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The Verbalization of Toponymic Concepts in Literary Texts

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Abstract This study investigates the verbalization of toponymic concepts through a case study of six English and Kazakh literary works using textual and linguistic analysis. The corpus comprises 120 toponymic units, including 60 English and 60 Kazakh examples selected from authentic literary contexts. Nine verbalization mechanisms are identified: direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet/evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. The findings show that toponyms in the selected works function not only as geographical references but also convey contextual, cultural, historical, and symbolic meanings, performing locative, historical-cultural, characterological/social, and symbolic/evaluative functions. In the selected English texts, toponyms frequently reflect social identity, regional belonging, historical context, and urban culture through contextual expansion and social characterization, whereas in the selected Kazakh texts, they show prominent associations with ethnocultural memory, ancestral territory, landscape, spirituality, and national identity through historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. The study contributes to literary onomastics, cognitive linguistics, and linguoculturology by providing a framework for interpreting toponyms as culturally meaningful elements in literary discourse.

Keywords: *Verbalization, Literary discourse, Linguoculturology, Cognitive linguistics, Toponymy*

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1. Introduction

Toponyms constitute an important component of language because they encode information about geographical space while simultaneously reflecting the historical, cultural, social, and cognitive experience of a particular linguistic community. In literary discourse, geographical names acquire an especially significant role because they do not merely identify the location of events but may function as markers of cultural identity, historical memory, social relations, and symbolic meanings. From cognitive and linguocultural perspectives, a toponym can therefore be viewed as more than an isolated proper name: when embedded in a literary context, it may activate a network of cultural associations and contribute to the conceptualization of

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space, people, events, and collective experience. The verbalization of toponymic concepts involves the linguistic representation of such conceptual content through direct nomination, contextual expansion, repetition, epithets, metaphors, comparisons, personification, historical references, and associations with characters or events. Previous research has demonstrated that place names may operate as significant carriers of cultural and historical information and may participate in the construction of collective identity and cultural memory (Karayeva et al., 2025; Smatova et al., 2025; Tleuberdiev, Karayeva, et al., 2026). This perspective is particularly relevant to literary texts, where geographical names are integrated into narrative structures and may acquire meanings extending beyond their basic locative function.

The examination of English and Kazakh literary traditions provides an opportunity to examine both shared and culture-specific mechanisms of spatial conceptualization. Although toponyms in both linguistic traditions perform referential and locative functions, their contextual meanings may differ according to historical experience, cultural values, landscape perception, social organization, and collective memory. Previous studies have compared Kazakh and English toponyms from cognitive, communicative, semantic, and etymological perspectives. Davletova and Bizhkenova (2025) examined the cognitive and communicative characteristics of English and Kazakh vernacular toponyms, emphasizing their relationship with spatial perception, cultural identity, and historical-cultural experience, while Kurban and Duisembekova (2023) compared the etymological characteristics of English and Kazakh phytotoponyms. Related research has also demonstrated that toponymic concepts can encode culturally specific perceptions of landscape and everyday experience (Smatova et al., 2020). The cross-cultural perspective thus becomes essential for understanding how different linguistic communities embed spatial knowledge and cultural values into their literary toponymic systems.

The study of these processes is also relevant in the context of contemporary linguistic and cultural transformations, including changes in naming practices, transliteration, globalization, language policy, and the representation of national geographical heritage. In particular, changes in the representation of Kazakh geographical names associated with the transition toward Latin-based writing raise questions concerning the preservation and interpretation of culturally significant toponymic heritage. Thus, examining toponyms as linguocultural and conceptual units contributes to a broader understanding of how geographical space is represented and transmitted through language and literary discourse (Karayeva et al., 2025; Smatova et al., 2025).

Despite growing interest in toponymy from onomastic, cognitive, sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, and linguocultural perspectives, an important research gap remains concerning the systematic analysis of how toponymic concepts are verbalized in English and Kazakh literary discourse. Existing studies have provided valuable insights into the historical, cultural, semantic, and ethnolinguistic characteristics of geographical names, including the cultural meanings encoded in place names (Karayeva et al., 2025; Smatova et al., 2025; Tleuberdiev, Shakirova, et al., 2026). However, less attention has been paid to how the immediate textual environment transforms a geographical name from a basic spatial reference into a multidimensional contextual, cultural, historical, evaluative, and symbolic unit. The conceptual meaning of a literary toponym cannot always be established through its lexical or etymological characteristics alone; rather, it may emerge through contextual relations, stylistic devices, narrative positioning, historical references, and culturally embedded associations. A further gap concerns the limited systematic comparison of the mechanisms through which English and Kazakh literary toponyms acquire additional meanings in their respective textual and cultural environments. Research has rarely examined within a unified analytical framework how direct nomination, contextual expansion, evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization contribute to the conceptualization of geographical space across the two literary traditions. Consequently, further investigation is required to determine which mechanisms are shared across the selected English and Kazakh texts and which patterns appear to be associated with particular historical and cultural contexts.

The present study addresses these gaps through a textual, linguistic, and linguocultural analysis of toponyms in selected English and Kazakh literary texts. Rather than treating geographical names exclusively as objects of onomastic classification, the research examines how they participate in the

construction of literary space and how their contextual verbalization generates cultural, historical, evaluative, and symbolic meanings. Particular attention is given to the immediate textual context of each toponym, its geographical referent, its function within the literary passage, its historical and cultural associations, and the linguistic mechanisms through which additional conceptual meanings are constructed.

The aim of this study is to examine the verbalization of toponymic concepts as a case study of six selected English- and Kazakh-language literary works. To achieve this aim, the study pursues four objectives: (1) to identify the major functional types of toponyms represented in the selected English and Kazakh literary texts; (2) to examine their locative, historical-cultural, characterological, evaluative, and symbolic functions; (3) to analyze the contextual and stylistic mechanisms through which toponymic concepts are verbalized; and (4) to compare the contextual, cultural, historical, evaluative, and symbolic meanings associated with toponyms in the selected English and Kazakh corpora. The study proceeds from the assumption that literary toponyms may acquire additional semantic and conceptual meanings when embedded in culturally and historically meaningful contexts and that these meanings can be identified through systematic analysis of their textual environment, narrative function, stylistic representation, and cultural associations. While English and Kazakh toponyms share fundamental locative and referential functions, the selected corpora may reveal different patterns of contextual and cultural conceptualization. Accordingly, any differences identified in the analysis are interpreted as tendencies within the selected literary corpus rather than as general characteristics of English and Kazakh literary traditions as a whole.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Ethnolinguistic, Cognitive, and Cultural Foundations of Toponymic Conceptualization

