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**CONCEPTUAL METAPHTONOMY OF KAZAKH WEDDING
TOAST WISHES**

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Abstract

The toast-wish narrative is a model of storytelling about values of family interaction, regularly reproduced in the wedding celebration ritual. The practical material of the study was 325 texts of wishes recorded in Kostanay, Kazakhstan Northern region. The paper uses discursive analysis, conceptual analysis, and cognitive modeling. Auxiliary methods were the methods of cultural commentary and experiment. The article analyzes metaphonymy based on the metaphorical extension of two metonymic projections: LIFESTYLE – ELEMENTS OF HOUSING and PHYSICAL CONDITION – FACIAL EXPRESSION. Shańyraqtaryń biik bolsyn *may your shanyrak be high* (wish for happiness). The selection of one fragment actualizes several related areas of experience due to the cause-and-effect relationships; metaphorical reinterpretation of these relationships allows metaphonymy to be the "trigger mechanism" for multi-vector interpretation. Thus, in the phrase esiginiń ashyq bolsyn, qabağyn jazıyq bolsyn *may your door be open, and the brow – smooth* selection of one element in the domain (HOUSE – open door, FACIAL EXPRESSION – the absence of movement of eyebrows) leads to the following interpretation of events: 1) may good guests come to you; 2) be happy with any guests; 3) be restrained if you do not like what is happening; 4) remember the traditions of hospitality and behave properly. Shifting the focus of attention is a culturally recognisable feature of the wish narrative. Respondents were asked to assess their level of the Kazakh language proficiency based on a toast-wish statement. The respondents identified phrases with metaphonymy as told by Kazakh guests.

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Keywords: Metaphonymy, narrative of toast wishes, Kazakh culture.



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1. Introduction

A wedding toast wish is actualized in a festive communicative situation with special significance and ritual saturation. Researchers note the fixation of tradition, frequency of occurrence (recursiveness) and symbolism of actions as the main characteristics of the ritual discourse. Ritualism is "the symbolic comprehension and experience of special procedures that confirm the identity of members of the corresponding community" (Karasik, 2002, p. 276). In the process of a ritual / rite, there is an awareness of the value of the tradition in general and the actual communicative situation in particular, therefore speech statements in the context of the ritual have a special cultural and symbolic meaning, and quickly become formulas. Despite its symbolism and regularity, "the ritual discourse allows for variation along the lines of individual interpretation underlying this discourse of the precedent" (Karasik, 2002, p. 279).

The narrative is a socially formed model of narrations about events in a specific area of human experience, which is based on the knowledge about the key narrations of culture and the ability to recognize and build multi-genre texts that have a generic relationship to the narrative discourse (Schmid, 2003, p. 9). The narrative is included in the communicative interaction, so the narration is focused on models relevant to members of a cultural group, consistent with the value system of a cultural group and is structured, among other things, according to the canons "as the saying goes" and "as is customary" in a particular cultural community (Mongilyova & Chudinov, 2019, p. 93). Such models of speech behaviour are called cultural schemes by (Sharifian & Tayebi, 2017, p. 234).

2. Problem Statement

A toast wish is increasingly becoming the object of scientific research. It is studied as a text of a small household genre in which praise becomes the leading idea (Romanov, 2018, p. 85). For the Turkic-speaking cultural space, utterances of "well-wishing" are more typical (for example, Gasanova & Abdullaeva, 2019, p. 392). The basis of good wishes is the belief in the magical power of the word, the desire to use it to positively affect a person's life (Zakirova, 2017, p.16). For a Kazakh wedding celebration, toast wishes is a fairly new phenomenon. The traditional Kazakh wish *bata* means blessing, the word of edification. *Bata* on the occasion of the birth of a child or a wedding was trusted to say to respected, well-known people with authority – *aksakals*. Everyone else was listening intently, hanging on every word. Now celebrations also begin and end with wise *bata* blessings, and toast wishes began to be spoken by all invited, sometimes even children. However, the modern wish has inherited and retains a special model of representation of value meanings. This model is regularly reproduced in the narrative of the Kazakh wish, and moreover, is recognized by representatives of culture as a marker of the ability to say so, "as is customary", "as is decent", "as is beautiful" during a wedding celebration. Those models, in our view, is a conceptual metonymy and conceptual metaphonymy.

