Modality in Kazakh as spoken in China

Modality in Kazakh as spoken in China

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UPPSALA
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Abstract

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This is a comprehensive study on expressions of modality in one of the largest Turkic languages, Kazakh, as it is spoken in China. Kazakh is the official language of the Republic of Kazakhstan and is furthermore spoken by about one and a half million people in China in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and in Aksai Kazakh Autonomous County in Gansu Province. The method employed is empirical, i.e. data-oriented. The modal expressions in Kazakh are analyzed in a theoretical framework essentially based on the works of Lars Johanson. The framework defines semantic notions of modality from a functional and typological perspective. The modal volition, deontic evaluation, and epistemic evaluation express attitudes towards the propositional content and are conveyed in Kazakh by grammaticalized moods, particles and lexical devices. All these categories are treated in detail, and ample examples of their different usages are provided with interlinear annotation. The Kazakh expressions are compared with corresponding ones used in other Turkic languages. Contact influences of Uyghur and Chinese are also dealt with. The data used in this study include texts recorded by the author in 2010–2012, mostly in the northern regions of Xinjiang, as well as written texts published in Kazakhstan and China. The written texts represent different genres: fiction, non-fiction, poetry and texts published on the Internet. Moreover, examples have been elicited from native speakers of Kazakh and Uyghur.

The Appendix contains nine texts recorded by the author in the Kazakh-speaking regions of Xinjiang, China. These texts illustrate the use of many of the items treated in the study.

Keywords: Turkic languages, Kazakh, modality

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Abbreviations

Table 1.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A.CONV	converb in {-A ² //-y}
A.INTERJEC	interjection <i>a</i>
A.PART	particle <i>a</i>
Ā.PART	particle <i>ā</i>
A.PRES	present tense in {-A ² //-y}
ABIL	ability
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACCORDING TO.POSTP	postposition <i>boyınça</i> ‘according to’
ADV	adverb
AFORESAID.FILL	<i>ālgı</i> / <i>āgi</i> ‘aforesaid’ used as a filler when one cannot find the right word or name
AFTER1.POSTP	postposition <i>keyin</i> ‘after’
AFTER2.POSTP	postposition <i>son</i> ‘after’
AGAINST.POSTP	postposition <i>karşı</i> ‘against, towards, in front of’
AĞ.PART	particle <i>ağ</i>
ALONG.POSTP	postposition <i>boyı</i> ‘along, since’
AOR	aorist {-A ² }r}
AOR.LOC.CONV	converb based on the locative of the aorist
AOR.PTCP	aorist participle
APPROX	approximative
ATIN.PAST.INTRAT	past intra-terminal in {-A ² tł ² n//-ytł ² n}
ATIN.PTCP	participle in {-A ² tł ² n//-ytł ² n}
AW.INTERJEC	interjection <i>aw</i>
AW.PART	particle <i>aw</i>
AY.INTERJEC	interjection <i>ay</i>
ĀY.INTERJEC	interjection <i>āy</i>
AYTPAKŞİ.PART	particle <i>aytpakşı</i>
BEFORE.POSTP	postposition <i>burun</i> ‘before’
BOL.COP	the copula <i>bol-</i> ‘to become, be’
FORMER.FILL	filler <i>bayayı</i> ‘former, bygone, long-ago’; used when one cannot find the right word or name
CAUS	causative
COME OUT.POSTV	<i>çıķ-</i> ‘to come out’ used as a postverb
COME.POSTV	<i>kel-</i> ‘to come’ used as a postverb
COMP	comparative
COMPLETE.POSTV	^w <i>orinda-</i> ‘to complete’ used as a postverb

CONJ	conjunction
CONV	converb
COP	copula
CREATE.LIGHTV	<i>jas-</i> ‘to create’ used as a light verb
DA.PART	particle in D^2A^2
DÄ.PART	particle <i>dä</i> in Uyghur
DAT	dative
DATĪ.PART	particle in $D^2ayī$
DE.PART	particle <i>de</i>
DEMEK.PART	particle <i>demek</i>
DEP.PART	particle <i>dep</i>
DER	derivational suffix
DEŞI.PART	particle <i>deşī</i>
DESEDŞI.PART	particle <i>deseñşī</i>
DESEDİZŞI.PART	particle <i>deseñizşī</i>
DIK.VN	verbal noun in $\{-D^2I^2K^2\}$
DIM	diminutive
DIR	copula $\{-D^2I^4r\}$ in Turkish
DO.LIGHTV	<i>et-</i> ‘to do’ used as a light verb
DU.COP	the copula <i>-du</i> in Uyghur
E.COP	the copula <i>e-</i> ‘to be’
E.COP.INDIR	indirective copula <i>’eken</i>
E.INTERJEC	interjection <i>’e</i>
EMESPE.PART	particle in <i>’emespe</i>
EQUA	equative
FILL	filler, i.e. a semantically empty word that marks a pause or hesitation in speech
FOR.POSTP	postposition <i>üšün</i> ‘for’
GALL.CONV	converb in $\{-G^4A^2L^2I^2\}$
GAN.LOC.CONV	converb based on the locative of the participle in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$
GAN.POSTT	post-terminal past in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$
GAN.PTCP	participle in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$
GANDIK.VN	verbal noun in $\{-G^2A^2ndI^2K^2\}$
GANDIKNAN.CONV	converb based on verbal noun in $\{-G^2A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and ablative
GANŞA.CONV	converb in $\{-G^4A^2nŞA^2\}$
GEN	genitive
GI	adjectival derivational suffix $\{-G^2I^2\}$
GI.NESS	necessitative in $\{-G^2I^2\}$
GIR.IMPR	imprecative mood in $\{-G^4I^2r\}$
GIVE.POSTV	<i>ber-</i> ‘to give’ used as a postverb
GO.POSTV	<i>bar-</i> ‘to go’ used as a postverb
GU.NESS	necessitative in $\{-GU^2\}$ in Uyghur
GULUK.NESS	necessitative in $\{-G^4U^2IU^2K\}$ in Uyghur
FOY.PART	particle I^2oy
HYP	hypothetical / conditional mood $\{-sA^2\}$
I.COP	the defective copula <i>i-</i> ‘to be’ in Turkish and Uyghur
IMP	imperative mood
INDIR	indirective
INF	infinitive
INTERJEC	interjection
INTRAT	intraterminal viewpoint
IP.CONV	converb in $\{-(I^4)p\}$

IP.POSTT	post-terminal past in $\{-(I^4)p\}$
ĴÄ.PART	<i>ĵä</i> / <i>žä</i> particle
KNOW.POSTV	<i>bil-</i> ‘to know’ used as a postverb
KO.PART	particle <i>ko</i> in Karaim
LEAVE.POSTV	<i>ket-</i> ‘to leave’ used as a postverb
LIE.POSTV	<i>ĵat-</i> ‘to lie’ used as a postverb
LIGHTV	light verb
LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL	<i>ägindey</i> ‘like aforesaid’ used as a filler when one cannot find the right expression
LOC	locative
LOOK.POSTV	<i>bak-</i> ‘to look’ used as a postverb in Uyghur
Q.PART	interrogative particle $\{-M^3A^2\}$
MAK.PTCP	participle in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$
MAK.VN	verbal noun in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$
MAKĈI	intentional in $\{-mA^2K^2\dot{c}i\}$ in Uyghur
MAKE.LIGHTV	<i>ķil-</i> ‘to make’ used as a light verb
MAKŠI	intentional in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$
MAKŠI.PTCP	participle in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$
MİŠTIR.PAST	past tense in $\{-mI^4\dot{s}tI^4r\}$ in Turkish
MOVE.POSTV	<i>ĵür-</i> ‘to move’ used as a postverb
NEG	negation
NESS	necessitative
NIKI	$\{-N^3\dot{ı}k\dot{ı}\}$
NOW.FILL	<i>ʸendi</i> ‘now’ used as a filler
OPT	optative mood
ORD	ordinal number
OY.INTERJEC	interjection ^w <i>oy</i>
OYBAY.INTERJEC	interjection ^w <i>oybay</i>
ÖZL.PART	particle ^w <i>özı</i>
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
PLACE.POSTV	<i>sal-</i> ‘to place’ used as a postverb
PLUPERF	pluperfect in $\{-mI^4\dot{s}tI^4\}$ in Turkish
POSS	possessive
POSTP	postposition
POSTT	post-terminal viewpoint
POSTV	postverb
PRES	present tense
PTCP	participle
PUT.POSTV	<i>ķoy-</i> ‘to put’ used as a postverb
Q	interrogative
RED	reduplication
REF	reflexive stop
REF.PASS	reflexive/passive in $\{-(I^2)n\}$ after a preceding <i>ı</i>
RETURN.POSTV	<i>ķayt-</i> ‘to return’ used as a postverb
SEE.POSTV	<i>ķör-</i> ‘to see’ used as a postverb
SEND.POSTV	<i>ĵiber-</i> ‘to send’ used as a postverb
RHET.PART	rhetorical particle <i>ʸeken</i>
SG	singular
ŠI.PART	particle <i>šI</i> ²

SIT.POSTV	^w <i>otir</i> - ‘to sit’ used as a postverb
STAND.POSTV	<i>tur</i> - ‘to stand’ used as a postverb
STAY.POSTV	<i>kal</i> - ‘to stay’ used as a postverb
SUPER	superlative
TAKE.POSTV	<i>al</i> - ‘to take’ used as a postverb
THAT.FILL	<i>so</i> / <i>sol</i> / <i>ana</i> ‘that’ used as a filler
THIS.FILL	<i>mına</i> ‘this’ used as a filler
THROW.POSTV	<i>tasta</i> - ‘to throw’ used as a postverb
TOWARD.POSTP	postposition <i>karay</i> ‘toward, towards’
TUR.COP	copula <i>tur</i> ‘to be’
TURMAK.CONJ	conjunction <i>turmak</i> ‘not to mention’
UNTIL.POSTP	postposition <i>deyin</i> ‘until’
UW.VN	verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U ² w}
UWDA.INTRAT	intraterminal in {-wdA ² // -(Ø)U ² wdA ² }
UWŠI.PTCP	participle in {-wšI ² // -(Ø)U ² wšI ² }
VN	verbal noun
VOL	voluntative mood
WHAT.FILL	<i>nemene</i> ‘what’ used as a filler
WITH.POSTP	postposition <i>M³en</i> / <i>M³enen</i> ‘with’
YÄ.INTERJEC	interjection ⁱ <i>yä</i>
YÄ.PART	particle ⁱ <i>yä</i>

Transcriptions and notations

Transcriptions

The following table presents the transcription system used in this study to render the Turkic (mostly Kazakh) data. This system is based on the one employed by Johanson (Johanson & Csató eds 2006²: 18–19) and later modifications by the same author.

Table 2.

<i>Transcription</i>	<i>IPA</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Arabic</i>
a	[a]	low back unrounded vowel	А а	ا
á	[ɛ]	lower-mid front unrounded vowel	Ә ә	ءا
ə	[ə]	mid-central unrounded vowel	Ы ы	ى
b	[b]	bilabial weak stop	Б б	ب
č	[tʃ]	palatal strong affricate	Ч ч	چ
d	[d]	prepalatal weak stop	Д д	د
e	[e]	upper-mid front unrounded vowel	Е е	ه
f	[f]	labial strong fricative	Ф ф	ف
g	[g]	postpalatal weak stop	Г г	گ
h	[h]	glottal voiceless fricative	Һ һ	ه
ı	[ɪ]	near high front unrounded lax vowel	І і	ءى
i	[i]	high front unrounded vowel	И и	ي
ĩ	[ɯ]	high back unrounded vowel	Ы ы	ى
ǰ	[dʒ]	palatal weak affricate	Ж ж	ج
k	[k]	postpalatal strong stop	К к	ك
ķ	[q]	velar strong stop	Қ қ	ق
l	[l]	voiced lateral approximant	Л л	ل
ł	[ɭ]	voiced lateral velarized approximant	Л л	ل
m	[m]	bilabial nasal	М м	م
n	[n]	prepalatal nasal	Н н	ن
ŋ	[ŋ]	postvelar nasal	Ң ң	ڭ
o	[o]	upper-mid back rounded vowel	О о	و
ö	[ø]	upper-mid front rounded vowel	Ө ө	عو
p	[p]	bilabial strong stop	П п	پ
r	[r]	prepalatal trill	Р р	ر
s	[s]	prepalatal strong fricative	С с	س

š	[ʃ]	postalveolar, strong fricative	Ш ш	ش
t	[t]	prepalatal strong stop	Т т	ت
u	[u]	high back rounded vowel	У у	و
ü	[y]	high front rounded vowel	Y y	ءو
ù	[ʊ]	high near-front rounded vowel	Уу	ؤ
v	[v]	labial weak fricative	В в	ف
w	[w]	bilabial glide	Уу	ف
x	[x]	postvelar strong fricative	Х х	ح
y	[j]	palatal glide	Й й	ي
z	[z]	prepalatal weak fricative	З з	ز
ž	[ʒ]	palatal weak fricative	Ж ж	ج
γ	[ɣ]	velar weak fricative	Ғ ғ	ع

A raised character indicates an extra-short or evanescent segment. This can be a vowel, as in *bⁱr* ‘one’, or a consonant, as in *’el* ‘country’.

Other signs

Brackets of the type {} are used for glosses.

Hyphens are used to indicate morpheme boundaries.

A dash is placed to the right of verbal stems.

A dash is placed to the left of bound elements.

The sign < means ‘has developed from’, and > means ‘has developed into’.

Simple arrows are used for morphological derivation. Thus ← means ‘is derived from’.

Curly brackets of the type {} are used for morphophonemic transcriptions.

A bracketed initial vowel sign indicates a consonant that occurs after stem-final vowels and is absent after stem-final consonants.

A bracketed initial zero sign (Ø) indicates that the final vowel of the stem is dropped when the marker is added.

Ø is the sign used for a zero element.

Double slashes // can be used to indicate postconsonantal and postvocalic alternants in one formula.

Language-specific morphemes are given in italics.

The asterisk * sign is used for an unacceptable form.

In the examples, an X indicates a pronoun that can be rendered as ‘he/she/it’ or ‘that’ or ‘it/him/her/them’ in the English translation.

Syllables bearing high pitch, i.e. accented syllables, are underlined.

Morphophonemic notations

The following abbreviations are used in notations of morphophonemic suffix alternations:

{A ² }	=	a, e (Uyghur a, ä)
{A ² //-y}	=	a, e, y
{A ³ }	=	a, e, ö
{D ² }	=	d, t
{G ⁴ }	=	g, γ, k, ḳ
{I ² }	=	i, i̇
{I ³ }	=	u, ü, i (Uyghur)
{I ⁴ }	=	i̇, i̇, u, ü
{I ⁴ }	=	i, i̇, u, ü (Turkish)
{K ² }	=	k, ḳ
{L ² }	=	l, ḷ
{L ⁴ }	=	l, ḷ, d, t
{M ³ }	=	m, b, p
{N ³ }	=	n, d, t
{U ² }	=	u, ü
{U ⁴ }	=	u, ü, i, i̇ (Kirghiz)
{Γ ² }	=	γ, ḳ

Examples

Examples are presented in interlinear form consisting of the source text, a morphological annotation, and a free translation. For the morphological annotation see *Abbreviations*. The language is not specified when the example illustrates Kazakh as spoken or written in China. In other cases the language is specified. The source of the examples is not specified when the data is elicited from native speakers. In other cases, the source is given after the translation.

Examples taken from the recorded texts are numbered in accordance with the text in *Appendix*; thus T1 is Text 1 in *Appendix*. The number of the sentence in the text is given after a slash; thus T1/ 1 means Sentence 1 in Text 1 in *Appendix*. All Kazakh examples are given in a Turcological transcription; see *Transcriptions* above. Uyghur examples are given in standard Turcological transliteration. Examples taken from other languages than Kazakh are given in the standard orthography. Chinese examples are given in Pinyin script indicating the tone.

Introduction

Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate expressions of modality in Kazakh as spoken in China. Since Turkic modal categories are generally less studied than other grammatical issues, a comprehensive study of them seems well justified. No systematic comparison with the Kazakh varieties spoken in Kazakhstan will be made. The delimitation of the topic to Kazakh as spoken in China is motivated by the fact that the author is in a position to use linguistic data collected in the Kazakh-speaking regions of China. It is not assumed here that the Kazakh spoken in these regions today should be regarded as a specific dialect. However, the documentation to be presented illustrates that certain special innovative developments have taken place and can be explained by the sociolinguistic status of the speakers, many of whom are bi- or trilingual and are influenced by the two dominating contact languages, Chinese and Uyghur. It is hoped that the linguistic data presented here can serve as basis of comparison in forthcoming studies on the development of Kazakh as spoken in China.

Another specific aim of this work is to present some previous studies on Kazakh in China that have been published in Chinese or in Kazakh written in Arabic script, and which are not easily accessible for English-speaking readers. Due to the necessary delimitation of the scope of this investigation, less reference will be made to the important studies published in the former Soviet Union and Kazakhstan.

Problems and methods

The method employed here is empirical, i.e. data-oriented. The modal expressions in Kazakh are analyzed in a functional framework essentially based on the works of Lars Johanson. This author has developed an integrated model for describing modal expressions in Turkic languages; see, for instance Johanson 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, and forthcoming. The framework defines semantic notions of modality in a functional and typological perspective. This approach has been applied in the present work by asking what devices Kazakh applies in order to express various semantic notions and structuring the presentation of these according to formal categories such as grammaticalized suffixes, particles, and lexical devices. The contribution

of the present investigation is to apply this theoretical framework and methodological approach to an in-depth analysis of the Kazakh data.

Data

The data used in this study include texts recorded by the author in 2010–2012, mostly in the northern regions of Xinjiang (see Appendix), as well as written Kazakh texts published in Kazakhstan and China. The written texts represent different genres: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, and texts published on the internet. Moreover, examples have been elicited from native speakers of Kazakh and Uyghur.

The Kazakh language in China

According to the most recent annual statistics published in *Xinjiang Year-book* (XJYB 2011), based on the census of 2009, the Kazakh population in the People's Republic of China amounted to 1,514,800, making it the second largest Kazakh population in the world.

Kazakhs in China mainly inhabit Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (*Ile qazaq aptonomiyalı^w obilisi*), Mori Kazakh Autonomous County (*Mori qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*) and Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County (*Barköl qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*) (XJYB 2011: 352). The Kazakh language is spoken in the following areas of Xinjiang:

- The Ili, Altay, and Tarbagatay regions, all of which belong to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture.
- Ürümqi City, the Daban City region (in Ürümqi County), and the Tongsan region belonging to Ürümqi City.
- Mori Kazakh Autonomous County and the counties Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, and Hutubi, which belong to the Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture (*Sanji xuyzu aptonomiyalı^w obilisi*).
- Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County of the Hami region (*Qumil aymayiniñ Barköl qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*).
- Arasan and Jinghe Counties, which belong to the Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture (*Buratala munyul aptonomiyalı^w obilisi*), as well as Bortala City.

Outside of Xinjiang in China, Kazakh is spoken in Aksai Kazakh Autonomous County (*Aksay qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*) in Gansu Province and in some parts of Qinghai Province as well.

Kazakh is one of the significant minority languages in China,¹ playing an especially important role in the areas where Kazakhs dominate. In the different regions of Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, Kazakh serves as a lingua franca (Chinese *tōngyòng yǔyán*); i.e. it is used as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different, e.g. Uyghur, Chinese, and Xibe. Kazakh is a language of communication among Kazakhs in the other Kazakh autonomous counties. In Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture the organs of the Communist Party and the government use both Kazakh and Chinese as official languages. However, the official documents issued by the authorities to the township level administrations are mostly written in Kazakh. The Congress of the Party in this prefecture employs a translation agency for Kazakh. Public signs including names of places, streets, etc., and official stamps, are both in Kazakh and Chinese. Kazakh is also used in the courts when they deal with a case concerning a Kazakh person (Li 2007: 1673–1674).

Kazakh is a language of education, is an object of research, and it has its own print and broadcast media in China.²

Education in Kazakh

Before and after 1935

Before 1935, there were no public schools in the Kazakh-speaking regions. Education outside the family was provided by Islamic religious institutions. The first Islamic school was established in Xinjiang in 1870, according to Ruoyu Fang (2009: 228). Kazakh boys went to the mosque to study religion and to learn Persian, Arabic, and Chaghatay, the written Turkic literary language of Central Asia.

After 1935, the religious institutions changed their function and became public schools. Especially after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region implemented the Communist Party's ethnic policy and introduced education in the minority languages (XJUAR 2009: 432; see also Zhou 2003: 36–59). According to the statistical data provided in XJUAR (2009: 433–434), in 2004 there were 971 secondary and high schools and 3329 elementary schools, at which education was conducted in the six major minority languages: Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongol, Kirghiz, Xibe, and Russian. At 787 schools, including elementary, secondary, and high schools, education was bilingual (XJUAR 2009: 433–434). In 1991, there were 588 Kazakh elementary schools, with 138,973 students, 89 secondary schools, with 31,880 students, and 42 high schools, with 16,067 students, in total in Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture.

¹ For more information about the status of Kazakh see Abish & Csató (2011: 276).

² For more information on the history and culture of the Kazakhs in China see Benson & Svanberg 1988, 1998, and Light 1993.

Bilingual instruction

In 1964, several experimental classes (Chinese *shíyàn bān*) were started at some secondary schools in Xinjiang (Xiaohua Fang 2009: 59). In these classes, all subjects were taught in Chinese, except for Kazakh literature. From 1966 to 1976, due to the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, Kazakh schools were closed. Minority education in Xinjiang began to be restored and developed after 1976. At Kazakh schools, Chinese language acquisition started first from the third grade, later from the first grade in elementary schools. Until the end of 2004, at Kazakh elementary, secondary, and high schools the main subjects were taught in Kazakh. The teaching materials were translated from Chinese. In 2005, bilingual or alternatively monolingual Chinese instruction for Kazakh children started from the first grade (Abish & Csátó 2011: 277). Bilingual education was expanded to 100% of the preschools in the year 2011 throughout Xinjiang.

Education at the universities

Courses at Chinese universities are taught mainly in Chinese. Thus Kazakh students who are educated in Kazakh schools, must take one or two years of preparatory courses (Chinese *yùkē*) after enrollment at a university outside Xinjiang. The aim of these courses is to improve the students' competence in Chinese before they start to study their major subject. Certain subjects are given in Uyghur at the universities in Xinjiang.

Code-copying varieties of Kazakh

As a result of the bilingual and Chinese-monolingual education of Kazakh children, a high-copying variety of the language has developed among the young Kazakh generations.³ Although this is a natural process, it meets with many negative attitudes among the Kazakh people; see also Csátó (1998) for similar negative attitudes in the Karaim community.⁴ These attitudes and the high-copying variety spoken in Ürümqi have been studied in a paper by Abish & Csátó (2011). The following conclusions were drawn:

Languages do not die of copying, as Johanson (2002a) has pointed out, but they might change significantly as a result of it. More important in language maintenance is the attitude towards language use. As in urban multicultural settings Kazakh is used in a restricted domain, the speakers can develop less favorable attitudes to the use of this language. This can in the future lead to more and more speakers shifting to the dominant languages. Sociolinguistic studies of language attitudes can shed more light on this issue. The documentation of the language use as it is today is an important and urgent task. Kazakh is not an endangered language at present (Bradley 2005), but increasing bilingualism will surely lead to many contact-induced changes. Moreover, as

³ This variety of the language is illustrated in Text 9 of *Appendix*.

⁴ This is illustrated by Text 5 in *Appendix*.

the conditions for the development of Kazakh varieties are different in the various regions in Xinjiang, increasing divergence may be observed in the future. (p. 289)

Research on Kazakh in China

Academic research on Kazakh is carried out at several institutions in China: Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences (Kazakh *Şinʃañ qoyamdıq yilimdar akademiyası*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng shèhuì kēxuéyuàn*), Minzu University of China (Kazakh *Ortaliq ulttar universiteti*, Chinese *Zhōngyāng mínzú dàxué*), Xinjiang University (Kazakh *Şinʃañ universiteti*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng dàxué*), The Working Committee of Minorities' Language and Writing of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Kazakh *Şinʃañ tıl jazuw komiteti*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng wéiwú'ěr zìzhìqū mínzú yǔyán wénzì gōngzuò wěiyuánhùi*), The Working Committee of Minorities' Language and Writing of Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (Kazakh *Ile tıl jazuw komiteti*, Chinese *Yīlí hāsàkè zìzhìzhōu mínzú yǔyán wénzì gōngzuò wěiyuánhùi*), and Ili Normal University (Kazakh *Ile pedagogika şöywani*, Chinese *Yīlí shīfàn xuéyuàn*). We here provide some information about these institutions.

Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, Ürümqi

Research on Kazakh is carried out at the Institute of Languages of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences. The Institute of Languages was founded in 1978. Since then, the institute has published numerous linguistic and historical books, and a variety of dictionaries in Chinese, Uyghur, and Kazakh. The journal *Xinjiang Social Science* (Kazakh *Şinʃañ qoyamdıq yilimi*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng shèhuì kēxué*) is published quarterly by the Academy, which also organizes national and regional academic conferences and symposiums. Scholars from Kazakhstan regularly visit the Academy.

Minzu University of China, Beijing

The Department of Kazakh Language and Literature at Minzu University of China is a relatively young department. The study of Kazakh was introduced there by Professor Geng Shimin and some other scholars in 1953. In 1971, a Section of Kazakh Language and Literature was established.⁵ The section was headed by Professor Geng Shimin (1971–1989), Professor Li Zengxiang (1989–1995), and Professor Erkin Awgali (1995–2004). In April 15, 2004,

⁵ From 1994 to 1996, it was called Department of Turkic Languages and Literatures (Kazakh *Türk tektes ulttar tıl-adebiyeti fakulteti*, Chinese *Tūjué yǔyán wénxué xì*). From 1996 to 2000 its name was Department of Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz Languages and Cultures (Kazakh *Uyghur-qazaq-kirgiz tıl-mädeniyeti fakulteti*, Chinese *Wéi hā kē yǔyán wénhuà xì*). From 2000 to 2001, the name was changed to Department of Turkic Languages and Cultures (Kazakh *Türk tektes ulttar tıl-mädeniyeti fakulteti*, Chinese *Tūjué yǔyán wénhuà xì*). From 2001 to 2004, it was renamed Department of Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz Languages and Literatures (Kazakh *Uyghur-qazaq-kirgiz tıl-adebiyeti fakulteti*, Chinese *Wéi hā kē yǔyán wénxué xì*) (DEKLL 2013).

the Section of Kazakh Language and Literature was made into a separate department. From the beginning the head of the new department has been Professor Zhang Dingjing.

Over the past 60 years, 47 faculty members have worked in the fields of Kazakh language and literature at Minzu University of China. At present there are 11 faculty members with 189 undergraduates, 20 MA students and nine PhD students enrolled at the department. Moreover, the department has held workshops and international conferences, and published five volumes containing the proceedings of these academic meetings. Since 2006, the department has had close cooperation with academic institutions and universities in Kazakhstan, and with other foreign universities, for instance Uppsala University.

The Working Committees of Minorities' Language and Writing

The Working Committee of Minorities' Language and Writing of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was founded in 1960. This committee is responsible for the standardization of the minority languages of Xinjiang including Kazakh. The committee is also responsible for creating new Kazakh words. The Working Committee of Minorities' Language and Writing in Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture was established earlier, already in 1950. The main task of this committee is to coordinate the language use between Uyghur and Kazakh in the prefecture.

Publications in Kazakh

There are three publishing houses which publish Kazakh books, CDs, and DVDs in China: The Ethnic Publishing House (Kazakh *Uttar baspası*, Chinese *Mínzú chūbǎn shè*) in Beijing, Xinjiang People's Publishing House (Kazakh *Šinj'añ xalıq baspası*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng rénmin chūbǎn shè*) in Ürümqi, and Ili People's Publishing House (Kazakh *İle xalıq baspası*, Chinese *Yīlí rénmin chūbǎn shè*) in Kuytun.

According to statistics from 2010, Xinjiang has 12 publishing houses, including 10 book publishers, and two audio and video publishing houses. In Xinjiang 1153 persons work in the publishing sector, including 726 professional and technical workers. They publish 127 newspapers, including 52 in ethnic languages, and 207 journals, of which 113 are in ethnic languages (XJYB 2011: 335). 11 Kazakh newspapers are regularly published. The best known of these are: "Xinjiang Daily" (Kazakh *Šinj'añ gāzeti*, Chinese *Xīnjiāng rìbào*), "Altay Daily" (Kazakh *Altay gāzeti*, Chinese *Ālètài rìbào*), "Tacheng News" (Kazakh *Tarbayatay gāzeti*, Chinese *Tǎchéng rìbào*). The number of Kazakh journals is 27. The best known are: "Ili River" (Kazakh *İle "özenj*, Chinese *Yīlí hé*), "Tarbagatay" (Kazakh *Tarbayatay*, Chinese *Tǎchéng*), "Heritage" (Kazakh *Mura*, Chinese *Yíchǎn*), "Altay Spring Sce-

nery” (Kazakh *Altay ayası*, Chinese *Ālètài chūnguāng*), “Dawn” (Kazakh *Šuγula*, Chinese *Shǔguāng*).

The academic journals published in Kazakh include:

Tıl jāne awdarma ‘Language and Translation’⁶ (Chinese *Yǔyán yǔ fānyì*)⁷
Šinj’añ qoγamdıķ yilimi ‘Xinjiang Social Science’ (Chinese *Xīnjiāng shèhuì kēxué*)
Šinj’añ qoγamdıķ yilimdar mınbesi ‘Tribune of Social Sciences in Xinjiang’ (Chinese *xīnjiāng shèkē lùntán*)
Šinj’añ universiteti yilimi jurnalı: filosofiya-qoγamdıķ yilimdar ‘Journal of Xinjiang University. Philosophy, Humanities & Social Science’ (Chinese *Xīnjiāng dàxué xuébào: shèhuì kēxué*)
Ile pedagogika šuıweyüwānı yilimi jurnalı ‘Journal of Ili Normal University’ (Chinese *Yīlǐ shīfàn xuéyuàn xuébào*)

Articles about the language, history, and culture of Kazakh written in Chinese appear in some Chinese academic journals, for instance:

Yīlǐ shīfàn xuéyuàn xuébào ‘Journal of Xinjiang Normal University’
Zhōngyāng mínzú dàxué xuébào: Zhéxué shèhuì kēxué bǎn ‘Journal of The Central University of Nationalities.’⁸ Humane and Social Sciences Edition’
Shìjiè mínzú ‘World Ethno-National Studies’
Xīběi mínzú yánjiū ‘N.W. Journal of Ethnology’
Zhōngguó mínzú jiàoyù ‘Minority education’
Xīběi mínzú dàxué xuébào ‘Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities’
Mínzú yǔwén ‘Minority Languages of China’

Scholarly publications about Kazakh written in Chinese are published by different Chinese publishers. The most important of these are *Zhōngyāng mínzú dàxué chūbǎn shè* ‘Chinese Minzu University Press’, and *Mínzú chūbǎn shè* ‘The Ethnic Publishing House’.

Broadcasting in Kazakh as spoken in China

Television

The Xinjiang television station was founded in October 1970, in Ürümqi. Broadcasting in Kazakh was established in 1993 as a shared-time program together with the Chinese and Uyghur languages. At present, there are fifteen TV channels at the station, of which three TV channels (XJTV3 XJTV8 and XJTV12) broadcast in Kazakh. These cover the entire territory of Xin-

⁶ The English translations of the journals’ names are the ones printed on the journals.

⁷ This is a high-quality periodical published in Xinjiang. It is sponsored by The Working Committee of Minority Language and Writing of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and the Xinjiang Translators’ Association and is published in five ethnic languages, namely Chinese, Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongol, and Kirghiz.

⁸ This is the former name of Minzu University of China.

jiang. XJTV3 and XJTV8 transmit programs in Kazakh for about 16 hours a day. The children's TV channel, XJTV12, however, is a shared-time channel with Chinese and Uyghur. It transmits programs four hours a day. As a satellite channel, XJTV3 is also sent to some parts of Beijing and Gansu, where there are Kazakh communities, as well as to Kazakhstan. Apart from these, there is a Kazakh channel in the TV broadcasting service for local Kazakhs in Ili, Altay, and Tarbagatay. Every larger county with Kazakh inhabitants has its own shared-time TV channel, mostly broadcasting local, domestic, and international news in Kazakh for about two hours a day.

Radio

In Beijing, the radio programming in Kazakh at China national radio is allocated seven hours a day. In Ürümqi, at Xinjiang people's broadcasting, there are about 18 hours of programming a day except for Tuesdays and Thursdays. In Ili, the Ili Kazakh general broadcasting service sends programs for about 16 hours a day.

Previous studies on Kazakh as spoken in China

Several grammars and dictionaries written in both Kazakh and Chinese have been published in China. The most well-known grammars in Kazakh are:

- Қазіргі қазақ тілі* ['Modern Kazakh language'] 1983. Language and writing committee in Xinjiang (eds) Beijing: The Ethnic Publishing House
Қазіргі қазақ тілі ['Modern Kazakh language'] 1985. Department of languages of Xinjiang University (eds). Ürümqi: Xinjiang Education Press
Қазіргі қазақ тілі ['Modern Kazakh language'] 1994. Beijing: The Ethnic Publishing House
 Asıl, ʷÖmirkan 1996. *Қазіргі қазақ тілі* ['Modern Kazakh language']. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Teenagers Press
 Geng, Shimin & Kāken, Māken & ʷOrınbay, Ĵumatay 1999. *Қазіргі қазақ тілі* ['Modern Kazakh language']. Beijing: The Ethnic Publishing House
 Ramet, Mellat & Ābılyazı, Āfımseyit (eds) 2002. *Қазіргі қазақ тілі* ['Modern Kazakh language'] 2002. Ürümqi: Xinjiang People's Publishing House

Professors at Minzu University of China have published grammars written in Chinese:

- Geng, Shimin & Li, Zengxiang 1985. *Hāsàkè yǔ jiǎn zhì* ['A brief introduction to Kazakh']. Beijing: Chinese Minzu University Press
 Geng, Shimin 1989. *Xiàndài hāsàkè yǔ yǔfǎ* ['Modern Kazakh grammar']. Beijing: Chinese Minzu University Press
 Zhang, Dingjing 2004. *Xiàndài hāsàkè yǔ shìyòng yǔfǎ* ['A practical grammar of Modern Kazakh']. Beijing: Chinese Minzu University Press

As the writing systems employed for writing Kazakh in Kazakhstan and China are different, some dictionaries edited in Kazakhstan have been repub-

lished in China in the Arabic script. For instance, the monolingual Kazakh dictionary *Қазақ тілінің түсіндірме сөздігі, 1–10 том* [‘Comprehensive Kazakh dictionary, 1–10’] (Chinese *Hāsàkèyǔ xiàngjiě cídiǎn*) published in Xinjiang People’s Publishing House in 1992 is a republication in Arabic script of *Қазақ тілінің түсіндірме сөздігі 1–10 том* [‘The comprehensive Kazakh dictionary 1–10’] published in Almaty during 1974–1986.

Bilingual dictionaries published in China include:⁹

- Қазақша–қаңзуша сөздік* [‘Kazakh–Chinese dictionary’] (Chinese *Hā hàn cídiǎn*) 1977. Xinjiang People’s Publishing House
- Hàn hā cídiǎn* [‘Chinese–Kazakh dictionary’] (Kazakh *Қанзуша–қазақша сөздік*) 1979. Xinjiang People’s Publishing House
- Hàn hā chéngyǔ cídiǎn* [‘Chinese–Kazakh proverbs’] (Kazakh *Қанзуша–қазақша мақал–мәтелдер сөздігі*) 1979. The Ethnic Publishing House
- Дарысша–қазақша–қаңзуша сөздік* [‘Daghur–Kazakh–Chinese dictionary’] (Chinese *Dáwò’ěr hāsàkè hànyǔ cídiǎn*) 1982. Xinjiang People’s Publishing House
- Hàn hā yǔyán xué míngcí shùiyǔ duìzhào xiǎo cídiǎn* [‘Chinese–Kazakh linguistic terminology dictionary’] (‘Қанзуша–қазақша тіл білім атаулары салыстырмалы сөздігі’) 1985. Xinjiang People’s Publishing House
- Қазақша–қаңзуша сөздік* [‘Kazakh–Chinese dictionary’] (Chinese *Hā hàn cídiǎn*) 1989. The Ethnic Publishing House
- ^w*Орысша–қазақша–қанзуша кісқаша сөздік* [‘Russian–Kazakh–Chinese dictionary’] (Chinese *Ē hā hàn jiǎnmíng cídiǎn*) 1995. The Ethnic Publishing House
- Қазақша–қаңзуша сөздік* [‘Kazakh–Chinese dictionary’] (Chinese *Hā hàn cídiǎn*) 2005. The Ethnic Publishing House

Doctoral theses about Kazakh in China

Up to the present time three doctoral theses on Kazakh have been defended in China. All of them are written in Chinese. Two have already been published:

- Huang, Zhongxiang 2005. *Hāsàkè yǔ cǐhuì yǔ wénhuà* [‘Kazakh vocabulary and culture’]. [A Library of Doctoral Dissertations in Social Science in China]. Beijing: Chinese Social and Science Press.
- Zhang, Dingjing 2003. *Xiàndài hāsàkè yǔ xūcí* [‘Function words in Modern Kazakh’]. Beijing: The Ethnic Publishing House.

Two other dissertations have recently been defended:

- Wei, Wei *Xiàndài Hāsàkè yǔ biǎodá yǔqì yìyì de jù diào shíyàn yánjiū* [‘An experimental study on intonations in modal sentences in Modern Kazakh’]

⁹ See for a list of dictionaries Yang (1999).

2013. (Under the supervision of Zhang, Dingjing at Minzu University of China).¹⁰
- Biduła, Patima *Gǔdài tūjué yǔcí zài hāsàkè yǔ zhòng de yǎnbiàn* [‘A diachronic study of the changes of some Old Turkic lexical items in Modern Kazakh’] 2013. (Under the supervision of Erkin Awgali at Minzu University of China).

¹⁰ This dissertation has not been accessible to us since it has not been published yet.

Modality

The terms mood and modality have been applied in linguistics in many different ways; for a detailed account of the history of these terms see van der Auwera & Zamorano Aguilar (forthcoming). In the present study, we will not discuss the history of these terms or their various definitions in current linguistic descriptions. The framework applied here is essentially based on several publications by Johanson (2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, forthcoming) and personal communication with him.

The conceptual domain of modality as defined here includes the expression of attitudes towards the proposition. Notions of volition, deontic evaluation, and epistemic evaluation are conveyed by modality markers.

Some of the types of grammaticalized modal notions dealt with in Johanson's studies are volition, deontic necessity and epistemic possibility. In the article *Modals in Turkic* (2009), the first two types of modal notions are briefly presented in the following way:

Volition:

‘it is desirable that’, etc., suggesting that the action in question be carried out. The notions include demands, requests, directives, commands, impositions, entreaties, admonitions, warnings, exhortations, proposals, recommendations, advice, encouragement, incitement, etc. They also include desiderative, precative, permissive, promissive, intentional senses of wish, hope, desire and willingness. The volitional content may be realizable or unrealizable. (Johanson 2009: 489)

Necessity:

‘it is necessary that’. The conditions motivating the necessity for the subject referent to carry out the action may be physical or social. The markers may be used to express directives that impose or propose that the action be carried out, to compel, incite or encourage to action. Expressions of necessity can develop into a sense of desire or intention. They normally also express deontic obligation in terms of moral, legal or social norms. The obligation may be strong, compulsive, in the sense of must, have to, need to, or weaker, obligatory or advisory, in the sense of should, ought to. (Johanson 2009: 491)

The third modal notion, epistemic possibility, covers various types of assessments of the propositional content and can reflect a commitment to the

truth of the proposition, i.e. to its certainty, probability, possibility, etc. The source of the evaluation can be the addresser's personal opinion or some other source.

Types of modality markers

Modal notions can be conveyed by different devices. In this study, we distinguish between moods, modal particles, and lexical expressions of modality.

Moods are highly grammaticalized inflectional forms of verbs. Turkic languages possess well-developed systems of distinctive grammatical moods that occur in main clauses, are expressed by verbal inflections and cover a wide range of notions within the conceptual domain of modality. The languages exhibit indicative, imperative, voluntative, optative, hypothetical, necessitative, potential, confirmative, presumptive, counterfactual, and other moods.

The indicative, which is morphologically unmarked, is the realis mood. It conveys factuality and is used for neutral, straightforward assertion. It indicates that the utterance is intended as a statement of fact, i.e. that something is actually the case; see Example 1.

Example 1

<i>Aygül kel-e</i>	<i>ĵatır.</i>
Aygül come-A.CONV	LIE.POSTV.AOR3
'Aygül is coming.'	

The other moods are irrealis moods indicating that a state of affairs is not actually the case, not factual, but rather imagined or hypothetical. They express wishes, desires, requirements, necessity, possibility, fear, counterfactual reasoning, etc. The conceptual and functional boundaries between them are not always clearly distinguished. The usages of different moods may even overlap in one and the same language. A mood is not always used for one single semantic domain, but can express several kinds of modal notions, for example both volitional and deontic notions (Johanson forthcoming). As far as Kazakh moods are concerned, see the chapter *Moods*.

Modal particles are grammaticalized free morphemes expressing modal notions. Kazakh has a rich inventory of modal particles; see the chapter *Modal particles*.

Slightly grammaticalized lexical expressions conveying modal notions will be studied in the chapter *Lexical expressions*.

An important distinction is made between synthetic and analytic devices. In Turkic, the synthetic devices are bound inflectional markers, suffixes.

Most of these are attested in similar forms at the oldest known stage of the development of Turkic documented in the East Old Turkic inscriptions. These old markers already represent advanced stages of their respective grammaticalization processes. The expressions of volition and necessity are all of unknown origin, i.e. they cannot be traced back to independent lexical elements. Whatever the lexical sources may have been, they have already undergone the changes typical of grammaticalization: extension of occurrence, desemanticization, decategorialization and material erosion. There is no indication that these devices have been copied from other languages. (Johanson 2009: 488)

Turkic languages also employ analytic devices:

various analytic (periphrastic) devices for expressing volition, necessity and possibility: nominal or verbal predicates with nonfinite forms as complements. The synthetically expressed moods are, as mentioned, semantically vague, e.g. open to various interpretations. The analytic devices can be used to convey more specific information. The analytic constructions basically express ‘objective’ modalities, but they have also played an essential role in the renewal of the ‘subjective’ modalities expressing volition, necessity and possibility. Language contacts have played an essential role for this renewal. It is impossible to claim that all these analytic devices have emerged under foreign influence, but their use has undoubtedly been corroborated or expanded by foreign models. (Johanson 2009: 495)

The Kazakh mood categories imperative, voluntative, optative and hypothetical are synthetic devices. Another synthetic inflectional form, the aorist, can convey modal meanings; see the chapter *Mood* and Aibixi (2012: 39–42). The synthetic possibility/impossibility forms based on {-A²//-y} + *al-* or + *bil-* and {-A²//-y} + *al-ma-* or + *bil-me-* are not modal forms according to the definition applied in this study because they convey inherent properties and not attitudes. See more about this distinction below.

Analytical devices employed in Kazakh are based on lexical verbs, e.g. *qala-* ‘to want, to wish’, nominal items, e.g. *qajet*, *kerek*, *tiyis* ‘needed, necessary’ or *řart* ‘essential’, adverbs, particles, etc. Analytical forms will be dealt with in connection with the synthetic forms and in the chapters *Modal particles* and *Lexical expressions*; see also Aibixi (2012: 42–44).

Subjective modality

A distinction can be made between subjective and objective modality. According to Johanson (2009: 489), subjective modality expresses the addresser’s cognitive or affective attitude toward the event described in the proposition, which represents a possible fact. It can signal meanings of subjective reasoning, personal involvement, emotions, and personal judgments. The evaluation is restricted to the addresser’s personal opinion, and the addresser takes personal responsibility for it.

One kind of subjective modal meaning is concerned with volition, the addresser's wish with respect to the realization of the propositional content. It indicates desire, need, hope, fear, purpose, command, demand, request, intention, encouragement, incitement, permission, appeal, warning, advice, recommendation, promise, etc. In Example 2, the hypothetical mood in combination with the particle *deymîn* 'lit. I say' expresses the addresser's subjective will.

Example 2

Kezdes-se-m deymîn.
meet-HYP-1SG DEYMIN.PART
'I would like to meet.'

Lexical expressions such as *alla kâlasa* 'God willing' may also be used to express the addresser's wish; see Example 3.

Example 3

Alla kâla-sa, tayî kezîg-er-mîz.
Allah will-HYP3 again meet-AOR-1PL
'If Allah wills, we might meet again.'

A second kind of subjective modal meanings is concerned with deontic modality, i.e. possibility and necessity in terms of freedom and duty to act, e.g. 'X may do' (permission), 'X should do' (advice), 'X must do' (compulsion).

Example 4

ʻErteŋ-gî jîyîn-ya keşîk-pe-w-îm kerek.
tomorrow-GI meeting-DAT late-NEG-UW.VN-POSS1SG necessary
'I should not be late for tomorrow's meeting.'

A third kind of subjective modal meaning is concerned with epistemic evaluation, based on the addresser's own assessment of the propositional content as being more or less certain or likely. Epistemic modality indicates certainty, confirmation, reliability, probability, likelihood, potentiality, presumption, uncertainty, doubt, counterfactuality, etc. It may mark the addresser's level of commitment to the truth of an utterance, e.g. it 'might be the case' (low probability), 'may be the case' (possibility), 'should be the case' (high probability), 'must be the case' (very high probability). The source of this evaluation is a personal opinion that the event is certain, probable, possible, unlikely, etc. Examples: 'I believe', 'I know', 'I think', etc. Lexical expressions such as *in my opinion* or *in my experience* may be used (mostly in the initial position of a clause). In Example 5, the Kazakh adverb *mençe* 'as for me' conveys the subjective evaluation of the addresser.

Example 5

Men-če, kel-e-dî.
I-DER come -A.PRES-3
'As for me, X comes. / As for me, X will come.'

Objective modality

Modality is not exclusively addresser-oriented. Modal expressions can express desirability, necessity, potentiality, etc., in a more general sense of 'what should / may / would be', e.g. 'it is desirable, wanted, requested, conceivable, necessary, probable, possible, acceptable, permissible that'. Objective modality distinctions present evaluations of the believability, obligatoriness or desirability of a propositional content as independent of the addresser's own stance. The evaluation may be made according to the standards of a higher will, laws, traditions, social conventions, etc. Voluntatives and optatives may be less dependent on the addresser's own will, necessitatives less dependent on the addresser's own assessment and hypothetical expressions less dependent on the addresser's own imagination, etc. In Example 6, the voluntative expresses the meaning 'it is desirable'.

Example 6

Mektep-ke keşik-pe-y kel-eyîk.
school-DAT be late-NEG-A.CONV COME.POSTV-VOL1PL
'It is desirable that we not come late to work'.

Objective deontic modal devices are used to evaluate events with respect to moral, legal or social norms, e.g. whether they are obligatory, necessary, acceptable, allowable, permissible, or unacceptable, prohibited, forbidden, etc. In Example 7, *kaĵet* renders an objective deontic meaning.

Example 7

Gül çöp-ter-dî ayala-uw kaĵet.
flower grass-PL-ACC protect-UW.VN necessity
'One must protect the flowers and the plants.'

Objective epistemic modalities evaluate the likelihood of an event occurring in terms of knowledge of events in general, e.g. whether they are certain, probable, possible, conceivable, improbable, doubtful, impossible, etc. The lexical item *kerek* 'necessary' can convey an objective epistemic meaning in Example 8.