The theoretical framework of the study is grounded in ethnolinguistic, toponymic, and cognitive approaches, which consider geographical names not only as referential units identifying particular places but also as carriers of cultural knowledge, historical memory, collective identity, and culturally specific ways of conceptualizing geographical space. A toponym has a primary denotative function, referring to a geographical object, but its meaning may extend beyond the geographical referent when it occurs in a particular cultural or literary context (Ainiala et al., 2012; Van Langendonck, 2007). Recent research has further demonstrated that geographical names may function as linguocultural and conceptual structures. For example, Bazarbekov et al. (2024) examine the toponym “Saryarka” as a linguistic and conceptual representation of Kazakh cultural space, demonstrating how a geographical name may activate broader cultural meanings beyond its direct geographical reference. Similarly, Pangereyev et al. (2023) show that epic toponyms can function as carriers of a linguocultural code, linking geographical nomination with cultural knowledge and traditional worldview. Research on the linguistic explication of knowledge in toponyms also indicates that geographical names may encode culturally significant information that becomes accessible through linguocultural interpretation (Rysbergen et al., 2024). These findings support the distinction made in the present study between the geographical referent of a toponym and the broader toponymic concept formed through contextual, cultural, and cognitive associations. Recent research on Kazakh and English toponymy further demonstrates that geographical names are involved in processes of cultural transformation and linguistic change (Karayeva et al., 2025; Smatova et al., 2025; Tleuberdiev, Karayeva, et al., 2026). The historical and structural complexity of geographical naming is also evident in studies of hybrid toponyms, which demonstrate how language contact and interaction between different linguistic traditions can be reflected in the structure of place names (Konyratbayeva et al., 2025). Thus, contemporary research increasingly views toponyms as dynamic linguistic units situated at the intersection of language, culture, history, cognition, and geographical space rather than as isolated geographical labels.

2.2. Verbalization of Toponymic Concepts in Literary Discourse

Within literary discourse, the conceptual meaning of a toponym is constructed through its interaction with the surrounding textual environment. A geographical name may initially perform a direct locative function, but additional meanings can emerge through contextual expansion, repetition, epithet formation, metaphorization, personification, comparison, historical contextualization, characterization,

and symbolization (Ainiala et al., 2012; Van Langendonck, 2007). This process is particularly evident in literary and epic discourse, where geographical names may participate in the representation of cultural memory, historical experience, and collective identity. Pangereyev et al. (2023) demonstrate that epic toponyms may function as carriers of a linguocultural code, while Bazarbekov et al. (2024) show that the interpretation of a culturally significant toponym such as "Saryarka" involves conceptual associations extending beyond its geographical reference. Consequently, the analysis of a literary toponym requires attention not only to the name itself but also to its lexical, stylistic, narrative, historical, and cultural context. From this perspective, verbalization is understood as the linguistic realization of conceptual content through lexical, contextual, stylistic, and pragmatic means. The distinction between toponym recognition and toponym interpretation is therefore particularly important for the present study. Recognition refers to identifying a geographical name and its referent, whereas interpretation involves activating broader historical, cultural, social, and symbolic associations. Such an approach is consistent with research viewing geographical names as repositories of culturally relevant information and conceptual knowledge (Karayeva et al., 2025; Rysbergen et al., 2024; Smatova et al., 2025).

3. Methodology

3.1. Corpus and Sampling

The literary corpus consisted of 120 toponymic units, including 60 examples from English-language literary texts and 60 examples from Kazakh-language literary texts (see Appendix A for the complete list). The corpus was drawn from six literary works, with 20 toponymic units selected from each work. This balanced structure provided 60 English and 60 Kazakh units and reduced excessive dependence on any single author or literary text (Table 1).

The English-language corpus comprised Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* (1861), and E. M. Forster's *A Room with a View* (1908). Twenty toponymic units were selected from each work, producing a total of 60 English-language units. These works were selected because geographical space plays an identifiable narrative role and because they contain place names associated with cities, settlements, regions, travel, social environments, historical contexts, and culturally significant locations.

The Kazakh-language corpus comprised Mukhtar Auezov's *Abai Zholy* (*The Path of Abai*, 1942–1956), Ilyas Yesenberlin's *Koshpendiler* (*The Nomads*, 1969–1973), and Abdizhamil Nurpeisov's *Qan men Ter* (*Blood and Sweat*, 1961–1970). Twenty toponymic units were selected from each work, producing a total of 60 Kazakh-language units. These works were selected because geographical space contributes substantially to their representation of landscape, historical events, settlements, regions, ancestral territory, collective memory, and cultural identity.

Table 1
Composition of the Literary Corpus

Literary work	Representative examples	Urban/ settlement	Regional	Hydronymic	Landscape /local	Total
Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*	London, Meryton, Pemberley	10	4	0	6	20
Dickens, *Great Expectations*	London, Thames, Richmond	14	1	1	4	20
Forster, *A Room with a View*	Florence, Arno, Fiesole	13	3	2	2	20
Auezov, *Abai Zholy*	Zhidebai, Shyngys, Karasu	4	2	3	11	20
Yesenberlin, *Koshpendiler*	Turkistan, Syganak, Seyhun	8	4	3	5	20
Nurpeisov, *Qan men Ter*	Aral, Kazaly, Shalkar	8	4	3	5	20
Total		57	18	12	33	120

Table 1 presents representative examples and the distribution of geographical types across the six works included in the study. The corpus was constructed through purposive sampling and comprised 60 toponymic units from each language, with 20 units selected from each literary work to ensure balanced representation. A toponym was included if it (1) occurred in an authentic published literary text, (2) was identifiable as a geographical name or culturally meaningful location, (3) provided sufficient contextual information for determining its literary function, and (4) performed at least one locative, historical-cultural, characterological, evaluative, or symbolic function. Incidental geographical references lacking sufficient contextual significance were excluded.

This systematic sampling framework, however, also reveals the inherent heterogeneity of the selected texts, which complicates direct cross-linguistic comparison. According to Table 2, the chronological, generic, geographical, and narrative differences limit strict comparability between the two sets of works. Accordingly, the analysis treats them as a case study of six selected literary works, and the observed differences are interpreted in relation to their specific textual and historical contexts rather than as general characteristics of English and Kazakh literary traditions.

