ISSN 1799-2591 (print); ISSN 2053-0692 (online)
Theory and Practice in Language Studies, Vol. 16, No. 11, pp. 3973-3986, November 2026
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1611.29

Cultural-Semantic Structure of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names: Evidence From the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus of the Kazakh Language

Elmira Utebayeva
A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Anar Fazylzhan*
A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Aida Barmenkulova
A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Kairat Gabithanuly
A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Laura Koishygulova
L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan

Alfiya Soltanbekova
A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, Almaty, Kazakhstan

***Abstract*—Traditional Kazakh clothing names constitute an important component of national culture and serve as indicators of social relations, cultural values, and the worldview of the Kazakh people. This study examines the frequency structure, taxonomic organization, cultural-semantic functions, and gender-related characteristics of traditional clothing names based on data from the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus of the Kazakh Language. A total of 26 traditional clothing names were selected for analysis. Each item was examined according to its frequency of occurrence and further analyzed through a cultural-semantic coding procedure. The analysis employed several cultural parameters, including gender association, ritual function, social status, protective function, seasonal use, everyday use, and connection with nomadic life. The frequency analysis revealed that *oramal* (scarf), *ton* (fur coat), *shapan* (robe), *borik* (fur cap), and *ishik* (fur garment) are among the most frequently occurring clothing names in the corpus. Taxonomic analysis demonstrated the predominance of outerwear and headwear categories within the traditional Kazakh clothing system. Hierarchical cluster analysis identified three major cultural groups of clothing names: everyday-social clothing, protective-climatic clothing, and ritual-gender-specific clothing. Furthermore, the gender analysis showed that all clothing items associated with ritual functions are linked exclusively to female social identity and life-cycle transitions. The findings demonstrate that traditional clothing names represent a significant system of cultural signs reflecting the social organization, cultural experience, and national worldview of the Kazakh people. The study contributes to research in ethnolinguistics, corpus linguistics, and digital humanities while highlighting the scientific potential of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus as a resource for investigating ethnocultural knowledge and cultural semantics.**

***Index Terms*—traditional clothing names, Cultural-Representative Subcorpus, National Corpus of the Kazakh Language, ethnolinguistics, linguocultural studies**

I. Introduction

The intensification of globalization has made the preservation, systematization, and transmission of national cultural heritage one of the major concerns of contemporary humanities research. Since the historical memory, worldview, and cultural experience of a people are preserved through language, the study of linguistic representations of national culture has become an important scholarly task. Ethnocultural information encoded in language reflects social structures, everyday practices, value systems, and human interaction with the surrounding environment. In this regard, traditional

* Corresponding Author. Email: fazylzhan.anar@gmail.com

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clothing names constitute an important group of ethnocultural units that represent not only the material culture of the Kazakh people but also their national worldview.

In Kazakh culture, clothing is not viewed merely as a practical object used to satisfy everyday needs. Traditional garments function as a system of cultural symbols indicating a person's age, gender, social status, family position, and place within society. For example, *saukele* signifies the social status of a bride, whereas *kimishek* is associated with the cultural image of motherhood. Likewise, such clothing names as *tymaq*, *borik*, *shapan*, and *ishik* reflect social relations and characteristics of the traditional nomadic way of life. Consequently, the study of traditional clothing terminology provides an important means of understanding national cultural codes and cultural identity.

In recent years, increasing attention has been devoted to the digitization of ethnocultural heritage and the preservation of cultural knowledge in digital formats. International experience demonstrates that national corpora have become important tools for collecting, organizing, and analyzing linguistic data. Corpus technologies make it possible to investigate frequency patterns, contextual usage, and cultural characteristics of linguistic units based on empirical evidence. In Kazakhstan, the National Corpus of the Kazakh Language, developed by the A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics, has emerged as a significant scientific resource in this field.

The Cultural-Representative Subcorpus, which forms part of the National Corpus of the Kazakh Language, is a specialized electronic database designed to describe the cultural semantics of ethnocultural units. The subcorpus includes millions of word tokens derived from historical-literary, ethnographic, and academic texts. Its distinctive feature lies in providing cultural-semantic descriptions for each ethnocultural unit. In addition, photographs, illustrations, and video materials are integrated into the database, allowing linguistic and cultural information to be presented in a comprehensive manner.

Numerous studies have addressed ethnocultural units in Kazakh linguistics. The works of A. Kaidar, N. Uali, Zh. Mankeeva, R. Shoibekov, E. Zhanpeisov, and other scholars have explored the ethnolinguistic and linguocultural characteristics of traditional cultural vocabulary. However, traditional clothing names have primarily been examined from descriptive, ethnographic, or lexicographic perspectives. Their frequency structure, cultural-semantic functions, taxonomic organization, and gender-related characteristics have not yet been comprehensively investigated using data from the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to identify the frequency structure, cultural-semantic functions, and gender-related characteristics of traditional Kazakh clothing names based on the materials of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. The study examines the taxonomic organization of traditional clothing terminology, systematizes its cultural functions through cultural-semantic coding, and identifies major cultural groupings through cluster analysis.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the fact that traditional Kazakh clothing names are examined for the first time through an integrated approach combining frequency analysis, cultural-semantic coding, taxonomic classification, and cluster modeling based on corpus data. The findings reveal new possibilities for investigating traditional Kazakh clothing culture through the methods of corpus linguistics, ethnolinguistics, and digital humanities.

II. Literature Review

The development of modern linguistics and information technologies has transformed national corpora into important scientific tools for collecting, storing, and analyzing linguistic data. A corpus enables researchers to process large volumes of texts using computer technologies and to investigate the structure, semantics, frequency patterns, and contextual usage of linguistic units based on empirical evidence (Baranov, 2026; Rykov, 2002). Consequently, corpus linguistics has become one of the most rapidly developing fields in contemporary language studies.