Example 8

Poyez kel-üw kerek (sayat keste-sın-e neğızdel-gende).
 train come-UW.VN necessary (timetable-POSS3-DAT base on-GAN.LOC.CONV)
 ‘The train must/should come now (according to the timetable).’

Subjective modality can be combined with objective modality, in which case subjective modality (‘according to my knowledge’) takes the objective modality (‘is forbidden’) within its scope.¹¹

Example 9

Bıl-üw-im-de, bul jer-de temekı čeg-üw-ge
 know-UW.VN-POSS1SG-LOC this place-LOC tobacco smoke-UW.VN-DAT
tiyim sal-ın-a-dı.
 interdiction put-REF.PASS-A.PRES-3
 ‘As I understand it, it is forbidden to smoke here.’

Illocutionary modality

Illocutionary modality concerns the addresser’s comment on his or her own utterance. The illocutionary value of a sentence can be specified or modified by lexical means, “illocutionary satellites” (Dik 1989: 49) or “style disjuncts” (Greenbaum 1969: 92, Schreiber 1972: 321, Quirk et al. 1985: 615). In sentences such as *Frankly, he is good* and *In brief, he is good*, the satellites *frankly* and *in brief* are not manner adverbials that modify the event expressed in the predication. The sentences can be paraphrased as *I am speaking frankly when I say that ...*, *If I may sum up, I would say that ...*, etc. (Greenbaum 1969: 82).

In Example 10, the addresser comments on the proposition ‘I do not want to go’ by adding the expression *aşıyın aytsam* ‘frankly speaking, to tell the truth’. In Example 11, the expression *eskerte keteyin* ‘let me warn (you)’ functions as an illocutionary operator.

¹¹ In the grammar MKL, the chapter dealing with modality is called *modal sözder* [‘modal words’]. In this chapter, the modal words are described both from semantic and grammatical perspectives. A distinction is made between subjective and objective modal meanings. This distinction does not correspond to the one employed by us in this study. The authors of this grammar regard the moods and the aorist marker to be synthetic devices to express objective modal meanings, whereas the subjective modal meanings are claimed by them to be expressed by specific lexical items and some *kömekşî sözder* [‘functional words’]. The functional words are those we call particles in this study. Evidentiality is also described in this grammar as a modal category expressed by the indirective copula *eken* and the verbal inflectional suffix {-(l²)ptl²}.

Example 10

Ašiy-i-n *ayt-sa-m,* *bar-γi-m*
clear-POSS3-ACC tell-HYP-1SG go-GI-POSS1SG
kel-me-y *tur.*
come-NEG-A.CONV STAND.POSTV3
‘Frankly speaking, I do not want to go.’

Example 11

^y*Eskert-e* *ket-eyin,* *kün* *sözsüz* *jaw-a-dī.*
warn-A.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-VOL1SG weather definitely fall-A.PRES-3
‘I warn you, it will definitely rain.’

Personal and impersonal constructions

Moods are often, particularly in older Turkic languages, open to different interpretations with respect to the subject of the construction, when it is not explicitly identified as a specific referent. A remnant of this vagueness is found in modern Turkish, where the third-person necessitative-debitive marker {-mAll} shows both personal and impersonal uses, e.g. *Gel-meli* (come-NESS) ‘X ought to come’ or ‘It is necessary to come’, ‘One ought to come’. Identity of the addresser and the subject referent is possible in the first person, e.g. Turkish *Gid-eyim* ‘I want to go’ = ‘I want myself to go’. A similar ambiguity may occur with respect to agents and patients. The East Old Turkic necessitative marker {-GU} is an example of this since it can refer to both agents and patients, e.g. *ber-gü* (give-NESS) ‘someone who shall give’ or ‘something that shall be given, something to give’ (Johanson: forthcoming).

Non-modal notions: Inherent properties

Inherent distinctions, which define “the relations between a participant in a state of affairs and the realization of that state of affairs” (Hengeveld 1987: 56, cf. also Hengeveld 1988: 233), are not modal distinctions expressing any attitude towards the predication and will therefore not be treated here as genuinely modal expressions. They are based on actional phrases that belong to the internal structure of the predications, and express inherent properties of participants. If they express an attitude, it is the attitude of the addresser as a participant. Diachronically, they tend to develop into grammatical modal expressions. In this study, we will briefly deal with some types of inherent properties of participants, for example ability and intention, in the chapter *Non-modal expressions*. In Examples 12 and 13, the ability to swim and the intention to swim are inherent properties and thus are not covered by our definition of modality.

Example 12

Malta-y *ał-a-mîn.*
swim-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
'I can swim.'

Example 13

Malta-maḵši-mîn.
swim-MAKŠI-COP1SG
'I intend to swim.'

Moods

Moods are synthetic devices consisting of bound inflectional suffixes and expressing different basic modal notions. Most markers used in modern Turkic languages

... represent advanced stages of their respective grammaticalization processes. The expressions of volition and necessity are all of unknown origin, i.e. they cannot be traced back to independent lexical elements. Whatever the lexical sources may have been, they have already undergone the changes typical of grammaticalization: extension of occurrence, desemanticization, decategorialization and material erosion. There is no indication that these devices have been copied from other languages. (Johanson 2009: 488)¹²

Turkic languages have grammaticalized modal categories in different ways. For instance, necessitative mood may be expressed by grammaticalized mood markers in some of them. Thus, the Turkish necessitative mood is expressed by {-mAll}, e.g. *Gel-meli(dir)* ‘X must/ought to come’. It may also be used in an epistemic sense, expressing presumption, e.g. *Zengin ol-malı* ‘rich be-NESS.3SG’ ‘X must be rich’. In Kazakh, however, necessity is expressed in an analytic way, i.e. by lexical items (see *Lexical expressions*).

Turkic languages possess different moods to express volition, primarily the imperative, voluntative, optative and hypothetical moods. The moods can be combined with other elements such as particles and lexical items to express different types of volition. The most important of these combinations will be presented in what follows. We will also include the non-productive imprecative forms and some modal usages of the aorist. Not all mood categories have complete paradigms for all persons. In the last part of the presentation of volitional expressions, some periphrastic constructions will be described.

Volition is expressed by voluntative, optative and hypothetical markers, meaning ‘it is desirable that’, etc., suggesting that the action in question be carried out. The notions include demands, requests, directives, commands, impositions, entreaties, admonitions, warnings, exhortations, proposals, recommendations, advice, encouragement, incitement, etc. They also include desiderative, precative, permissive, promissive, intentional senses of wish,

¹² See also Csátó (2012b) on the sustainability of bound morphology in Karaim.

hope, desire and willingness. The volitional content may be realizable or unrealizable.

The devices used are not imperatives in the sense of direct commands to second persons. They do not define relations between participants and the realization of the action. They are thus not agent-oriented, i.e. objective moods that denote the will of the subject referent, but rather subjective moods. This does not, however, mean that they are necessarily speaker-oriented in the sense of expressing the speaker's own will. The desirability may also be conceived of as impersonal, representing a general or higher will. (Johanson 2009: 489)

In some traditional Turkic grammars, the paradigms are merged into a so-called 'imperative' paradigm that includes the imperative and the third-person voluntative, or into a so-called 'optative' paradigm that also includes the first-person voluntative. Kazakh grammars (Geng et al. 1999: 234, KG 2002: 513, Zhang 2004: 412, Mamanov 2007: 101, MKL 2010: 468) describe the 'imperative' as a complete paradigm including voluntative. There are, however, considerable formal and functional differences between the volitional moods (Johanson in print).

Moods expressing volition are subtle categories, subject to strong vacillation. It is impossible to establish original, sharply defined spheres of use from which the various usages can be derived. All attempts to find 'fundamental' notions attached to the moods have failed (Johanson 2009: 489–491).

Imperative mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

As in many other languages, the singular form of the imperative in Kazakh is homonymous with the bare verbal stem, e.g. *Bar!* ⟨go.IMP⟩ 'Go!', *Kel!* ⟨come.IMP⟩ 'Come!' The polite form of the imperative, used to address one person, is built with the suffix $\{-(I^2)\eta I^2z\}$, e.g. *Bar-ıñız!* ⟨go-IMP⟩ 'Go!', *Kel-ıñız!* ⟨come-IMP⟩ 'Come!'

The plural of the imperative is formed with the suffix $\{-(I^2)\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Bar-ıñ-dar!* ⟨go-IMP-PL⟩ 'Go!', *Kel-ıñ-der!* ⟨come-IMP-PL⟩ 'Come!' The polite form of the imperative in the plural is formed with the suffix $\{-(I^2)\eta I^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Bar-ıñız-dar!* ⟨go-IMP-PL⟩ 'Go!', *Kel-ıñız-der!* ⟨come-IMP-PL⟩ 'Come!'

Corresponding forms are already found in East Old Turkic as represented by Old Uyghur and Karakhanid. Here the pronominal plural marker $\{-Iz\}$ and the nominal plural marker $\{-lAr\}$ combine pleonastically in forms such as $\{-(I)\eta-Iz-lAr\}$. In Old Uyghur, the plural of the imperative in $\{-(I)\eta\}$ can be used for polite address to a person of higher rank ("auch für die höfliche

Einzahl” [‘also for the polite singular’] von Gabain 1941: 110–111), whereas the plural form in $\{-(I)\eta-lAr\}$ is not used as a polite form. In Karakhanid and Chaghatay, however, $\{-(I)\eta-lAr\}$ and $\{-(I)\eta Iz-lAr\}$ form honorific imperatives for sets of individuals.

In Kazakh, both the singular form of the imperative, i.e. the bare verbal stem, e.g. *Kel!* ‘Come!’, and the plural form in $\{-(I)\eta dAr\}$, e.g. *Kel-iŋ-der!*, are used with addressees who are closely related to the addresser, who are younger, or who have a lower position. Note, however, that the suffixless form may be used when praying to God. Although $\{-(I)\eta Iz\}$ is formally a plural suffix (Kirchner 2006a: 326), it is only used in Kazakh for addressing a single individual in a polite way, e.g. *Kel-iŋiz!* Forms in $\{-(I)\eta Iz-dAr\}$ are used to give an order to several persons in a polite way, e.g. *Kel-iŋiz-der!* $\{-(I)\eta Iz\}$ and $\{-(I)\eta Iz-dAr\}$ may be used to address persons who are older, in a higher position or strangers.

As for the possible development of the Kazakh system, it can be assumed that the plural in $\{-(I)\eta\}$ was first used as the polite form for addressing one person, with $\{-Iz\}$ being added to address a set of individuals. This extended form $\{-(I)\eta-Iz\}$ later came to be used for polite address to a single individual, e.g. *Kel-iŋ-iz!* ‘Come!’. Subsequently the simple $\{-(I)\eta\}$ form lost its old function. Double-marked plurals such as $\{-(I)\eta-dAr\}$, formed by adding $\{-lAr\}$, were introduced to signal polite address to a set of individuals.

In Modern Uyghur, polite imperatives are formed with $\{-(I)\eta\}$ for a single addressee and $\{-(I)\eta-lAr\}$ for a set of addressees, e.g. *Kir-iŋ!*, *Kir-iŋ-lar!* ‘Please enter!’ A respectful form used for a single individual and a set of individuals is $\{-silA^2\}$, e.g. *Käl-si-lä!* ‘Come!’ (cf. De Jong 2007: 113, Hahn 2006: 393, Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 611,)

In Old Uyghur, Karakhanid, Chaghatay, Uyghur, Uzbek, Old Ottoman, etc., alternative forms of the singular imperative are formed with the suffix $\{-GII\}$ or $\{-GIn\}$, e.g. Old Uyghur *Aya-γil!* ‘Venerate!’ Uyghur *Bar-yin!* ⟨go-IMP⟩ ‘Go!’ (cf. Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 610), Uzbek *Oқи-gin!* ⟨read-IMP⟩ ‘Read!’, *Čik-kin!* ⟨come out-IMP⟩ ‘Come out!’, Karaim *Išan-γin T'en'ri-g'ä!* ⟨believe-IMP God-DAT⟩ ‘Believe in God!’ (Csató 2012a: 123–124). They express reinforcement, urgency, insistence, etc., and are probably based on the imperatives of *kil-* and *kün-* ‘to do’, derivable from a root **kī-* ‘to do’. They were thus originally imperative verbs themselves rather than particles added to imperatives (Johanson forthcoming).

The corresponding Kazakh form, $\{-G^2I^2n\}$, is today only used in poetic styles. It can, however, be observed in the southern dialect spoken in the Ili region, perhaps under the influence of Uyghur. In oral texts, the old form $\{-G^2I^2l\}$ may be observed (Geng 1989: 137).

Negative

Negative forms of the imperative are based on the verbal stem and the suffix of negation $\{-M^3A^2\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma!* ⟨go-NEG.IMP⟩ ‘Do not go!’ The polite

form of the negated singular imperative is built with the suffix $\{-M^3A^2-\eta l^2z\}$, e.g. *Kör-me-ηiz!* <watch-NEG-IMP> ‘Do not watch!’

The negated plural forms are built with the suffix $\{-M^3A^2-\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ĵaz-ba-η-dar!* <write-NEG-IMP-PL> ‘Do not write!’ The polite forms are based on $\{-M^3A^2-\eta l^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ket-pe-ηiz-der!* <leave-NEG-IMP-PL> ‘Do not leave!’

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

The imperative is a volitional mood expressing the addresser’s wish for a future state of affairs. It gives direct, straightforward commands: requesting, wishing, instructing, inciting, urging, appealing, warning, cursing, advising, directing, or permitting. In all Turkic languages, it differs from the other volitional moods in its semantic, syntactic, and morphological properties and does not form genuine paradigms together with them (Johanson in print).

In imperative sentences, the wishing person is the addresser, which is not necessarily the case in sentences based on other volitional moods. The essential feature of imperatives is that they only refer to second persons. The addresser turns directly to one or more addressees with a request to perform or not to perform a given action. Imperatives can also be used as apostrophes, exclamatory passages in a speech addressing absent persons. The first actant of an imperative sentence is thus the addressee, who is expected to be in control of the desired state of affairs.

Null subjects are normal in imperative sentences. Explicit subjects are unusual, but possible, e.g. *Sen kel!* <you come-IMP> ‘You come!’, or in the polite form *Siz kel-ηiz!* <you come-IMP> ‘You come!’. The pronoun used for plural subjects is rendered by *Sen-der kel-η-der!* <you-PL come-IMP-PL> ‘You come!’ or by the polite form *Siz-der kel-ηiz-der!* <you-PL come-IMP-PL> ‘You come!’

It may sometimes be difficult to distinguish imperative subjects from vocatives, which are not morphologically marked in Turkic. They are, however, typically separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break, which is not the case with imperative subjects.

Sentences based on imperatives are thus direct appeals to those expected to make the future state of affairs true. This is not the case with other volitional moods, e.g. *Ĵasa-sin!* <live-VOL3> ‘May X live!’. Imperative sentences function as appeal function, i.e. are directly oriented toward the addressee, e.g. *Aynur, kel!* <Aynur come-IMP> ‘Aynur, come!’

Like sentences based on other volitional moods, imperative sentences cannot be tested for their truth value in the way that sentences such as *Kel-di* ‘X came’. It is not possible to answer the question whether *Kel!* ‘Come!’ is true or not. Imperatives cannot combine with interrogative markers, whereas other volitional moods can. For instance, the voluntative can be combined

with the question particle, e.g. *Ƙayt-ayĩƙ pa?* {return-VOL.2PL Q.PART} ‘Shall we return?’

Imperative forms in Kazakh do not carry other personal markers than plural and politeness markers. Imperatives cannot combine with copula particles. According to Johanson, they cannot occur with evidential markers as there is no possibility to indicate whether the request is based on some source or not. Imperatives do not occur with past tense markers, since the addressee is obviously not being requested to carry out an action in the past. Other moods can often combine with third-person past tense markers, especially in narrated monologues, techniques for direct representation of a character’s thoughts or other contents of consciousness, e.g. Turkish <Git-sin-di> {go-VOL-PAST} ‘X should go’ (in print).

Possible tense distinctions are those between an immediate and a more remote future. In Yakut, a present imperative requests immediate action (‘act now’), whereas a remote (prospective, distant) imperative requests later fulfillment (‘act later’). For Yakut, see Korkina et al. 1982: 320–324. This distinction is not made in Kazakh.

Usages

The following examples illustrate various usages of imperatives.

Orders

This usage of the imperative is the prototypical one. In Example 14, the imperative is based on the postverb constructions.

Example 14

<i>...ƙimiyalıƙ tıjaytƙı^ƙš-tı</i>	<i>ał-ıj</i>	<i>kel!</i>
fertilizer-ACC	take-IP.CONV	COME.POSTV.IMP

‘Bring the fertilizer!’ (T5/ 30)

According to Zhang (1990a: 88), this plain imperative form can be used to address a person with whom the addresser is on intimate terms.

Requests

In the following example, the addresser asks the Creator to fulfill a wish (see Zhang 2004: 414).

Example 15

Ĵarat-kan iye-m ĵar boł-a
 create-GAN.PTCP possessor-POSS1SG helper BOL.COP-A.CONV
kör!
 SEE.POSTV.IMP
 ‘My Creator, please be with me!’

Permission

The imperative may express permission given by an addresser to the addressee when the addresser is aware of the intention of the addressee.

Example 16

Context: You hear someone knock on the door and you permit the person to enter.
Kır!
 come in.IMP
 ‘Come in!’

Advice and suggestions

The imperative can be used to indicate advice or suggestions as in Example 17, or in the proverb in Example 18.

Example 17

ʔEndi mayan sen ʔendi mīna urpaḵ jōn-ın-de
 now I.DAT you NOW.FILL THIS.FILL descendant direction-POSS3-LOC
ne ĵaz-a-siŋ, ne ayt-a-siŋ de-se-ŋ, meniŋ
 what write-A.PRES-COP2SG what tell-A.PRES-COP2SG say-HYP-2SG I.GEN
urpaḵ jōn-ın-de ayt-ar-ım bʻr-ınčī:
 descendant direction-POSS3-LOC tell-AOR-POSS1SG one-ORD
“Urpak ĵaksī-dan üyren-iŋ-der!”
 descendant good-ABL learn-IMP-PL
 ‘Now, If you ask me what I would write and what I would say concerning the descendants, what I would say concerning the descendants is first of all “Young ones, learn from what is good!”.’ (T6/ 2)

According to Zhang (2014: 414), the singular form of the imperative is used in proverbs to refer to general subjects, as in Example 18.

Example 18

Küş-iŋ-e sen-be, iş-iŋ-e sen.
 strength-POSS2SG-DAT believe-NEG.IMP work-POSS2SG-DAT believe.IMP
 ‘Bùyào píng lìqì shuōhuà, yào píng shìqíng shuōhuà.’ (Zhang 2004: 414)
 [‘Don’t rely on your strength, but rely on your working capacity.’]

Prohibitive usages

Negated imperative (prohibitive) sentences indicate that a certain action is not permitted and appeal to the addressee not to carry it out. They can be used for warnings, cautionary advice, etc.

Example 19

Bul ĵer-de temekĭ tart-pa-ŋĭz.
this place-LOC tobacco smoke-NEG-IMP
'Do not smoke here.'

Verbal construction in $\{-w\check{s}I^2 // -(\emptyset)U^2w\check{s}I^2\} + bol\text{-}ma$ {BOL.COP-NEG.IMP} may express a strong warning or threat.

Example 20

^wÖtiŋĭk ayt-uwšĭ bol-ma, bala-m!
lie tell-UWŠI.PTCP BOL.COP-NEG.IMP child-POSS1SG
'Never tell a lie, my child!'

Good wishes and curses

The imperative is used for good wishes (Examples 21 and 22) and curses (Examples 23 and 24), mostly in cases when the subject is not an agent who controls the event, but an experiencer. The use of the imperative is an alternative to the use of the optative.

Example 21

Gül-dey ĵäyná!
flower-EQUA bloom.IMP
'May you bloom like a flower!'

Example 22

Ĵeŋĭs-ke ĵet-e ber-iŋ-der!
success-DAT reach-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-IMP-PL
'May you always be successful!'

Example 23

Āke-ŋ-nen bata al-ma-y ħarĳis al!
father-POSS2SG-ABL blessing take-NEG-A.CONV curse take.IMP
'May your father not bless but curse you!'

Example 24

Ĵetiŋ ħal!
orphan stay.IMP
'May you become an orphan!'

Downtoning imperatives

There are several ways to downtone, i.e. to soften, imperatives, e.g. by adding the particle $\check{s}i^2$ as in Examples 25 and 26. (See more about this particle in the chapter *Modal particles*.) The meaning of the particle can be rendered by ‘please’ in English.

Example 25

Kel $\check{s}i!$
come.IMP ŠI.PART
‘Come, please!’

Example 26

Ayt-iñiz $\check{s}i!$
tell-IMP ŠI.PART
‘Tell (me), please!’

Another way of downtoning imperatives is to employ certain postverbs such as *ƙoy-* ‘to put’ and *ƙiber-* ‘to send’. In Example 27, the lexical verb *söndir-* ‘to turn off’ contains an $\{-(I^4)p\}$ converb. In the next example, however, the $\{-A^2//y\}$ converb is used. The latter is used to signal intimacy between the addresser and addressee. Zhang (1990a: 88) suggests that, in this case, the addresser is an elder person, and the addressee a youth or a junior.

Example 27

Šam-dī *söndir-ip* *ƙoy*.
light-ACC turn off-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP
‘Please turn off the light.’

Example 28

Šam-dī *söndir-e* *ƙoy*.
light-ACC turn off-A.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP
‘Please turn off the light.’

When the postverb *ƙoy-* ‘to put’ follows a converb in $\{-A^2//y\}$, i.e. a vowel or a glide, it is pronounced as *ƙoy*. In this case, the imperative form of the postverb is homophonous with the particle Γ^2oy (see *Modal particles*). The dictionary DKLL describes this form in terms of the particle Γ^2oy having a special function, i.e. adding the meaning ‘to entreat’ or expressing fondness (“өтіну, еркелету мағынасын үстемелейді”) (2011: 410). In our opinion, the imperative form of the postverb and the particle must be distinguished. The construction in Example 27 consists of a converb of a lexical verb and the postverb *ƙoy-* ‘to put’. In Example 28, the expression *söndir-e ƙoy* ‘please turn off’ is also a compound verb including the postverb *ƙoy*. An

argument for this analysis is that this postverb can be inflected, e.g. in the plural; see Example 29.

Example 29

Šam-dī söndir-e γoy-iŋ-dar!
 light-ACC turn off-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-IMP-PL
 ‘Please turn off the light!’

The homonymous particle I^2oy cannot be inflected and occurs mostly in postpredicate position. Using comparative forms of adjectives in $\{-(I^2)rA^2K^2\}$ can soften the tone of the imperative.

Example 30

Tez-irek biŋir.
 quick-COMP finish.IMP
 ‘Please finish it a little faster.’

Ways of replacing imperatives

Some alternative constructions can be used instead of imperatives. For instance, verbal nouns (infinitives) in $\{-(\emptyset)U^2w//-(U^2)w\}$, without any marker of person, can be used for short instructions or commands in recipes, prescriptions, etc. Infinitives are the least marked forms of the verb and have impersonal meanings, which makes them suitable as lexical entries in dictionaries. As alternatives to imperatives, infinitives are probably copies of corresponding Russian expressions, e.g. *He kypum̃!* *Ne kurit'* <not smoke.INF> ‘No smoking!’, cf. Kazakh *Temeki ček-pe-w!* <smoke.NEG-INF>. Other examples: Russian *Cuđem̃ muxo!* *Sidet' tixo* <sit. INF quietly> ‘Sit quietly!’, cf. Kazakh *Tiniš "otir-uw!* <quiet sit-INF>. The frequency of this usage is, however, limited at present.

The following examples are instructions given at schools.

Example 31

Mektep-ke way-iŋ-da kel-iw.
 school-DAT time-POSS3-LOC come-UW.VN
 ‘(One should) come to school on time.’

Example 32

Tazalıq-ti jaksı ište-w.
 cleaning-ACC good do-UW.VN
 ‘(One should) do the cleaning well.’

It is also possible to use hypothetical forms with second-person endings, as in Example 33, or in combination with $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ *bol-sa* <GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP> with second-person endings as in Example 34.

Example 33

Ĵaz-íp *ĵiber- se-ŋiz.*
 write-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV -HYP-2SG
 ‘Would you write it?’

Example 34

Ĵaz-íp *ĵiber-gen* *bol-sa-ŋiz.*
 write-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
 ‘Would you write it?’

In colloquial styles, another option is to add {-sA²-y} instead of {-sA²-ŋ} to the verbal stem. This form probably comes from the possessive type of the second-person singular hypothetical mood. The personal ending -ŋ is changed to -y to entreat or beg the interlocutor who is intimate with the addresser. According to my experience, this form is typically used in Tarbagatay.

Example 35

Kel-se-y.
 come-HYP-2SG
 ‘Please come / do come.’

The expressions {-sA²} *ķayt-e-dī?* {HYP how.to.do-A.PRES-3} and {-sA²} *bol-ar-ma ʸeken?* {HYP BOL.COP-AOR-Q.PART RHET.PART}, which contain hypothetical forms of the second person, can be used as alternatives to imperatives; see Examples 36 and 37.

Example 36

Bügün *ķal-sa-ŋ* *ķayt-e-dī?*
 today stay-HYP-2SG how.to.do-A.PRES-3
 ‘How would it be if you were to stay today?’

Example 37

Üy-dī *tazala-sa-ŋ* *bol-ar* *ma* *ʸeken?*
 home-ACC clean-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-AOR Q.PART RHET.PART
 ‘I wonder if it would be possible for you to clean the house?’

Without the use of rhetorical particle *ʸeken* ‘I wonder’, this sentence would not be a polite request¹³ but a simple yes/no question.

The aorist form {- (A²)r} can also be used as an alternative to an imperative, which Zhang (1990a: 89) calls a ‘paraphrastic expression’.

¹³ Compare the use of the particle with *wohl* in German.

Example 38

^wÖz-*ijiz* *jaqsilap* ^woyla-*p* *kör-er-siz*.
 self-POSS2SG beneficially think-IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-AOR-COP2SG
 ‘Try to think about it as beneficial for yourself (would you?)’ (Zhang 1990a: 90)

Examples 31–38 can be interpreted as suggestions to the interlocutor to consider doing something, while actually implying a strong request or an appeal. These expressions can be used when it is necessary for the speaker to avoid a direct request.

Optatives of the second person can also be used as alternatives to imperatives.

Example 39

Qonaq-tar-dī *jaqsī* *küt-üp* *al-γay-siñ*.
 guest-PL-ACC good receive-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-OPT-COP2SG
 ‘You should be attentive to the guests.’

Voluntative mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The first person singular voluntative marker is $\{-(A^2)yI^2n\}$, e.g. *Bar-ayin* ⟨go-VOL1SG⟩ ‘I will go / Let me go’, *Kel-eyin* ⟨come-VOL1SG⟩ ‘I will come / Let me come’.

The first person plural voluntative marker is normally $\{-(A^2)yI^2K^2\}$,¹⁴ e.g. *Bar-ayik* ⟨go-VOL1PL⟩ ‘Let us go’, *Kel-eyik* ⟨come-VOL1PL⟩ ‘Let us come’. The form $\{-(A^2)L^2I^2K^2\}$ ¹⁵ may be used in written registers, e.g. *Kel bala-lar* ^w*okī-liik* ⟨come-IMP child-PL study-VOL1PL⟩ ‘Come (children), let us study’. The form $\{-(A^2)L^2I^2\}$ ¹⁶ may be applied in the Southern dialects, mainly in the Ili region, e.g. *Bar-alī* ⟨go-VOL1PL⟩ ‘Let us go’ (Geng et al. 1999: 235).

The third person singular and plural form is $\{-sI^2n+Ø\}$,¹⁷ e.g. *Bar-sin* ⟨go-VOL3⟩ ‘Let X go’, *Kel-sin* ⟨come-VOL3⟩ ‘Let X come’. The plural suffix $\{-L^4A^2r\}$ cannot be added.

¹⁴ The type $\{-(A)yIK\}$ is found in almost all Kipchak languages, e.g. Karachay-Balkar *Ač-ayik* ‘Let us open’, Crimean Tatar *Al-ayik* ‘Let us take’, Karaim *Bar-ayix* ‘Let us go’.

¹⁵ The standard Uzbek marker is $\{-(ā)ylik\}$, e.g. *Bār-āylik* ‘Let us go’. Kirghiz has the variant $\{-(A)IIK\}/\{-yIIK\}$, e.g. *Ber-elik* ‘Let us give’, *Ber-be-ylik* ‘Let us not give’.

¹⁶ The basic form is $\{-(A)II\}$, found in East Old Turkic, Karakhanid, Middle Kipchak, Chaghatay, Kirghiz etc., e.g. East Old Turkic *Qıl-alī* ‘Let us do’. Chaghatay *Oqu-lī* ‘Let us read’. This type also occurs in Uyghur $\{-(A)yli\}$, e.g. *Oqu-yli* ‘Let us read’ (Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 610). Kirghiz $\{-AII/\{-yII\}$, e.g. *Ber-eli* ‘Let us give’.

¹⁷ The Orkhon Turkic voluntative marker of the third person singular is $\{-zUn\}$, e.g. *Bar-zun* ‘Let X go’.

Negative

Negated forms of the voluntative mood are built by adding the negation suffix $\{-M^3A^2\}$ to the verbal stem followed by a voluntative marker. The function is to express a wish, request, command, advice or permission not to do.

The form of the singular first person negation is $\{-M^3A^2-yI^n\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-yin* (go-NEG-VOL1SG) ‘I will not go / Do not let me go’, *Küt-pe-yin* (wait-NEG-VOL1SG) ‘I will not wait / Do not let me wait’.

The form of the first person negated plural is $\{-M^3A^2-yI^2K^2\}$ e.g. *Kara-ma-yik* (look-NEG-VOL1PL) ‘Let us not look’, *Söyle-me-yik* (speak-NEG-VOL1PL) ‘Let us not speak’.

The third person negated singular and plural is $\{-M^3A^2-sI^n\}$, e.g. *Ket-pe-sin* (leave-NEG-VOL3) ‘Do not let X leave’, *Ĵaz-ba-sin* (write-NEG-VOL3) ‘Do not let X write’.

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

Voluntatives like imperatives and optatives, are used in utterances indicating that an action is desirable. Voluntative markers express notions of will, desire, wishing, intention, request, command, demand, entreaty, advice, recommendation, exhortation, warning, hope, permission, or possibility with respect to the fulfillment of a given action. Voluntatives primarily express the addresser’s subjective will. The wish expressed may be meant to be fulfilled by the addressee or to be transmitted by the addressee as a relayed message for a third person, e.g. *Kel-sin* ‘May X come’. The desirability may, however, also be conceived as objective: “it is desired that ...”. The realization of the action is not necessarily conceived of as dependent on the participation and contribution of the subject referent. The voluntative is semantically close to the optative and the aorist (Johanson 2009: 489).

The markers combine the expression of the voluntative mood with indication of person and number. A common thematic base is lacking. The markers are of unknown origin and cannot reliably be traced back to lexical sources. As Menges remarks, in this category (which he calls “imperative”), “ancient suffixes of heterogeneous character have survived down into the historical period, having undergone, during the latter, some influences on the part of the existing suffixes denoting person” (1995: 140).

Usages

Usage of the first person forms of the voluntative

First-person voluntative markers express one’s own or a group’s wish, willingness, readiness, intention, decision or promise to perform a given action: ‘I/we will do’, ‘Let me/us do’, etc. They may convey a request for permission to carry out the action. They can in general be paraphrased by means of superordinate predicates meaning ‘to allow’, ‘to permit’, etc.

The first person singular of the voluntative expresses one's wish, intention, self-encouragement or readiness to perform an action: 'I will act', 'I want myself to act', 'Let me act'. It can also represent a higher will: 'It is desirable that I act'. The addresser may be identical with the subject referent. The addresser may, though not necessarily, also ask the addressee for permission.

Example 40

Ĵawab-ı-n *men* *ber-eyın.*
 answer-POSS3-ACC I give-VOL1SG
 'Let me answer the question.'

Voluntatives of the first person plural express a group's wish, intention, desire, intent or readiness to perform an action together with the addressee(s) or/and possibly other persons, e.g. 'We will act', 'I want us to act', 'Let us act'. They often have adhortative function, expressing an appeal to carry out an action together: 'Let us act'. They can also represent a higher will: 'It is desirable that we act'. The addresser may also, though not necessarily, ask the addressee for permission. The markers often have an agent-oriented, cohortative function, signaling encouragement or discouragement, expressing a plea, an appeal, an invitation, an incitement to do something together with the addresser. Zhang regards the function as one of proposal or suggestion (1990a: 90).

Example 41

Ĵür, *dala-ya* *çıy-ıp* *kel-eyik.*
 move outside-DAT come out-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-VOL1PL
 'Come, let us go out.'

Example 42

...yek-emız *say-dın* *üstün-e* *b^ır* *salkın zer-ge*
 two-COLL.POSS1PL ravine-GEN top.POSS3-DAT a cool place-DAT
žat-ayık...
 lie-VOL.1PL
 '...let's sleep in a cool place up in the ravine...' (T4/35)

An alternative way of expressing mutual encouragement or urging is to use the negated present tense in yes/no questions. The high pitch falls on the last syllable before the interrogative particle {-M³A²} (see Zhang 1990a: 90). Example 41 can alternatively be expressed as Example 43.

Example 43

Ĵür, dala-ya cĳy-ĳp kel-me-y-miz
move outside-DAT come out-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-COP1PL
be?
Q.PART
'Come, why don't we go out?'

According to Zhang (2004: 413), the first person plural of the voluntative can be used to convene, convoke, gather, invoke, mobilize, or muster the addressee(s).

Example 44

Duřpan-dar-dĳ ĵoyalt-ayĳ!
enemy-PL-ACC annihilate-VOL1PL
'Let us annihilate the enemies!'

Zhang (2004: 413) also claims that using the first person plural form of the voluntative can be used as a downtoned alternative to the imperative.

Example 45

Sabaĳtas-tar, kĳñĳl kĳoy-a tĳñda-yĳk.
classmate-PL attention put-A.CONV listen-VOL1PL
'Tóngxuémén, zánmen zhùyì tīngjiǎnglè.' (Zhang 2004: 413)
['Students, let's listen (to the lesson) attentively.']

Usage of the third person forms of the voluntative

Third person voluntatives signal a command, demand, instruction, appeal, invitation, request, etc., that an action be brought about by some entity (person or object) other than the addressee. Possible translations include 'X shall do', 'X should do', 'may X do', 'let X do', etc.

They do not directly address the entity that is requested to bring about the action, and the realization is mostly conceived of as less dependent on its participation (Johanson forthcoming).

Example 46

Sabaĳ-tĳ ^wosĳ kĳĳlās-tā tĳñda-sĳn.
class-ACC this class-LOC listen-VOL3
'Let X attend a class in this classroom'.

Example 47

Tüsür-ül-gen *âmr* *bügün-nen* *kal-ma-y*
 let fall-PASS-GAN.PTCP order today- ABL stay-NEG-A.CONV
^w*orında-l-sin.*
 complete-PASS-VOL3
 ‘The order that is given should be completed no later than today.’

The third person of the voluntative may be used to indicate the addresser’s wish to grant permission, or allow the object to continue to do something. In this case, the addresser does not necessarily want the interlocutor to transmit the information (Zhang 2004: 415).

Example 48

^w*O-lar* *kel-e* *ber-sin,* *biz* *tamak-ti*
 X-PL come-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-VOL3 we dish-ACC
tart-a *ber-eyik.*
 serve-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-VOL1PL
 ‘Let them come, we will serve our dish.’

Example 49

Ne *de-se* *de-y* *ber-sin.*
 what say-HYP3 say-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-VOL3
 ‘Whatever it is, let them speak (it doesn’t bother me)’.

The voluntative of the third person is used to express the addresser’s hope and wish that something will be realized or fulfilled (Zhang 2004: 415). Example 50 illustrates good wishes, whereas Example 51 is a curse.

Example 50

Ak *jol* *bol-sin!*
 white road BOL.COP-VOL3
 ‘Have a good trip!’, Lit. ‘May the road be white!’.

Example 51

Köz-i *kör* *bol-sin!*
 eye-POSS3 blind BOL.COP-VOL3
 ‘May X’s eye become blind.’

In rhetorical questions, the voluntative of the third person is used to express something that is difficult or impossible to change, to fulfill or to perform. According to Zhang (2004: 415), such sentences signal the speaker’s sympathy.

Example 52

Dünye-de munday¹⁸ onay iş kay-dan bol-sin?
 world-LOC this.EQUA easy affair which-ABL BOL.COP-VOL3

‘Shìjiè shàng nǎ yǒu zhème róngyì de shì er.’ (Zhang: 2004: 415)

[‘How could it be easy? Lit. ‘From where should such easy things come to the world?’]

The same also holds for the first person singular and plural of the volutative mood.

Example 53

Biz kay-dan bil-eyik?
 we which-ABL know-VOL1PL

‘How could we know?’ (‘We cannot know.’)

The double form of the third person of the volutative, an affirmative and a negative, can be used in the first clause of concessive sentences to express that the outcome will be the same, no matter whether the state of affairs is realized or not. The English translation can be ‘no matter’, ‘even if’, ‘even though’, ‘whether ... or not’; see Example 54. This idiomatic usage seems to be restricted to the third person. In first persons, the analogous forms of the hypothetical mood followed by the particle D^2A^2 ‘also’ are preferred; see Example 55.

Example 54

Şakirtuw kel-sın kel-me-sın, bar-yan-ım
 invitation come-VOL3 come-NEG-VOL3 go-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG
bar-yan.
 go-GAN.POSTT3

‘No matter if an invitation comes or not, I will definitely go.’

Example 55

Şakirtuw al-sa-m da al-ma-sa-m da,
 invitation get-HYP-1SG DA.PART get-NEG-HYP-1SG DA.PART
bar-yan-ım bar-yan.
 go-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG go-GAN.POSTT3

‘No matter if I get an invitation or not, I will definitely go.’

The third person forms of the volutative can also be used impersonally, without reference to a specific entity requested to bring about the action. The Turkish third person form of the volutative of the copula *ol-* ‘to become,

¹⁸ *Munday* is a contracted form of *mīna-day* (this-EQUA) ‘like this’ or *mīnan-day* (this-EQUA) ‘like this’.

be’, *ol-sun* {COP-VOL3SG} can be used impersonally in the sense of ‘So be it!’, ‘All right’, ‘I do not mind’.

Example 56 Turkish

A: *Bugün okul-a geç kal-acağ-ım.*
 today school-DAT be late-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will be late for school today.’

B: *Ol-sun!*
 COP-VOL3SG
 ‘All right. I don’t mind.’

The corresponding Kazakh form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’, *bol-sın* {BOL.COP-VOL3SG}, does not seem to allow this impersonal usage. The answer in Examples 57 and 58 are not impersonal. Observe that the verb used in the answer has to be an echo-form of the verb in the statement it refers to.

Example 57

A: *Bul wöte kımbat bol-ıp ket-ti*
 this very expensive BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
ıoy?
 GOY.PART
 ‘This has become very expensive, hasn’t it?’

B: *Кımbat bol-sın.*
 expensive BOL.COP-VOL3
 ‘It’s all right. I don’t mind.’

Example 58

A: *Ǵawın ǵaw-up ket-etın bol-dı.*
 rain fall-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3
 ‘It is going to rain’

B: *Ǵaw-sın.*
 fall-VOL3
 ‘Let it rain, I do not mind.’

The negated forms of the third person voluntative convey prohibitive meanings, *Ǵaz-ba-sın* {write-NEG-VOL3} ‘Do not let X write’.

Yes/no questions are formed with postposed question particles. The constructions solicit the opinion of the addressee(s). Third-person constructions are often used to ask for permission or advice.

Example 59

Kel-sın be?
 come-VOL3 Q.PART
 ‘Shall X come?’

First-person constructions request permission to perform the action.

Example 60

Ket-eyin be?
 leave-VOL1SG Q.PART
 ‘Shall/may I leave?’

First-person plural constructions may also include the addressee as a potential co-performer.

Example 61

Qayt-ayık pa?
 return-VOL1PL Q.PART
 ‘Shall we return?’

Questions may also be expressed by means of interrogative words (“wh-words”).

Example 62

Ne ayt-ayın?
 what tell-VOL1SG
 ‘What shall I say?’

Optative mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The grammatical markers of the optative mood are $\{-G^4A^2y\}$ and the pronominal type of the personal endings.

The marker of the first person singular is $\{-G^4A^2y-mI^n\}$, e.g. *Qal-γay-mın* ⟨stay-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I stay’, *Kör-gey-mın* ⟨see-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I see’, *Tap-қay-mın* ⟨find-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I find’, *Ket-key-mın* ⟨leave-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I leave’.

The marker of the first person plural is $\{-G^4A^2y-mI^2z\}$, e.g. *Qal-γay-mız* ⟨stay-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we stay’, *Kör-gey-mız* ⟨see-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we see’, *Tap-қay-mız* ⟨find-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we find’, *Ket-key-mız* ⟨leave-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we leave’.

The marker of the second person singular is $\{-G^4A^2y-sI^2\eta\}$, e.g. *Ƙal-ɣay-siŋ* ⟨stay-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you stay’, *Kör-gey-siŋ* ⟨see-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you see’, *Tap-ƙay-siŋ* ⟨find-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you find’, *Ket-key-siŋ* ⟨leave-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you leave’. The polite form is $\{-G^4A^2y-sI^2z\}$, e.g. *Kel-gey-siz* ⟨come-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you come’.

The marker of the second person plural is $\{-G^4A^2y-sI^2\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ƙal-ɣay-siŋ-dar* ⟨stay-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you stay’, *Kör-gey-siŋ-der* ⟨see-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you see’, *Tap-ƙay-siŋ-dar* ⟨find-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you find’, *Ket-key-siŋ-der* ⟨leave-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you leave’. The polite form is $\{-G^4A^2y-sI^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Kel-gey-siz-der* ⟨come-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you come’.

The third person singular and plural are formed with the suffix $\{-G^4A^2y-\emptyset\}$. The same form is used for both singular and plural. There is no possibility to add the plural suffix $\{-L^4A^2r\}$, e.g. *Ƙal-ɣay* ⟨stay-OPT3⟩ ‘May X stay’, *Kör-gey* ⟨see-OPT3⟩ ‘May X see’, *Tap-ƙay* ⟨find-OPT3⟩ ‘May X find’, *Ket-key* ⟨leave-OPT3⟩ ‘May X leave’.

Negative

The negated first person singular form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-mI^2n\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-ɣay-miŋ* ⟨go-NEG-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I not go’, *Ket-pe-gey-miŋ* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I not leave’, *Ɔaz-ba-ɣay-miŋ* ⟨write-NEG-OPT-COP1SG⟩ ‘May I not write’.

The negated first person plural form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-mI^2z\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-ɣay-miz* ⟨go-NEG-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we not go’, *Ket-pe-gey-miz* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we not leave’, *Ɔaz-ba-ɣay-miz* ⟨write-NEG-OPT-COP1PL⟩ ‘May we not write’.

The negated second person singular form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sI^2\eta\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-ɣay-siŋ* ⟨go-NEG-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you not go’, *Ket-pe-gey-siŋ* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you not leave’, *Ɔaz-ba-ɣay-siŋ* ⟨write-NEG-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you not write’. The negated polite form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sI^2z\}$, e.g. *Kör-me-gey-siz* ⟨watch-NEG-OPT-COP2SG⟩ ‘May you not watch’.

The negated second person plural form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sI^2\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-ɣay-siŋ-dar* ⟨go-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you not go’, *Ket-pe-gey-siŋ-der* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you not leave’, *Ɔaz-ba-ɣay-siŋ-dar* ⟨write-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you not write’. The negated polite plural form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sI^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ket-pe-gey-siz-der* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘May you not leave’.

The negated third person singular and plural form is $\{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y\}$, e.g. *Bar-ma-ɣay* ⟨go-NEG-OPT3⟩ ‘May X not go’, *Ket-pe-gey* ⟨leave-NEG-OPT3⟩ ‘May X not leave’, *Ɔaz-ba-ɣay* ⟨write-NEG-OPT3⟩ ‘May X not write’.

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

According to Johanson (in print) the optative mood displays a range of functions that have developed along various diachronic paths. It conveys meanings of willing, wishing, desire, intention, hope, aspiration, incitement, requesting, promising, advice, expectation, necessity, obligation, and prediction with respect to a non-factual situation. Like the old Indo-European optative, it covers various deontic and epistemic notions of necessity and potentiality. Compare the use of the English auxiliary *may* for both strong wishes, e.g. *May X come*, and epistemic or deontic possibility, e.g. *X may come*.

The optative in Kazakh is used as a main clause predicate with different personal endings. As Johanson points out, it does not necessarily reflect the attitude of the addresser. Nor does it necessarily suggest that the realization of the event is dependent on the cooperation of the addressee or the subject referent (2009: 490, in print).

Johanson (in print) states that since the optative can refer to the future, it is sometimes called “optative-future”. The nuances of prospectivity appear, however, by virtue of the modal meanings. Situations described as desired, expected, or possible must belong to a time later than the moment of speaking. The prospective optative can be compared to the Indo-European prospective subjunctive and, for instance, the use of the English *will*.

Decline of the optative

Outside the northeast branch of Turkic, the optative experienced a decline, lost ground, and fell into decay. Of its once complete paradigms, only parts were preserved. According to Johanson (in print), in Tatar, Uzbek, etc. the simple marker is today almost entirely missing. The reason is that its semantics largely overlapped with those of the voluntative. The moods conveyed similar meanings, both signaling ‘it is desirable that...’. For the most part there were no clear-cut boundaries between the types. The functions of the optative were largely taken over by the voluntative, forms of the hypothetical mood in $\{-sA^2\}$, and the old present tense (“aorist”).

Kazakh presently uses optative only in archaizing styles and in formulaic expressions, e.g. *Köp žasa-γay-siŋ* ‘May you live long’. The third person optative $\{-G^4A^2y\}$ at present has the tendency to be replaced by the voluntative third personal mood form $\{-sl^2n\}$. However, the combinations of the optative marker and the past tense form of the copula, *ʸedi*, expressing an unfulfillable wish, are still being used.¹⁹

¹⁹ In many languages such as Turkmen, Karachay-Balkar, Crimean Tatar, Kumyk, and Kirghiz, optatives only occur in combination with past copulas or auxiliaries (Johanson in print).

Usages

Wishing

The simple form of the optative mood expresses wishing, desire or hope in the sense ‘I wish ...’, ‘May I/we do’, etc. In the first person singular, the addresser and the subject referents coincide. The optative expresses a wish, desire in Examples 63, 64, and 65.

Example 63

^w*Osî jarîs-ta jûldegerlik al-γay-mîn!*
this competition-LOC championship take-OPT-COP1SG
‘May I win the championship in this competition!’

Example 64

Bakîttî bol-γay-sîy!
happy BOL.COP-OPT-COP2SG
‘May you be happy.’

Example 65

Ḳuday tîlgöz-den saḳta-γay.
God curse-ABL prevent-OPT3
‘May God prevent (us from experiencing) the curse.’

Polite request

Zhang (2004: 428) points out that the form of second persons may tone down the effect of an imperative in a polite way .

Example 66

Tîleg-îm-dî ḳabîlda-γay-sîz.
request-POSS1SG-ACC accept-OPT-COP2SG
‘May you accept my request!’

The combination with ^y*edî*

Negative optatives {-M³A²-G²A²y} with past copula ^y*edî* in personal endings express admonition, i.e. fear, worry and warnings against the possible occurrence of an undesired situation.

Example 67

^w*Ol zaman-dar ḳayt-îp kel-me-gey*
X time-PL return-IP.CONV come-NEG-OPT3
^y*e-dî.*
E.COP-PAST3
‘I wish those times would not come back.’