Table 2

Contextual Characteristics of the Selected Literary Works

Aspect	English-language works	Kazakh-language works
Publication period	1813–1908	1942–1973
Genre	Novel of manners, Bildungsroman, social/psychological novel	Historical novel, epic/historical narrative, social realist novel
Geographical scope	Primarily England, with Italy represented in Forster	Primarily Kazakhstan and historically connected Central Eurasian regions
Narrative orientation	Social, realist, individual/psychological	Historical, collective, social, national-identity focused

The corpus included urban toponyms, rural and settlement names, hydronyms, oronyms, regional names, country names, historical territories, and culturally significant places. Thus, the selected material represented cities, settlements, regions, countries, rivers, mountains, and other natural features, historical territories, and culturally significant locations in both language corpora. Multiple toponyms from the same literary work were included because individual works contain different geographical names performing different narrative and conceptual functions. Repeated occurrences of the same toponym were counted as separate analytical types only when the immediate textual context activated a substantively different function or conceptual meaning. A different function was identified when the same toponym shifted between the four coding categories used in the study: locative/spatial, historical-cultural, characterological/social, and symbolic/evaluative. For example, a place name used first to identify the geographical setting was coded as locative/spatial, whereas a later occurrence of the same name was treated separately if it evoked historical memory, characterized a social environment, or acquired symbolic or evaluative meaning. Otherwise, repeated references were treated as a single analytical unit.

Comparability between the English and Kazakh corpora was ensured through four principles. First, both corpora contained an equal number of analytical units (n = 60 per language). Second, an equal number of units was selected from each individual literary work (n = 20). Third, both corpora represented a range of comparable geographical categories rather than a single type of geographical name. Fourth, the same inclusion criteria, functional categories, contextual parameters, and verbalization mechanisms were applied to all 120 units. The comparison therefore did not assume direct equivalence between individual English and Kazakh toponyms but examined their literary functions and mechanisms of conceptualization within a common analytical framework. For each selected toponymic unit, the principal researcher recorded the literary source, immediate textual context, geographical referent, geographical category, textual function, historical and cultural associations, and mechanism of verbalization. This standardized analytical procedure ensured that the English and Kazakh materials were examined according to identical criteria.

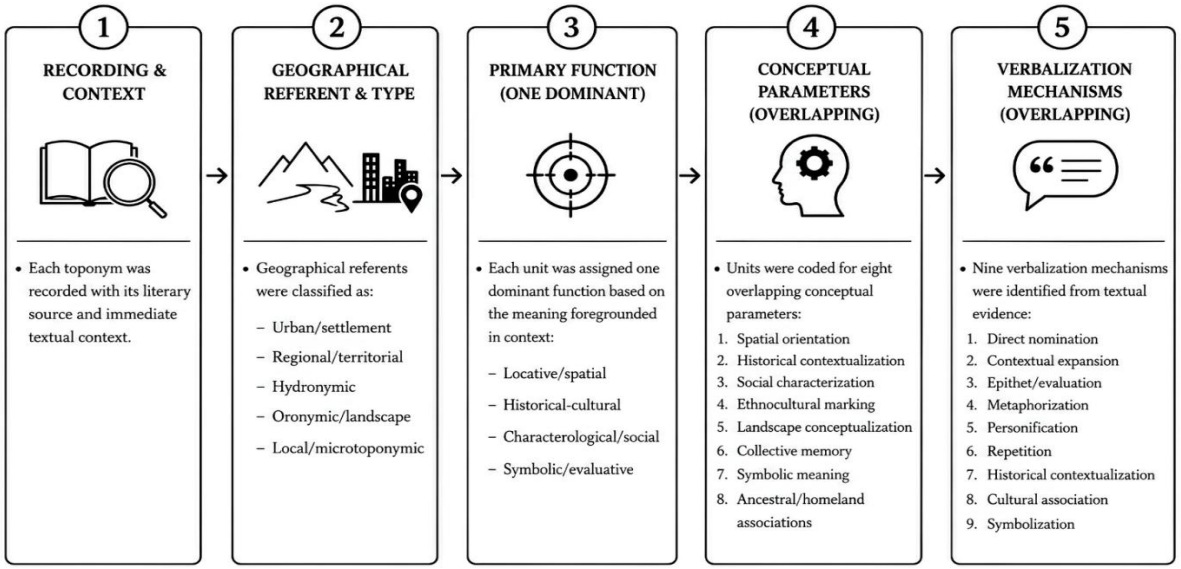
Authoritative geographical and onomastic sources, historical maps, dictionaries, and scholarly publications were used to verify the identity, etymology, historical development, and standardized forms of the selected toponyms. Google Maps and OpenStreetMap were used only to verify contemporary geographical location and spelling and were not treated as sources for cultural or conceptual interpretation. Because the corpus was purposively rather than randomly selected, the findings are interpreted as patterns observed within the six analyzed literary works and are not intended as statistically representative generalizations about English and Kazakh literary discourse as a whole.

The complete corpus was coded by the principal researcher using the operational definitions and coding criteria established for the functional categories and verbalization mechanisms. To ensure intra-coder consistency, all 120 units were coded in two separate rounds, and the results of the second round were systematically compared with the initial classifications. Cases of inconsistency were re-examined with reference to the operational definitions, immediate textual context, and broader literary context before the final coding decision was made. As the coding was conducted by a single researcher, no inter-rater reliability coefficient was calculated; this is acknowledged as a methodological limitation.

3.2. Procedure

For each selected toponym, the qualitative analysis considered five interrelated dimensions: (1) the immediate textual context in which the geographical name occurred; (2) the geographical referent and type of geographical object; (3) the function performed by the toponym within the literary passage; (4) the historical and cultural associations activated by the context; and (5) the mechanism of verbalization through which the toponym acquired additional conceptual meaning. In sum, the analytical framework, which was applied consistently to all 120 units, integrates complementary approaches: functional onomastics (Ainiala et al., 2012; Van Langendonck, 2007), cognitive-conceptual analysis (Bazarbekov et al., 2024; Rysbergen et al., 2024), and verbalization/linguocultural analysis (Pangereyev et al., 2023; Smatova et al., 2025).

Figure 1
The Analytical Framework



As Figure 1 illustrates, the analysis was conducted in five stages. First, each toponym was recorded with its literary source and immediate textual context. Second, geographical referents were classified as urban/settlement, regional/territorial, hydronymic, oronymic/landscape, or local/microtoponymic. Third, each unit was assigned one dominant function: locative/spatial, historical-cultural, characterological/social, or symbolic/evaluative, based on the meaning foregrounded in context. Fourth, units were coded for eight overlapping conceptual parameters: spatial orientation, historical contextualization, social characterization, ethnocultural marking, landscape conceptualization, collective memory, symbolic

meaning, and ancestral/homeland associations. Fifth, nine verbalization mechanisms were identified from textual evidence: direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet/evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. These were coded respectively when the context established geographical reference, expanded contextual meaning, expressed evaluation, transferred meaning across semantic domains, attributed human qualities, emphasized a place through recurrence, activated historical or cultural knowledge, or developed broader symbolic meaning. Multiple conceptual parameters and verbalization mechanisms could be assigned to a single unit when supported by the textual context. The nine verbalization mechanisms were coded as non-mutually exclusive categories. Thus, a single toponymic unit could instantiate more than one mechanism when supported by its immediate textual context. Across the 120 analyzed units, this procedure generated 196 verbalization-mechanism instances (99 in the English texts and 97 in the Kazakh texts).