Internationally, such resources as the British National Corpus, Russian National Corpus, Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), Czech National Corpus, and Deutsches Textarchiv serve as major scientific databases for linguistic research. These corpora allow scholars to examine not only structural, stylistic, and genre-related characteristics of language but also the linguistic representation of social and cultural phenomena. The theoretical foundations of corpus linguistics were largely established through the work of John Sinclair, who regarded corpora as empirical tools for describing linguistic norms. Later, McEnery (2019) expanded corpus-based approaches to the investigation of social and cultural phenomena. Davies (2009) and Hajič (1998) further contributed to the development of corpus annotation and digital analytical tools, thereby advancing contemporary corpus linguistics.

In recent years, cultural and multimedia components have become increasingly important in corpus development. Researchers emphasize the need to examine linguistic units not only within textual environments but also within broader cultural contexts (Przepiórkowski et al., 2024). This tendency facilitates the integration of linguistic data with national culture and collective knowledge. As a result, modern corpora increasingly incorporate cultural annotation, visual materials, and structured cultural information.

The relationship between language and culture constitutes one of the central concerns of linguocultural studies and ethnolinguistics. Teliya (1987) defines the primary objective of linguocultural studies as the investigation of the interaction between language and culture from the perspective of national consciousness. According to her, language functions as a mechanism for preserving and transmitting cultural experience across generations. Similarly, Willems (2006) argues that linguistic meaning should be examined in relation to human cognitive experience and systems of world knowledge.

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Among linguocultural approaches, Karasik's work occupies a prominent position. He argues that cultural concepts are organized as multilayered structures within linguistic consciousness and are manifested through lexical, phraseological, and textual means (Karasik, 2002). This perspective allows ethnocultural units to be viewed not merely as names but as carriers of cultural information. Likewise, Wierzbicka proposed a model for describing national cultural semantics through a universal semantic metalanguage, thereby providing new ways of interpreting culture-specific meanings.

In Kazakh linguistics, ethnocultural units have been extensively investigated within ethnolinguistic and linguocultural frameworks. The works of Kaidar (2013) established the theoretical foundations of Kazakh ethnolinguistics. His studies explored the relationship between language and culture and identified the cultural meanings and origins of numerous ethnocultural units. N. Uali focused on the linguistic representation of cultural information and developed principles for linguocultural interpretation. Zh. Mankeeva investigated the linguistic manifestation of national worldview and cultural concepts, identifying the cognitive foundations of ethnocultural vocabulary.

The study of traditional material culture terms occupies a special place in Kazakh ethnolinguistics. Shoibekov (2022) systematically examined the vocabulary associated with traditional crafts, jewelry, and clothing, describing their ethnocultural characteristics. His research provides valuable insights into the social functions, cultural significance, and historical development of traditional clothing terminology. Similarly, E. Zhanpeisov explored the ethnolinguistic features of material culture vocabulary in the Kazakh language.

The establishment and development of the National Corpus of the Kazakh Language marked a new stage in the digital preservation of national cultural heritage. In this context, Zhubanov (2016) proposed the theoretical foundations for introducing cultural-semantic annotation into the national corpus. According to the author, ethnocultural information can only be adequately represented through the inclusion of cultural explanations for linguistic units. Fazylzhanova (2016) emphasized the importance of incorporating culturally significant texts into the corpus and highlighted the role of digital resources in preserving national cultural codes.

Recent studies have further contributed to the theoretical and methodological development of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. Amirbekova et al. (2013) examined the linguistic and cognitive mechanisms underlying the formation of the Kazakh national worldview. Otebayeva et al. (2023) investigated cultural-semantic annotation and proposed principles for coding ethnocultural units. Mankeeva et al. (2023) analyzed the annotation of cultural units and suggested ways to improve the structure of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. Ashimbayeva and Zhanabekova (2023) demonstrated the importance of integrating archaic vocabulary into the national corpus.

In recent years, a number of studies based on the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus have focused on specific ethnocultural units. Talgatqyzy et al. (2024) examined the cultural representation of the camel concept in the Kazakh worldview through corpus data. Tlegenova et al. (2024) analyzed the representativeness of mythonyms and theonyms in language corpora. Zhumabayeva and Amanbayeva (2024) investigated the cultural semantics of religious vocabulary. Furthermore, the *Cultural-Cognitive Dictionary of the Kazakh Language* (Shoibekov et al., 2023) and the *Linguocultural Dictionary* (Uali et al., 2024), both developed on the basis of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus, represent important achievements in the systematization of cultural information in Kazakh.

Although these studies have established solid theoretical and practical foundations for the analysis of ethnocultural units, traditional clothing names have not yet been comprehensively investigated using corpus-based methods. Existing studies primarily approach clothing terminology from descriptive, ethnographic, or lexicographic perspectives. Their frequency structure, taxonomic organization, cultural-semantic functions, and gender-related characteristics have not been systematically examined through corpus data.

Therefore, the present study investigates traditional Kazakh clothing names using materials from the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. By combining frequency analysis, cultural-semantic coding, cluster analysis, and gender-based interpretation, the study seeks to reveal the linguistic representation of traditional clothing as an important component of the Kazakh worldview. This approach contributes to the intersection of ethnolinguistics, corpus linguistics, and digital humanities while offering a comprehensive model for the analysis of ethnocultural vocabulary.

III. Materials and Methods

A. Research Material

The present study is based on the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus of the Kazakh Language, a specialized electronic database designed to document and describe the cultural semantics of ethnocultural units. The subcorpus contains approximately 15 million word tokens and includes folklore texts, oral literary heritage, ethnographic works, academic publications, and journalistic materials. The diversity of textual sources makes it possible to investigate the use of culturally marked lexical units from multiple perspectives and within different discourse types.

The research focuses on traditional Kazakh clothing names included in the thematic category "Clothing and Apparel" of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. A total of 26 ethnocultural clothing terms were identified and selected for analysis. These units include headwear (*saukele, borik, tymaq, taqiya, kimishek, zhaulyq*), outerwear (*shapan, ishik, shekpen, kebenek, beshpent*), footwear (*baipaq*), and coverings (*oramal*).

