its connection to the initial bases – a rite, a myth and a ritual. The totality of mythological structures investigated led to the most valuable scientific result: a full comprehending of the essence, sense of depth, richness and meaning of the singer's oral text, the specificity of his genre and style;

– *Score*. The method is founded on a quantitative analysis of formulas, and formulaic phrases, which is intended to lead them to qualitative characteristics. Thus, the number of traditional epithets, metaphors, comparisons, and hyperbolas in one or another singer, or class of singers gives a clear picture of exactly *their* style and *their* genre-stylistic "registers", as well as the peculiarities of their subject; the number of structural units of substantive reality (score) will also reveal the unique cultural (artistic) style of the epoch and the substantive quality of historical time, the unique specificity of the social life of medieval nomads, the singer's status and the specificity of his epic thinking, etc.; *a quantitative analysis* of the means of "formulaic" grammar will present the logic of the singer's selection of formula structures of linguistic reality and stable means of oral-style technique, which will determine his regional school, degree of skill, his style;

– *A concentric method* of research would allow one to study one issue from different angles. Together with other methods, it will expand knowledge of the problem under study, and the relationship between artistic and social phenomena. For the first time the complex-analytical method is subjected to the epic poetry *Zhyrau*, the tradition of which is widely known in Crimea and the North Caucasus. By studying their linguistic phenomenon, the article reveals the organic relationship between Kazakhs and the oral tradition of *Kumyks, Nogais, Crimean Tatars, Karakalpaks, Tatars, Bashkirs*, etc.;

– *The method of referenced analysis* of scientific publications involves the selection, systematization and critical review of scientific sources, their systematization to investigate and solve the *underlying* problem, and the identification and use of valuable constructive ideas and methods of research. The methods of processing primary data, together with the reliability of the facts of the material studied, are intended to reveal the main topic – the functions of the formulaic stylistics and the artistic-determinative system of poetry *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries in light of Parry-Lord's oral theory.

The methods are used in the article as an essential condition for substantiating the means of achieving the objectives and are directly related to the main hypothesis, purpose and objectives set by the authors of this study. The main source of structure-semantic and oral-style analysis of the text are the works of the 15-18th centuries. They are derived from the officially published compilations "Bes gasyrzhyrlaid", "Aldaspan", "Tazaminsizasyltas" ("Бесғасыржырлайды", "Алдаспан", "Тазамінсізасылтас") etc. Initial information was obtained from articles and monographs of folklorists, and epic scholars, starting from O. Auezov (1987) and ending with modern researchers of Kazakh, Old Turkic, Nogai, Crimean Tatar traditions, as well as foreign scientists using the method of the oral theory of Parry-Lord. Some of the current results of the research on the topic of the article were published in the republican and foreign press in the form of scientific articles, artistic translations of *Zhyrau* poetry of the 15-18th centuries, public performances on media platforms and reports at international online conferences, as well as in foreign magazines and Scopus publications. Some video-lections on Kazakh poetry culture bearers are available on YouTube channels and mass media portals.

The background of the research on the claimed topic is presented in consolidated form by the project manager K. Zhanabaev (2014) articles (series "Vestnik", "Reports of NAS RK", Scopus, foreign publications, video-lectures in the Internet and mass media) and monographs. They include, from the standpoint of oral theory, the problems of the formulaicity of language and style, initial transformations, and oral *Zhyrau* techniques of the 15-18th centuries are investigated. Some of them are also considered in relation to primary transformations. Primary transformations are formal-style means and various types of repetition, forming a structural-style organization, the architectonics of text. The discovery of genetic origins of the genre, style and traditional means of poetry system has shown that primary transformations are of key importance for the formation of the "genre register" of each individual *Zhyrau*, both for a more precise separation of poetics and stylistics of *Zhyrau* from other carriers of poetic culture: *Akyns*, *sal-seri*, and for efficiency of literary translation.

The scientific monograph "Turkic Myth in Epic, Rite and Ritual" reference became an important precondition for the development of the topic. It highlights the fundamental directions of epic science: the analysis of the initial foundations of oral monuments to nomads; primary transformations, characteristics of the language and style of singers of the 15-18th centuries, the formulaicity (stereotyping) of performance; ritual-mythological origins of genre and art of narration of epos. The study of oral-style techniques is also relevant for psycholinguistics ("transpersonal psychology"), cognitive science; and physics (expression and energy of verse and text, theory of quantum, torso fields); to reconstruct the archaic astral myth, rite and ritual; to explore Turkic poetic thinking. In the deep connections of the text – as a ritual source – an ancient magical function of prophecies and divination is discovered. There, the future genre embryonically "declares" itself.

The early monograph is also important: "Poetic system of *Zhyrau* of 15-18th centuries: to the initial bases of literary translation". Structural-semantic analysis revealed the role of the primary transformations (leading links) of the poetic system in the organization of the genre and style of oral *Zhyrau* poetry. Their language and style are closely related to their social status. Therefore, as in ancient Turkic Runic monuments of the VIII century in honour of khagans and generals, their public, military, political and diplomatic functions, instructive and stimulating speeches are

brought to the fore. In the history of Kazakh independence, they are also legislators and spiritual teachers of the people, advisers to the khans, generals and diplomats. All this multifaceted activity is reflected in their rich poetic vocabulary. As a result of research authors for the first time put forward the idea of writing a multi-volume frequentist "Dictionary of the *Zhyrau* language of the 15-18th centuries", which will affect the enrichment of the National Corps of Kazakh language.

The article implements a comprehensive approach to topic research: "For the first time in Kazakh epic studies the complex-concentric system has come to light in the works of the well-known Kazakh scientist E. Tursunov (1999)". Our approach to the complex analysis of the *Zhyrau* poetry of the 15-18th centuries is greatly enhanced by the method of the oral theory of Parry-Lord. Structurally-semantic analysis of formal-stylistic elements reveals the connection of the word *Zhyrau* with the suggestion, and magic (Borev, 1988), related to the primary transformations of "formulaic" poetics and stylistics of the language of classical Turkic *Zhyrau*. This qualitatively distinguishes the topic and methodology of scientific research of our article from all previously conducted research.

The scientific novelty is mediated by the following provisions:

1. For the first time, the authors of the article critically and constructively reflected on the approaches of American authors of oral theory M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964), having applied it during the analysis of language formulaicity and style of Turkic (Kazakh) epic poetry; and revealed its high efficiency and big prospects.

2. The performers of the article for the first time considered individual achievements of Kazakh (Turkic-speaking) researchers in the sphere of oral theory: the formulaicity of the artistic-determinative system of *Zhyrau* 15-18th centuries, oral-stylistic technique and grammar.

3. The article writers also review for the first time the latest achievements of modern foreign successors and critics of the oral theory of M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964).

4. For the first time, the creators of the article explore the functional nature of the formal-stylistic components of the oral technique, which form a style and genre of oral poetry texts within a rigid poem structure.

5. The study also analyses some other structural-semantic features, and the role of repetition at different levels: sound, lexical, and syntactic, which in oral theory are called themes; repetition of the genre reveals the connection of the genre to the oldest initial grounds: ritual, rite and myth.

