

Research Type: Research Article
Received: June 18, 2023
Accepted: December 28, 2023
<https://doi.org/10.58642/kutbilim.1317038>

WEDDING SONGS OF PAMIR KYRGYZ: ÖLÖŃ AND DÜRÖ (FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF ETHNOFOLKLORISTIC ANALYSIS)

Sulaiman KAIYPOV¹

Abstract

This article will analyze, in accordance with the methods and techniques of the branches of social and humanitarian sciences, the songs of *ölöŃ* (өлөн) and *dürö* (дүрө), almost forgotten in the oral folk art of Kyrgyz nation, but it is performed at modern weddings of Kyrgyz ethnic groups living in other countries (in particular, among the Pamir Kyrgyz people), preserving their liveliness in their traditional culture.

The performance of *ölöŃ* is a traditional, multifunctional ethno poetic act performed before the performance of the *nike kyuu* (Muslim wedding ceremony), which is the final stage of the weddings of the Pamir Kyrgyzes. The ritual cannot be performed without the accompaniment of the *ölöŃ*, the performance of which can be undertaken only by the folk singers of the *ölöŃchüü – ölöŃ- bard*, trained and experienced in the performance of these songs.

Information about *dürö* has been poorly preserved. Respondents recall that the architectonics and content of the *dürö* are close to some types of *akyn- bard competitions or contest – (aitysh)* where elements of erotic themes will take place. The issues of the organization of the oral text, the use of linguistic means, artistic form, deep content, traditions of performance, place in the public life of the speakers of *ölöŃ* and *dürö*, need careful study at the intersection of social and humanitarian sciences such as ethnofolkloristics, ethnoculturology, ethnolinguistics and ethnophilosophy.

Keywords: *ölöŃ*, *dürö*, wedding, ritual songs, ethnofolklore, ethnology, ethnophilosophy, poetics.

¹ Prof. Dr., National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, sulayman_kayipov@hotmail.com, +996772101000, ORCID:0000-0002-3036-9744

1. TERMS AND CONCEPTS

In Kyrgyz literary language the usage of ‘*ölöñ*’ word is very limited. Besides the meaning of the word that is given in this idiom ‘*Ölö albay catip, ölöñ aytat*’,² it also can be used in another meaning that hasn’t been determined by linguists. In spite of using this word rather often in oral and in written forms the real meaning of ‘*ölöñ ayt-* (to sing *ölöñ*)’ expression isn’t definite. Even if ‘*ölöñ*’, as it was defined above in the idiom, is a kind of song till now there hasn’t been any well-defined information about the place and the people by whom the word was used, and the way of coming to this day.

The most detailed information about the Kyrgyz meaning and the usage of ‘*ölöñ*’ word is given in the Kyrgyz-Russian dictionary of K. K. Yudahin. Yudahin explains the meaning of the word in two ways. First of all he determined that the word ‘*ölöñ*’ was a kind of song and ‘in general this term is related not only to Kazakh people, but it was also known among Kyrgyz people as well’. Later using as an example above mentioned idiom he explained its meaning saying ‘It is said about the man who is always in a good mood, no matter what condition he is in’. In the second case, you can find in important explanations of our work about the theme that we research: ‘*ölöñ*’ in the culture of the Pamirs’ Kyrgyz people. There it is a poem that consists of 11-12 syllables according to its syllabic meter of the verse. Yudahin said that ‘*irlar* (poems) in the culture of the Pamirs’ Kyrgyz people are called ‘*ölöñ*’ and they are recited very often’ giving information as a special kind of folk poem of the Kyrgyz people. It is included in the ethnic group poetry of Pamir Kyrgyzes (Yudahin, 1956:592). Other scientific explanations tell us about the usage of Kyrgyz word ‘*ölöñ*’ as a word, but as a term it hasn’t been researched. Therefore to prove that ‘*ölöñ*’ is a kind of *ir* (a poem) shows us its poetic and ethnographic features. ‘*Ölöñ*’ and its concept is the obligation of nowadays researchers of folklore.

If we touch upon the issue of drawing a parallel of ‘*ölöñ*’ term between other Turkic languages and of its etymology, we can find that it is widely used in Kazakh folklore as K.K.Yudahin determined before. In the Kazakh language ‘*öleñ*’ word is used as a folk poem in the scientific research which was done in the middle of XIX century and in the research of V.V.Radlov and Ch. Valihanov (Radlov, 1970; Valihanov, 1961:202). Collecting and publishing the texts of ‘*öleñ*’ and then researching them nowadays Kazakh researchers of folklore did different research. As a result of researchers’ scientific discussions it was proved that according to ‘*öleñ*’s syllabic metering of the (verse) isn’t formed only from 11-12 syllables, it can also be formed from 7-8 syllables. Also different classifications were proposed (Uahatov, 1974:64-79).

In the research of Kazakh researchers of folklore the etymological bases of ‘*öleñ*’ word were considered as well as in other nations. In Bekmurat Uahatov’s opinion ‘*öleñ*’ as a word derived from the verb *ula-* which means ‘unite’, ‘fasten’, ‘continue’ in the ancient Kypchak language. Above mentioned researcher said ‘It is impossible to determine the etymological origin of ‘*öleñ*’ word only by taking into consideration Kazakh vocabulary. This issue can be settled only by comparative research of Turkic people’s literatures’. Later he said that ‘*öleñ*’ word appeared as a result of phonetic and semantic changes in ‘*ula-*’ and ‘*ulagyl-*’ words from ‘*Divani Lügat-it Türk*’ and ‘*Kodeks Kumanikus*’ works. He presented his etymological interpretations about nowadays pronunciation of ‘*öleñ*’ as *ulan-* by Karakalpak and Kumuk people as an evidential lingual phenomenon. Relying on specialists’ views in folkloric sphere he defined that the term ‘*olonho*’ in the Yakut language and ‘*öleñ*’ in the Kazakh language have the same origin (Uahatov, 1974:34-35). Ideas about historico-genetic connection between *ölöñ* – *olonho* were also suggested by Turkish and Yakut scientists (Puhov, 1962:5; Elçin, 1993:145).

²□ This idiom can be translated word for word as ‘being in his death agony, he is singing’.

In the terms of meaning and function The Pamir Kyrgyz's 'ölöñ' is a kind of festive Turkic folk song; it also can be seen in the folklore of Turkmen people and according to the locality it can be called as 'ölöñ', 'ülen' and 'hay- öleñ'. In comparison with other examples it can be said that in Turkmen 'öleñ' songs archaic, festive features are more preserved. According to the scientists' statements Turkmen songs 'öleñ' are sung only by women. Men can take part in the festivities only as listeners of 'öleñ'. Listeners are generally young men. If middle-aged men walk in the places where 'öleñ' is sung it will look strange in their society (Geldiev, 2000:131).

If we talk about *Dürö* term, it is different from previous others. It is a kind of folk poem which hasn't been found in other Turkic folklore yet. It should be noted that it is an element which is peculiar to the Pamir Kyrgyz's folklore. If we talk about the origin of the word there is a great possibility of its derivation from Persian. Nowadays being joined *dürö* and *ölöñ* poems are told by one person, but they are created in a dialogue form. The elements that can be considered as an indication of the case that in the old days *dürö* and *ölöñ* were told by two men can be clearly seen in the form of the poem's text. Taking into consideration the features of nowadays *dürö* texts we can't assume that *dürö* derived from Persian word combination 'du+riiy' that means 'two faces', 'two men' and it was adapted in Kyrgyz. The ideas of people of that culture also prove that *dürö* in terms of its form which is similar to and it is a kind of lyrics.

