

Etymological-Structural and Ethnocultural Analysis of the Names of National Clothing in the Uzbek Language

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ABSTRACT

This article examines, from an etymological-structural and ethnocultural perspective, the vocabulary of Uzbek national clothing terminology specifically, the names denoting types of outerwear, historical garments, and auxiliary clothing accessories. The factual linguistic material for the study was selected and reprocessed from Asomutdinova's candidate dissertation 'The Names of Clothing and its Parts in the Uzbek Language' (1970), from D. Rahmatullayeva, U. Khodjayeva & F. Atakhanova's study 'The History of Clothing' (2015), as well as from written monuments such as the Devonu Lug'otit Turk and the Boburnama. The analysis substantiates that the names of national clothing constitute a complex linguocultural-ethnographic system, closely bound up with social status, religious-mystical worldview, climatic and economic activity, and territorial-dialectal features. The article is intended to serve as supporting factual and theoretical material for a separate doctoral dissertation devoted to the linguocultural and associative interpretation of national clothing names in the Uzbek language, while remaining, in its own subject matter and approach, an independent study.

Keywords: Linguoculturology, associative field, national clothing, ethnolinguistics, connotation, inner form, dialectal variation, active and passive vocabulary, garment nomenclature

INTRODUCTION

Language is the most important means by which a nation's material and spiritual culture is embodied. The vocabulary of clothing, in turn, is one of the most “visible” lexical-semantic groups reflecting a people's way of life, beliefs, social structure, economic activity, and aesthetic outlook. Clothing is not merely a means of protecting the body; it also functions as a sign-symbol expressing a person's social status, religious and spiritual outlook, and even mood and worldview. For this reason, there is a growing need to study the names of garments not only from a purely lexicological standpoint, but also through the methods of linguoculturology, ethnolinguistics, and the associative-analysis techniques of psycholinguistics.

In linguoculturology, the “cultural meaning,” or connotative semantics, that stands behind a linguistic unit is, unlike the neutral, denotative meaning within the lexical system of a language, intimately bound up with a people's historical memory, customs, and values. The names of national clothing are of particular importance in this respect, since behind each of them lies a specific era, social group, or way of life: the sumptuous *hil'at* (robe of honour) symbolizes royal favour, whereas the darvish's patched *janda* expresses renunciation of worldly pleasures.

The purpose of this article is to analyse, from an etymological-structural and ethnocultural standpoint, the names of outerwear, historical garments, and auxiliary clothing accessories in the Uzbek language, and to establish their etymological origin, inner form, territorial-dialectal variants, and their membership in the active or passive layer of the modern lexicon. The principal factual material for the study was selected from Asomutdinova's candidate dissertation ‘The Names of Clothing and its Parts in the Uzbek Language’ (1970) and from D. Rahmatullayeva, U. Khodjayeva & F. Atakhanova's study ‘The History of Clothing’ (2015), as well as from written sources such as the *Devonu Lug'otit Turk* and the *Boburnama*. It should be emphasized that, although this article shares a common subject the vocabulary of national clothing with the doctoral

research devoted to “The Linguocultural and Associative Interpretation of the Names of National Clothing in the Uzbek Language,” it has been formulated as an independent study with its own topic, aim, and approach (etymological-structural and ethnocultural analysis), while also serving as supplementary supporting material for that broader research project.