Epos, whether oral or literary, is a treasure of all mankind and the basis of the national identity of people (Yasakova et al., 2019). All ancient speakers, from Sinkliunini and Homer to modern Turkic priests and singers of the Pacific region, demonstrate the unique experience of their folk history in the general flow of the world epic. Turkic science about epos is on the path of comparative research. The same goes for the Turkic *Zhyrau*. Methods of comparative epic studies and oral theory are capable of revealing the specific form of the Kazakh oral epic and its difference from the *forms* of foreign bearers, their language and style, semantics and structure, all that A.B. Lord (1964) characterized as *the property* of national poetry. *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries are ancient spiritual tribal chiefs during the pre-state era, and there is no historical material about them. However, the presence of archaisms, "dark spaces", same-type schemes, stylistically homogenous constructions and the technique of addition of epos, – "internal material" requires

in-depth research and the use of different methods. The peculiarity of the language and style of *Zhyrau* was very vivid during the Golden Horde, a large number of oral poems appeared, rich in formulas and formulaic phrases and songs "built with the help of themes". The growth of nomadic empires due to the collapse of the Golden Horde revealed these singers with their sublime style as "knowledgeable", "chosen", and "worthy". The historical and spiritual heritage of *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries is the legacy of many Turkic peoples: the same authors are revered by Crimean Tatars, Nogais of the North Caucasus, and Kazakhs. One of the tasks of our research is to carry out a refereed survey of domestic and foreign methods which are of practical value and can be useful for studying the formulaic language and style of *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries.

The formulaic language and style of *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries in the context of Parry-Lord's oral theory is a new area for Kazakh epic studies. Research takes place at the intersection of history, linguistics, folklore, aesthetics and mythology. The development of the language and style of the *Zhyrau* was held within the absolute domination of the oral Steppe knowledge. Special attention should be paid to the complex oral-technical means and – initial grounds: mythological and early epic structures of ritual magic, suggestions connected with the veneration of the cult of the ancestor – patron of the tribe. In the course of social and historical development the language of verbal magic of conspiracies and beliefs has acquired modern forms, but due to the "action" of oral-style techniques and laws of formulaic grammar, has preserved valuable semantic markers. The semantic richness of the language and style, the unique specificity of the Turkic cultures of Central Asia, South Siberia, North Caucasus and Crimea. Structural analysis of language and style revealed the relevant sense of Parry-Lord's oral theory.

Consider the contribution of Kazakh and foreign scholars to the study of the oral tradition of *Zhyrau* from the XV to the XVIII centuries. For example, in the book "The genre of *tolgau* in Kazakh oral poetry", B.Sh. Abylkasimov (1984) used the method of complex analysis of the *tolgau* genre – short in the form of oral, didactic and philosophical speech. These were new theoretical and methodological approaches in the analysis of the language and style of *Zhyra* from the perspective of Parry-Lord's *oral theory*. For the first time, the formulaicity (stylistic means and techniques) in Turkic oral poetry was studied. While researching *tolgau*, the author includes other oral genres without differentiating them. It is also significant that the author does not take them into account in connection with the social status of their bearers, that is to say, generally and without the cultural specificities of *Zhyrau* and *Akyns* – different creative types of bearers, with their poetry and stylistics. But this was the first work in Kazakh epic studies in which the method of oral theory opened up the prospect of learning the language and *Zhyrau*.

The most interesting oral theory is the methodology of recording and explaining the epos of Turkic-speaking peoples by an eminent scientist of the first half of the 19th century. The first collector and interpreter of oral pieces, he predicted many ways of Parry-Lord's oral theory and comparative epic studies. His scientific approach was based on a holistic vision of a unique nomadic epic tradition, a view of it "from the inside of the tradition itself", from live communication with the artists of the *zhyr* – song. His perspective on the "correctness" and "sequence" of Turkic legends, on nature and the value of the epic *zhyr* form, is valuable. The scientist spent his entire childhood in a unique environment where "the whole steppe sings!". A. Kodar (1999) outlined this state of culture as a "total oral discourse" of the era. The questions that are asked by the authors of oral theory nowadays – about the nature of the speaker, about the process of performance,

about remembering and transferring the oral epos – were raised and solved in their own way in the works of many famous people who studied the subject.

He “especially praised their mastery and creating pieces without preparing” (Nurmagambetova, 1975). Absolute kingdom of music and words, “total oral environment” – the greatest and only source of folklore and epos of nomads, a bottomless arsenal of oral technique and a school of poetic art. Their oral genres and performing art are covered in such works by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov as “On forms of Kazakh Folk Poetry”, “Essays of Dzhungariya”, “Kyrgyz ancestry” etc. The evolution of language and epic style is particularly well described in the article “About the forms of Kazakh folk poetry” where the most important changes that occurred in the once ancient oral epic culture were recorded. They were caused by social changes in the nomadic Steppe in the XIX century.

The observations by M.O. Auezov (1987) and O.A. Nurmagambetova (1975) on the process of creation of the epos and its multipersistence are important for both the oral theory and for our study. The key role in the arts epos organization is the independent genre-thematic inserts – the song of farewell (*koshtasu*), wedding song (*zhar-zhar*), and *zhoktau* (laments for the deceased). They “are strung by the singer on the plot string of the poem”. The article pays attention to the traditional imagery (description of the anger of the hero, his horse and his weapon, etc.), notes the rich variety and functions of repetitions, the role in their creation of artistic-figurative formulas, especially through frequent use (creating the mood and state of heroes of the epos).

Z.A. Akhmetov (1970) expressed important judgments about the language and style of oral *Zhyrau* poetry. In the book “About the Language of Kazakh Poetry” he described the functions of verbal-figurative means and the peculiarities of the poetic form of the oral epic: “It is about clarity in understanding both common properties of the art form and poetic language, as well as the peculiarities of their individual parts, about understanding the whole variety of functions of these elements in their interaction” (Akhmetov, 1970). This judgment is linked to a living oral tradition. He also paid attention to the structure of the traditional Kazakh poem: “thanks to the flexibility of the rhythmic structure of the poems, as well as the free consolidation of the poems into tirades the *zhyr* has more possibility to reproduce the spoken intonation”. *Zhyr* is one of the most perfect verse forms of speech, its structure is extremely simple: 4+3 or 3+2+3, so it is easy to hear and remember the text.

This has to do with the problem of Perry-Lord’s theory of memorizing and performing text. In the collective monograph “Research on History and Semantics of the poem” there is a clear interest in oral theory and the formulaic style of epic *Zhyrau* texts of 15-18th centuries. Thus Zh.Zh. Bekturov (1989) writes about the importance of studying the lexical and visual-semantic collection of monuments of Kazakh literature. In poetry, *Zhyrau’s* “different in time and origin lexical-semantic and figurative levels” are intertwined. They lead to the reconstruction of “a disappeared or refracted, from a historical perspective, beliefs, customs, rites, cosmological and mythological performances, moral, ethical and domestic regulations, aesthetic ideals, poetic canons”. The analysis revealed the possibility of full disclosure of lexical and figurative richness of Kazakh poetry, stylistic and genre functions of traditional art forms of oral individual poetic of *zhurau*.