3. Research Questions

A conceptual metaphor, as we know, is the interaction of two conceptual domains, the source domain and the target domain, based on the similarity, likeness, and analogy of their elements. Meanings of the target domain are represented in terms of the source domain. Conceptual metonymy is the process

of interaction that occurs within a single conceptual domain. Some concepts replace others by the principle of adjacency (temporal, spatial, causal, etc.), by the presence of some real, non-linguistic connection between them (Littlemore, Arizono, & May, 2016; Rakhmankulova, 2018; Zhang, 2016). At the same time metonymic transfer involves a whole set of mental operations: addressing the cognitive domain where metonymic transfer, comparison, and perspectivization of a part to denote a whole, a whole to denote a part, or one part of a whole to denote another part of a whole occurs (Babina, 2019, p. 390). In metaphorical projection, elements are distanced from each other, and in metonymic projection, attention is focused on one of the aspects of meaning (Ustarhanov, 2006, p. 10). But sometimes one aspect of the object of reality can mean the object as a whole or adjacent to it and, at the same time, be metaphorically reinterpreted, so this is a metaphonymy, a term introduced by Denroche, 2018; Goossens 2003; Sharmanova, 2016). Metaphonymy is the integration of metaphor and metonymy, in which a single detail of the object of reality is put forward, and its characteristics are reinterpreted against the background of several conceptual domains that can be related to each other both associatively and by adjacency in reality. Thus, if a metaphor projects elements into one domain, metaphonymy forms a system of interrelated cognitive-semantic properties and relations of a certain conceptual continuum. It is the last property of metaphonymy – to launch a whole continuum of interpretations – that is clearly shown in the context of a wedding toast wish.

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the article is to analyze metaphonyms in the context of wedding toast-wishes that are constructed using two domains: KAZAKH HOUSE and FACIAL EXPRESSION / FACE. Focusing on one of the details of the source domain allows you to metaphorically reinterpret the target domain in several directions at once. The language situation of the Northern region of Kazakhstan is characterized by massive Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh bilingualism, that is, there are Kazakhs for whom the main language of communication, even for everyday and family communication, is still Russian (Mongilyova, 2015). But even they will try to say congratulations in Kazakh at the wedding ceremony out of respect for the older generation, out of respect for the family and ancestors, traditions. The toast-wish narrative has its own key narrative pillars (greeting, wishing love and kindness, and respect for parents), which are observed by all speakers. But it is metaphonymy that is recognized by representatives of culture as the way to pronounce a congratulation like *as Kazakhs speak // as elders speak // as aksakals speak // eloquently* (quotes from respondents' comments), which is a marker of the level of knowledge of the Kazakh language of the speaker for others.

5. Research Methods

The practical material of the study was 325 texts of wishes recorded by the article authors in Kostanay, the Northern region of Kazakhstan. The paper uses methods of discursive analysis, conceptual analysis, and cognitive modeling. Auxiliary methods were the method of cultural commentary and the method of experiment. The discursive analysis focused on identifying figurative statements in the wish, which are often used in congratulations to say about family values. For the study, we chose those that

could be attributed to metaphor and metonymy at the same time. The method of cultural commentary was used to determine the semantic content of the statement. The method of conceptual analysis was used to determine the domains of conceptual projection in the construction of the meaning of figurative expression. The modeling method identified the stages of projection – focusing on details, metaphorical expansion, etc. At the end of the study, a small experiment was conducted in which participants were asked to evaluate excerpts from congratulations in the Kazakh language.