Finally, descriptive frequencies were calculated for the coded categories. Primary functions were mutually exclusive and therefore summed to 60 units in each language group, whereas conceptual parameters and verbalization mechanisms could overlap. To enhance coding consistency, the analysis was performed by a single principal researcher in two rounds using the same operational definitions and decision rules. During the second round, all 120 units were reconsidered in their original literary contexts, and any inconsistent classifications were re-examined according to the predefined coding criteria. This procedure provided an intra-coder consistency check.

4. Results

The comparative analysis was conducted to identify how toponymic concepts are verbalized in the selected English- and Kazakh-language literary corpora and to examine the extent to which geographical names function not only as spatial markers but also as carriers of contextual, cultural, historical, evaluative, and symbolic meanings. The analysis combined qualitative textual interpretation with descriptive frequency counts. The 120 selected toponymic units were classified according to the operational criteria described in the Methodology. The quantitative findings are used exclusively to describe patterns within the selected corpus and are not intended to represent English or Kazakh literary discourse as a whole.

4.1. Quantitative Results of the Toponymic Analysis

The corpus analysis demonstrated differences in the frequency and functional distribution of toponyms in the selected English and Kazakh materials. In both corpora, toponyms were frequently used to establish the geographical setting of a literary narrative; however, additional functions were also observed. *London* in *Great Expectations* functions as an urban spatial marker but also contributes to the representation of Pip's changing social environment, while Pemberley in *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen, 1813) combines geographical reference with social status and characterization. *Florence* in *A Room with a View* (Forster, 1908) similarly functions not merely as a setting but as a culturally marked space associated with travel, social experience, and personal perception. In the Kazakh-language texts, *Zhidebai* and *Shyngys in Abai Zholy* connect geographical space with landscape and ancestral associations; *Turkistan in Koshpendiler* activates historical and cultural meanings; and *Aral in Qan men Ter* links geographical setting with landscape, collective experience, and symbolic meaning. For the dominant-function analysis, each of the 60 units in each language corpus was assigned one primary function according to the function most explicitly foregrounded in its immediate literary context. This mutually exclusive primary classification was used only for Table 1 so that the frequencies summed to N = 60 in each corpus. The broader qualitative analysis allowed individual toponyms to perform more than one secondary function simultaneously. Thus, a toponym classified primarily as locative could additionally carry historical, evaluative, or symbolic meanings.

In the English corpus (see Table 3), 21 of the 60 units (35.0%) were classified primarily as locative/spatial, 16 (26.7%) as historical-cultural, 13 (21.7%) as characterological, and 10 (16.7%) as symbolic/evaluative. In the Kazakh corpus, 17 of the 60 units (28.3%) were classified primarily as locative/spatial, 15 (25.0%) as historical-cultural, 14 (23.3%) as characterological, and 14 (23.3%) as

symbolic/evaluative. Raw frequencies are reported together with percentages because the relatively small corpus size makes the actual number of cases important for interpretation.

Table 3
Primary Functional Distribution of Toponyms in the Selected English and Kazakh Corpora

Function of toponym	English n (%)	Representative English examples	Kazakh n (%)	Representative Kazakh examples
Locative/spatial	21 (35.0%)	London, Florence, Meryton	17 (28.3%)	Zhidebai, Syganak, Shalkar
Historical-cultural	16 (26.7%)	Fiesole, Richmond, Hunsford	15 (25.0%)	Saraishyk, Taraz, Akmeshit
Characterological/social	13 (21.7%)	Rome, Summer Street, Garden Court	14 (23.3%)	Bukhara, Khiva, Shymbay
Symbolic/evaluative	10 (16.7%)	the Peak, Satis House, Bloomsbury	14 (23.3%)	Karatau, Ertis, Krasnovodsk
Total	60 (100%)	—	60 (100%)	—

Within this selected corpus, the locative/spatial function constituted the largest primary category in both language groups. The Kazakh sample contained a somewhat larger proportion of units whose dominant function was symbolic/evaluative (23.3%) than the English sample (16.7%). Given the purposive sampling procedure and limited corpus size, these differences should be interpreted as descriptive patterns within the analyzed texts rather than evidence of general differences between English and Kazakh literary traditions.

4.2. Verbalization of Toponymic Concepts

The qualitative analysis identified nine mechanisms through which toponymic meanings were constructed in the immediate literary context: direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet/evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. The mechanisms were identified according to the operational criteria and step-by-step coding procedure described in the Methodology.

Table 4
Frequency of Verbalization Mechanisms among the Analyzed Toponyms

Verbalization mechanism	English n (%)	Kazakh n (%)
Direct nomination	25 (41.7%)	20 (33.3%)
Contextual expansion	18 (30.0%)	16 (26.7%)
Epithet/evaluation	12 (20.0%)	9 (15.0%)
Metaphorization	8 (13.3%)	7 (11.7%)
Personification	6 (10.0%)	5 (8.3%)
Repetition	9 (15.0%)	8 (13.3%)
Historical contextualization	8 (13.3%)	12 (20.0%)
Cultural association	6 (10.0%)	11 (18.3%)
Symbolization	7 (11.7%)	9 (15.0%)

The qualitative analysis identified nine mechanisms through which toponymic meanings were constructed in the immediate literary context: direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet/evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. Table 4 summarizes the nine verbalization mechanisms identified in the corpus. A total of 196 instances were coded: 99 in the English texts and 97 in the Kazakh texts. Direct nomination and contextual expansion were more frequent in the English texts, while historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization were more prominent in the Kazakh texts. These differences represent corpus-specific patterns rather than general characteristics of English and Kazakh literary traditions. Because the mechanisms were non-mutually exclusive, a single toponym could instantiate

more than one mechanism; therefore, the frequencies exceed the 120 analyzed toponyms and the percentages do not sum to 100%.