Example 68

Dala-dan *çik-kan* *yt-tiŋ* *ür-gen*
 outside-ABL come out-GAN.PTCP dog-GEN bark-GAN.PTCP
dawis-ï-n ^y*esti-p*, ^w*ol* *kel-me-gey* ^y*e-dï*”,
 voice-POSS3-ACC hear-IP.CONV X come-NEG-OPT3 E.COP-PAST3
de-p *tereze-den* *sirt-ka* *köz jiber-dï-m*.
 say-IP.CONV window-ABL out of door-DAT gaze-PAST-1SG
 ‘I heard the barking of the dog from the outside, and I looked out of the window
 thinking: “I hope X does not come”.’

Uyghur shares the same property when the negative optative marker {-mi-G²A²y} occurs with the past tense copula *idi*. The contracted form is {-mi-G²iydi} + personal endings as in Example 69.

Example 69 Uyghur

Yaxşı tåkrar *kil-al-mi-di-m*, *muällim män-din*
 good repetition LIGHTV-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG teacher I-ABL
sora-p *yür-mi-giy-di*.
 ask-IP.CONV POSTV-NEG-OPT-PAST3
 ‘I wasn’t able to revise well, so I do hope the teacher does not ask me.’ (Tömür
 2003: 317, 2011²: 284)

Hypothetical mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The grammatical marker of hypothetical mood is {-sA²} with possessive types of personal endings.

The hypothetical marker of the first person singular is {-sA²-m}, e.g. *Ƙal-sa-m* ⟨stay-HYP-1SG⟩ ‘I wish/hope to stay’, *Kör-se-m* ⟨see-HYP-1SG⟩ ‘I wish/hope to see’.

The first person plural hypothetical marker is {-sA²-K²}, e.g. *Ƙal-sa-k* ⟨stay-HYP-1PL⟩ ‘I wish/hope we stay’, *Kör-se-k* ⟨see-HYP-1PL⟩ ‘I wish/hope we see’.

The second person singular hypothetical marker is {-sA²-ŋ}, e.g. *Ƙal-sa-ŋ* ⟨stay-HYP-2SG⟩ ‘I wish/hope you stay’, *Kör-se-ŋ* ⟨see-HYP-2SG⟩ ‘I wish/hope you see’. The polite form is {-sA²-ŋl²z}, e.g. *Kel-se-ŋiz* ⟨come-HYP-2SG⟩ ‘I wish/hope you come’.

The second person plural hypothetical marker is {-sA²-ŋ-dA²r}, e.g. *Ƙal-sa-ŋ-dar* ⟨stay-HYP-2SG-PL⟩ ‘I wish/hope you stay’, *Kör-se-ŋ-der* ⟨see-HYP-2SG-PL⟩ ‘I wish/hope you see’. The polite form is {-sA²-ŋl²z-dA²r}, e.g. *Kel-se-ŋiz-der* ⟨come-HYP-2SG-PL⟩ ‘I wish/hope you come’.

The third person form {-sA²-Ø} is the form for both the singular and plural of the hypothetical mood. There is no possibility to add the plural suffix {-L⁴A²r} after it, e.g. *Kal-sa* <stay-HYP3> ‘I wish/hope X stay(s)’, *Kör-se* <see-HYP3> ‘I wish/hope X see(s)’.

Negative

The negative of the first person singular is {-M³A²-sA²-m}, e.g. *Bar-ma-sa-m* <go-NEG-HYP-1SG> ‘I wish/hope not to go’, *Ket-pe-se-m* <leave-NEG-HYP-1SG> ‘I wish/hope not to leave’.

The first person plural negative form is {-M³A²-sA²-K²}, e.g. *Bar-ma-sa-k* <go-NEG-HYP-1PL> ‘I wish/hope we do not go’, *Ket-pe-se-k* <leave-NEG-HYP-1PL> ‘I wish/hope we do not leave’.

The second person singular negative form is {-M³A²-sA²-η}, e.g. *Bar-ma-sa-η* <go-NEG-HYP-2SG> ‘I wish/hope you do not go’, *Ket-pe-se-η* <leave-NEG-HYP-2SG> ‘I hope you do not leave’. The polite singular negative form is {-M³A²-sA²-ηl²z}, *Kör-me-se-ηiz* <watch-NEG-HYP-2SG> ‘I wish/hope you do not watch’.

The second person plural negative form is {-M³A²-sA²-η-dA²r}, e.g. *Bar-ma-sa-η-dar* <go-NEG-HYP-2SG-PL> ‘I wish/hope you do not go’, *Ket-pe-se-η-der* <leave-NEG-HYP-2SG-PL> ‘I wish/hope you do not leave’. The polite plural negative form is {-M³A²-sA²-ηl²z-dA²r}, e.g. *Ket-pe-se-ηiz-der* <leave-NEG-HYP-2SG-PL> ‘I wish/hope you do not leave’.

The third person singular and plural form is {-M³A²-sA²-Ø}, e.g. *Bar-ma-sa* <go-NEG-HYP3> ‘I wish/hope X do(es) not go’, *Ket-pe-se* <leave-NEG-HYP3> ‘I wish/hope X do(es) not leave’.

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

Most Turkic languages possess a hypothetical mood that serves as a basis for independent sentences. The hypothetical mood is often called the conditional mood. Johanson uses the term hypothetical because it covers the basic meaning better: “Hypothetical markers express an imaginative mood in the sense of supposed events, and may, as such, convey desiderative meanings: desire, wish or hope in the sense of ‘imagine it is the case’, ‘what if it were the case?’” (Johanson 2009: 491). Zhang (2004: 417) uses the term *jiǎshè shì* ‘hypothetical mood’ instead of conditional mood.

Hypothetical markers are mostly used as converbs in dependent clauses expressing hypothetical conditions. This use in the protasis of conditional sentences will be dealt with in *Usages*. The conditional meaning can be highlighted by using some lexical items copied from Arabic/Persian: *ʔeger* ‘if’, *ʔegerde* ‘if’ or *mübādā* ‘if’, ‘in case something undesired happens’. These are mostly but not exclusively used in written registers. Example 70 is taken from our recordings.

Example 70

<i>Mübada</i>	<i>men</i>	^w <i>o</i>	<i>dünye-lik</i>	<i>bol-^up</i>	<i>ket-ip</i>
in case	I	X	world-DER	BOL.COP-IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
<i>jat-sa-m,</i>			<i>menij</i>	^w <i>osı</i>	^w <i>otır-yan</i>
LIE.POSTV-HYP-1SG			I.GEN	this	live-GAN.PTCP
					<i>üy-üm</i>
					house-POSS1SG
<i>baspana-m,</i>	<i>baska da</i>		<i>mal mülük-ter-ım-nıng</i>		^y <i>eñ</i>
home-POSS1SG	other DA.PART		property-PL-POSS1SG-GEN		SUPER
<i>kundu-lar-ı</i>	<i>arine</i>		<i>senij</i>	<i>baskar-uw-uñ-da</i>	
valuable-PL-POSS3	of course		you.GEN	govern-UW.VN-POSS2SG-LOC	
<i>bol-a-di.</i>					
BOL.COP-A.PRES-3					

‘In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands.’ (T7/ 2)

Usages

In main clauses

In main clauses, the hypothetical mood expresses volition, e.g. a wish, desire, will or hope. Three different forms of the hypothetical can be used: (i) {-sA²}, (ii) {-G⁴A²n} + the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’, and (iii) {-A²tl²n// -yt¹l²n} + the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’. The possessive personal endings are added to these forms. Examples 71 and 72 illustrate the use of the simple hypothetical form (i).

Example 71

<i>Češe-m</i>	^w <i>osın-da</i>	<i>bol-sa!</i>
mother-POSS1SG	this-LOC	BOL.COP-HYP3
‘I wish my mother was here!’		

Example 72

<i>Alla</i>	<i>kala-sa!</i>
Allah	bless-HYP3
‘May Allah bless (you/us)!’	

The examples express a strong wish, desire or hope for something that is not easily attainable, or something that cannot or probably will not happen.

According to Zhang (2004: 421), this usage also expresses the speaker’s request for something that he/she hopes for.

Example 73

Partiya, ükümet ^worin-dar-i munday surķiyalik-ķa
 Party government place-PL-POSS3 this.EQUA wickedness-DAT
ķol ķoy-ma-sa.
 allow-NEG-HYP3

‘Dàn yuàn dǎng hé zhèngfǔ bùmén néng zhìzhǐ èliè xíngjīng’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
 [‘I hope that the offices of the party and the government will not allow such wickedness.’]

In spoken registers, the form in $\{-sA^2y\}$ ($-sA^2y > -sA^2\eta$) is used to mark intimacy between the speaker and the interlocutor.

Example 74

Ayt-sa-y.
 tell-HYP-2SG
 ‘Do tell!’

The postterminal form in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ + the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’ can express an unreal wish or a wish that is difficult to fulfill. The participle form in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ in itself expresses a postterminal meaning.

Example 75

Bay bol-γan bol-sa-m.
 rich BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
 ‘I wish I was rich.’

Example 76 can be interpreted as a strong wish the fulfillment of which is important for the speaker.

Example 76

Aman esen ^wok-uw-im-di biṭir-gen bol-sa-m.
 safely study-UW.VN-POSS1SG-ACC finish-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
 ‘I wish I will finish my education safely.’

Note that the hypothetical mood of the second person can signal a polite request as in Example 77.

Example 77

Ĵaz-ip ĵiber-gen bol-sa-η.
 write-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
 ‘Could you just write it?’

The participle in $\{-A^2tI^2n/-ytI^2n\}$ combined with the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’ expresses that something in the future will take place; see Example 78. This example can be interpreted in two ways: either as expressing the speaker’s hope or as an impersonal hope in the sense ‘it is to be hoped that’.

Example 78

Könsert-ti sonda bar-ïp wöz köz-ïñ-men
 concert-ACC there go-IP.CONV self eye-POSS2SG-WITH.POSTP
kör-etin bol-sa-ñ.
 watch-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
 ‘Hopefully you will go to the concert and see it with your own eyes.’

The impersonal reading is also possible when the simple hypothetical or the combination of $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and *bol-sa-ñ(iz)* (BOL.COP- HYP-2SG), i.e. the second person hypothetical, are used.

The simple hypothetical or the combination in $\{-sA^2\}$, and the combination of $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’, can indicate an idea or plan put forward for consideration, or the act of asking politely or formally for something.

Example 79

Bul suraḡ-қа men ĵawap ber-se-m.
 this question-DAT I answer give-HYP-1SG
 ‘What about my answering the question?’

Example 80

Ĵaz-ïp ĵiber-gen bol-sa-ñiz.
 write-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
 ‘What about your writing it?’

Example 81

Tamaḡ-tan soñ meniñ keñse-m-e kel-ïp
 food-ABL AFTER2.POSTP I.GEN office-POSS1SG-DAT come-IP.CONV
ket-se.
 LEAVE.POSTV-HYP3
 ‘What about X coming to my office after the meal.’

In subordinate clauses

Full conditional sentences contain two clauses: the condition or *protasis*, and the consequence or *apodosis*. In Kazakh conditional sentences expressing a factual condition, the protasis is based on a hypothetical form in $\{-sA^2\}$ as in Example 82.

Example 82

Kün jalyastı wosılay jaw-a ber-se,
 sky continuous this way fall-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-HYP3
taw-ya çik-pa-y-miz.
 mountain-DAT ascend-NEG-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ‘If it rains continuously in this way, we won’t climb up the mountain.’

When the event referred to will take place in the future, the prospective form {-A²tI²n// -ytI²n} can be used in combination with the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-*.

Example 83

Bar-atın bol-sa, mümkün kayt-ıp
 go-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 possible return-IP.CONV
kel-er, mümkün kel-mes.
 COME.POSTV-AOR3 possible come-NEG.AOR3
 ‘If X goes, X may come back or not.’

Example 84

Üy-ge yerte kel-etin bol-sa-η, tamaq-ka
 home-DAT early come- ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG food-DAT
dayındal-a ber.
 prepare-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV.IMP
 ‘If you come home early, start to prepare food.’

The above examples imply that the actions in the two clauses have a potential relationship; i.e. the action expressed by the verb in the main clause doubtlessly can be carried out if the condition in the conditional clause is fulfilled.

When the postterminal form in {-G⁴A²n} + the copula *bol-* in {-sA²} is used in the protasis, the event referred to took place in the past. When the predicate of the apodosis is an aorist form in {-(A²)r}, either affirmative or negative, the conditional sentence expresses a supposition of the speaker about the proposition in the main clause; see Example 85.

Example 85

Bul kabarı-dı yestı-gen bol-sa, üy-ge
 this news-ACC hear-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 home-DAT
kel-ip kal-ar.
 come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3
 ‘If X has heard the news, s/he will possibly come.’

Using a combination of the aorist in {-(A²)r} and the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* in the protasis also implies a prospective meaning. In this

case the apodosis can be based on a predicate in the present tense $\{-A^2// -y\}$, the aorist in $\{-(A^2)r\}$, the voluntative, the imperative; or the intentional form in $\{-M^3A^2K\}$ (see *Non-modal expressions*).

Example 86

Bu kasiporin kel-er bol-sa, ^yel-ge
 this enterprise come-AOR.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 country-DAT
kompaniya-men kos-a b^lrneše milliyon dollar qarjı
 company-WITH.POSTP add-A.CONV several million dollar fund
kel-mek.

come-MAK3

‘If this enterprise comes, it will bring together with the company several million dollars of funding to the country.’

A special usage can be observed in proverbs in which the speaker’s attitude towards the proposition is expressed; see Example 87.

Example 87

Adılsız bol-sa bi ^woη-bas, ^yelsiz
 injustice BOL.COP-HYP3 judge succeed-NEG.AOR3 without wife
bol-sa üy ^woη-bas.
 BOL.COP-HYP3 home succeed-NEG.AOR3

‘If the judge is unjust, he will not succeed. If the home is without a wife it will not be sweet.’

Combination with ^yedı in main clauses

In main clauses, the past tense copula ^ye-dı {E.COP-PAST3} expresses counterfactual wishes. See the following examples, in which the hypothetical in $\{-sA^2\}$ is combined with ^yedı.

Example 88

Men de amerika-ya bar-sa-m ^ye-dı.
 I DA.PART America-DAT go-HYP-1SG E.COP-PAST3

‘If I too would go to America!’ (But it is not the case.)

Example 89 illustrates the combination of the postterminal in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ + the copula *bol-* in $\{-sA^2\}$ and +^yedı. See also above.

Example 89

Men de sen-der-men bar-yan bol-sa-m
 I DA.PART you-PL-WITH.POSTP go-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
^ye-dı.

E.COP-PAST3

‘If only I had also gone with you.’ (But it is not the case.)

In Example 90 the intraterminal form in $\{-A^2tI^2n// -ytI^2n\}$ + the copula *bol-* in $\{-sA^2\}$ are combined with yedi .

Example 90

<i>Čet-ke</i>	<i>čřy-řp</i>	<i>ʷok-uw</i>	<i>ʷoray-řn-a</i>	<i>iye</i>
abroad-DAT	out-IP.CONV	study-UW.VN	chance-POSS3-DAT	possessing
<i>bol-atřn</i>		<i>bol-sa-m</i>	<i>{}^ye-dř.</i>	
BOL.COP-ATIN.PTCP		BOL.COP-HYP-1SG	E.COP-PAST3	

‘If only I would have the chance to go abroad and study.’

These examples exclude the possibility of the achieving what is desired, promised, or predicted. It indicates ‘it is not the case now’.

The copula yedi can also be observed to be pronounced as yetti . This sounds as the past tense of the verb ${}^yet-$ ‘to do’, i.e. ${}^yet-tř$ {do-PAST3} ‘X made it’, but it is probably a variant of yedi .

Combination with yedi in conditional clauses

In counterfactual conditional clauses a hypothetical form is used in the protasis, and the predicate of the main clause is marked by the past copula ${}^ye-dř$ {E.COP-PAST3}; see Example 91.

Example 91

<i>Ĵayday-řm</i>	<i>řar</i>	<i>ber-se,</i>	<i>toy-řř-a</i>
situation-POSS1SG	order	give-HYP3	wedding-POSS2SG-DAT
<i>bar-ar</i>	<i>{}^ye-dř-m</i>		
go-AOR.PTCP	E.COP-PAST-1SG		

‘Had my situation allowed it, I would have gone to your wedding.’ (But my situation did not allow it.)

In another type of counterfactual conditional expression, the postterminal form in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* are used in the protasis; see Example 92.

Example 92

<i>ʷÖmř-ge</i>	<i>kayta</i>	<i>aynal-řp</i>	<i>kel-gen</i>
life-DAT	again	turn-IP.CONV	COME.POSTV-GAN.PTCP
<i>bol-sa-k,</i>	<i>bakřt-třř</i>	<i>čřn</i>	<i>baya-sř-n</i>
BOL.COP-HYP-1PL	happiness-GEN	real	worth-POSS3SG-ACC
<i>sez-er</i>	<i>{}^ek.</i>		
feel-AOR.PTCP	E.COP-1PL		

‘Had we been reborn, we would know the real worth of happiness.’ (But we cannot be reborn.)

The protasis, as in Example 93, can also be based on an intraterminal form in $\{-A^2tl^2n// -ytl^2n\}$ and the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-*.

Example 93

<i>Munda</i>	^y <i>e-ken-iŋ-dī</i>		<i>bīl-etīn</i>		<i>bol-sa-m,</i>
here	E-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC		know-ATIN.PTCP		BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
<i>senī</i>	<i>ūy-ge</i>	<i>čakīr-ar</i>		^y <i>e-dī-m.</i>	
you.ACC	home-DAT	call-AOR.PTCP		E.COP-PAST-1SG	

‘Had I known you were here, I would have invited you home.’

Example 94 illustrates that the aorist marker $\{-(A^2)r\}$ and the hypothetical form of the copula *bol-* are in the protasis.

Example 94

<i>Bīraḡ</i>	<i>bārī</i>	<i>keš</i>	^y <i>e-ken-ī-n</i>		<i>bīl-e-mīn,</i>
but	everything	late	E-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC		know-A.PRES-COP1SG
^y <i>eger</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>waḡūt</i>	<i>ḡayta</i>	<i>kel-er</i>	<i>bol-sa, men sol</i>
if	that	time	again	come-AOR.PTCP	BOL.COP-HYP3 I that
<i>ḡayday-lar-dī</i>		<i>ḡayta</i>	<i>ḡas-ar</i>		^y <i>e-dī-m.</i>
condition-PL-ACC		again	create-AOR.PTCP		E.COP-PAST-1SG

‘But I know it is late now; had that time come back, I would have created that situation again.’

Note that conditional sentences construed with a hypothetical form in the protasis and the past copula ^y*edī* in the main clause can also be used in a rhetorical question.

Example 95

<i>Tīl-ī</i>	<i>ḡitay,</i>	<i>dīn-ī</i>	<i>musulman</i>	<i>bol-sa</i>
language-POSS3	Chinese	religion-POSS3	Muslim	BOL.COP-HYP3
<i>dūngön</i>	<i>bol-ma-ḡanda</i>		<i>ḡim</i>	<i>bol-uwšī</i>
Dungan	BOL.COP-NEG-GAN.LOC.CONV		who	BOL.COP-UWŠI.PTCP

^y*e-dī?*
E.COP-PAST3

‘If X speaks Chinese and is a Muslim, and X is not a Dungan, then what could X be?’ (All Chinese Muslims are Dungan.)

Combination with ^y*eken* in main clauses

The combination of the hypothetical form $\{-sA^2\}$ with the rhetorical particle ^y*eken* expresses a strong and passionate wish or hope in Kazakh. This rhetorical particle has the same form as the indirective copula particle ^y*eken*.²⁰ However, according to Johanson (2012a: 55–56, cf. Karakoç 2005: 22–32),

²⁰ For more information about the indirective particle ^y*eken* see Johanson (2000a, 2012).

functionally, the rhetorical particle displays its own distinct characteristics in relation to the indirective copula particle. Unlike the indirective copula, the rhetorical *ʸeken* can co-occur with the simple preterite, does not convey any indirective meaning, and is not capable of carrying personal markers. In light of all these functional differences, Johanson (2012a: 56) points out that the etymologies of these two versions of the particle might be traced back to distinct markers. The indirective copula particle *ʸeken* could be traced back to an old particle *ärkän*, whereas the rhetorical particle goes back to the old particle *ärkin*; see Example 96.

Example 96

Sinauw-dan ^w*öt-üp* *ket-se-m* *ʸeken*.
 exam-ABL pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-HYP-1SG RHET.PART
 ‘I wish indeed I could pass the exam.’

The hypothetical form in {-sA²} combined with the interrogative particle {-M³A²}, or an interrogative pronoun + the rhetorical particle *ʸeken*, expresses “rhetorical questions, with readings of wondering and hesitation” (Johanson 2012a: 55). Example 97, the combination is used in order to encourage the interlocutor to consider a message or a point of view.

Example 97

Üy-dī *tazala-sa-k* *pa* *ʸeken?*
 home-ACC clean-HYP-1PL Q.PART RHET.PART
 ‘How about cleaning the house?’

Zhang (2004: 421) remarks that the constructions with {-sA²} + *bol-a* + *-ma* {HYP-BOL.COP-A.PRES-Q.PART} + *ʸeken* and {-sA²} + *bol-ar* + *-ma* {HYP-BOL.COP-AOR-Q.PART} + *ʸeken* can also indicate the speaker’s request for something that is hoped for. These two construction express different meanings. The first one, as illustrated by Example 98, conveys the speaker’s sincere attempt to ask for permission. The second one, illustrated by Example 99, expresses that the the statement implies a warning or even intimidation.

Example 98

Muʃalīm mayan *ʸekī* *kün-dīk* *ruxsat* *ber-se-ŋjz*
 teacher I.DAT two day-DER permission give-HYP-2SG
bol-a *ma* *ʸeken?*
 BOL.COP-A.PRES Q.PART RHET.PART

‘Lǎoshī, nín néng bùnéng gěi wǒ zhǔn wǒ liǎng tiān jiǎ?’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
 [‘Teacher, is it possible for you to give me two days’ leave?’]

Example 99

Muʔalim mayan ^yekʔ kün-dʔk ruxsat ber-se-ŋʔz
 teacher I.DAT two day-DER permission give-HYP-2SG
boʔ-ar ma ^yeken?
 BOL.COP-AOR 3 Q.PART RHET.PART
 ‘Lǎoshī, nín shífǒu néng zhǔn wǒ liǎng tiān jiǎ?’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
 [‘Teacher, why don’t you give me two days leave?’]

Combination with ^yeken in conditional clauses

When the indirective copula ^yeken occurs in the apodosis, as in Example 100, it expresses that the speaker regrets, is repentant or is disappointed over having missed an opportunity. The hypothetical form in {-sA²} is used in the protasis.

Example 100

Munda ^ye-ken-iŋ-dʔ biʔ-etʔn boʔ-sa-m,
 here E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC know-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
senʔ üy-ge čaķir-ar ^yeken-mʔn.
 you.ACC home-DAT call-AOR.PTCP E.COP.INDIR-COP1SG
 ‘Had I known you were here, I would indeed have invited you home.’

When the verb form in the apodosis is an interrogative form of the aorist in {- (A²)r} followed by the indirective copula ^yeken, the sentence indicates subjective evaluation of probability.

Example 101.

^wOsi jürüs-pen jür-se-k, ^yekʔ kün-de
 this movement-WITH.POSTP move-HYP-1PL two day-LOC
de jet-ip bar-a al-mas
 DA.PART reach-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG.AOR3
pa ^yeken-bʔz.
 Q.PART E.COP.INDIR-COP1PL
 ‘Walking so, we will not arrive there even in two days.’

Combination with the particle šI²

A particle šI² (see *Modal particles*) can also be added to all the hypothetical forms we have mentioned so far, i.e. the forms that indicate a wish, desire, will or hope, and can be used in rhetorical question ‘what if it were the case?’, or in the sense of ‘if only’. In combination with the particle šI² these expressions indicate hopeless wishes and regrets.

Example 102

<i>Kel-se</i>	<i>şî? /</i>	<i>Kel-se</i>	<i>şî.</i>
come-HYP3	ŞI.PART	come-HYP3	ŞI.PART
'What if X comes? / If only X would come.'			

Note that when the particle şî^2 is added to the hypothetical of the second person it can express a sort of volitional meaning, i.e. that the speaker reminds the interlocutor(s) to be cautious when performing the indicated action. This expression can convey an impatient attitude.

Example 103

<i>Ĵol-dan</i>	<i>ˆot-kende</i>	<i>bayka-sa-ŋ-dar</i>	<i>şî!</i>
street-ABL	pass-GAN.LOC.CONV	pay attention-HYP-2SG-PL	ŞI.PART
'Be careful when you cross the street!'			

Combination with *ķaytedî / ķalay*

The combination in main clauses of a hypothetical form in $\{-sA^2\}$ with the interrogative pronominal verb *ķaytedî*²¹ 'how to do' or the interrogative pronoun *ķalay* 'how' indicates an idea or a plan put forward for consideration, or a wish that is expressed by the speaker politely or formally and is expected to be fulfilled.

Example 104

<i>Bűgűn kał-sa-ŋ</i>	<i>ķayt-e-dî?</i>
today stay-HYP-2SG	how to do-A.PRES-3
'How about you staying today?'	

Combination with the particle dA^2 in concessives

According to Zhang (1993: 24, 2004: 419), verb forms in $\{-sA^2\}$ + the dA^2 particle in the subordinate clause indicate a concessive conditional meaning. The expression can correspond to 'although', 'no matter' or 'even if', etc. in English.

Example 105

<i>ˆOl</i>	<i>awur-up</i>	<i>ĵűr-se</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ˆeŋbek-ke</i>
X	get sick-IP.CONV	MOVE.POSTV-HYP3	DA.PART	labor-DAT

²¹ *Ķaytedî* is an interrogative pronominal verb which is probably contracted from the combination of *ķalay* *ˆetedî* (how do-A.PRES-3) 'how to do'. There are other similar pronominal expressions, for example, *ķaytse de*, which is also a shortened expression of *ķalay* *ˆetse de* (how do-HYP3 DE.PART) 'in any case', and *ķaytkende de* from *ķalay* *ˆetkende de* (how do-GAN.LOC.CONV- DE.PART) 'under any circumstances'.

ka^fnas-ti.

attend-PAST3

‘Tā suī bīngzhē, dàn háishì cānjiāle láodòng.’ (Zhang 2004: 419)

[‘Although he was sick, he still attended the work.’]

Example 106

Ḳanča ḵaman bol-sa da, ^wol ^wöz bala-m
how much bad BOL.COP-HYP3 DA.PART X self child-POSS1SG

γoy.

FOY.PART

‘No matter how bad X is, X still is my own child.’

Combination with *wh*-interrogatives

When the conditional clause contains a *wh*-interrogative, it can express meanings such as ‘whatever’, ‘whoever’ etc.

Example 107

Ḳayda bar-sa-η (da), ḵazan-niη ḵalay-ï tört.
where go-HYP-2SG (DA.PART) pan-GEN ear-POSS3 four
‘Wherever you go, a pan has four handles.’

Example 108

^wOl ḵalay aḵša taw-up ḵan-ï-n
X how money find-IP.CONV life-POSS3-ACC
baḵ-kan bol-sa, men de b^lr
care-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 I DA.PART a
amal-ï-n ḵarastir-ar-min.
strategy-POSS3-ACC investigate-AOR-COP1SG
‘Just as X earned his money and survived, so will I also try to find a way.’

Example 109

Til-di sen ḵalay üyren-se-η, men de solay
language-ACC you how learn-HYP-2SG I DA.PART that way
üyren-e-min.
learn-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘Just as you learned the language, so will I also learn it.’

Combination with *bol^{ya}nī* / *boldī*

The hypothetical verb form in {-sA²} combined with the copulas *bol^{ya}nī* <BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3> or *boldī* <BOL.COP-PAST3> can mean ‘as long as’ and ‘only if’. Zhang (2004: 418) explains the meaning of such constructions as “*chōngzú tiáojiàn guānxi*” (‘sufficient conditional relation’); i.e. once the condition is fulfilled, the outcome is guaranteed.

Example 110

^w*Osī* *bⁱr* *šart-īm-dī* *makulda-sa-ŋ* *bol-dī*,
 this a condition-POSS1SG-ACC approve-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-PAST3
barliḵ *šart-iṅ-dī* *makulda-y-mīn*.
 all condition-POSS2SG-ACC approve-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘Zhīyào nǐ dāyīng wǒ zhè yīgè tiáojiàn, wǒ jiù dāyīng nǐ suǒyǒu de tiáojiàn.’ (Zhang 2004: 418)
 [‘If you accept my only condition, I will accept all of your conditions.’]

Example 111

Ĵemīs *bol-sa* *bol-γan-ī*, *men* *ĵūr-e*
 fruit BOL.COP-HYP3 BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 I move-A. CONV
ber-e-mīn.
 GIVE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘As long as fruit is available, I will survive.’

Combination with *γana* ‘just, only’

The hypothetical forms in {-sA²} with the particle *γana* can express ‘only when’, ‘only if’. The restrictive meaning ‘only’ is supplied by the particle *γana* here.

Example 112

Ĵalīḵpay *üyren-se-ŋ* *γana* *ĵeṅīs-ke* *ĵet-e*
 untiring learn-HYP-2SG only success-DAT reach-A.CONV
aḷ-a-siṅ.
 TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP2SG
 ‘Only if you learn untiringly may you succeed.’

Temporal

The suffix {-sA²} can be used to express the temporal meaning ‘when’.

Example 113

Üsen *kel-e* *ĵat-sa*, *aldīn-a* *bⁱr*
 Usen come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV-HYP3 front.POSS3-DAT a
ḵarya *kel-ip* *ḵon-a* *ḵaḷ-a-dī*.
 crow come-IP.CONV sit-A.CONV STAY.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘When Usen was on the way, a crow descended and suddenly sat down in front of him.’

Contrastive

Hypothetical forms can be used to link two clauses in a contrastive sense. i.e., to emphasize the differences between the information provided in the linked clauses.

Example 114

ʸEndi biz-diŋ kʲstay-imiz negizinen köšpendi bol-up
 NOW.FILL we-GEN village-POSS1PL mainly nomadic BOL.COP-IP.CONV
ǰaz-da ǰäyläw-ǰa köš-še²² kʲs-ta
 summer-LOC summer pasture-DAT move-HYP3 winter-LOC
kʲstawlık-ka bar-ʲp mał baǰ-a-dı.
 winter residence-DAT go-IP.CONV livestock breed-A.PRES-3
 ‘And our village is mainly nomadic, whereas (the people) in the summertime move to the summer pasture, in the winter (they) go to the winter residence and breed (their) livestock.’ (T3/ 23)

Example 115

Kız-ı “kiyim al-a-mın” de-se, ul-ı
 daughter-POSS3 clothes buy-A.PRES-COP1SG say-HYP3 son-POSS3
“ǰeytin al-a-mın” de-y-dı.
 food buy-A.PRES-COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
 ‘While X’s daughter says “I want to buy clothes”, X’s son says “I want to buy food”.’

Idiomatic usages

Bolsa ‘as for’

The copula form of the hypothetical form of the copula, *bol-sa* {BOL.COP-HYP3} can function as a topic marker. It can be interpreted in English as ‘as for’, ‘with regard to’.

Example 116

Al meniŋ bar arman-ım bol-sa, tek seni
 but I.GEN all wish-POSS1SG BOL.COP-HYP3 only you.ACC
ǰana baǰıttı kıl-uw.
 just happy MAKE.LIGHTV-UW.VN
 ‘But as for my wish, it is just to make you happy.’

Note that, according to Zhang (2004: 422), the Kazakh particle *bolsa* can only mark the subject of the clause.

Other Turkic languages have similar topic markers based on hypothetical forms of the copula, e.g. Turkmen *bol-θa* {BOL.COP-HYP3}, and Turkish *i-se* {I.COP-HYP3} (Johanson 2006b: 59).

²² The hypothetical form {-sA²} is pronounced as -ša, because of assimilation with the stem-final š.

Tursa ‘considering the fact that’

Zhang (1993: 26, 2004: 420) points out that *tur-sa* {TUR.COP-HYP3} strengthens the truth of an assertion in the non-main clause. The expression is often use when the statement is contrary to what has been expected or what has been asserted. The meaning can be interpreted as ‘in point of fact’ in English.

Example 117

A: *Aysuluw kel-e-dī.*

Aysulu come-A.PRES-3

‘Aysulu will come.’

B: *Akša-si jök tur-sa, ^wol kel-e*
money-POSS3SG no TUR.COP-HYP3 she come-A.CONV
al-ma-y-dī.

TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3

‘Considering the fact that she does not have money, she will not be able to come.’

Bolmasa ‘except for’, ‘apart from’

The negated hypothetical form of the copula *bol-ma-sa* {BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3} when used in the idiomatic sense ‘except for’, ‘apart from’, expresses an eliminable condition, i.e. a circumstance which is not crucial to the truth of the statement presented in the main clause (Zhang 1993: 24, 2004: 418)

Example 118

^wO-lar abay-dī ^wokī-yan-ī bol-ma-sa,
X-PL Abai-ACC read-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3
šin-ī-men tanī-yan ^yemes.

real-POSS3-WITH.POSTP know-GAN.PTCP not

‘Tāmen chú dúguò guānyú ā bài de shū yǐwài, bìng bù zhēnzhèng rènshi ā bài.’
(Zhang 2004: 418)

[‘Except for having read the book about Abai, they do not really know anything about him.’]

Example 119

Ĵimi-yan-ī bol-ma-sa, pālendey bīr ^woy
smile-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3 not such an idea
bıldır-gen-ī jök.

express-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 no

‘Except for smiling, X did not express any idea.’

Example 120 illustrates a special use of *bolmasa*. *Bolmasa* is the negated predicate of the protasis in a rhetorical question. Observe that the corre-

sponding non-negated expression is built with *tursa* ‘considering the fact that’; see Example 121.

Example 120.

<i>Akša-si</i>	<i>bol-ma-sa,</i>	^w <i>ol</i>	<i>qalay</i>	<i>kelinšek</i>
money-POSS3SG	BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3	X	how	wife

al-makši.
take-MAKŠI
‘Considering that X does not have money, how does X intend to marry?’

Example 121

<i>Akša-si</i>	<i>tur-sa,</i>	^w <i>ol</i>	<i>nege</i>	<i>kelinšek</i>
money-POSS3SG	BOL.COP-HYP3	X	why	wife

al-ma-y-di?
TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘Considering that X has money, why doesn’t X intend to marry?’

Bolmasa / ne bolmasa / ya bolmasa ‘or, otherwise’

Certain items based on the hypothetical forms of the copula, *bol-ma-sa* {BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3}, *ne bol-ma-sa* {or BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3}, *ya bol-ma-sa*, {or BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3}, are used to link alternative expressions—clauses or sentence constituents—in the sense of ‘or, otherwise’ in English. Corresponding items in other Turkic languages are Turkish *yok-sa* {non-existing-HYP3SG} ‘or, otherwise’, Uyghur *bol-mi-sa* {BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3}, *yaki bol-mi-sa* {or BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3}, *ya bol-mi-sa* {or BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3} all meaning ‘or’.

Example 122

^w <i>Öleñ ayt,</i>	<i>ne bolmasa</i>	<i>biy bile!</i>
song sing.IMP	or	dance.IMP

‘Sing or dance!’

Example 123

<i>Mayan</i>	<i>an-niñ</i>	<i>mätin-i</i>	<i>ne bolmasa</i>	^w <i>orındawši-si</i>
I.DAT	song-GEN	lyric-POSS3	or	performer-POSS3SG

qajet.
necessary
‘I either need the lyrics of the song or the name of the performer.’

Zhang (2003, 146, 2004: 536) is of the opinion that *bolmasa*, *ne bolmasa*, *ya bolmasa* and *yaki bolmasa* are used to signal that the speaker prefers the first of the alternatives. The second option is given for consideration only if the first one cannot be fulfilled. He also points out the differences between these conjunctions. *Bolmasa* straightforwardly marks that the interlocutor prefers

the first alternative. *Ne bolmasa* is a more polite expression. *Yâ bolmasa* and *yâki bolmasa* express the speaker's preference in an indirect way.

Âytpese 'if not, otherwise'

A necessary condition is expressed by the conjunction *âyt-pe-se* <do it like that-NEG-HYP3> 'if not, otherwise'.

Example 124

Men misal-men tüsündir-eyin, âytpese "oy-im-di
 I example-WITH.POSTP explain-VOL1SG otherwise thought-POSS1SG-ACC
jetkiz-e al-ma-y-min.
 deliver-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-COP1SG
 'I shall illustrate it with an example, otherwise I can't explain my thought.'

Example 125

"Âytpese üz-üp ket-ip kal-atın
 otherwise break-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP
'e-dî" de-y-dî.
 E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 "'Otherwise, they would have broken (the hobbles) and left", he writes.' (T4/ 43)

Âytse de 'even so, nevertheless, however, but, though'

Âytse de <do it so-HYP3 DA.PART> 'even so, nevertheless' is a conjunction expressing adversative meaning (Geng et al. 1999: 282, Zhang 2003: 169, 2004: 556).

Example 126

Dawus-um jaksî 'emes, âytse de bul ân-dî ayt-ïp
 voice-POSS1SG good not even so this song-ACC sing-IP.CONV
kör-eyin.
 SEE.POSTV-VOL1SG
 'My voice is not good, even so I may try to sing this song.'

Some synonymous expressions mentioned in Kazakh grammars are *süyt-se de* <söytse de> <do it so-HYP3 DA.PART> 'even so, nonetheless' (Geng et al. 1999: 282), *üyt-se de* <öytse de> <do it so-HYP3 DA.PART> 'even so, though, although' (Zhang 2003: 169, 2004: 556).

Dese de 'even so, nevertheless, however, but, though'

When *de-se* <say-HYP3> 'if X says / when X says' combines with the particle D^2A^2 , i.e. *dese de*, it functions as an adversative conjunction and expresses the same meaning as *âytse de* as we just mentioned above. The conjunction *âytse de* in Example 127 can be substituted for *dese de* as the following example illustrates.

Example 127

Dawus-um ǰaǰsī ʸemes, dese de bul an-dī ayt-īp
 voice-POSS1SG good not even so this song-ACC sing-IP.CONV
kör-eyin.

SEE.POSTV-VOL1SG

‘My voice is not good, even so I may try to sing this song.’

Note that when the verb in the protasis is in the voluntative mood combined with *dese*, the relation between two clauses is interpreted such that the action in the subordinate clause is the person’s wish that could not be fulfilled because of the circumstance presented in the main clause.

Example 128

“*Ƙayt-īp šinǰaŋ-ǰa kel-eyin de-se-m*
 return-IP.CONV Xinjiang-DAT come-VOL1SG say-HYP-1SG
ʷo žer-den ʸendī ʷöt-üw ǰiyin bol-dī.”

X place-ABL now pass-UW.VN difficult BOL.COP-PAST3

“‘When I have thought about going back to Xinjiang, but it has now become difficult to cross (the border)’.” (T4/ 67)

Example 129

Nāzān-ǰa telefon ber-eyik de-se-k
 Nazan-DAT telephone give-VOL.1PL say-HYP-1PL
ƙara, telefon ǰok, adaš.
 look.IMP telephone non-existing friend

‘When we wanted to call Nazan, look, there was no phone, (my) friend.’ (T9/ 22)

Süytse ‘in fact, in reality, in truth’

Süytse <*söytse*> <do it so-HYP3> ‘if X do(es) it so/when X do(es) it so’ is a conjunction which introduces a clause that explains what actually is the case. The predicate in the clause introduced by this conjunction is always an indirective form, either with the indirective particle *ʸeken* (mostly after nominals), or {-*(I²)ptI²*} (after verbs) Zhang (2003: 152, 2004: 542).

Example 130

Keš-ke mal-ī-n tügende-gende, ʷon šaktī
 evening-DAT cattle-POSS3-ACC count-GAN.LOC.CONV ten approximately
ʸerkek ƙoy ǰok bol-ʷp čy-a-dī,
 male sheep non-existing BOL.COP-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3
süytse bayanayī ƙarmakšī ƙoyšī-lar-dī alda-p
 in actual fact that one fisherman shepherd-PL-ACC deceive-IP.CONV
tur-ǰanda, ʷo-niŋ serik-ter-ī ƙoy-dī
 STAND.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV X.GEN companion-PL-POSS3 sheep-ACC

tiz-ip

aket-e

ber-ip-ti.

construct a raw-IP.CONV take away-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3

‘Bàngwǎn diǎnshù shí, fāxiàn shǎole shí lái zhī yáng, yuánlái, dāng diàoyú rén zài hōngpiàn yángguānmén shí, tā de tóngguō jiù bǎ yáng guǎi pǎole.’ (Zhang 2003: 153, 2004: 542)

[‘In the evening, when they counted them (the sheep), they found that ten (male) sheep were missing. Actually, while that fisherman deceived the shepherds, his companions apparently spirited away the sheep.’]

The non-productive imprecative in {-G⁴I²r}

The marker {-G⁴I²r} is an old suffix that in modern Kazakh expresses maledictions, i.e. curses. It is no longer used any more to express good wishes. The suffix is not productive and is only used in set phrases wishing evil upon somebody. Earlier the suffix was productive and could express both benedictions and curses. In modern Kazakh, the voluntative of the third person in {-sI²n} has taken over these functions.

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The marker of the imprecative is {-G⁴I²r}. Personal endings or the plural suffix {-L⁴A²r} cannot be attached to this suffix, e.g. *“Öl-gir!* (die-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X die!’, *Jan-ıñ cık-kir!* (soul-POSS2SG come out- GIR.IMPR) ‘May you die!’, *Mıñ bol-γır!* (thousand BOL.COP-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X have thousand (more descendents)!’, *Kürı-p ket-kir!* (vanish-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X perish!’

However, plural forms can occur in the Kazakh of speakers influenced by Uyghur because in Uyghur the plural marker {-L²A²r} can be applied after the marker {-G⁴U²r}.

A deverbal derivational suffix {-G⁴I²r} occurs in some items, e.g. *“öt-kir* ‘sharp’, *al-γır* ‘clever’.

Negative

The negative of the imprecative is built by adding {-M³A²-G²I²r} to the verbal stem, e. g. *Jar-ıñ bol-ma-γır!* (husband / wife-POSS2SG BOL.COP-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May you be left lonely!’, *Köger-me-gir!* (grow blue-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X fall into decay!’, *Bağ jaz-ba-γır!* (luck write-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X be unfortunate!’, *Jür-giz-be-gir!* (move-CAUS-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not be able to walk!’, *Batpaq-tan cık-pa-γır!* (swamp-ABL come out-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not come out from the swamp!’, *Jet-pe-gir!* (reach-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not reach (it)!’.

Basic morphological and syntactic properties

Imprecative forms can be used as a predicate or as an attribute to a nominal. In the first case, the logical subject can only be a third person, because the marker {-G⁴I²r} cannot take any personal agreement.

Example 131

Köz-üm kör bol-γir!
eye-POSS1SG blind BOL.COP-GIR.IMPR
'May my eyes become blind!'

The imprecative expression can also be used attributively, as in the small clause ^w*ölgeniñ kurıγır* 'may your corpse dry up', below.

Example 132

^w*Öl-gen-iñ kurı-γır çešek.*
die-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG dry-GIR.IMPR smallpox
'You smallpox, your corpse may dry up.'

The imprecative can be inflected for case and possessive as Example 133 illustrates.

Example 133

^w*Öl-gır-dıñ ıt-ı-n quw-up jiber-dı-m.*
die-GIR.IMPR-GEN dog-POSS3-ACC chase-IP.CONV SEND.POST-PAST-1SG
'I chased away the dog of X who should die.' / 'I chased away the dog who should die.'

The imprecative marker {-G⁴U²r} in Uyghur possesses similar properties, but the plural marker can be attached when the logical subject is plural and is not expressed overtly, e.g. *Öl-gür-lär!* 'May they die!'

Old Uyghur possesses the marker {-GÜr}, e.g. *Ol öl-gür!* 'May X die!' Several modern Turkic languages use its equivalents in phrases expressing curses and good wishes, e.g. Uzbek *Bây bol-gir!* 'May X become rich!', *Kör bol-gir!* 'May X become blind!'. A close semantic counterpart is {-(y)AsI} ~ {-(y)AsI-jA} in Turkish, e.g. *Kör ol-ası!* 'May X become blind!'.

Usages

Curses and blessings

In modern Kazakh, the imprecative is solely used in curses; see the following examples.

Example 134

Ĵan-ïŋ *čik-kïr!*
 soul-POSS2SG come out- GIR.IMPR
 ‘May you die!’ (lit. ‘May your soul leave you!’)

Example 135

Ķarγis *at-kïr!*
 curse shoot-GIR.IMPR
 ‘May you be cursed!’

In earlier varieties of Kazakh, this form could also be used in blessings, as the following examples illustrate.

Example 136

Ĵännât-tâ *ĵan-ïŋ* *bol-γïr!*
 heaven-LOC soul-POSS2SG BOL.COP-GIR.IMPR
 ‘May your soul (rest) in heaven!’

Example 137

Bala šaya-ŋ-nïŋ *ķizïy-ï-n* *kör-gïr!*
 descendent-POSS2SG-GEN happiness-POSS3-ACC see-GIR.IMPR
 ‘May you see the happiness of your descendents!’

Combination of {-G⁴I²r} with ^y*edï*

The particle {-G⁴I²r} in combination with the past tense form of the copula *e-* ‘to be’ may be used to express the speaker’s unfulfillable or unrealistic wish.

Example 138

Ĵaŋγiz *ķal-γïr* ^y*e-dï.*
 alone stay-GIR.IMPR E.COP-PAST3
 ‘May that X might be left alone.’

Modal nuances expressed by the aorist

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The aorist is formed with the suffix {- (A²)r} and pronominal type of personal endings.

The first person singular form for expressing possibility is {- (A²)r-mI²n}, e.g. *Ķal-ar-mïn* ⟨stay-AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I might stay’, *Kör-er-mïn* ⟨see-AOR-

COP1SG) ‘I might see’, ^w*Oķi-r-mīn* ⟨read-AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I might read’, *Bīl-er-mīn* ⟨dance-AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I might dance’.

The first person plural marker for expressing possibility is $\{-(A^2)r-mI^2z\}$, e.g. *Ķal-ar-mīz* ⟨stay-AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We might stay’, *Kōr-er-mīz* ⟨see-AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We might see’, ^w*Oķi-r-mīz* ⟨read-AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We might read’, *Bīle-r-mīz* ⟨dance-AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We might dance’.

The second person singular marker for expressing possibility is $\{-(A^2)r-sI^2\eta\}$, e.g. *Ķal-ar-sīŋ* ⟨stay-AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You might stay’, *Kōr-er-sīŋ* ⟨see-AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You might see’, ^w*Oķi-r-sīŋ* ⟨read-AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You might read’, *Bīle-r-sīŋ* ⟨dance-AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You might dance’. The polite form is $\{-(A^2)r-sI^2z\}$, e.g. *Kel-er-sīz* ⟨come-AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You might come’.

The second person plural marker for expressing possibility is $\{-(A^2)r-sI^2\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ķal-ar-sīŋ-dar* ⟨stay-AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might stay’, *Kōr-er-sīŋ-der* ⟨see-AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might see’, ^w*Oķi-r-sīŋ-dar* ⟨read-AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might read’, *Bīle-r-sīŋ-der* ⟨dance-AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might dance’. The polite form is $\{-(A^2)r-sI^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Kel-er-sīz-der* ⟨come-AOR-2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might come’.