For each clothing item, information regarding frequency of occurrence, cultural-semantic description, taxonomic classification, and ethnographic interpretation was collected. These data formed the basis of the analytical dataset used in the study.

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B. Data Collection and Processing

The research was conducted in several stages.

At the first stage, the thematic category "Clothing and Apparel" within the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus was examined, and all traditional clothing names were identified. Frequency data provided by the corpus were recorded for each lexical unit.

At the second stage, the identified clothing names were classified according to their taxonomic categories. Based on the corpus classification, five microgroups were established:

- Headwear;
- Outerwear;
- General clothing;
- Footwear;
- Coverings.

At the third stage, the cultural-semantic information associated with each clothing item was analyzed in order to identify its functional and cultural characteristics.

C. Cultural-Semantic Coding

To systematize the cultural functions of traditional clothing names, a cultural-semantic coding procedure was employed. Each clothing item was assigned values according to the presence (1) or absence (0) of specific cultural features.

The following cultural codes were used in the analysis:

Code	Description
Female	Associated with female culture
Male	Associated with male culture
Ritual	Performs a ritual function
Status	Indicates social status
Protection	Performs a protective function
Winter	Associated with winter use
Everyday	Used in everyday life
Nomadic	Associated with nomadic lifestyle

The coding procedure was based on cultural-semantic descriptions and ethnographic interpretations provided in the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus.

For example, *saukele* was coded as Female, Ritual, and Status because it is described as a ceremonial bridal headdress. Similarly, *tymaq* was coded as Male, Protection, Winter, and Nomadic because it functions as a winter protective hat associated with traditional nomadic life.

As a result, a cultural-semantic matrix consisting of 26 clothing names and 8 cultural variables was created.

To increase coding reliability, all coding decisions were independently reviewed by the research team based on the cultural-semantic descriptions provided in the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus and available ethnographic sources. Any ambiguous cases were discussed until consensus was reached. Since the coding scheme was based on predefined corpus annotations, disagreements were minimal.

D. Quantitative and Visual Analysis

Both quantitative and visual analytical methods were applied in the study.

The quantitative analysis included:

- calculation of frequency values;
- identification of the distribution of cultural codes;
- description of the taxonomic structure of clothing names.

Data processing and visualization were conducted using the R statistical environment.

The following visualization techniques were employed:

- frequency distribution bar charts;
- taxonomic structure diagrams;
- cultural-semantic dendrograms;
- heatmaps of cultural functions;
- gender and life-cycle models.

To identify similarities among clothing names, hierarchical cluster analysis was performed. This procedure enabled the identification of groups of clothing items sharing similar cultural-semantic characteristics.

E. Theoretical Framework

The study is situated at the intersection of corpus linguistics, ethnolinguistics, and Digital Humanities.

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Corpus linguistics provided the methodological framework for analyzing the frequency and distribution of traditional clothing names. Ethnolinguistic approaches facilitated the interpretation of their cultural meanings, symbolic functions, and roles within the Kazakh worldview.

The cultural-semantic coding procedure allowed traditional clothing items to be examined through cultural parameters such as social status, gender identity, ritual function, and nomadic lifestyle. This integrated framework made it possible to analyze clothing terminology not only as lexical units but also as carriers of cultural knowledge.

F. Research Limitations

Several limitations should be acknowledged.

First, the study is limited to clothing names recorded in the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. Consequently, not all clothing terms used in contemporary Kazakh may be represented.

Second, cultural-semantic coding inevitably involves a degree of researcher interpretation. Although coding decisions were based on corpus descriptions and ethnographic evidence, the classification of certain cultural features remains partly dependent on expert judgment.

Third, while the identified 26 clothing names represent the core of traditional Kazakh clothing terminology, regional variants and dialectal forms were not comprehensively included in the analysis.

Fourth, because the study relies on corpus materials, frequency values may be influenced by the composition of the corpus, including the proportion of historical, ethnographic, and literary texts.

Despite these limitations, the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus provides a reliable basis for describing the cultural-semantic structure of traditional Kazakh clothing names and for investigating their role within the Kazakh linguistic worldview.

IV. Results

A. Frequency Structure and Taxonomic Organization of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

Traditional clothing names preserved in the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus of the Kazakh Language constitute an important component of the material culture and national worldview of the Kazakh people. Clothing terminology represents ethnocultural units that reflect everyday life, social relations, adaptation to environmental conditions, and cultural values. Therefore, analyzing the frequency structure of clothing names makes it possible to determine their position within the cultural system, their level of usage, and their significance in national culture.

A total of 26 traditional clothing names were identified and selected from the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus. These lexical units include names of headwear, outerwear, footwear, and coverings. The frequency distribution of the clothing names is presented in Table 1.

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TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TRADITIONAL KAZAKH CLOTHING NAMES

No.	Clothing Name	Frequency
1	Oramal	2265
2	Ton	1053
3	Shapan	963
4	Borik	770
5	Ishik	543
6	Tymaq	331
7	Shekpen	326
8	Saukele	281
9	Taqiya	231
10	Zhaulyq	229
11	Sharshy	227
12	Qarqara	161
13	Kebenek	106
14	Beshpent	95
15	Kimishek	83
16	Baipaq	79
17	Kupi	74
18	Zhadağai	63
19	Kamzol	61
20	Shäli	44
21	Syrma	36
22	Keudeshe	29
23	Zhelen	22
24	Qulaqshyn	15
25	Saqsyr	10
26	Kume	2

The results presented in Table 1 demonstrate considerable variation in the frequency of traditional clothing names. The most frequent lexical item is *oramal* (2,265 occurrences). This high frequency can be explained by the multifunctional role of the oramal in Kazakh culture. It is not merely an item of everyday clothing but also serves as a cultural marker of female identity, modesty, social etiquette, and interpersonal relations. Consequently, its frequent occurrence in the corpus reflects its importance in Kazakh cultural practice.