Direct nomination occurs when a geographical name primarily identifies the location of an event and establishes spatial relations within the narrative. In the English corpus, Austen (1813) situates *Pemberley* "within five miles of Lambton" (p. 385), where the two names primarily establish spatial relations and narrative movement. In the Kazakh corpus, Auezov (1942–1956) similarly refers to people moving away from the winter settlements *of Zhidebai and Musakul*, while subsequent references locate movement between *Zhidebai* and other settlements. In this context, the toponyms function primarily as spatial reference points organizing movement through the landscape. Contextual expansion occurs when surrounding descriptions add information to the geographical name and extend its meaning beyond simple spatial identification. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Pemberley is contextualized through descriptions of the estate and its surrounding landscape, including the park and woods, so that the name develops into an elaborated representation of place (Austen, 1813). In *Abai Zholy*, *Shyngys* is similarly embedded in an extended description of high ground, snow, pasture, seasonal movement, and the extensive grazing lands used by the *Tobykty* communities (Auezov, 1942–1956). The contextual environment therefore expands the toponym from geographical reference into a conceptualized landscape.

Epithet/evaluation was coded when a place was explicitly presented through an evaluative description. In Austen's representation of *Pemberley*, the estate and its natural surroundings receive positive aesthetic evaluation, contributing to Elizabeth's changing perception of both the place and Darcy (Austen, 1813). In the Kazakh corpus, the Aral landscape in *Qan men Ter* is positively evaluated through the statement *"Aral suyi asyl goi"* [The water of the Aral is precious], which explicitly associates the geographical space with value and emotional attachment (Nurpeisov, 1961–1970, pp. 85–87). Thus, evaluation transforms geographical reference into an affectively marked representation of place.

Metaphorization occurs when geographical space acquires a figurative meaning beyond its literal spatial reference. In *A Room with a View*, *Florence* is represented as "a magic city" (Forster, 1908, p. 83), transforming the geographical name into a conceptual space associated with extraordinary and transformative experience. In the Kazakh corpus, *Aral* in *Qan men Ter* similarly develops meaning beyond geographical location through its sustained association with the difficult life and collective experience of the fishing community. The sea and its surrounding landscape become conceptual representations of hardship, livelihood, and attachment to place.

Personification occurs when a geographical object is represented as possessing an active or human-like capacity. Forster asks whether Florence possesses "the power ... to evoke passions" (Forster, 1908, p. 83), thereby attributing to the city an active ability to influence human emotion. In the Kazakh corpus, the *Aral* and its surrounding environment in *Qan men Ter* are repeatedly represented as active forces affecting the lives and experiences of the fishing community. Rather than functioning merely as passive scenery, the geographical environment interacts with human action and contributes to the emotional and existential conditions of the characters.

Repetition was identified when recurrent reference to the same geographical name increased its thematic prominence within a passage or narrative sequence. In *Great Expectations*, *London* is repeatedly invoked as Pip enters and moves through his new urban environment; his arrival is explicitly marked by the statement, "We Britons had at that time particularly settled that it was treasonable to doubt our having and our being the best of everything: otherwise, while I was scared by the immensity of London" (Dickens, 1861, p. 56). The recurrent references to London subsequently reinforce its role as a spatial marker of Pip's changing social experience. In *Abai Zholy*, *Zhidebai* is likewise repeatedly mentioned in passages concerning winter settlements and movement across the steppe, including references to *Zhidebai* together with other settlements such as *Musakul* (Auezov, 1942–1956). The recurrence of the name strengthens its textual prominence and its association with communal and territorial experience.

Historical contextualization occurs when a toponym is connected with historical events, political processes, institutions, or collective historical experience. In *Great Expectations*, *Newgate* is explicitly

embedded in the nineteenth-century penal environment when Pip states, "We were at Newgate in a few minutes," after which he describes the "fetters" hanging on the walls and enters "the interior of the jail" (Dickens, 1861, p. 243). The geographical name is therefore contextualized through the contemporary institution of imprisonment and punishment. In *Koshpendiler, Syganak* is similarly situated within a historical-political context when the narrative identifies it as Abulkhair's intended old settlement: "Bul zholy Abilkhaiyrdyn kozdegen eski qonysy, Syganak boldy" [This time, the old settlement sought by Abulkhair was Syganak] (Yesenberlin, 2004, p. 99). Thus, *Syganak* functions not merely as a location but as a historically contested political space.

Cultural association occurs when the context of a toponym activates culturally significant knowledge relating to heritage, social organization, traditional territory, or collective identity. In the English corpus, *Pemberley* is associated with landed heritage and family continuity. Darcy describes its library as "the work of many generations" (Austen, 1813, p. 82), directly connecting Pemberley with inherited family history and landed status. In the Kazakh corpus, *Syganak*, *Turkistan*, and *Deshti Qipshaq* in *Koshpendiler* occur in contexts involving political authority, historical territory, tribal relations, and collective belonging. The representation of *Syganak* as an established political settlement associated with Abulkhair (Yesenberlin, 1969–1973, p. 99) illustrates how geographical nomination activates historical and ethnocultural knowledge associated with the territory.

Finally, symbolization occurs when the significance of a place extends beyond its physical referent and contributes to a broader thematic concept. In *Great Expectations*, *Satis House* provides a clear example. Estella explains the meaning of the name by stating that its owner "could want nothing else" (Dickens, 1861, p. 117). As the narrative develops, the decaying house becomes associated with frustrated expectations, isolation, and Miss Havisham's arrested relationship with time. In the Kazakh corpus, *Aral* in *Qan men Ter* similarly develops significance beyond geographical reference. Its recurrent connection with the sea, fishing, livelihood, hardship, and attachment to the native landscape allows *Aral* to function as a broader representation of collective human experience and attachment to homeland.

The qualitative evidence indicates that several mechanisms may operate simultaneously within the same textual instance. A toponym introduced through direct nomination may subsequently acquire additional meaning through contextual expansion, historical contextualization, cultural association, or symbolization. Consequently, the mechanisms should not be interpreted as mutually exclusive stages but as analytical categories that may overlap according to the literary context. Within the selected English texts, contextual descriptions surrounding geographical names frequently connected places with social environments, regional belonging, historical settings, and institutional spaces. Within the selected Kazakh texts, the analyzed geographical names frequently occurred in passages involving landscape, historical memory, ancestral territory, cultural heritage, and identity. These patterns describe the selected corpus and do not establish inherent or universal properties of English or Kazakh toponyms.

4.3. Comparative Results

The comparative analysis (Table 4) revealed both shared tendencies and corpus-specific patterns in the verbalization of toponymic concepts. A common feature of the selected English and Kazakh materials was the combination of geographical reference with additional contextual meaning. In both corpora, individual place names could simultaneously locate narrative events and contribute historical, cultural, characterological, evaluative, or symbolic information.