2. SOURCES

As a source we have records that contain information about the condition of *ölöñ* about thirty five years ago, the texts that were published by foreign specialists in Turkic philology and the texts about *ölöñ* and *dürö* having been collected by the writer of these lines since 2000. Nowadays *Ölöñ* text is considered as the oldest example that was used in the article that was prepared by *Remi Dor* on 5 September, 1972 and it is used by him in his research. Studying in details we found out there wasn't any information about another *ölöñ* text that belonged to *Abdykaiym Tolubay uulu*: any information about when, why and whom it was written by. Near the beginning of 1980s this text was written in a family environment and it is very valuable because it reflects the condition of 'ölöñ's a quarter of a century ago. The tape with *Gazek Mamatkerim uulu's* (a poet) words that were recorded early in the 1970's and that came to this day. In addition to that *ölöñ / dürö* are the texts which we have collected since above-mentioned date show the nowadays condition of *ölöñ* folklore and they have a high aesthetic value. In other words the *ölöñ* text which consists of 39 lines of *Abdicapar Aydoğan*, 54 lines of *Akibay Aytaç*, 128+113 lines of *Ceenbek Yurdakul*, 95 of *Cusup Kutlugün*, 83 of *Haribek Çağlar*, 37 of *Zair Koşar*, 121 of *Idiris Akın*, 22 of *Keldibek Fidan*, 32 of *Mahammat Akın*, 33 of *Mamatturdu Cingöz*, 31 of *Rakup Tamer*, 115+13 lines of *Sayım Vatan*, 103+92 lines of *Turganbübü Koşar* was written by us. So the source that consists of totally 1339 lines with 101 lines of *Abdykaiym Tolubay uulu* and 101+50 lines of *Gazek Mamatkerim uulu* and which hadn't been published and scientifically researched before was found by us. Despite all texts (lyrics) of *ölöñ* weren't written during a wedding process they were recorded in front of listeners when they were being told/sung with relevant tune.

3. THE KINDS OF ISSUES

In Kyrgyz folklore some examples of lyrics called *ölöñ* that were written down in different times from inhabitants of Chatkal, Aksy and Alay areas. The lyrics were also collected outside Kyrgyzstan, from Kyrgyz minorities who live in Gergetal (Tokombaeva, 1981). Region of Tajikistan and in the Pamirs plateaus of Afghanistan (Orozova, 2015; 2021:153-223). Until very recently we haven't had any texts that could be collected and systemized via stable methods and serve as a source for defining *ölöñ* as an independent kind in a folklore research. Therefore there is no information about *ölöñ* in a written monographic research on Kyrgyz folklore. Within 1997-2002 the texts and records that we collected from the Pamir Kyrgyz in terms of *ölöñ's*

theme, structural features, function and the way of expression prove that *ölöñ* differs from other folk poems, its possibility to be divided into several kinds and it is an independent kind of lyrics (Kayipov 2005:445-466; 2009:167-194).

From the review of the texts we have understood that it is clearly seen that *ölöñ* is a unique kind of the Kyrgyz traditional songs (the songs which are sung at traditional ceremonies). Nowadays it was defined that *ölöñ* in terms of its structure and content has two kinds: *ölöñ* and *dürö*. It is a folk terminology. When it is asked ‘what points make difference between *ölöñ* and *dürö*?’ it is answered as ‘different’. However this answer generally doesn’t point these differences clearly. At the end of the dialog such explanations as ‘Yes, they are similar, but they must be different’ can be heard. As a result of collecting information from aware people and researching collected texts it can be said that these two terms are semantically definable. Consequently the kind of *ölöñ* that is recited (told) in a folk language in a monologue form is called as *ölöñ*, but if it is sung (told) in a dialog form it is called as *dürö*. However in general both of them are called as *ölöñ*. That is the main reason of confusion of the source informants and poets who tell (sing) *ölöñ*. So, nowadays the culture of singing *ölöñ* is forgotten. As *ölöñ* has been sung (told) very little for a quarter of a century the texts of *ölöñ* and *dürö* mixed so that it’s impossible to divide them from each other. However relying on the results that we got from scientific research it is possible to explain the concept of these folk lyrics. In this work proceeding from our collected texts and concerning the issues about the poetry, the way of expression, function and the language of *ölöñ* and *dürö* we shall try to prove that *ölöñ* and *dürö* in the folklore of the Pamir Kyrgyz are widely used and as a kind of folk poem in the folklore of people in Kyrgyzstan are used relatively little.

4. THE POETIC STRUCTURE OF ÖLÖŃ AND DÜRÖ

4.1. Theme and Composition

Ölöñ poems in terms of their theme and composition (structure) are one of the most interesting kinds. As a lyric the thematic and structural elements of *ölöñ* penetrated into each other. The lyric’s composition (structure) is formed according to the aesthetic idea’s plot, style and way of expression (i.e. its theme) that is reflected in the lyric. That’s why there is no need to research separately the themes and compositions of *ölöñ* lyrics, for example as the theme and structure of epic.

If we review the compositions of *ölöñ* lyrics the first specialty that we can find is that *ölöñ* lyrics consist of independent poetic *sections*. The general point that we can remark from all tens of texts that we collected is that *ölöñ* lyrics consist of three main sections. The first section: *Preambular formula*; the second section: *Body text*; the third section: *Conclusion*.

1) *Preamble*: preambular part in the shortest form ‘Men... äytäyin... (‘I...will tell...’) became colloquial, and it is very flexible for its extension, enrichment with new elements or for its decrease in terms of contents. In other words it is a formula that maintaining its colloquial features can adapt to changes. For example, under-mentioned the first strophe consists of four lines and it is a variant³ of a typical example of *ölöñ* lyrics which were told by *Abdykaiym Tolubay uulu*:

01-04 Men bir ölöñ aytayın ouv birdi äytäyin,

³When, by whom and why this *ölöñ* text was written is indeterminate. The record is kept as a heirloom by *Toktobübü Astanabek kızı Kutlu* immediate relative of the poet. Presumably the text was written in a family environment in the early 1980s. The text is especially valuable for reflecting the condition of *ölöñ* lyrics a quarter of a century ago.

Cıgılganda söyögön ouv pirdi äytäyin.
 Atam menen enemdi youv mäkä⁴ äytäyin,
 Är käysının başınan ouv cäkä äytäyin.⁵
 (*I'll tell you ölöñ, I'll tell you ölöñ,*
I'll tell you about pir who supports you when you are in despair.
I'll tell you especially about my father and mother,
I'll tell you about different things from the beginning).

These verses show the true example of preambular formula. In above-mentioned strophe we understand that *ırçı* (a poet) explains that 'in one *ölöñ*' he will tell about 'pir who supports you when you are in despair', 'father and mother' and especially about 'different things from the beginning'. However the expression of *ırçı* 'I'll tell' about pir, mother and father is just a necessity of formula. In the contents of the lyric the meanings of such kind of expressions may not be explained. Listeners never make terms for themselves to listen to the lyric about pir, mother and father; even if it includes different stories, they are always ready to listen to the lyric about the main theme 'love'.