Other highly frequent clothing names include *ton* (1,053), *shapan* (963), *borik* (770), and *ishik* (543). These items constitute the core layer of the traditional Kazakh clothing system. While *ton* and *ishik* emerged as adaptations to climatic conditions, *shapan* acquired special cultural significance as a symbol of social status, honor, and respect. Similarly, *borik* became one of the most widespread forms of everyday headwear used by both men and women.

The group of moderately frequent clothing names includes *tymaq* (331), *shekpen* (326), *saukele* (281), *taqiya* (231), *zhaulyq* (229), and *sharshy* (227). These items perform more specialized cultural functions. For instance, *saukele* is associated with bridal rituals, whereas *tymaq* is regarded as a traditional and symbolically important male headdress. Likewise, *zhaulyq* and *sharshy* function as markers of the social status of married women.

The least frequent items include *qarqara* (161), *kebenek* (106), *beshpent* (95), *kimishek* (83), *baipaq* (79), *kupi* (74), *zhadağai* (63), *kamzol* (61), *shäli* (44), *syrma* (36), *keudeshe* (29), *zhelen* (22), *qulaqshyn* (15), *saqsyr* (10), and *kume* (2). Despite their relatively low frequencies, these terms possess considerable ethnocultural value. In particular, *saqsyr* and *kume* preserve historical and ethnographic information and therefore remain important elements of traditional cultural knowledge.

The overall frequency distribution of traditional clothing names is illustrated in Figure 1.

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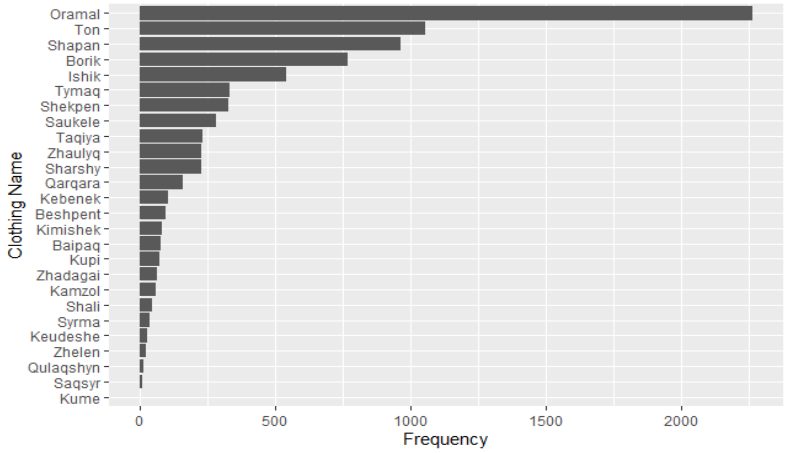


Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

The results shown in Figure 1 reveal an uneven distribution of clothing names across the corpus. A clear distinction can be observed between highly frequent and low-frequency items. While *oramal*, *ton*, *shapan*, *borik*, and *ishik* occur most frequently, items such as *kume*, *saqsyr*, *qulaqshyn*, and *zhelen* appear only occasionally. This pattern reflects differences in the cultural domains in which these items function. Widely distributed clothing names are closely associated with everyday life, whereas less frequent items tend to perform specialized historical, social, or ethnographic functions.

To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the structure of traditional clothing terminology, the identified items were further classified into taxonomic categories. The results of this classification are presented in Figure 2.

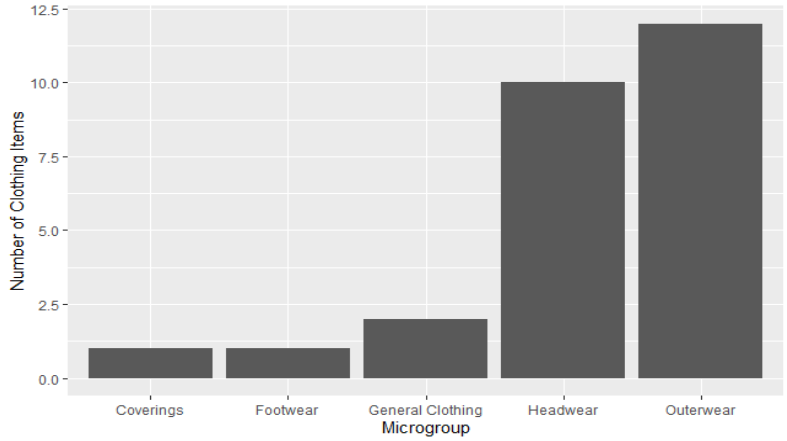


Figure 2. Taxonomic Structure of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

As shown in Figure 2, the largest category consists of outerwear items (n = 12). This group includes *shapan, ishik, shekpen, kebenek, beshpent, kupi, zhadağai, kamzol, syrma, keudeshe, zhelen,* and *kume*. The predominance of outerwear reflects the nomadic lifestyle of the Kazakh people and their adaptation to environmental and climatic conditions. These garments primarily served to protect individuals from harsh weather and natural elements.

The second largest category is headwear (n = 10). This group includes *borik, tymaq, taqiya, saukele, zhaulyq, sharshy, qarqara, kimishek, shäli,* and *qulaqshyn*. In addition to their protective function, headwear items served as cultural markers indicating gender, age, social status, and family position.

The category of general clothing consists of *ton* and *saqsyr*, whereas the footwear category is represented solely by *baipaq*. The item *oramal* was classified separately as a covering due to its unique cultural functions and symbolic significance.

Overall, the frequency structure and taxonomic organization demonstrate that traditional Kazakh clothing names form an interconnected cultural system. Highly frequent items represent cultural concepts closely associated with everyday life and social interaction, whereas low-frequency items preserve historical and ethnographic knowledge. Furthermore, the taxonomic classification highlights the interrelationship between the protective, social, and symbolic functions of traditional Kazakh clothing. These findings provide the foundation for the subsequent analysis of the cultural-semantic functions of traditional clothing names.

