
CONCEPTS OF GOD AND FAITH IN UZBEK AND TAJIK PROVERBS IN TERMS OF CULTURE AND LANGUAGE TRANSFER THEORY

Olga Valentinovna Lomakina*

*Peoples Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), 6 Miklukho-Maklaya Street, Moscow,
117198, Russian Federation*

(Received 8 July 2020, revised 1 February 2021)

Abstract

Proverbs contain information of a particular nation's value system. The article deals with one of the axiological constants of the Muslim society, faith in God. It analyses the proverbs of the Uzbek and Tajik language extracted by the continuous sampling method from lexicographical sources and received from informants by means of a questionnaire. The semantic dominants with the 'God' component are distinguished. Examples of Uzbek and Tajik proverbs are provided in line with the following semantics: God is a symbol of power, the supreme power; God bestows Man with gifts, gives him good things. God as a symbol of goodness, endowing Man with the best qualities; misdeeds done by Man are not acceptable to God; God's help and faith in God are not sufficient: Man must work and rely on himself as well. In Islam, parents are held in reverence after God, which is reflected in the Uzbek and Tajik proverbs. Proverbs representing attitude towards Sharia as a systematised code of laws and rules for Muslims have been analysed. Among the proverbs containing nominations of people associated with religion e.g. sheikh, mullah, ishan, Sufi, khodja, most are proverbs with the mullah component that is shown in Tajik and Uzbek linguocultures in a negative light. It has been concluded that faith as one of the universal human values is represented in the paroemiological fund of the Tajik and Uzbek languages illustrating postulates of the Quran, the Muslim scriptures. The match of a part of the proverbial material in the Tajik and Uzbek languages is attributed to cross-linguistic interference in the context of geographic position, which entitles us to speak of an example of cultural and linguistic transfer.

Keywords: proverb, concepts, God, faith, transfer theory

1. Introduction

Interference is an interaction of languages and normally takes place in the context of bilingualism, less frequently multilingualism. The lexical-phraseological system of the genetically unrelated Uzbek and Tajik languages contains a number of instances of mutual interference primarily attributable to

*E-mail: lomakina-ov@rudn.ru, tel.: +7 967 11871 45

the geographic proximity (neighbourhood), the same religious confession, and a similar system of values. The theory of transfer initially applied to cultural facts and literary phenomena (M. Espagne [1], H. Kaelble [2], H.-J. Lüsebrink [3], M. Middell [4]) anticipates “an integration of foreign cultural elements into a culture defined as native”, which are verified “by means of empirically researched processes of selection and appropriation as well as their agents and media” [M. Middell, *Cultural transfer*, Version 1.0, Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, 28.01.2016, <http://docupedia.de/zg/Kulturtransfer>, DOI <https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.702.v1>, accessed on 10.05.2020], and for this reason it may become a theoretical justification of linguistic interference of the Tajik and Uzbek languages at the level of paroemiology.

The Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan are countries located in Central Asia, they were part of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1991. The titular language in Tajikistan is Tajik, a variation of the Persian language, belonging to the South-West subgroup of the Iranian group of the Indo-European family. The titular language in Uzbekistan is Uzbek belonging to the Turkic group of the Altaic languages. At the same time, these languages are widely spoken in the neighbouring countries as well. In spite of the genetic differences between the Tajik and Uzbek languages, the geographic and migration factors made provision for interpenetration of these languages and cultures, i.e. the process of cultural and linguistic transfer. Besides, during the Soviet period these languages switched over to the Cyrillic script and experienced the influence of the Russian language.

There is a view that the Central Asian Republics were enslaved in the twenties of the 20th century when Tajiks “had to fight for their cultural identity and the right to be called a separate nation living in its ancestral lands from the dawn of time” [5, p. 17]. The Tajik and the Uzbek languages - one of the means of transfer of national identity - have been preserved. In the Soviet times, thanks to the interest in the paroemiological fund of national languages of various nations of the Soviet Union, various types of fixed units have been recorded and certificated, thereby to the fullest extent possible documenting the experience of the people, its social and aesthetic, moral and ethical, and educational ideals, particulars of the view of life and world perception. In connection with this, the phraseological and paroemiological material of the Uzbek and Tajik languages may be looked upon as a source of information on the system of values of the two nations in broad terms and on religious beliefs of the two neighbouring nations in particular.