If we start talking about extension of the preambular formula first of all we should emphasize in the formula the conceptual meaning of the main stylistic elements as 'birdi äytäyin', 'mäkä äytäyin' and 'cäkä äytäyin', because the usage of the formula, the change in the contents occur within semantic spheres of these main concepts. In other words as the stylistic elements form rhymed parts of the lines they without losing the action of forming a poem (i.e. they stay unchangeable) direct the concepts of the new additions. The most excellent example of that can be seen in the text that was collected by *Remi Dor* a French specialist in Turkic philology from a poet *Cusuf Pakay* on 5 September, 1972 in Tergengorum village, when the Van Kyrgyz still were living in the Pamirs' plateaus:

keliñ ölöñ aytalı go birdey bolup
 sabagıdan açılğan o güldey bolup
 Samırkannan keledür o sapar tabak
 10 men bir ölöñ aytayın o sabak sabak
 'ayt ayt' deseñ ölöñnü o bir de aytayın
 Cıgılganda süyögöñ o pir de aytayın
 Atañ menen enendi' o maka aytayın
 azireti piribiz o Mahammatı
 15 iç kaysı go men koşboy o caka aytayın (Dor 1980:906).
 (*Sister-in-law, let's tell (sing) ölöñ as if together,*
As a blossomed rose on a twig.
Sapal tabak⁶(saucer) is being brought from Semerkant,

⁴*Mäkä*- especially; studiously.

⁵This preambular formula in the variants of Ceenbek Yurdakul, Cumabay Güven, Turgan Koşar, Sayım Vatan etc. is used equally with the exception of some stylistic differences.

- 10 *I'll recite (sing) ölöň in part.
If you say 'tell, tell' ölöň, I'll tell you one,
I'll recite you about the God who supports you when you are in despair.
I'll recite you especially about my father and mother,
I'll recite l you especially about our Saint prorok Muhammed*
- 15 *Without confusing him with no one).*

As you can see, this formula according to the variant of *Abdykaiym Tolubay uulu* has more extensive contents. In the beginning a poet calls everybody to tell (sing) *ölöň* together; he says that he'll tell it in part and in the end instead of the line 'Ar kaysının başını **ceke aytayın**' from the first example he says 'azireti piribiz o Mahammatı iç kaysı go men koşboy o **caka aytayın**' enriching the formula in terms of its form and content.

Here the words like 'sarak, sarak' ('in one line, in one line) draw our attention. 'Sarak' in the Kyrgyz folklore express the concept that is used for showing the form structural peculiarities of the lyrics. '*Bir sarak ır – one line verse*' means a unit of the poem which explaining the theme (story) that needs in research in the poem or entirely explaining the part of the story has a complete form in terms of its composition. According to the different themes in one *ölöň* sometimes it is possible to see several 'sarak's in one poem. *Ölöň* is a kind of the poem which can consist of several 'sarak's- lines. In this case it is natural with general preambular formula to repeat preambular formula every time in different ways before starting a new part (sarak).

2) *Body text*: it is the richest part in content; it can include more than one theme (story) and reflect exactly the concept and origin of *ölöň* lyrics. In the majority of our collected *ölöň texts* preambular formula is right away followed by *motif of praising girls*, i.e. it takes at the beginning of the body text. In this motif it doesn't matter by whom it is sung (told), by woman or man, by old or young person it is sung (told) in the name of six young horsemen who come to 'six girls' at the wedding. In this case preambular formula is naturally sung (told) in following motif:

- 18-19 *Toyxananın eşigin ouv toylop keldim,
Altın saka kolumda youv oynop keldim
(I came to a wedding house, to the wedding,
A gold saka – (a big knucklebone) is in my hand, I played).*

However, these expressions cause of colloquial features (as in folkloric texts) are possible to say in different parts. For example, in the main text that we research the motif of praising girls is divided into two parts and these expressions are said at the beginning of the second part. This issue of the reconstruction of *ölöň texts* is one of the most important items on the agenda. Giving praise to every girl of six who have come to the wedding creates the main subject (theme):

- 05-22 *Altı kızdın içinde youv atıñ Tokto,
Argımakka⁷ cäräşät ouv tüymö nokto,⁸
Aşık bolsoñ ar dāyim ouv bizdi cokto.*

⁶ This word combination in all our collected *ölöň texts* is shown as 'sapal tavak'. In the Kyrgyz language 'sapal tabak' means 'a source that is made from clay and painted in different colours' [15, c. 634]. Remi Dor as you can see in the example use 'sapal' word as 'sapar' and translated it into French as 'voyage' [2, p. 907].

⁷ *Argymak* - argamak (Central Asian breed of saddle-horse) that runs very fast.

⁸ *tüymö nokto* - a kind of rein

Altı kızıdın içinde youv atıñ Bazar,
Ak betiñdi körgöndö youv akılım azar.
Altı kızıdın içinde youv atıñ Öruk,
Biz kaländär boluppuz ou sizdi körüp.
Altı kızıdın içinde youv atıñ Mäyiz,
Eneñ cükkö cıyıptır ouv ala kiyiz,⁹
Coluk¹⁰ tigip beriñiz ou koçkor müyüz.
Altı kızıdın içinde youv atıñ Şerip,
Şerip toygo keliptir ouv kaşın kerip,
Cürü Şerip, ketelig ouv ışkın terip.
Toyxananın¹¹ eşigin ouv toylpo keldim,
Altın saka¹² kolumda youv oynop keldim.
Sizdi şunda degennen ouv kelgen edem,
Sizdi şunda devese ouv lelves edem,
Öñgösünü bir pulça ouv körvös edem.
*(Among six girls your name is Tokto,
This kind of rein suits argamak,
If you fall in love tell us.
Among six girls your name is Bazar,
When I see your light face I lose my mind.
Among six girls your name is Öruk,
Seeing you we became ascetics.
Among six girls your name is Mayiz,
Your mother piled felted carpet into chest,
Stitch a headscarf with ornament of the sheep's horn.
Among six girls your name is Şerip,
Şerip came to the wedding frowning brows,
Go, let's go Şerip picking up the rhubarb.
I came to a wedding house, to the wedding,
I came playing with a gold saka in my hand.
I came here because you said,*

⁹Ala kiyiz - a varicoloured felted carpet; a black, white, yellow, green and red coloured felted carpet with embroidery that is made from sheep's wool.

¹⁰Coluk - a headscarf (the main meaning). In this text it is used in the meaning of a girdle that is made from a piece of cloth.

¹¹Toikhana - a wedding house; generally it's the house of sister's-in-law father or a house that is prepared for a wedding. Everybody who comes to Toyhana is considered as a guest and entertained

¹²Saka - a big knucklebone; it is a knucklebone that is chosen from many other knucklebones and used as a bat (in a play).

I wouldn't see others even for one kurus).