B. Cultural-Semantic Functions and Cluster Structure of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

Traditional Kazakh clothing names are not merely elements of material culture but also constitute a system of cultural signs reflecting the national worldview, social relations, gender distinctions, and historical experience of the Kazakh

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people. Therefore, at the next stage of the study, the cultural-semantic functions of clothing names were analyzed through a special coding procedure. Each clothing item was assigned a set of cultural codes, including gender association (Female, Male), ritual function (Ritual), social status (Status), protective function (Protection), association with winter use (Winter), everyday use (Everyday), and connection with the nomadic lifestyle (Nomadic). Such an approach makes it possible to identify not only the lexical characteristics of clothing names but also their broader cultural and functional significance.

The frequency distribution of cultural codes revealed the major functions performed by traditional clothing items. The highest values were observed for the categories Everyday and Female (N = 21 each). This finding indicates that a considerable number of traditional clothing names were associated with everyday use and that a substantial proportion of them were connected with female culture. At the same time, male-associated clothing items also demonstrated a relatively high frequency (N = 18), reflecting the clear distinction between male and female clothing in traditional Kazakh society.

A total of fourteen clothing items were associated with protective functions. This result reflects the adaptation of the Kazakh people to their natural and climatic environment. Clothing items such as *tymaq, qulaqshyn, ishik, shekpen, kebenek, kupi,* and *ton* were specifically designed to protect the human body from cold weather, wind, and precipitation. Consequently, the protective function represents one of the most important components of traditional Kazakh clothing culture. The relatively high number of clothing items associated with winter use (N = 11) further supports this interpretation.

Nine clothing items were identified as markers of social status. This group includes *saukele, qarqara, shapan, ton, ishik,* and *kimishek*. These garments functioned as cultural indicators of an individual's social position, prestige, or family status. For instance, *saukele* symbolized the special status of a bride, whereas *shapan* served as a marker of honor and social respect.

Five clothing names were associated with the nomadic way of life. This category primarily includes *tymaq, kebenek, shekpen, saqsyr,* and *qulaqshyn*. All of these items are related to pastoral life, long-distance travel, livestock breeding, and adaptation to environmental conditions. Thus, the nomadic lifestyle formed an important semantic layer within the traditional Kazakh clothing system.

Although only four clothing items were identified as having ritual functions, their cultural significance is particularly high. This group consists of *saukele, qarqara, zhaulyq,* and *kimishek*. These garments function as cultural markers associated with important stages in an individual's life cycle. Therefore, despite their relatively low frequency, they possess exceptional symbolic value.

To identify similarities among the cultural functions of clothing names, hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted. The results revealed that traditional Kazakh clothing names can be classified into three major cultural-semantic clusters.

TABLE 2
CLUSTER CLASSIFICATION OF TRADITIONAL KAZAKH CLOTHING NAMES

Cluster	Clothing Names	Dominant Cultural Function
Cluster 1	Borik, Taqiya, Sharshy, Shapan, Beshpent, Zhadagai, Kamzol, Keudeshe, Zhelen, Oramal	Everyday and social functions
Cluster 2	Tymaq, Shali, Qulaqshyn, Ishik, Shekpen, Kebenek, Kupi, Syrma, Kume, Ton, Saqsyr, Baipaq	Protective and winter functions
Cluster 3	Saukele, Zhaulyq, Qarqara, Kimishek	Ritual and gender-related functions

The results of the cluster analysis are presented in Figure 3.

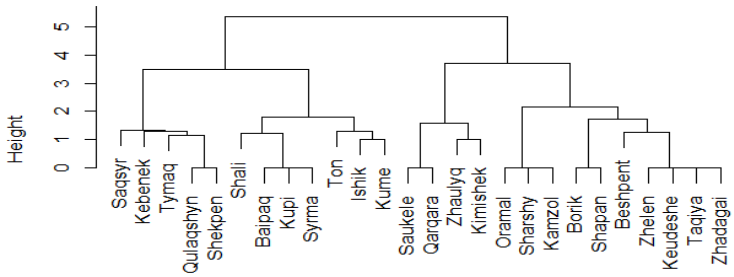


Figure 3. Cultural-Semantic Cluster Structure of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

As shown in Figure 3, the first cluster consists of clothing items widely used in everyday life. This group includes *borik, taqiya, sharshy, shapan, beshpent, zhadagai, kamzol, keudeshe, zhelen,* and *oramal*. Their common characteristic is their frequent use in daily activities and their close association with social life. Ritual functions are generally absent in this cluster, while practical and social functions predominate.

The second cluster combines clothing items that perform protective and climatic functions. This group includes *tymaq, qulaqshyn, ishik, shekpen, kebenek, kupi, syrma, kume, ton, saqsyr,* and *baipaq*. The common feature of these garments is their role in protecting the human body from environmental conditions. In addition, most items in this cluster are associated with winter use. Therefore, this cluster may be interpreted as representing the adaptation of the Kazakh people to their natural environment.

The third cluster is composed of the most culturally distinctive clothing items. It includes *saukele, zhaulyq, qarqara,*

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and *kimishek*. All of these garments are associated with female social status and significant stages of the life cycle. *Saukele* functions as a ceremonial bridal headdress, whereas *zhaulyq* and *kimishek* symbolize the status of married women. *Qarqara* is distinguished as a decorative headdress associated with ceremonial occasions. The grouping of these items within a single cluster demonstrates their shared cultural function.

The distribution of cultural-semantic features across traditional clothing names is further illustrated in Figure 4.