6. Findings

6.1. Key pillars of the wedding toast wish narrative

As mentioned above, at Kazakh celebrations since ancient times, the *bata* is pronounced, which is spoken by the oldest and most respected guest, usually a man, after pronouncing the *bata*, he is necessarily presented with a gift as a sign of gratitude for the blessing. Toast wishes also start with the elder guests. For example, at the wedding the relatives of the event host's wife *nagashylar* are to speak before his relatives. Parents-in-law *qudalar* are the main guests, they are also among the first to speak. That is, the order of saying congratulations is a separate art of hosts and the presenter. As for the content of a toast, the most important thing is that the words are sincere *Tilegińiz júregińizdi jaryp shyqqa! Let the wish come from the heart.* It is important to appeal not only to the young couple, but first of all to the parents (they are the hosts of the event), it is mandatory to greet the older generation, in-laws, and all relatives. For example, *qurmetti toı ieleri, jas jubalar, ata-analar, týgan-týysqandar, qudalar, qonaqtar! Dear hosts of the event, the young couple, parents, relatives, in-laws, guests!* It is right to say that you share the joy of the event *qıanyshтарыңызға ортақыпız we share your joy.* A toaster can talk a little bit about themselves, about their family, for example, *túbimiz bir qazaq bolǵanymyzben, ár ata bolyp óskendigimizge Qudaıǵa shúkir although we are all basically Kazakh, we all were born from different ancestors, Praise God.* Often guests tell about their relationships with the hosts of the wedding party, about their participation in family life, especially if any of them took part in the ceremony *tusaı kesı cutting the strings : men bul balanyń tusaıyn keskem I was the one who cut the strings for this child // kishkentai kezde bul balany atqa mińgizgem I set him on the horse when he was a child.* The toast sounds like a kind of instruction for the young, among them there are vital wishes *Ómirlik tilekter : Barǵan jerge tastaı batyp, sýdaı sıń Coming into a new family you are to sink in it like a stone, soak with it like with water // ata-ańalaryńızdy syılańdar, eki jaqqa birdeı bolyńdar respect the parents on both sides // zor densaılyq good health // Kóldeı kónil, ózendeı ómir mood like a river, life like a lake // máńgi mahabbat eternal love.* Each of the guests says *Shańyraqtaryńız biik bolsyn! May your shanyrak be high (the opening in the dome of the yurt).* The last is metaphonymy deserving a particular analysis.

6.2. Analysis of metaphonyms in a toast wish

In the narrative of a Kazakh toast wish, metaphonymy based on the metaphorical extension of two metonymic projections is identified: LIFESTYLE – ELEMENTS OF KAZAKH HOUSING and PHYSICAL CONDITION – FACIAL EXPRESSION.

Metaphor FAMILY LIFE – HOME (for example, in the Russian wish *пусть ваш дом будет полон радости и взаимопонимания may your home be full of joy and mutual understanding*) is found in

many cultures. Interestingly, in the toast narrative, the lexeme *ú home* is practically not used. The wishes mention various details of the yurt (traditional dwelling) – *shańyraq the opening in the dome of the yurt above the hearth*, *босаға door jambs of the entrance to the yurt*, *kerege lattice folding wall*, although the Kazakhs have not lived in yurts for a long time. The wish is expressed through the characteristics of the parts of the house instead of the whole, which is then metaphorically projected onto concepts that mean the value dominants of culture. *Shańyraqtaryńyz biik bolsyn! May your Shanyrak be high // bosaǵańyz berik bolsyn may the entrance be durable // keregelerińiz keń bolsyn may you have a wide kerege.* The interaction of conceptual domains is as follows:

- metaphorical projection in the domain FAMILY LIFE into the source domain TRADITIONAL HOUSING;
- metonymic projection within the source domain: focusing on the element of the yurt and profiling its characteristics (for example, *kerege yurt wall - keń wide*);
- development of cause-and-effect relationships between the detail of the home and the life of the family (if the *kerege* is wide, then the house is large, and it accommodates many people);
- development of cause-and-effect relationships in a broad social and temporal context (there are many people in the house, because there are many children in the family, because many guests come to the house, because many relatives often gather);
- metaphorical reinterpretation of cause-and-effect conclusions in the context of cultural values (the family is numerous, hospitable, friendly, they are rich and were able to build a large house, all live in harmony and mutual understanding, support each other).

Thus, the element of the domain HOUSING attracts a number of domains as a cognitive background: HOSPITALITY, HARMONY, MATERIAL GOODS, TOGETHERNESS. It is interesting that the meaning of the wish expands in three directions at once: the material sphere, the social sphere, and cultural values. For example, *bosaǵańyz berik bolsyn may the threshold be durable (entrance to the yurt)*: 1) the durability of the entrance means the physical condition of the house, it is made of high-quality, durable materials, so the family is rich; 2) the durability of the entrance symbolizes the foundation of a strong and friendly family; 3) the durability of the entrance symbolizes the reliability of observing the traditions of hospitality, readiness to receive many guests and relatives, to support them. In the wish *shańyraqtaryńyz biik bolsyn! May your shanyrak be high* the lexeme *biik high* also actualizes the symbolic meanings of "high to the heavens", "heaven and the universe as patrons of the family hearth", associated with the cosmogonic beliefs of nomads. It should be noted that the wish *shańyraqtaryńyz biik bolsyn!* is one of the mandatory ones in the wedding ritual. The speaker can use only this phrase when they wish the harmony, material benefits, and patronage of heaven for the new family. Whereas the two previous phrases were found in the corpus of the wishes only in conjunction with *шаңырақтарыңыз биік болсын*: guests began to describe the details of the future home, wishing the young couple to build their own home and fill it with the most valuable things in family life. *Qurǵan shańyraqtaryń biik, bosaǵalaryń berik, keregeleriń keń bolsyn!*