The motif of praising a girl is an adapted element that can be considered in all variants of *ölöŃ*. Even if it starts as 'Altı kızım içinde atın...' it limits itself with describing only four or five names of girls. The amount of six girls isn't obligatory. The names of the girls as you see in the example have the feature of being rhymed. In all variants that we researched the rhyme in girls' names can be shown in following: Tokto-nokto-cokto, Bazar-azar, Öruk- körüp, Meyiz-giyiz-müyüz, Şerip-gerip-terip etc. Therefore the word that rhymes with the name of the girl builds one form. However the richness in content of this form depends on poet's abilities and experience. The forms that create motif are called as *segment*.

There can be more than one motif in the body text. Right here the processes of enriching lyrics in terms of form and content and decorating them with poetic element happen.

Body text is a part of the folk lyrics that includes the process of *contamination* that is widely-spread in this part. For example, just after the motif of praising girls there is a part that isn't logically connected with the previous part and includes the words of the girl who is waiting for her sweetheart, i.e. they aren't the words of the poet, they are the words that are said by third person (by girl). It's nothing other than contamination of *ölöŃ* and the *dürö* quatrain of the dialog between fellow and girl:

23-26 Kara zoonun boorunda ouv nar¹³ ölüppü,
Bıyl bizge kelvedi you car ölüppü?
Agası ölsö, inisi youv keler ede,
Çımın tiygen tevaday ouv bəri ölüppü?
(*Maybe Arabian camel really died in flank of hill?*
It didn't come this year, maybe my sweetheart died?
If elder brother died, younger brother would come back,
Did they all really die as camels from flies' stings?)

In spite of being different in terms of theme (subject) the quatrain of *contamination* doesn't damage the form of *ölöŃ*'s composition. On the contrary it enriches associations and prepares the ground for telling other different themes (stories). Just after this quatrain there can be the main theme (story) of the poet. However in the variant that we research from the beginning after the quatrain there is a *contamination* of the parts connected with didactic poems:

27-35 Bizdin eldin cäyläri youv Asbay, Dosbay,¹⁴
Karan kalsın kalmaktın¹⁵ ouv colun tosvoj,
Bizdin eldin cäyläri you Koşmolodur,¹⁶
Koşmologo korgolop ouv kuş konadur,
Bir cakşıga bir caman ouv tuş boladur.

¹³*Nar* - a strong Arabian camel (male).

¹⁴*Asbai, Dosbai* - the names of places in the Pamirs' plateaus.

¹⁵*Kalmak* - Kalmyk; the name of the people who descended from Mongolia. In the XVI-XVIII centuries these people had close economical and cultural relations with the Kyrgyz. There was a constant war between Kyrgyz and Kalmak people. Consequently in the folk poems (as in that poem) of Kyrgyz people Kalmak is considered as an enemy.

¹⁶*Koşmolo* - the name of the place in the the Pamirs' plateau.

Bizdin eldin cäyläri youv kekirädür,
 Tag cerinde eçkilär ouv sekirädür.
 Caman kızıdın koynuga youv cigit barsa,
 Börü tartkan tanaday ouv ökürädür.
*(The lands of our people are Asbay, Dosbay,
 Damn it if Kalmak's way is blocked,
 The lands of our people are Koşmolo,
 Birds land for finding shelter in Koşmolo,
 A good one meets a bad one.
 The green lands of our people are wormwood,
 Goats jump in the mountainous place.
 If a bad girl stays in bed with a fellow,
 She will howl as a calf being dragged by a wolf).*

As you can see as a way of expression these lines are told again by *ırçı* (a poet). In terms of the meaning and function in the poem the girl is given advice. The *segment* with the didactic motif as ‘Bizdin eldin...’ consists of three variants.

When this short lyric motif ends *ırçı* (a poet) again assumes the aspect of the young fellow and in the name of him starts introducing himself. The theme is changed and the genre is refreshed again:

36-41 Asmandagı äylängän ouv ala kuşmān,
 Kanart-kuyruk çıga elek ouv bala kuşmān.
 Cigirmägä kiripmān ouv cin urganday,
 Bıyıl sakal çığıptır mık urganday.
 Suluu kızıdın tamagı youv cez kumganday.
 Dünyä ötüp baratat ouv köz cumganday.
*(I am a varicoloured bird that wanders in the sky,
 I am a nestling whose wings and tail haven't appeared.
 I am twenty years old, I am like paralyzed,
 My beard grew this year as driven-in nail,
 The neck of the beautiful girl is as a copper jug,
 The world is passing away as in a jiffy).*

Even if the themes change, they in terms of function save the main idea of the lyric. One part from the didactic poem about the sexual development of girls can be added between lines:

42-45 Egärimin turumu youv üzäñgisi,
 Kız on beşke kirgiçe youv tüzälgisi,
 Kız on beşke kirgiçe youv tüzälmäsä,
 Arkan salsa, toktomayt ouv kız äñgisi.
(The girth and stirrup of my saddle,

*The girl must straighten out at the age of fifteen,
If she doesn't straighten out herself at the age of fifteen,
The lasciviousness of the girl couldn't be suppressed even by lasso).*

Irçı (a poet) keeping the main purpose of *ölöŃ* describes openly the feelings and desires of the active young fellow in the verses. The way of expression changes from monologue into dialogue and the *expressivity* of the text increases:

46-60 Sırdın¹⁷ suvun keçpesem ouv sırım cüzüp,
Sıñar emçek kılbasam ouv birini üzüp.
Bak aralap kirvesem ouv şagin kayrıp,
Ak emçektep koyboysun ouv gözäl cigit,
Emçek menen koybosom ouv başıñ äyrip.
Arka¹⁸ degen ceriñde ouv börüñ barbı,
Börüñ kaçıp kutular ouv ceri barbı,
Ak emçektep koyboysuñ ouv gözäl cigit,
Ak emçekte atañın ouv görü barvı?
Ödö-tömön ceriñnin ouv pästi bardur,
Ak emçektep koyboymun ou xastım bardur.
Egär salsam cäräşät ouv Bayçubarga,¹⁹
Bälä-gaza kaçat deyt ouv boy tumardan.
Egär salsam cäräşät ouv Akcambaşkañ,²⁰
Ayrıvasın xudayım ouv cän hurlaştan.
*(Swimming I'll cross the river Syr Darya,
Tearing off one breast, I'll leave it with one breast.
I'll walk in your garden, inclining the branches I'll come in,
Holding one white breast you don't leave it, handsome fellow,
I'll hit your head with the breast.
Is there your wolf in the place called Arka?
Are there any places for your wolf to escape?
Holding one white breast you don't leave it, handsome fellow,
Is there a father's grave in a white breast?
- There is a hollow in the hills,
I won't leave a white breast, I have a purpose.
If I saddle it will fit Akcambaş well,*

¹⁷Syr – most probably it is the river Syr Darya. It is often used in the folklore of Central Asian people and it expresses more poetic meaning than a geographic one.

¹⁸Arka – the name of the place.

¹⁹Baychubar – the name of the horse.

²⁰Akcambash – the name of the horse.

You won't apart me, my God, from my faithful friend).