Table 5

Comparative Characteristics of Toponymic Conceptualization in the Selected Corpus

Parameter	English n (%)	Representative English toponyms	Kazakh n (%)	Representative Kazakh toponyms
Spatial orientation	21 (35.0%)	London, Florence, Meryton, Richmond	17 (28.3%)	Zhidebai, Syganak, Shalkar, Kazaly
Historical contextualization	16 (26.7%)	Hertfordshire, Fiesole, Richmond, Oxford	15 (25.0%)	Turkistan, Saraishyk, Taraz, Akmeshit
Social characterization	18 (30.0%)	Pemberley, Walworth, Bloomsbury, Meryton	14 (23.3%)	Bukhara, Khiva, Shymbay, Kongyrat

Ethnocultural marking	15 (25.0%)	Pemberley, Derbyshire, Florence, Fiesole	22 (36.7%)	Turkistan, Syganak, Deshti Qipshaq, Bukhara
Landscape conceptualization	12 (20.0%)	the Thames, the Peak, Fiesole, the Weald	24 (40.0%)	Shyngys, Karatau, Aral, Seyhun
Collective memory	14 (23.3%)	Oxford, Derbyshire, Fiesole, Richmond	23 (38.3%)	Turkistan, Saraishyk, Shyngys, Aral
Symbolic meaning	10 (16.7%)	Pemberley, Satis House, Florence, Windy Corner	14 (23.3%)	Aral, Karatau, Turkistan, Shyngys
Ancestral/homeland associations	8 (13.3%)	Pemberley, Derbyshire, Hertfordshire, the Peak	25 (41.7%)	Zhidebai, Shyngys, Turkistan, Deshti Qipshaq

Table 4 represents overlapping analytical dimensions rather than mutually exclusive primary functions. Accordingly, one toponym could be coded under several parameters. For example, *Turkistan* was associated with historical contextualization, ethnocultural marking, collective memory, and symbolic meaning, whereas *Shyngys* was associated with landscape conceptualization, collective memory, symbolic meaning, and ancestral/homeland associations. In the English-language corpus, *Pemberley* contributed to social characterization, ethnocultural marking, symbolic meaning, and ancestral/ homeland associations depending on its contextual use.

The denominator for each percentage remained N = 60 for the relevant language corpus. Within the selected English corpus, social characterization was identified in 18 units (30.0%), while historical contextualization occurred in 16 (26.7%) and ethnocultural marking in 15 (25.0%). Within the selected Kazakh corpus, ancestral or homeland associations were identified in 25 units (41.7%), landscape conceptualization in 24 (40.0%), collective-memory associations in 23 (38.3%), and ethnocultural marking in 22 (36.7%). These frequencies suggest different patterns of contextual emphasis within the selected literary works; however, they should not be generalized to English and Kazakh literary discourse as a whole.

The results indicate that the conceptual content of a literary toponym is frequently constructed through the interaction between geographical reference and its immediate textual environment. Descriptions, evaluative expressions, historical references, narrative positioning, and cultural associations can extend a geographical name beyond its basic referential meaning. The findings support the treatment of literary toponyms as potentially multifunctional linguistic units while remaining limited to the purposively selected corpus analyzed in the present study.

5. Discussion

The findings support the view that literary toponyms function not merely as geographical labels but as linguocultural and conceptual units whose meanings emerge through interaction with textual, historical, and cultural contexts. This interpretation is consistent with approaches emphasizing contextual and encyclopedic knowledge in the meaning of proper names (Ainiala et al., 2012; Van Langendonck, 2007; Wierzbicka, 1997) and with studies showing that geographical names can encode culturally significant knowledge and representations of space (Bazarbekov et al., 2024; Pangereyev et al., 2023; Rysbergen et al., 2024).

Regarding the first research question, the findings demonstrate that toponyms in the selected works perform multiple textual functions. Although spatial orientation was the most frequent primary function, geographical names also contributed historical-cultural, characterological/social, and symbolic/ evaluative meanings. Their function was context-dependent: the same place name could locate an event in one passage while contributing to characterization, historical memory, or symbolic interpretation in another. This multifunctionality confirms that literary place names derive much of their conceptual significance from their interaction with the surrounding narrative context. This finding is consistent with Ainiala et al. (2012), who emphasize that place names operate not only as referential labels but also as socially and culturally meaningful linguistic units. It also supports Van Langendonck's (2007) view that proper names acquire additional associative and pragmatic meanings in discourse. In literary contexts specifically, the present findings extend this perspective by showing that the function of a

toponym is determined not solely by the geographical referent itself but by the narrative environment in which the name occurs.

The second research question concerned the mechanisms through which additional meanings are verbalized. The analysis identified direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet/evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization. These mechanisms frequently interacted rather than operating independently. Direct nomination established the geographical referent, while contextual expansion introduced descriptive, social, historical, or cultural information. Metaphorization and personification enabled more explicit semantic transformation, whereas repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization increased the thematic significance of particular places. These results are consistent with cognitive and linguocultural approaches that regard toponymic meaning as extending beyond simple geographical reference. Bazarbekov et al. (2024) demonstrate that toponyms can develop complex linguistic and conceptual meanings within cultural discourse, while Rysbergen et al. (2024) show that place names can encode different types of culturally structured knowledge. Similarly, Smatova et al. (2025) emphasize the interaction of cognitive and linguocultural dimensions in the interpretation of Kazakh and English toponyms. The interaction between direct geographical reference and contextually generated meaning identified in the present study also corresponds to Wierzbicka's (1997) broader view of linguistic meaning as embedded in culturally structured systems of knowledge. The present findings extend these perspectives to literary discourse by demonstrating the specific textual mechanisms through which geographical names acquire additional conceptual significance.

Regarding the third research question, the findings demonstrate that individual toponyms may activate several conceptual dimensions simultaneously. In the selected English-language works, spatial orientation and social characterization were particularly prominent, connecting geographical space with movement, social environment, regional belonging, and character experience. In the selected Kazakh-language works, landscape conceptualization, ethnocultural marking, collective memory, and ancestral/homeland associations were more prominent. A toponym could therefore perform a primary locative function while simultaneously activating historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory-related, or symbolic meanings. This multidimensionality illustrates how physical geography becomes culturally conceptualized within literary discourse. These results correspond with previous research demonstrating that place names can encode cultural knowledge, historical experience, and collective memory. Pangereyev et al. (2023) show that epic toponyms function as carriers of linguocultural codes, linking geographical names with culturally significant meanings and collective experience. Similarly, Bazarbekov et al. (2024), through their analysis of the toponym *Saryarka*, demonstrate how a geographical name can integrate linguistic, conceptual, and cultural meanings within Kazakh cultural discourse. Rysbergen et al. (2024) further indicate that the content of toponyms can explicate culturally structured knowledge, while Tleuberdiev, Karayeva, et al. (2026) emphasize the historical and linguocultural significance of toponyms in Kazakh heroic epic discourse. The stronger presence of ethnocultural, landscape, memory, and ancestral/homeland parameters in the selected Kazakh texts is therefore consistent with previous research emphasizing the multidimensional relationship between Kazakh toponymy, cultural knowledge, historical experience, and territorial representation. The present findings extend these observations to the selected literary corpus by demonstrating how such cultural dimensions are activated through the immediate narrative context.