The purpose of this paper is to show the processes of linguistic interference through the example of a given lexical set of Uzbek and Tajik paroemias giving an idea of God and faith based on the theory of cultural and linguistic transfer. We use the term ‘paroemias’ as a term equivalent to proverb. As a working definition we will use the following definition of the proverb given by Wolfgang Mieder: “A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorisable form and which is handed down from

generation to generation” [6]. We think that mandatory characteristics of paroemias are dialogueness, general usage, integration in the system of ethnic and linguistic markers, traditional nature, anonymity, generalising character, succinctness, aphoristic nature, figurativeness, didacticism, closedness of syntactic structure, situationality [7].

2. Materials

The sources of research are the following lexicographic sources: ‘Таджикские пословицы и поговорки в аналогии с русскими’ Я.И. Калонтаров (1965) / *Tajik Proverbs and Sayings in comparison with Russian*, Y.I. Kalontarov (1965); ‘Узбекские народные пословицы и поговорки’ под редакцией А. Наумова (1985) / *Uzbek National Proverbs and Sayings*, edited by A. Naumov; ‘Мудрость трёх народов (таджикские, узбекские, русские пословицы, поговорки и афоризмы в аналогии)’ Я.И. Калонтаров (1989) / *The Wisdom of three nations (Tajik, Uzbekh, Russian Proverbs, Sayings, and Aphorisms in comparison)*, Y.I. Kalontarov (1989); ‘Узбек халк маколлари’ (2003) / *Uzbek National Proverbs* (2003). The material (approx. 50 paroemias) has been obtained by means of continuous sampling from the above listed dictionaries and also by means of questioning Tajik and Uzbek native speakers inclusive of bilinguals (20 people); ethnic self-definition has not been conducted. The need for recourse to the sociolinguistic experiment data has been caused by the need to verify the material against lexicographic sources: since the dictionaries used were published in the Soviet atheistic era, the quantity of the illustrative material was not great (about 20 proverbs). The text of Quran has been used to interpret the paroemiological material, whereas monolingual defining dictionaries, i.e. ‘Словарь таджикского языка’ в 2 томах под редакцией М.Ш. Шукурова, В.А. Капранова, Р. Хашима, Н.А. Масуми (1969) / ‘The dictionary of the Tajik Language’ in 2 volumes, edited by M.S. Shukurov, V.A. Kapranov, R. Khashim, N.A. Masumi (1969)), ‘Ўзбек тилининг изоҳли луғати’ А. Мадвалиев таҳрири остида (2006-2008) / ‘The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language’ in 33 volumes edited by A. Madvaliev have been used to receive data renaming God and notions related thereto.

3. Discussion

The linguistic view of the world as one of the constructs of modern linguistics requires a systematic description. “The paroemiological view of the world is an integral component of the linguistic view of the world and a specific carrier of culture codes, linguoculturological storage of national mentality.” [7]

One of the methods of reconstruction of the paroemiological view of the world is the lexicographic area of research. The lexicographic material has been used to conduct primary analysis due to the fact that in spite of the archaic nature of the images and notions that paroemias are based on, makers of dictionaries of

proverbs account for “the contemporary mentality of the addressee native speaker” [8, p. 326]. “Cataloguing of language (primarily paroemiological) material makes it possible to redefine the list of values identifying the core and the periphery of the contents.” [9, p. 306]

Paroemias are representatives of national culture and an object of various cross-language interactions between native speakers, i.e. individuals cognising values “through the experience of inner acceptance or repulsion...” [10, p. 202]. Sequential analysis of individual values will help to identify value constants and value variables as well as to obtain information on the system of values of a particular nation. Although linguoaxiology took an important part among linguistic disciplines, the notion *value* has no universally accepted definition, on the other hand, by virtue of being interdisciplinary and on the other hand, owing to the evolution of the term through time and space [11].