The third person marker $\{-(A^2)r-\emptyset\}$ is the marker for expressing possibility in both singular and plural. It is not possible to add the plural suffix $\{-L^4A^2r\}$ after it, e.g. *Ķal-ar* ⟨stay-AOR3⟩ ‘X might stay’, *Kōr-er* ⟨see-AOR3⟩ ‘X might see’, ^w*Oķi-r* ⟨read-AOR3⟩ ‘X might read’.

Negative

The first person singular negative is $\{-M^3A^2s-pI^2n\}$, e.g. *Bar-mas-pīn* ⟨go-NEG.AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I won’t go’, *Ķīr-mes-pīn* ⟨enter-NEG.AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I won’t go in’, *Ĵaz-bas-pīn* ⟨write-NEG.AOR-COP1SG⟩ ‘I won’t write’.

The first person plural negative form is $\{-M^3A^2s-pI^2z\}$, e.g. *Bar-mas-pīz* ⟨go-NEG.AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We won’t go’, *Ķīr-mes-pīz* ⟨enter-NEG.AOR-COP1PL⟩ ‘We won’t go in’.

The second person singular negative form is $\{-M^3A^2s-sI^2\eta\}$, e.g. *Bar-mas-sīŋ* ⟨go-NEG.AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You won’t go’, *Ķīr-mes-sīŋ* ⟨enter-NEG.AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You won’t go in’. The polite singular negative form is $\{-M^3A^2s-sI^2z\}$, e.g. *Ket-pes-sīz* ⟨leave-NEG.AOR-COP2SG⟩ ‘You won’t leave’.

The second person plural negative form is $\{-M^3A^2s-sI^2\eta-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Bar-mas-sīŋ-dar* ⟨go-NEG.AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You won’t go’, *Ķīr-mes-sīŋ-der* ⟨enter-NEG.AOR-COP2SG-PL⟩ ‘You won’t go in’. The polite plural negative form is $\{-M^3A^2s-sI^2z-dA^2r\}$, e.g. *Ket-pes-sīz-der* ⟨leave-NEG.AOR-2SG-PL⟩ ‘You might not leave / You won’t leave’.

The third person singular and plural form is $\{-M^3A^2s-\emptyset\}$, e.g. *Bar-mas* ⟨go-NEG.AOR3⟩ ‘X might not go / X won’t go’, *Ķīr-mes* ⟨enter-NEG.AOR3⟩ ‘X won’t go in’.

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

The aorist marker $\{-(A^2)r\}$ functions as a mood marker in main clause predicates, indicating prospectivity with the meaning of epistemic possibility. Negated forms can also express volition, a firm decision.

Geng (1989: 128) describes the form as “*jiānglái bu dìngshì*” [‘future aorist’] and Geng et al. (1999: 228) calls the form “*tüyanaksız keler şak*” [‘aorist future tense’]. Zhang labels the form as “*huò rán jiānglái shì*” [‘future tense expressing probability’]. In other grammars, the aorist is denoted as “*bolžaldıķ / bolžaldı keler şak*” [‘assumptive future tense’] (KG 2002: 519, Mamanov 2007: 116, MKL 2010: 466).

Also in Turkish, the aorist mainly has modal uses including tendency, inclination and possibility. In the Uyghur and Kazakh, its function has developed further and it now only expresses modal meanings. Traces of the use of the older present tense can be found in Kazakh antiquated written styles. The aorist may also occur as a predicate in non-main clauses. In this case, it does not function as a mood. See more about this in the description of the usages.

Usages

Predicate in main clauses

As mentioned, in main clause predicates the form $\{-(A^2)r\}$ expresses epistemic evaluation of the possibility that something may or may not happen.

Example 139

Kel-ip ƙal-ar.
come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3
‘X might come.’

The negation of the possibility can signal the speaker’s determination not to perform an action, as in Example 140, or denote the speaker’s best estimation of the likelihood of an event as in Example 141. KG (2002: 519) also points out that instead of expressing possibility, the negation of the aorist tends to denote the strong will and firm attitude of the speaker.

Example 140

^w*Oyan ʻendi bar-mas-pın.*
X.DAT now go-NEG.AOR-1SG
‘I won’t go there anymore.’

Example 141

Kır-e ber, ^woyan-ip ket-pes.
come in-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV.IMP wake up-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-NEG.AOR3
‘Come in, X won’t wake up.’

Zhang (2004: 332–333) points out that forms of the second person can function as a polite and gentle command or a request.

Example 142

ʸErteŋ tüs-ten keyin ʷöz-iŋ de
 tomorrow noon-ABL AFTER1.POSTP self-POSS2SG DA.PART
kel-er-siŋ.
 come-AOR-COP2SG
 ‘Míngtiān xiàwǔ nǐ yě lái yī tàng ba.’ (Zhang 2004: 333)
 [‘Tomorrow, in the afternoon, could you come as well please?’]

Combination with *ʸedī*

A past copula *ʸedī* {E.COP-PAST3} may be added to the aorist to express a counterfactual meaning. In spoken registers, as in Example 143, the contracted form *ʸem* {E.COP-1SG} is used instead of *ʸedim*.

Example 143

Bar-ar ʸem.
 go-AOR.PTCP E.COP.1SG
 ‘I would have gone.’

Note that in Turkish the aorist with the past copula {-(A/I)rdī} can denote past habitual meaning.

Example 144 Turkish

Ahmet sabah-lar-ı bir elma ye-r-di.
 Ahmet morning-PL-POSS3 an apple eat-AOR-3
 ‘In the mornings Ahmet used to eat an apple.’

In Kazakh, this is not possible. This meaning is expressed with {-wšĭ² // -(Ø)U²wšĭ²} + *ʸedī* with copula personal endings.

Example 145

Axmet tāŋerteŋ-der-i b¹r alma ĵe-wšĭ ʸe-dĭ.
 Ahmet morning-PL-POSS3 an apple eat-UWŠĭ.PTCP E.COP-PAST3
 ‘In the mornings Ahmet used to eat an apple.’

Idiomatic forms

Two items, *bol-ar* {BOL.COP-AOR3} ‘it is possible’ and *čĭŷ-ar* {come out-AOR3} ‘can turn out to be’ ← *čĭk-* ‘to come out, result’, denote presumption (see more in the chapter *Lexical expressions*).

Habitual

In proverbs and sayings, the aorist denotes a habit, a characteristic of the person referred to.

Example 146

Ĵaksĭ kör-gen-i-n *ayt-ar,*
good see-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC tell-AOR3
ĵaman ĵe-gen-i-n *ayt-ar.*
bad eat-GEN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC tell-AOR3
‘A good (person) talks about what s/he has seen, and a bad (person) talks about what s/he has eaten.’

Comparison with Turkish

According to Göksel and Kerslake, the Turkish aorist can refer to a state of affairs that has been directly observed or experienced by the speaker, without implying that it has the status of a rule or principle (2005: 339). In Kazakh, the present tense {-A²//-y} is used instead.

The Turkish aorist expresses scientific and moral axioms or normative or prescriptive statements.

Example 147 Turkish

İki iki daha dört ed-er.
two two more four make-AOR3
‘Two and two make four.’ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 339, Example 56)

The corresponding expression in Kazakh is given in Example 148.

Example 148

ʸEkĭ ĵer-de ʸekĭ tört (bol-a-dĭ).
two place-LOC two four (BOL.COP-A.PRES-3)
‘Two and two make four.’

The Turkish aorist can express generic statements about the characteristic qualities or behavior of a class or an individual. In Example 149 it describes a habit of an individual.

Example 149 Turkish

Ali sigara iç-mez.
Ali cigarette smoke-NEG.AOR
‘Ali doesn’t smoke.’ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 340, Example 67)

The corresponding Kazakh expression would be as in Example 150.

Example 150

Âli temekî tart-pa-y-dî.
 Âli cigarette smoke-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘Ali does not smoke.’

The passive of the Turkish negative aorist is regularly used in public notices expressing prohibitions; see Example 151.

Example 151 Turkish

Gir-il-mez.
 come in-PASS-NEG.AOR
 ‘No entry.’ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 340, Example 62)

A corresponding expression in Kazakh is illustrated in Example 152.

Example 152

Kîr-ûw-ge bol-ma-y-dî.
 come in-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘It is not possible to go in.’

Attributive

The aorist can be used as an attribute modifying the meaning of a nominal. See Examples 153–156, in which the expressions *barar jer* ‘place to go’, *um^ftîlmas balalıq kez* ‘unforgettable childhood time’, and *tamaq bolar b^frdeme* ‘something to eat’ are used.

Example 153

Kerek tas-tîñ awırliñ-î jôq,
 necessary stone-GEN weight-POSS3 non-existing
bar-ar jer-diñ alıstıñ-î jôq.
 go-AOR.PTCP place-GEN long distance-POSS3 non-existing
 ‘A stone that you need has no weight, the place where you will go, is not far away.’

Example 154

^y*Eñ bakıttı sât-ter-îm, um^ft-îl-mas balalıq*
 SUPER happy moment-PL-POSS1SG forget-PASS-NEG.AOR.PTCP childhood
kez-der-îm.
 time-PL-POSS1SG
 ‘My happiest time was my unforgettable childhood.’

The aorist $\{-(A^2)r\}$ in such usage, can imply future time reference.

Example 155

Tamağ bol-ar b¹rdeme-ler al-sa-η šī.
 food BOL.COP-AOR.PTCP something-PL take-HYP-2SG ŠI.PART
 ‘Buy something that can serve as a meal.’

Example 156

Bar-ar ĵer bas-ar taw-um kał-ma-y,
 go-AOR.PTCP place step-AOR.PTCP mountain-POSS1SG stay-NEG-A.CONV
siz-ge kel-ĭp pana tiĭe-p^wotir-mīn.
 you-DAT come-IP.CONV shelter beg-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-COP1SG
 ‘I came to beg you for a shelter, because I did not have anywhere to go to (no mountain to climb).’

Nominalized forms of the aorist $\{-(A^2)r\}$ can be used as nouns and are inflected in possessive suffixes and case. See Examples 157–159 in which the aorist is assigned different cases.

Example 157

Baška ayt-ar-ĭη bar ma?
 other tell-AOR.PTCP-POSS2SG existing Q.PART
 ‘Is there anything else you will say?’

Example 158

Context: A mother sees her daughter who is wearing a very short skirt to attend an important occasion.

Kiy-er-ge kiyim tap-pa-yan-day,
 wear-AOR.PTCP-DAT clothes find-NEG-GAN.PTCP-EQUA
tüštüy-t-ĭp an-da-γī-η ne?
 become short-CAUS-IP.CONV X-LOC-GI-POSS2SG what
 ‘As if you could not find any clothes to wear, what is that short thing (that you are wearing)?’

Example 159

Muġalim kel-mes-ten burun^woġ^hwšī-lar
 teacher come-NEG.AOR.PTCP-ABL BEFORE.POSTP student-PL
kitāp-tār-ĭ-n^woġi-y basta-dī.
 book-PL-POSS3-ACC read-A.CONV START.POSTV-PAST3
 ‘Before the teacher arrived, the students had started to read their books.’

A negated aorist in $\{-M^3A^2s\}$ in the ablative, without a postposition, may express that an action that was supposed to be carried out did not occur. In this case, the aorist functions as a converb.

Example 160

Muxtar *jarıq-ti* *söndir-mes-ten* *köz-i*
 Muhtar light-ACC turn off-NEG.AOR.PTCP-ABL eye-POSS3
il-in-ip *ket-ti.*
 attach-REF.PASS-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
 ‘Muhtar shut his eyes without turning off the light.’

The aorist in $\{-A^2\}r$ in the locative also functions as a converb.

Example 161

Besik-ke *sał-arda* *tayı da* *sol körşı qolañ*
 cradle-DAT put-AOR.LOC.CONV again DA.PART that neighbor
tuwus tʷıyan-dar-di *çaķır-ip,* *so-dan keyin*
 relative kinsman-PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
ʷo-lar ʷöz-in-e *tuştuk, äğindey* *äği,*
 X-PL self-POSS3-DAT suitable LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL
nemene, bu bala-ğa *čäşüw al-a* *kel-e-di.*
 WHAT.FILL this child-DAT present take-A.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘Moreover, when they put the baby into the cradle they invite the neighbors and relatives, and they bring suitable presents and they put them into the cradle.’
 (T1/ 12)

Periphrastic expressions of modality

Modal notions can be expressed with periphrastic expressions that are combinations of a mood marker and a lexical item. Two periphrastic constructions express inclination, i.e. a person’s natural tendency or urge to act or feel in a particular way, a disposition.

$\{-G^4I^2\}$ + possessive personal markers + *kel-*

The combination of the old necessitative marker $\{-G^4I^2\}$ ²³ with a personal marker of the possessive type followed by the verb *kel-* ‘to come’ expresses an inclination to do something. If the verb *kel-* is negated the construction expresses disinclination, i.e. unwillingness, aversion to do something. This construction is labeled as *kalaw ray* ‘optative mood’ in some grammars written in Kazakh (Geng et al. 1999: 238, MKL 2002: 470, KG 2002: 514,

²³ The form $\{-G^4I^2\}$ probably is a preserved form of the Old Uyghur necessitative marker $\{-GU\}$ which expresses meanings of purpose, necessity, potentiality, expectation, and intention. von Gabain (1959: 36) remarks that it had an abstract basic meaning from which expressions of necessity, potentiality, and purpose (“ein Müssen, Können und ein Zweck”) developed. It can refer to subject and non-subject participants. Thus *be:r-gü* means someone or something that will/ought to give and something to be given. The meaning ‘one must’ is normally expressed by the composite suffix $\{-GULUK\}$, negated $\{-GUUsUz\}$, e.g. *Bil-gülük* (know-GULUK.NESS) ‘It is necessary to know’, and Modern Uyghur has preserved this marker.

Mamanov 2007: 96), and as *yuànwàng shì* ‘optative mood’ in grammars written in Chinese (Geng 1989: 140, Zhang 2004: 425). MKL and Mamanov subcategorize the construction as *ʔeriktī ƙalaw ray*, a ‘voluntary optative mood’ that signals the desire to do or not to do something. Zhang (2004: 425) subcategorizes the construction as *zhí shù yuànwàng shì*, a ‘direct stated optative mood’ that denotes that the speaker states the wish of the subject referent directly. We reserve the term “optative” for verb forms that constitute the optative paradigm; see *Optative*. Thus, items conveying meanings similar to those of optative verb forms will not be labeled optative in the present work. The following example illustrates inclination.

Example 162

ʔEndī ʷosī-lar-dīŋ iʃ-īn-de ǰāne men bʻr adam-dī
 NOW.FILL this-PL-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC and I a person-ACC
tanīstīr-a ket-kī-m kel-ip
 introduce-A.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GL.NESS-1SG COME.POSTV-IP.CONV
ʷotīr bul musattar sālīs ul-ī de-gen kīʃī.
 SIT.POSTV3 this Musattar Salis son-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP person
 ‘Now, I would like to introduce to you one of them: Musattar Salis.’ (T2/ 7)

See the following examples of expressions of inclination and disinclination based on {-G⁴I²} + *kel-* ‘to come’ and *kel-me-* {come-NEG} ‘not to come’.

Example 163

Senī kör-gī-m kel-e-dī.
 you.ACC see-GL.NESS-POSS1SG come-A.PRES-3
 ‘I want to see you / I have got the urge to see you / I feel like seeing you / the desire to see you befallen me.’

Example 164

Senī kör-gī-m kel-me-y-dī.
 you.ACC see-GL.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘I don’t have the desire to see you.’

See the following versions of Examples 163 and 164. In these versions, the past tense forms in {-D²I²} are used.

Example 165

Senī kör-gī-m kel-dī.
 you.ACC see-GL.NESS-POSS1SG come-PAST3
 ‘I have got / got the desire to see you.’

Example 166

Seni kör-gi-m kel-me-dï.
 you.ACC see-GL.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-PAST3
 ‘I have not got / did not get the desire to see you.’

The past tense forms, in Examples 166 and 167, describe an event that started in the past and is relevant to the present situation as well.

Uyghur employs the same construction to express inclination, i.e. {-G⁴U²} + possessive personal markers + *käl-* ‘to come, arrive, reach’. Examples 165 and 166 can be uttered in Uyghur as following.

Example 167 Uyghur

Sëni kör-gü-m kël-i-du.
 you.ACC see-GU.NESS-POSS1SG come-PRES-3
 ‘I want to see you.’ (I am getting the desire to see you.²⁴)

Example 168 Uyghur

Sëni kör-gü-m käl-mä-y-du.
 you.ACC see-GU.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-PRES-3
 ‘I don’t have the desire to see you.’

The suffix {-G⁴U²} in Modern Uyghur is productive and functions as a participle, e.g. *bar-yu-däk yär* (go-PTCP-EQUA place) ‘a place to go’. However, the form in {-G⁴I²} in Kazakh is not productive and is restricted only to the periphrastic expressions discussed here.

{-G⁴I²} + possessive personal markers + *bar*

Inclination can also be expressed with the periphrastic form {-G⁴I²} in combination with a personal marker of the possessive type and the lexical item *bar* ‘existing’. The construction can be interpreted in English as ‘one has the desire to do something’. This expression is only mentioned in Zhang’s grammar (2004: 425) as parallel to {-G⁴I²} + possessive personal markers + *kel-*. Negation is expressed by substituting *jok* ‘non-existing’ for *bar* ‘existing’. The construction is not mentioned in the other grammars, probably because this is not a genuine way of expressing inclination in Kazakh and its use is restricted to the spoken registers. We assume that this is a selective copy of the corresponding Uyghur expression which is frequently used. See the following Kazakh examples.

²⁴ The similar expression exists in Turkish with similar construction, e.g. *Istanbul’u göresim geldi.* (Lewis 1967: 165)

Example 169

Sax^fna-ya ^w*osī* *ān-dī* ^w*orinda-p*
stage-DAT this song-ACC perform-IP.CONV
čīk-kī-m *bar.*
COME OUT.POSTV-GI.NESS-POSS1SG existing
‘I have the desire to perform this song on stage.’

Example 170

Doxtīr *bol-γī-ŋ* *bar* *ma?*
doctor BOL.COP-GI.NESS-POSS2SG existing Q.PART
‘Nǐ xiǎng dāng yīshēng ma?’ (Zhang 2004: 426)
[‘Do you have the desire to be a doctor?’]

The corresponding Uyghur construction uses $\{-G^4U^2\}$ with a personal marker of the possessive type and *bar* ‘existing’. The negated form is built with *yok* ‘non-existing’. Example 170 can be translated into Uyghur in the following form.

Example 171 Uyghur

Doxtur *bol-γu-ŋ* *bar* *mu?*
doctor BOL.COP-GU.NESS-POSS2SG existing Q.PART
‘Do you have the desire to be a doctor?’

$\{-sA^2\} + i\gamma gi + {}^ye\dot{d}i$

A wish can be expressed by the periphrastic expression based on a hypothetical form in $\{-sA^2\}$ combined with *iγgi* ‘content’ and the past tense form of the copula *{}^ye\dot{d}i*. A personal ending of the possessive type is attached to the copula. This periphrastic expression is also labeled “optative mood” in some grammars (Geng 1989: 140, Geng et al. 1999: 238, MKL 2002: 470, Zhang 2004: 425, Mamanov 2007: 96). The form is not mentioned in KG 2002. MKL and Mamanov subcategorize the construction as *tīlektī qalaw ray* ‘wishful optative mood’; i.e. the speaker wish for the state of affairs to happen or not to happen. Zhang subcategorizes the constructions as *wǎn shù yuànwàng shì* ‘indirectly stated optative mood’; i.e. the speaker states in a tactful or indirect way his/her hope to fulfill an action. The negative expression may be formed by adding a negation marker $\{-M^3A^2\}$ to the verb stem.

Example 172

Bītīr-se *iγgi* *{}^ye-di-m.*
finish-HYP3 content E.COP-PAST-1SG
‘I would be content if I finished it.’

Example 173

Bitiř-me-se *iygi* ^y*e-dī-m*.
 finish-NEG-HYP3 content E.COP-PAST-1SG
 ‘I would be content if I did not finish it.’

Another slightly different construction is built with {-sA²} with the possessive type of personal endings and *iygi* ‘content’ and ^y*edī*. This is also described as “optative mood” in Zhang’s grammar (2004: 426–427). KG (2002: 514) mentions this form but not the previous form.

Example 174

Bitiř-se-m *iygi* ^y*e-dī*.
 finish-HYP-1SG good E.COP-PAST3
 ‘It would be good if I could finish it.’

The difference between Examples 172 and 174 is that the endings representing the person of the subject are attached to the copula in the first one, and to the hypothetical verb form in the latter. Zhang states that logically, the subject marking should attach to the hypothetical form as in Example 174. The construction illustrated in Example 172, in which the past copula ^y*edī* bears the subject marker, is secondary and is a result of the grammaticalization process (2004: 427). The construction represented by Example 172 is currently disappearing.

{-sA²} + *deymīn*

A wish can also be expressed by the frequently used periphrastic expression based on the hypothetical marker {-sA²} combined with *de-y-mīn* {say-A.PRES-COP1SG} ‘I say’.

Example 175

Ĵaņa ĵīl *barša-mīz-γa* *mol* *tabīs* *silā-sa*
 new year all-POSS1PL-DAT rich success present-HYP3
de-y-mīn.
 say-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘I wish that the new year will bring much success to all of us.’

The rhetorical particle ^y*eken* can be added after the hypothetical form without any change of the meaning.

Example 176

Ĵaņa ĵīl *barša-mīz-γa* *mol* *tabīs* *silā -sa*
 new year all-POSS1PL-DAT rich success present-HYP3

^y*eken* *de-y-mın.*

RHET.PART say-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I wish that the new year will bring much success to all of us.’

{-sA²} *kerek*

Kerek ‘necessary’ occurs with hypothetical forms of the preceding non-main predicate and indicates the meaning ‘it must be’, i.e. expresses presumption. It expresses subjective epistemic evaluation of a particular fact on the basis of probability.

Example 177

Umüt-ip *ket-ken* *bol-sa* *kerek.*
 forget-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 necessary
 ‘X must have forgotten.’

Example 178

Ĵumıla *ıs-ke* *kırıs-se-k,* *ĵırma* ^w*otız* *ĵıl-da*
 unanimously affair-DAT start-HYP-1PL twenty thirty year-LOC
^y*evropa-nıĵ* *bıl-gen-i-n* *bıl-ip,* *evropa*
 Europe-GEN know-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC know-IP.CONV Europe
ķatar-in-a *ķos-il-ip* *ket-e*
 row-POSS3-DAT add-PASS-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-A.CONV
ał-uw-ımız-ĵa *tārıx-tan* *ĵapon-dar* *mısal*
 TAKE.POSTV-UW.VN-POSS1PL-DAT history-ABL Japan-PL example
bol-a *ał-sa* *kerek.*
 BOL.COP-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-HYP3 necessary

‘If we start to act unanimously, we could learn what the Europeans know; we could reach Europe’s level in 20–30 years. Japan might be the example.’ (Ĵanbolatov 2008: 102)

Modal particles

The modal particles described in this chapter express stance, i.e. some kind of cognitive or affective attitude towards the events described, and play an especially significant role in spoken communication. For a brief general presentation of Turkic stance particles see Johanson (2012). The functions of the Kazakh modal particles, i.e. whether they express volition, deontic evaluation or epistemic evaluation, vary according to specific usages in different communicative situations. It is often difficult to find adequate translational equivalents for them in other languages.

Free morphemes functioning as stance markers are either particles or adverbs. As defined here, particles are free elements that cannot be inflected by adding suffixes. Adverbs can be used alone as independent utterances, e.g. *Árine!* or *Álbette!* ‘Of course!’. Particles are dependent on a host and thus cannot be used as independent utterances.

The modal particles are typically enclitic; i.e. they constitute a prosodic unit with their hosts and are not accentable. There are also, however, accentable particles such as *aw*, *‘yá*, *á*, *D²A²*, *bılem*, *deşı* and *deseñşı*. Some particles such as *Γ²oy* and *şı²* belong to the enclitic type in some usages and to the accentable type in other usages.

We can distinguish among particles according to the syntactic positions in which they may occur. *D²A²*, *mI²s*, *de*, *deşı*, and *deseñşı* can take only a postpredicate position. Of these, *D²A²*, *de*, *deşı*, and *deseñşı* can be followed by other elements, so they are not necessarily in sentence-final position. The particle *mI²s* is always in sentence-final position. Some others, e.g. *á*, *‘yá*, *bılem*, can occur both in sentence-final and sentence-initial positions. The particles *Γ²oy*, *aw*, *‘özi* can follow the first constituent of the clause and occur in postpredicate positions. Of those in postpredicate position, *‘özi* cannot be followed by any other element and is thus sentence-final. One particle, *şı²*, can be attached to any constituent.

Table 3. *The syntactic position of particles*

Particles	S-initial	Following the first constituent of the clause	Following any constituent	Postpredicate	S-final
<i>â</i>	+				+
<i>aw</i>		+		+	
<i>bîlem</i>	+				+
<i>D²A²</i>				+	
<i>de</i>				+	
<i>deseŋŋî</i>				+	
<i>deŋî</i>				+	
<i>Î²oy</i>		+		+	
<i>^lyâ</i>	+				+
<i>mÎ²s</i>					+
<i>ŋÎ²</i>		+	+	+	
<i>^wôzî</i>		+			+

In the following, the semantic, syntactic and prosodic properties of the modal particles will be presented. The description will start with *Î²oy*, the most frequently used modal particle.

The particle *Î²oy*

Variants

The particle *Î²oy* has two variants, *oy* and *koy*. The form *oy* is attached to stems that end in a vowel or a voiced consonant, e.g. *^wOķî-y-dî oy* <study-A.PRES-3 İOY.PART> ‘X studies, you know’. The form *koy* follows voiceless consonants, e.g. *^wOķî-dî-k koy* <study-PAST-1PL İOY.PART> ‘We studied, you know’, *Kör-dî-k koy* <see-PAST-1PL İOY.PART> ‘We saw it, you know’.

Basic properties

The particle *Î²oy* does not have any lexical meaning. Its basic contribution is to mark some type of epistemic evaluation, an assessment of the propositional content. It can express a commitment to the truth of the proposition, i.e. to its certainty, probability, possibility, etc. The source of the epistemic evaluation can be the opinion of the addresser or some other person. The basic meaning varies according to the communicative functions of different types of usages, as will be described below. The particle is typically

enclitic, i.e. unaccented. In such cases, the high pitch is on the last accentable syllable of the preceding word, as in Example 179.

Example 179

...*keriküş-ter* *γoy*.
 oppositional-PL FOY.PART
 ‘...oppositionals, you know.’ (T4/ 2)

In the following example, the high pitch is on the syllable preceding the negation.

Example 180

“*ʷOy* *āke-m* *ay* *anda-γi-ni*
 OY.INTERJEC father-POSS1SG AY.INTERJEC that-GI-ACC
uγ-ał-ma-dī-m *γoy*.”
 understand-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG FOY.PART
 “‘Oh my dear, oh, I have not been able to understand it’.” (T5/ 9)

In some specific usages the particle is accentable; see below.

Γ²oy mostly occurs in postpredicate position. When used in adversative constructions, however, it is attached to the first word of a clause.

Particles with similar formal and semantic properties occur in other Turkic languages, for instance Karakalpak *γoy* (Baskakov 1958: 154) Uyghur *Γ²u* (Tömür 2003: 493, 2011²: 426), Kirghiz *Γ²o* (Hu 1986: 156), Uzbek *kü* (Wurm 1959: 524). Karaim employs *ko* in a similar function, e.g. *Bil’äs’ ko* (know-PRES-2SG KO.PART) ‘Well, you know’.²⁵ The etymology of these Turkic particles is unknown. They are not likely to derive from the verb *koy-* ‘to put, to place’; see *Downtoning imperatives*.

Usages

Reference to shared knowledge

Γ²oy may be used to refer to some knowledge shared by the addresser and the addressee(s). According to Zhang (2003: 228, 2004: 609), it may be used to remind the interlocutor that the addresser is referring to some shared knowledge. In this case, the particle can be translated into English as ‘as you know’.

Example 181

“*Minaw-un* *nedegen* *körgensiz*, *nedegen* *nášâr* *ʳe-dī*”,
 this-POSS2SG how ill-mannered how bad E.COP-PAST3

²⁵ Éva Á. Csató personal communication.

de-p süyt-üp jat-a-dī γoy.
 say-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 FOY.PART
 ‘‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is’’—(they) often say so, as you know.’ (T6/ 16)

Example 182

Meni umit-üp ket-ken-siz be? Men
 I-ACC forget-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT-COP2SG Q.PART I
Aynur-mın γoy.
 Aynur-COP.1SG FOY.PART
 ‘Have you forgotten me? I am Aynur, as you know.’

The particle I^2oy is used similarly to the particle *ya* in Turkish and certain southern dialects of Uyghur in Xinjiang.

Example 183 Turkish

Geçen yaz git-miştı-k ya.
 last summer go-PLUPERF-1PL PART
 ‘We went there last summer, as you know.’

Example 184 Uyghur

U ket-ti ya.
 X leave-PAST3 PART
 ‘X has left, as you know.’

The particle I^2oy sometimes occurs together with the filler yendi ; see Example 185. This combination is frequently used in Uyghur; see Example 186.

Example 185

Biz jön-ı-nen al-γan waķit-ta ^yendi,
 we direction-POSS3-ABL take-GAN.PTCP time-LOC NOW.FILL
adeptı tırtıptı bol-uw-dı dāripte-y-mız
 polite well-behaved BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL
γoy ^yendi.
 FOY.PART NOW.FILL
 ‘As for us, (the bride) is expected to be polite and well behaved, you know.’ (T8/ 1)

Example 186 Uyghur

Iş-lar tügi-di γu ämdi.
 work-PL finish-PAST3 PART NOW.FILL
 ‘The work is done, as you know.’

The particle I^2oy can be used to introduce a new topic with reference to shared knowledge.

Example 187

“*Soson aya-m-a renži-di-m” de-y-di*
 thus brother-POSS1SG-DAT offend-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3

γoy.

FOY.PART

“‘Thus, I am offended by my brother’, he writes, you know.’ (T4/ 64)

The Turkish particle *ya* is also used in this way. In the following example, the addresser starts a conversation about a friend living in America whom the interlocutor also knows.

Example 188 Turkish

Amerika'da bir arkadaş-ım var ya.
 America-LOC a friend-POSS1SG existing PART
 ‘A friend of mine in America, you know.’

Repudiation

The particle can be used in a response to express repudiation; i.e. it may challenge the statement or presupposition of the interlocutor. Observe that the predicate is then accented in an emphatic way.

Example 189

A: *Sayan “tapsırma iste” de-p ayt-pa-di-m*
 you.DAT homework do say-IP.CONV say-NEG-PAST-1SG
ba?

Q.PART

‘Did I not tell you to do your homework?’

B: *İste-di-m γoy.*²⁶
 do-PAST-1SG FOY.PART
 ‘But I have done it.’

Presumption

Zhang (2003: 229, 2004: 610) points out that the particle can express that the addresser presumes the validity of the statement. In the next examples, the particle may be translated into English as ‘I presume’, ‘it must be the case that’. In spoken Turkish, {-mI⁴ʃtI⁴r} can be used to express a similar meaning; see Example 191.

²⁶ The Turkish translation would be ‘*Yaptım ya*’, ‘*Yaptım ki*’, ‘*Yaptım ama*’, and ‘*Yaptım zaten*’.

Example 190

Context: The addresser sees a boy whose face is injured.

Mina bala töbeles-ken *γoy.*
 this child scuffle-GAN.POSTT3 FOY.PART
 ‘I presume this child has scuffled.’

Example 191 Turkish

Bu çocuk kesinlikle kavga et-miştir.
 this child definitely fight DO.LIGHTV- MIŞTIR.PAST.3SG
 ‘I presume this child has definitely fought.’

In the following examples, the particle I^2oy is used first to mark shared knowledge. The second occurrence of the particle marks presumption. In our recording, the addresser in this case pronounces the particle emphatically, i.e. with high pitch.

Example 192

Keybⁱrew-ler ayt-ⁱp jat-a-dⁱ γoy, keyde
 some-PL tell-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 FOY.PART sometimes
bⁱr urpağ-tar-ya renjⁱ-gen kez-de ayt-ⁱp
 once generation-PL-DAT infuriate-GEN.PTCP moment-LOC tell-IP.CONV
jat-a-dⁱ: “ây minaw âke çeşe-niñ
 LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ÂY.INTERJEC this is parents-GEN
târbiye-si-n kör-me-gen γoy minaw”.
 good manners -POSS3SG-ACC see-NEG-GAN.POSTT3 FOY.PART this
 ‘As you know, some people often say, sometimes, when (they) get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.’ (T6/ 15)

Non-modal usage: Tag-question

The particle I^2oy can also be interpreted as a question in the sense of ‘why?’ or ‘why not?’ and be pronounced with rising interrogative intonation. In Example 193, the particle I^2oy is accented in order to catch the interlocutor’s attention.

Example 193

Keşe üy-ge kel-me-dⁱ-ñ γoy?
 yesterday home-DAT come-NEG-PAST-2SG FOY.PART
 ‘You did not come home yesterday, did you / why not?’

Zhang (2003: 228, 2004: 610) claims that in the interrogative usage, the particle is used to express that the addresser wishes to elicit an explanation from the interlocutor. The accent, as Example 194, can fall on the second syllable of the lexical word preceding the particle.

Example 194

Kül-e-siz *γoy?*
 laugh-A.PRES-COP.2SG FOY.PART
 ‘Ni xiào shénme ya?’ (Zhang 2003: 229, 2004: 610)
 [‘Why are you laughing?’]

Adversative usage

A specific usage of the particle Γ^2oy can be observed in adversative sentences. In such constructions, the particle is always accented and follows the first, topicalized, constituent of the clause, e.g. *kün* ‘sun’ and ^w*ol* ‘X’ in the following examples.

Example 195

Kün *γoy* *çıy-ıp* *tur,* *b’rak* *ķatti* *suwuk.*
 sun FOY.PART come out-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV3 but very cold.
 ‘The sun is certainly shining but it is still rather cold.’

Example 196

^w*Ol* *γoy* ^w*öz* *adam-imiz* ^y*endi, kıyanattik*
 X FOY.PART self man-POSS1PL now betrayal
ķasa-p *ket-pe-se* ²⁷.
 CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-NEG-HYP3
 ‘X is certainly our man but only if he does not betray us.’

According to Zhang (2003: 229–230, 2004: 611), the connection between the two parts of the clauses is such that in the first clause the particle Γ^2oy emphasizes the addresser’s belief that what is said is true, and the second clause expresses new information.

Example 197

Siz *γoy* *ķenil* *aptomobil-men* *ķür-e-siz,* *al*
 you FOY.PART light automobile-WITH.POSTP move-A.PRES-COP2SG but
biz *ķi?*
 we 1I.PART
 ‘Nin ziran shi yǒu xiǎochē zuò, kě wǒmen ne?’ (Zhang 2003: 230, 2004: 611)
 [‘You certainly take a car, but what about us?’]

The combination of the hypothetical mood and Γ^2oy

In spoken registers, the particle Γ^2oy can often occur with the hypothetical mood {-sA²}. In this case it can serve to mark that the condition is unreal, as in Example 198. In Example 199, it signals that the idea is a ‘what-if’, though worth thinking about. The particle is accented in both examples.

²⁷ The Turkish translation would be ‘O bizim adamımız da hayınlık etmese’.

Example 198

Áke-m bíz-dì sayĩn-sa ɣoy, ʃan-ĩmĩz-da
 father-POSS1SG we-ACC miss-HYP3 ɣOY.PART around-POSS1PL-LOC
bol-uw-dĩ armanda-sa ɣoy.
 BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC hope-HYP3 ɣOY.PART
 ‘Had my father missed us, he would have wanted to be with us.’ (But this is not the case.)

Example 199

Akša-lar-ĩŋ-dĩ urĩ-ɣa ber-ip kel-se-ŋ
 money-PL-POSS2SG-ACC thief-DAT give-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-HYP-2SG
ɣoy.
 ɣOY.PART
 ‘What if you give your money to a thief.’

The combination of ^y*eken* and Γ^2oy

In combination with the indirective particle ^y*eken*, Γ^2oy gets a mirative meaning, expressing the addresser’s surprise at new and unexpected information (cf. DeLancey 1997). Zhang (2003:228, 2004: 610) also claims that this combination signals surprise. The lexical element in the predicate is accented.

Example 200

Context: The addresser sees a boy whose face is injured.

Mĩna bala töbeles-ken ^yeken ɣoy.
 this child scuffle-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3 ɣOY.PART
 ‘This child has apparently scuffled, you know.’

Example 201

Context: The addresser understands that X has learnt about a secret.

^wOl bĩl-ip al-ɣan ^yeken
 X know-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
ɣoy.
 ɣOY.PART
 ‘X has apparently figured it out, you know.’

The combination of expressions of possibility and Γ^2oy

The unaccented particle Γ^2oy may be added to expressions of possibility that consist of a hypothetical form of a lexical verb followed by *boladĩ* (BOL. COP-A.PRES-3) ‘is possible’ (see *Lexical expressions*). In this case, it emphasizes the feasibility of a piece of advice.

Example 202

<i>Tipti</i>	<i>šama-si</i>	<i>kel-me-ytın</i>	<i>adam-dar</i>	<i>bol-sa,</i>
even	strength-POSS3SG	come-NEG-ATIN.PTCP	person-PL	BOL.COP-HYP3
<i>juwun-dır-ıp,</i>	<i>kiyim-i-n</i>	<i>juw-up,</i>	<i>bas-i</i>	
wash-CAUS-IP.CONV	clothes-POSS3-ACC	wash-IP.CONV	head-POSS3	
<i>göz-ü-n</i>	<i>juw-up,</i>	<i>^wöst-üp</i>	<i>koy-sa</i>	
eye-POSS3-ACC	wash-IP.CONV	do it as this-IP.CONV	PUT.POSTV-HYP3	
<i>da</i>	<i>bol-a-di</i>	<i>γoy.</i>		
DA.PART	BOL.COP-A.PRES-3	FOY.PART		

‘When the (old) people are not able (to take care of themselves), then the bride should even be able to wash them, wash their clothes, and their hair and faces, shouldn’t she?’ (T8/ 6)

The combination of I^2oy and *deymın*

The accented particle I^2oy in combination with *de-y-mın* (say-PRES-1SG) ‘I say’ expresses the addresser’s surmise or conjecture. According to Zhang (2003: 229, 2004: 611), it conveys the meaning that there is no evidence to confirm the statement.

Example 203

<i>Üy-ge</i>	<i>urı</i>	<i>kır-gen</i>	<i>γoy</i>	<i>deymın.</i>
home-DAT	thief	enter-GAN.POSTT 3	FOY.PART	DEYMIN.PART

‘I think a thief has entered the house.’

Example 204

<i>Bes-inşı</i>	<i>ay-lar-da</i>	<i>γoy</i>	<i>de-y-mın</i>	<i>taza</i>	<i>kızıķ</i>
five-ORD	month-PL-LOC	FOY.PART	say-A.PRES-COP1SG	very	interesting

bol-di.
BOL.COP-PAST3

‘In May, I think, something very interesting happened.’ (T9/ 1)

The combination of I^2oy and *deysın*

The particle I^2oy cannot be used in a question containing an interrogative pronoun, as in Example 205.

Example 205

<i>*Üy-ge</i>	<i>kım</i>	<i>kır-ıp</i>	<i>ket-e-di</i>	<i>γoy?</i>
home-DAT	who	enter-IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3	FOY.PART

On the other hand, a combination of I^2oy with *deysın* ‘you would say’ can be added to such questions in order to mark that the question is not meaningful and therefore cannot be answered. Thus Example 205 should be expressed as Example 206 illustrates.

Example 206

Context: The interlocutor locks the door of the house. The addresser wants to express that nobody would enter the house anyway so it does not make sense to lock the door.

Üyge kım kİR-İP ket-e-dİ
 home-DAT who enter-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 γoy deysİŋ?
 FOY.PART say-A.PRES-COP2SG
 ‘Who will enter the house, you think?’

The complex particles *bar γoy* / *bar γoy de* / *bar γoy ū*

The complex particles *bar γoy*, *bar γoy de* and *bar γoy ū*, in which *γoy* is accented, can follow any constituent of a sentence. In the following examples, *bar γoy* follows a topicalized constituent. Zhang (2003: 196, 2004: 583) claims that it is used only in spoken registers and has the function to draw the interlocutor’s attention to the constituent marked by the particle. The rest of the sentence is a statement about this constituent.

Example 207

Universitet-ter bar γoy kālİŋ kar sebeb-İ-nen
 university-PL existing FOY.PART thick snow reason-POSS3-ABL
 demalıS-ka tara-t-İl-İP-tİ.
 rest-DAT disperse-CAUSE-PASS-IP. POST-3
 ‘The universities, you know, apparently had a day off because of the heavy snow.’

In Example 208, there are two topicalized constituents, *universitetter* and *kālİŋ kar sebebİnen*, marked by *bar γoy*.

Example 208

Universitet-ter bar γoy kālİŋ kar sebeb-İ-nen
 university-PL existing FOY.PART thick snow reason-POSS3-ABL
 bar γoy demalıS-ka tara-t-İl-İP-tİ.
 existing FOY.PART rest-DAT disperse-CAUSE-PASS-IP.POSTT-3
 ‘Because of the heavy snow the universities apparently had a day off, you know.’

In Turkish, the corresponding complex particle consisting of a combination of *var* ‘existing’ and the particle *ya* can be used. See the Kazakh Example 209 and its Turkish translation in Example 210.

Example 209

Ankara-da bar γoy kalıñ kar ĵaw-ı̇p-ti̇.
 Ankara-LOC existing ΓOY.PART thick snow fall-IP.POSTT-3
 ‘In Ankara, you know, it apparently snowed heavily.’

Example 210 Turkish

Ankara-da var ya yoğun kar yağış-ı
 Ankara-LOC existing YA.PART heavy snow fall-POSS3
ol-muş.
 ol.COP-MİŞ.INDIR3
 ‘In Ankara, you know, there was apparently heavy snow.’

The complex particle *bar γoy* gets the special interpretation of a threat when occurring in postpredicate position.

Example 211

Söz-dî tiñda-ma-sa-ñ sayan kâmpit al-ı̇p
 word-ACC listen-NEG-HYP-2SG you.DAT candy buy-IP.CONV
ber-me-y koy-a-miñ bar γoy.
 GIVE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG existing ΓOY.PART
 ‘If you don’t listen I won’t buy you any candies, mind you.’

Observe also that the corresponding Turkish expression *var ya* cannot occur in postpredicate position.

In the Kazakh examples the particles *de* or *şı* can be added to the complex particle *bar γoy* without changing the meaning of the sentences.

The particle *şı*²

Basic properties

The enclitic modal particle *şı*² has two harmonic variants, a front *şı* and a back *şı̇*, e.g. *Kel şı!* ⟨come.IMP ŞI.PART⟩ ‘Come, please’, *Ayt şı̇!* ⟨tell.IMP ŞI.PART⟩ ‘Tell (it), please!’. In certain spoken varieties, the particle has four variants: *çı̇*, *çı̇ı̇*, *şı̇* and *şı̇ı̇*. The variants *çı̇* and *çı̇ı̇* occur after consonants, e.g. *Kel çı̇!*, *Ayt çı̇ı̇!*. The variants *şı̇* and *şı̇ı̇* are employed after vowels, e.g. *Ket-pe şı̇!* ⟨leave-NEG-IMP ŞI.PART⟩ ‘Do not leave, please’. In most usages it is non-accentable, and constitutes a prosodic unit with its host. For exceptions see below.

Particles with similar forms and functions also occur in some other Turkic languages, e.g. East Old Turkic *čU*, Uyghur *ču* (accented) (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011²: 422), Aralo-Caspian languages *-či*, *-čı̇*, *-şı̇*, *-şı̇ı̇*, etc. (Menges 1959: 472–473), Kirghiz *čU* (Hu 1986: 155), Noghay, Karakalpak *şı* (Doerfer 1959: 387, Baskakov 1958: 745), Tatar *-čI* (-чы, -че) (Thomsen 1959: 419:

“-čř, -če”). The forms may go back to an interrogative particle *čř (Doerfer 1959: 387).

The modal particle $\check{s}I^2$ does not have any lexical meaning. Its basic semantic contribution is to express a notion of volition. It can only occur in post-predicate position except in its emphatic usage.

Usages

Combinations of $\check{s}I^2$ with voluntatives and imperatives

The particle $\check{s}I^2$ can follow voluntatives or imperatives. It is described as a particle that marks “renforcement de l’impératif” [‘reinforcement of the imperative’] Deny et al. 1959: 807), an emphatic command (Doerfer 1959: 387), a polite imperative (Thomsen 1959: 419), etc. Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581) claims that the combinations in question have the meaning of *qíqíu shì qí shì yǔqì* ‘request in an entreating manner’. In our view, in combination with these moods the particle is also used to ask for consent or to emphasize a wish. In this function, it is not accented.

Combinations of $\check{s}I^2$ with voluntatives

In Example 212, the predicate verb carries a voluntative marker of the first person singular and is followed by the particle $\check{s}I^2$. The function can be interpreted either as softening the tone, signaling that the addresser appeals to, begs, entreats, or requests something from the interlocutor, or as reinforcing the wish of the addresser. In this case, it can be translated with *please*, which can also indicate both politeness and reinforcement of a request. Example 212 and 213 are ambiguous between these readings.

Example 212

Bar-ayin $\check{s}i!$
go-VOL1SG ŠI.PART
‘Please let me go!’

Example 213

<i>Dala-da</i>	<i>jel</i>	<i>azina-p</i>	<i>ket-ti,</i>	<i>^yesik,</i>
outside-LOC	wind	howl IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3	door
<i>tereze-ler-di</i>	<i>bekit-ip</i>	<i>al-ayin</i>		$\check{s}i!$
window-PL-ACC	close-IP.CONV	TAKE.POSTV-VOL1SG		ŠI.PART

‘The wind has started to howl around outside, please let me close the door and windows!’

Combinations of $\check{s}I^2$ with imperatives

When combined with imperative forms the particle $\check{s}I^2$ functions either to soften or intensify the imperative. The latter meaning is marked by an emphatic stress on the verb. See also above in *Downtoning imperatives*.

Example 214

Koy *ši!*

stop ŠI.PART

‘Stop it please!’ or ‘Do stop it!!!’

The combination of the particle *čU* ~ *šU* with imperatives is documented in Karakhanid, where it is used in direct address, e.g. *Käl-čü!* ~ *Käl-šü* ‘Do come!’, *Bar-ma-ču!* ‘Don’t go!’, *Bar-γil šu!* ‘Go!’ It is also found in several modern languages, e.g. Tatar *Bir-çı* (бир-че) ‘Please give’.

Comparison with Uyghur *ču*

Though the functions of the Uyghur particle *ču* are in most cases very similar to the those of Kazakh *šI*², there are also some differences. Some differences, based on Tömür’s description of the Uyghur particle (2003: 488–491, 2011²: 422–425), will be mentioned here. According to Tömür, when attached to voluntatives and imperatives, the Uyghur particle expresses intimacy or fondness.

Example 215 Uyghur

Bikar *oltur-γučä* *öy-gä* *xät* *yaz-ayli* *ču.*

in vain sit-CONV home-DAT letter write-VOL1PL PART

‘Why don’t we write a letter home instead of sitting doing nothing.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011²: 424)

Example 216 can be rendered in Kazakh with the voluntative and *šI*², but the function of the Kazakh particle is to denote that the addresser entreats the interlocutor.

Example 216

Beker *ʷotir-γanša* *üy-ge* *xat* *ǰaz-ayıǰ* *ši.*

in vain sit- GANŠA.CONV home-DAT letter write-VOL1PL ŠI.PART

‘Instead of sitting (here) in vain, let us please write a letter home!’

Tömür points out that after voluntatives and imperatives, *ču* may be used as an intensifier.