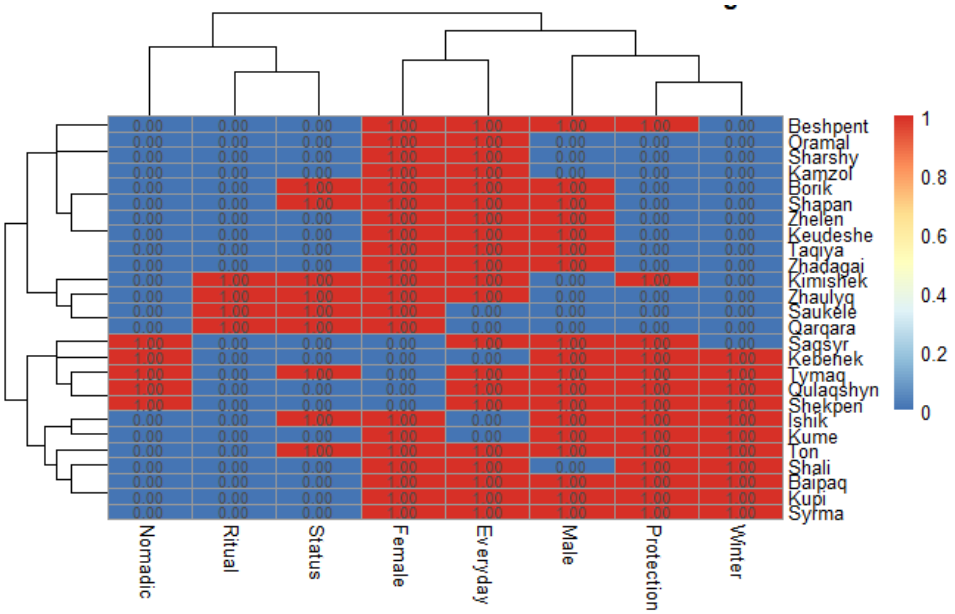


Figure 4. Heatmap of Cultural-Semantic Features of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

Figure 4 visualizes the relationship between traditional clothing names and the cultural codes assigned during the coding procedure. The heatmap demonstrates that the categories *Female* and *Everyday* are the most widely represented cultural features, confirming the predominance of everyday and gender-related functions within the traditional clothing system. Ritual garments such as *Saukele, Qarqara, Zhaulyq,* and *Kimishek* exhibit a distinctive pattern characterized by the simultaneous presence of the *Female, Ritual,* and *Status* features. In contrast, clothing items such as *Tymaq, Qulaqshyn, Shekpen,* and *Kebenek* are strongly associated with the *Protection, Winter,* and *Nomadic* categories.

The heatmap also confirms the results of the hierarchical clustering analysis. Clothing items grouped within the same cluster demonstrate similar cultural-semantic profiles. Everyday garments are concentrated around the *Everyday* and *Female/Male* dimensions, whereas protective garments are associated with *Winter* and *Protection*. Ritual clothing items form a clearly distinguishable group due to their unique combination of *Female, Ritual,* and *Status* features. These patterns indicate that traditional Kazakh clothing names are organized according to shared cultural functions rather than physical appearance or manufacturing materials.

Overall, the cluster analysis demonstrates that traditional Kazakh clothing names are naturally organized according to their cultural functions. Rather than being grouped according to physical appearance or manufacturing materials, clothing items are primarily united by the cultural roles they perform. The findings indicate that three major functional domains dominate the structure of traditional Kazakh clothing culture: everyday-social functions, protective-climatic functions, and ritual-gender functions. These results confirm that traditional clothing constitutes an important system of cultural signs reflecting social relations, cultural values, and the national worldview of the Kazakh people.

C. Gender and Life-Cycle Markers of Traditional Clothing in Kazakh Culture

Traditional Kazakh clothing culture represents not merely a collection of material objects designed to protect the human body from environmental conditions but also a system of cultural signs reflecting social relations, gender distinctions, and status changes throughout the human life cycle. In traditional Kazakh society, clothing functioned as an important cultural marker indicating age, gender, marital status, and social position. Therefore, the analysis of traditional clothing names from gender and life-cycle perspectives provides valuable insights into the social organization embedded in the Kazakh worldview.

The results of the cultural-semantic coding revealed that 21 clothing items were associated with female culture, whereas 18 items were linked to male culture.

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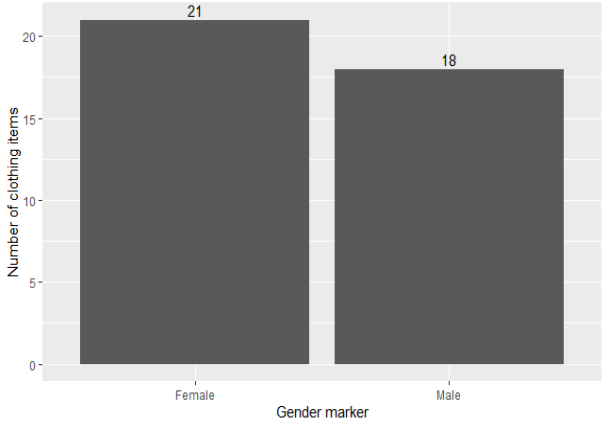


Figure 5. Gender Distribution of Traditional Kazakh Clothing Names

Figure 5 demonstrates that female-associated clothing names (n = 21) slightly outnumber male-associated clothing names (n = 18). This finding indicates that traditional Kazakh clothing terminology contains a substantial number of garments functioning as markers of female social identity, marital status, and life-cycle transitions.

The predominance of female-associated clothing items suggests that the traditional clothing system contained a larger number of garments specifically designed to indicate the social status of women. This finding reflects the fact that female social roles and family status were explicitly marked through clothing in traditional Kazakh society.

The cultural image of women in traditional society was often identified through specific clothing items. In particular, the statuses of girl, bride, young wife, and mother were represented by distinctive garments. This demonstrates that clothing performed not only practical functions but also important social and communicative roles within Kazakh culture.

One of the primary clothing items associated with the stage of girlhood is the *taqiya*. Corpus data indicate that the taqiya was widely worn by girls and young women. Its decorative function was particularly important, and its design was closely associated with age and aesthetic preferences. Consequently, the taqiya can be regarded as a cultural marker of maidenhood.