The relevance of the study lies in the fact that, in Uzbek linguistics, the vocabulary of clothing has predominantly been studied from a historical-etymological or dialectological point of view, whereas the associative field of this lexical layer – that is, the question of what images and feelings it evokes in the mind of the contemporary speaker – has not yet been sufficiently investigated. For this reason, alongside traditional etymological-semantic analysis, the present article also seeks to shed light on the potential associative-connotative dimensions of these words.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study employed the following methods and techniques: 1) the descriptive method, to establish the lexical meaning and scope of usage of the clothing names; 2) etymological analysis, to reveal the origin of the words (their belonging to the Turkic, Arabic, or Persian-Tajik layers) and their inner form; 3) the comparative-historical method, to compare the names applied to a single referent in different periods and regions (for example, *to‘n* – *yalak*; *belbog‘* – *qurshag‘*); 4) linguocultural analysis, to uncover the cultural-connotative meaning and social-religious associations behind a word; and 5) areal-dialectological analysis, to demonstrate the diversity of naming for a single concept across different dialects (as illustrated by *nimcha* and *qars/belqars*). The material comprises factual examples selected from Asomutdinova's candidate dissertation ‘The Names of Clothing and its Parts in the Uzbek Language’ (1970), from D. Rahmatullayeva, U. Khodjayeva & F. Atakhanova's study ‘The History of Clothing’ (2015), and from the *Devonu Lug‘otit Turk*, the *Boburnama*, and the works of Alisher Navoi.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. *Etymological and linguocultural analysis of outerwear names*

The word *to'n* occupies a central place in the Uzbek national clothing system, denoting an outer garment open at the front, with long sleeves, quilted with cotton wool between the outer fabric and the lining. The fact that, in the Khorezm dialect, this concept is expressed by the word *yalak* is a clear illustration of how the relationship between a word and its referent can vary regionally: one and the same type of garment is denoted by two independent lexemes, exemplifying dialectal synonymy. The linguocultural weight of the word *to'n* is especially evident in connection with the historical tradition of the *hil'at*: bestowing a sumptuous, gold-brocaded *to'n* upon a person newly elevated to high office, victorious in battle, or otherwise deemed worthy of special honour was a practice of rulers that has left its mark on the language as an expression of the culture of gift-giving and of rank and esteem. The episode recorded in the *Boburnama* is a vivid illustration of this. The lexeme *to'n* has thus become a cultural sign embodying not merely a type of garment but also the very notion of social reward and honour.

The word *chopon*, as the principal outer garment of the Turkic peoples, is regarded as a synonym of *to'n* in the sense of a "cotton-quilted robe"; in practice, however, a stylistic-semantic distinction exists between the two words: *to'n* is used in a broader, more general sense, whereas *chopon* specifically denotes the cotton-quilted variant. The absence of the word *chopon* itself in ancient Turkic written monuments, and the presence instead of the forms *cho'krak* and *alma* in eleventh-century usage, indicates that the word entered the language at a relatively later period reflecting a process of lexical replacement (lexical modernization). In contemporary Uzbek linguoculture, *chopon* has become not merely an everyday garment but one of the symbols of the nation: draping a *chopon* over a guest is perceived as an unspoken yet deeply understood gesture of hospitality and respect. The lexeme *chopon* is accordingly bound up, in the

contemporary associative field, with such positive connotations as “hospitality,” “national identity,” and “dignity.”

Chakmon is a garment, usually unlined, made of felted fabric woven from camel or sheep wool, worn by men over the *chopon* or *to'n* in cold and rainy weather. Its naming is based on a functional feature namely, its climatic-protective role and gives rise, in associative terms, to such meanings as “endurance,” “durability,” and “adaptedness to steppe and field conditions.” The word *po'stin* is formed from the Persian-Tajik *po'st* (“skin, hide”) with the addition of the suffix “-in,” and denotes an outer garment made of tanned, unshorn sheepskin, worn in cold weather. The inner form of this word (“made of hide”) directly reveals the motivation behind its naming, which linguoculturology regards as an instance of “motivated nomination.” *Po'stin*, associated with wealthy families, may also be interpreted as a cultural symbol of material prosperity and of preparedness for winter.

Kamzul is a light outer garment, lined, open at the front, buttoned, and worn over a shirt; it is distinguished chiefly by its practical-functional character. *Nimcha*, formed on the basis of Persian-Tajik elements, is a light, unlined, sleeveless garment reaching to waist length; its naming displays a notable degree of territorial-dialectal diversity: in the Tashkent dialect it is called *nimcha* or *chelatka*, in the upper Qashqadaryo dialect *siynavon*, in Beshkentqismacha, and in Yakkabog' *kuttacha*. The fact that a single referent bears five independent names indicates that, in the Uzbek folk dialects, the naming of material-culture objects has depended more on local linguistic tradition than on any centralized, unified norm. This constitutes rich material for linguogeographic research, since behind each name lies a distinct marker of local identity.