Let us accept the opinion of M.A. Bredis that “values involve an assemblage of ideals, principles, moral standards, rights taking precedence in the people’s lives regardless of their social status ethnicity, religious confession, education, age, sex etc. At the same time hierarchies of basic human values are different in different cultures.” [12]

Faith is one of the value dominants both in the Muslim and the Christian world. Proceeding from the ideas of cultural linguistics and cognitive science (A. Wierzbicka [13], V.N. Teliya [14]) T.B. Radbil classifies “the concept ‘faith’ among the ‘cognitive unique concepts’, representatives whereof can be translated into other languages, since they chime in with certain universal cultural categories of the homo sapiens sapiens species, but for all that conceptually have a number of unique cultural meanings and a specific value message” [15, p. 24]. V.S. Stepin and V.I. Tolstykh express a similar idea singling out world outlook universals [16], the determinacy thereof according to E.F. Tarasov is conditioned upon the sphere of communication of the society members with one another and with the society itself [17]. E.F. Tarasov ranks faith among the universal human values along with safety, power, consideration for others, prosperity, friendship, health, family, peace, human decency, etc. Given that “globalisation has led to intensification of exchange processes between ethnic cultures, generally called dialogue of cultures” [17, p. 9], study of such category of culture and universal human value as faith is important for the purposes of comparison and collation.

The idea of God and faith will be complete provided the following factors are taken into consideration: 1) indication and analysis of nominations expanding the concept of faith in linguistic cultures under consideration, 2) due regard for ethnic and linguistic markers - the component of paroemia that “depict national distinctness, ‘cultural memory’ and may have no direct equivalents in another language thereby uncovering the ethnic specificity of the linguistic sign (these may be proper names, ethnonyms – names of ethnic groups and tribes; names of artefacts peculiar to the material culture of a particular ethnic group: household items, clothes)” [18, p. 121].

The universal lexeme representing faith as a value is the lexeme *God*. A consistent description of paroemias with this lexeme will primarily help to form an idea of God and faith in two linguocultures - Tajik and Uzbek.

Let us analyse nominations of God entered in explanatory dictionaries of the Tajik and Uzbek languages.

According to 'The dictionary of the Tajik Language 10th century - the early 20th century' there are lexemes-Arabisms coexisting in the Tajik language i.e. *Аллох* [19], *Худо/Худой* [20], as well as *Эзид* [20, p. 628], *Яздон* [20, p. 628]. The makers of 'The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language' include the following lexemes: *Аллох* [A. Madvaliev (ed.), *The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, 73, <https://ziyouz.uz/durdonatoplamlar/uzbek-tilining-izohli-lugati>, accessed on 20.05.2020], *Худо/Худой* [A. Madvaliev (ed.), *The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, 420] and *Яздон* [A. Madvaliev (ed.), *The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, 100]. It is worth paying attention to the origin details of these lexemes provided in the Uzbek dictionary: only *Аллох* is of Arabic origin, whereas the lexemes *Худо/Худой* and *Яздон* have been borrowed from the Persian language (Farsi). The above-listed nominations in the Tajik and Uzbek languages are used as synonyms. The semantics of the lexeme *худо* in the Arabic language is coincident with the semantics accepted in the Tajik and Uzbek languages, i.e. 'the Almighty', which is reflected in the use of the fixed unit *Ля иляхаилля Аллах* (literally, There is no deity worthy of (worship) except Allah). The etymological reference is indicative of the influence on the Uzbek language of the geographic location and the same religion. The said interference is attributable to the political situation: until 1924, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic was part of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and became a separate republic of the Soviet Union only after the national territorial delimitation in Central Asia.

Let us introduce the basic semantic dominants of proverb containing the God component.

3.1. God as a symbol of power, the supreme power - God bestows Man with gifts, gives him good things

In the Tajik proverbs *Худо ҳар касро ба нияташ медиҳад* (literally, God gives everyone according to their intentions), *Худо дод, худо гирифт* (literally, God gave and God hath taken away) *Худо тияд, номатана мепурсад* (literally, When God gives he does not ask for the name), *Худо диҳандааст - на гиранда* (literally, God gives but does not take) God is presented as a higher being bestowing gifts on the man, yet having absolute power. A faithful Muslim shall always remember Allah, who is a protector and at the same time a righteous judge. The Quran says, "And he will not find either a patron, or a helper for himself, save God" [*Quran*, <http://quran.e-minbar.com/>, accessed on 30.04.2020].