Example 217 Uyghur

Yaz *käl-sun* *ču,* *män* *sëni* *dëñiz* *boy-i-γa*

summer come-VOL3 PART I you.ACC sea length-POSS3-DAT

apir-i-män.

take-PRES-COP1SG

‘Let summer come, then I will take you to the seaside.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011²: 425)

The same meaning in Kazakh must be expressed as in Example 218, where *aldimen* ‘at first’ is added to *šI*².

Example 218

Ǵaz kel-sin šı aldimen, men seni teñiz
 summer come-VOL3 ŠI.PART at first I you.ACC sea
boy-ın-a apar-a-mın.
 length-POSS3-DAT take-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘Please (first) wait until the summer comes, (then) I will take you to the seaside.’

Combinations of imperatives and third-person voluntatives with *šI*² often occur with lexical items such as *kāne* ‘where’ / *bāle-m* (misfortune-POSS1SG) ‘my misfortune’, in which all elements are unaccented. The combinations indicate serious warnings. In Example 219, the postverb construction *tʻys-ip kōr-* <тѳис-> expresses the meaning ‘to try to provoke’.

Example 219

Ǵork-pa, zaŋ bar, ʻendi sayan tʻys-ip
 afraid-NEG law existing now you.DAT provoke-IP.CONV
kōr-sın šı kāne / bālem.
 SEE.POSTV-VOL3 ŠI.PART where / my misfortune
 ‘Do not be afraid, there is the law, now just let X try to provoke you.’

In corresponding Uyghur expressions, *ķēni* ‘where’ is used; see Example 220.

Example 220 Uyghur

Ǵork-maŋ, qanun bar, āmdi siz-gā čēkil-ip
 afraid-NEG law existing now you-DAT provoke-IP.CONV
baķ-sun ču (ķēni).
 SEE.POSTV-VOL3 PART (where)
 ‘Do not be afraid, there is the law; now just let X try to provoke you.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011²: 425)

The use of the particle *šI*² with hypothetical forms

Combinations of unaccented *šI*² with hypothetical forms express unrealized past event, similar to Turkish expressions with *keşke*, *keşki* ‘I wish’ or Uyghur *kaşki* ‘if only’. Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581) points out that the function is to emphasize (reinforce) the desire, wish or hope expressed in the sentence. There is mostly a connotation of regret or repentance.

Example 221

Bar-sa-m *ši.*
go-HYP-1SG ŠI.PART
'I wish I had gone (but I did not)!'

Example 222

Bar-ma-sa-m *ši.*
go-NEG-HYP-1SG ŠI.PART
'I wish I had not gone (but I went)! / I regret that I went.'

When $\check{I}^2$ combines with a second-person hypothetical form it may express a strong recommendation. It can also convey a connotation of reproach, i.e. express disapproval or disappointment. The following example can be uttered when the addresser knows that the interlocutor has not been careful when crossing the street.

Example 223

Ĵol-dan *wöt-kende* *bayka-sa-ŋ-dar* *ši.*
street-ABL cross-GAN.LOC.CONV pay attention-HYP-2SG-PL ŠI.PART
'Mind you, you should be careful when crossing the street.'

Like the Kazakh combination, the Uyghur one expresses entreaty and regret (Tömür 2003: 314–316, 2011²: 281–282). Corresponding combinations in other languages may also express regret, e.g. Tatar *Uķi-sa-m-čĭ* 'If I only had studied' (Thomsen 1959: 419). Also in the Aralo-Caspian languages, hypothetical (or conditional) forms can function as optatives or polite circumlocutions of imperatives when *ši* is attached (Menges 1959: 473). A Karakalpak example is given by Baskakov: *Мен барсам-шы!* 'Ах, если бы я пошёл! ['I wish I went!'] (1958: 745).

The interrogative usage

The particle $\check{I}^2$ may be used in the sense of 'what about?' when asking for information or opinions. When it follows a hypothetical form it means 'what if?' It is always unaccented, with the preceding word carrying the accent. A non-harmonic form *še* is used in Standard Kazakh (KG 2002: 562). According to Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581), the particle can occur after a nominal phrase or after the hypothetical marker to refer to a particular concern the addresser wants to ask about.

Example 224

A: Bala-lar-ı *češe-sın-e* *ķara-ma-y-dı* *ʔeken.*
child-PL-POSS3 mother-POSS3SG-DAT look-NEG-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3
'Her children apparently do not take care of their mother.'

B: *Kız-ı* *şı?*
 daughter-POSS3 3L.PART
 ‘Her daughter, what about her?’

Example 225

A: *YErteñ* *üy-ge* *kel-ıp* *qal-ar.*
 tomorrow home-DAT come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3
 ‘X may come home tomorrow.’

B: *Kel-me-se* *şı?*
 come-NEG-HYP3 3L.PART
 ‘And what if X will not come?’

Uyghur *ču* may also be used as an interrogative particle, as Example 226 illustrates.

Example 226 Uyghur

A: *Tursun* *käl-di.*
 Tursun come-PAST3
 ‘Tursun has arrived.’

B: *Äxmät* *ču?*
 Ahmet PART
 ‘How about Ahmet?’ (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011²: 422)

Uyghur *ču* can follow a hypothetical clause as in Example 227.

Example 227 Uyghur

Ätä *käl-äl-mi-sä-m* *ču?* (*Qandaq bol-i-du?*)
 tomorrow come-ABIL-NEG-HYP-1SG PART (how BOL.COP-PRES-3)
 ‘And if I can’t come tomorrow?’ (= What happens?) (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011²: 422).

Hu compares the use of the Kirghiz particle *čU^d* to that of the Chinese question particle *ne* ‘what about?’, which occurs at the end of interrogative sentences (Hu 1986: 155-156).

Example 228 Kirghiz

Men *bar-a-män,* *siz* *či?*
 I go-PRES-COP1SG you PART
 ‘Wǒ yào qù, nín ne?’ (Hu 1986: 155-156)
 [‘I will go, and what about you?’]

Karakalpak *ši*² is used in a similar way.

Example 229 Karakalpak

Sen-ši?

you-PART

‘And you?’ (Baskakov 1958: 745).

As Baskakov observes, the particle is used similarly to the Kazakh particle in other functions as well. For instance, with imperatives *Ал-шы! al-ši!* ‘Возьми-ка!’ [‘Take (it), please!’] (Baskakov 1958: 745).

Rhetorical questions

The negated converbs in {-M³A²-y} and {-M³A²-G⁴A²n-dA²} can be used in rhetorical questions corresponding to English ‘of course’ or ‘why not?’ Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) renders the meaning as ‘of course, no need to ask’. The particle is unaccented in this usage.

Example 230

A: *Čaķir-ma-sa* *da* *bar-a-miz* *ba* *sonda?*
call-NEG-HYP3 DA.PART go-A.PRES-COP1PL Q.PART then
‘Shall we go then, even if X has not invited (us)?’

B: *Bar-ma-y / bar-ma-γanda* *ši?*
go-NEG-A.CONV / go-NEG-GAN.LOC.CONV ŠI.PART
‘Of course, why shouldn’t we?’

Example 231

A: *Men* *de* *^wotir-a-m* *ba?*
I DA.PART sit-A.PRES-COP1SG Q.PART
‘Shall I also sit down?’

B: *^wOtir-ma-y / ^wOtir-ma-γanda* *ši?*
sit-NEG-A.CONV / sit-NEG-GAN.LOC.CONV ŠI.PART
‘Of course, why shouldn’t you?’

Uyghur employs a similar construction to express this meaning.

Example 232 Uyghur

A: *Sän* *mu* *bar-a-m-sän?*
you PART go-PRES-Q-COP2SG
‘Are you going too?’

B: *Bar-ma-y* *ču?*
 go-NEG-A.CONV PART

‘Of course, why shouldn’t I be going?’ (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011²: 422)

The emphatic marker *šI*²

In its emphatic usage, the particle *šI*² can follow any constituent of a sentence that the addresser wants to mark as the focus. Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) states that such usages occur mostly in spoken registers. The particle is harmonic and always accented in this usage.

Example 233 can be uttered in answer to the question “Who goes home?” Thus, *sen* ‘you’, the constituent answering the question, is the focus constituent.

Example 233

Sen *šI* *üy-üñ-e* *qayt*.
 you ŠI.PART home-POSS2SG-DAT return.IMP
 ‘You go home!’

As Example 234 illustrates, more than one constituent can be marked with *šI*². The meaning of the particle can be rendered as ‘just’ or ‘of all’, denoting the least likely or expected person (cf. German *ausgerechnet*).

Example 234

Aset *šI* *öz* *bala-si-n* *šI* *üy-den*
 Aset ŠI.PART self child-POSS3SG-ACC ŠI.PART home-ABL
kuw-up-ti.
 send away-IP.POSTT-3
 ‘Aset (of all persons) drove his own son (of all persons) out of the house.’

Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) also claims that the function of the particle is to draw the attention of the interlocutor to a certain constituent of the sentence. We describe this as emphasis. The Uyghur particle *ču* has a similar usage. According to Tömür (2003: 489, 2011²: 422), it is added to emphasize a constituent. In his example, given here as Example 235, the emphasized constituent is the topic.

Example 235 Uyghur

Män *ču* *bu* *yëkin-da* *u* *yär-gä* *bar-al-ma-y-män*.
 I PART this near-LOC that place-DAT go-ABIL-NEG-PRES-COP1SG
 ‘As for me, I won’t be able to go there in the near future.’ (Tömür 2003: 489, 2011²: 423)

The combinations *bar šI* and *yoıy šI* may follow any constituent of a sentence that the addresser wants to stress (cf. the usage of *I*²*oy*).

Example 236 illustrates a special Uyghur usage that has no equivalent in Kazakh. The particle *ču*, which is always accented, marks, together with *tèxi* ‘even’, a further element that has the property expressed by the predicate of the first sentence.

Example 236 Uyghur

Bu yär bāk molčilik ikān, hawa-si ču tèxi.
 this place very rich I.COP.INDIR3 climate-POSS3SG PART even
 ‘This land is very rich, and the climate (is good too)’ (Tömür 2003: 490, 2011²: 423).

The particle *aw*

Basic properties

The non-harmonic and accented particle *aw* is a frequently used epistemic particle that mostly occurs in postpredicate position. It takes the entire proposition within its scope and expresses the addresser’s evaluation of its truth, including assumption, incredulity, surprise, etc. It is not compatible with expressions of volition such as those expressed by imperative, voluntative, and optative mood markers. According to Zhang (2003: 209, 2004: 593), it is probable that the particle has developed from the interjection *aw* that is used in affirmative responses to a call. Example 237 illustrates the use of *aw* as an interjection.

Example 237

Context: A calls to B. B confirms that B has heard the call.

A: *Āsen! Āsen!*

‘Asen! Asen!’

B: *Aw!*

‘Yes!’

Observe that the call may only include the name of the person. No additional word such as ‘Come here!’ can occur in the utterance to which the answer is *aw*.

The interjection *aw* can also be pronounced with an interrogative intonation to open for an explanation.

Example 238

A: *Āsen!*

‘Asen!’

B: *Aw?*

‘Yes! (What do you want?)’

This interjection, with an interrogative intonation, can also be used when the addressee did not clearly hear what the addresser just said (Zhang 2004: 463).

Example 239

A: *Pälte-m-dī* *âkel-e* *sal* *šī!*
 coat-POSS1SG-ACC bring-A.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP ŠĪ.PART
 ‘Bring my coat!’

B: *Aw?*

‘I beg your pardon.’

Usages

Emphasizing the truth of a statement

The particle can be used to confirm that the addresser regards a statement to be true. Example 240 expresses that the addresser is convinced of the truth of the statement, i.e. that what X said is appropriate. In Example 241, the particle is used to emphasize that the addresser agrees with a statement which is generally held true.

Example 240

Ayt-kan-dar-î-nîñ *bârî* *jön* *aw.*
 tell-GAN.PTCP-PL-POSS3-GEN all appropriate AW.PART
 ‘Everything X said is indeed appropriate.’

Example 241

Šolak-sîñ *aw* *ʷömîr.*
 short-COP2SG AW.PART life
 ‘Life, you are indeed short.’

The confirmation marked by the particle in Example 242 can, depending on the context, be interpreted to the effect that the addresser regrets or is disappointed that the statement is true.

Example 242

ʷOsî-yan *da* *jawap* *ber-e*
 this-DAT DA.PART answer give-A.CONV
ał-ma-dî-ñ *aw.*
 TAKE.POSTV-NEG-PAST-2SG AW.PART
 ‘It is indeed so that you could not even answer this question.’

Combination of *aw* with the indirective particle *ʷeken*

The particle *aw* may occur after the indirective particle *ʷeken* in which case it expresses the addresser’s surprise at the truth of the statement.

Example 243

Ĵaĥan-da ^w*osin-day* *da* *teŋsɨzdɨk* *bol-a-dī*
 false world-LOC this-EQUA DA.PART inequity BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
^y*eken* *aw.*
 E.COP.INDIR3 AW.PART
 ‘There is apparently so much inequity in this false world, really!’

Example 244

^w*Osin-day* *da* *sut^uwlik* *bol-a-dī* ^y*eken*
 this-EQUA DA.PART beauty BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3
aw *tābiyat-ta.*
 AW.PART nature-LOC
 ‘There is apparently so much beauty in nature, really.’

Combination of *aw* with hypothetical forms

The particle may also be used to emphasize a wish expressed with the hypothetical mood form {-sA²}, as in Example 245.

Example 245

^w*Ol* *kel-ip* *kal-sa* *aw!*
 X come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-HYP3 AW.PART
 ‘I indeed wish that X would come!’

Presumption

The particle can be used to mark that the addresser is, on the basis of probability, convinced of the correctness of a presumption (Zhang 2003: 210, 2004: 594).

Example 246

Context: The addresser observes that it has become warmer and draws the conclusion that spring is coming.

Köktem *kel-ip* *kal-ïp-tī* *aw.*
 spring come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 AW.PART
 ‘Spring is definitely coming!’

Example 247

Context: The addresser gets the news that X missed the bus and draws the conclusion that X will be late.

Kešig-ïp *kal-atin* *bol-dī* *aw.*
 be late-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3 AW.PART
 ‘X will definitely be late!’

Emphatic usage

The particle *aw* can be used when addressing a person in an emphatic way. It may introduce a discourse in which the addresser expresses emotions such as anger, sympathy, condemnation, love and fear. Zhang (2003: 210, 2004: 594) claims that in such expressions the particle particularly shows that the addresser is critical; see Example 248. As Example 249 illustrates, this is not always the case however. The particle can also express intimacy and friendliness with the interlocutor.

Example 248

Aya-tay aw, aķir'in söyle-se-ņiz bol-mas pa?
 brother-DIM AW.PART lower speake-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-NEG.AOR Q.PART
Minaw jiyin zal-i γoy.
 this meeting hall-POSS3 IOY.PART
 'Hi, brother, couldn't you lower your voice? This is a meeting hall, you know.'

Example 249

Ķalka-m aw, turaγ-iņ kayda?
 dear-POSS1SG AW.PART house-POSS2SG where
 'Hi, my dear, where is your house?'

Combination of *aw* with *deymin*

According to Zhang (2003: 210, 2004: 594), the construction *aw deymin* can intensify an assumption of the addresser. It can be rendered as 'I would say', 'I would guess'.

Example 250

Ķonak-tar jākinda-p kał-di aw
 guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PART
de-y-min.
 SAY-PRES-COP1SG
 'I guess the guests have approached the house.'

Combination of *aw* with ⁱyā / ā

The particle *aw* is compatible with the particles ⁱyā and ā when used as a question tag. The combinations indicate that the addresser confirms a presumption s/he has made. It is not a request for confirmation from the interlocutor.

Example 251

Ķonak-tar jākinda-p kał-di aw ⁱyā / ā?
 guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PART YĀ.PART / Ā.PART
 'The guests have indeed approached the house, haven't they?'

Combination of *aw* with modal adverbs

The particle *aw* is compatible with modal adverbs expressing probability; see Example 255.

Example 252

Ƙonaƙ-tar ƙaƙiinda-p ƙaƙ-di aw siɾa.
guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PART SIRÁ.PART
'The guests have probably approached the house.'

The particle ^w*özi*

Basic properties

The particle ^w*özi* {self-POSS3} has the same form as the reflexive pronoun of the third person 'himself / herself / itself' but it is grammaticalized as having another meaning. Zhang mentions that the reflexive pronoun of the first and second persons, ^w*özim* 'myself' and ^w*öziŋ* 'yourself', can also be used in this grammaticalized function (2004: 597). However this is not attested in our data. Uyghur does not have any similar particle based on the reflexive pronoun; see more below.

König (2001) points out that in many languages reflexive pronouns may function as intensifiers conveying different readings. We here provide some examples of the different usages of the particle in Kazakh.

When used as topicalizer, ^w*özi* is not a modal particle. In such usages it follows a host constituent and is always accented.

The modal meaning conveyed by ^w*özi* in certain usages is to show the speaker's positive or negative attitude towards the statement. This is a type of deontic modal meaning. The evaluation is based on the speaker's judgment of whether the event is acceptable, allowable, permissible, unacceptable, forbidden, etc. In this usage, the particle is either in sentence initial or postpredicate position. In sentence initial position it is accentable but in postpredicate position it is not.

Usages

Non-modal usage: Topicalizer

The particle ^w*özi* can mark a topic constituent. In the following two examples the particle does not have any further interpretation.

Example 253

Son-da ^wo kez-de besik ^wözi ƙur tur-a-di.
that-LOC X time-LOC cradle ÖZI.PART empty stand-A.PRES-3
'At that time, the cradle stands empty.' (T1/ 17)

Example 254

Könsert ^w*özi* *tartimdi* *basta-l-di* *γoy.*
concert ÖZL.PART pleasant start-PASS-PAST3 FOY.PART
'The concert started pleasantly indeed.'

The particle is often used as a topic marker in presentational copula sentences. In this usage it can be replaced by *bolsa*. In Turkish, the hypothetical form of the copula *ise* is used as topicalizer.

Example 255

Ädil ^w*özi* *meniñ ğakın* *ayayın-im.*
Ädil ÖZL.PART I.GEN close brother-POSS1SG
'Ädil, he is my close friend.'

Example 256

Ädil ^w*özi* *mayan ğimbattı* *siliğ* *usun-yan* *adam.*
Ädil ÖZL.PART I.DAT precious present give-GAN.PART person
'Ädil is the man who gave me a precious present.'

In the next example, the topicalization of 'today' restricts the validity of the statement. The topicalizer *bolsa* cannot be used in the same way.

Example 257

Büğün ^w*özi* *aspan-da* *ğılduz körin-be-y-di* *γoy.*
today ÖZL.PART sky-LOC star be visible-NEG-A.PRES-3 FOY.PART
'Just today, no star is visible in the sky, you know.'

In Example 258, ^w*özi* adds the meaning of all people. Thus the sentence expresses the speaker's surprise over the fact that *Ädil* of all people gave her a precious present, because this is not *Ädil*'s typical behavior.

Example 258

Ädil ^w*özi* *mayan ğimbattı* *siliğ* *usun-di.*
Ädil ÖZL.PART I.DAT precious present give-PAST3
'Ädil has given me a precious present.'

The particle ^w*özi* cannot be used as a focus particle in Kazakh.

Subjective attitude

The particle ^w*özi* may attach to affirmative clauses, finite or non-finite, to express the speaker's positive or negative attitude. In Example 259, the speaker adds the particle ^w*özi* to the subordinate clause *keške deyin kömir tasıtıp* 'after (he) made me transport coal all the time' to express his negative attitude.

Example 259

“Keş-ke deyin kömür tasî-t-îp ^wözi
 evening-DAT UNTIL.POSTP coal transport-CAUS-IP.CONV ÖZİ.PART
adam-dî kına-p žiber-gen-nen geyin
 man-ACC mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
^wonan kaş-ip čiy-îp ket-îp,
 X.ABL run-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
so-dan geyin čeşe-m-dî bağ-ayin
 then AFTER1.POSTP mother-POSS1-ACC take care-VOL1SG
de-p köktoğay-ya sawda žasa-p
 say-IP.CONV Fuyun-DAT commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
čiy-îp ket-kem” de-y-dî.
 come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
 “‘After (he) made me transport coal all the time, after he mistreated me so much (I) ran away from him. Then, in order to take care of my mother, I went to Fuyun to do business’, he writes.” (T4/ 29)

In Example 260, the clause marked by ^wözi is an exclamation conveying the speaker’s positive attitude.

Example 260

Seni kör-ip жүрег-ім жар-іл-ғали
 you.ACC see-IP.CONV heart-POSS1SG split-PASS-GAL1.CONV
tur ^wözi.
 STAND.POSTV3 ÖZİ.PART
 ‘I am so glad to see you so that my heart is breaking.’

The particle ^wözi indicates ‘simply’, ‘merely’, ‘just’ in the following examples.

Example 261

“So boyî aya-m-nîñ қоластін-да
 that ALONG.POSTP brother-POSS1SG-GEN under the leadership.POSS3-LOC
işte-p žür-gende aya-m
 work-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV- GAN.LOC.CONV brother-POSS1SG
žoyal-îp ket-tî”, de-y-dî, ^wözi.
 disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 ÖZİ.PART
ayayastinan”.
 suddenly
 “‘During the time when I worked for my brother my brother disappeared”, he writes, “all of a sudden”.’ (T4/ 68)

Example 262

“*B’r adam kör-iw-ge bol-ma-y-dï, ^yek-emiz*
 one person see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 two-COLL.POSS1PL
ñana tïrï kal-ïp-pïz” de-y-dï “ägi jër-de
 only living stay-IP.POSTT-COP1PL say-A.PRES-3 aforesaid place-LOC
^wözï, so mañay-da.”
 ÖZL.PART that surrounding-LOC
 “‘We couldn’t see anyone, only the two of us have survived”, he writes, “at that place, in those surroundings”.’ (T4/ 48)

Example 263

Tïl-ïñ-dï kädïrle-se-ñ ^won-da ^wöz
 language-POSS2SG-ACC respect-HYP-2SG X-LOC self
ult-uñ-nïñ ^wözï nañ tunuñ tïl-ï-men
 nation-POSS2SG-GEN ÖZL.PART exactly purely language-POSS3-WITH.POSTP
söyle-w-ge daydïlan-uw kerek qoy adam-dar.
 speak-UW.VN-DAT get used to-UW.VN necessary TOY.PART person-PL
 ‘If you respect your language, then you must get used to speaking precisely and purely the language of your nation, mustn’t you?’ (T5/ 25)

The particle can be attached to a question and express—depending on the context—the speaker’s positive or negative attitude. The negative attitude, according to Zhang (2003: 213, 2004: 597), can be the speaker’s dissatisfaction or annoyance.

Example 264 negative attitude

Context: We have already been waiting a long time.

Biz seni kañan-ya deyin küt-e-miz ^wözï?
 we you.ACC when-DAT UNTIL.POSTP wait-A.PRES-COP1PL ÖZL.PART
 ‘How long shall we wait for you?’

Zhang translates the particle *^wözï* into Chinese as, for instance, *zhè shì* ‘this is’ (2003: 213, 2004: 597). This Chinese form is also grammaticalized as a particle which is always in postpredicate position. The question is whether the use of the particle *^wözï* in questions is influenced by Chinese. The meaning of the Chinese expression *zhèshì* ‘this is’ in Example 265 is rendered by the particle *^wözï* in the corresponding Kazakh translation; see Example 266.

Example 265 Chinese

Context: My mother is not behaving as usual.

Wō mā zěnmé le, zhè shì?
 I mother how PAST this is
 ‘What is wrong with my mother?’

Example 266

Češe-m-e ne bol-yan ^wözi?
 mother-POSS1SG-DAT what BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3 ÖZI.PART
 ‘What is wrong with my mother?’

In certain cases, spoken Uyghur, like Chinese, uses the demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’ or *mawu* ‘this one’ in this sense.

Example 267 Uyghur

Bu nimä kil-yin-iŋ, *bu?*
 this what do-GAN.PTCP-POSS2 SG this
 ‘What have you done?’

Alternatively, this can be expressed also by:

Mawu nimä kil-yin-iŋ, *mawu?*
 this one what do-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG this one
 ‘What have you done?’

The same is also true in colloquial Kazakh, where the demonstrative pronoun *bul* ‘this’ or *mīnaw* ‘this one’ can be applied. The Uyghur example can be expressed in exactly the same way in Kazakh. This can also be expressed by using the other demonstrative pronoun; see Example 268.

Example 268

Bul / mīnaw ḳayt-ken-iŋ, *bul / mīnaw?*
 this / this one how to do-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG this / this one
 ‘What have you done?’

Compare Example 268 with its Chinese equivalent.

Example 269 Chinese

Nǐ zhè shì gàn le shénme, zhè shì?
 you this is do PAST what this is
 ‘What have you done?’

The particle D^2A^2

Variants

The particle D^2A^2 is harmonic with four variants: *da*, *de*, *ta*, *te*. After vowels and voiced consonants *da*, *de* occur; see Examples 270 and 271.

Example 270

Ayt-pa-y-dī *dā*.
 tell-NEG-A.PRES-3 DA.PART
 ‘X clearly do(es) not tell.’

Example 271

Iste-y-dī *dē*.
 do-A.PRES-3 DA.PART
 ‘X clearly work(s).’

The variants *ta* and *te* occur after voiceless consonants.

Example 272

Kün ⁱ*stiḳ* *ta*.
 day warm DA.PART
 ‘The weather is unfortunately warm.’

Example 273

Bala *köp* *te*.
 child many DA.PART
 ‘The children are unfortunately numerous.’

In certain spoken varieties the variant *dā* occurs if the preceding syllable ends with a vowel or a voiced consonant, whereas *tā* occurs after voiceless consonants, e.g. *Isteydī dā* <do-A.PRES-3 DA.PART> ‘X clearly work(s)’, *Köp tā* <many DA.PART> ‘There are clearly many’.

Uyghur has the variants *dä* and *tä*; see the use of *dä* in Example 274.

Example 274 Uyghur

Dä-y-du *dä*.
 tell-A.PRES-3 DÄ.PART
 ‘X clearly tells.’

The spoken Kazakh variants having *dā* and *tā* are probably influenced by Uyghur. This particle is different from the particle D^2A^2 meaning ‘also’ which etymologically comes from the word *takī* ‘and, also’ (Clauson 1972: 466)

Basic properties

The basic meaning of the particle D^2A^2 is to express epistemic evaluation. It occurs only in postpredicate position. Its function is to strengthen the validity of a statement, i.e. to express that it is obviously the case. The particle D^2A^2 is accented. Its usages in Kazakh are the same as those of the corresponding Uyghur particle.

Usages

Emphatic usage

The particle D^2A^2 is used to express that the speaker emphasizes that the statement is understandable, unsurprising, expected, predictable, inevitable, reasonable, acceptable, logical, normal, natural and justifiable. Zhang (2003: 231, 2004: 612) states that the speaker employs this particle to emphasize that the statement is logical according to his/her understanding.

Example 275

Ānšī bol-yan son ataḳti-siṅ da.
singer BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP AFTER2.POSTP famous-COP2SG DA.PART
'Since you are a singer, you are, of course, famous.'

Example 276

Ālis-tan kel-gen son bⁱrneše gün
far-ABL come-GAN.PTCP AFTER2.POSTP several day
arala-p ḳayt-a-dī da.
visit-IP.CONV RETURN.POSTV-A.PRES-3 DA.PART
'Since X came from far away, he will, of course, stay here for several days and then return.'

According to Zhang, the particle can also be used to express emotional nuances (*qínggǎn* 'sentiment'; 2004: 613). In such cases, the particle carries emphatic accent, that is, it is pronounced as an exclamation.

Example 277

Bakīt de-gen ^wosī da!
happiness say-GAN.PTCP this DA.PART
'Clearly, this is happiness!'

Combinations with indirective forms

A statement marked by the copula *^yeken* or the verb form in $\{-(I^2)\text{ptl}^2\}$ conveys indirective meaning. The particle D^2A^2 can be combined with these markers and expresses that the speaker has just become aware of something. Here the accent falls on the last syllable of the preceding word. The combination can be interpreted as 'I see', 'it is obvious', 'it is clear'; see Example 278.

Example 278

Mina maḷ-dar köršiles awuḷ-dīḳi ^yeken
this cattle-PL neighborhood township-NIKI E.COP.INDIR3
de.
DA.PART
'It is obvious that these cattle belong to the neighborhood township.'

In juxtaposed clauses

The particle D^2A^2 may be used in juxtaposed clauses to highlight the semantic relation between the two clauses. The nature of the relationship is not expressed by D^2A^2 particle. The reading is dependent on the content and can be paraphrased by using adverbial expressions like *bolmasa* or *aytpese*. Zhang claims that in such expressions the particle conveys a regretful attitude (2003: 232, 2004: 613).

Example 279

<i>Qar'sti</i>	<i>kıtap</i>	<i>jok</i>	<i>ta,</i>	<i>bolmasa</i>	<i>sat-ıp</i>
relevant	book	not existing	DA.PART	otherwise	buy-IP.CONV
<i>al-ayın</i>		<i>de-gen</i>		<i>oy-ım</i>	<i>bar</i>
TAKE.POSTV-VOL1SG		say-GAN.PTCP		thought-POSS1SG	existing

bol-atın.

BOL.COP- ATIN.PAST.INTRAT3

‘There is unfortunately not a relevant book, otherwise I would have bought a copy.’

Example 280

<i>Kün</i>	<i>jılı-n-ba-y</i>	<i>aķ</i>	<i>ket-ti,</i>	<i>aytpese</i>
weather	warm-REF-NEG-A.CONV	AĶ.PART	LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3	otherwise
<i>su^w-ya</i>	<i>malta-p</i>	<i>kel-er</i>	<i>e-dj-k</i>	<i>te.</i>
water-DAT	swim-IP.CONV	COME.POSTV-AOR	E.COP-PAST-1PL	DA.PART

‘The weather is still not warm. Otherwise we could have gone swimming.’

The particle mI^2s

Variants

The particle mI^2s has two harmonic variants, one front, *mış*, and one back, *mīs*, e.g. *Kel-ıp-ti mīs* <come-IP.POSTT-3 MIS.PART> ‘X has apparently come’. *Ayt-ıp-ti mīs* <tell-IP.POSTT-3 MIS.PART> ‘X has apparently said it’.

Basic properties

The unaccentable particle mI^2s , which occurs in postpredicate position, goes back to the indirective marker *är-miş* derived from the verb *är-* ‘to be’. Particles with similar forms occur in several other Turkic languages, e.g. Turkish *imiş* <I.COP.INDIR>, and have an ambiguous temporal value allowing both non-past and past interpretations: ‘is/was evidentially’ (Johanson 2000: 67, 2003: 276). Uyghur possesses the reportive copula marker *-(i)mış*, e.g. *Yaxşı yazarımıš* ‘X is reportedly writes good’ (Tömür 2011²: 270).

Indirectivity does not express personal attitudes, and therefore not a modal category as defined in this study. Nonetheless, indirective markers “get various contextual interpretations and display various pragmatic extensions of their central meaning” (Johanson 2003: 282). This seems to be the case in Kazakh. Some scholars claim that the Kazakh particle mI^2s has developed

into a dubitative particle on the basis of its reportive meaning and that it thus expresses epistemic evaluation. The addresser is said to report a fact with an ironic and doubtful attitude (Geng et al. 1999: 230, KG 2002: 563, Zhang 2003: 212, 2004: 596).

Usages

In the following examples, functions of the particle *mI²s* will be illustrated. In Example 281, *ʸeken* has indirective meaning, marking hearsay, inference or perception. When followed by *mI²s*, as in Example 282, it is necessarily interpreted as conveying hearsay. The particle *mI²s* adds a dubitative meaning, expressing that something has been claimed to be the case although there is no proof for it. This meaning can be translated as ‘allegedly’. Compare Examples 281 and 282.

Example 281

Kelīn-ī suhuw ʸeken.
 bride-POSS3 beautiful E.COP.INDIR3
 ‘His bride is apparently beautiful.’

Example 282

Kelīn-ī suhuw ʸeken mīs.
 bride-POSS3 beautiful E.COP.INDIR3 MIS.PART
 ‘His bride is allegedly beautiful.’

In the following example, the particle *mI²s*, without *ʸeken*, expresses an ironical comment implying that the statement is not true.

Example 283

Kelīn-ī suhuw mīs.
 bride-POSS3 beautiful MIS.PART
 ‘His bride is reportedly beautiful (according to what is said, but not necessarily true).’

The particle *mI²s* conveys the dubitative meaning also when following an indirective verb form in $\{-(I^2)ptI^2\}$.

Example 284

Kīlās-īmīz-ya jāṇa ʷokuwšī kel-etīn bol-ʷp-tī
 class-POSS1PL-DAT new student come-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-IP.POSTT-3
mīs.
 MIS.PART
 ‘A new student will allegedly, but not very probably, come to our class.’

The Uyghur reportative copula marker *-(i)miš* conveys mostly reportive meanings. Depending on the context, it may imply a sarcastic, ironical meaning (Tömür 2003: 304, 2011²: 271). Tömür states the differences between the reportive copula marker *-(i)miš* and the indirective copula *ikän*. According to him, the reportive copula emphasizes that the source of the information is hearsay, while the copula *ikän* signals that the source of the statement is not identified (2003: 304, 2011²: 271).

Example 285 Uyghur

Yêz-iwat-ğan-miš.

write-PRES-GAN.POSTT-MIŠ3

‘X was reportedly writing’ (Johanson 2003: 279).

In some contexts, this copula in Uyghur may get an ironical reading, expressing that the addresser does not think that the statement is true. Compare the Kazakh particle *mIʹs*, which always has an ironical meaning when it is not used in combination with *ʹeken*.

The particle *ʹyā*

Basic properties

The particle *ʹyā* conveys a subjective epistemic meaning confirming the truth of a proposition. It occurs in both sentence-initial and postpredicate positions and is always accented. In some expressions its meaning is similar to that of the Uyghur particle *hā*. Its most general function is to give an affirmative answer to a question, like English ‘yes’.

Example 286

<i>A: Xat-ti</i>	<i>ʹjaz-dī-ŋ</i>	<i>ba?</i>
letter-ACC	write-PAST-2SG	Q.PART
‘Did you write the letter?’		

<i>B: ʹYā,</i>	<i>ʹjaz-dī-m.</i>
YĀ.PART	write -PAST-1SG
‘Yes, I did.’	

Usages

In rhetorical questions

The particle *ʹyā* can be added to interrogative sentences including the rhetorical particle *ʹeken*. Such questions can be described as meditative-rhetorical questions. In this usage, *ʹyā* is interchangeable with the particle *ā* (see below). Both particles may express the addresser’s will to learn the truth. In Example 287, the question includes the rhetorical copula *ʹeken*. Such ques-

tions are rhetorical because the addresser, as a rule, does not expect an answer. The indirective copula can be interpreted in different ways depending on the context. In this example, it marks that the addresser is surprised to find that the weather is cold.

Example 287

<i>Kün</i>	<i>nege</i>	<i>suw-up</i> ²⁸	<i>ket-ti</i>	<i>ʔeken?</i>
weather	why	cold-(BOL.COP-)IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3	RHET.PART

‘Why has it become so cold?’

In Example 288, the particle *ʔyā* or *ā* is added to express a meditative reading that can be rendered in English with ‘I wonder’. A corresponding Turkish expression is *acaba* ‘I wonder if’, ‘oh, indeed!’

Example 288

<i>Kün</i>	<i>nege</i>	<i>suw-up</i> ²⁹	<i>ket-ti</i>	<i>ʔeken</i>
weather	why	cold-(BOL.COP-)IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3	RHET.PART

ʔyā/ā?
YĀ.PART/Ā.PART

‘I wonder why it has become so cold?’

The particle can also be added to yes-no questions containing the indirective particle. Depending on the context, the particle can express the addresser’s anxiousness to learn the answer.

Example 289

<i>Bala</i>	<i>āke-si-n</i>	<i>izde-p</i>	<i>tap-ti</i>	<i>ma</i>
child	father-POSS3SG-ACC	look for-IP.CONV	find-PAST3	Q.PART

ʔeken *ʔyā/ā?*
RHET.PART YĀ.PART/Ā.PART

‘I wonder if the child found his father?’

Interrogative sentences followed by the Kazakh indirective particle *ʔeken* without an added *ʔyā* or *ā* particle do not have the meditative-rhetorical meaning expressed by the corresponding Noghay indirective particle (Kara-koç 2005: 26–27).

Example 290 Noghay

<i>Tis</i>	<i>kira-lar-da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>noyay-lar</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>de-p</i>
foreign	country-PL-LOC	DA.PART	Noghay-PL	existing	say-IP.CONV

²⁸ *Suwup* is contracted from *suwuk bolup* {cold BOL.COP-IP.CONV} ‘became cold’. The stem *suw* in the example is a short form of *suwuk*.

²⁹ See the previous footnote.

esit-ken-miz. Kaysi-miz-diñ da köñil-imiz-de,
 hear-GAN.POSTT-1PL which-POSS1PL-GEN DA.PART heart-POSS1PL-LOC
on-da noyay-lar köp pe eken? O-lar-da
 X-LOC Noghay-PL much Q.PART RHET.PART X-PL-LOC
noyay-ši-liķ bar ma eken? O-lar-da noyay
 Noghay-DER-DER existing Q.PART RHET.PART X-PL-LOC Noghay
kul'tura ös-e me eken? Noyay til-i
 culture grow-A.PRES Q.PART RHET.PART Noghay language-POSS3
yoy-il-yan ma eken? Eger noyay
 extinguish-PASS-GAN.PTCP Q.PART RHET.PART if Noghay
til-i yaša-y bol-sa, biz-im til-dey
 language-POSS3 live-A.PRES BOL.COP-HYP3 we-GEN language-EQUA
me eken? de-gen soraw-lar tuw-a-di.
 Q.PART RHET.PART say-GAN.PTCP question-PL rise-A.PRES-3SG
 ‘We have heard that there are also Noghays abroad. In our heart, the questions are raised, “Are there many Noghay people there? Do they have any Noghay identity? Does the Noghay culture live among them? Is the Noghay language extinct? If the Noghay language is living, is it similar to our language?”’ (Karakoç 2005: 26)

Introducing a new topic

In sentence-initial position, the particle ⁱyā can precede a question that introduces a new topic. The function in this case is to draw the interlocutor’s attention to the new topic and to mark that an answer is expected.

Example 291

ⁱYā, keşe tün-de kayda bol-dī-ñ?
 YĀ.PART yesterday evening-LOC where BOL.COP-PAST-2SG
 ‘Well, where were you last night?’

There is a phonetically similar particle *ǰā* which signals that a new topic will be introduced. This particle is probably a shortened version of *ǰārāydī* ‘all right’. In my experience, the particle *ǰā* is preferred by males, whereas females use ⁱyā instead. In Example 292, the male addresser uses the particle and pronounces it as *ǰā*.

Example 292

“...*ǰā* ^yendī muñyul de-gen-dī uy-up
 ǰĀ.PART now Mongolia say-GAN.PTCP-ACC know-IP.CONV
al-dī-k” de-y-dī, “ǰā muñyul-da menīñ
 TAKE.POSTV-PAST-1PL say-A.PRES-3 ǰĀ.PART Mongolia-LOC I.GEN
aya-m bar...”
 brother-POSS1SG existing
 ‘...“Well, now we have got acquainted with Mongolia”, he writes. “Well, I have a brother in Mongolia ...”’ (T4/ 55)

Sudden realization

In sentence-initial position, the particle *ˈyā* can denote that the addresser suddenly realizes something. In this case, the statement is not an answer to a question.

Example 293

ˈYā, ˈes-īm-e ˈoral-dī, ˈol menij
YĀ.PART mind-POSS1SG-DAT return-PAST3 X I.GEN
ˈokuwši-m bol-atin.
student-POSS1SG BOL.COP- ATIN.PAST.INTRAT3
‘Oh yes, it came to my mind, X was one of my students.’

Example 294

Context: I am reading a newspaper. One piece of news reminds me of an event which I have already heard about.

ˈYā, ˈestī-gen-mın.
YĀ.PART hear-GAN.POSTT-COP1SG
‘Oh yes, I have heard about it.’

Question tag

In postpredicate position, the particle *ˈyā* may be used when politely asking for a confirmation or consent. Zhang (2003: 199, 2004: 586) claims that in this usage the particle is always accented to signal that the interlocutor is earnestly requested to corroborate a statement based on the addresser’s assumption. In our observation, it is used to ask for confirmation or consent, but the statement does not need to express the addresser’s assumption. In this usage, *ˈyā* is interchangeable with the particle *ā* (see below).

Example 295

Mına üy aygerim-der-diki ˈyā?
this house Aykerim-PL-DIKI YĀ.PART
‘This house belongs to the Aykerims, does it not?’

Example 296

Teledidar-dī söndir-ip jat, ˈyā?
television-ACC shut down-IP.CONV go to bed.IMP YĀ.PART
‘Turn off the TV and then go to bed, is it OK?’

The particle *ā*

Basic properties

The particle *ā* is always accented and occurs in both sentence-initial and postpredicate positions. It combines with verb forms of all moods and with different modal particles occurring in postpredicate position. Its basic meaning is also subjective epistemic evaluation. In some expressions, its function

corresponds to that of the particle *ʲyā*. As an interjection, younger Kazakhs in China often use a copy of the Chinese particle *a*, which, when used as an interjection, is similar to the Kazakh particle both in function and form. An account of this phenomenon will be given below.

Usages

Meditative-rhetorical questions

The particle *ā* can be added to interrogative sentences including the rhetorical particle *ʲeken* to form meditative-rhetorical questions. In this usage, it is interchangeable with the particle *ʲyā*.

Example 297

“*Sodan жүгір-үп ағі say-ya ne bol-dī*
 then run-IP.CONV aforesaid ravine-DAT what BOL.COP-PAST3
ʲeken ā? awıl adam-dar-ī iś-ın-de-gi
 RHET.PART Ā.PART household person-PL-POSS3 inside-POSS3-LOC-GI
üy-ler ne bol-dī ʲeken? de-se-k ʷol say-dī
 yurt-PL what BOL.COP-PAST3 RHET.PART say-HYP-1PL X ravine-ACC
kör-iw-ge bol-ma-y-dī ʲeken” de-y-dī.
 see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘Then we ran to that ravine, to see what had happened to that ravine, what happened to the people living in the households inside the ravine. They disappeared”, he writes.’ (T4/ 45)

Interjection

Like the particle *aw* (see above), the particle *ā* is frequently used as an interjection in response to a call. It confirms that the addressee has heard the call.

Example 298

A: Äy kiz!
 ÄY.INTERJEC girl
 ‘Hey, girl!’

B: Ä!
 Ä.PART
 ‘Yes!’

Instead of the Kazakh particle *ā*, many bilinguals today use a copy of the Chinese particle *a* with rising tone, i.e. interrogative intonation. In example 299, this particle is used as an echo question indicating that the respondent is ready to continue the dialogue. The particle may also be used to ask the addresser to repeat an utterance.

Example 299

A: *Áy* *küz!*
 ÄY.INTERJEC girl
 ‘Hey, girl!’

B: *Á!?* (with rising intonation)

A.PART
 ‘I beg your pardon?’

In Example 299, the particle can also be interpreted as a confirmation in the sense of “I am listening”. Example 300 illustrates a similar use of *a* in Chinese.

Example 300 Chinese

A: *Xiǎo* *huāhuā!*
 small.DIM Huahua
 ‘Xiao Huahua!’

B: *Á!?*

A.PART
 ‘Yes?’

The particle *á* can express an immediate reaction confirming that the addressee has understood a given utterance; see the following two examples.

Example 301

Context: The addressee has listened to the addresser’s instruction about how to download different apps.

Á, *solay* *ma?*
 Ä.PART like that Q.PART
 ‘Yes, is it so? (I got it.)’

Example 302

Context: Two drivers have tried to catch up with each other, and finally one has overtaken the other.

Á, *bāle-m,* *’endi* *kal-ar-siŋ.*
 Ä.PART misfortune-POSS1SG now stay-AOR-COP2SG
 ‘Yes, my misfortune, now you will stay behind me.’

In the spoken language there are some set phrases expressing immediate reaction.

Set phrase *â degennen*

Â de-gen-nen (Â.PART say-GAN.PTCP-ABL) ‘while saying *â*’ expresses quickness and can be translated as ‘in no time’, ‘in a very short time’.

Example 303

<i>Bala-m</i>	<i>Uppsala-ya</i>	<i>’endi bar-di-η.</i>
child-POSS1SG	Uppsala-DAT	now go-PAST-2SG
<i>Â</i>	<i>de-gen-nen</i>	<i>köñil-de-gi-dey</i>
Â.PART	say-GAN.PTCP-ABL	will-LOC-GI-EQUA
<i>bol-a</i>	<i>koy-uw</i>	<i>kay-da?</i>
BOL.COP-A.CONV	PUT.POSTV-UW.VN	where-LOC

‘My child, you just went to Uppsala. Where can you realize your wishes in such a short time?’

Set phrases *â degenşe* / *â degenşe bol-yan jök*

The two phrases *â de-genşe* (Â.PART say-GANŞA.CONV) ‘in as much time as it takes to say *â*’, and *â de-genşe bol-yan jök* (Â.PART say-GANŞA.CONV BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP non-existing) ‘not even as much time as it takes to say *â*’ are interchangeable, both expressing quickness and immediacy.

Example 304

<i>Â</i>	<i>de-genşe</i>	/ <i>â</i>	<i>de-genşe</i>	<i>bol-yan</i>	
Â.PART	say-GANŞA.CONV	/	Â.PART	say-GANŞA.CONV	BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP
<i>jök,</i>	<i>urî usta-t-pa-y</i>		<i>kaş-îp</i>	<i>ket-tî.</i>	
non-existing	thief catch-CAUS-NEG-A.CONV		run-IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3	

‘The thief ran away immediately without being caught.’

Set phrase *â dese mâ de-*

The phrase *â dese mâ de-* (Â.PART say-HYP3 take.IMP say) ‘When one says *â* ‘yes’ the other one says *mâ* ‘take’, expresses a retort, i.e. an answer to a remark in a sharp, angry, or witty manner.

Example 305

<i>Bul</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>ülkey-e</i>	<i>gel-e,</i>
this	child	grow-A.CONV	COME.POSTV-A.CONV
<i>â</i>	<i>de-se</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>de-ytîñ bol-dî.</i>
â	de-HYP3	take.IMP	de-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3

‘When growing up this child gives ill-mannered answers.’

Comment on a piece of information

The particle *â* can be used as an explanatory comment that can be interpreted as ‘just to inform you’, ‘be aware that’, and ‘you should know that’.

Example 306

Men jür-di-m â!
 I move-PAST-1SG Ä.PART
 'I am going, you see.'

The past tense is used here to express that the action is about to take place, a kind of prospectivity. In a sense, the action has already occurred in the addresser's mind. The same is true for *boldi* in Example 309; see below.

The use of the particle *â* in Example 306 is very similar to the corresponding Chinese expression with the particle *a*. Kazakhs living in China use this particle very frequently. See Example 307.

Example 307

Wō zōu le a!
 I go PAST A.INTERJEC
 'I am going, you see!'

According to Zhang (2003: 198, 2004: 584), the function of such expressions is that the addresser wants to remind the interlocutor of the state of affairs presented in the sentence. In our view, the function is not to remind, but to add an explanatory comment.

The question tag

The particle *â* may be used by the addresser to remind the addressee of something that s/he knows about. The addresser expects a positive reaction from the addressee(s).

Example 308

Qarsı jaq ta sap^yetkiz-ip
 opposite side DA.PART happen quickly-IP.CONV
uy-up al-yan kusa-yan â?
 understand-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP resemble-GAN.POSTT3 Ä.PART
 'The interlocutor seems to understand it at once, doesn't s/he?' (T5/ 34)

The usage of the particle *â* may correspond to the usage of ⁱyâ as a question tag (see above) to convey that the addresser expects the interlocutor to agree.