The word *yaktak* is composed of the Persian-Tajik elements *yak* (“one”) and *tak* (“layer, lining”), and its inner form directly expresses the structural feature of the garment – its single-layered, unlined construction. In linguistic terms, this is a vivid example of a “fully motivated name”: the name of the garment derives directly from its structural characteristic. Words named through such an inner form carry, in associative terms, the

meanings of “simplicity,” “everydayness,” and “unadornedness,” forming a pole in direct opposition to sumptuous garments such as the *hil’at* or the *deklay*.

The names *mursak*, *munisak*, and *kaltacha* denote a woman's everyday garment of the past century, cut in the shape of the *chopon*, long, collarless, and made with a light lining. *Ja’dani*, for its part, is a long, narrow, false-sleeved wrap widely worn by Khorezm women, and also found in the Surkhandarya and Samarkand regions. The geographic distribution of this name reflects the imprint, in language, of inter-dialectal contact and cultural exchange.

2. *Associative-cultural interpretation of the names of historical garments*

Among the names of historical garments, the word *mursak* stands out for its distinctive semantic evolution. Derived from the Arabic *murassa’* (“adorned, bejewelled”), it originally denoted a sumptuous ancient Arab outer garment decorated with precious stones and gold. From the 1920s onward, however, the referent of the word underwent a radical change: today, *mursakis* used solely to denote the cloth draped over a coffin during funeral rites. This case is of particular value from a linguocultural standpoint, as it vividly demonstrates how a single lexeme can, through a change in social-cultural circumstances, acquire an entirely different meaning-connotation a phenomenon of diachronic semantic narrowing and re-specialization (resemanticization): a shift from a symbol of splendour and wealth to a symbol associated with mourning and the afterlife.

The word *kafton* denotes one of the ancient outer garments of the Turkic peoples and has been used in two senses: first, a sumptuous robe worn as an outer garment; and second, a cotton-quilted robe worn beneath armour or war attire. Certain sources note that the word may in fact derive from *hafton* (Persian-Tajik haft “seven,” ton “garment”), meaning a “seven-layered,” arrow-proof garment of war. If this etymology holds, the word *kafton* also embodies an associative layer connected with the symbolic-mystical significance of the number seven a number widely represented in Uzbek and kindred cultures in such fixed

expressions as “the seven climes,” “the seven heavens,” and “the seven mahallas.”

Among the names *abo*, *jubba*, *rido*, *dalq*, *janda*, and *hirqa*, a shared religious-mystical associative field can be observed. *Abo* is a short-sleeved, unlined, unpadded garment widely worn among the peoples of Central Asia, chiefly by shaykhs and darvishes; *jubba*, an Arabic word, originally denoted the loose, cotton-quilted shirt of the Arabs and later came to denote the long, wide, cotton-quilted robe worn by qalandars and shaykhs; *rido*, also of Arabic origin, is a garment draped over the shoulders or wrapped around the body, widely worn among eastern darvishes; *dalq* is a name, exceedingly rare in the modern Uzbek lexicon, for a long outer garment worn by darvishes; *janda*, a Persian-Tajik word, denotes a special robe worn by Sufis and qalandars, deliberately pieced together from patches of cloth; and *hirqa*, an Arabic word, denotes an outer garment made of coarse woollen cloth or a striped fabric (*olacha*) among the Arabs, the word also carries the sense of *hirqatto'n*, a rag or scrap of cloth. According to Sh. Somiy's dictionary, *hirqa* carries several meanings: 1) a piece of coarse cotton or striped cloth; 2) an outer darvish's garment; and (3) a long garment worn over the *jubba*, or worn while sleeping at night.