The semantics of the Tajik proverb *Худо дерзиги сахтгир аст* (literally, God will be slow but severe) is related to the understanding of God as an avenging power, punishing according to deserts. The form of punishment depends on the sin: from corporal punishment to deprivation of life. Each man shall remember of punishment: “The servant (slave) of Allah will appear on Judgment Day in front of his Lord and will answer questions about his life spent on earth: how he disposed of it; what knowledge he has mastered and how this knowledge has been used; what wealth possessed and how it has been acquired, and on what needs spent, and how healthy kept his body and how used it” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

The Tajik proverb *На тарси худо, на шарми мардум* (literally, Neither fear of God nor shame before men) built on the fear - shame dichotomy has the semantics ‘The man shall fear God for his actions and be ashamed before people’.

The Tajik proverb *Худо дандон додааст, ризқашро ҳам медиҳад* (literally, God gave teeth, will give food too) indicates that God endows the man with material assets that make human existence possible, and is associated with goodness and mercy. God’s mercy extends to all living things. Allah helps both animals and men to receive food, primarily the needy, the infirm and the sick, “How many animals that [can] not find food for themselves! Allah feeds them and you, He is hearing, knowing.” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]

3.2. God as a symbol of goodness, endowing Man with the best qualities

The proverb *Сабрлик худонинг ояти, сабрсизлик шайтоннинг суфати* (literally, Patience is from God, impatience from the devil), common in the Uzbek and Tajik languages, is built on two dichotomies *patience - impatience* and *God - devil*. A patient man can bear his afflictions with all humility and is also capable of doing something long and hard. According to the postulates of Islam, patience is one of the main traits of character of a faithful Muslim. The Quran continually notes the attitude of Allah to the patient people: “And Allah loves the patient”; “Be patient, since Allah is with the patient”; “And Allah is with the patient” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]. What is more, patient people will be rewarded: “And those who exercised patience, We will definitely reward for the best that they have done.” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]. The Tajik proverb *Сабр ба роҳаи ор, то ёбисавоб* (literally, Be humble and patient, Allah will reward you) urges to not just be patient but also possess humility.

Along with patience, a faithful Muslim shall be honest and just to others. According to the Quran, honesty may be in words, in intentions, in relation to another and in information about oneself, in promises. According to Bukhari, “truthfulness leads to righteousness and indeed, righteousness leads to Paradise, and Man will keep telling the truth until he is written before Allah as very truthful. And truly, falsehood leads to sin, and truly, sins leads to the Fire and Man will keep lying until he is written before Allah as a habitual liar.”

[<https://isnad.link/>] Justice is also understood as the highest human merit: “Indeed, Allah commands justice...” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]. These teachings are evidenced in the Tajik proverb *Худованд ҳам ҳақиқатро дӯст медорад* (literally, translation: God also loves honesty, justice), which is dictated by the Quran: “The Lord commands to be fair” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

Generosity and kindness are also important qualities of a faithful Muslim, which is reflected in the Tajik proverb *Худованд неконро дӯст медорад* (literally, God loves the kind, the generous). Kindness along with compassion and magnanimity, lies at the root of generosity, which may explain the use of these qualities in the above proverb. The Quran states, “...and what you have spent, He will recompense you ...” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]. It is important for God that Man should be spending with good intent, “What you spend out of kindness will be recompensed to you, and you will not be hurt” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]. It is believed that the good and everything spent will return to the Man.

3.3. Misdeeds done by Man are not acceptable to God

The Tajik proverb *Аз дилозор худо (ҳама) безор* and its Uzbek equivalent *Дилозордан худо безор* (literally, The offender is not pleasing to God) speaks of the negative attitude of God towards those who unfairly and undeservingly wrong another. However, Allah calls for forgiveness, ability to forgive, offenders among others, is one of the main virtues of a faithful Muslim. “Take [on board] the ability to forgive [be forbearing, gentle, courteous; be able to make thing easy without complicating them; take everything easier]; urge [to abide by] the generally recognised norms [magnanimity, ethics, morality, virtue], and turn your back on the ignorant [do not take any notice of them, do not get annoyed by their behaviour or words, do not repay anyone evil for evil].” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>]