When the dialog of *diirö* lyrics ends the theme is changed and *ırçı* (a poet) connects didactic theme with the theme about love, i.e. didactic themes instead of sensual elements lead and followed by the part of the body text that before might be the most important, the longest and the richest one in content:

- 67-74 Torgoy otu²¹ çıkkan cer ouv tegiz emes,
 Böpölöböy turumtay uov cemin ceves.
 Kölöñködö catarga ouv mäydän cakşı,
 Köldön tap kızıışsak ouv saydan cakşı.
 Cigit köönü cipektin ouv türündäydur.
 Cigit köönün oorutkan ouv kız oñmaydur.
 Teltoru²² atım soorusun ouv kergen säyin,
 Çäçin suluu körünöt ouv örgön säyin,
 Oynovoyun-külvöyün ouv degen säyin,
 Omur ötüp baratat ouv cürgön säyin.
 Ak koënum catagı youv kum bolodur,
 Cıldan cılga zamana youv şum bolodur.
 Ak koënum cüzäsin ouv çigit²³ bersin,
 Cäydär kızdın cüzäsin ouv cigit bersin.
*(The place where Torgoy otu grows isn't smooth,
 If you don't call pigeon hawk won't eat its fodder.
 The grassy plot is good to sleep in the shade,
 To make love in the lake is better than in the brook.
 The heart of the fellow is like a kind of s
 The girl that hurts the heart of the fellow never straightens out.
 When my horse Teltoru strains its croup,
 Your hair looks great when you plait it,
 When you say 'I won't play and laugh
 Our life passes by during our living process.
 The shelter of the white rabbit is in sand,
 Year by year out deception increases.
 The gun must punish the white rabbit,
 The fellow must punish the girl who is beautiful as the moon).*

As we can see from the parts of the body text *ırçı* (a poet) taking the role of one fellow tells his different desires and expectations to his sweetheart. This element colorizes the lyric

²¹*Torgoi otu* – a kind of grass that grows in the Pamirs' plateaus.

²²*Teltoru* – the name of the horse.

²³*Chigit* – the seed of the cotton; but in the text it can be the name of the handicraft gun.

differently and influences strongly on listeners, especially on the sister-in-law. In the part of the text the condition of the typical fellow from the Pamirs who experienced love is described in following way:

- 75-93 Cılıkımı äydäp salıpman ouv teli tüzgö,
Cäniverim cetiptir ouv ceti cüzgö,
Cüzün äydäp bereyin ouv kelir küzgö,
Toy tüşürüp alayın ouv soñgu küzgö.
Däyim menin mingenim ouv boz bolsoçu, äy,
Cänimdägi coldoşum ouv kız bolsoçu, äy,
Kız da bolso karay bet ouv uz bolsoçu äy.
Däyim menin mingenim ouv selteñ sarı,
Sepkili cok ay bettüü ouv kimnin carı?
Däyim menin mingenim ouv surça gunan,²⁴
Kozu agıttım kögönnün²⁵ ouv purçagınan.
Kara zoonun boorunda ouv kaldı koyum,
Kaytıp kelip cäyläyin ouv Sırdın boyun.
Sırdın boyun sıyra tal ouv men putayın,
Şäkär çäynäp pal berseñ ouv men cutayın.
Kara zoonun boorunda ouv kara narım,
Kaşı-közü çiyilgen ouv tolgon ayım,
Bir xudaydan tileyin ouv ssizdi alayın,
Sizdi xuday berveşe ouv ne kılayın.
*(I drove my herd of horses to the plain,
The number of my horses got seven hundred.
I'll pay regard to you next autumn,
I'll take you away after getting married next autumn.
I wish I had a grey horse that I could ride every time,
I wish I had a girl travelling companion,
I wish she were swarthy and beautiful.
I wish I had a small yellow horse that I could ride every time,
Whose is this sweetheart with light face and without freckles?
I ride a roan horse every time,
I released lambs from the kögön's knot.
My sheep stayed in the slope of the cliffs,
Coming back I'll shepherd in the bank of the Syr Darya.*

²⁴Gunan – a saddle horse that is three years old.

²⁵Kögön – in grasslands a special prepared place for tying lambs and goatlings too close to each other;

*There is a line of willows on the bank of the Syr Darya, and I'll cut their branches,
If you masticate sugar and give me honey, I'll swallow it.
There is my black camel on the verge of the cliff,
My full moon like with a (specially) drawn eye-brow and eye,
The only one my wish from God is just to get you,
What would I do if God didn't give you to me)*

The motif of consoling the girl who has just started living married life is one of the most important themes of *ölöŃ*. It is the final element within the body text's bloc that is said to the girl who is going to get married. After aforesaid different themes to start the theme of consoling is the sign of *ölöŃ*'s end. This lyric motif in the variant that we research consists of the following quatrain of the poem:

94-97 Yıglama kız, yıglama ouv toy seniki,
Koş arıktan attagan ouv koydun izi,
Koş oromol salıngan ouv baydın kızı,
Kara sakal, kıl murut ouv er seniki.
*(Don't cry girl, don't cry, the wedding is yours,
The footprint of the sheep jumped over the double aryk,
The girl who shawled two headscarves is the girl of the rich man,
The man who is with a black beard and moustache is yours).*

As consoling is one of the main *ölöŃ*'s functions it's natural that this motif is reflected more widely in our researched variant. If we review the text that was collected by *Remi Dor* again we can see that this theme is researched more widely:

ıylaba kız ıylaba' o toy seniki
cibek menen çırmagan o çiy²⁶ seniki
ak örgödöy tigilgen o üy seniki
ondo barsañ kaynatañ o orun basar

40 ıylaba kız ıylaba' o toy seniki
munda kelseñ öz atañ o çaçıñ sılar
ıylaba kız ıylaba' o toy seniki
ondo barsañ kaynatañ o orun basar
munda kelseñ öz atañ o çaçıñ sılar

45 ıylaba kız ıylaba' o toy seniki
*(Don't cry girl, don't cry the wedding is yours
The carpet bundled with silk is yours
The sewed tent like the newlywed yurt is yours
If you go there father-in-law will be instead of your father*

²⁶*Chiy* – a thin cane that grows in dry steppes; a kind of carpet that is made from dried and peeled thin cane.

- 40 *Don't cry girl, don't cry the wedding is yours*
 If you come here your father will give you a pat on the back
 Don't cry girl, don't cry the wedding is yours
 If you go there father-in-law will be instead of your father
 If you come here your father will give you a pat on the back
 Don't cry girl, don't cry the wedding is yours)

Reiterations and stresses make the motif of consoling more expressive. The motif of ‘ıylaba kız ıylaba o toy seniki’ (don’t cry girl, don’t cry the wedding is yours) line in our example of 10 lines is repeated four times (lines 36, 40, 42, 45). Especially, in the variant that we consider, in the unshowy part ‘ondo barsan..., munda kelsen...’ (if you go there..., if you come here...) stylistic form is used. When this form is repeated two times a quatrain (four lines) appears (lines 39, 41, 43, 44). After this last element a closed form is told and so, *ölöñ* is finished. Generally the last line of *ölöñ* is usually devoted to the mother of the girl because the rest part of the celebration is devoted to seeing off the girl by her mother and other relatives:

- 89- Burulgurdun enesi youv, burulsançı, ay,
 101 Burma çaçım ketti dep ouv munaysançı ay.
 Kayrılığrdın enesi youv, kayrılançı ay,
 Kara çaçım ketti dep ouv kayrılançı ay!
 (If you come back, mother of the girl, come back a,
 Grieve saying 'My girl with braid went away'.
 If you wander, mother of the girl, wander a,
 Feel upset saying 'My girl with dark hair went away!)