It is no coincidence that all six of these lexemes converge around a single denotative-social group the garb of Sufis, darvishes, and qalandars. This shows, first, that the Sufi doctrine's idea of renouncing the material world finds symbolic expression through clothing (the deliberately patched, pieced-together construction implied by the word *janda*, in particular, is interpreted as a vivid symbol of the voluntary embrace of poverty and mendicancy); and second, that the predominance of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian-Tajik (*jubba*, *rido*, *dalq*, *hirqa*) confirms, at the linguistic level, that Sufi doctrine entered Uzbek culture from the Near and Middle Eastern region. This lexical-semantic group is thus a vivid illustration of how a religious-spiritual way of life has been “encoded” in Uzbek through the vocabulary of clothing.

The word *kisvat*, used in the generalized sense of “attire, clothing, garb,” was employed in classical literature notably in

the works of Alisher Navoi as a synonym of *hil'at*. This is clearly evident in a well-known couplet by the poet, in which the shah's worldly rank is set in contrast with the beggar's *janda* as a symbol of spiritual purity. Such poetic usage vividly demonstrates the stylistic-associative distinction between *kisvat* and *janda* the one a symbol of worldly splendour, the other of spiritual purity and attests to the imaginative, figurative use of national clothing vocabulary in artistic thought.

Hulla is a fine, delicate garment made of ornamented silk fabric, associatively linked with elegance, refinement, and wealth. *Qabo* is a long outer garment made of woollen cloth, worn beneath the *jubba*; it differs from *abo* in the quality of its material *abo* being made of evenly woven woollen cloth, *qabo* of a coarser or lower-quality woven fabric. This binary (two-pole) distinction between the two words shows that, in Uzbek and kindred Turkic languages, the quality grade of clothing material is differentiated at the lexical level, through separate lexemes attesting to a people's refined attentiveness to material culture and to language's capacity to express socio-economic stratification.

Deklay is an elegant, well-fitted outer garment worn in the Middle Ages by members of the upper class, especially court ladies, made of richly coloured, costly fabric with delicate ornamentation; it thus represents a social pole entirely opposite to the darvish-style garments discussed above (*dalq*, *janda*, *hirqa*) namely, courtly splendour. Two clearly opposed associative poles thus emerge from the corpus of historical clothing names: on the one hand, the court and the nobility (*hil'at*, *deklay*, *hulla*), and on the other, Sufism and mendicancy (*dalq*, *janda*, *hirqa*, *abo*, *jubba*, *rido*). Janmar, distinct from both of these poles, belongs to a third economic-occupational group, denoting the covering worn by shepherds for protection against snow, and, as part of the vocabulary of pastoral husbandry, evokes associations connected with the ancient culture of animal husbandry.

3. *Linguocultural and areal analysis of the names of auxiliary garment accessories*

Belbog' is a Turkic compound noun formed from the elements *bel* ("waist") and *bog'* ("tie, binding"), denoting an item tied

around the waist over men's clothing. The archaic form of this word is recorded in the eleventh-century *Devonu Lug'otit Turk* as *qur*, as well as in the variants *qurshag'*, *bog'*, and *o'rama*; the word *qurshag'* itself derives from the verb *qurshamoq* ("to encircle, to wrap"), and was also used to denote the cord or binding that encircled and fastened a yurt. This constitutes a remarkable diachronic example of how, over more than a thousand years, the lexical form denoting a single concept has changed while its core semantic nucleus – the action of "binding, wrapping" – has been preserved. The inner form of the word *belbog'* (*bel* + *bog'*) is itself an instance of fully motivated nomination, directly expressing the function of the object: the binding of the waist. Moreover, the Uzbek idiom *belnibog'lamoq* ("to gird one's waist"), widely used in the sense of resolutely setting about a task or standing ready, shows that the lexeme *belbog'* is bound up not only with material meaning but also, at the phraseological-associative level, with such meanings as "readiness," "resolve," and "manly bearing."

The name *qiyiq* derives from the verb *qiymoq* ("to cut diagonally"), reflecting the process by which the fabric intended for a *belbog'* is folded end to end and cut on the bias; the term is used in the speech of Uzbeks living in the Fergana Valley, in Tashkent, and in the surrounding areas. This is a further vivid example of naming an object after the process by which it is made – that is, of noun formation from a verb.