Example 309

Jeñil-etin bol-di aw â / ⁱyâ?
 be defeated-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3 AW.PART Ä.PART/ YÄ.PART
 'It has become clear that X will be defeated, right?'

Combination with imperative and voluntative mood markers

According to Zhang (2003: 198, 2004: 584), when the particle *â* follows ‘imperative’ (in our terminology imperative and voluntative) forms, it can be used to ask the interlocutor to concern himself/herself with the requested affair or to wait for the consent of the interlocutor. In this usage the sentence in Example 310, *Men iştep köreyin* ‘Let me try to do it’, is pronounced with affirmative (falling) intonation and the following particle *â* with interrogative (rising) intonation. Observe that in this usage the intonation pattern is different from that in Example 311, which is pronounced as one intonational unit without a break before the particle. The accent/high tone is on the particle *â*.

Example 310

Men işte-p kör-eyin, â?
I do-IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-VOL1SG Â.PART
‘Wǒ gàn gè shì shì, a?’ (Zhang 2003: 198, 2004: 584)
[‘Let me try to do it, ok?’]

Example 311

Tazalığ-ti jaksı işte-ñ-der, â /ⁱyâ?
cleaning-ACC good do-IPM-PL Â.PART / YÂ.PART
‘Do the cleaning well, is this clear?’

There is a stylistic difference between the particles *â* and ⁱyâ. According to Zhang (2003: 199, 2004: 585), ⁱyâ may make the utterance more polite.

The particles *de*, *deşi*, and *deseñşi*

Basic properties

The particles *de*, *deşi*, and *deseñşi*, which always occur in postpredicate position, are based on the verb *de-* ‘to say’ and reflect the stance of the interlocutor.

The particle *de*, which has no variants, should not be confused with the variant *de* of the particle *D²A²* (see above). It is always unaccented, with the preceding syllable carrying the accent. The particle *de* comes from the imperative form of the verb *de-* ‘to say’ (Zhang 2003: 216, 2004: 600). Though it also has an emphatic variant with a long vowel *e:*, it cannot be proven that it goes back to a converb.

Different converb forms of the verb *de-* ‘to say’ have been grammaticalized as particles in Turkic languages. In Kazakh, the $\{-(I^4)p\}$ form *de-p* (de-IP.CONV) ‘saying’ is employed as a quotation particle in connection with a verb of speaking.

Example 312

Áke-m “bar!” *de-p* *ayt-ti.*
 father-POSS1SG go.IMP say-IP.CONV tell-PAST3
 ‘My father told me: “Go!”’

The quotation particle must normally be used to embed a direct quotation in a predicate based on a verb of speaking. The lexical verb *de-* ‘to say’ can, however, take a direct quotation without a quotation particle. When used together with a postverb, the converb form in {-A²// y} of the verb *de-* is used, e.g. *de-y kel-ip* {say-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV} ‘having said’.

Example 313

“Azattik-ka *koljet-kiz-di-k!*”, *de-y* *kel-ip*
 freedom-DAT reach-CAUS-PAST-1PL say-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV
köz-in-e *stik jas al-di.*
 eye-POSS3-DAT warm tear take-PAST3
 ‘Having said “We attained freedom!” X’s eyes filled with warm tears.’

The particles *deşî* and *deseñşî* are obviously complex, based on *de-* but also containing the particle *şI²*. The form *deşî* consists of the imperative of *de-* plus *şI²*. The form *deseñşî*, is based on the hypothetical form of the second person *deseñ* ‘imagine you say’ plus *şI²*.

For the use of the participle *degen* as an emphatic particle, a topic particle, and a marker of contrast see Zhang (1999) and Muhamedowa (2011).

The usages of the particle *de*

The usages of the particle *de* are in some respects similar to those of the quotation particle *dep* ‘saying’ and its variant *de-y kel-ip* ‘having said’ mentioned above. The particle *de*, however, does not embed direct quotations, but is more of an emphatic particle expressing understanding or consent. It is often used when the addresser repeats information given by the interlocutor, thereby confirming that the message is understood. Uyghur has a corresponding particle *dä* with the same function.

In the following example, B confirms having understood what A has said. The piece of information whose reception is confirmed can be repeated or paraphrased. Alternatively, the answer can be a simple confirmation without referring to the words of the interlocutor.

Example 314

A: *Bu-lar fakultet-imiz-ge jänä-dan kabilda-n-yan*
 this-PL department-POSS1PL-DAT new-ABL accept-REF.PASS-GAN.PTCP
 “*okuwşı-lar-imiz.*”
 student-PL-POSS1PL
 ‘These are the students who have recently been accepted at our department.’

B: *Bu-lar fakultet-imiz-ge jānā-dan kabīlda-n-yan*
 this-PL department-POSS1PL-DAT new-ABL accept-REF.PASS-GAN.PTCP
oquwši-lar-imiz de.
 student-PL-POSS1PL DE.PART
 ‘I understand, these are the students who have recently been accepted at our department.’

or

B: *Solay de.*
 so DE.PART
 ‘I got it.’

The particle *de* can follow markers of indirectivity, the indirective copula *ʷeken*, or the indirective verb form in $\{-(I^2)\text{ptI}^2\}$, when the information is based on a secondary source. Its function is still to confirm the receipt of the information given.

Example 315

ʷErteŋ kūn i:stiŋ bol-a-dī ʷeken de.
 tomorrow weather warm BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 DE.PART
 ‘I understand, it will apparently be warm tomorrow.’

The usages of the particle *deši*

The particle *deši*, in which the verbal stem carries the high pitch, [‘deʃi], is an emphatic form that can be paraphrased as ‘thus’, ‘that is to say’, ‘in other words’, ‘as claimed by you’, ‘according to you’. In Example 316, the fact that information received is based on a secondary source is expressed by an indirective form. Zhang (2003: 217, 2004: 600) claims that the particle in this usage expresses an epistemic evaluation; i.e. the addresser comes to realize the truth of a state of affairs just at the moment of speaking.

Example 316

ʷErteŋ kūn i:stiŋ bol-a-dī ʷeken deši.
 tomorrow weather warm BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 DEŠI.PART
 ‘Thus it will apparently be warm tomorrow.’

In echo questions, when the addresser repeats all or part of what someone else has just said, the particle *deši* can express that the addresser regards the quoted statement to be doubtful, incredible or unconvincing. Such echo questions are pronounced with a special emphatic stress on the particle.

Example 317

A: *Men kör-me-dî-m.*

I see-NEG-PAST-1SG

‘I did not see (it).’

B: “*Kör-me-dî-m*” *deşi,* *suwayt.*

see-NEG-PAST-1SG DEŞİ.PART liar

‘You say “I did not see (it)” you liar.’

The particle *deşi* may occur at the end of a main clause to express that the addresser wants to remind the interlocutor that special attention should be given to the statement expressed by the clause. Zhang (2004: 601) observes that the addresser uses the particle ironically to remind the interlocutor of some shared memories.

Example 318

Context: The addresser does not believe that no lake in the world is brighter than Lake Sayram.

Bir kez-de dünya-de Sayram köl-i-nen aydındı su
a time-LOC world-LOC Sayram lake-POSS3-ABL bright water

jok de-p tur-up al-dî-η
non-existing say-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-2SG

deşi.

DEŞİ.PART

‘Once you insisted that “no lake in the world is brighter than Lake Sayram”.’

According to our observations, the particle need not always refer to a shared memory. It can also be used to introduce a new topic, such as *Maržan* in Example 319.

Example 319

Maržan uzak wakît kezîk-pe-gen sabaktas-îm deşi,
Marjan long time meet-NEG-GAN.PTCP classmate-POSS1SG DEŞİ.PART

üy-in-e bar-îp sâlemdes-îp kayt-tî-m.
home-POSS3-DAT go-IP.CONV greet-IP.CONV return-PAST-1SG

‘You see, Marjan is my classmate whom I had not met for a long time; I visited her at home.’

When the particle is attached to a question, as in Example 320, it may signal that the question is meant rhetorically, i.e. that no answer is required. The question is used to persuade the interlocutor to believe in the addresser’s opinion. Zhang expresses the same view when writing that the particle signals that the addresser is eager to get the interlocutor’s consent (2003: 218, 2004: 601-602). The particle *desenşi* can also be used in this function.

Example 320

Context: The addresser is of the opinion that it is not possible for the local people to come to terms with the hot weather and expects the interlocutor to share this opinion.

Mina ⁱ*stik-ka* *ǰergiliktǰ* *turɣun-dar* *kalay* *töz-e-dǰ*
 this warm-DAT local inhabitant-PL how put up with-A.PRES-3
deşǰi?!

DEŞI.PART

‘Tell me, how is it possible for the local inhabitants to endure this hot weather?’

The addresser can address the rhetorical question to himself/herself. In Example 321, the particle signals that there is no possible answer to the question.

Example 321

Amerika-ɣa *sayaxat-ka* *bar-uw-ɣa* *mümkinşilik* *bar* *ma*
 America-DAT travel-DAT go-UW.VN-DAT possibility existing Q.PART
^y*eken* *deşǰi?*

RHET.PART DEŞI.PART

‘Tell me, is there any chance for me to travel to America?’

The following example illustrates that the particle is used to add emphasis to an exclamation. The particle *desenşǰi* can also be used in this function.

Example 322

^y*Ertay tartuw-ï-n* *kör-se* *mâz bol-a-dǰ* *deşǰi?*
 Ertay present-POSS3-ACC see-HYP3 satisfy-A.PRES-3 DEŞI.PART
 ‘When Ertay sees the present he will be satisfied, won’t he?’

The usages of the particle *desenşǰi*

As mentioned, the particle *desenşǰi* {say-HYP-2SG-ŞI.PART} may occur in rhetorical questions and exclamations emphasizing the addresser’s approval or disapproval. The syllable before the particle *şI*² is accented.

Example 323

Qanday *körkem* *ǰer* *desenşǰi?*
 how beautiful place DESEDŞI.PART
 ‘It’s such a beautiful place, isn’t it?’

Example 324

Qanday *ǰeksurun* *desenşǰi?*
 how odious DESEDŞI.PART
 ‘How odious, don’t you think?’

Zhang (2004: 602) points out that in the polite version of the hypothetical form of the second person *deseñizšì* can be used in formal style.

Example 325

Context: A schoolchild speaks to the teacher.

Ülkey-gende men de bⁱr muʔalim bol-sa-m
grow up-GAN.LOC.CONV I DA.PART a teacher BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
ķanday ĵaksì deseñizšì!
how good DESEDIZŠI.PART

‘How good it would be if I also became a teacher when I grow up, don’t you agree?’

The particle *deseñšì* may be used in the sense ‘what if you say’.

Example 326

Mayan “^wötirik ayt!” de-genše, “^wöl!” deseñšì.
I-DAT lie tell say-GANŠA.CONV die DESEDŠI.PART

‘Instead of saying to me “Tell a lie!”, what if you say “Die!”’

The particle *bilem*

Basic properties

The verbal form *bilem* {bil-A.PRES-COP1SG} ‘I know’ from *bil-* ‘to know, to understand’ is grammaticalized as a particle that conveys subjective modality based on epistemic evaluation. In initial or postpredicate position it emphasizes that the addresser is very sure of the statement and cannot be mistaken with respect to this (Zhang 2003: 235–234, 2004: 615). In initial position, the particle is accented and implies strong certainty.

Example 327.

Bilem, ^wol keše kel-dì.
BILEM.PART X yesterday come-PAST3

‘I know, X came yesterday.’

When the particle stands in the postpredicate position, as in Example 328, the level of certainty may be reduced. The addresser just assumes that the state of affairs has taken place. In this case, it can be rendered as ‘I think’.

Example 328

^wOl keše kel-dì, bilem.
X yesterday come-PAST3 BILEM.PART

‘X came yesterday, I think.’

Lexical expressions

In this chapter, lexical means of expressing modal notions, including adverbs and verbal and nominal constructions, will be dealt with. The list of items to be included here cannot be exhaustive. We will only describe some of the most frequently used lexical expressions of modality.

Modal adverbs

As described in the chapter *Modal particles*, the particles do not contribute to the description of events, but convey some kind of stance, a cognitive or affective attitude towards the events described. These can include meanings related to subjective reasoning and belief, personal involvement, emotions, evaluations, or judgments concerning the propositional content (Johanson 2012: 51). Similar concepts may be also expressed by some adverbs such as ‘definitely’, ‘actually’, ‘really’, ‘indeed’, ‘apparently’, ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’ etc. Because of this similarity, in some grammars the modal adverbs are dealt with as particles (Zhang 2003, 2004, Tömür 2011). In this study, we regard particles and adverbs as different categories. Unlike particles, adverbs possess a lexical meaning. Adverbs can modify predicates or sentences. When the adverbs modify a predicate, they have only the predicate in their semantic scope, and when they modify a sentence, they have the entire sentence in their scope. Our main concern here will be the modal adverbs that belong to the level of sentence adverbs. Modal adverbs are propositional operators that describe the speaker’s own assessment of the propositional content or his/her personal commitment. Adverbs that modify, the predicate, for instance with respect to quantity or time, as in the following example, will not be discussed in this dissertation.

Example 329

^w*O-lar* *çamamen* *keler* *žil-i* *köktem-de* *qayt-ïp*
 X-PL approximately coming year-POSS3 spring-LOC return-IP.CONV
kel-e-dï.

COME.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘Tāmen dāyuē zài míngnián chūntiān huílái.’ (Zhang 2004: 626)

‘They return approximately next year in the spring.’

In Kazakh, modal adverbs are relatively free to occur in postpredicate or sentence-initial positions depending on the context and the personal preferences of the speaker.

Possibility

Balkim ‘maybe, perhaps’, *balki* ‘perhaps’

The adverbs *balkim* ‘maybe, perhaps’ and *balki* ‘perhaps’ express subjective evaluation of possibility in the sense of ‘may be the case’. They are of Arabic/Persian origin. Similar lexical items with the same meaning are *balkim* and *balki* in Uyghur and *belki* in Turkish. They can be used as free variants, but according to Zhang, *balkim* is more frequently used (2004: 622).

The meanings of these adverbs have been described by Zhang (2004: 621–622). He observes that *balkim* ‘maybe, perhaps’ and *balki* ‘perhaps’ can occur both in sentence-initial and sentence-final positions.

Example 330

Balkim, ^w*ol’erteŋ* *kel-se* *kerek.*
 perhaps X tomorrow come-HYP3 necessary

‘Yěxǔ tā míngtiān lái.’ (Zhang 2004: 622)

‘X might perhaps come tomorrow.’

Actually, *balkim* ‘maybe, perhaps’ can also be used to modify a non-first constituent and consequently occurs in other positions in the clause.

Example 331

^w*Ol* *balkim* ^y*erteŋ* *kel-se* *kerek.*
 X perhaps tomorrow come-HYP3 necessary

‘X might come, perhaps tomorrow.’

Mümkün <mümkün> ‘possible’

The adjective *mümkün* <mümkün> ‘possible’ may function as an adverb and operate at the proposition level to express that the speaker evaluates the proposition as possibly true (see also Rentzsch 2012: 475). This adverb can also occur in sentence-final position.

Example 332

Mümkün, keş kel-e-dī. / Keş kel-e-dī, mümkün.
 possibly late come-A.PRES-3 late come-A.PRES-3 possibly
 ‘It is possible that X will come late.’

Probability

Āytewir / āytew ‘anyway’, ‘anyhow’

Basic properties

The adverb *āytewir / āytew* can be translated into English by a number of expressions such as ‘anyway’ or ‘anyhow’, ‘as a matter of fact’, ‘no matter what it is’, ‘after all’, ‘the point is’, ‘in any case’, ‘disregard the previous and then...’ or ‘the important thing is that’. The forms *āytewir / āytew* are interchangeable. We have not observed any differences in their usages. *Āytew* is most probably a contracted form of *āytewir*. According to Zhang (2003: 214, 2004: 598) *āytewir* is the standard version, whereas *āytew* is used in colloquial registers.

Zhang (2003: 214, 2004: 598) claims that *āytewir/āytew* can intensify a conclusion or a consequence, or express that a state of affairs cannot be changed. It always marks the message that the speaker wants to clarify and highlights what is most relevant in the given speech situation. Uyghur has a corresponding expression in *işkilip*, also used in the contracted form *işkip* ‘anyway / anyhow’. Some Kazakhs in China use the Uyghur form of the particle (see T8/7, T8/8).

Usages

Several examples below illustrate how this adverb is used in different positions in sentences. In Example 333, *āytew* introduces the clause which contains the important part of the statement.

Example 333

“*Soson ʼes aqıl-ımız-dan adas-ip āgi at-tar-ımız*
 then sense mind-POSS1PL-ABL lose-IP.CONV aforesaid horse-PL-POSS1PL
čïñyir-ip, āytew ayay-ın-da čïder-ı bar
 neigh-IP.CONV anyhow finally-POSS3-LOC hobble-POSS3 existing
sonimen kał-dı” de-y-dı.
 then stay-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘Then we did not know what to do, our horses neighed, anyway, finally thanks to the hobbles they did not run away”, he says.’ (T4/ 42)

The adverb can introduce a sentence as Example 334.

Example 334

Bil-me-y-mın, men-ıñ söz-ım kulağ-ın-a
 know-NEG-A.PRES-COP1SG I.GEN ward-POSS1SG ear-POSS3-DAT
kır-dı me, kır-me-dı me? Äytewir
 enter-PAST3 Q.PART enter-NEG-PAST3 Q.PART anyway
ün-ı wöş-ıp kal-dı.
 sound-POSS3 lapse into silence-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3
 ‘I do not know, if X heard me or not. Anyway X has become silent.’

In Example 335, *äytew* is in postpredicate position and indicates that the speaker believes there is nothing more to say about the issue.

Example 335

Aya-ı-nan telefon kel-dı, “köp şarwa-lar-ım
 brother-POSS2SG-ABL telephone come-PAST3 many work-PL-POSS1SG
bar y-e-dı, ülgür-e al-ma-y
 existing E.COP-PAST3 reach-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV
jür-mın” de-y me? Üy-ge
 MOVE.POSTV-1SG say-PRES Q.PART home-DAT
kel-me-ytın bol-“p-tı äytew.
 come-NEG-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-IP.POSTT-3 anyhow
 ‘There was a phone call from your brother, and he said “I have much work (to do), and (I) do not have any time” or something. Anyway he apparently will not come home.’

Bäribir ‘all the same, nevertheless’

Basic properties

The adverb *bäribir* can be used in the sense of ‘all the same’ or ‘nevertheless’. In some cases, such as the first example below, the meaning can be interchangeable with *äytewir* / *äytew* ‘anyway’, ‘anyhow’. Literally it comes from the pronoun *bäri* ‘all’ and *bir* ‘one’, or ‘same’. Uyghur has a corresponding form *bäribir* with exactly the same function. This is a frequently used expression in other Turkic languages as well.

Usages

According to Zhang (2003: 215, 2004: 598), *bäribir* can indicate an unchangeable objective fact. We prefer to understand the function of *bäribir*, for instance in Example 336, as expressing that the statement in the second clause is not conditioned by the statement made in the first clause.

Example 336

<i>Qala-yan-iñ-dī</i>	<i>iste,</i>	<i>bāriḇ^lr</i>
want-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC	do.IMP	all the same
<i>ʔek-ken-iñ-dī</i>	<i>al-a-siñ.</i>	
sow-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC	take-A.PRES-COP2SG	

‘Do what you want, all the same, you reap what you have sown.’

In Example 337, *bāriḇ^lr* is used in postpredicate position and expresses the attitude of the speaker.

Example 337

<i>Ket-se-ŋ</i>	<i>ket-e</i>	<i>ber,</i>	<i>maŋan</i>	<i>bāriḇ^lr.</i>
leave-HYP-2SG	leave-A.CONV	GIVE.POSTV.IMP	I.DAT	all the same

‘If you are leaving, then leave, it is all the same to me.’

The meaning conveyed by *bāriḇ^lr* in Example 338 is the same as that of *āytewiṛ* / *āytew* ‘anyway’. The two adverbs are interchangeable in this example.

Example 338

<i>Bāriḇ^lr</i> /	<i>āytewiṛ</i>	<i>ʷöl-etin</i>	<i>bol-ŋan</i>
all the same	anyway	die-ATIN.PTCP	BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP
<i>soŋ,</i>	<i>b^lrge</i>	<i>ʷöl-eyik.</i>	
AFTER2.POSTP	together	die-VOL1PL	

‘We’re dying anyway, so let us die together.’

Čamasī ‘probably’

The adverb *čamasī* ‘probably’ indicates ‘should be the case’. It goes back to the noun *čama* ‘strength, power’.

Example 339

<i>Aqsaqal</i> ³⁰ ,	<i>čamasī,</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>poštašī-siz</i>	<i>γoy</i>	<i>de-y-mīn.</i>
sir	probably	you	postman-COP2SG	FOY.PART	say-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘Sir, you should be a postman, I think.’ (KD 10: 125)

Siyayī ‘seemingly’

In Standard Kazakh, *siyayī* ‘seemingly’ ← *siyaq* ‘appearance’, *siyķī* ‘likely’ ← *siyīķ* ‘physiognomy’ may be found as sentence adverbs (KG 2002: 572) but this usage is not found in our data.

³⁰ *Aqsaqal* is a word used to address old persons politely.

Example 340 Standard Kazakh

Siyayı, so-lar üy-de jök.
 seemingly that-PL home-LOC not existing
 ‘Seemingly, they are not at home.’ (KG 2002: 572)

Example 341 Standard Kazakh

Siyki, so-lar ayt-pa-yan.
 likely that-PL tell-NEG-GAN.POSTT3
 ‘Seemingly, they did not tell.’ (KG 2002: 572)

Äsili ‘most probably’, ‘actually’

The adverb *äsili* ‘actually, as a matter of fact’ ← *asli* ‘fundamental, essential’, is of Arabic/Persian origin. It expresses the speaker’s assessment that the proposition is highly probable.

Example 342

Äsili wol kel-me-y-di.
 most probably X come-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘Actually, X is not coming.’

The other usage is when *äsili* is used to express the meaning ‘actually’, ‘as a matter of fact’. Zhang claims that *äsili* ‘actually’ is used to correct a wrong estimation of a situation (2004: 616). Uyghur has the same adverb *äsli* ‘actually’ with similar function.

Example 343

Bul, äsili, wo-niñ katelig-i yemes ye-di.
 this actually X.GEN mistake-POSS3 not E.COP-PAST3
 ‘Zhè qíshí bìng bùshì tā de cuò.’ (Zhang 2004: 616)
 ‘This was not, actually, X’s mistake.’

Sirä ‘apparently, probably’, *zadi* ‘essentially’, *tegi* ‘obviously, apparently’

The adverbs *sirä* ‘apparently, probably’, *zadi* ‘essentially’, *tegi* ‘obviously, apparently’ are synonyms and express high probability. Uyghur employs the adverb *zadi* ‘essentially’ with similar functions.

Example 344

ʷOsīnaw üy-de, alayda, bar aw, sīrā sīr
 this house-LOC however existing AW.PART apparently secret
böten. Ĵañayī šal saray-γa teje-p, nege
 strange aforesaid old man palace-DAT compare-IP.CONV why
kül-dī ʷeken?
 laugh-PAST3 RHET.PART

‘But there really is a secret in this house, probably. Why did that old man compare it to a palace and laugh?’

In the next example, the adverb occurs in a question. In this case, the speaker wants to elicit an exact answer (Zhang 2004: 627).

Example 345

Tegī kaysī-ŋ-dīkī durus čik-tī?
 Precisely which-POSS2SG-NIKI right come out-PAST3
 ‘Zuihòu jiùjìng nǐmen shuí de duile?’ (Zhang 2004: 627)
 ‘Precisely, which of your (answers) turned out to be right?’

Another adverb, synonymous to the above mentioned ones is, according to KG, *zayīrī* ‘clearly, obviously’ ← *zaxir* ‘prominent, obvious’ of Arabic/Persian origin. According to this grammar, *zayīrī* can be added to a sentence (*‘kistirma müşe’*)—sentence adverb in our terminology—to express the speaker’s self assessment of the content. This lexical item may be used in some regions of Kazakhstan (2002: 574–575), but as mentioned above it does not occur in our data.

Example 346 Standard Kazakh

Zayīrī, so-lar kel-e koy-mas.
 clearly that-PL come-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-NEG.AOR3
 ‘Obviously, they won’t show up.’ (KG 2002: 575).

Certainty

Ārine / ālbette ‘of course, certainly’

The adverbs *ārine* / *ālbette* are used to indicate that the statement is established beyond doubt; i.e. it confirms the truth of the statement. It may be used in the sense of ‘really’, ‘actually’, ‘certainly’, ‘indubitably’ and ‘of course’. *Ārine* is of Iranian origin, from *هرايينه* ‘indeed, verily, certainly, undoubtedly’ (APPED 2004: 3643), whereas *ālbette* is ultimately of Arabic origin with the form *البتة*. They are interchangeable in meaning. The corresponding form in Uyghur is *ālwättä*, and in Turkish *elbet*, *elbette*. The particles *ārine* / *ālbette* may also be used in a meaning similar to Turkish *tabii*, a

word of Arabic origin, written as طبعی meaning ‘naturally, of course’ (Redhouse 2000¹⁸: 1075).

According to Zhang (2003: 234, 2004: 614), when these adverbs occur in sentence-initial position and carry the high tone, their function is to mark that in the speaker’s opinion, the state of affairs referred to by the sentence is beyond doubt and obvious. When used alone as an utterance, these adverbs are normally stressed, i.e. the first syllable carries the high tone. In Example 347, the whole sentence falls under the scope of the operator, and the stressed adverb affirms the whole statement.

Example 347

Árine, turpan-niŋ jüzüm-i³ ^yej³ ĵaqsı bol-a-dı
of course Turfan-GEN grape-POSS3 SUPER good BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
da.

DA.PART

‘Dāngrán shì tǔlǔfān de pútáo zuì hǎole ya.’ (Zhang 2003: 234, 2004: 614)

[‘The best is, of course, the grape from Turfan.’]

In Example 348, the operators *arine* / *albette* precede the predicate and only confirm the verb not the whole statement. As we can see from this example, the particle *D²A²* (see *Modal particles*) can occur together with *arine* / *albette*.

Example 348

Bul pıķır-ge áke-m árine / albette
this opinion-DAT father-POSS1SG of course / certainly
kelıs-pe-y-dı de.
agree-NEG-A.PRES-3 DA.PART

‘My father does not, of course, agree with this opinion.’

See a further example of the use of *arine* from our recordings.

Example 349

Mübada men³ ^wo dünye-lık bol-^up ket-ip
in case I X world-DER BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
ĵat-sa-m, meniŋ ^wosı ^wotır-yan üy-üm
LIE.POSTV-HYP-1SG I.GEN this live-GAN.PTCP house-POSS1SG
baspana-m, başka da mal mülük-ter-ım-niŋ ^yej
home-POSS1SG other DA.PART property-PL-POSS1SG-GEN SUPER

kundu-lar-î *arine* *senî* *başkar-uw-uŋ-da*
valuable-PL-POSS3 of course you.GEN govern-UW.VN-POSS2SG-LOC
bol-a-dî.

BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands.’ (T7/ 2)

Zhang (2003: 234, 2004: 615) states that when *arine* / *âlbette* are not stressed they express objective evaluation in the sense of ‘it is obvious that’.

Example 350

Ârine / âlbette *munday* *könjil* *güy-dî* *qazır-gi* *qala*
of course / certainly this.EQUA mood state-ACC present-GI city
turjun-dar-î *tüsün-e* *ber-me-y-dî.*
inhabitant-PL-POSS3 understand-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘It is obvious that people living in cities today often do not understand such feelings.’

The particles *arine* / *âlbette* are frequently used in poems, as the following examples illustrate.

Example 351

Kör-gen-der-i-n *san* *yasir-lar* *süy-üp-tî* *ʔel,*
see-GAN.PTCP-PL-POSS3-ACC number century-PL love-IP.POSTT-3 people
arine *ʔo-lar* *top-tî* *ʔoz-yan* *jüyruk-ter,*
of course X-PL a group-ACC exceed -GAN.PTCP runner-PL
sâlem *saŋan* *bîz* *şik-pa-yan* *biyik-ter!*
greeting you.DAT we climb-NEG-GAN.PTCP high-PL
‘For numerous centuries, the people loved what they saw.

(What they saw), of course, were the forerunners who left the others behind. Greetings to you, we have not succeeded better.’ (Aybergenov 2005)

Example 352

Âlbette *ʔernî* *kew-üp* *şölde-me-y-sî*,
certainly lip-GEN dry-IP.CONV thirst-NEG-A.PRES-COP2SG
arna-ŋa *sab-î* *saylî* *sał-sa-ŋ* *kasîk.*
stream-DAT handle-POSS3 fitting put-HYP-2SG spoon
Tasta-mas *talaptî* *ʔer-dî* *tâŋʔr-îm* *şöl-ge,*
abandon-NEG.AOR3 aspiring man-ACC God-POSS1SG thirst-DAT
jat-kan-nî *payda-sî* *jok* *beker*
LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-GEN benefit-POSS3SG non-existing in vain
jasî-p.
idle-IP.CONV

‘Your lip, certainly, does not get dry of thirst,

if you put a spoon with a fitting handle into the stream.
 God will not let the aspiring man be thirsty,
 there is no benefit in being uselessly idle.’ (Šorayačkov1984: 44)

Sözsziz, sözjoč ‘surely’

Sözsziz ‘surely’ is derived from *söz* ‘word’ with the private suffix {-sl²z} literally meaning ‘without a word’. The complex adverb *sözjoč* ‘surely’, from *söz* ‘word’ and *joč* ‘non-existing’, also expresses certainty. Both convey the meaning that the speaker does not have any doubt about the truth of the statement.

Example 353

<i>Jeņis</i>	<i>sözsziz / sözjoč</i>	<i>biz-diki.</i>
victory	surely	we-NIKI

‘The victory is definitely ours.’

Constructions expressing volition

Order

One of the lexical items expressing the notion of giving an order is the verb *buyur-* ‘buyir-’ ‘to order to be done’. The person who is getting the order functions as the object of the verb *buyur-*, and the action s/he is ordered to carry out is expressed by an infinitive phrase assigned the dative case.

Example 354

<i>Seni</i>	<i>čiy-ip</i>	<i>ket-iw-ge</i>	<i>buyur-a-mın!</i>
you.ACC	come out-IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-UW.VN-DAT	order-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I order you to go out!’

The same meaning can also be expressed with the participant who gets the order in the dative case and the action to be carried out being the object of the verb *buyur-* ‘to order’. See the alternative version in Example 355.

Example 355

<i>Sayan</i>	<i>čiy-ip</i>	<i>ket-iw-di</i>	<i>buyur-a-mın!</i>
you.DAT	come out-IP.CONV	LEAVE.POSTV-UW.VN-ACC	order-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I order you to go out!’

The following example illustrates the case when the verb takes both the participant and the action as objects. Both constituents are assigned the accusative case. Such a double accusative marking would be not accepted in Turkish.

Example 356

Muʔalim ^w*oʔuwʂi-lar-dī* *tapsīrma-nī* *īste-p*
 teacher student-PL-ACC homework-ACC do-IP.CONV
kel-iw-ge *buyur-dī.*
 COME.POSTV-UW.VN-DAT order-PAST3
 ‘The teacher asked the students to do the homework.’

This use of *buyur-*, as in Examples 355 and 356, sounds solemn and ceremonious. Zhang (1990a: 90) observes that such expressions are used only on formal occasions when the addresser has a higher social position than the addressee. These expressions often occur in texts translated from Chinese, because in Chinese there is no imperative mood and orders are expressed by lexical means, e.g. by the verb *mìnglìng* ‘to order’. In Kazakh as spoken in China, the frequent use of the verb *buyur-* ‘to order’ is a frequential copy of the corresponding Chinese expression. See the Chinese translations of Example 355.

Example 357

Wō mǐnglìng nǐ chūqù.
 I order you go out
 ‘I order you to go out.’

In Standard Kazakh, the expression *buyur-a-mīn* ⟨order-A.PRES-COP1SG⟩ ‘I order that, I command that’ is used in the announcement of a constitutional judgment in the court, written in capital letters ⟨БҰЙЫРАМЫН⟩. See the following example.

Example 358 Standard Kazakh

Qazaqstan *respublika-si-niñ* *2005 žil-γi* *22 qaraša-da-γi*
 Kazakhstan republic-POSS3SG-GEN 2005 year-GI 22 November-LOC-GI
zañ-i-niñ *9-1* *bab-i-n* *iske asir-uw*
 law-POSS3-GEN 9-1 chapter-POSS3-ACC put into practice-UW.VN
maqsat-in-da *BUYUR-A-MĪN:...*
 intention-POSS3-LOC order-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘I proclaim the coming into force of the law of Nov. 22, 2005 paragraph 9/1 of the Republic of Kazakhstan.’

Requesting, suggesting

Requests in written applications can be expressed lexically by using the verbs *“ōtīn-* ‘to entreat, ask’, *sura-* ‘to beg’ or *talap^yet-* ‘to request, ask’. Zhang observes (1999: 92) that because of their formal style, the polite form of the infinitive, i.e. $\{-(I^2)\eta I^2Z\}$, has to be used in the complement clause. The plural can optionally be added.

Example 359

^w*Ötiniş-im-di* *kabilda-w-(lar)-iñiz-di*
 application-POSS1SG-ACC accept-UW.VN-(PL)-POSS2SG-ACC
^w*ötin-e-mın /* *sura-y-mın.*
 entreat-A.PRES-COP1SG inquire-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘I entreat you to accept my application.’

The following example taken from our recordings illustrates the usage of the verb *talap* ^y*et*- ‘to request, ask’.

Example 360

Ĵüyeden *aya-lar-iñ-niñ* *ĵáne* *bawır-lar-iñ-niñ*
 in particular brother-PL-POSS2SG-GEN and brother-PL-POSS2-GEN
da *pikır-ı-n* *al-ıp,* *tiniş, itimakti*
 DA.PART opinion-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV peace collaboration
negiz-in-de *meniñ* *artkı* *mal mülk-üm-e* *iyelik*
 basis-POSS3-LOC I.GEN last property-POSS1SG-DAT own
^y*et-üw-üñ-di* *talap* ^y*et-e-mın.*
 DO.LIGHTV-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC request DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘In particular, I ask you to listen to the advice of your elder brothers, as well as your younger brothers, and to possess my last properties on the basis of peace and collaboration.’ (T7/ 3)

Suggestions can be expressed by the compound verb *usunus* ^y*et*- <usınis et-> ‘to suggest’.

Example 361

Kıtıp-tıñ *key* *mazmun-dar-ın-a* ^w*özgeris*
 book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change
^y*engiz-üw-iñiz-di* *usunus* ^y*et-e-mın.*
 insert-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC suggestion DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
 ‘I suggest you revise some of the contents of the book.’

The addressee who is expected to carry out the speaker’s proposal can be the subject of the complement clause. In this case, the subject of the complement clause is in the genitive. The following example illustrates the case when the subject *siz-diñ* <you-GEN> ‘your’ is included to the complement clause of the sentence given in Example 361.

Example 362

Siz-diñ *kıtıp-tıñ* *key* *mazmun-dar-ın-a* ^w*özgeris*
 you-GEN book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change

^y*engiz-uw-ijiz-di* *usunus* ^y*et-e-mın.*
insert-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC suggestion DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I suggest you revise some of the contents of the book.’

If the participant who is expected to carry out the proposal is a complement of the verb *usunus* ^y*et-* then it is assigned the dative case; see for instance *siz-ge* <you-DAT> ‘to you’ in Example 363.

Example 363

Siz-ge *kıtap-tın* *key* *mazmun-dar-ın-a* ^w*özgeriş*
you-DAT book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change
^y*engiz-uw-ijiz-di* *usunus* ^y*et-e-mın.*
insert-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC suggestion DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I suggest you revise some of the contents of the book.’

Wishing

A wish can be expressed lexically with the verb *kala-* ‘to want, wish’. The non-main verb in the complement clauses occurs in the form of an infinitive and takes the accusative.

Example 364

Bul *jer-ge* *kel-uw-i-n* *kala-y-mın.*
this place-DAT come-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC want-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I want X to come here.’

An overt subject of the infinitive takes the genitive: ^w*o-nın kel-uw-i-n* (X.GEN come-UW.VN-POSS3SG-ACC).

Similar volitional predicates include *tıle-* ‘to wish, desire’, *ümit* ^y*et-* <ümit et> ‘to hope’, *armanda-* ‘to hope, aim at’, *kökse-* ‘to wish, desire’. Example 365 illustrates a case with the lexical verb *tıle-* ‘to wish, desire’.

Example 365

^y*Endi* *mınaw* *negiz-i-nen* ^y*endi* *sol* *ake*
NOW.FILL this is principle-POSS3-ABL NOW.FILL that father
bol-yan *adam* *češe* *bol-yan* *adam* *bır-ınçı*
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person mother BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person one-ORD
kuday-dan *tıle-ytın-i* *urpak* ^w*ol*
God-ABL wish-ATIN.PTCP-POSS3 descendant X
urpay-i-nın *bolaşay-i-nın* *jarık* *bol-uw-i-n*
descendant-POSS3-GEN future-POSS3-GEN bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC

tîle-y-t.

wish-A.PRES-3

‘It is in principle so that a father, a mother, wishes from God first of all that the children, the future of his/her children will be bright.’ (T6/ 17)

Constructions expressing necessity

Necessity may be expressed by complex forms based on adjectival operators, such as *kaĵet*, *kerek*, *tiyis* ‘needed, necessary’ together with a verbal noun. English interpretations can use such as modal verbs such as ‘must’, ‘have to’, ‘should’, or an adjective ‘necessary’. Such expressions are impersonal and are often used to describe an expected or recommended behavior or expected circumstances. They can be used to give advice or to state social or ethical norms or behaviors, though without strong obligatory force. The negated expressions are built by adding ^y*emes* ‘is not’ after the modal operators, or simply substituting *kažetsiz* (need-DER) ‘needless, unnecessary’ for these modal operators. See Examples 366 and 367 for the use of these expressions of necessity.

Example 366

Ülken-der-diñ aldın-da kelin-der ibali bol-uw
elder-PL-GEN front.POSS3-LOC bride-PL courteous BOL.COP-UW.VN
kerek.
necessary

‘Brides must be courteous towards old people.’ (T8/ 2)

Example 367

Bul mındet-ti way-in-da atkar-uw kaĵet/kerek/tiyis.
this task-ACC time-POSS3-LOC fulfill-UW.VN necessary
‘One should complete this task in time. / It is necessary to complete this task in time.’

If the infinitive has an overt subject it is optionally assigned either the nominative or the genitive, as in Example 368. The different case assignments do not have any bearing on the meaning of the sentence.

Example 368

Bul mındet-ti bñrew / bñrew-diñ way-in-da
this task-ACC somebody / somebody-GEN time-POSS3-LOC
atkar-uw-ï kaĵet/kerek/tiyis.
fulfill-UW.VN-POSS3 necessary
‘Somebody has to do this in time.’

According to KG (2002: 577), *kerek* construed with a verbal noun can also express the speaker's subjective assessment in some contexts.

Example 369

^y*Endi-gi* *šara* *qatal* *sögis* *bol-uw* *kerek*.
 now-GI solution cruel reprimand BOL.COP-UW.VN necessary
 'Now the solution must be a cruel reprimand.' (KG 2002: 577)

In old texts written in literary Kazakh, the construction is sometimes built with the verbal noun in {-M³A²k} (see *Non-modal expressions*) in the non-main clauses.

The word *lazim* 'necessary, ought' can be construed with the participle in {-G⁴A²n}, as in Example 370, or with the verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U²w}, as in Example 371, in order to express necessity.

Example 370

Adam-niñ ^w*öñ-i* *de,* *kiyim-i* *de,* *jan-ı*
 man-GEN face-POSS3 DA.PART clothes-POSS3 DA.PART soul-POSS3
da, ^w*oy* *piyil-i* *da* *bäri* *ademı*
 DA.PART thought attention-POSS3 DA.PART all beautiful
bol-yan-ı *lazim.*
 BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 necessary
 'One has to be beautiful both in face, clothes, soul, and thoughts.' (Kekilbayev 2013: 166)

Example 371

^w*Oyan* *jawap* *kaytar-ma-w* *üşün,* *adam*
 X.DAT answer return-NEG-UW.VN FOR.POSTP man
ar-i-n *da,* *namıs-i-n* *da,*
 conscience-POSS3-ACC DA.PART honor-POSS3-ACC DA.PART
älewmettik *bedel-i-n* *de* *joyalt-kan*
 social authority-POSS3-ACC DA.PART lose-GAN.PTCP
bol-uw-ı *lazim.*
 BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3 necessary
 'For not giving an answer to X, one should lose his/her conscience, honor, and social authority.' (DKLL 5 : 654)

In order to express the meaning 'not necessary' the word *kažet-siz* 'needless, unnecessary' derived with the privative suffix {-sl²z} is used. In this case the verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U²w} has to be chosen.

Example 372

Kel-iw-iŋ *kaŋetsiz.*
 come-UW.VN-POSS2SG needless
 ‘You do not need to come.’

Objective evaluations of necessity can be expressed with another impersonal construction in which either the adjective *jön* ‘right, correct, suitable’ or *abzal* ‘right, correct, admissible’ is used in combination with a participle in {-G⁴A²n}. In the corresponding English translations, modal verbs such as ‘ought to’ or ‘had better’ can be used. The constructions are mainly employed to express recommendations or expected behavior. Observe that *abzal* is less frequently used. The negated expression is more frequently expressed with *kaŋetsiz* ⟨need-DER⟩ ‘needless, unnecessary’.

Example 373

^y*Eger dene-ge* *jabis-ip* *tur-yan* *kene-ni*
 if body-DAT stick-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PART tick-ACC
bayka-sa-niz *wakit* ^w*otkiz-be-y* *dariger-ge*
 notice-HYP-2SG time pass-NEG-A.CONV doctor-DAT
kör-in-gen *jön.*
 see--GAN.PTCP right
 ‘When you notice a tick attaching itself to your body, you had better see a doctor before it is too late.’

Example 374

Ulayattı söz-der-di *aste* ^y*es-ten* *çiyar-ma-yan* *abzal.*
 wise word-PL-ACC at all mind-ABL eliminate-NEG-GAN.PTCP correct
 ‘One should never forget the wise words.’

An overt subject of the participle takes either the nominative or the genitive, as in Example 375. A possessive suffix attached to the participle marks agreement with the subject.

Example 375

^y*Ermek* / ^y*Ermek-tiŋ* ^w*o-yan* *bar-ip* *ayt-kan-ı*
 Ermek / Ermek-GEN X.DAT go-IP.CONV tell-GAN.PTCP -POSS3
jön / *abzal.*
 right
 ‘It would be better for Ermek to go and tell X.’

Some similar constructions are based on adjectives such as *durus* ⟨durıs⟩ ‘right, true, correct’, *layik* ‘suitable, appropriate’. The lexical verb can be either a verbal noun or a participle form in {-G⁴A²n}.

Example 376

Akın-dar-dī kategoriya-ya böl-üw durus / layiķ ^yemes.
 poet-PL-ACC category-DAT divide-UW.VN right / suitable not
 ‘It would be better not to categorize the poet.’

Example 377

Kız bala adepti bol-γan durus / layiķ.
 female child courteous BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP right / suitable
 ‘The girl had better be courteous.’

The necessity marker *şart* ‘essential’ can occur with a verbal noun. The definition given to this term in DKLL (15: 270) is necessary, “<керек, қажет деген мағынада>”, however, the construction seems to indicate a stronger obligation than the other expressions of necessity, and can be translated into English as ‘absolutely necessary’, ‘must’, ‘need to’ or ‘be required to’.

Example 378

Қой-dī ^wörbüt-üw üşün, ^yeη ald-ï-men
 sheep-ACC fertilize-UW.VN FOR.POSTP SUPER front-POSS3-WITH.POST
tiyisti jayday bol-uw şart.
 necessary condition BOL.COP-UW.VN essential
 ‘For fertilizing sheep, it is first of all absolutely necessary to ensure suitable conditions.’ (DKLL 15: 270)

There are also other expressions denoting strong obligation, for instance, the lexical item *mındetti* ‘obligatory’ construed with the dative form of the verbal noun. Example 379 can express both objective and subjective evaluation.

Example 379

Ákel-iw-ge mındetti-siη.
 bring-UW.VN-DAT obligatory-COP2SG
 ‘You are obliged to bring (it).’

Another lexical item, *māzbūr* ‘constrained, compelled’, takes a complement clause based on the dative form of a verbal noun. Unlike other modal constructions this always expresses objective evaluation. A comparable English interpretation is ‘be obliged to’, ‘have to’.

Example 380

Čindik-tī ayt-uw-γa māzbūr-miη.
 truth-ACC tell-UW.VN-DAT compelled-COP1SG
 ‘I have to tell the truth.’

When referring to necessity in the past, the copula *bol-dī* {BOL.COP-PAST3} must be added. See Examples 381 and 382.

Example 381

^w*O-lar-dī* *üy-ge* *şakİR-uw-İM* *kerek / kaçet*
 X-pl-ACC home-DAT invite-UW.VN-POSS1SG necessary
bol-dī.
 BOL.COP-PAST3

‘It was necessary for me to invite them home.’

Example 382

^w*Osİ aymak* *kur-ul-γanda* *aymak-tİŋ*
 this prefecture establish-PASS-GAN.LOC.CONV prefecture-GEN
^w*ortalıγ-İ-n* *sal-atİN* *bop* *kaŋİŋ*
 capital-POSS3-ACC build-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP.IP.CONV many
kurlus-ka *kİrpİş gerek bol-dİ*” *de-y-dİ.*
 construction-DAT brick need BOL.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

‘‘‘When the prefecture was founded, many bricks were needed to build the capital of this place’’, he writes.’ (T4/ 74)

If the past copula ^y*e-dİ* {E.COP-PAST3} is attached, the meaning is counterfactual; see Example 386.

Example 383

^w*Ol jİyİN-γa* *kaŋnas-uw-İM* *kaçet / gerek* ^y*e-dİ.*
 X meeting-DAT attend-UW.VN-POSS1SG necessary E.COP-PAST3
 ‘I should have attended that meeting.’

Comparison with Uyghur

The Uyghur expressions of necessity are very similar to the Kazakh ones. According to Yakup (2009), the most significant difference between Kazakh and Uyghur in this respect is that Kazakh does not possess grammaticalized verbal suffixes that could be categorized as necessity markers. The other expressions are almost all the same, except for some lexical items that are different in the two languages. Constructions are built in Uyghur with the adjectives *lazım*, *kērāk*, *zörür* ‘necessary’ and *şärt* ‘essential’ construed with verbal nouns in {-(I³)ş} or in very few cases {-mA²K²}. Observe that *zörür* ‘necessary’ is not used in Kazakh.

Example 384 Uyghur

Yol-da *maŋ-γanda* *kaŋtiŋ* *dİkkät* *kİl-mak*
 road-LOC walk-GAN.LOC.CONV strong attention do-INF

lazim/keräk/zörür/šärt.

necessary

‘One should be very careful when walking on the road. / It is necessary to be very careful when walking on the road.’

Example 385 Uyghur

Waqit-qa ämäl qil-iş lazim/keräk/zörür/šärt.

time-DAT obey do-VN necessary

‘One should respect the time. / It is necessary to respect the time.’

Yakup (2009: 490) mentions an expression based on the compound verb *toyra käl-* ‘fit, suitable’ construed with the dative case of a verbal noun. He considers the construction to be a less grammaticalized expression of necessity. In our opinion, however, the lexical item *toyra käl-*, from indicating the meaning of ‘fit’ and ‘suitable’ to the meaning of ‘have to’, has already gone through a slight process of grammaticalization. This expression also exists in Kazakh.