The author also writes about the difficulty of studying poetic texts of past eras “due to influence and layering of other languages or stylistic editions of text preserved and transferred orally”. Here the author uses the conclusion that oral legends in the nomadic environment are “unusually

accurate”, and “consistent and correct”. Zh. Zh. Bekturov (1989) complements the opinion of Z.A. Akhmetov (1970), that “enshrining of ancient words and images in the text facilitated primarily by the poetic form of the compositions” (Akhmetov 1970), “the law of formulaicity” by Parry-Lord as well as a factor of the stabilization of Kazakh language norms and partially written recordings of texts (Parry, 1932; Lord, 1968). The mentality and *Zhyrau* poetics of the 15-18th centuries was discussed by A. Zhaksylykov (2016). Studying issues of Turkic ethnoculture from a methodological perspective, the author proceeds based on the main principle of M. Parry (1932) – “ethnic narrowness, as well as geographical, religious, social or even scientific – always a deficiency”. When analyzing *Zhyrau*, the author considers its aesthetics as a common tradition with settled principles and canons. The main task of the author in the monograph is to study the mentality and *Zhyrau* poetry of the 15-18th centuries within the framework of the semiotic approach, analysis of concepts and markers, identification of codes and symbols of structural semantics, and a broad interpretation of the mental fundament and philosophy of *Zhyrau* as a common heritage of Turkic literatures of Eurasia, which played a key role in the epic culture of the flourishing and falling periods of the Golden Horde.

The main task of the author is to analyze the functions of artistic-figurative and expressive means in epos, their genetic origins and their further development in epos of Turkic-speaking peoples. The author defined aspects of the relationship between epic formulas and artistic means in light of the idea of formulaicity. He also reports that the principles of the stylistic organization of the *Oguz* literary epos date back to the oral epic traditions of the Turkic-speaking peoples. At the same time, the artistic and determinative system (epithets, metaphors, comparisons, hyperbolas, etc.), defining qualities and features of the keywords in various epics, have their specific features. They are related to linguistic, ethnocultural and other identities. The main idea of the scientist – artistic means must be studied in close connection with all components of the work. This is important for comprehending the genre specificity of the epos of Turkic-speaking peoples (Parry, 1932; Lord, 1968).

The rhythmic-intonational side of Kazakh poetry was studied by S. Negimov (1989). The main object of his research is the organization of a poem (intonation, melodics, rhythmic and other poetic elements). The main conclusion of the scientist is that rhythmic-intonational structure reflected characteristic features of Kazakh society, and contradictory problems of time, therefore its musical and aesthetic content fully corresponds to its emotional and semantic nature. An important aspect of his research is the analysis of the word in harmony with the music, which greatly enriches the knowledge of the oral technique of poetry. The interpretation of the oral tradition by the philosopher A.B. Nauryzbaeva (2017) is quite efficient. By discursive analysis, she solves the problem of “understanding the phenomenon of *Zhyrau* and everything that contains the environment of its existence through the prism of the communicative culture of traditional society”.

The performative analysis sheds light on the nature of the *Zhyrau* discourse, reflecting the value orientation of the traditional society on the special significance of the communication of its oral creativity and its language as the “A House of Being” (according to Heidegger). The performativity of *Zhyrau* speech is determined by the benefit of the communal sphere. An important feature of the functionality of the *Zhyrau* discourse is the nature of the narration. It is concluded in the formation and consolidation of a system of oral cultural code in all symbolically designated spaces,

in all spheres of social life. Almost all forms of world epics were enshrined in the language of *Zhyrau*, which has the right of a discourse of power, a discourse of an expert, a translator, a guardian, an interpreter and a broadcaster of the valuable world of its society”.

In “Essays on the history of Kazakh literature” A. Kodar (1999) writes about the specific nature of Kazakh oral creativity – about the *total oral* discourse of nomadic culture, about the centuries-old mnemotechnical practice, that has developed classical standards of the ritual domestic and artistic discourse. *Zhyrau* poetry of the 15-18th centuries is the highest level of steppe intellectualism. It was a kind of nomadic theatre, with the entire Great Steppe as the stage. It is significant and unique that oral poetry was one of the poetic forms of the centuries-old Steppe knowledge, a total musical and verbal tradition that included also the oratory art of steppe judges (*biys*). The author and textologist M. Magauin (1978) made a significant contribution to the popularization of the time-forgotten *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries. He wrote a fundamental monograph about the *Zhyrau* and its poetic art. He was the first to prepare and publish in Kazakh and Russian languages in central State publications the texts of the *Zhyrau*, he wrote commentaries and defined their exceptional place in the history and culture of Kazakh society. In the preface to the publication “Poets of Kazakhstan” (Magauin, 1978), the author noted that their role in the nomadic society of the 15-18th centuries and in the poetry of that time was dominant.

Describing the poetic and social image of the *Zhyrau*, he notes that “The word *Zhyrau* itself derives from the word *zhyr* – a poem, a song. *Zhyrau* is primarily an artist. Many *zyrau* of the 15-18th century were chieftains of tribes, *batyrs* – the leaders of tribal militia and acted as prophets, interpreting dreams, signs and phenomena of nature”. The author emphasizes the singer’s high aristocracy: “the creative form of the *Zhyrau* is related to the role it plays in society. *Zhyrau* always gets to the point, does not interfere in everyday affairs and does not raise the voices over little things. But in times of war, at great assemblies, in days of great turmoil, he performs to the people, exerting the power of his poetic word”. *Zhyrau* are the creators of *tolgau*, poetry-meditation, reflections and edifications, in which important social problems were raised, social and natural phenomena were explained, and questions of morality were resolved. The core of their *tolgau* – feelings, emotions, but a significant place in their creativity are devotions addressed to the khan, people, and descendants. They praise or condemn people’s actions, offer advice and express wishes. *Zhyrau* are members of an expedition: they have created songs about the exploits of *batyrs*, the beauty of a horse, weapons, calls, inspiration to fight, and memorial lamentations.

The structure of *tolgau* has been developed over many centuries. Importance was given to the sound organization of the poem: attention was drawn not only to the main (final) but also to the internal rhyme, and sometimes the poem was built on the initial rhyme. The author notes that there was an imbalance in the syllables, but that the laws of rhythm were always strictly observed. The peculiarity of the versification highlights the heritage of *Zhyrau* in the history of Kazakh poetry and discovers their peculiar charm and originality. An outstanding folklorist E. Tursunov (1994) played a great role in the study of the types of bearers of the oral tradition. It was the first time that the ways how *Zhyrau* originated, formed, developed and functioned were presented, as well as the connection of *Zhyrau* with ritual function. The author traces the process of separating shamans from the general field of “knowledgeable”, and describes how in the process of further specialization particular “connoisseurs” were able to concentrate in their hands the sacred knowledge of tribes as on this ground professional speakers appeared of orally-poetic tradition.

The historical character of the subtraction of individual origin from collective primordial knowledge was described by A.F. Losev (1989) in "History of Philosophy". He notes that "the evolution of the community-based family structure has led to the emergence of a more organized, more independent and more free community of direct and productive labour. A distinctive community and tribal-based aristocracy emerged, which got an opportunity and time for the development of individuals who were until then wholly subordinated to the community and therefore were not considered autonomous individuals. With the growth of an independent personality, however, independent thinking grew as well. And as that mindset began to develop abstract and generalized concepts, so did the absolute domination of mythology. This process of themes is also important for our research to show the origins of the individual-author beginning of the *Zhyrau* poetry, closely related to the functions of their ritual mediation. The emergence of "free" people contributed to the development of a new ideology and the formation of a new style – individual self-expression and interpretation of reality through own, author's, evaluation (Nurgali et al., 2021).