Conclusion also as a preambular formula in terms of form and content can be enriched and shortened. It takes different forms according to poet’s abilities and atmosphere of telling (singing) it. However the destruction of the traditional style is impossible. In the *Remi Dor*’s collected text with some changes the following lines are added to above-mentioned quatrain:

- ak köynögüñ tüymösün o çeçti kızıñ
 50 ak sütünö peyil bolup ketti kızıñ
 kök köynögüñ tüymösün o çeçti kızıñ
 köp sütünö peyil bolup ketti kızıñ
 ‘ak köynögüñ tüymösün o çeçsin degen
 ak sütümö peyil bolup ketsin degen
 55 kök köynögüm tüymösün o çeçsin degen
 köp sütümö peyil bolup ketsin degen’ (Dor 1980:910-911).
 (Your daughter unbuttoned your white blouse
 50 *Your daughter went away being very grateful for your breast milk*
 Your daughter unbuttoned your blue blouse
 Your daughter went away being very grateful for your much breast milk

'Someone says 'let her unbutton your white blouse'
Someone says 'let her go away being grateful for your breast milk'.

55 Someone says 'let her unbutton your blue blouse'
Someone says 'let her go away being grateful for my breast milk'').

The influence of these lines which consists of syntactical parallelism and reiterations on feelings in comparison with the other variants is surely stronger. The girl who 'went away unbuttoning white and blue blouses' is just a metaphor that shows the condition of the girl who is going to the nuptial bed.

So we defined the main features of *ölöŃ*'s text composition. The composition, of course, can be changed depending on atmosphere in which *ölöŃ* is told. When the poet tells *ölöŃ* his abilities, experience and psychological state are reflected in the text. The elusive memory of the poet certainly can be noticed in the text. Also we should mention that in some

In *ÖlöŃ*'s variants cause of rarely using tradition of telling *ölöŃ* the blocks that form the composition and lyric motifs and segments that form the blocks are used irregularly and shortened. Concerning this case we have interesting information of *Mahammatturdu Cingöz*, one of the poets who tell *ölöŃ*: 'That is all that I know, I told everything that is in my mind. Maybe I confused the words that I should say in the beginning I told in the end and I told the end in the beginning'. These words redouble our research on the ordered composition of *ölöŃ* text.

4.2. Techniques and Means of Forming the Composition

There are valuable researches about the techniques and means of forming the composition of *ölöŃ* songs. There are different methods and techniques to bring a poem to the entirety of aesthetic value of the folklore. In *ölöŃ* a monolog, a dialog, a contamination, a *stepwise thinning-down of types*, coherence and reiterations are more used.

In above-mentioned text we saw the forms of using *monolog*, dialog and contamination. However a monolog in some *ölöŃ* texts can be changed. Sometimes it can be the monolog of the *ırçı* (poet), of the girl or the fellow.

From start to finish a dialog isn't the stable model of the composition either. However without a doubt, a dialog is a *dürö*'s most important means of forming a composition. Unfortunately, it wasn't possible to find the text that could totally preserve the features of *dürö*. Therefore confining ourselves to finding the examples from *ölöŃ* texts we can draw some conclusions. It is clearly seen that a dialog and a reiteration are the elements that direct *dürö*'s features in terms of form and content. Despite nowadays *dürö* seems like a kind of *ölöŃ* in the past in comparison with *ölöŃ* it is supposed to have more general meaning and to be richer in terms of verse and lines. One of the representatives of this culture *Turgan Koşar* says '*dürö* is a lyric that is told in the form of question-answer'. It is also possible to see the competition in art of rhyme (competition in folklore) not only between man and woman, but also between two men using the form of *dürö*. The same informant *Turgan Koşar* also gives interesting information that *dürö* texts can be formed not only from 11-12 syllables, but also from 7-8 syllables.

4.3. Oratorical Skills

Oratorical skills play a great role in bringing *ölöŃ* and *dürö* to a high aesthetic level. Oratorical skills in terms of functions can be divided into two kinds: visual oratorical skills that reflect appearance and sensitive oratorical skills that reflect feelings. There is a symbol, a metaphor, an epithet and a comparison in the first one. In the second one we can consider the elements (alliteration, assonance, consonance etc.) that form the structure of the coherence in the poem.

Symbol and metaphor in *ÖlöŃ* texts are closely connected to each other and present one entirety. For example, in the lines ‘Asmandağı aylangan ous ala kuşman, Kanat-kuyruk çıga elek ous bala kuşman’ (‘I’m a varicoloured bird that wanders in the sky, I’m a nestling that doesn’t have wings and a tail) such metaphors as ‘ala kuş’ (‘a varicoloured bird’) and ‘bala kuş’ (‘a nestling’) are used. If we review the origin of them these expressions in the Kyrgyz language are the symbols of the young and inexperienced man. If we review details and the system of the people’s belief it’s possible to discover a mythological notion behind these symbols. Because according to the Kyrgyz belief a bird (sometimes it is called as *bürküüt*, *bürgüt*) is defined as one of the creatures that is saint and has a symbol of power (Bayalieva, 1981:26; Kayırov, 1990:55-57).

In the text the words like ‘nar’, ‘kara nar’ are also used in figurative meaning. From the lines like ‘Kara zoonun boorunda ous nar ölüppü’ or ‘Kara zoonun boorunda ous kara narım’ we shouldn’t understand only ‘nar’- a male dromedary; they include symbolic and figurative meanings. *Nar* (a male dromedary) is an important means of transportation for nomadic people. The expression ‘The death of *Nar*’ is a symbol of the people’s bad social condition. Therefore in the texts of folk poetry the phrase ‘narım’ means ‘my support, my reliance’.

4.4. Epithets

Despite *ölöŃ* poems are lyrics epithets are not widely-used. You cannot find silsilevi epithets that are peculiar to folklore and consist of several lines. *Compound* and *single* kinds of epithets give an aesthetic shape reflecting the colour, capacity, beauty or ugliness of the object.

Single epithets consisting of only one word describes only one feature: ‘ak bet’ (a light face’), ‘altın saka’ (‘a gold knucklebone’), ‘kara zoo’ (a black cliff), ‘çımın tiygen teva’ (‘a camel attacked by flies’ stings’), ‘caman kız’ (‘a bad girl’), ‘sıñar emçek’ (‘one breast’), ‘ak emçek’ (‘a white breast’), ‘güzäl cigit’ (‘a handsome fellow’), ‘ak koyon’ (‘a white rabbit’), ‘cäydär kız’ (a cheerful girl’), ‘surça gunan’ (‘a grey saddle horse’), ‘burma çäç’ (‘braided hair’), ‘kara çäç’ (‘dark hair’)etc.

Compound epithets consisting of more than one adjectives reflect several features of the object: ‘cığılganda suyögön pir’ (‘pir who supports you when you are in despair’), ‘sepkili cok ay bettüü’ (‘a face like the moon without freckles’), ‘kaşı, közü çiyilgen tolgon ay’ (‘the full moon like with a (specially) drawn eye-brow and eye’), ‘kara sakal, kıl murut er’ (‘the man with a black beard and moustache’) etc.