Example 386 Uyghur

Doktor-luq-qa kir-iş üčün čät’äl til-i-din
doctor-DER-DAT enter-VN FOR.POSTP foreign language-POSS3-ABL

imtihan bér-iş-kä toyra kél-i-du.

exam give-VN-DAT have to-PRES-3

‘In order to become a Ph.D. student one has to take an exam in a foreign language.’
(Yakup 2009: 490)

The corresponding Kazakh expression would be as in the following example.

Example 387

Doktorant-qa kabilda-n-uw üšün čet
doctor-DAT accept-REF.PASS-UW.VN FOR.POSTP foreign

tıl-i-nen ^yemtiqan ber-üw-ge t’wra kel-e-dı.

language-POSS3-ABL exam give-UW.VN-DAT have to-A.PRES-3

‘In order to be accepted as a Ph.D. student one has to take an exam in a foreign language.’

Constructions expressing possibility

The notion of possibility comprises a scale of meanings ranging from permission to prohibition in a predominately deontic sense. Permission can be expressed in Kazakh by an impersonal expression based on the present tense of the copula *bol-a-dı* {BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3} ‘is possible’. The complement is a verbal noun in the dative or a clause based on a hypothetical verb form.

Example 388

Kır-ıw-ge *bol-a-dī.*
 enter-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘It is possible to come in.’

Example 388 has an impersonal reading. In other cases, the personal reference is marked with a possessive marker attached to the verbal noun or to the hypothetical form {-sA²}; see Example 389.

Example 389

Kır-ıw-ıñ-e / *kır-se-η* *bol-a-dī.*
 enter-UW.VN-POSS2SG-DAT enter-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘It is possible for you to enter.’

Note that according to Zhang (1990a: 93, 2004: 421), when the hypothetical form of the verb bears the sentence accent, this construction can indicate that the speaker is suggesting something to the interlocutor. In Example 390, the addresser speaks about his/her own judgment.

Example 390

Doxtır-ya *bⁱr körin-se-ηiz* *bol-a-dī.*
 doctor-DAT a be visible-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘Nín yīnggāi zhǎo yīshēng qù kàn yī kàn.’ (Zhang 2004: 422)
 [‘You should go and see a doctor.’]

In Uyghur, the negated copula *bol-ma-y-du* (BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3) ‘it is not possible’ with a complement clause based on a negated hypothetical form in {-mI²-sA²} expresses strong necessity (Yakup 2009: 487). The same is also true for Kazakh. The necessity expressed by Example 391 is stronger than that expressed in Example 390.

Example 391

Doxtır-ya *körin-be-se-ηiz* *bol-ma-y-dī.*
 doctor-DAT be visible-Q.PART-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘You absolutely must see a doctor.’

Permission can be expressed impersonally by the passive forms of the compound verbs *jölber-* ‘to allow’ or *ruksat’et-* ‘permit to’. The complement of these verbs is a verbal noun in the dative, as in the following Examples 392 and 393.

Example 392

Kir-üw-ge *ǰolber-ıl-e-dı.*
 enter-UW.VN-DAT allowed-PASS-A.PRES-3
 ‘Entering is allowed. / One may enter.’

Example 393

S^wwret-ter-dı *kır-ıp* *tamaşala-w-ya* *ruksat*
 picture-PL-ACC enter-IP.CONV watch-UW.VN-DAT permit
^y*et-ıl-e-dı.*
 DO.LIGHTV-PASS-A.PRES-3
 ‘It is permitted to enter and look at the pictures. / One may enter and look at the pictures.’

Observe that, in spoken registers, there is another impersonal expression built with the passive form of the compound verb *ǰol koy-* ‘put on the way’. This construction seems to have been copied from Uyghur.

Example 394

Kir-üw-ge *ǰolǰoy-ıl-a-dı.*
 enter-UW.VN-DAT allow-PASS-A.PRES-3
 ‘Entering is allowed. / One may enter.’

Prohibition can be expressed with the negated form of the copula *boladı* ‘is possible’, i.e. *bol-ma-y-dı* <BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3> ‘is not possible’; see Example 395. The complement of *bol-ma-y-dı* is a clause based on the dative form of a verbal noun.

Example 395

Temekı *tart-uw-ya* *bol-ma-y-dı.*
 tobacco smoke-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘Smoking is not allowed.’

The subject of the complement clause can be represented by a possessive suffix on the verbal noun, e.g. ^w*öt-üw-ler-ıñ-e* <pass-VN-PL-POSS2SG-DAT> ‘your passing’ in Example 396.

Example 396

“*So-dan* *geyın* “*sen-der* *bulay* “*öt-üw-ler-ıñ-e*
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP you-PL this way pass-UW.VN-PL-POSS2SG-DA
bol-ma-y-dı, *bul* *memleket* *čegara-sı* *mınaw,*
 BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 this country border-POSS3SG this is
mınaw *bız-dıñ* *čegara* *mınaw* *muñyul-ya...*” *de-p*
 this is we-GEN border this is Mongolia-DAT say-IP.CONV

so-dan ^yek-emiz-di kaytar-ıp жібер-ді”
 then two-COLL.POSS1PL-ACC send back-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-PAST3
 de-y-dı.
 say-A.PRES-3

“‘Then they said, ‘You cannot pass like this, this is a country border, this is our border, this is the border of Mongolia...’ Then, they sent us back”, he writes.’
 (T4/ 54)

The verbs *tiyım sal-* ‘to forbid, to prohibit’, *çekte-* ‘to forbid’, *teje-* ‘to restrict, to limit’ or *jol berme-* ‘not to give way’, *ruksat* ^y*etpe-* ‘not to permit’ can also be used to express prohibition. Example 397 illustrates prohibition expressed with *tiyım sal-*.

Example 397

Temekı tart-uw tiyım sal-ın-a-dı.
 tobacco smoke-UW.VN forbid-REF.PASS-A.PRES-3
 ‘It is forbidden to smoke.’

Constructions expressing probability

A number of lexical items can render different meanings of probability and likelihood. Zhang describes them as particles (Zhang 2004). We treat them here as lexical items because they still have, to some degree, their original lexical meanings. Some of them can be inflected in person and number and take complements, namely complement clauses based on non-finite verb forms.

Bolar, çiyar

In some Turkic languages probability is expressed with a grammaticalized mood such as, the presumptive marker {-D²I⁴r}³¹ in Turkish, or {-Du}³² in Uyghur. A frequently used expression in Kazakh is the copula *bol-ar* (BOL.COP-AOR3) ‘it is probable’ ← *bol-* ‘to become/be, to become/be possible’, and *çiy-ar* (COME OUT-AOR3) ‘can turn out to be’ ← *çik-* ‘to turn out, result’. The difference between *bolar* and *çiyar* can be described as their expressing different degrees of probability. *Bolar* is used when the probability is not high. As for *çiyar*, it is used to denote a higher degree of probability but not certainty. *Bolar* and *çiyar* can be, in some cases, used interchangeably. Personal endings of the first and second persons can be added.

³¹ For instance, *Herhalde bir yer-ler-de karşılaş-mış-ız-dır* (probably one place-PL-LOC meet-POSTT-1PL-DIR) ‘We have probably met somewhere or other’. (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 343, Example 81).

³² For instance, Uyghur *Äxmät öy-dä bar du* (Ahmet home-LOC existing DU.COP3) ‘X might be at home’.

See the two Examples 398 and 399, in which *bolar* and *çiyar* takes nominal complement clauses.

Example 398

Meniñ kökey-im-de jür-gen b¹r bala bar,
 I.GEN thought-POSS1SG-LOC move-GAN.PTCP a child existing
b¹r ^wopalı sol bol-ar.
 a faithful that is possible-AOR3
 ‘One boy is on my mind, that is probably the faithful one.’

Example 399

Ürümji kög-i-nen jüldüz kör-ip tur-yan-ım
 Ürümqi sky-POSS3-ABL star see-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG
^wosı çiy-ar.
 this turn out-AOR3
 ‘This is probably the first time I have seen a star in the sky of Ürümqi.’

The non-finite verb forms in the complement clauses can express different viewpoints. A {-G⁴A²n} form renders a postterminal viewpoint; see Example 400.

Example 400

Üy-ge kayt-ip kel-gen bol-ar.
 home-DAT return-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-GAN.PTCP be possible-AOR3
 ‘X probably has returned home.’

Intraterminal or prospective meanings are expressed by {-A²tl²n//-ytl²n}.

Example 401

Bu-lar-dı sat-atın çiy-ar.
 this-PL-ACC sell-ATIN.PTCP turn out-AOR3
 ‘X will probably sell these.’

Focal intraterminal viewpoint can be expressed with the converb in {-(I⁴)p} of the lexical verb and the {-G⁴A²n} form of a postverb. The postverb can be one of the following: ^wotır- ‘to sit down, sit’, / tur- ‘to stand’, / jür- ‘to move, go on’ / jatır- ‘to lie down, lie’. See Example 405.

Example 402

Säken kıtıp ^wokı-p otır-yan bol-ar.
 Säken book read-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-GAN.PTCP be possible-AOR3
 ‘Säken is probably reading a book.’

The four verbs *“otır-* ‘to sit down, sit’, / *tur-* ‘to stand’, / *jür-* ‘to move, go on’ / *jatır-* ‘to lie down, lie’ can, of course, also be used as lexical verbs; see Example 406.

Example 403

Murat mektep-te jür-gen çıy-ar.
Murat school-LOC move-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3
‘Murat is probably at school now.’

If the lexical verb in the complement clause is a converb in {-A²//y} then only the postverb *jat-* ‘to lie down, go to bed, be lying, be in bed’ can be used; see Example 404.

Example 404

Murat mektep-ke bar-a jat-kan çıy-ar.
Murat school-DAT go -A.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3
‘Murat is probably going to the school now.’

Čıyar can be pronounced with an interrogative intonation, as a tag question. In this case, it denotes a high degree of certainty.

Example 405

Düken jab-ıl-ip kal-yan çıy-ar?
store close-PASS-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3
‘The store has certainly closed.’

Körinedi and uksaydı

Likelihood is expressed by *körin-e-di* ‘it seems’ ⟨be visible-A.PRES-3⟩ ← *kör-* ‘to see’ or *uksa-y-di* ⟨resemble-A.PRES-3⟩ ‘it looks like’ ← *uksa-* ‘to resemble’. These expressions are used either in impersonal constructions or as modal adverbs modifying predicates; see Examples 406 and 407, respectively.

Example 406

O-lar mayan kurt may ber-ip jat-kan körinedi.
X-PL I.DAT kurt fat give-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP probably
‘It seems that they give me kurt³³ and butter.’

Example 407

So gez-de ağı wo kişi imam molda
that time-LOC AFORESAID.FILL X person Imam Mullah

³³ A traditional Kazakh food made from solid yogurt. The solid yogurt is cut into small pieces and must be dried in the sun for some days (Kuraġ 2003: 178).

^w*okša-y-t* *so* *molla-lar-dī* *kol-ya*
 like-A.PRES-3 THAT.FILL Mullah-PL-ACC hand-DAT
al-γanda *apar-īp* *at-īp*
 take-GAN.LOC.CONV take-IP.CONV shoot-IP.CONV
tasta-p-tī ^y*emespe*.
 THROW.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 EMESPE.PART

‘I guess that the person mentioned before (the brother) was an imam, a mullah. When the mullahs were arrested they took him and shot him.’ (T4/ 70)

Siyakti, sikildi, sekildi, and alpetti

The postpredicate modal operators *siyakti* ‘like, similar’ ← *siyak* ‘appearance, image’, *sikildi* ‘like, similar’ ← *sikil* ‘color’, *sekildi* ‘like, similar’ ← *sekil* ‘form’, *alpetti* ‘like, similar’ ← *alpet* ‘appearance’ express likelihood. See Examples 408 and 409 for the use of *siyakti* ‘like, similar’. Example 409 illustrates a high-copying variety in which the copied Chinese elements are underlined.

Example 408

Kel-gen *jol-īmiz* ^w*osī* (*bul* ^y*emes*) *siyakti*.
 come-GAN.PTCP way-POSS1PL this (this not) seemingly
 ‘Hǎoxiàng zánmen lái shí de lù (bù) shì zhè tiáo.’ (Zhang 2004: 624)
 [‘This seems (does not seem) to be the way we came.’]

Example 409

Somenen “^w*oybay* *bu-nu* *čuzučī-ya* *sal-īp*
 then OYBAY.INTERJEC this-ACC taxi-DAT place-IP.CONV
koy-γan *uksa-y-miz* *čuzučī-da* *kal-γan*
 PUT.POSTV-GAN.PTCP like-A.PRES-COP1PL taxi-LOC leave-GAN.PTCP
uksa-y-dī *bul* *telefon*” *de-p*, *somen* *aķirīn*
 like-A.PRES-3 this telephone say-IP.CONV then slowly
^w*oyla-p* *baγ-īp*, “*āy* *toķta-p*
 think-IP.CONV LOOK.POSTV-IP.CONV ĀY.INTERJEC stop-IP.CONV
tur *ā* *čoķīm* *sol* *yinxan-da* *kał^{īp}*
 STAND.POSTV.IMP Ā.PART definitely that bank-LOC leave.IP.CONV
kał-γan *bol-uw-ī* *mümkün* *wo za*
 STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3 possible I how
gānjüe *sol* *yinxan-da* *kał-γan* *siyakti*” *de-p*
 feel that bank-loc leave-GAN.PTCP seemingly say-IP.CONV
süyt-tī-m.
 do so-PAST-1SG

‘Then, “It seems we have left it in the taxi, it seems it is in the taxi, this phone”, we said. Then we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is possibly in the bank, I have the feeling that we left it in the bank”.’ (T9/ 27)

Mümkün, iktimal, kädik

Low probability is expressed by using the items *mümkün* <mümkin> ‘possible’, *iktimal* ‘probable’, *şübäli* ‘doubtful, suspicious’, or *kädik* ‘improbable’. They take complement clauses based on a verbal noun. The subject of the complement clause is in the genitive as in Example 410. Observe that the same subject could also be in the nominative without changing the meaning. In this example, the adverb *äbden* ‘completely’ is used to express a higher degree of probability.

Example 410

Sondıktan da jaňayı söz-di ʔesuy xanım-nıň
consequently DA.PART aforesaid word-ACC Yesui lady-GEN
ayt-uw-ı äbden mümkün.
tell-UW.VN-POSS3 completely possible
‘Consequently, it is completely possible that lady Yesui said the aforesaid words.’
(Jurtbayev 2005: 56)

In Example 411, the complement clause *bes jas ilgeri ne keyin boluwi* ‘X’s being five years older or younger’ follows the predicate *mümkün* ‘possible’.

Example 411

Ketbuğa kırk–kırk bes jas-ta, mümkün bes jas ilgeri ne keyin
Ketbuğa forty forty-five age-LOC possible five age ahead or behind
bol-uw-ı.
BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3
‘Ketbuğa was forty or forty-five years old, plus or minus five years or so.’
(Jurtbayev 2005: 39)

According to KG (2002: 579), the Kazakh variety spoken in Turkmenistan uses the lexical item *šek* ‘doubt, suspicion’ to express low probability. The word *šek* ‘doubt, suspicion’, a loanword of Arabic origin شك, is used in several Turkic languages. In Kazakh as spoken in China, *šek* ‘doubt’ is not frequently used.

Example 412 Kazakh in Turkmenistan

So-yan kara-ýanda tanıs dos-ı
that-DAT look-GAN.LOC.CONV acquaintance friend-POSS3
bol-uw-ı şek.
BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3 doubt
‘Accordingly, it is doubtful that X is a friend of him/her.’ (KG 2002: 579)

Bolmasin ‘it is hopefully not...’

The negated voluntative of the copula *bol-ma-sin* {BOL.COP-NEG-VOL3} ← *bol-* ‘to become, be’ is used in the sense of ‘it is hopefully not...’. According to Zhang (2002: 246, 2004: 625), *bolmasin* implies that the speaker is anxious that something should be the case. Zhang describes it as a particle, but in our opinion it is an idiomatically used lexical item. The complement clauses can be based on participles conveying different viewpoints. In Example 413, the participle in {-G⁴A²n} is used to express a postterminal meaning.

Example 413

<i>Üstün-de</i>	<i>četel</i>	<i>jazuw-ĩ</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ʸeken,</i>	<i>četel-dik</i>
top.POSS3-LOC	foreign	letter-POSS3	existing	E.COP.INDIR3	foreign-DER
<i>konaḡ</i>	<i>joyal-t-ĩp</i>	<i>al-yan</i>		<i>maḡızdĩ</i>	<i>narse bolmasin.</i>
guest	lose-CAUS-IP.CONV	TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP		important thing	could it be

‘Zhè shàngbian yǒu wàiguó zì, bié shì wàiguó kèrén diūshī de zhòngyào dōngxi ba.’
(Zhang 2002: 246, 2004: 626)
‘There is a foreign letter there, hopefully it is not an important thing that a foreign guest has lost.’

Non-modal expressions

For the sake of comparison, two categories expressing inherent properties will be briefly commented on in this chapter, although they do not correspond to the strict definition of modality used so far.

Ability

Forms expressing ability, that is an inherent property of a participant in a state of affairs, are based on a converb in $\{-A^2//y\}$ and the postverb *al-* ‘to take’ or *bil-* ‘to know’. The negated forms expressing impossibility are $\{-A^2//y\} + al\text{-}ma\text{-}$ $\langle A.CONV \text{ take-NEG} \rangle$ / *bil-me-* $\langle A.CONV \text{ know-NEG} \rangle$, i.e. the negated forms of the postverbs. Observe that the lexical verb cannot be negated in such expressions. The postverb *bil-* is less frequently used today than *al-*. Ability forms indicate physical or mental ability to perform an action. They express an inherent property and not an attitude towards the content of the proposition, and will therefore not be treated here as modal expressions in the strict sense applied in this study.

The Turkish form expressing ability, $\{-(y)Abil-\}$, also expresses possibility. It is analogous to the Kazakh forms; i.e. it goes back to a converb in $\{-yA\}$ and the postverb *bil-* ‘to know’, e.g. *Yaz-abil-iyor-um* $\langle \text{write-ABIL-PRES-1SG} \rangle$ ‘I am able to write / I can write / it is possible for me to write’. Negation is expressed with $\{-(y)A\text{-}mA\text{-}\}$, e.g. *Yaz-a-ma-m* ‘I am not able to write. / I cannot write / it is not possible for me to write’. In Turkish, the lexical verb can also be negated: *Gel-me-ye-bil-ir* $\langle \text{come-NEG-A.CONV-ABIL-AOR} \rangle$ ‘it is possible that X will not come’.

Examples 414 and 415 illustrate the use of the two Kazakh postverbs. The postverb *al-* can be used to express ability and possibility, whereas *bil-* expresses only ability. In spoken registers, the converb suffix $\{-A^2//y\}$ may disappear in contracted forms, e.g. *Ĵaz-al-ma-y-dĳ* $\langle \text{write-ABIL-NEG-A.PRES-3} \rangle$ ‘X is not able to write / X cannot write / it is not possible for X to write’. The postverb *al-* does actually convey deontic and epistemic modality. Here we give only one example of the use of these postverbs *al-* and *bil-*; see Example 414.

Example 414

Ǵaz-a *ał-a-mın.*

write-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I am able to write / I can write / It is possible for me to write / I might write / I am allowed to write.’

Example 415

Ǵaz-a *bıl-e-mın.*

write-A.CONV KNOW.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I am able to write / I can write.’

In Uyghur, form in $\{-(y)A^2lA^2-\}$ indicates ability and possibility as in Example 416.

Example 416 Uyghur

Kör-älä-y-män.

see-ABIL-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I am able to see / I can see / it is possible for me to see.’

The negation is signaled by adding the negation suffix $\{-M^2A^2\}$ to the post-verb; see Example 417.

Example 417 Uyghur

Kör-äl-mä-y-män

see-ABIL-NEG-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I am not able to see. / I cannot see / it is not possible for me to see.’

In colloquial Uyghur some morphophonological processes take place, e.g. regressive assimilation in the negation, *Kör-ämmä-y-män* ‘I am not able to see. / I cannot see’.

Intentionality

The suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\text{şI}^2\}$

The deverbal marker $\{-M^3A^2K^2\text{şI}^2\}$, which combines the suffixes $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ and $\{-\text{şI}^2\}$, expresses the intention, willingness, or decision to perform an action or to have an action performed.³⁴ Just like the previous forms of ability, the forms of intentionality denote inherent properties of participants in the state of affairs and do not express any attitude towards the

³⁴ In the following example the king does not intend to perform the action of building a bridge, but he intends to have this action performed: “The king said: ‘I intend to build a bridge’”.

content of the proposition. Intentionality will therefore not be treated here as modality in the strict sense.

The agentive nominalizer {-šI²} generates lexical items denoting persons occupied with what is denoted by the stem, e.g. *mal-ši* ‘shepherd’ ← *mal* ‘cattle’. The suffix {-šI²} is often used in combination with verbal nouns in {-w // -(Ø)U²w}³⁵ to form agent nouns, e.g. *küzet-iw-ši* ‘guardian’ ← *küzet-iw* ‘to guard’. Forms in {-wšI² // -(Ø)U²wšI²} may, like other nominals, be used in attributive position.

Example 418

ʸEsik küzet-iw-ši kart kır-ıp kel-dı.
 gate keep-UWŠI.PTCP old enter-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-PAST3
 ‘The old man, who is a gatekeeper, suddenly came in.’

In contrast to the particle *šI²* which is normally not accented (see the exceptions from this in *Modal particles*), the suffix {-šI²} can carry the high tone. Observe that {-M³A²K²šI²} can be accented on the second syllable. Thus we conclude that the second element is the suffix and not the particle.

Usages of {-M³A²K²šI²}

As predicate in main clauses

Copulas of the first and second persons attach to {-M³A²K²šI²} when it is used as a predicate in main clauses. See Examples 419 and 420.

Example 419

“Kişi-ni k̄urmet ʸet-iŋ-der!” de-p
 young-ACC respect DO.LIGHTV-IMP-PL say-IP.CONV
ʷösiyet ayt-pak̄şı-m̄in men.
 will tell-MAKŠI-COP1SG I
 ‘Respect young people! (These are) the wills I want to say.’ (T6/ 7)

Example 420

Sen bugün kel-mek̄şı-siŋ be?
 you today come-MAKŠI-COP2SG Q.PART
 ‘Do you intend to come today?’

The corresponding negated expressions are formed with the copula *ʸe-mes* as in Example 421.

³⁵ The marker of verbal nouns has two variants. After stems ending in low vowels the marker is {-w}, e.g. the verbal noun *kara-w* ‘looking’ formed from the verbal stem *kara-* ‘to look’. Consonant stems and stems in high vowels take the marker {- (Ø)U²w}, e.g. *žaz-uw* ‘writing’ ← *žaz-* ‘to write’, *ʷok-uw* ‘reading’ ← *ʷok̄i-* ‘to read’. A bracketed initial zero sign (Ø) indicates that the final vowel of the stem is dropped when the marker is added. It is impossible to indicate alternants in one formula of this kind; double slashes can be used to separate them. Thus we use the notation {-w // -(Ø)U²w}.

Example 421

Men kel-mekşî ʸemes-pın.
 I come-MAKŞI.PTCP not-COP1SG
 ‘I do not intend to come.’

The past meaning ‘intended to’ is expressed by adding the past tense copula *ʸedî* to {-M³A²K²ŞI²}. See the form *kezdespekşî ʸedim* ‘I intended to meet’ in Example 422.

Example 422

Ayžan-men bugün kezdes-pekşî ʸe-dî-m.
 Ayjan-WITH.POSTP today meet-MAKŞI.PTCP E.COP-PAST-1SG
Çuyul jumus-um çîy-îp kal-îp, bar-a
 urgent affair-POSS1SG come out-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV go-A.CONV
at-ma-dî-m.
 TAKE.POSTV-NEG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I intended to meet Ayjan today. But an urgent affair arose and I could not go there.’

According to Zhang (2004: 380), the combination {-M³A²K²ŞI²} plus *ʸedî* can also be used when the speaker intends to carry out the intended action later. The past tense copula *ʸedî* is used in such cases in order to make the expression more polite. See the form *pîkîrlespekşî ʸedim* ‘I would like to talk’ in Example 426.

Example 423

Men siz-ben bîr pîkîrles-pekşî ʸe-dî-m, waķît-iñîz
 I you-WITH.POSTP a talk-MAKŞI.PTCP E.COP-PAST-1SG time-POSS2SG
bar ma?
 existing Q.PART
 ‘Wǒ xiǎng gēn nín jiāohuàn yīxià yíjiàn, nín yǒu kòng ma?’ (Zhang 2004: 380)
 ‘I would like to talk with you, do you have time?’

In our view, *ʸedî* refers to the time of the intention, not to the fulfillment of the intended action. Instead of expressing the present intention, the speaker prefers to talk about the intention in the past tense which is more modest and polite. It leaves more freedom for negotiation. The speaker does not express the intention as a fact in the present situation, which makes it easier for the interlocutor to object. The same kind of situation is expressed in the following example.

Example 424

Context: You want to meet me today but I prefer to meet Ayjan today. I propose that we meet tomorrow.

Ayžan-men bögün kezdes-pekši³ ^ye-dı-m.
 Ayjan-WITH.POSTP today meet-MAKŠI.PTCP E.COP-PAST-1SG
^y*Erteñ kel-se-ñ kayt-e-dı?*
 tomorrow come-HYP-2SG how to do-A.PRES-3
 ‘I intended to meet Ayjan today. What if you come tomorrow?’

{-M³A²K²ŠI²} with inanimate subjects

When the marker {-M³A²K²ŠI²} attaches to a passive verb, the sentence does not include any person whose intention is rendered by the marker; i.e. the first actant is missing. Such a sentence is interpreted as conveying an impersonal intention, as illustrated in Example 425.

Example 425

Kešte b¹r ĵinalis aš-ıl-makši.
 evening a meeting open-PASS-MAKŠI
 ‘A meeting is intended to be held in the evening.’

Intransitive verbs, as a rule, cannot take any passive suffix in Kazakh. However, certain intransitive verbs such as *bol-* ‘to become, be’ and *çıķ-* ‘to come out’ can be used with {-M³A²K²ŠI²} to express impersonal intentions when the subject is inanimate and not capable of intending, such as *ĵinalis* ‘meeting’ and *kıtıp* ‘book’ in the following examples. These are rendered here in Examples 426 and 427, which can be translated into English as passives.

Example 426

Kešte b¹r ĵinalis bol-makši.
 evening a meeting BOL.COP-MAKŠI3
 ‘A meeting is intended (to be held) in the evening.’

Example 427

Kıtıp çıķ-paķši.
 book come out-MAKŠI3
 ‘A book is intended to be published.’

The following examples, 428 and 429, based on the intransitive verbs, *uš-* ‘to fly’ and *öt-* ‘to pass’, in which the subject of the {-M³A²K²ŠI²} is inanimate and is incapable of intending, can be understood as metonymical expressions. The inanimate subjects, *ušaķ* ‘airplane’ and *mašina* ‘car’, are used here to imply their controllers, the pilot and the driver.

Example 428

Uşak *uş-pakşı*.
 airplane fly-MAKŞI3
 ‘The airplane is going to take off.’

Example 429

Maşina ^w*öt-pekşı*.
 car pass-MAKŞI3
 ‘The car is going to pass.’

As a participle

The use of $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ in attributive position is mostly restricted to spoken registers, e.g. *kel-mekşı adam* <come-MAKŞI.PTCP man> ‘the man who intends to come’, *ayt-pakşı söz-ım* <tell-MAKŞI.PTCP word> ‘the word I intend to say’. Corresponding expressions in the written language are expanded by means of the copula *bol-yan* <BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP>, e.g. *kel-mekşı bol-yan adam* <come-MAKŞI.PTCP BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP man> ‘the man who intends to come’.

When a word ending in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ does not modify any head noun, then plural, possessive, and case suffixes cannot be attached to it, and the copula *bol-yan* has to be used to carry these suffixes. See the expression *jazbakşı bol-yandarımđi* ‘what I intend to write’ in Example 433.

Example 430

<i>Ĵaz-bakşı</i>	<i>bol-yan-dar-ım-dı</i>	<i>âwelı</i>
write-MAKŞI.PTCP	BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-PL-POSS1SG-ACC	at first
^w <i>öz-ıñ-men</i>	<i>aķıldas-bak-pın.</i>	
self-POSS2SG-WITH.POSTP	consult-MAKŞI-COP1SG	

‘It is my strong intention first to consult with you concerning what I intend to write.’

In written registers, the marker $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ cannot take on any of these suffixes. In the spoken language, however, in some restricted cases, the possessive suffix can attach directly to $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$, e.g. *ayt-pakşı-m* <tell-MAKŞI-POSS1SG> ‘what I want to say’. The same meaning can also be expressed periphrastically with *ayt-pakşı bol-yan-ım* <tell-MAKŞI.PTCP BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG> ‘what I intend to say’. Note a syntactically similar construction, consisting of the voluntative of the verb *ayt-* ‘to say’ and the participle of the verb *de-* ‘to say’: *ayt-ayın de-gen-ım* <tell-VOL1SG say-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG> ‘what I want to say’. The construction based on $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ plus *bol-yan* expresses intention, whereas the one based on the voluntative plus *degen* expresses purpose.

The sentential particle *aytpaқşı*

The $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ form derived from the verb *ayt-* ‘to tell’ has been grammaticalized as a sentential particle. In this function, *aytpaқşı* expresses an illocutionary speech act in the sense of ‘I mean’, ‘what I want to say’, etc. The particle cannot take any suffix to express person. Thus, in the following example, it is rendered in English as ‘I mean’, but the Kazakh particle does not specify the person.

Example 431

<i>Aytpaқşı,</i>	<i>jab-ıl-uw</i>	<i>saltanat-ın-a</i>
AYTPAҚШІ.PART	close-PASS-UW.VN	celebration-POSS3-DAT
<i>bar-atın-dar</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ma?</i>
go-ATIN.PTCP-PL	existing	Q.PART

‘What I mean is, is there anybody who will go to the farewell party?’

The suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$

The suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$, is a deverbal suffix which generates verbal nouns and participles and is mostly used in written language registers. Certain lexicalized forms may be found in spoken registers (see below). The suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$, which presumably had a type of prospective meaning, has low frequency of use.

Usages of $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$

Verbal noun

The suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ derives verbal nouns. This was also the case in languages such as East Old Turkic and Chaghatay. In Kazakh, verbal nouns in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ are restricted to older literary texts and petrified expressions such as proverbs and sayings. The relatively frequent use of verbal nouns in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ in early Kazakh literary works is probably an influence of Chaghatay. See the postverb expression *қамалıp қал-мақ* ‘to be enclosed’ in Example 432, and *арı-мақ* ‘to be exhausted’, *семір-мек* ‘to put on weight’ in Example 433.

Example 432

<i>Čıγ-ar</i>	<i>ʸesig-ı-n</i>	<i>tab-a</i>	<i>al-ma-y,</i>
come out-AOR	door-POSS3-ACC	find-A.CONV	TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV
<i>wayım</i>	<i>қayγı-nıγ</i>	<i>ış-ın-e</i>	<i>kır-ip</i>
sadness	sorrow-GEN	inside-POSS3-DAT	go in-IP.CONV
<i>al-ıp,</i>	<i>қамал-ı-п</i>	<i>қал-мақ,</i>	
TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV	enclose-PASS-IP.CONV	STAY.POSTV-MAK.VN	

^wol ^wöz-*ı* *de* *b*ⁱr *anturyandıq* ...

X self-POSS3 DA.PART a weakness

‘To be enclosed in sadness and sorrow and not find a way out is itself a weakness.’

(Abai 2010: 14).

Example 433

Arı-mağ, *semir-mek* ^woy-dan.

be tired-MAK.VN put on weight-MAK.VN thought-ABL

‘To be exhausted or put on weight depends on thoughts.’ (KP 2009: 82)

In spoken language, instead of the verbal nouns *kal-mağ* ‘staying’, *arı-mağ* ‘being tired’, and *semir-mek* ‘putting on weight’, the infinitive forms in {-w // -(Ø)U^w}, *kal-uw* ‘staying’, *ar-uw* ‘being tired’, and *semir-úw* ‘putting on weight’, would be used in the above examples.

Predicate in main clauses

The form {-M³A²K²} may occur as predicate in main clauses and indicates prospectivity in the sense of something foreseen or predicted. Personal copula endings can be added in the first and second persons. Negation is expressed by the copula ^yemes ‘is not’. In Examples 434 and 435, a form in {-M³A²K²} functions as predicate.

Example 434 Literary Kazakh

Bul jıljımalı telefon, Firefox OS jüye-si-men

this mobile telephone Firefox OS system-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP

jarıq kör-mek.

light see-MAK3

‘This mobile phone is foreseen/predicted to be released with the Firefox OS system.’

Example 435

Bul retki jarıs bız-dıñ čeşuşı kezeg-imiz

this time competition we-GEN decisive period-POSS1PL

bol-mağ.

BOL.COP-MAK3

‘This competition is foreseen to be a decisive period for us.’

The past tense copula ^yedı may be added to {-M³A²K²}, and indicates ‘meant to’. See *âkelmek* ^yedı ‘meant to bring’ in Example 436.

Example 436

Tay-day kızıł koy-dı âkel-mek ^ye-dı, Ulan

colt-EQUA red sheep-ACC bring-MAK.PTCP E.COP-PAST3 Ulan

kön-be-dj.

agree-NEG-PAST3

‘X meant to bring a colt-like red sheep, but Ulan did not agree.’

According to Zhang (2004: 336), the form $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ may be used with a particular function in interrogative sentences, namely to intensify the rhetorical meaning; see Examples 437 and 438. The form $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}I^2\}$ cannot be used in this function.

Example 437

ʸEl-dij nârse-si-n men kaytîp al-mak-pîn?
other-GEN thing-POSS3SG-ACC I how take-MAK-COP.1SG

‘Bîérén de dōngxi wǒ zěnmē néng ná?!’ (Zhang 2004: 336)

‘How could I mean to take the belongings of other people?’

Example 438

ʷOn-day bol-sa, bîz-dij kün-îmîz ne bol-mak?
X-EQUA BOL.COP-HYP3 we-GEN life time-POSS1PL what BOL.COP-MAK3

‘Yào nànyàng, wǒmen hái yǒu shé me huó tóu er?’ (Zhang 2004: 336)

‘If it is so, what will be the meaning of our life?’

In set phrases

Forms in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ may be used adnominally to express that the following noun is appropriate for what the form $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ denotes. Expressions of this type are set phrases, and it is not possible to expand them by adding a complement. Only a few expressions of this type are used today, e.g. *ayt-pak söz* (tell-MAK.PTCP word) ‘a word to say’. Observe that this expression has a passive meaning ‘a word to be said’. The same meaning can also be expressed through a passive verb form, e.g. *ayt-îl-mak söz* (tell-PASS-MAK.PTCP word) ‘a word to say (to be said)’. Another example would be *üyle-n-bek kız* (marry-REF.PASS-MAK.PTCP girl) ‘a girl to marry’.

In the following Example 439, the expression *bermek jawabî* ‘the answer that X would give’ is used.

Example 439

Tölegen ʷo-nîj ber-mek jawab-î-n küt-îp
Tölegen X.GEN give-MAK.PTCP answer-POSS3SG-ACC wait-IP.CONV
jür-dî. Braḡ âlî kün-ge deyîn sîbîs
MOVE.POSTV-PAST3 but now day-DAT UNTIL.POSTV sound
bol-yan jök.
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP not existing

‘Tölegen was waiting for the answer that X would give. But there was still no news.’

Observe that in this example **bermek jawap* cannot be used without a possessive suffix. Like $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}I^2\}$, the suffix $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ does not take on case, possessive, or plural suffixes. According to KG (2002: 533), this is because words with these suffixes cannot function as normal attributive modifiers. This is valid except for the very restricted cases mentioned above.

In attributive clauses

In attributive clauses with the predicate in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ the copula *bol-γan* (BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP) must be added; see, for instance, the expression *kelmek bolγan konaktar* ‘the guests who mean / are meant to come’ in Example 440. For attributive clauses with a predicate in $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}I^2\}$, (see above).

Example 440

<i>Kel-mek</i>	<i>bol-γan</i>	<i>konak-tar-ın-a</i>	<i>azırlık</i>
come-MAK.PTCP	BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP	guest-PL-POSS3-DAT	preparation
<i>ğasa-p</i>	<i>ğür.</i>		
CREATE.POSTV-IP.CONV	MOVE.POSTV3		

‘X is doing the preparations for the guests who mean / are meant to come.’

In the spoken language, the corresponding expressions can be formed with the aorist participle in $\{-(A^2)r\}$ or, in some cases, the participle in $\{-A^2tI^2n // -ytI^2n\}$. For example, instead of *kelmek bolγan konak* the expression *keleğin konak* ‘the guests who will be meant to come’ can be used in Example 440.

Example 439 can be paraphrased as Example 441, where the aorist participle *berer* is used instead of *bermek*.

Example 441

<i>Tölegen</i>	<i>o-niñ</i>	<i>ber-er</i>	<i>ğawab-ı-n</i>	<i>küt-üp</i>
Tölegen	X.GEN	give-AOR.PTCP	answer-POSS3SG-ACC	wait-IP.CONV
<i>ğür-dı</i>	<i>bıraq</i>	<i>alı</i>	<i>kün-ge</i>	<i>deyin</i>
MOVE.POSTV-PAST3	but	now	day-DAT	UNTIL.POSTV
<i>bol-γan</i>	<i>ğok.</i>			
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP	not existing			

‘Tölegen has been waiting for the answer which X is expected to give, but there is still no news.’

In converb clauses

The $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ form expanded with the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’ may build converb clauses. In the adverbial clause in Example 442, the $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ form in *azırle-mek* is construed with the converb in $\{-(I^4)p\}$ of the copula *bol-*.

Example 442

Sosin Ayša tamağ azırle-mek bol-^up, as üy-ge
 then Aysha food prepare-MAK.PTPC BOL.COP-IP.CONV kitchen-DAT
karay jıljı-dı.

TOWARD.POSTP move-PAST3

‘Then Aysha moved towards the kitchen to prepare food.’

Small clause with nouns meaning intention

In Example 443, the $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ form with its complement is construed with the noun *niyet* ‘intention’ to form an expression meaning ‘to have the intention to’, i.e. ‘to intend to’.

Example 443

ʔEger ʔosin-da jumus iste-y al-sa-m, bʔraz
 if this-LOC work do-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-HYP-1SG some
angıme-ler jaz-bağ niyet-im bar.

story-PL write-MAK.PTCP intention-POSS1SG existing

‘If I work here, I have the intention to write some stories.’

In Example 444, the complement based on $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ is assigned the dative case, governed by the verb *urun-* <urın- > ‘to attempt’.

Example 444

Uri kapçık-ti bayip-pen bildir-t-pe-y
 thief wallet-ACC care-WITH.POSTP let know-CAUS-NEG-A.CONV

kol-in-a tüs-ür-üp, kaç-pak-ka
 hand-POSS3-DAT fall-CAUS-IP.CONV run away-MAK.PTCP-DAT

urun-up jat-kanda usta-l-dı.
 attempt-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV arrest-PASS-PAST3

‘The thief was arrested when he attempted to run away, after he had carefully and stealthily stolen the wallet.’

Lexicalized as a noun

Lexicalizations such as *jasʔr-in-bağ* <hide-REF-MAK> ‘hide-and-peek’, *çak-pak* <strike-MAK> ‘flint, lighter’, or *iş-pek je-mek* <drink-MAK eat-MAK> ‘foodstuff’ express things that are suitable or otherwise relevant for the action in question.

The sentential particle *demek*

A lexicalized form *demek* ‘that means’, ‘that is to say’, ‘thus’, may be used as an illocutionary speech act, as in Example 445; see *Illocutionary modality*.

Example 445

Demek, keybⁱr-ew-ler-dij men de-p^w oyla-w-lar-ⁱ
 DEMEK.PART some -COLL-PL-GEN I say-IP.CONV think-UW.VN-PL-POSS3
da mümkün γoy.
 DA.PART possible FOY.PART
 ‘That means it is also possible that some of them would think it was me.’

The conjunction *turmak* ‘not to mention’

Zhang (2004: 568) describes the grammaticalized form *turmak* ‘not to mention’ as a conjunction indicating a contrast or an exception. See Example 446 for an illustration of this usage.

Example 446

Akşa-ya sabın turmak, sabakti ine de
 money-DAT soap TURMAK.CONJ threaded needle DA.PART
sat-ip al-uw kıyın.
 sell-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-UW.VN difficult
 ‘With the money it is even difficult to buy a threaded needle, not to mention soap’.

Comparison of {-M³A²K²şI²} and {-M³A²K²}

In grammars, the two suffixes {-M³A²K²şI²} and {-M³A²K²} are dealt with as variants. They are described as a single category labeled in some grammars as “*maqsattı keler şağ*” ‘intentional/purposive future tense’ (Geng et al. 1999: 228, MKL 2002: 466, KG 2002: 519) and as “*niyet keler şağ*” ‘intentional future tense’ in Mamanov (2007: 116). In Chinese it is referred to as “*mùdì jiānglái shí*” ‘purposive future tense’ (Geng 1989: 129, Zhang 2004: 389).

This should not, however, blur the fact that there are significant semantic differences between their core meanings. For instance, Geng et al. (1999: 228–229) claim that {-M³A²K²şI²} plus copula personal endings, e.g. *Ĵaz-bağşı-mın* {write-MAKŞI-COP1SG} ‘I intend to write’, may signal the inevitability of the intended action. KG (2002: 534) describes how the element (“*цѳмopф*”) {-şI²} is added to {-M³A²K²} in order to specify its intentional meaning. Zhang (2004: 335–336) also states that {-M³A²K²şI²} can be used to intensify the will of an agent. Moreover, he claims that {-M³A²K²} and {-M³A²K²şI²} can be interchangeable, but that they express different attitudes on the part of the speaker. The form in {-M³A²K²} implies indubitable certainty on the part of the speaker; thus it can be used to express a predetermined event. {-M³A²K²şI²} on the other hand can signal less certainty about the occurrence of the event. In our observation, however, differences can be seen not only differences with respect to attitudes, but also with respect to other features. The two forms can be interpreted as similar when they occur as main-clause predicates, and in attributive function when

the first argument is a controller, i.e. someone who can carry out the action consciously and willingly. However, when $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ is used as an old infinitive it cannot be replaced by $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$.

In Examples 447 and 448, the two suffixes are free variants in the predicate position of a main clause.

Example 447

Áke-m *bügün kel-mek.*
father-POSS1SG today come-MAK3

Example 448

Áke-m *bügün kel-mekšį.*
father-POSS1SG today come-MAKŠI3

Both examples can be translated in the same way:

‘My father is expected / intends to come today.’

The copula *bol-dĩ*, past tense of *bol-* ‘to become, be’, can be added to $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ and $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ to express a past intention to do something. Compare the following two examples where $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ and $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ function as predicates expanded with *bol-dĩ* and express a meaning of determination in the past. In Example 449, $\{-M^3A^2K^2\}$ *bol-dĩ* is used, whereas in Example 450 $\{-M^3A^2K^2\dot{s}I^2\}$ *bol-dĩ* is used.

Example 449

Ķasen dala-ȳa *čĩķ-paķ* *bol-dĩ.*
Kasen outside-DAT come out-MAK.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3

Example 450

Ķasen dala-ȳa *čĩķ-paķšį* *bol-dĩ.*
Kasen outside-DAT come out-MAKŠI.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3
‘Kasen decided to go out.’

In Examples 451 and 452, the forms are in attributive position and have the same readings.

Example 451

Ayt-paķ *^woy-ĩ-n* *tüsün-dü-m.*
tell-MAK.PTCP idea-POSS3-ACC understand-PAST-1SG

Example 452

Ayt-paķšį *^woy-ĩ-n* *tüsün-dü-m.*
tell-MAKŠI idea-POSS3-ACC understand-PAST-1SG
‘I understood the idea that X intended / was expected to express.’

However, in Example 453 {-M³A²K²} cannot be replaced by {-M³A²K²ʃI²} because {-M³A²K²ʃI²} expresses intention and not expectation. The intentional interpretation is not allowed by the context. Thus, Example 454 is not well formed.

Example 453

Ĵas kartaŷ-maḵ, joḵ tʷw-maḵ,
 young grow old-MAK3 non-existing be born-MAK3
tʷw-γan ʷöl-mek.
 be born-GAN.PTCP die-MAK3
 ‘Young people are expected to grow old, non-existing people to be born, and born people to die.’ (Axmetov 1976: 15)

Example 454

**Ĵas kartaŷmaḵʃi, joḵ tumaḵʃi, tumaḵ ʷölmekʃi.*

From these examples, the conclusion can be drawn that intentional interpretation presupposes the involved entity’s control—except for examples such as 447–452—whereas expectation is not dependent on control. Therefore {-M³A²K²} and {-M³A²K²ʃI²} are interchangeable when the interpretation can be intentional. In cases where the interpretation must be expectational {-M³A²K²ʃI²} is excluded. The suffix {-M³A²K²} may express what cannot be changed, what is predetermined, for instance in the sense of being scheduled. However {-M³A²K²ʃI²} cannot have this meaning.

Comparison with Uyghur

Uyghur has the same markers {-mA²K²} and {-mA²K²či}, but they are never used in the same meanings. There is a clear distinction between them. In main clause predicates, {-mA²K²} is only used as an old infinitive, while {-mA²K²či} is used to express intentionality, e.g. *Kälmäkči* ‘X intends to come’, not **Kälmäk*. The Kazakh usage of {-mA²K²} in non-main clause predicates has no equivalent in Uyghur.³⁶

The suffix {-mA²K²}

The Uyghur infinitive marker {-mA²K²} is restricted to the old written style. It may also derive verbal nouns. Example 455 is a proverb.

Example 455 Uyghur

Al-maḵ-niḡ bär-mik-i bar.
 take-MAK-GEN give-MAK.VN-POSS3 existing
 ‘Taking entails giving.’ (Tömür 2011: 240)

³⁶ For similar forms in Kirghiz, see Kirchner (2006b: 351). For Tatar and Bashkir, see Berta (2006: 294)

The corresponding expression in Kazakh is illustrated in Example 456.

Example 456

<i>Al-mak-tiŋ</i>	<i>ber-meg-i</i>	<i>bar.</i>
take-MAK-GEN	give-MAK-POSS3	existing

‘Taking entails giving.’

The form $\{-mA^2K^2tA^2\}$, i.e. $\{-mA^2K^2\}$ plus locative, functions as an intraterminal (progressive) predicate in main clauses.

Example 457 Uyghur

<i>Wätin-imiz</i>	<i>uç-kan-däk</i>	<i>ilgirili-mäktä.</i>
country-POSS1PL	fly-GAN.PTCP-DEK.DER	progress-MAKTA

‘Our country is progressing very fast. (Tömür 2011: 240)

The corresponding expression in Kazakh, (see Example 458,) may be formed with the intraterminal in $\{-wda // -(\emptyset)U^2wdA^2\}$. This form is not very productive.

Example 458

^w <i>Otan-imiz</i>	<i>uŝkan</i>	<i>qus-tay</i>	<i>at^{di}-ya</i>
country-POSS1PL	fly-GAN.PTCP	bird-EQUA	front-DAT

bas-uwda
step -UWDA.INTRAT

‘Our country is progressing very fast.’

In Uyghur, the past tense copula *i-di* may be added to $\{-mA^2K^2tA^2\}$ to express a past intraterminal, as in Example 459. This usage is not very productive in Kazakh.