So, for Homer, we already see a personal aspect: we hear the voice of the singer himself, we see his view of war and family, his compassion and his feeling, but as part of a collectively meaningful epic, it is a tradition. Such an author's lyrical expression we hear also historical-heroic poems in honour of Turkic Hagan of the VIII centuries – Kyultegin and Tonyukuk. All these singers go back to the tradition of ancient priests, funeral rites decorators (in the form of Greek encomium or Turkic priests, an ode in honour of the hero). These new people created a new art and worldview in the form of an epic song, and already with a personal beginning.

E. M. Meletinsky (1963) discussed the origin of the epos and the oral theory. He remains less critical of Perry-Lord's ideas than of others. However, he considers it not entirely legitimate to associate the epic formula with myth, archaic rite and ritual – with the initial bases of the epos. Experience has shown that the authors of the oral tradition are closer to the truth. The emergence of verbal creativity and the links between the word and myth in the late palaeolithic period are thoroughly described by Y. Borev in his *Aesthetics* (1988). He showed the place of the word in the general range of arts, its connection to primal magic, totemistic cult and functions in shamanic practice. This is very important for the genesis of Turkic *Zhyrau*.

Authors do not divide verbal art into folklore and literature, considering the artistic word as the initial element of literature. M. Bakhtin wrote that

"the genre always retains *perpetual elements of the archaic art*... This is why the archaic features, preserved in the genre, are eternal, that is archaic that is able to renew itself. The genre lives in the present but always remembers its past, its beginning".

The theory by A. Baitursynov about speech genres also discusses the above-mentioned thesis. The formulaic style and the oral technique of the *Zhyrau* are the main material, that allows reconstruction of the whole course of development of ancient genres and styles – from ritual to classics. To properly understand the oral genre, it is necessary to go up to its initial "history". The problem of the genre has been studied in detail by A. Baitursynov in the book "Әдебиет танытқыш" ("Theory of Literature") (1926). In an analysis of speech genres and methods of its organization, the author for the first time drew attention to how *social voices* are placed and how they differ.

This method became the key to science. Related to this discovery is the theory of expressions or speech genres. The modern researcher A. Ismakova notes that the oral Turkic individual poetry, starting with the work of Asan Kaiga, makes up a unique artistic complex, in many ways opposed to folklore. The problem of distinguishing the periods of the oral stage of Kazakh literature from actual folklore genres is also theoretically complex: their differences and similarities have not been determined yet. Kazakh oral literature possesses the richest repertoire of speech genres born of the centuries-old tradition. The elements of the organic combination of lyrical and epic, musical and verbal origins in the oral tradition of Kazakhs date back to the *tolgau* genre, which reflected a syncretic (deep) understanding of the events of the real world. In “Әдебиеттануыққыш” (“Theory of Literature”) A. Baitursynov (1926) reveals stylistic possibilities of speech genres. Thus, *tolgau*, in his opinion, is an expression of the inner world, the art of the author to explain in his way the known facts of reality. The author identified the aesthetically transformative function of *tolgau*, and the role of the performer in this transformation (Erkinbayev, 2010).

The oral tradition was also studied by Turkologists, especially in the field of interaction between folklore and literature. Thus, referring to the verse form of ancient Turkic monuments, M.I. Bogdanova (2021) writes that “The Yenisei and Talas Kyrgyz inscriptions, almost all of them are constructed in the spirit of oral folk styles, lament songs, antemortem odes and other panegyric genres of folk poetry. The epic and lyrical traditions underlying them, the known stability of the language and style give reason to consider them as the oldest literary monuments of the Kyrgyz people”. The Yenisei epitaphs are associated with the genres of Hakas folklore, with lamentations (*syys*), lyrical songs (*takhpaks*): “Epitaphs, being a genre of ancient Turkic lyrical poetry, represent the first examples of ancient oral literature. They are organically related to the song folklore of the above-mentioned peoples, samples of which were creatively processed and rethought by anonymous authors. The distinctive feature of epitaphic lyrics is its didacticism», also characterizing the Kazakh oral tradition, where under didacticism one can see ancient edification, rearing leading to ritual. I. Stebleva (1965) made a deeper analysis of the links between literary-poetic tradition and the heroic epic with the Yenisei, Orhon and East Turkestan runic monuments. All these texts are examples of poetic speech with characteristic features of Turkic poetry: tonic-temporal versification, alliteration system, parallelism, presence of constant verbal formulas, emphatic intonation, an abundance of rhetorical questions, appeals, and exclamations. The author approximates the Orkhon inscriptions with the oral heroic epos of the Turkic peoples, defining them as “historical-heroic poems” (and Yenisei’s – as “epitaphical lyricism”), which were “created in the course of a single literary-poetic tradition under the influence or connection with the tradition of the heroic epos” (Stebleva, 1965).

The method of oral theory is most applicable here, where there is a large number of template symbols and formulations, uniformity of ethnic, political and toponymic nomenclature, parallelism in the construction of the description of homogeneous events, uniform characteristics, and standard descriptions. This analytical method opens up the possibility for more productive studies, allows to refine and supplement, and sometimes completely changes the understanding of even those monument sites that seem to have already been studied in sufficient detail, and is valuable in the study of the language and *Zhyrau* style. Comparative epic science was studied by M.O. Auezov (1987). At the meeting of Turkologists (all-Union conference dedicated to the research of “Manas”, which took place in 1952 in Frunze) it was about the importance of comparative analysis

of epic traditions and runic rock texts: "the deeper we explore the works on the ways of the spiritual formation of the nation, the more mysteries of epic culture will be revealed to us. In other words, we will have a clearer idea of the processes of epos creation, the evidence of present traditions that have preserved the connection between generations and that are returning to us from the depths of centuries".

The Yenisei runic inscriptions have, formally, preserved many features of ceremonial and lyrical folklore. This shows how the process of changing the function of the text proceeded, as the text was falling out of the realm of the rite and was turning into a written epitaph. We also discussed the oldest scientific traditions of epic science, scientific schools and their representatives. The main schools are presented in detail in the famous monograph "Origin of Heroic Epic: early forms and archaic monuments" by E.M. Meletinsky (1963). It spared us the mention of glorified schools and names. The next cohort of excellent followers of Perry-Lord's oral theory is presented in the introduction to the Russian edition of "The Singer of the Tales". Without this solid methodological and theoretical base, it is difficult to navigate in world epic studies, comparative experience and primary – to determine the place and role of nomadic Turkic singers and Kazakh *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries in the world epic process.

We have not left aside the Kazakh linguistics, which studies the language and style of epos, folklore and the first ancient and medieval monuments of writing, especially – those related to the oral tradition or language and style of *Zhyrau* of the 15-18th centuries. Thus, in the study "Phraseological Phenomena in Translation" O. Aitbaev (1975) highlights the difficulty of studying the problems of phraseology in the aspect of the theory of literary translation. He analyzes different approaches in translation practice and reveals the possibilities of the style for translating the most complex linguistic phenomena. We have learned that great attention in interpretation should be given to the nature of the formulaic style and oral techniques. This leads to better transmission of form and content. The research of Z.M. Bazarbaeva (2008) are devoted to the current aspect of linguistics – intonology. For the first time in Kazakh linguistics, intonation theory has been developed on a broad linguistic material using the results of experimental data. The work discusses such issues as the origin of the intonation, its place in the system of language, units and components of the intonation, the association of the intonation with syntax and semantics, its implementation in terms of different types of speech, in poetic speech as well as the pragmalinguistic aspect of intonation. This is very relevant in the research of intonational syntax stereotyping in the *Zhyrau* poetry of the 15-18th centuries and anaphoric thematic formulas.