The fourth research question concerned similarities and differences between the two sets of works. Both demonstrated a movement from geographical reference toward contextually enriched meaning, but the conceptual emphasis of the mechanisms differed. In the English-language works, contextual expansion and social characterization frequently connected places such as *Pemberley*, *London*, and *Florence* with social environment, mobility, status, and individual experience. In the selected Kazakh-language works, historical contextualization, cultural association, repetition, and symbolization more frequently connected *Zhidebai*, *Shyngys*, *Turkistan*, and *Aral* with landscape, collective memory, ancestral territory, and historical continuity. Thus, the distinction lies not simply in the presence of particular mechanisms but in the conceptual meanings they construct within specific literary contexts. The results in Table 4 further clarify these similarities and differences. The English texts show stronger spatial and social parameters, whereas the Kazakh texts more frequently emphasize ethnocultural, landscape,

memory, symbolic, and ancestral/homeland associations. These findings are consistent with previous studies showing that toponyms encode linguocultural and conceptual meanings beyond geographical reference (Pangereyev et al., 2023; Bazarbekov et al., 2024; Smatova et al., 2025). However, these patterns characterize the present six-work corpus and should not be generalized to English and Kazakh literary traditions as a whole.

From a cognitive perspective, the findings indicate that the additional meanings of literary toponyms are strongly dependent on their immediate textual contexts. The analysis showed that geographical names may combine spatial reference with historical, social, ethnocultural, landscape, memory-related, and symbolic associations. These meanings are activated through contextual descriptions, references to historical experience, characterization, cultural associations, and evaluative elements surrounding the geographical name. Accordingly, the conceptual meaning of a literary toponym should not be regarded as a fixed property inherent in the name itself. Rather, additional meanings emerge through the interaction between the geographical referent and its particular narrative context. In the selected English-language works, this interaction was especially visible in spatial orientation and social characterization, whereas the selected Kazakh-language works showed stronger associations with landscape, collective memory, ethnocultural marking, and ancestral or homeland meanings. These patterns correspond directly to the conceptual parameters identified in the corpus analysis. Toponyms associated with urban environments, regions, and socially significant locations contributed to more specific representations of social and regional space. For example, *London* in *Great Expectations*, *Pemberley* in *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Florence* in *A Room with a View* connect geographical space with social and cultural experience. Similarly, *Zhidebai* in *Abai Zholy*, *Syganak* in *Koshpendiler*, and *Aral* in *Qan men Ter* are associated with landscape, historical memory, and collective experience. These examples show that toponyms acquire meanings beyond geographical reference, consistent with Algeo (2010) and Hanks (2003). These patterns, however, characterize the selected corpus rather than English and Kazakh literary toponymy as a whole.

Overall, the findings suggest that verbalization mechanisms operate as context-sensitive links between geographical reference and literary conceptualization. The same mechanism may construct social meaning in one context and historical or ethnocultural meaning in another. This interaction between textual mechanism and conceptual parameter supports the interpretation of literary toponyms as dynamic units shaped by geographical reference, narrative context, cultural knowledge, and historical experience. What this dynamic view entails, then, is not a passive labeling of space but an active process of conceptual enrichment, whereby a place-name becomes a vehicle for layered meaning through the very verbalization strategies that texts deploy. The verbalization mechanisms identified in the analysis further clarify how this conceptual enrichment takes place. Rather than functioning as isolated categories, direct nomination, contextual expansion, epithet and evaluation, metaphorization, personification, repetition, historical contextualization, cultural association, and symbolization can be understood as complementary textual resources through which geographical reference is elaborated. Their significance lies not in their individual frequencies alone but in their capacity to connect a geographical name with broader conceptual domains. Metaphorical and evaluative representations, for example, may transform physical space into an expression of ideological experience, while historical contextualization and cultural association can connect an individual place with collective memory. This interpretation is consistent with the cognitive understanding of metaphorical meaning and with emphasizing the role of culturally embedded toponyms as condensed carriers of historical and cultural knowledge (Pangereyev et al., 2023; Rysbergen et al., 2024).

Theoretical implication of these findings is the multifunctionality of literary toponyms. The distinction made in the present study between a dominant function used for descriptive quantitative classification and multiple contextual functions identified through qualitative analysis helps reconcile geographical reference with conceptual complexity. A toponym may establish the location of an event while simultaneously contributing to characterization, historical contextualization, cultural association, or symbolization. This supports the broader onomastic position that proper names cannot always be adequately explained solely through denotation (Ainiala et al., 2012; Van Langendonck, 2007). These findings also have implications for literary translation and intercultural communication. The referential transfer of a proper name does not necessarily reproduce all of the contextual meanings associated with

that name in the source literary culture. For example, a culturally significant toponym may be accurately transliterated while some of its historical, symbolic, or ethnocultural associations remain implicit for readers unfamiliar with the relevant cultural context. This issue corresponds to Aixela's (1996) discussion of culture-specific items in translation and indicates that translators may need to consider not only formal correspondence but also the contextual function of geographical names. The same principle is relevant to foreign-language teaching and comparative literary analysis, where attention to the cultural background of toponyms may facilitate a more comprehensive interpretation of literary space.

The study nevertheless has several limitations. The identified patterns should be interpreted within the design of the case study. The English-language works were published between 1813 and 1908, whereas the Kazakh-language works were published between the 1940s and 1970s. Differences in landscape representation, social characterization, collective memory, and ancestral associations may therefore reflect differences in historical period, genre, and authorial perspective as well as linguistic and cultural context. Future research could address this limitation through larger, chronologically and generically matched literary corpora. The qualitative classification also necessarily involves interpretive judgment, although the use of explicit operational definitions and repeated intra-coder analysis was intended to improve coding consistency. Future studies could therefore test the analytical framework on larger and more diverse corpora covering different authors, genres, and historical periods. Comparative research involving additional languages could further determine whether the identified mechanisms represent broader cross-linguistic tendencies or patterns associated with particular literary and cultural contexts. Corpus-linguistic, digital-humanities, and GIS-based approaches may also provide additional evidence concerning the relationship between literary representation, geographical space, and cultural memory (Konyratbayeva et al., 2025; Tleuberdiev, Karayeva, et al., 2026).