The word *qars*, or *belqars*, is characteristic of the speech of Uzbeks living in Samarkand and its surrounding districts; for one and the same referent, a considerable number of names are in use across present-day Uzbek dialects: in Qarshi and Shahrisabz, *qars/belqars*, *belbaq*, or *qiyiq*; in Khorezm, the wrap-around *belbog'* is called *po'ta*; in the Tashkent dialect, *belbog'* or *qiyiqcha*; in Vobkent, *ro'pakcha*; and among certain Uzbeks living intermixed with Tajik populations, the Persian-Tajik form *miyonband* (*miyon* "waist," *band* "to bind") is used. This example vividly illustrates how inter-dialectal and inter-lingual contact (Uzbek-Tajik bilingualism) is reflected at the lexical level – in particular, the processes of calquing and borrowing arising

from the influence of a neighbouring language and provides valuable material for areal linguistics.

Kamar is an item made of leather or of thick, durable fabric, 4-5 cm in width, fashioned to encircle the waist, with a buckle of copper or iron fastened to one end; the word is attested in the Old Uzbek language from as early as the fourteenth century. Beyond Uzbek, the word also occurs, in the form *kamar/tasma*, in Turkmen, Uyghur, and Kyrgyz, and, in the form *taspa*, in Kazakh. Such a pan-Turkic parallel attests to the word's membership in an ancient common Turkic lexical layer and to the material-cultural affinity among the various Turkic peoples. A comparison of the words *belbog'*, *qiyiq*, *qars/belqars*, and *kamar* shows that around a single functional object a device for binding the waist no fewer than seven independent names have taken shape (*belbog'*, *qiyiq*, *qars*, *belqars*, *belbaq*, *po'ta*, *ro'pakcha*, *miyonband*, *kamar*), vividly demonstrating the rich synonymic-dialectal potential of the Uzbek language.

4. *The general linguocultural-associative field of national clothing vocabulary*

On the basis of the more than twenty-five lexemes analysed above, the linguocultural-associative field of national clothing names may be conditionally divided into five semantic-connotative groups. The first group consists of names expressing social status and rank (*hil'at*, *deklay*, and, in part, *hulla*), whose associative field is dominated by such semes as "eminence," "splendour," and "royal favour." The second group comprises names connected with a religious-mystical worldview (*abo*, *jubba*, *rido*, *dalq*, *janda*, *hirqa*), whose connotative core contains the semes "poverty," "voluntary renunciation," and "spiritual purity." The third group consists of climatically and functionally motivated names (*chakmon*, *po'stin*, *janmar*), dominated by the semes "endurance," "protection," and "economic activity." The fourth group comprises everyday, practical names fully motivated through their inner form (*yaktak*, *qiyiq*, *belbog'*), carrying the semes "simplicity" and "practicality." The fifth, separate group consists of names in which a single referent is denoted differently across dialects (*nimcha*, *qars/belqars*); rather

than sharing a common seme, this group serves the function of territorial-ethnic distinctiveness and local identification.

It should be particularly emphasized that this lexical-semantic group simultaneously combines both an active and a passive (archaic-historical) layer. Words such as *chopon*, *belbog'*, *kamar*, *po'stin*, and *yaktak* remain in active use today, their associative field being alive, dynamic, and increasingly enriched with positive contemporary connotations such as "national pride," "hospitality," and "traditionalism"; *chopon*, in particular, has become an internationally recognizable symbol of Uzbek, and indeed broader Central Asian, national identity. At the same time, words such as *hil'at*, *deklay*, *dalq*, and *ja'dani* have passed into the passive, historical-archaic layer of the language, and are used only in scholarly-historical texts or in works of literature for the purpose of creating historical colour. Such a distinction could itself constitute a separate object of research within the theory of active and passive vocabulary: the question of why certain clothing names have remained viable while others have become historicisms is directly connected with whether or not the referent itself has gone out of use in society (for example, the abandonment of the ceremony of bestowing the *hil'at* has likewise led to the archaization of the word *hil'at*).