K.Sh. Khusainov (2010) discussed the theory basics of tone-painting. The work studies sound and its meaning, the main aspects of sound visualizing. The function of Kazakh tone-painting is investigated through comparison and phono-morphonological analysis. For the first time sound symbolism, tone-painting words, as well as etymological, nominative and etymological aspects of tone-painting words were investigated (Hussein, 2009). By the means of phonetic-morphological analysis and a comparative-typological comparison, the author identified the tone-painting function of components of the phonetic structure of the Kazakh onomatopoeic vocabulary. A.K. Zhybanov's book (2002) "Basic Principles of Formalisation of Kazakh text content" is devoted to the linguistics of text. This is a new field of science in which the author considers the test and its constructive elements in terms of the formal and substantive structure of its formation. The author

aims to get a semantic representation of the Kazakh text and to establish the basic formal principles of its generation. The solution to these questions is also relevant to the problems of construction or the creation of *Zhyrau*.

T. Zhanuzak (2010) researches the toponymy of native land. This kind of research is valuable for our study because our formulaic analysis of vocabulary involves the study of stable combinations associated with geographical designations in the poetry of the XVIII century, where, along with toponymy, other lexico-semantic groups are researched, which are related to the history, social life, historical names, world views, rites, customs and traditions of ancient and medieval Turkic and Kazakh nomads.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Kazakh linguistics rose to a new level and was supplemented by works on the study of epos, which have not lost their scientific significance (Kuderinova et al., 2016). The book includes works on the study of language and epic style "*Oguz-name*", ancient Turkic literary monuments of the VIII-XII centuries. The author for the first time studied the language and style of the 15-18th centuries and the genres of Kazakh poetry of the first half of the XIX century. Of particular value to our research is the fact that K. Umiraliev (2010) devoted much time to the study of the types of poetry and textual research issues. Of course, our most productive achievements come from the oral tradition, the followers and critics of the teachings of M. Parry (1932) and A. B. Lord (1964). The system overview of these works was performed by a talented master's degree 2-year student of the Kazakh National University Al-Farabi, M. A. Buravova and is presented as one of the results of her independent homework. It is preceded by a review of the well-known magazine "Oral Tradition" with a brief letter from her employees and editors – David F. Elmer and John Zemke. The article mentions the name of the first editor of "Oral Tradition" magazine – J. Miles Foley. The magazine raises issues of "exclusively oral tradition in many of its forms" and informs about developments in related fields to promote the ideas of oral tradition in the scientific world.

It is of great importance to us that J. Miles Foley was not only the organizer of the first oral theory journal and the conductor of the ideas of M. Parry (1932) and A. B. Lord (1964) but also a prominent researcher, continuing their critical traditions. Thus, in one of the relevant articles "South Slavic Epic and Homer Question" (2005) the author continued to study the most controversial aspects of the theory of the oral formula of his teacher. Exploring the traditional nature of the Homer poem and comparing it to the present oral epic of the South Slavs, he put forward three maxims, representing fundamental questions of the oral tradition: "the comparison must always be alleviated by contrast"; "oral traditions work as a language, but only more"; and "oral poetry is a big plural number of nouns" (Foley, 2005). We think we're going to dig deeper into J. Miles Foley's original approaches and use them in our research.

The scientific works of the authors of oral theory M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1964) are most familiar to us. These works have long been a significant contribution to classical epic science and have opened up remarkable prospects for many directions in epic science. The real effectiveness and productivity of this theory will be demonstrated in our forthcoming works. It was very useful for us to learn from the review of M. Buravova and other followers of the oral tradition: Timothy Thurston, Milan Vidakovich and Richard Hughes Gibson. The researcher Buravova carried out a refereed review of authors who today actively use the idea of the oral tradition of style or adjusted

oral theory. They are Margalit Finkelberg (2020), Cyril Justin Selvaraj (2020), Jan Vansin, S. Reece (2019), Dm. Nikolayev (2020), Andrew Bannister (2014), Aaron Philip Tate (2020), Slavika Rankovich (2012), Raymond F. Person Jr. Thus, Margalit Finkelberg (2020) raises the question “whether “Iliad” and “Odyssey” can be considered a traditional poem” in the proper sense, and about the attitude of Homer himself to the oral epic tradition and his own practice. The relevance of her statement is that it clarifies the problem of the artist’s attitude to his text, to the comprehension of himself as an author, though applying the techniques of collective tradition and psychology (Finkelberg, 2020).

C. J. Selvaraj (2020) – speaks of the “oral tradition as a source of history” (from Jan Vansin’s argument), about the value of oral traditions for the analysis of migration. The historical value of oral legends and folk ballads was not given attention previously, so the author confirms the value of folk narratives and ballads in the spirit of M. Parry (1932), who considered the oral epic an important source of information. The author has shown that, with their knowledge of the language and society, anthropologists and historians can always extract or deduce the historical content of oral testimony and identify ways to reconstruct the history of illiterate peoples according to their oral traditions. The next researcher S. Reece (2019) writes about the creative nature, flexibility and variability of the oral tradition: “which romanticize and make sensational worldly events”. They are also fluid. “Homer, – in the opinion of S. Reece (2019) – fully took advantage of this fluidity to make dramatic changes in its inherited material both in small details and in larger themes”. The singer processed the inherited material to improve the quality of the epic narrative; it was his prerogative as an oral poet. This creative aspect of oral tradition is very valuable and necessary for us in the research of epics of Turkic-speaking peoples.

Practical benefits can be derived from the research of Dm. Nikolayev (2020). Following his distinguished predecessors, he raises the problem of estimating the formulaic density of text. Previously, various estimates were proposed for formulaic density: a) Homeric epos and hymns, b) Middle English alliterative poetry, c) pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and d) Russian byliny. Thus, the problem of formulaic density evaluation can be successfully applied to the ancient-Turkic materials and to the medieval *Zhyrau* epics of the 15-18th centuries. It is very important that the possibility of using computer technology appeared, which provides a more convenient and accurate calculation of the formulaic density of the poetic text. The author himself suggests a new algorithm, more flexible and more powerful. He reports the results of its application to the corpus of Russian byliny epics (Nikolayev, 2020) with an oral document, not only orally transmitted but also orally compiled. The author refers to the approaches of M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1986) that “pattern diction is one of the key indicators of creativity in performance”. Their theories have been applied to hundreds of traditions. Historically, the Quran is, of course, situated in the oral sphere. But what benefit can we draw from this work?

1. computerized analysis of the systematic formulaic analysis of *Zhyrau* oral speeches;
2. to reveal the result of the formulaic density of *Zhyrau* poetry;
3. to reveal the repetitions and whole “pattern systems” in *Zhyrau* epic tradition, which will present different indicators;
4. to reveal the potential of computer linguistic analysis of *Zhyrau* text.

Of particular interest is the article by the author Aaron Philip Tate (2020) about Luka Marjanović – a collector of oral epic and lyric songs, who was described by A. B. Lord (1986) as “one of the best Croatian collectors of oral-traditional epics of the end of last century”. The professional experience of the collector of Bosnian epic manuscripts and the editing of oral records is also interesting. His creative method is needed to further describe the work of Kazakh collectors of folklore, epos and *Zhyrau* poetry. The author of the article has shown that the collectors of Bosnian tradition are not in any comparison with Marjanovich's collections.