At the intersection of conceptual models FAMILY LIFE – HOME, ELEMENTS OF HOUSING – FAMILY LIFESTYLE, FAMILY VALUES – ELEMENTS OF HOUSING in the context of a wedding wish, *ken, biik, berik* represent hospitality, wealth, and the sacred significance of the family.

The projection of the domain FAMILY VALUES into the domain HOUSING described above was the most frequent in toast wishes, but there are other examples of metaphonyms. So, the phrase *Úlerińniń ishi jańǵa, syrty malǵa tolsyn!* [ad litteram, may the house be filled inside with souls, outside – with domestic animals] in its first part is the wish to have many children (at least three or five) and frequent meetings of all generations of the family, relatives. The word *jan soul* means "very close people", "relatives in spirit" and is metonymically transferred to all relatives of all generations, since having a large family is considered a sign of well-being and strength of the family for Kazakhs. The second part of the phrase *syrty malǵa tolsyn!* means wishing for wealth, material goods, and expensive purchases, such as a car or several cars. In the meaning of the word *mal livestock*, the metaphorical reinterpretation was given to the component "part of the household". Previously, wealth was determined by the number of cattle. If they wanted to emphasize the prosperity of a person, they said how many heads of horses and rams they had. In modern reality, such a marker of well-being has become a car, but at the wedding, guests still wish to fill the yard with domestic animals *syrty malǵa tolsyn!*

In the phrase *eki jaqqa birdei bolyńdar* [ad litteram, behave the same to both sides] *treat equally your parents and those of your spouse* metonymy *eki jaqqa two sides* is formed by the representation of the relatives of each spouse as one side *jaq side* of the new whole, but the young couple now also represent two parts of a new whole. The orientation of each spouse in both directions *eki jaqqa* metaphorizes equal respect, reverence for both their relatives and relatives-in-law. The same change occurs in the phrase *Eki jaqqa da birdei syly bolsyn!* [ad litteram, show respect in both directions].

As for the metonymic projection PHYSICAL STATE – FACIAL EXPRESSION, it is also found in many linguistic cultures (for example, Babina, 2019, p. 389). However, the Kazakh wedding wish is an example of how the vocabulary of facial expressions can actualize the conceptual continuum associated with the traditions of friendship, harmony, and hospitality.

So, in wishing *esiginiń ashyq bolsyn, qabaǵyn jazyq bolsyn* [ad litteram, may your door be open, and the brow – smooth] element of the domain DWELLING *esik* metaphorically expands and represents the meaning of "hospitality". In the second part *qabaǵyn jazyq bolsyn* *may your brow be smooth* the following is happening:

- metonymic projection inside the source domain – PART OF THE FACE – PHYSICAL CONDITION, smooth brow – calm, peaceful mood;
- metonymic projection FACIAL EXPRESSIONS – BEHAVIORAL REACTION, calmly and kindly meet everyone who enters your house;
- metaphorical reinterpretation of cause-and-effect conclusions of EVENTS IN LIFE – GUESTS ENTERING THE DOOR, in the life of each person as a whole, different events can happen, so stand up to everything that can happen.

Metaphonymy in the wish *esiginiń ashyq bolsyn, qabaǵyn jazyq bolsyn* [ad litteram, may your door be open and your brow – smooth] launches a conceptual continuum in several directions: 1) be happy to see all the guests who come to your house; 2) you cannot offend a person entering your house with a bad mood; 3) endure all the hardships that can happen to you; 4) may only good events happen to you; 5) remember the traditions of hospitality and behave properly, etc. The respondents in cultural comments noted the popularity of such a wish. According to the respondents, for each eyebrow

movement you can understand a person's mood *So, by each movement of the brows, you can understand the person's mood // We say Qabağyn túspesin lest there should be any sorrows, lest your brow should be lowered, lest there should be any hardships in your life // For example, it is usually said about a malcontent person, qabağynan qar jaýyp júredi it snows on his brow or qabağy túulip júredi he is constantly gloomy, brows are gathered in a heap // Qabağyn ashyq bolsyn means be friendly and hospitable* (quotes from cultural commentaries).