From the standpoint of associative interpretation, this lexical group offers convenient material for conducting a free associative survey (associative experiment) among native speakers within the framework of doctoral research. If, for instance, respondents were presented with words such as *chopon*, *belbog'*, and *to'n*, and their first spontaneous associations recorded (for example, "holiday," "wedding," "our ancestors," "national identity," "guest"), the real associative field of these lexemes in the process of national self-awareness within the modern Uzbek language could be established on a scientific basis. Such research would, in turn, extend beyond purely lexical-etymological analysis, enriching it with psycholinguistic evidence of the living connection between language and social consciousness and national mentality.

5. *Theoretical foundations of the linguocultural analysis of national clothing names*

In contemporary linguoculturology, the concept of the “linguoculture unit,” or linguocultureme, is employed as the central unit for studying the interrelation between language and culture. As V. A. Maslova notes, a linguocultureme is not merely a word, but an integral unit combining the denotative meaning of a word with the cultural-historical, social, and associative information bound up with it. From this theoretical standpoint, words such as *chopon*, *belbog*, and *to‘n* are to be regarded not as ordinary lexical units but as linguocultureme embodying an entire cultural context rites of hospitality, customs, and social relations. Accordingly, the analysis of national clothing names must take into account not merely their lexical definition but the entire “cultural frame” that the word activates that is, when, by whom, and in what circumstances the garment in question was worn, and what ceremonies or customs are associated with it.

The theory of the associative field has been extensively developed in psycholinguistics in the work of Yu. N. Karaulov and other scholars, according to whom every word constitutes a node within a particular “associative-verbal network” in the mind of the native speaker. The most effective method for identifying such a network is the free associative experiment, in which a stimulus word (for example, *to‘n*) is presented to a respondent, who records the first word or phrase (the reaction) that comes to mind. The sum of the reactions obtained from numerous respondents constitutes the associative field of the word. It may be hypothesized that a study of this kind, conducted on the names of national clothing, would yield roughly the following results: for the word *chopon*, social-ceremonial reactions such as “holiday,” “wedding,” “guest,” and “father” would predominate, whereas for words such as *kafan* (“shroud”) or *mursak*, negative-emotional reactions such as “mourning” and “death” would predominate. This hypothetical model is to be regarded as a theoretically grounded hypothesis that remains to be verified and refined through an actual survey in the empirical part of the doctoral research; at this stage it is not a confirmed empirical finding.

The concept of “concept,” widely employed in cognitive linguistics, may likewise prove productive in the analysis of national clothing names. A concept is a mental construct broader than the lexical meaning of a word, uniting the images, notions, and evaluative components present in the native speaker's mind. Identifying microconcepts such as *chopon*, *to'n*, and *belbog'* within the macroconcept of “national dress,” and establishing their hierarchical and associative interrelations, may constitute one of the promising directions for future research.

6. *Reflection of the gender factor in the names of outerwear*

The material gathered shows that a portion of the names of outerwear and historical garments is clearly bound up with gender marking. In particular, the sources explicitly identify *chakmon*, *yaktak*, and *po'stin* (in its *chopon*-shaped form) as “men's clothing,” whereas *mursak/munisak/kaltacha*, *ja'dani*, and *deklay* are identified as “women's clothing.” This distribution is not accidental, but reflects how the division of labour, social roles, and aesthetic norms of traditional society have been “imprinted” in clothing vocabulary: in the names of men's garments (*chakmon*, *po'stin*), the functional-protective role predominates (working in the fields or steppe, in the cold), whereas in the names of women's garments (*ja'dani*, *deklay*), greater emphasis is placed on ornamentation and elegance (garments “made with delicate ornamentation, well-fitted”).