Marjanović prefaced his ten-volume anthology with a colourful and informative introduction describing the difficult process of oral recording. And this preface remains to this day one of the best narratives of the collection and transcription of oral epics in Bosnia of the 19th century (Tate, 2020). The author notes that an opinion on Marjanović Matija Murko is of great importance. Slavica Rankovic's article focuses on methods of listening, performance recordings, and interviews with performers. The object of her article is the creative experience of M. Parry (1932) and A.B. Lord (1986), which is why interviews with epic performers have been crucial in the formation of “oral-formulaic theory”. They encapsulate vital contextual information and some basic interpretive tools for comprehending a significant corpus of recorded epics. What practical things can be revealed from her article?

- the interviews describe how the singers are becoming aware of their process and themselves in the process, and how they have acquired mastery. The interactive and heuristic nature of the interviews gave M. Parry ample opportunity to test his hypotheses, which he brought from Harvard and the Sorbonne or which were formed by him and transformed in the course of the interviews themselves;

- interviews describe the ways of thinking that emerged from such sounding and experimentation. These ways of thinking go a long way to explaining the usefulness and perspectives of the Parry-Lord method for the study of other epic cultures;

- of particular interest may be the fact that these interludes have been researched and used as a valuable object of study of oral tradition and the role of the singer in it. They are rarely considered independent performances (meta-performances), and also by themselves use recitation (storytelling), singing of epic poetry and other knowledge of tradition;

- the methodology of recording is also important: a) the singer's understanding of the “authenticity” of his interview: here the conversations bear clear signs of staging; the preparation of the “official” conversation; the psychological state of the singer - the interviewer's request to repeat the answer. It is encouraging that the “M. Parry's Collection of Oral Literature online” (MPCOL) was created. It was published by Harvard University, which continues to digitize the recordings of M. Parry and A.B. Lord. This gives scholars access to some valuable material (Rankovich, 2012).

In the Kazakh verbal-musical tradition, there is a synchronous performance (music is a kind of text and not only accompaniment, or *kui*– also musical story, poem) of epic works. This strongly suggests the work of memory and the richness of the mnemotechnical tradition, i.e. the process of “remembering” rather than “memorizing”. These are two means of one, musical and verbal, epic tradition, always and originally existing in syncretic fusion, in interaction, where one of the two

could not realize the complete fullness of the epic tradition or the entire collective memory of the people. Now let us consider the place of myth in the edifying and didactic poetry of the Kazakh singers of the 15-18th centuries and the meaning of formulaic grammar for it. By *formulae*, the authors of the oral theory and their followers understand “a group of words regularly occurring in the same metrical conditions and serving to express one or another basic meaning” (Abylkasimov, 1984). A. B. Lord (1986) specifies that by the formulaic expression he refers to a verse or half verse built on the pattern of a formula. Many famous researchers have written about the mythical-ritual origins of epics and lyricism and the relationship between myth and the literature of antiquity. Now let us explain how social status influences the functions of an oral text and how such a text is subjected to formulaicity and how these formulas themselves organize the theme, genre and structure of a poetic speech utterance.

In the beginning, we discuss the individual creativity of *Zhyrau* in the 15-18th centuries. We note the striking fact that starting from the most ancient poetry of Korkyt, Sypyr and Asan Kaigy and up to the works of all following *Zhyrau* in this poetic speech the motive of their exclusive role in the nomadic collective, the aspiration to rise above the community-ancestral order, that their poetic art is of special social character and consecrated by the special social status. E. Tursunov (1999) pointed out that, unlike *Akyns*, who used to represent their kins and defend the honour of their tribes at *aytyses* (competitive poetic performances) and public festivals, *Zhyrau* were mainly based at the khan's headquarters. They raised important social and state issues in poetic form. From this, it is clear that the range of ideas of these two types of oral tradition is formed by their social status.

Akyns perform *aytyses* (song-contests), lyrical wedding ceremonies songs and folk songs. There were many *Akyns* in the steppe in the 15-18th centuries: the whole steppe is either playing, singing or fighting. *Akyns* form that amazing musical and verbal steppe space, that absolute singing environment, about which ethnographer G.N. Potanin wrote admiringly: the whole steppe is singing! The creative repertoire of *Akyns* is a way wider than that of *Zhyrau*, and their poetic system is more developed, flexible and diverse than that of *Zhyrau*. But this just confirms that *Zhyrau*, performers of epic, philosophic and oral didactic sermons, are closer to myth, ancient ritual and rite, that their poetic art by language and style goes back to the practice of those ancient ritual mediators, diviners and priests, who once came from that common environment and time: “when everyone knew folklore”, where they still had a common source with the *Akyns*, which gives some researchers the right to call them an “ancient type of *Akyn*” (Magauin, 1978), considering them as a historical successive stage of the further evolution of the bearers of poetic culture, which were separated from the common fold of the “knowledgeable”, as was written about by E. Tursunov (1994) and A.F. Losev (1989).

In the 15-18th centuries, the singers of a special class – advisers to the Khan and leaders of the Khan's council, also had freedom of action, criticizing the Khan and the council using poetry. Here we talk about individual authors' self-expression, and their creativity, where the singer acts as a subjective artist, presenting his point of view on the issues of nature, humans and society. Since that time, i.e. since the 15-18th centuries, *Zhyrau* remained in people's memory as a *specific* author of a *specific* oral work. But proposing the national and state ideas, they discover in their “educational” language and “edifying” style the strong links with mythological, rite and ritual traditions. Some of the features, ancient poetic forms, verbal formulas, epic clichés, and various

types of repetition go back to ancient magic and suggestion. All these technical means are of applied nature, acting as the traditional material for the construction of an oral text influencing the masses.

Researcher M. Magauin (1978), referring to the mythological aspect, writes that "some of them also acted as *abyz* (fortune-teller, sorcerer), i.e. they interpreted dreams, explained omens, tried to explain the natural phenomena" and E. Tursunov (1994) directly says: "Kazakh *Zhyrau* were considered to be prophetic poets who saw into the future. In wartime *Zhyrau* were a part of the khan's council under the khan, performing the same priestly functions". The "prophetic" singer, occupying the place of honour in the khan's headquarters, in his public and state practice used specific information banks of the centuries-old social, historical, mythological and ritual life of the nomadic collective. The peculiarity of *Zhyrau* poetic images is that it combined traditional mythological stereotypes and new social necessity of language, using language and style of mythology for political and educational purposes. Their language and mythopoetic picture of the world represented the complex traditions, customs, beliefs, and superstitions, that predetermined the ethnic stereotype of the behaviour of Kazakhs" already at a new, though still rather a slow turn of comprehension of the former patriarchal ideas.

This "inactivity" of understanding the objective world can be explained by the known *resistance* to ethnic stereotypes and the traditional mindset of a singer, which was already demythologized, but still depends on the type of economy, on the production activities of nomadic society (Akataev, 1993). E. Tursunov (1994) wrote about the original artistic mindset of Turkic (Kazakh) *Zhyrau*, showing that type of *Zhyrau* is a form of ancient *Akyn*, which is the time "when everyone knew folklore". The secret (sacred) then was yet the property of all senior members of the tribal collective, and not of some singled out special figure, ritual mediator, or shaman, who concentrated all this tribal knowledge in his hands.