The most significant social transition in a woman's life was marriage. The principal cultural symbol of this stage is the *saukele*. Corpus materials describe the saukele as a ritual headdress signifying the special status of a bride. It functioned not merely as an item of clothing but as a cultural symbol marking a woman’s transition into a new social role. Its elevated cultural status is reflected in its association with valuable materials, elaborate ornaments, and ceremonial practices.

Alongside the saukele, the *qarqara* also formed part of the ceremonial attire of women. Corpus evidence suggests that the qarqara primarily performed decorative and ritual functions. The fact that qarqara and saukele were grouped together in the cluster analysis confirms the similarity of their cultural roles. Both items function as cultural markers associated with significant stages in a woman’s life cycle.

Following marriage, a woman’s social status changed, and this transformation was symbolized through the *zhaulyq*. In Kazakh culture, the zhaulyq served as one of the principal indicators of married status. Its role extended beyond the practical function of covering the head, becoming a marker of social identity. Corpus data demonstrate that the zhaulyq frequently appears in contexts associated with family life, marital status, and the social position of women.

The next stage in a woman’s life cycle is associated with motherhood. The principal cultural marker of this stage is the *kimishek*. Corpus evidence indicates that the kimishek was commonly worn by married women and mothers. It represented not only age-related distinctions but also a woman’s role within the family and society. In traditional Kazakh culture, wearing a kimishek symbolized a transition to a higher level of social responsibility and cultural respect.

The *shäli* also functions as an important marker of female age and status. It was particularly widespread among elderly women and symbolized life experience, social prestige, and respected family position. Thus, the progression of women’s clothing follows a socially structured pattern closely linked to life-cycle transitions.

The model of clothing transformation throughout the female life cycle is presented in Figure 6.



Figure 6. Life-Cycle Model of Traditional Female Clothing in Kazakh Culture

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Figure 6 demonstrates that traditional Kazakh clothing was oriented primarily toward expressing social status rather than biological age. Transitions from girlhood to bridehood, from marriage to motherhood, were represented through specific clothing items. This highlights the communicative function of clothing as a visible marker of social identity.

The clothing system of men also exhibits certain age-related distinctions. Among young men, *qulaqshyn* and *taqiya* were commonly used. The qulaqshyn is frequently described as a headdress associated with youth. In contrast, the cultural image of mature men is represented by *tymaq* and *borik*. The tymaq occupied a particularly important position within Kazakh culture. Corpus materials indicate that it possessed not only a protective function but also symbolic and sacred significance.

The *borik* appears as one of the most widespread forms of everyday male headwear. In addition, it served as a marker of social status. In certain contexts, the borik functioned as an indicator of age, prestige, and social standing.

At the same time, several clothing items demonstrate a relatively neutral gender profile. Garments such as *shapan, ton, ishik, shekpen,* and *kebenek* were used by both men and women. Their primary functions involved protection from environmental conditions and the expression of social status rather than gender differentiation. Consequently, these items possessed broader social applicability.

Overall, the analysis demonstrates that traditional Kazakh clothing names constitute an important system of cultural markers expressing gender, age, and social status. In particular, changes in a woman's social position throughout the life cycle were clearly represented through specific clothing items. Transitions from maidenhood to bridehood, from marriage to motherhood, were accompanied by corresponding changes in attire. These findings confirm that clothing in traditional Kazakh culture functioned not only as an element of material culture but also as a significant instrument of social identification and cultural communication.

V. Discussion

The findings of the present study demonstrate that traditional Kazakh clothing names constitute a complex cultural-semantic system reflecting social relations, environmental adaptation, gender roles, and life-cycle transitions within Kazakh culture. While previous ethnolinguistic and linguocultural studies have described the cultural meanings of individual clothing items, the current research provides a corpus-based perspective on their frequency distribution, taxonomic organization, cultural functions, and semantic clustering.

The frequency analysis revealed that *oramal, ton, shapan, borik,* and *ishik* occupy a central position within the traditional clothing lexicon. This result supports earlier observations by Kaidar, Uali, Mankeeva, and Shoibekov, who emphasized the importance of clothing terminology as a reflection of everyday life and cultural values. However, unlike previous descriptive studies, the corpus data make it possible to demonstrate quantitatively which clothing items occupy the most prominent position in the linguistic representation of traditional culture. The predominance of *oramal* suggests that women's clothing and head coverings hold a particularly important place within the cultural memory reflected in the corpus.

The taxonomic analysis further revealed that outerwear and headwear constitute the largest categories of traditional clothing names. This finding reflects the historical realities of Kazakh nomadic life. In a society characterized by seasonal migration and close interaction with the natural environment, clothing served not only aesthetic purposes but also essential protective functions. The dominance of outerwear confirms the significance of environmental adaptation as a key component of traditional material culture.

The cultural-semantic coding procedure demonstrated that everyday use, female association, and protective function represent the most widespread cultural features among traditional clothing names. These results indicate that traditional clothing primarily functioned as an instrument of everyday life while simultaneously serving as a marker of social and gender identity. The relatively high frequency of the protection and winter categories further confirms the importance of climatic adaptation in shaping the traditional clothing system.

One of the most significant findings of the study is the identification of three major cultural-semantic clusters. The first cluster consists of everyday and socially oriented garments, the second cluster includes protective and winter clothing, and the third cluster is composed of ritual and gender-related items. The existence of these clusters suggests that traditional clothing names are organized according to shared cultural functions rather than physical characteristics or manufacturing materials. This result supports Karasik's concept of cultural categorization, according to which cultural meanings are structured through socially significant functions and symbolic associations.

The ritual cluster deserves particular attention. The grouping of *saukele, zhaulyq, qarqara,* and *kimishek* into a separate cluster demonstrates their shared role as markers of female social status and life-cycle transitions. These items are connected with marriage, motherhood, and social recognition within the traditional community. The cluster analysis therefore confirms that ritual clothing occupies a distinct position within the cultural system of Kazakh dress.