This distinction can also be observed indirectly in the analysis of the dialectal variants of the word *nimcha* (*chelatka*, *siynavon*, *qismacha*, *kuttacha*), since this type of garment, too, is described as a light outer garment worn mainly by women. It may thus be inferred that dialectal synonymy is more highly developed among names denoting women's clothing, a fact that may attest to the closer connection between women's clothing culture and local customs, as well as to the frequent practice of such garments being made individually, at home, by local seamstresses. The names of men's clothing (*chopon*, *to'n*, *belbog'*, *kamar*), by contrast, are distinguished by their relative universality, being used in identical or closely related phonetic forms across a wide territory (for example, the near-identical use

of *kamar* in Turkmen, Uyghur, and Kyrgyz). This observation is, of course, of a preliminary, hypothetical character, and its full confirmation would require the involvement of broader dialectological and ethnographic material.

7. *Theoretical and practical significance of the study*

The theoretical significance of the analysis carried out in this article lies in its demonstration of an integrated application of linguocultural and associative analytical methods to a relatively understudied lexical-semantic group within Uzbek linguistics the names of national clothing. The factual material gathered within the framework of traditional etymological-dialectological analysis (Asomutdinova's 1970 dissertation; Rahmatullayeva, Khodjayeva, and Atakhanova's 2015 study 'The History of Clothing'; and the data of the *Devonu Lug'otit Turk* and the *Boburnama*) has here been reinterpreted on the basis of the theories of the linguocultureme and the concept, thereby further enhancing the scholarly potential of the existing factual foundation.

In terms of practical significance, the results of the study may be applied in the following areas: first, as material for lectures and seminars in such disciplines as "Linguoculturology," "Ethnolinguistics," and "Lexicology" at institutions of higher education; second, in enriching explanatory and etymological dictionaries of the Uzbek language with historical-cultural commentary; third, in preparing popular-scientific texts for national costume museums and ethnographic exhibitions; and fourth, in translation practice, in selecting appropriate equivalents when rendering nationally and culturally specific words (*realia*) into other languages, since words such as *chopon*, *to'n*, and *belbog'* have no full equivalents in other languages, thereby necessitating descriptive translation or transliteration.

The following directions appear promising for future stages of research: first, the creation of a comprehensive linguocultural description encompassing the full corpus of national clothing names (headwear *do'ppi*, *salla*, *telpak*; footwear *mahsi*, *kavush*, *etik*; and items of personal adornment jewellery); second, conducting a large-scale associative experiment among

representatives of different ages, sexes, and regions, in order to empirically test the theoretically grounded hypotheses advanced here; and third, a separate analysis of the use of national clothing names in literary works (notably historical novels) and folklore texts, which would serve to more fully reveal the figurative-associative potential of these words in artistic thought, beyond their purely lexical meaning.

CONCLUSION

The analysis carried out demonstrates that the names of national clothing in the Uzbek language the names of outerwear, historical garments, and auxiliary accessories are not merely simple nominative units, but constitute a complex linguocultural system embodying the social structure, religious-spiritual worldview, economic activity, and territorial-ethnic diversity of the people. The analysis leads to the following principal conclusions: first, a considerable proportion of clothing names possess a fully or partially motivated inner form (*yaktak*, *po'stin*, *belbog'*, *qiyiq*), which renders them convenient objects for linguocultural analysis; second, certain lexemes (*mursak*) have undergone a radical semantic transformation in the course of historical development, demonstrating the direct connection between linguistic and social change; third, the names of garments associated with Sufism (*abo*, *jubba*, *rido*, *dalq*, *janda*, *hirqa*) form a distinct and stable associative-connotative group; fourth, the differing designation of a single referent across dialects (*nimcha*, *qars/belqars*) attests to the rich dialectal-synonymic potential of the Uzbek language; and fifth, certain names (*chopon*, *belbog'*) remain in active use today and continue to be enriched with contemporary national-cultural connotations, while others (*hil'at*, *deklay*, *dalq*) have passed into the historical, passive layer of the language.

The analysis presented in this article serves as an initial theoretical-empirical foundation for the doctoral research devoted to 'The Linguocultural and Associative Interpretation of the Names of National Clothing in the Uzbek Language.' In future research, it would be expedient to broaden this lexical-

semantic group (to include, for instance, the names of headwear, footwear, and items of personal adornment), and to empirically confirm the theoretical conclusions reached here by conducting an associative experiment among native speakers.

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