This mythological knowledge (connection with spirits, *aruahs*) together with the "divination" ability of *Zhyrau* and traditional spiritual experience combines with social practice, and real knowledge about the world. Analysis of the functions of heroic singers has revealed the role and specificity of mythopoetic and formulaic elements in the poetic system of *Zhyrau*, the degree of participation of individual mythological structures (mythologems), formulas and formulaic expressions in the organization of artistic reality of the oral work. We believe that our main new achievement within the framework of the Parry-Lord theory is the method of identifying and revealing "semantic cores" in the structure with syllabic and lexical bases.

For this purpose, it is necessary to refer to the social status and functions of *Zhyrau* in the 15-18th centuries. When listing the functions of the heroic singers, E. Tursunov (1999) (stressed that the *Zhyrau* acts as a spiritual leader of the people and is responsible for their well-being in both peacetime and wartime. Hence, he deduces the following social functions of the heroic singer:

- 1) relying on the gift of "prophetic foresight", the *Zhyrau* "foretold" weather phenomena.

It was of great importance for the seasonal movements of nomads and expeditions. It was the duty of the singer to know well and interpret the folk omens and give examples of the past connected with weather phenomena. This important part of ancient "universal" knowledge as well

as myths and legends was transferred orally, through a special technique and had a valuable practical value, acting as part of the great oral Steppe knowledge. For example, as the year of the White Rabbit (according to the Eastern calendar) approaches, the singer reminds the khan that “in the coming year one should expect jute” (Jute means hunger. The fall of cattle during the severe frosts, following immediately after the thaw, and the impossibility to get the grass from the ice crust). According to the folk omen, the heavy loss of livestock happens in the year of the White Rabbit. One shouldn't say that the people don't know about this event, but it is a sacred duty of the Zhyrau to remind the khan about it. Thus, relying on the gift of “clairvoyant foresight” singer Asan Kaigy “educates” the khan, telling him that he does not think about the people, losing the best pastures to outsiders, and that terrible times have come:

*...Қырындакиікжайлаған,
Суындабалықойнаған,
Оймауыттайтоғайегіннің
Ойынакелгенасынжейтуғын,
Жемдекеңесқылмадың,
Жемнендеелдікөшірдің.*

*...Where saiga frolicked on the hill,
And fish was playing in the river,
There we could eat the thing we ever wished,
There in the mast, as Oymaut forests, fields-
You on the river Zhem didn't take advice,
You from the river Zhem did take the people.*

In these initial lines, we already see separate formulaic elements of oral technique: sound, lexical, morphological; repetitions, anaphoric syllabic and lexical blocks, thematic staples, and the prevalence of three-syllable verbal rhyme. And this pattern is significant (3 syllables) within the rigid poetic scheme of *zhyr*: 3+1+3 or 2+2+3. Anaphoric syllabic and lexical blocks draw the listener's attention to paradisiacal abundance, and this idea is associated with a specific geographical location, the river *Zhem* – the fertile breadwinner (Figure 1).

3	2	3
...Қырында	кпiк	жайлаған,
Суында	балық	ойнаған...

Anaphor with *syllabic basis*

Оймауыттай тоғай егіннің
Ойына келген асын жейтуғын...

Anaphor with *lexical basis*

2	2	3
Жемде	кеңес	қылмадың,
Жемнен	(де) елді	Көшірдің,

Figure 1. Anaphors with different basis

The structures of the mythological reality described by the singer of the land of happiness are limited by the archetypal models of vertical space: *the top* and *the bottom*.

*...Қырында киік жайлаған,
Суында балық ойнаған...
External and internal structures:
Оймауыттай тоғай егіннің
Ойына келген асын жейтуғын,
Жемде кеңес қылмадың,
Жемнен де елді көшірдің.
Там, где сайга резвилась на холме,
Там, где рыба играла в реке..*

*There we could eat the thing we ever wished,
There in the mast, as Oymaut forests, fields –
You on the river Zhem didn't take advice,
You from the river Zhem did take the people.*

The top is a hill, elevation, with frolicking saiga (*қыр, қырында*), and the bottom is a river with playing fish in it (*су, суында*). The frolicking saiga and the fish playing in the river are the symbols of *happiness, abundance* and *prosperity*. The hill is a static image, analog of the mountain, a symbol of the permanence of existence and the way up to God and ancestors. The river is the source of life and changes, the symbol of time and the way to the lower world, the image is dynamic. The graphic marker of the external and internal structure of reality is the thematic syllabic anaphor *ой (oy) (thought, дума)*. It contains the theme of the river Zhem, the Golden Age, and the Promised Land. The main content of the idea is revealed through the mythical image of the fertile land *Oymaut*, where “the fields are rich and dense, like forests, // There we could eat the thing we ever wished”. The meaningfully semantic component (“semantic core”), which is the initial syllable of the thematic anaphora, plays a special role in the sound disclosure of the Golden Age image:

*Ой + мауыттайтоғайегіннің
Ой + ынакелгенасынжейтуғын,*

where, the initial syllable **ой**(oy)embryonically encapsulates the central idea of the whole *tolgau, дума* itself (*ойin* Kazakh is *thought, дума*), the singer's experience, sorrow for the fate of his people. For the listener (khan, people) an aural technique to sharpen his aural attention on anaphor repetition, which contains that “semantic core”, is the most important issue. This technical device is used at the very beginning of the *tolgau – Ой-Ой*(oy-oy), and, as the primary, embodies the essence of the genre itself as *a дума*, as a concept of happiness, the Golden Age. The sadder is the finale of this first part of the narrative: khan takes the people away from this fertile river (Magauin, 1978):

*Жемдекеңесқылмадың,
Жемнендеелдікөшірдің.*

The river is the source of life. That place where the fish, big and full of vigour, is playing – the food, *zhem*. The source of life (*zhem*) is combined with a specific geographical name of the river Zhem.

Such is the role of the *lexical* anaphoric formula in the organization of the mythopoetic picture of the world in *Tolgau*, where *Zhem* is *food* and *Zhem* is *the name* of the river-*breadwinner* going back to the same mythological origin (it is possible to assume a certain deity of the river-breadwinner *Zhem*).

The motif of the Golden Age sounds in the edifying speech of the singer. The treatment of the motif of the Golden Age known from Kazakh epic legends gave the scholars a ground to assume that AsanKaigy was the author of a poem about the mythical land of happiness and welfare *ZherUyuk*, (Magauin, 1978). The idea of the Golden Age, *Zher Uyuk*, as noted by E. Ashym, is opposed to the harsh military and nomadic realities of people's life. It is considered to be the key idea of the people itself about peace and eternal abundance. In the next part of the *tolgau*, the leading mythologeme is the river *Oyyl*, and the main technical means is *syllabic* anaphor, but now with the substantive-semantic component **ой** (oy) – *duma*:

Ой + ыл деген ойынды,
Отын тапсаң тойынды,
Ой + ылда кеңес қылмадың,
Ой + ыл көздің жас еді,
Ой + ылдан елді көшірдің

Oyyl river is like a dream,
Oyyl's amazing pastures would be a feast,
Oh, on the *Oyyl* you didn't take advice,
Oyyl was like a teardrop,
Oyyl was the place you took your own people from...

Using mythology, the singer organically introduced archetypal images and ancient mythological structures into the epic system. The main aim of the reflection is that Khan should lead the people to a better life, his first duty. Epic singers correlated their "educational" function with the precepts and oral tradition of their ancestors, using in their speech practice suggestive techniques and formulas, effective elements of oral-style technique, stereotyping, and traditional stable images. This peculiarity of epic style characterizes the creative and mythopoetic mindset of *Zhyrau*. The nomadic singer was the linking centre of the worlds (it was especially vivid during the song performance at the funeral ceremony (*zhoktau*) or the call-song before the battle (*undeu*), when he became the point of intersection of historical and mythological spaces.