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Data Availability

The data analyzed in this study consist of toponymic units extracted from the six literary works described in the Methodology. The complete list of the 120 analyzed toponyms, together with their literary sources, geographical categories, primary functions, and analytical parameters, is provided in Appendix A.

Ethics Declaration

This study involved textual analysis of published literary works and did not involve human participants, personal data, interviews, surveys, or experimental procedures. Therefore, institutional ethics approval and informed consent were not required.

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Appendix A

List of Analyzed Toponyms

No.	Toponym	Literary work	Primary function	Analytical parameters
1	Netherfield Park	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
2	Longbourn	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
3	Meryton	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape, social
4	Lucas Lodge	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
5	London	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial, social
6	Hertfordshire	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial
7	Kent	Pride and Prejudice	Locative/spatial	Spatial
8	Hunsford	Pride and Prejudice	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
9	Rosings Park	Pride and Prejudice	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
10	Brighton	Pride and Prejudice	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral, social
11	Derbyshire	Pride and Prejudice	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
12	Pemberley	Pride and Prejudice	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
13	Lambton	Pride and Prejudice	Characterological/social	Social
14	Matlock	Pride and Prejudice	Characterological/social	Social
15	Chatsworth	Pride and Prejudice	Characterological/social	Social
16	Dovedale	Pride and Prejudice	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
17	the Peak	Pride and Prejudice	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, ancestral
18	Oxford	Pride and Prejudice	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, memory, ancestral
19	Warwick	Pride and Prejudice	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, memory, ancestral
20	Birmingham	Pride and Prejudice	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
21	London	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
22	River Thames	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
23	Barnard's Inn	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
24	Little Britain	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
25	Smithfield	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
26	Newgate Prison	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
27	the Temple	Great Expectations	Locative/spatial	Spatial
28	Walworth	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
29	Hammersmith	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
30	Richmond	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, social
31	Covent Garden	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
32	Soho	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
33	Gerrard Street	Great Expectations	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
34	Mill Pond Bank	Great Expectations	Characterological/social	Social
35	Chink's Basin	Great Expectations	Characterological/social	Social
36	Garden Court	Great Expectations	Characterological/social	Social
37	Cheapside	Great Expectations	Characterological/social	Social
38	New South Wales	Great Expectations	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
39	Rochester	Great Expectations	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
40	Satis House	Great Expectations	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
41	Florence	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial
42	Italy	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial
43	River Arno	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
44	Santa Croce	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial
45	Lung'Arno	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
46	Ponte alle Grazie	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial
47	San Miniato	A Room with a View	Locative/spatial	Spatial
48	Fiesole	A Room with a View	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory
49	Settignano	A Room with a View	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural
50	Prato	A Room with a View	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural
51	Piazza della Signoria	A Room with a View	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural
52	Piazza Annunziata	A Room with a View	Historical-cultural	Historical
53	Rome	A Room with a View	Characterological/social	Social
54	Greece	A Room with a View	Characterological/social	Social
55	London	A Room with a View	Characterological/social	Social
56	Summer Street	A Room with a View	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
57	Windy Corner	A Room with a View	Characterological/social	Social
58	the Weald	A Room with a View	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape
59	Bloomsbury	A Room with a View	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, social
60	Tunbridge Wells	A Room with a View	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
61	Zhidebai	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape, ancestral
62	Shyngys	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, ethnocultural, landscape, ancestral
63	Musakul	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape, ancestral
64	Shuyginsu	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape, ancestral
65	Akbaital	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
66	Koldenen	Abai Zholy	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape

67	Zhigitek	Abai Zholy	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
68	Shatkalang	Abai Zholy	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
69	Bokenshi	Abai Zholy	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
70	Kaskabulak	Abai Zholy	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory, ancestral
71	Taqyrbulak	Abai Zholy	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory, ancestral
72	Ashchysu	Abai Zholy	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
73	Ortabulak	Abai Zholy	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
74	Karasu	Abai Zholy	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
75	Aikuduk	Abai Zholy	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
76	Kolkainar	Abai Zholy	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, memory, ancestral
77	Akkuduk	Abai Zholy	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, memory, ancestral
78	Kyzylkainar	Abai Zholy	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, memory, ancestral
79	Betkuduk	Abai Zholy	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, memory, ancestral
80	Koshbike	Abai Zholy	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
81	Turkistan	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial, ethnocultural, landscape, ancestral
82	Syganak	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial, ethnocultural, ancestral
83	Sozaq	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial
84	Deshti Qipshaq	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial, ethnocultural, ancestral
85	Seyhun	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial
86	Shieli	Koshpendiler	Locative/spatial	Spatial
87	Saraishyk	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
88	Taraz	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
89	Fergana	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
90	Khorezm	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory, ancestral
91	Shu	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory, ancestral
92	Ile	Koshpendiler	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, landscape, memory, ancestral
93	Aksu	Koshpendiler	Characterological/social	Social, landscape
94	Badakhshan	Koshpendiler	Characterological/social	Social
95	Balkh	Koshpendiler	Characterological/social	Social
96	Bukhara	Koshpendiler	Characterological/social	Social, ethnocultural, memory
97	Ertis	Koshpendiler	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, memory
98	Zharkent	Koshpendiler	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, memory
99	Karatau	Koshpendiler	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, ancestral
100	Kashgar	Koshpendiler	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
101	Aral	Qan men Ter	Locative/spatial	Spatial, landscape
102	Tashkent	Qan men Ter	Locative/spatial	Spatial
103	Shalkar	Qan men Ter	Locative/spatial	Spatial
104	Aktobe	Qan men Ter	Locative/spatial	Spatial
105	Kazaly	Qan men Ter	Locative/spatial	Spatial
106	Akmeshit	Qan men Ter	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
107	Zhosaly	Qan men Ter	Historical-cultural	Historical, ethnocultural, memory
108	Kostanay	Qan men Ter	Historical-cultural	Historical, memory
109	Sol-Iletsk	Qan men Ter	Historical-cultural	Historical, landscape, memory
110	Kongyrat	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social
111	Shymbay	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social
112	Urgenish	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social
113	Khiva	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social, ethnocultural
114	Khojeli	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social
115	Bukhara	Qan men Ter	Characterological/social	Social, ethnocultural
116	Krasnovodsk	Qan men Ter	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic
117	Karakalpak region	Qan men Ter	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, ethnocultural
118	Kishikum	Qan men Ter	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape, ancestral
119	Caspian Sea	Qan men Ter	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic, landscape
120	68th Siding	Qan men Ter	Symbolic/evaluative	Symbolic