One more regularity should be noted here. A lexical unit that means a part of a face is always accompanied by an attribute. The noun triggers the metonymic projection mechanism PHYSICAL STATE – FACIAL EXPRESSION, the attribute actualizes the complex of cause-and-effect relationships, as a result of which or why a person may be in such a physical state. Further, possible conclusions are reinterpreted metaphorically. In the phrase *áyz birshilik bolsyn* [ad litteram, may there be a unity of mouths from *bir one*] *don't argue, be friendly* the reasons why "the mouths of subjects can be as one" are subjected to the metaphorical reinterpretation. It actualizes many meanings of harmony in the family, the ability to hear the opinions of others, to accept the opinion of the spouse as your own, of such a level of understanding, when thoughts of the spouses are similar, and one says what the other one thinks. The examples of wishes, where the substantive triggers the mechanism of metonymy, and an attribute as a mechanism of metaphonymy, are the following: *Júzin jarqyn bolsyn* [ad litteram, may your face be bright] *may your life be happy // Kózin ashyq bolsyn* [ad litteram, may your eyes be open] *be smart, receptive to the world and knowledge // Kózin ot, kónilin toq bolsyn* [ad litteram, may there be fire in your eyes, and your mood be full] *may your eyes sparkle, and be happy with what you do in life // Betin bal-bul jainap júrsin* [ad litteram, may your face glow] *a wish to be happy and contented.*

6.3. Experimental research on the recognition of metaphonymies

The hypothesis of the experiment was the assumption that Kazakh wishes spoken by Russian-speaking and Kazakh-speaking speakers of similar conceptual content will have differences in the way of representing meanings. Russian-speaking speakers do not use metaphonymy when pronouncing congratulations in Kazakh, and this is noticeable for those who identify Kazakh as their main language of communication.

The participants of the experiment were 56 undergraduates and postgraduates of humanitarian specialties of Kostanay State University. The age of respondents is from 18 to 23 years old. The choice of young respondents is explained by the fact that due to their age during a wedding celebration, they are more often in the role of listeners than toast makers. At the beginning of the experiment, they indicated how well they speak Kazakh – good, medium or low. Of the participants, 24 people rated their level as good, 15 as average, and 17 as low. To obtain more objective results, only the responses of participants who rated their level of the Kazakh language proficiency as good and low were analyzed. Then there were brief quotes (18 phrases) from the wedding wishes. The respondents were asked to read a toast and determine how well they think the guest speaks the Kazakh language – well / not very well / I find it difficult to define. At the end of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to comment on their choice, why they thought that some of the guests did not speak Kazakh well. For the convenience of the participants, some comments were given orally.

5 statements of congratulations without metaphonymy were given in the questionnaire, such as *Otbasyda baqyt tileimin! Armandaryńyz oryndalsyn! I wish you happiness in your family! May your dreams come true!* Other citations (15 phrases) included a variety of metaphonymy, some of them were analyzed above. Some passages from the toast wishes could even be contrasted by the method of representation – with a metaphonymic / metonymic projection or by direct nomination. For example,

a wish to have many children

Balalaryń kóp bolsyn! *May you have many children!*

Shildehana toyrnda kezdesetin bolaiyq! *May we meet soon at the celebration in honor of the newborn* (metonymic projection)

wish for material goods

Aqshalaryń kóp bolsyn! *May you have a lot of money!*

Úlerińniń ishi jańǵa, syrty malǵa tolsyn! [ad litteram, may the house be filled with souls inside and with domestic animals outside] (metaphonymic projection)

A wish for a long life together

Baqytty uzaq ómir súrińizder! *Live a long, happy life!*

Nemere shóbere súiinder! *May you kiss your grandchildren!* (metaphonymic projection)