The singer's mythological thinking turns to the primary source – the educational tradition of the ancestors. E. Tursunov (1999). writes that the high status of *Zhyrau* in the society and its political and poetic image contributed to the fact that they were:

2) members of the khan's council; managed the whole spiritual life of the tribe, had the right of a decisive vote in declaring war and making peace, as well as solved diplomatic issues. During the war, a third important function of the *Zhyrau* advisor came out:

3) they sang the call song (*undeu*) or the battle cry (*uran*). During the performance of the call song, the singer addressed the soldiers and inspired them to do a heroic deed. The song sung was magic, presumably, to ward off arrows. It was a kind of theatre whose participants were both real-life relatives and "ancestor spirits" known to love music and epic. These guardian spirits, the

aruahs, supporting their relatives in battle, are both the heroic past and the *mythological* present, "here and now". In the process of ritual performance of the call-song (*undeu*), there is a certain point of intersection of history and myth, time and space, and the singer becomes the focal point of it. The leading genre of the song is *uran*, a battle cry, the name of the ancestor-hero and founder of the family. In M.O. Auezov's (1987) epic "Abay's Way" such uranes are brightly presented: "**Olzhay! Olzhay!** – shouted Kunanbay and galloped forward. With shouting "**Irgizbay!**", "**Irgizbai!**", "**Topay!**", "**Torgay!**", "**Olzhay!**", "**Olzhay!**" - the whole troop rushed after him, spreading out across the slope like a fire running through dry feather-grass... "**Olzhay! Olzhay! Irgizbay! Irgizbay! Topay! Torgay!** – They fiercely call out to the spirit of Olzhay and other ancestors, intimidating the enemy..." (Auezov, 1987).

Uranes are an organizing element of the fight, its psychological source as mythologemes and suggestive structures. They significantly enrich the text and formulas appearing in the image of heroes-progenitors, allegedly acting in the battle.

4) Heroic *Zhyrau* singers are the keepers of the oral genealogy of Kazakh tribes (*шежіре* – genealogical history), Turkic clans and khan dynasties, "living history" also act as mythologem, being the main historical background of heroic epos, various historical and mythological legends. Analysis of the texts showed that when addressing khan, batyr, biy and any representative of a clan and tribe, the singer is exceptionally fully and profoundly aware of this person and his seven generations. Often, while criticizing khan, *Zhyrau* reminds him that he should be worthy of his ancestors:

*Ата жұрты бұқара
Өз қолында болмаса,
Қанша жақсы болса да,
Қайратты туған ер ғаріп*

*His native numerous tribe,
If he doesn't hold on to his power,
Whatever virtues he may have,
The hero – the son of the worthy – is wretched!*

The entire history and genealogy of the kins are incorporated by the singer into one epic cosmos. All the heroic singers of the 15-18th centuries used this historical and mythological material in the epos and their lyrical-epic poetry.

Warrior rites and rituals are a direct echo of myth. One of the basic structural and substantive elements of the warrior rite is the verbal and musical performance of the singer. The key image of that song is the name of the ancestor. E.D. Tursunov (1994) recognizes that *Zhyrau* in ancient times performed during the funeral ceremony a solemn *ode* (praise – *maktay*) in honour of a perished hero. Thus, one can firmly conclude that heroic *Zhyrau* singers are the originators of the national epos. The singer creates *an ode* – a song in honour of a hero using the experience of ritual lyricism and all of its genre forms: dedication (*arnau*), testament (*osiet*), call-songs (*undeu*) and farewell songs (*koshtasu*), etc. The central place in the funeral rite belongs to the ode, performed at the hero's grave. The ode becomes the main ideological and structural element in the composition of future heroic tales.

In the process of the singer's performance of a heroic ode, a peculiar "personal file" of the hero is performed in front of the listeners (real tribal members and spirits): the hero's feat (the main theme), his personal qualities (or external and internal descriptions), his and his ancestors' deeds. As the song unfolds, the description of his horse and wife – a faithful life companion is taking place. Highlighting the hero's deed, the singer praised him both in front of the spirits of his ancestors and his contemporaries. This is the ritual song we hear in the performance of the singer Umbetei (XVIII century):

*Уа, Алатаудай А қ ш а д а н
 Асып тудың, Бөгембай!
 Болмашыдай а н а д а н
 Болат тудың, Бөгембай!
 Қалакайлап д у л а т қ а н,
 Қалдамандап ш у л а т қ а н,
 Қалмақты алдың, Бөгембай!
 Құбыла көшкен байтақтың
 Ордасындай Бөгембай!
 Темір жұмсап, о қ а т қ а н
 Қорғасындай Бөгембай!*

*You've outdone, since the day you were born,
 Pop Akshu, that by Alatau power, Bohembay.
 From Bolmashi – from mother of yours –
 You were born a Bulat, to everyone's glory, Bohembay.
 You defeated a formidable army of Oirat,
 Oirats that burned us like nettles, Bohembay,
 Made them tremble with fear.
 You are the centre of a rowdy roaming horde, Bohembay,
 Arrow plunged in and struck like a rock.
 You were as heavy as lead all the time, Bohembay...*

We see a similar genre form in the epic tradition of Homer. This song of praise was called *encomium* by the Greeks. In honour of his friend, Patroclus, Achilles, the hero of the Iliad, also creates the encomium. In the Kazakh (Turkic) tradition this song is called *zhoktau* – lament song for the dead. It should be assumed for the ancient nomads it was a solemn farewell to the world of ancestors, as evidenced by horse races, war games and feasts.

Conclusions

Mythopoetic perceptions and formulaic style occupy an important place in the oral tradition of the 15-18th century singers. Though the process of demythologization is observed at that time, the belief in patron spirits, *arauhs*, is still strong. The mindset of a singer is connected to the economic specifics of patriarchal nomadic society, with slow social development that preserved ancient rites and rituals – the source of formulas, traditions and stereotypes. Thanks to tradition, yesterday's ritual mediator preserved his ritual functions as well. As in antiquity, he also remained

a “spiritual teacher”, educating the khan and the people, but already acted as an independent artist. The singers already expressed ideas of statehood, however, they still firmly retained mythical, rite and ritual foundations in their art. The nomadic way of life made the singer use the entire arsenal of oral styles and formulaic grammar.

His appeal to myth and oral technique is seen in his design of various rites and rituals, where even the name of an ancestor appears as a formula and mythologeme when the singer calls upon the spirit of the ancestor. The social status of the singer and his social functions inevitably influence the language and style of the singer who fulfils his social role of “spiritual teacher” of the people, statesman and khan's adviser. The complex analysis should further demonstrate the usefulness, efficiency, and great potential of Parry-Lord's oral theory in studying different aspects of the Kazakh (Turkic) oral-poetic tradition. The Turkic (Kazakh) language itself, due to its rich imagery, represents a surprising complex of stable elements (the traditional artistic-defining system) fertile ground for formulaic research. Of particular interest for linguists could be the “semantic cores” within the anaphoric formulas, as well as the anaphoric thematic formulas themselves, which due to their symbolic and mythological nature should certainly be preserved in the artistic translation of epos and oral works of *Zhyrau*.

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