4.5. Comparisons

In the *ölöŃ*’s art language you can also find comparisons. The comparison’s expressivity is stronger that is constructed by addition of one of the comparative suffixes *-day* to the verb:

38-41 Cigimaga kiripman ous cin urganday,
Bıyl sakal çığıptır ous mik urganday.
Suluu kızdın tamagı youv cez kumganday.
Dünya ötüp baratat ous köz cumganday.

These comparisons in spite of being resemble and comparative, not expressing a comparative general adjective and being from visual oratorical skills have sensitive features as well.

Alliteration and assonance of sensitive oratorical skills play a great role. For example, when vertical and horizontal shapes of alliteration are used together in ‘bent’s²⁷ the coherence is more wonderful:

- 98- **B**urulgurdun enesi youv, burulsañçı, äy,
101 **B**urma çaçım ketti dep ouv **muñayasañçı** äy.
 Kayrılğırdım enesi youv, **kayrıl**sañçı äy,
 Kara çaçım ketti dep ouv **kaygır**sañçı äy!

For example, as you can see from above-mentioned verses redifs play a great role in increasing the coherence of the poem. In addition to the interjection ‘ay’ redifs also can be formed by other words. Generally redifs can be seen in rhymed quatrains like a a b b, a a a a, a a a:

- 01-04 Men bir ölöŃ ayatyin ouv **birdi ayatyin**,
 Cıgılğanda söyögön ouv **pirdi aytayin**.
 Atam menen enemdi youv **maka aytayin**.
 Ar kaysının başınan ouv **caka aytayin**...
- 67-70 Teltoru atım soorusun ouv **kergen sayin**,
 Çaçın suluu körünöt ouv **örgön sayin**,
 Oynovoyun-külvöyün ouv **degen sayin**,
 Omur ötüp baratat ouv **cürgön sayin**...
- 79-81 Dayim menin mingenim ouv **boz bolsoçu, ay**,
 Canimdagi coldoşum ouv **kız bolsoçu, ay**,
 Kız da bolso karay bet ouv **uz bolsoçu ay**...

ÖlöŃ’s couplets which includes assonances in the system of coherence are also very interesting in terms of its constructing a melodious coherence:

- 05-09 Altı kızdın içinde youv **atın Tokto**,
 Argı**makka** cäräşät ouv tüymö nokto,
 Aşık bolson **ar** dayim ouv bizdi cokto.
 Altı kızdın içinde youv **atın Bazar**,
 Ak betindi körgöndö youv **aklım azar**.

Assonance at the beginning of the verse and the repetition of the vowel sound in the middle of the verse with a usage of the coherent rhyme at the end of the verse make *ölöŃ* texts liquid and coherent.

The words like ‘ou’, ‘ouv’, ‘you’, ‘youv’ that don’t contain any meanings also play a great role in making the texts more coherent. As we mentioned above the rhythm of *ölöŃ* consists of 11-12 syllables. Every verse as 7+4 is two-pause, i.e. the words take place between the two pauses and in spite of being formed from two vowel sounds sometimes with diphthongs or with three vowel sounds they can form only one syllable in a verse. This important element in *ölöŃ*

²⁷*Bent* – stanza in a poem; the single rhyme part of each stanza, preceding the recurrent couplet, or couplet with recurrent rhyme.

texts creates harmony of the words, pauses, rhythms and stanzas that form the poem and with the way of expressiveness creates concord. This element in *ölöň* texts almost is used in every verse.

These techniques and means function within a harmonious system. Considering it separately it can be stated that there ‘too qualitative’ oratorical skills can be used, but the text of *ölöň* doesn’t form without rhyme. Generally a rhyme is used at the end of the verse. In terms of form there can be seen such forms of rhymes like a a b b, a a, a a a, a a a a, a a b c c, a a b a, a a b b b, a b b a.

In *ölöň* texts the bents (stanza) have forms of the couplet, tercet, quatrain and five-line stanza and it can be seen that the rhyme in the bent (stanza) is very free.

5. PERFORMANCE ENVIRONMENT, SINGERS AND LISTENERS

Both kinds of *ölöň* are sung only at the weddings. To sing *ölöň* and *dürö* at the weddings for the Van Kyrgyz is an irrecusable activity. At the weddings in comparison with *ölöň* the term *dürö* is used more often. *Irçi* (a singer) for singing *dürö* is defined in advance. *Dürö* is sung at *making cry* period of the wedding, i.e. it is sung before marriage. Before coming of *ırçı* some arrangements are made. The bride and her friends are seated closely to each other in front of the house. These sitting girls are covered with a velvet or a brocade that is pulled by four people by tips of the velvet. When *ırçı* comes an iron tray full of sugar, biscuits, dried apricots, change is brought (or someone strong holds it in front of *ırçı*). The singer sings *ölöň* taking the things from the iron tray and throwing them at the girls who are covered with velvet. The singer continues doing it until the things on the iron tray run out. At this moment the four people who pull the velvet by tips shake it off simultaneously. So all things that are on the tray fall on the floor and people especially children pick up the things. When *ölöň* is being sung the bride and the girls near her weepingly try to be seemed very sad. For making *ölöň* be sung for a long time many things that are on the iron tray must be prepared in advance.

When *ölöň* is being sung everybody who comes to the wedding can listen to *ölöň*. In spite of the Turkmen tradition of singing *ölöň* with a participation of only women in the Van Kyrgyz’s tradition only women have rights to sing *ölöň* and they have no rights to listen to it. Although the content of *ölöň* is about the newly married couple and their friends everybody who is interested in *ölöň* irrespective of their ages and sex can listen to it and pick up the things of the iron tray.

6. THE FUNCTION

Ölöň’s psychologically prepare the girl who is going to get married for married life and exhaust all embarrassments of the girl concerning a wedding night. The theme, the way of singing and the forms of *ölöň* isn’t definite. In the past *ölöň* songs had more erotic motifs, but lately these motifs have diminished and become more didactic. Nowadays to sing *ölöň* is a formal ceremony and a wedding entertainment. According to the words of some informants in the past in the Pamir’s *ölöň* and *dürö* had been sung for several hours, even all day, but nowadays it has been sung only for 5-10 minutes. The main function of today’s *ölöň*s isn’t to prepare psychologically the bride, to share the experience with the young girls and other listeners, it is just for fulfilling the requirement of the wedding tradition.

On 19 September, 2001 at one wedding *komuzçu*²⁸ *Sayım Vatan* sang *ölöň*. I had the text of the variant of *ölöň* that was sung by *Sayım Vatan* because I had collected it before. However I took it down not in a natural condition, i.e. not at the wedding I took it down during the conversation between 3-5 people. That’s why I didn’t slip my chance to listen to *ölöň* in real life and to write down again the text of *ölöň* in a natural atmosphere. However it didn’t legitimate my expectations because *Sayım* changed and shortened the poetic structure of the long text of

²⁸*Komuzchu* – a musician who plays the national Kyrgyz musical instrument komuz.

ölöŃ that he had sung to me before and finished it quickly. When I asked him ‘why did you sing so shortly?’ he answered ‘the things on the iron tray ran out and I stopped’. When I asked him ‘Well, why did you sing *ölöŃ* that you had sung to me before inconsistently missing some quatrains or you forgot them?’ he answered ‘No, I didn’t forget them. I just lost my head in that atmosphere, felt shy and it’s impossible to tell all bents (stanzas). He tried to explain to me that it wasn’t quite appropriate for him to describe some erotic motifs.