The same negative semantics is in the Uzbek paroemia *Бекордан ҳама (худо) безор* and its Tajik equivalent *Аз бекор худо (ҳама) безор* (literally, God (everyone) is tired of the idler). In the perception of the Uzbek and Tajik people, idleness and laziness are disapproved of by God, since labour is the basis of life, a noble cause. Muslim scholar, mukhaddis and mufassir Bukhari noted, “No one ever ate anything better than the food that he earned by the labour of his hands, and truly the Prophet of Allah David, may peace be upon him, ate what he earned (and prepared) with his own hands” [<https://isnad.link/>]. Aside from that, an able-bodied man could not engage in begging but had to earn his living. What is more, God condemns those people who “hypocritically stand for prayer, but do it lazily and carelessly parading themselves to the people and deep inside remembering Allah very little” [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

3.4. *God's help and faith in God are not sufficient - Man must work and rely on himself as well*

The Uzbek proverb *Ишонмагин худога, буттани тут* (literally, Do not rely on God, hold on to the bush (or else you will drown)) and the Tajik proverbs *Ба умеди худо нашава, буттaro дор* (Literally, Do not rely on God, hold on to the bush (or else you will drown)), *Худоро ёд куну буттaro сахт гир* (Literally, Remember God but hold on tight to the bush), *Ба умеди Худо нашуда, буттaro махкам дор* (literally, Do not rely on God, and keep the cage closed) are not directly in line with the requirements of Islam whereby the man receives everything in accordance with his deeds. One must be responsible for his wrongs, "Whatever of good reaches you is from Allah, but whatever of evil befalls you, is from yourself" [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

The Tajik proverbs *Аз ту ҳаракат, аз Худо баракат* (literally, Grace of God to the one who works), *Ба 'худо' гуфтан кор неш намеравад* (literally, Appeal to God will not do the deed), *Бо 'бисмидлоҳ' гуфтан об ранг намегирад* (literally: By saying 'in the name of God' the water will not colour), *Бо 'бисмилрх' шикам сер намешавад* (By saying 'in the name of God' belly will not get filled) indicate that each shall work hard and only then can trust in God. "Man is only destined for what he (deserved) with his zeal, and his zeal will be noticed" [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>] have similar semantics. Bukhari understands this statement in the following way [<https://isnad.link/>], "There is no better food for a man than the food he has earned by his own labour" [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

In Islam, faith in God is followed by deference to parents, which is reflected in the Uzbek proverb *Ота рози - худо рози* (literally, If father is pleased then God is also pleased) and the Tajik proverb *Модар рози - худо рози* (literally, If mother is pleased then God is also pleased). Quran says, "Your Lord has commanded that you should worship none but Him, and that you be kind to your parents..." [<http://quran.e-minbar.com/>].

Sharia is a systematised code of laws for Muslims dealing with a wide variety of issues. Proceeding from the laws of Islam, Sharia covers "both secular and religious issues", "contains a set of laws governing economic life, standards of morality and ethics, Muslim rites, holidays <...>. Sharia details taboos, lists permitted, approved and disapproved acts. As envisioned by Muslim legal experts, Sharia and its laws shall cover the life and activities of a Muslim from the cradle to the grave." [21] Sharia is viewed unfavourably in the proverb fund of the two languages: Tajik *Ба'шариат шарм нест* and Uzbek *Шариатда шарм йўқ* (literally, Sharia knows no shame), and also Tajik *Ба шарииат шарм нест, Ҳиллаю найранг кам нест* (literally, There is no shame in Sharia, but a good deal of cunning and tricks). Only the Uzbek proverb *Шариатнинг йўли кўп* (literally, Sharia has many ways) provides a neutral description.

Let us analyse paroemias containing nominations of people associated with religion - agentives *sheikh, ishan, Sufi, khodja, mullah*.

The agentive sheikh (Taj. *шайх*) is encountered in the Tajik proverb *Зоҳир аз шайху ботин аз шайтон* (literally, Sheikh outside, Satan inside) expressing a negative attitude to the prominent theologian in Islam, the paroemia is based on the contextual sheikh - Satan opposition.

In the Uzbek proverb *Ёғочнинг ёмони - сўқи, одамнинг ёмони - сўфи* (literally, The worst tree is sawdust, the worst man is Sufi) it is *Sufi* (Uzb. *сўфий*), follower of Sufism, one of the branches of Islam, who is viewed unfavourably.

The image of voracity of *ishan* (Uzb. *эшон*), representative of the clan descended from Prophet Mohammed is present in the Uzbek proverb *Эшоннинг қорни бешдир, бири ҳаммиша бўшидир* (literally, Ishan has five stomachs and one of them is always empty).