The gender analysis also produced important results. Female-associated clothing names outnumber male-associated items, and all ritual garments identified in the study belong to the female cultural sphere. This finding indicates that women's clothing played a particularly important role in expressing social identity and family status. Traditional Kazakh culture appears to have relied heavily on clothing as a visible means of communicating female social roles and transitions throughout the life cycle.

The life-cycle model developed in this study further demonstrates that clothing functioned as a cultural mechanism for

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marking social change. The sequence from *taqiya* to *saukele*, *zhaulyq*, *kimishek*, and *shäli* reflects the transformation of a woman's social status from girlhood to marriage, motherhood, and old age. This confirms that clothing served not merely as a material object but as a symbolic representation of social identity.

From a methodological perspective, the study demonstrates the potential of the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus for ethnolinguistic and linguocultural research. The integration of corpus analysis, cultural-semantic coding, and cluster analysis provides a systematic approach to the investigation of ethnocultural vocabulary. Unlike traditional descriptive methods, this approach enables the identification of statistically observable patterns and relationships within cultural data.

Overall, the findings suggest that traditional Kazakh clothing names preserve a substantial amount of cultural knowledge concerning social structure, gender relations, ritual practices, and environmental adaptation. The corpus-based approach adopted in this study contributes to the growing field of digital humanities by demonstrating how ethnocultural knowledge can be analyzed through quantitative and computational methods while retaining its cultural and historical significance.

Future studies may investigate diachronic changes in the frequency and cultural functions of traditional clothing names across different historical periods using chronologically balanced corpus data.

VI. Conclusion

This study examined the frequency structure, taxonomic organization, cultural-semantic functions, and gender-related characteristics of traditional Kazakh clothing names based on data from the Cultural-Representative Subcorpus of the Kazakh Language. The use of corpus materials made it possible to investigate traditional clothing terminology not only from descriptive and ethnographic perspectives but also through quantitative and cultural-semantic approaches.

The frequency analysis demonstrated that the use of traditional clothing names is highly uneven. The highest frequency values were observed for *oramal, ton, shapan, borik,* and *ishik*. These items constitute the core lexical layer of traditional Kazakh clothing terminology and represent cultural units that were widely used in everyday life. In contrast, low-frequency items such as *kume, saqsyr,* and *qulaqshyn* were identified as peripheral units associated primarily with historical and ethnographic contexts.

The taxonomic analysis revealed that traditional clothing names are distributed across several microgroups. Outerwear (n = 12) and headwear (n = 10) emerged as the largest categories. This result reflects the adaptation of the Kazakh people to a nomadic lifestyle and challenging climatic conditions. While outerwear primarily performed protective functions, headwear served as cultural markers indicating age, gender, and social status.

The cultural-semantic coding procedure showed that the dominant functions of traditional clothing names are associated with everyday use, gender identity, and protection. The categories *Everyday* (n = 21) and *Female* (n = 21) demonstrated the highest frequencies among the cultural codes. Furthermore, the relatively high number of clothing items associated with protection (n = 14) confirms the importance of environmental adaptation within traditional Kazakh clothing culture.

Cluster analysis revealed three major groups of clothing names according to their cultural functions. The first cluster consists of clothing items associated with everyday and social functions, the second cluster comprises protective and winter garments, and the third cluster includes ritual and gender-related clothing. The separate clustering of *saukele, zhaulyq, qarqara,* and *kimishek* highlights their distinctive symbolic role within Kazakh culture.

The gender analysis demonstrated that clothing items associated with female culture outnumber those associated with male culture. In addition, all garments identified as ritual clothing were connected exclusively with female cultural practices. This finding suggests that women's social status and life-cycle transitions were clearly represented through clothing. The cultural categories of girlhood, bridehood, marriage, and motherhood were symbolically expressed through such garments as *saukele, zhaulyq, kimishek,* and *shäli*.

The results of the study indicate that traditional Kazakh clothing names represent not merely elements of material culture but also reflections of national worldview, social relations, and cultural values. The Cultural-Representative Subcorpus proved to be a reliable source for investigating traditional clothing terminology and enabled both quantitative and qualitative analysis of its cultural content.

In conclusion, the corpus-based analysis provided valuable insights into the internal organization, cultural functions, and social significance of traditional Kazakh clothing culture. The findings contribute to the fields of ethnolinguistics, linguocultural studies, corpus linguistics, and digital humanities, while also providing a foundation for future research on ethnocultural vocabulary and cultural knowledge representation in digital resources.

Acknowledgements

The work was carried out within the framework of program-targeted financing «BR24993244 Enhancing the National Kazakh language Corpus as a megaproject of Smart-texts and Kazakh artificial intelligence base, development of its subcorpora», Baitursynuly Institute, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

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Elmira Utebayeva is a Candidate of Philological Sciences at the Department of Ethnolinguistics, A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include ethnolinguistics, Kazakh linguistics, and language and culture. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0009-0007-9089-1909.

Anar Fazylzhan is a Candidate of Philological Sciences and Associate Professor at the A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include sociolinguistics, language policy, discourse studies, and applied linguistics. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0562-4846.

Aida Barmenkulova is a PhD student at the A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include Kazakh linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and language studies. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1471-5846.

Kairat Gabithanuly is a Candidate of Philological Sciences at the Department of Lexicology, A. Baitursynuly Institute of

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Linguistics (Almaty, Kazakhstan). His research interests include lexicology, lexicography, semantics, and the Kazakh language. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0434-2291.

Laura Koishygulova is a PhD student at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University (Astana, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include linguistics, language education, and contemporary studies of the Kazakh language. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0009-0005-4340-0308.

Alfiya Soltanbekova is a Candidate of Philological Sciences at the Department of Grammar, A. Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include grammar, syntax, morphology, and the Kazakh language. ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3513-4012.

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