Concluding the above we can say that when people’s moral views, aesthetic thoughts change the elements of ceremony or folklore in terms of form and function also change and after some time it becomes part of history.

7. PECULIARITIES OF THE LANGUAGE

The language of *ölöŃ*’s is pure. It includes some morphemes that can’t be seen in any Kyrgyz dialects. One of such morphemes that prevelges in *ölöŃ* text is the suffix *-dır* of the verb. In the language of the Van Kyrgyz the verbs like ‘konot-’, ‘bolot-’, ‘kekireli-’, ‘sekiret-’, ‘öküröt-’, ‘bar-’ in *ölöŃ* texts are used in forms like ‘konadur-’, ‘boladur-’, ‘kekirädür-’, ‘sekirädür-’, ‘ökürädür-’, ‘bardur-’.

In speech using the suffix (-mın, -min, -mun, -mün) of the possessive case is also can be seen in the Kyrgyz language, but in *ölöŃ*’s it’s used in a local form *-män*. When the usage of different suffixes of the verb, the different tune, different verse and syllabic meters come together it can be clearly seen that *ölöŃ* and *dürö* songs(poem) are lyrics that differ from other Kyrgyz folk songs. When they are taken separately the usage of these not so clear morphemes in the text, especially in the rhyme of the folk poem attaches singularity to the text.

For example:

27-29 Bizdin eldin cäyläri Koşmolodur,
Koşmologo korgolop ouv kuş konadur,
Bir cakşıga bir caman ouv tuş boladur...

43-44 Kız on beşke kirgiçe youv tüzälgisi,
Kız on beşke kirgiçe youv tüzälmäsä...

36-38 Asmandagı äylängän ouv ala kuşmän,
Kanat-kuyruk çıga elek ouv bala kuşmän.
Cigirmägä kiripmän ouv cin urganday...

When these verses are sung with a tune above mentioned peculiarities are seen more clearly.

8. THE MELODY

ÖlöŃ’s are the sources not only of the folklore, but also of the research of music. *ÖlöŃ* and *dürö* are sung with another tune that differs from others via other *ır*’s (song, poem) are sung. The melody that is used for singing *ölöŃ* and *dürö* is much harmonized with the form and content of the text. The melody that is sung smoothly from start to finish with a quiet and soft voice can be changed from one place to another by different singers (poet) of *ölöŃ* and *dürö* and it has kept this feature for a long time. About thirty years ago when the Kyrgyz were in the Pamir’s a French specialist in Turkic philology Remi Dor wrote down and put to music the melody of one part of *ölöŃ*. There is no difference between the melody that was put to music by Remi Dor thirty years ago and the melody of *ölöŃ* that is sung by another *ırçı* (singer) from the village of Ulupamir.

Undoubtedly the similarity and the difference between the melody of the Pamir's and the melody that was put to music in Van over ten years later can be clearly and exactly in detail defined only by scientists who research music.

However it is clearly seen that there is no difference between the melody that was put to music by Remi Dor and the melody of *ölöñ* that nowadays has been collected by us. The sources that we have also show that *ölöñ* and *dürö* are derived from the unity of elements that can change or not in the context of *Time-Geography-Person*. The words, verses, bents (stanza) in *ölöñ* texts can be rearranged, they even can be omitted and some parts can be entirely forgotten, but the tune and melody stay stable. In other words a melody is the most conservative, i.e. unrenewable part of *ölöñ* and *dürö* folk songs.

9. CONCLUSION

So we could touch upon the features of *ölöñ* and *dürö* and the most important elements and function of their poetic structure. Therefore *ölöñ*'s in spite of not being used enough in the folklore of Central Asian Kyrgyz people and not being much discussed by scientists of folklore can be undoubtedly considered as an independent kind of the Kyrgyz folk poems. In Kyrgyzstan tradition of singing *ölöñ* is nearly forgotten and today you can rarely see *ölöñ* texts. It is connected with the change of traditions and festivities, aesthetic thoughts, generally the lifestyle of the people during the last century. This tradition in the Pamir Kyrgyz continues very actively. Their lifestyle even half century ago, i.e. when they lived in the Pamir's meadows was connected with their traditions. It is natural that the tradition of singing *ölöñ* and the poetic structure of *ölöñ* texts have been changed as ethno-geographic and cultural environment has been changed and new generation's aesthetic views, thoughts, faiths have been renewed for the last periods of time.

Ölöñ and *dürö* with their poetic structure, the way of singing, the rich content, their wonderful form and with much harmonized melody with the structure of the texts are a very valuable source not only for the scientists of folklore but also for everybody who researches folk music, theatre, aesthetics, ethno-pedagogy, traditions and festivities. If masters of culture revive the tradition of singing *ölöñ* according to a new lifestyle making it a part of the modern culture they will be able to meet the aesthetic needs of new generations.

REFERENCES

- Bayalieva T. D. (1981). Religioznie perejitki u kirgizov i ih preodolenie. – Frunze: İlim.
- Dor, R. (1980). ‘Si Tu Me Dis: Chante! Chante!’...Documents pour server a la connaissance de la tradition orale des Kirghiz du Pamir afghan: These pour le Doktorat Es-Lettres par Remi Dor Presentee le. Paris, Vol: 1. 906 p.
- Elçin, Ş. (1993). Halk Edebiyatına Giriş. Akçağ. Ankara.
- Geldiev, G. (2000). About ‘Dügün Türküleri’(‘Wedding Folk Songs’) or ‘Öleñler’, ‘Yar-Yar’, ‘Leeran’ Folklore of Turkmen people // Reports at the symposium on ‘I. International Atatürk and Turkic Folk Culture’.
- Kayıpov S. (1990). Problemi poetiki eposa “Er Töştük”. – Ç. 1.: Giperbola. Sraivnenie. –Frunze: İlim.
- Kayıpov, S. (2005). Van Kırgızlarının Sözlü Geleneğinde Ölöñ ve Dürö / Prof. Dr. Fikret TÜRKMEN Armağanı. s. 445-466.
- Kayıpov, S. (2009). Ölöñ ve Dürö Türküleri Üzerine // Prof. Dr. Sulayman KAYIPOV. Folklor Üzerine Yazılar. – Bişkek. s. 167-194.
- Orozova G. (2015). Kırgız ölöndörü. – Bişkek: Uluu toolor
- Orozova G. (2021). Ölöñ ırlarının tabiyatı // Orozova G. Folklor duk janlardın özgöçölüğü: 2-kitep. İlimiy emgekter. – Bişkek.
- Puhov I. V. (1962). Yakutskiy geroičeskiy epos olonho. – Moskva: Nauka.
- Radlov V. V. (1970). Obraztsı narodnoy literaturı severnih tyurkskih plemen... – Ç. III. – SPb.
- Tokombaeva, A. (1981). Jergetaldık kırgızdardın eldik oozeki çıgarmaçılığı. Bişkek: İlim.
- Uahatov B. (1974). Kazaktın halık ölenleri. – Almatı: Gılım.
- Valihanov Ç. Ç. (1961). Sobranie soçineniy. – T. I. – Alma-Ata.
- Yudahin K. K. (1956). Kirgizsko-russkiy slovar`. – Moskva: Sovetskaya entsiklopediya.