In contrast to the previous examples, the agentive *khodja* (Taj. *ҳожӣ*, Uzb. *ходжа*) - representative of honorary estate - is positively assessed in the Tajik proverb *Ҳочӣ ҳочиро аз Макка меёбад* and the Uzbek proverb *Ҳожӣ ҳожини Макка дан кўради* (literally, Khodja will find another khodja even in Mecca), which create an image of a resourceful man.

A large number of proverbs uncover the image of mullah, a minister of religion in Islam, a Quran expert. The Tajik proverb *Гуфтаи муллоро қону қардаширо не* and the Uzbek proverb *Мулланинг айтганни қил, қилганини қилма* (literally, Do what the mullah says to do, but do not do what he does), *Мулло шудан чӣ осон, одам шудан чӣ мушиқил* (literally, It is easy to become a mullah, difficult to become a man) present the mullah in a negative light.

The following paroemias underline various negative traits peculiar to the mullah - avidity and insatiability in the Uzbek proverbs *Муллони нафси - тандирни тафси* (literally, An avaricious mullah is the same as an overheated tandoor) and *Мулла ҳолвани кўрса, Қуръонни унутар* (literally, When the mullah sees halva, he forgets about the Quran), as well as greed and parsimony in the Tajik proverbs *Пои мору шири мурғу нони мулло кас надид* (literally, No one has seen the feet of the snake, the milk of the hen, the bread of the mullah) and *Аз нони мулло (мумсиқ) ситора наздиктар аст* (literally, Stars are closer than the bread of the mullah (miser)). The characterisation of the mullah as a glutton in the Tajik paroemiology is conveyed through the symbolism of the somatisms *belly* и *teeth*: *Шиками мулло - тағораи худо* (literally, The mullah's belly is the bowl of God), *Дандони мулло аз минқори Ҳумо тезтар аст* (literally, The mullah's teeth are sharper than the beak of the white eagle), and in the Uzbek paroemiology through the somatisms tongue and heart: *Мулланинг сахийлиги - тилида* (literally, The mullah's generosity is in his tongue), *Мулланинг салласи оқ, юраги - қора* (literally, The mullah's turban is white, his heart is black). The somatisms and coloratives in the quoted proverbs are a means of actualisation in the linguistic consciousness of both physical, and spiritual and moral needs of a man.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of the collected paroemiological material of the Tajik and Uzbek languages has confirmed that “proverbs are international in character, which makes it possible to treat them as universals and group them according to their semantics” [22, p. 88]. The information on the value constants - “mental constants specific to one or another ethnic group, expressed thereby in the form of proverbs, which serve as transmitters of traditions, mentality, national character, social experience” [9, p. 313] - makes it possible to present the hierarchy of values of one or another nation.

To make the characteristics of the faith in God value complete, the nominations of God and notions related thereto in the Tajik and Uzbek languages have been compared: the standard languages use different words to name God. However, it is the lexeme *xyðo* that is used in the proverbs under analysis.

Tajik and Uzbek proverbs reflect the attitude towards parents that are held in reverence next after God. The fund of the compared linguocultures forms a negative attitude in the linguistic consciousness towards Sharia as a systematised code of laws and rules for Muslims. Among the proverbs containing nominations of people associated with religion e.g. *sheikh*, *mullah*, *ishan*, *Sufi*, *khodja* most are proverbs with the *mullah* component that is shown in Tajik and Uzbek linguocultures in a negative light.

The match of a part of the proverbial material in the Tajik and Uzbek languages is attributed to the cross-linguistic interference in the context of geographic position, which entitles us to speak of an example of cultural and linguistic transfer. In the introduction to ‘The Wisdom of Three Nations’ dictionary Y.I. Kalontarov notes the fact of agreement of the Tajik and Uzbek proverbs not only “by contents but <...> also by structure and vocabulary, which is explained by the close century-long ties of these nations, bilingualism common in the adjacent territories” [23, p. 7]. In our opinion, the Tajik language influences the Uzbek language when the Uzbek language borrows Persian words (for instance, *xyðo*) and proverbial images arising as a result of cultural and linguistic contacts.