There were also other examples of metaphonymy *Bastaryna baq bersin ne bersede naq bersin!* [ad litteram, may happiness be given on your head, and if it is given, may it be real] a wish for lasting all-encompassing happiness. *Abyroidan aq otaý tigýge talpynyńdar!* [ad litteram, try to sew your hearth with a reputation] a wish to be a respected family. *Eki jas baqytty bolsyn, bastaryna baq bersin ne bersede naq bersin qyrda júrgen qydyrды úlerine ap kelsin!* *may the young couple be happy, may happiness be given on your heads and, if it is given, may it be real, may luck that walks far away be brought home to you.*

The results of the experiment demonstrated that for participants with a low level of proficiency in the Kazakh language, metaphonymy is not a marker of proficiency. They assuredly distinguished only one sentence as a saying of a Russian-speaking guest – a direct loan translation of a Russian wish *Otbasyda baqyt tileimin! I wish you happiness in your family!* When asked what criteria they used to make a decision, they replied that they were looking for grammatical errors in statements (and there were none) or "noted what they understood". In general, they commented on other statements *a lot of expressions // a lot of Kazakh idioms*. The respondents with a low level of knowledge of the Kazakh language sometimes chose the answers "I find it difficult to define".

During the experiment it became clear that the two phrases *Shańyraqtaryńyz biik bolsyn!* *May your shanyrak be high* (metaphonymy) and *Tastai batyp, sýdai siń Sink in a new family like a stone, soak with it like with water* (metaphor) are attributed to both Russian-speaking or Kazakh-speaking guests. The second, as mentioned above, is a mandatory wish to the bride from the parents, and the first contains *shanyrak* – a symbolic image imprinted on the coat of arms of Kazakhstan, often used in the mass media, that is, a symbol that has acquired national significance, that is understandable and familiar to all citizens of Kazakhstan.

The majority of the respondents with a good level of proficiency defined phrases with metaphonymy as spoken by Kazakh-speaking guests, without metaphonymy – by Russian-speaking

guests. There were almost no answers "I find it difficult to define", except for the phrase with shanyrak. The comments they gave are very interesting. Concerning the phrase Balalaryn kóp bolsyn! *May you have many children*, when asked why it was attributed to Russian-speaking guests, some commented it was "too rude", "somehow indecent", "in the presence of old people to say so is indecent". The phrase Aqshalaryn kóp bolsyn! *May you have a lot of money!* caused a smile and comments "Yes, people began to say so recently, but it is too direct". They called the phrases with metaphonymy *beautiful // Kazakh // pleasant // when they speak like this // it is very beautiful and sincere*. Asked about the difference in phrases Baqytty uzaq ómir súrińizder! *Live a long, happy life!* and Nemere shóbere súinder! *May you kiss your grandchildren*, some respondents said as follows *No one knows how long they will live, especially since it does not depend on the desire of the person who makes the toast // How can you wish to 'live long', it is just as indecent as 'live short' // How long and how to live is decided by the higher forces, a person can decide and desire only what he can do. But he can kiss his grandchildren, he can say that he is happy to be invited to shildekhana in the future, and so on.*

7. Conclusion

Metaphonymy as a cognitive mechanism reveals a huge potential for ambiguity and multi-vector interpretation, when a whole conceptual continuum is compressed in a small lexical expression. Metonymic profiling of one element in the source domain actualizes its semantic development both along the line of metaphorical expansion and along the line of metonymic development of cause-and-effect relationships. Further, cause-and-effect conclusions are metaphorically reinterpreted in the context of cultural values. Thus, due to metonymy, several adjacent areas of experience are actualized at once, each of which enters into a metaphorical projection. In this way, several conceptual domains converge in interpreting the meaning of an expression.

The metaphonymy of the Kazakh toast-wishes embodies some cultural models of meaning expression, a way of speaking that is learned in communication with members of a cultural group in their native language and that is not typical for those for whom the native language and the main language of communication is Russian. It should also be noted that the metaphonyms analyzed mentioned those objects and events that are made or carried out by the will of people, as a result of joyful and happy events. Shildehana toıynda kezdesetin bolayıq! *May we meet soon at the celebration in honor of the newborn*. When by the will of higher forces, the young couple have children, they will invite everyone on shildekhana. Shańyraqtaryńyz biik bolsyn! *May your shanyrak be high, keregelerińiz keń bolsyn may your kerege be wide*. When the newlyweds have many children / relatives by the will of the higher forces, they will build a large house with wide walls and a high roof. By naming not the event itself in their wishes, but its consequence, the guests express confidence in a happy future and do not interfere with regularities that do not depend on them.

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