As this and previous research have shown, the prospects for the application of the theory of transfers are as follows: “1) studying of small literary languages in the conditions of cultural and linguistic interference; 2) studying of the cultural and linguistic integration of migrants into the space of the country; 3) determination of the role of foreign language inclusions in the writers’ language system of - bilinguals (polylinguals)”, 4) studying of cultural and linguistic interactions of border territories [24, p. 200-201].

Acknowledgement

This paper has been supported by the RUDN University Strategic Academic Leadership Program.

References

- [1] M. Espagne, *Les Transferts culturels franco-allemands*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1999.
- [2] H. Kaelble, *Herausforderungen an die Transfergeschichte*, in *Transfer lokalisiert: Konzepte, Akteure, Kontexte*, B. Schulte (ed.). Leipziger Universitätsverlag Leipzig, 2006, 7-12.
- [3] H.-J. Lüsebrink, *Kulturtransfer und Übersetzung. Theoretische Konfigurationen und Fallbeispiele (aus dem Bereich des Theaters)*, in *Weltbühne Wien - World Stage Vienna, Approaches to Cultural Transfer*, E. Mengel, L. Schnauder & R. Weiss (eds.), Vol. I, WVT, Trier, 2010, 21-35.
- [4] M. Middell, *Comparativ*, **10(1)** (2000) 7-41.
- [5] A. Turson, *Samandar and Zulkarnain. Toward the Tajiks' historiosophy*, in *Tajiks: history, culture, society*, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 2014, 5-63.
- [6] W. Mieder, *Proverbs: A Handbook*, Greenwood Press, Westport (CT), 2004, 3.
- [7] M.A. Bredis and O.V. Lomakina (eds.), *Paremiology without Borders*, RUDN University Publishers, Moscow, 2020, 64.
- [8] N.Y. Nelyubova, *RUDN Journal of Language Studies, Semiotics and Semantics*, **10(2)** (2019) 323-335.
- [9] O.V. Lomakina and V.M. Mokienko, *Rusin*, **4(54)** (2018) 303-317.
- [10] A. Mamontov, J. Cjedjendorzhijn and V. Boguslavskaya, *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, **23(1)** (2019) 200-222.
- [11] K. Ioas, *Values formation*, Aleteiya, St. Petersburg, 2013, 312.
- [12] M.A. Bredis, *Man and money: Essays on Russian proverbs and more*, St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, 2019, 10.
- [13] A. Wierzbicka, *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, **24(2)** (2020) 259-293.
- [14] V.N. Teliya and E.O. Oparina, *Culturology*, **1(56)** (2011) 145-148.
- [15] T.B. Radbil, *Faith as the basis of world perception and world outlook in the Russian language picture of the world*, in *Linguocultural studies. Logical analysis of the language. The concept of faith in different languages and cultures*, N.D. Arutyunova & M.L. Kovshova (eds.), Gnozis, Moscow, 2018, 23-35.
- [16] V.S. Stepin and V.I. Tolstyh, *The search for new values and development strategy, in Russia in the globalizing world: worldview and sociocultural aspects*, Nauka, Moscow, 2007, 15-16.
- [17] E.F. Tarasov, *Journal of Psycholinguistics*, **1(15)** (2012) 8-17.
- [18] O.V. Lomakina and V.M. Mokienko, *Rusin*, **3(45)** (2016) 119-128.
- [19] M.S. Shukurov, V.A. Kapranov, R. Hashim and N.A. Masumi (eds.), *The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, vol. 1, Soviet Encyclopaedia, Moscow, 1969, 58.
- [20] M.S. Shukurov, V.A. Kapranov, R. Hashim, N.A. Masumi (eds.), *The Defining Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, vol. 2, Soviet Encyclopaedia, Moscow, 1969, 501.
- [21] G.M. Kerimov, *Sharia: The law of islamic life. Sharia's answers to the problems of modernity*, Dilja Publishers, St. Petersburg, 2009, 3.
- [22] M. Bredis and O. Lomakina, *Proverbium*, **36** (2019) 75-92.
- [23] J.I. Kalontarov, *Preface*, in *Wisdom of three nations: (Tajik, Uzbek, Russian Proverbs, Sayings, and Aphorisms in comparison)*, Adib Publishers, Dushanbe, 1989, 3-12.
- [24] M.A. Bredis, O.V. Lomakina and V.M. Mokienko, *Rusin*, **60** (2020) 198-212.