Example 459 Uyghur

<i>Oquyuçi-lar</i>	<i>dikḡät</i>	<i>bilän</i>	<i>därs</i>	<i>aŋli-maḡta</i>	<i>i-di.</i>
student-PL	careful	BILÄN.POSTP	lesson	listen-MAKTA	E.COP-PAST3

‘The students were listening attentively to the lesson.’ (Tömür 2011²: 240)

The suffix $\{-mA^2K^2çi\}$

The Uyghur suffix $\{-mA^2K^2çi\}$ may occur as a predicate in main clauses, just as in Kazakh. It expresses intention, willingness, and a decision to perform an action.

Copulas of the first and second persons attach to $\{-mA^2K^2çi\}$. In Example 460, the copula of the first person is attached to $\{-mA^2K^2çi\}$.

Example 460 Uyghur

Män käl-mäkçi-män.

I come-MAKČI-COP1SG

‘I intend to come today.’

The corresponding negation is formed with the copula *ä-mäs*, as in Example 461.

Example 461 Uyghur

Män käl-mäkçi ämäs-män.

I come-MAKČI not-COP1SG

‘I do not intend to come’.

The suffix {-mA²Ḳ²či} may be expanded with the past tense form of the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’. Like the corresponding expression in Kazakh, the Uyghur form *bol-di* {BOL.COP-PAST3} adds the meaning of a decision in the past; see Example 462.

Example 462 Uyghur

Älkäm uxli-maķçi bol-di.

Alkam sleep-MAKČI BOL.COP-PAST3

‘Alkam decided to sleep.’

Conclusions

In this study, expressions of modality in Kazakh as spoken in China are described from a functional perspective. The modal notions volition, deontic evaluation, and epistemic evaluation express attitudes towards the propositional content and are conveyed in Kazakh by grammaticalized moods, particles, and lexical devices. All these categories are treated in detail, and ample examples of their different usages are provided.

The basic function of the four mood categories imperative, voluntative, optative, and hypothetical is the expression of volition. The markers are old suffixes also found in other Turkic languages. It has been demonstrated that these four mood categories can express a wide range of different volitional ideas depending on the context and their combinations with modifying elements.

The imperative mood has a number of specific features. For example, it only refers to second persons, normally does not have an overt subject, and cannot be combined with interrogative markers. Imperatives express orders, requests, permission, advice, suggestions, prohibitions, good wishes, and curses. Imperatives can be downtoned with the help of particles.

The voluntative mood primarily expresses subjective will. Its usages in all persons have been described. The first person expresses the addresser's willingness, readiness, intention, decision, or promise to perform a given action. The third person signals command, demand, instruction, appeal, invitation, or request that an action be brought about by some entity other than the addressee. The negated forms convey prohibitive meanings.

The optative mood denotes willing, wishing, desire, intention, hope, aspiration, incitement, requesting, promising, advice, expectation, necessity, obligation, or prediction with respect to a non-factual situation. It does not always express the speaker's subjective will. Its use has declined in Kazakh as in many other Turkic languages. Today it is mainly used in idiomatic expressions to express a polite request. In combination with the past copula *ʹedi*, it expresses fear, worry, and warnings about the possible occurrence of an undesired situation.

The function of the hypothetical mood depends on whether it marks the predicate of a main clause or the predicate of the protasis in a conditional clause. In main clauses, it is an imaginative mood expressing supposed events, and as such it may convey desiderative meanings, i.e. desires, wishes, or hope in the sense of 'imagine it is the case', 'what if it were the case?'

The hypothetical forms can combine with different forms of the copula and other items. The usages of these combinations have been studied in detail.

The modal nuances expressed by the non-productive imprecative in $\{-G^4I^2r\}$ and the aorist have been treated whenever suitable, also in comparison with corresponding forms in other Turkic languages.

The periphrastic expressions of modality dealt with in this study are $\{-G^4I^2\}$ + possessive personal markers + *kel-* as well as $\{-G^4I^2\}$ + possessive personal markers + *bar*. Both devices convey inclination. The periphrastic constructions $\{-sA^2\}$ + *iygi* + *ʸedī* and $\{-sA^2\}$ + *deymīn* express wishes, whereas $\{-sA^2\}$ + *kerek* expresses presumption.

Kazakh is characterized by the use of a large inventory of particles. Many express stance, i.e. some kind of cognitive or affective attitude towards the events described, and these play an especially significant role in spoken communication. A thorough description of the usages and the syntactic and phonetic properties of these particles has been provided.

One of the most frequently used particles, *Iʹoy*, serves to convey epistemic evaluation, assessments of the propositional content. The basic semantic contribution of the particle *šIʹ* is to express volition. Its function varies according to its combinations with different mood categories.

Other particles treated are *aw*, *ʷözi*, *DʹAʹ*, *mIʹs*, *ʹyā*, *ā*, *de*, *deši* and *de-sejši*, and *bilem*.

Finally, attention has also been given to lexical categories such as adverbs, verbs, and set phrases expressing modal notions.

The definition of modality employed in this study excludes ability and intentionality, and these are accordingly not included among the modal categories dealt with. For the sake of comparison, however, descriptions of some non-modal categories are given in chapter *Non-modal expressions*.

The *Appendix* contains nine texts recorded by the author in the Kazakh-speaking regions of Xinjiang, China. These texts illustrate the use of many of the items treated in the study.

The following tables illustrate some important points in the description. Table 4 summarizes the forms and basic meanings of the synthetic devices. The various volitional and epistemic attitudes conveyed by modal particles are given in Table 5. Modal notions expressed by lexical categories are summarized in Table 6.

Table 4. *Moods*

Moods	Person	Number	Forms	Modal nuances	
Imperative	2	SG	Ø	orders, commands, re- quests, permission, ad- vice, suggestions, prohi- bitions, good wishes, curses	
		PL	{-(I ²)η-dA ² r}		
Voluntative	1	SG	{-(A ²)yI ² n}	wishing, willingness, readiness, intention, deci- sion, promise to perform a given action, allow, permit	
		PL	{-(A ²)yI ² K ² }		wishes, intentions, de- sires, proposals, cohorta- tive use
	3	SG/PL	{-sI ² n}	commands, demands, instructions, appeals, invitations, requests, permission, hope, wishes	
Optative	1	SG	{-G ⁴ A ² y-ml ² n}	wishes, desires, hope, requests, fear, warning	
		PL	{-G ⁴ A ² y-ml ² z}		
	2	SG	{-G ⁴ A ² y-sl ² η}		
		PL	{-G ⁴ A ² y-sl ² η-dA ² r}		
Hypothetical	3	SG/PL	{-G ⁴ A ² y}	wishes, desires, requests, counterfactual wishes, regret	
	1	SG	{-sA ² m}		
		PL	{-sA ² K ² }		
	2	SG	{-sA ² η}		
		PL	{-sA ² ηdA ² r }		
3	SG/PL	{-sA ² }			
Imprecative Aorist	1	SG	{-(A ²)r-ml ² n}	curses, unrealistic wishes epistemic possibility; commands, requests	
		PL	{-(A ²)r-ml ² z}		
	2	SG	{-(A ²)r-sl ² η}		
		PL	{-(A ²)r-sl ² η-dA ² r }		
	3	SG/PL	{-(A ²)r}		

Table 5. *Modal particles*

Modal particles	Modal nuances
<i>â</i>	meditative-rhetorical use, comment
<i>aw</i>	approval, regret, disappointment; comprehension, presumption, assumption
<i>bîlem</i>	certainty, assumption
<i>D²A²</i>	statement is understandable, unsurprising, expected, predictable, inevitable, reasonable, acceptable, and logical; regret; comprehension
<i>de</i>	comprehension
<i>deşî</i>	comprehension; doubtful attitude
<i>deseşî</i>	approval, disapproval
<i>Γ²oy</i>	presumption, comprehension, plausibility of a possibility, surmise, conjecture
<i>ⁱyâ</i>	meditative-rhetorical use, anxiousness
<i>mI²s</i>	dubitative, ironical
<i>şI²</i>	reinforcement, entreaty, begging, appeal, emphasis of desire, wishing, hope, disapproval, disappointment
<i>^wözi</i>	positive or negative attitude

Table 6. *Lexical expressions*

Modal notions	Modal words
Volition	<i>buyur-</i> ‘to order to be done’, <i>^wötin-</i> ‘to entreat, ask’, <i>sura-</i> ‘to beg’, <i>talap^yet-</i> ‘to request, ask’, <i>usunus^yet-</i> ‘to suggest’, <i>kala-</i> ‘to want, wish’, <i>tîle-</i> ‘to wish, desire’, <i>ümüt^yet-</i> ‘to hope’, <i>armanda-</i> ‘to hope, aim at’, <i>kökse-</i> ‘to wish, desire’
Necessity	<i>kaĵet, kerek, tiyîs</i> ‘needed, necessary’, <i>lazîm</i> ‘necessary, ought’, <i>jön</i> ‘right, correct, suitable’ or <i>abzal</i> ‘right, correct, admissible’, <i>durus</i> ‘right, true, correct’, <i>layîk</i> ‘suitable, appropriate’, <i>şart</i> ‘essential’, <i>mîndettî</i> ‘obligatory’, <i>mâzbûr</i> ‘constrained, compelled’
Possibility	<i>boladî</i> ‘to be possible’, <i>jolber-</i> ‘to allow’, <i>ruksat^yet-</i> ‘to permit’, <i>jolĥoy-</i> ‘to allow’, <i>tiyim sal-</i> ‘to forbid, prohibit’, <i>çekte-</i> ‘to forbid’, <i>teje-</i> ‘to restrict, limit’ or <i>jolberme-</i> ‘not to allow’, <i>ruksat^yetpe-</i> ‘not to permit’
Epistemic evaluation	<i>bâlkîm</i> ‘maybe’, <i>bâlkî</i> ‘perhaps’, <i>mümkün</i> ‘possible’, <i>âytewîr / âytew</i> ‘anyway’, ‘anyhow’, <i>bârîbîr</i> ‘all the same’, ‘nevertheless’, <i>çamasî</i> ‘probably’, <i>siyayî</i> ‘seemingly’, <i>âşîlî</i> ‘actually’, <i>şîrâ</i> ‘probably’, <i>zadî</i> ‘essentially’, <i>teĝî</i> ‘apparently’, <i>bolar /</i>

çiyar ‘to be possible’, *körinedi*, *uğsaydı*, *siyakti*, *siğildi*, *seğildi*,
âlpetti ‘it seems’, *mümkün* ‘possible’, *ihtimal* ‘probable’,
kâdîk ‘improbable’ *bolmasın* ‘it is hopefully not...’, *kerek*
‘necessity’; *ârine* / *âlbette* ‘of course, certainly’, *sözsüz*, *sözjok*
‘surely’

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Appendix

Texts

T1. *Balanıñ dünyege keliwıne baylanıstı salttar* ‘Customs concerning the birth of a child’

Metadata

Gender: female

Age: 46

Date of birth: 23th April 1964

Place of birth: Ürümqi County, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China

Education: High School

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands and speaks)

Date of recording: 17th July 2010

Place of recording: Burqin County (in a Kazakh village), Altay.

Running text

T1/ 1–T1/ 10

Bızdın qazaq qalqı ^ıendi toy jasap balalı bolıyannan bastap... Toy jasayannan keyin, ^ıendi balalı boladı. Balalı bolıyannan keyin toyz ay toyz kün kötüredı. ^wOsı barısta köptegen ister boladı, misalı awır narsenı de kötermew kerek, dıkat kılátın ister boladı. Awır narsenı kötermew kerek, ^wonan keyin ağı albatı qalaymağan dări işpew kerek. Sol kezde ^ıendi iştegi narestenıñ ^ıendi ^wosıp jetilüwıne tötenşe paydalı boladı ^wosı. Sonımen sol toyz ay toyz künı toşıp bosayannan keyin, ^wol bala, narestede dünyege keledi. Dünyege kelgennen keyin, bızdın qazaq qalqında ^ıendi çildekane degen bır ^ıendi nemene toy ^wötkizedı ^ıendi kışigirim. ^wOl kezde ^ıendi körşilerdi, jaqın tuwus t^uwıyandardıñ bärin çakırıp, bır kışigirim toy ^wötkizedı. Sol kezde ^ıendi tañ atқанça ^ıendi ^wözimizdiñ ^ıendi änderimizdi çırqap, qara jorya deytin biyimiz bar ^ıendi ^wosıdardı aytıp, türlü türlü kızıktı ängimeder çıyarıp, ^wosınday körşı qolañdar ^ıendi bul balanıñ dünyege kelgendiginen sonday qıwaništa boladı.

T1/ 11–T1/ 20

Sonimen süyte süyte soł bała... jeti künnen keyin buł bałanı besikke saladı. Besikke salarda tayı da soł körşi qolañ, tuwus t^uwyandardı çakırıp, sodon keyin ^wolar öziñe tuştuk ägindey ägi, nemene, bu bałaya çäşuw ala keledı. Çäşuw ala kep sonimen bunı besikke saladı. Besikke saluw barışında, buł besikti... Besiktin qol bawı deymiz, besik körpe deymiz, ^woyan ägi ^woraytin jörgek, ana minasinin barın, ^wözderinin qoldarimen tigip, türlü tüstegi qazaqtın ^wörnekterin salıp, sonimen, ^wol bałanı... Besikti jasa qoyğannan keyin, s^rttan b^r moldanı çakır kep sodan keyin “buł bałaya azan çakırınız”, dep süytedı. Sonda ^wo kezde besik ^wözi qur turadı. Qur turğannan keyin, irimçik, qurt, ^wözimizdin qazağı tayamdardı äkep, sodan keyin jängegi ägi besiktin tübek salatın jerine ägi tayamdarımızdı sodan, b^r, biytip qoyadı. Sonimen ägi kelgen körşiler, tuwus t^uwyandar ^wonın astına biytip qolın tosıp turup jağayı tayamdarın alıp alıp sonimen ägi bałanın tiştimaşın jeymiz dep, äginı jeydı. Jep, jep bolğannan keyin, sodan keyin jağayı molda azan çakıradı.

T1/ 21–T1/ 30

Azan çakırıp, sodan keyin, senin atın pälembay dep bayayı, mäselen, ayğul yäki serik dese: “serik!” senin atın “serik!” senin atın “serik!” dep so sekildi ägi üş ret çakıradı. Azan çakıradı, ^wosınday at qoyadı bałaya. Azan çakırıp at qoyadı. ^wOnan keyin, süyte süyte kep, bu bałanı... ^yEndi... kırık kün boladı. Kırık kün bolğanda, qazaq ^wözimiz atamız qazaqtın saltında, kırık qasıq s^uwdı b^r tegerenege quyup alamız da, buł bałanı s^uwğa çomıldıramız. S^uwğa çomıldırıp, çäşin alamız. Ał ^yendi, ^wosının arasında b^r qalı qalğan söz bar ^yeken. Buł bała üş tört kün ^wötkennen keyin, ägindey ägi, terisi jaman bo ketpesin dep, tuzdu... ägi, s^uwdı b^raz jılman kıp alamız da, ^woyan ägi, tuzdı aştıraқ kıp salıp ap, bałanı, neşe ret, kırkı çikkança, soł ägi, tuzduқ s^uwğa çomıldıramız. ^wOndağı maqsatımız, bałanın terisi jaksı boluw üşin.

T1/31–T1/ 41

Keyingi kezde, bayayı, keyb^rewderdin denesi kişinip jatadı, ana mına bolıp jatadı, sonın aldın aluw üşin, bayayı, denesinde jaksı bolıp çıyadı. ^wOsıyan qaratılğan söz buł. ^wOnan geyin, ^wonın ^wortasında, ägindey ägi, bałanın jawrını siresip qalatın ister boladı, soł kezderde maylap, ^wonan geyin bałanı kerip sozadı. Mäselen, mına qoldan alıp ap, biytip köterip, sozamız. ^wOnan geyin, b^r qol, b^r ayaktan, biytip sozatın kezder boladı. ^wOnan geyin, jawırındağı ägi üyüsüp qaladı. Soł kezderde ägi bizdin qazaqtın tas çayı dep qoyamız, tas çayı dep b^r kök çuperek boladı, kök çuperekke qaynatıp, ägi samasin biytip qoyıp alamızdayı, bałanın mına jawrınına biytip çaptap, biytip koyı qoysa, äginin ägi, suwuk asıp turğan bała derew saqaya qaladı. Sonda, ^wonan geyin, kırkın aytıq koy a, ^wonan geyin, kırkı toşadı. Sodan kırkı toşqanda bayanaday kırık qasıq s^uwğa çomıldıramız. Süyte süyte b^r jaska keledı, süyte süyte ülkeydı. Mäselen, ^yendi, ul bałalar bolsa, bes jaska kel-

gende bu balanı sündetteymiz. Mołdanı çağırıp, sündettep, ^wöziñizdiñ sañtimiz boyınça sündettep, jeti jaska kelgende bayayı sündet toyın jasaymız ul bala bosa. Añ, kızbala bosa, bunıñ besik toyın jasaymız dep. So, sonday bır, ^wöziñiz kuwanıp, qalja berip, dos jaran, tuwus t^wıyandarımızdı, körşı qolañdarımızdı çağırıp, sonday sañttarımız bar ^wötkiziñ jatatın.

Annotated text

T1/ 1

Biz-diñ kazak kalk-ı ^yendiñ toy jasa-p
 we-GEN Kazakh people-POSS3 NOW.FILL wedding create-IP.CONV
balalı bol-yan-nan basta-p...
 pregnant BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL start-IP.CONV
 ‘Our Kazakh people get married, and then they start to get children...’

T1/ 2

Toy jasa-yan-nan keyin, ^yendiñ balalı
 wedding create-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP NOW.FILL pregnant
bol-a-dı.
 BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘After they have got married they get children.’

T1/ 3

Balalı bol-yan-nan keyin, toyuz ay toyuz kün
 pregnant BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP nine month nine day
kötör-e-dı.
 carry-A.PRES-3
 ‘After they have become pregnant, they bear (the baby) 9 months and 9 days.’

T1/ 4

^wOsı barıs-ta, köp-tegen iş-ter bol-a-dı,
 this course-LOC lot-APPROX thing-PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
misalı, awır narse-nı de köter-me-w kerek,
 for example heavy thing-ACC DA.PART carry-NEG-UW.VN necessary
dıqat kıl-atın iş-ter bol-a-dı.
 careful do-ATIN.PTCP thing-PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘During this time, there are very many things, for example, one should not carry heavy things, and there are things which you have to pay attention to.’

T1/ 5

Awır narse-nı köter-me-w kerek, ^wo-nan keyin,
 heavy thing-ACC carry-NEG-UW.VN necessary X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
ägi albatı qalaymañan dări iş-pe-w kerek.
 AFORESAID.FILL random arbitrary medicine drink-NEG-UW.VN necessary
 ‘One should not carry heavy things, or take medicine without careful judgment.’

T1/ 6

Sol kez-de ^yendi, iç-te-gi nâreste-niñ ^yendi, ^wös-ip
 that time-LOC NOW.FILL inside-LOC-GI infant-GEN NOW.FILL grow-IP.CONV
jetil-üw-in-e tötenşe paydalı bol-a-dı ^wosı.
 mature-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT extraordinary useful BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 this
 ‘Then this will be very useful for the growth and development of the unborn baby.’

T1/ 7

Sonı-men sol toyz ay toyz kün-i
 that-WITH.POSTP THAT.FILL nine month nine day-POSS3
toş-ıp, bosan-yan-nan keyin, ^wol bala,
 complete-ip.conv deliver-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP X child
nâreste dünye-ge kel-e-dı.
 infant world-DAT come-A.PRES-3
 ‘Then, when the nine months and nine days have passed, that baby is born.’

T1/ 8

Dünye-ge kel-gen-nen keyin, bız-dıñ қазақ
 world-DAT come-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP WE-GEN Kazakh
қазақ-ін-da ^yendi, čildekana³⁷ de-gen bⁱr ^yendi,
 people-POSS3-LOC NOW.FILL čildekana say-GAN.PTCP a NOW.FILL
nemene toy ^wötkiz-e-dı ^yendi kişigirim.
 WHAT.FILL celebration hold-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL rather small
 ‘When it has been born, our Kazakh people hold a celebration which is called *childekana*, which is, a relatively small one.’

T1/ 9

^wOl kez-de ^yendi körş-i-ler-dı, jaķin tuwus t^w-yan-dar-dıñ
 X time-LOC NOW.FILL neighbor-PL-ACC close relative kinsman-PL-GEN
bâr-i-n çaķır-ıp, bⁱr kişigirim toy
 all-POSS3-ACC invite-IP.CONV a rather small celebration
^wötkiz-e-dı.
 pass through-A.PRES-3
 ‘At that time, they call the neighbors, all the close relatives and hold a relatively small celebration.’

T1/ 10

Sol kez-de ^yendi tañ at-қаңча ^yendi ^wöz-ımız-dıñ
 that time-LOC NOW.FILL dawn-GANŞA.CONV NOW.FILL self-POSS1PL-GEN
^yendi an-der-ımız-dı čırқа-p, kara jorya
 NOW.FILL song-PL-POSS1PL-ACC sing-IP.CONV black jogtrotting horse

37 A celebration for a newborn baby (Kural 2003: 452).

de-ytın *bıy-ımız* *bar,* *ʸendi,* *ʷosi-dar-dī,* *ayt-ıp*
 say-ATIN.PTCP dance-POSS1PL existing NOW.FILL this-PL-ACC sing-IP.CONV
türlı türlı *kızıktı* *angıme-der* *çıyar-ıp*³⁸ *ʷosın-day*
 different sorts interesting story-PL tell-IP.CONV this-EQUA
körşı kolan-dar *ʸendi* *bul* *bala-nıñ* *dünye-ge*
 neighbor-PL NOW.FILL this child-GEN world-DAT
kel-gendiğinen *son-day* *kuwaniş-ta* *bol-a-dī.*
 come-GANDIKINAN.CONV that-EQUA happy-LOC BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘Until the break of day we sing our songs and we have a dance which is called
 “black jog-trotting horse”, we sing all those, and people tell interesting stories and
 the neighbors become very happy because this child has been born.’

T1/ 11

Sonı-men *süyt-e* *süyt-e* *sol* *bala* *jetı* *kün-nen*
 that-WITH.POSTP do so-A.CONV do so-A.CONV that child seven day-ABL
keyın *bul* *bala-nı* *besik-ke* *sal-a-dī.*
 AFTER1.POSTP this child-ACC cradle-DAT put-A.PRES-3
 ‘Then, in this way this child seven days later... they put the child into the cradle.’

T1/ 12

Besik-ke *sal-arda* *tayı* *da* *sol* *körşı kolan*
 cradle-DAT put-AOR.LOC.CONV again DA.PART that neighbor
tuwus *tʷıyan-dar-dī* *çaķır-ıp,* *so-dan* *keyın*
 relative kinsman-PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
ʷo-lar *ʷöz-ın-e* *tuştuk*³⁹ *agındeı* *agı,*
 X-PL self-POSS3-DAT suitable LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL
nemene, *bu* *bala-ya* *çaşuw*⁴⁰ *al-a* *kel-e-dı.*
 WHAT.FILL this child-DAT present take-A.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘Moreover, when they put the baby into the cradle they invite the neighbors and
 relatives, and they bring suitable presents and they put them into the cradle.’

T1/ 13

Çaşuw *al-a* *ke^l-ıp* *sonı-men* *bu-nı*
 present bring-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP this-ACC
besik-ke *sal-a-dī.*
 cradle-DAT put-A.PRES-3
 ‘They bring a present, and then they put it into the cradle.’

38 Normally *ayt-* is the verb for ‘to tell, to say’. The use of *çıyar-* ‘to invent’ in this context means to find something very interesting to tell.

39 This word, which is not found in Kazakh dictionaries, is most probably copied from Uyghur (*Uyghur tiliniñ izahlıķ luyiti*).

40 The word is derived from *čāš-* ‘to throw’. A present consisting of *kurt* (see footnote 33), candies and silver coins is thrown to the bride in a respectful way when she moves into her new home (Kural 2003: 451). Here the word refers to a present given to a child.

T1/ 14

Besik-ke sal-uw baris-in-da, bul besik-ti...
 cradle-DAT put-UW.VN course-POSS3-LOC this cradle-ACC
 ‘When they put (the baby) into the cradle, this cradle...’

T1/ 15

Besik-ti kol baw-i⁴¹ de-y-miz besik körpe
 cradle-GEN hand lace-POSS3 say-A.PRES-COP1PL cradle quilt
de-y-miz^wo-yan ägi^wora-ytın jörgek,
 say-A.PRES-COP1PL X-ABL AFORESAID.FILL roll-ATIN.PTCP diaper
ana mina-si-niñ bari-n^wöz-der-i-niñ
 and such like-POSS3SG-GEN all-ACC self-PL-POSS3-GEN
kol-dar-i-men tiğ-ip, türlü tüs-te-gi kazak-tiñ
 hand-PL-POSS3-WITH.POSTP sew-IP.CONV colorful-LOC-GI Kazakh-GEN
^wörnek-ter-i-n sal-ıp sonı-men^wol bala-nı...
 design-PL-POSS3-ACC place-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP X child-ACC
 ‘What we call the cradle’s hand lace, what we call cradle quilt, the diaper which is
 rolled around the baby, they have made all these things themselves, in colorful
 Kazakh design, and then that baby...’

T1/ 16

Besik-ti jasa^p koy-yan-nan keyin,
 cradle-ACC construct-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
sırt-tan bır molda-nı çağır-ıp ke^l-ip
 outside-ABL a mullah-ACC invite-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV
sodan keyin “bul bala-ya azan⁴² çağır-ıñız” de-p
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP this child-DAT recite the azan-IMP say-IP.CONV
süyt-e-di.
 do so-A.PRES-3
 ‘After they have constructed the cradle, they invite a mullah from outside, then they
 say (to the mullah): please, recite the *azan* for this baby.’

T1/ 17

Son-da^wo kez-de besik^wöz-i kur tur-a-di.
 that-LOC X time-LOC cradle ÖZİ.PART empty stand-A.PRES-3
 ‘At that time, the cradle stands empty.’

41 A piece of lace in the cradle to which the baby’s hands are tied (Kural 2003: 57).

42 *Azan* (from Arabic *adhān*) consists of formulas pronounced into the right ear of a child shortly after its birth (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1, p. 188).

Qur tur-yan-nan keyin irimçik, kurt⁴³, wöz-imiz-diñ
 empty stand-GAN.PTCP.ABL AFTER1.POSTP cheese kurt self-POSS1PL-GEN
kazak-i tayam-dar-dī āke⁴⁴-p, so-dan keyin jānegi
 Kazakh-DER food-PL-ACC bring-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP aforesaid
āgi besik-tiñ tübek⁴⁴ sal-atın jer-in-e
 AFORESAID.FILL cradle-GEN tübek insert-ATIN.PTCP place-POSS3-DAT
āgi tayam-dar-imiz-dī so-dan, b⁴⁵r biytip
 AFORESAID.FILL food-PL-POSS1PL-ACC that-ABL a do so-IP.CONV
qoy-a-dī.

PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘So the cradle is empty, and then they bring our Kazakh food, such as cheese and kurt, put into that (aforesaid) cradle where the *tübek* is inserted, and they put the food into that place like this.’

Sonī-men āgi kel-gen körşī-ler, tuwus
 that-WITH.POSTP AFORESAID.FILL come-GAN.PTCP neighbor-PL relative
t⁴⁶wyan-dar w⁴⁶o-niñ astin-a biyt-ip qol-i-n
 kinsman-PL X.GEN below.POSS3-DAT do so-IP.CONV hand-POSS3-ACC
tos-ip tur-up jāñayī tayam-dar-i-n al-ip
 wait-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-IP.CONV aforesaid food-PL-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV
al-ip sonī-men āgi bala-niñ
 TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP AFORESAID.FILL child-GEN
tıştīma⁴⁵-sī-n je-y-miz de-p, āgi-ni
 tıştīma-POSS3SG-ACC eat-A.PRES-COP1PL say-IP.CONV aforesaid-ACC
je-y-dī.

eat-A.PRES-3

‘Then, those neighbors and relatives who attend hold their hands, like this, under it⁴⁶ and catch the things I have already mentioned, the food, and then they say “We eat the *tıştīma* of this baby”, and eat it.’

43 See footnote 33.

44 *Tübek* is a device put on the genitals of the male baby when he is lying in the cradle. It serves to transport the urine into a pot underneath the cradle.

45 *Tıştīma* is the name of a ritual performed when a baby is put into the cradle for the first time. Relatives and friends gather around the cradle, in which there is a hole. The baby’s excrement is expected to fall down into a pot or a *tübek*. The guests throw the food they have brought as a present through the hole, asking: *Tış-ti ma?* (defecate-PAST3-Q) ‘Did X defecate?’ This expression has been lexicalized as a noun and is used as the name of this ritual.

46 Where the *tübek* is inserted.

T1/ 20

Ėe-p, Ėe-p bol-γan-nan keyin, so-dan
eat-IP.CONV eat-IP.CONV BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP that-ABL
keyin ĵaγaγi molda azan ĉaķir-a-dĩ.
AFTER1.POSTP aforesaid mullah recite the *azan*-A.PRES-3
'(They) eat. After they have eaten, after that the mullah I have mentioned recites the *azan*.'

T1/ 21

Azan ĉaķir-ip, so-dan keyin, senin at-in
recite the *azan*-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP you.GEN name-POSS2SG
pālembay de-p, bayaγi, māselen aygul yāki serik
whatever say-IP.CONV FORMER.FILL for example Aygul or Serik
de-se "serik!" senin at-in "serik!" senin
say-HYP3 Serik you.GEN name-POSS2SG Serik you.GEN
at-in "serik!" de-p, so sekildĩ āgi
name-POSS2SG Serik say-IP.CONV that like AFORESAID.FILL
ũš ret ĉaķir-a-dĩ.
three time call-A.PRES-3
'Now he has recited the *azan*, and then he calls your name, whatever you are called, simply, for example, if the baby is called Aygul, or Serik, "Serik! Your name is Serik! Your name is Serik!" in this way, he calls out (the name) three times.'

T1/ 22

Azan ĉaķir-a-dĩ, ^wosin-day at koy-a-dĩ bala-γa.
recite the *azan*-A.PRES-3 this-EQUA name put-A.PRES-3 child-DAT
'He recites the *azan*, in this way he gives a name to the baby.'

T1/ 23

Azan ĉaķir-ip at koy-a-dĩ.
recite the *azan*-IP.CONV name put-A.PRES-3
'He recites the *azan* and gives a name to the baby.'

T1/ 24

^wO-nan geyin süyt-e süyt-e
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP do so-A.CONV do so-A.CONV
ke^l-ip, bu bala-nĩ...
COME.POSTV-IP.CONV this child-ACC
'Then, time goes by, and this child...'

T1/ 25

^yEndi ķiriķ kün bol-a-dĩ.
NOW.FILL forty day BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
'Forty days have passed.'

T1/ 26

Kırⁱk kün bol-γanda, kazak, ^wöz-imiz ata-miz
 forty day BOL.COP-GAN.LOC.CONV Kazakh self-POSS1PL father-POSS1PL
kazak-tiñ salt-in-da kırık kasık s^uw-dī bⁱr tegene-ge
 Kazakh-GEN tradition-POSS3-LOC forty spoon water-ACC a basin-DAT
kuy-up al-a-miz da, bul bala-nī
 pour-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL DA.PART this child-ACC
s^uw-γa čomıldır-a-miz.
 water-DAT bathe-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘When forty days have passed, we Kazakhs, according to the tradition of our Kazakh ancestors, we pour forty spoons of water into a basin and immerse the baby in that water.’

T1/ 27

S^uw-γa čomıldır-īp, čaş-i-n al-a-miz.
 water-DAT bathe-IP.CONV hair-POSS3-ACC take-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ‘We bathe it in the water and cut its hair.’

T1/ 28

Al ^yendi, ^wosī-niñ ara-sin-da bⁱr kal-ı^p
 however NOW.FILL this-GEN among-POSS3SG-LOC a remain-IP.CONV
kal-γan söz bar ^yeken.
 STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP word existing E.COP.INDIR3
 ‘However, now, there is one thing among them (the traditions) that I have not mentioned.’

T1/ 29

Bul bala üş tört kün ^wöt-ken-nen keyin,
 this child three four day pass-GAN-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
äğindey ägi teri-si jaman
 LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL skin-POSS3SG bad
bo^{l-up} ket-pe-sin de-p, tuzdu...
 BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-NEG-OPT3 say-IP.CONV salty
ägi s^uw-dī bⁱraz jılman kⁱlⁱ-p
 AFORESAID.FILL water-ACC a little bit warm do-IP.CONV
al-a-miz da, ^wo-γan ägi
 TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL DA.PART X-ABL AFORESAID.FILL
tuz-dī ašti-raķ kⁱlⁱ-p sal-īp
 salt-ACC strong-COMP do-IP.CONV PLACE.POSTV-IP.CONV
alⁱ-p, bala-ni neşe ret kırk-ı
 TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV child-ACC several time forty-POSS3

çik-kança, sol aği tuzduq⁴⁷ s^ww-ya
 come out-GANŞA.CONV that AFORESAID.FILL salty water-DAT
çomildir-a-miz.

bathe-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘Three or four days later, in order for the baby not to have bad skin, we warm up some salty water a little bit, put salt (into it), and add more salt to it; we immerse the child into such salty water several times until forty days have passed.’

T1/ 30

^wOn-da-γi maqsat-imiz, bala-niñ teri-si jaqsı
 X-LOC-GI intention-POSS1PL child-GEN skin-POSS3SG good
bol-uw üşün.
 BOL.COP-UW.VN for

‘Our intention in doing this for the skin of the child to be healthy.’

T1/ 31

Keyingi kez-de bayayı keyb^lr-ew-der-diñ dene-si
 later time-LOC FORMER.FILL some-COLL-PL-GEN body-POSS3SG
kişin-ip jat-a-dı ana mına bol-^up
 itch-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 and such like BOL.COP-IP.CONV
jat-a-dı, so-niñ aldın al-uw üşün, bayayı,
 LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 that-GEN prevent-UW.VN for FORMER.FILL
dene-si de jaqsı bol-^up çiy-a-dı
 body-POSS3SG DA.PART good BOL.COP-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3
^wosı-yan qaratıl-yan söz bul.
 this-DAT consider-GAN.PTCP word this

‘It is so that some persons later in their life get itchy skin or other things happen. And in order to prevent such problems, it is certainly good for the (whole) body. This is what I have wanted to tell you.’

T1/ 32

^wO-nan geyin, ^wo-niñ ^worta-sın-da,
 X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP X.GEN middle-POSS3SG-LOC
äğindey ägi bala-niñ jawrın-ı
 LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL child-GEN shoulder blade-POSS3
sıres-ip qal-atın is-ter bol-a-dı, sol
 stiff-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP thing-PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 that
kez-der-de mayla-p, ^wo-nan geyin bala-nı
 time-PL-LOC grease-IP.CONV X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP child-ACC

⁴⁷ *Tuzduq* {salt-DER} ‘salty’ should in Kazakh normally be *tuzdı*, a word consisting of a noun and a denominal nominal suffix form in {-L⁴T²}. The ending used here is a copy of {-II⁴K²} in Uyghur.

ker-îp *soz-a-dî.*
 straighten-IP.CONV stretch-A.PRES-3

‘Later, one of the things is that if the baby’s shoulder blade gets stiff, in such a case they put grease on the baby and then straighten and stretch the baby.’

T1/ 33

Mâselen, mîna kol-dan al-îp a^l-îp,
 for example this arm-ABL take-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV
bîytip köter-îp, soz-a-mîz, ^wo-nan geyîn,
 do so-IP.CONV lift-IP.CONV stretch-A.PRES-COP1PL X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
b^lr kol, b^lr ayak-tan bîytip soz-atîn kez-der
 an arm a leg-ABL do so-IP.CONV stretch-ATIN.PTCP time-PL
bol-a-dî.
 BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘For example, they take (the baby) by this arm, and doing so they lift it and stretch it, and sometimes they lift the baby by holding one arm and one leg and stretch it (the baby).’

T1/ 34

^wO-nan geyîn, jawîrîn-dar-î âgî
 X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP shoulder blade-PL-POSS3 AFORESAID.FILL
üyüs-ûp ka^l-a-dî.
 cramp-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘Then, it can happen that the baby, so to speak, suffers cramps in its shoulder blades.’

T1/ 35

Sol kez-der-de âgî bîz-dîñ kazak-tîñ tas çây-î
 that time-PL-LOC AFORESAID.FILL we-GEN Kazakh-GEN tea.brick-POSS3
de-p koy-a-mîz, tas çây-î de-p b^lr kök
 say-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL tea.brick-POSS3 say-IP.CONV a blue
çûperek bol-a-dî, kök çûperek-ke kaynat-îp, âgî
 rag BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 blue rag-DAT boil-IP.CONV AFORESAID.FILL
sama-sî-n bîytip koy-îp al-a-mîz
 tea-POSS3SG-ACC do so-IP.CONV place-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL
dayî, bala-nîñ mîna jawrîn-în-a bîytip
 DAT1.PART child-GEN this scapula-POSS3-DAT do so-IP.CONV
çapta-p bîytip koy-î^p koy-sa,
 paste-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV place-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-HYP3
âgî-nîñ âgî, suwuk as-îp tur-yan
 aforesaid-GEN AFORESAID.FILL cold exceed-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP

bala derew sakay-a kał-a-di.

child immediately recover-A.CONV STAY.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘In such a case, then there is the thing we call our Kazakh tea brick, we say *tas čay*; there is a blue cloth, we boil the tea in this blue cloth, and we do so with the tea leaves, and then we put it on the baby’s shoulder blade and paste it onto the shoulder blade of that baby. The baby, whose body has been full of coldness, immediately recovers.’

T1/ 36

Son-da, ^wo-nan geyin kırk-ı-n ayt-ti-k koy
 that-LOC X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP forty-POSS3-ACC tell-PAST-1PL GOY.PART
ä, ^wo-nan geyin kırk-ı toş-a-di so-dan
 Ä.PART X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP forty-POSS3 complete-A.PRES-3 that-ABL
kırk-ı toş-kanda bayana-day kırık kasık
 forty-POSS3 complete-GAN.LOC.CONV previously-EQUA forty spoon
s^w-ya čomıldır-a-miz.
 water-DAT bathe-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘Then, after that, we said forty (days), right? Then the forty (days) are completed, after forty (days), we wash the baby in forty spoons of water as previously.’

T1/ 37

Süyt-e süyt-e b¹r jas-ka kel-e-di süyt-e
 do so-A.CONV do so-A.CONV a year-DAT come-A.PRES-3 do so-A.CONV
süyt-e ülkey-e-di.
 do so-A.CONV grow-A.PRES-3

‘As time goes by, it turns one year old and gradually grows up.’

T1/ 38

Mäselen ^yendi ul bala-lar bol-sa, bes jas-ka
 for example NOW.FILL male child-PL BOL.COP-HYP3 five year-DAT
kel-gende bu bala-ni sündette-y-miz.
 come-GAN.LOC.CONV this child-ACC circumcise-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘For example, if it is a boy, when he is five years old, we circumcise him.’

T1/ 39

Molda-ni čakır-ıp sündette-p ^wöz-ımız-dıñ
 mullah-ACC invite-IP.CONV circumcise-IP.CONV self-POSS1PL-GEN
salt-ımız boyınça sündette-p jeti jas-ka
 tradition-POSS1PL ACCORDING TO.POSTP circumcise-IP.CONV seven year-DAT
kel-gende bayayı sündet toy-ı-n
 come-GAN.LOC.CONV FORMER.FILL circumcision celebration-POSS3-ACC

ǰasa-y-miz ul bala bol-sa.

make-A.PRES-COP1PL male child BOL.COP-HYP3

‘We invite a mullah, and he circumcises the boy. After he has circumcised him, according to our tradition, when he is seven years old, it is so that we arrange a Circumcision Feast for him, if it is a boy.’

T1/ 40

Al ǰiz bala bol-sa bu-niǰ besik toy-ǰ-n

but female child BOL.COP-HYP3 this-GEN cradle celebration-POSS3-ACC

ǰasa-y-miz dep.

make-A.PRES-COP1PL DEP.PART

‘However, if it is a girl, we arrange a Cradle Feast for her, that is how it is.’

T1/ 41

So son-day b¹r ^wöz-imiz ǰuwan-ǰp ǰalǰa⁴⁸

THAT.FILL that-EQUA a self-POSS1PL rejoice-IP.CONV *kalǰa*

ber-ǰp, dos ǰaran, tuwus t^wǰan-dar-imiz-di,

give-IP.CONV friend relative kinsman-PL-POSS1PL-ACC

körǰi ǰolaǰ-dar-imiz-di ǰaǰir-ǰp, son-day salt-tar-imiz

neighbour-PL-POSS1PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-EQUA tradition-PL-POSS1PL

bar ^wötkiz-ǰp ǰat-atin.

existing go through-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP

‘We have such a tradition celebrating that we rejoice, giving *kalǰa* and inviting our friends, relatives and neighbors.’

T2. *ǰyǰili adam: Musattar* ‘A famous person: Musattar’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 60

Date of birth: September 1941

Place of birth: Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China

Education: University

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Uyghur (understands, speaks, reads, and writes), Chinese (understands, speaks, reads, and writes), Mongol (understands)

Date of recording: 12th August 2010

Place of recording: Ürümqi

48 Meat of a sacrificial animal for a woman who has just given birth or for a person who has recovered from a disease (Kural 2003: 435).

Running text

T2/ 1–T2/ 10

ⁱElimızdegi qazaq ultı negizinen bızdıñ şonjañ uyyur aptonomiyalı ray-onınıñ ile qazaq aptonomiyalı ⁱoblısına qarastı, ile, altay, tarbayatay ay-maqtarınıñ ar qaysı awdandarında, ürümji qalasında jäne ürümji qalasına qarastı ürümji awdanı, dabançın rayonı, dujsan rayondarında, sanji xuyzu aptonomiyalı ⁱoblısına qarastı mori qazaq aptonomiyalı awdanında, jäne şonji, jemsar, manas, kutıbi siyaqtı awdandarda jäne kumıl aymayınıñ barköl qazaq aptonomiyalı awdanı, buratała muñyıl aptonomiyalı ⁱobilısına qarastı arasan, jın awdandarimen, buratała qalasına ⁱosı siyaqtı jerlerge tarap ⁱornalaskan. ⁱElimızde bır milliyon tört jüz mınñın üstünde qazaq jasaydı. ⁱEndi ⁱelimiz qazaqtarı partiyamızdıñ ultıq sayasatınıñ şuyulaı nurunda, baska ulttarmen terezesi teñ bolıp, bırlıkte jasap kele jatır. ⁱEndi ⁱelimiz qazaqtarınıñ işinde nebır ıalım, profesor, tarix zerttewşisi, adebiyetçi, aqın jazuwşılar çıktı. ⁱEndi bular ⁱosı bır top ıalımdar, mamandarımız bızdıñ qazaq ultumızdıñ mädeniyetiniñ damuwına, ⁱörkendeuwine ⁱöte zor ülester köstı. Aytañıq, bızdıñ sułtan janbolat aıamız, jaqip mirzağan aıamız, muratқан omar ulı aıamız siyaqtı bır top mamandarımız, aqın jazuwşılarımız, sınşılarımız, tarixşılarımız bar. ⁱEndi ⁱosılardıñ işinde jäne men bır adamdı tanıstıra ketkim kelip ⁱotır, bul musattar sális ulı degen kisi. Bul kisiñin ákesi sális degen kisi burın ⁱölkölük ⁱökümette ⁱorınbasar bas xatçı bolın. Yayı bul bızdıñ respublikamız kırıluwdan burını jumus. Şonjañ bırlesken ⁱökümetinde, gomındañ kezinde bılay aytqanda, ⁱölkölük ⁱökümetin bas katchısı bolın.

T2/ 11–T2/ 20

Bas katchınıñ ⁱorınbasarı bolın. ⁱEndi musattar bu kisiñin ásilı atı satarқан ⁱeken. Ákesi sális degen kisi ⁱeken. Musattar aıamız bır mın toyuⁿ žüz kırık ⁱekınşı žılı mawsımda ürümji qalasında dünyege kelgen. Qarşadayınan aya-wlı áke-şesesinen ayrılan. Bunıñ ayrılıw barısı. Bır mın toyuⁿ žüz ⁱeluwınşı žılı musattardıñ ákesi sális semiyasımenen jäne baıası ábdikerim degen kisi semiyasımenen ⁱölke azat bolın gezde, bul kisiñler ⁱosı ⁱendi četelge ketuw ruksatın alıp, sonimen qarayurum tawınıñ ⁱetegine baryn waqtında, sol kezdegi gomındañnıñ garnizonı .səlini jołbarıs degen jayınan ⁱoltırılıp, sonimen bul musattar sális ulı jäne toqtar ábdikerim ulı bu ⁱekewi de jetim qaladı. Sol kezde musattar segiz žasta, toqtar ⁱon jasta ⁱeken. Sodan bular baska köške ⁱerip, bul ⁱeki jetim bala şizañya baryanda, jungo xalıq azattık armiyası jayınan bular bayıp alınıp, sol kezdegi askeri qolbaşşı muçınjun degen kisi genarał, bu kisi musattardı bayıp aladı ⁱeken. Sonimen bul ana sattar degen sáttarқан degen atın aldına mu degen ⁱöziniñ pamilyasın qosıp sonimen musattar bolıp ketken jeri ⁱosı ⁱeken bu kisiñin.

T2/ 21–T2/ 30

Musattar ^yendī lıxasada, yaǵni şızaŋ ^wölkesiniŋ ^wortalıyı lıxasada bastauwuş mektepke ^wokuwya kırıp, ^yelüw törtinşi žılı muşınjuŋ genaraldıŋ kızımeti lánjüge žotkelgende, musattardı lánjüdegi batıs soltıstük ulttar instutına ^wokuwya bergen. Mıñ toyu^z žüz alpıs besinşi žılı tamızda musattar ^wosı mektepten ^wokuw tawısқан soŋ, sol žılı kirküyekte kızımetke bölinip, ^wöziniŋ qoyamdıq kızımetin gansu ^wölkesiniŋ aqsay qazaq aptonomiyalı awdanınan ^wokıtuwşılık sindi ulayattı žumuspın bastayan ^yeken. Sonımen ^wol b'ır mıñ toyu^z žüz jetpişinşi žılı ^wöziniŋ t^wwyan jeri şañjaŋya, şañjaŋnıŋ ürümži qalasına qayta ^woralyan. B'ırak sol kezdegi keyb'ır solaqay sayasattardıŋ kesiriñen ^wol awıl kıstakqa, tawlı rayonyya aparılıp, b'ır qanşa žıl dene ^yeñbegimen şuyıldayan. ^wOdan keyin bunıŋ ataq abıroyı qalpına keltirilip b'ır mıñ toyu^z žüz jetpiş altınşı žılı kirküyekten b'ır mıñ toyu^z žüz seksen segizinşi žılı qantarya deyin ürümji awdanı mádeniyet žurtında kızımet istegen. B'ır mıñ toyu^z žüz sekseninşi žılı qantardan toqsan altınşı žılı tamızya deyin şañjaŋ xalıq radiyo stansiyasınıŋ ádebiyet körkömöner bölümünde kızımet istegen. Sonımen bu kisi toqsan altınşı žılı tamızda kızımet üstünde qatnas ^woqıyasına uşırap jaralanıp, sodan ^yekı mıñ besinşi žılı jırma üşünči mamırda ürümjide qaytıstı bolyan. ^yEndi musattar bu kisiñiñ ^yeñ ülken b'ır tanımalı ^yelge, barlıq adamya tanımalı bolyan jeri bu kisi mıqtı awdarmaşı, ^wonan keyin tanımalı sazger, kompuzitor. Bu kisiñiñ ^wözi muzikanı ^wöte jaksı ^woynaydı, ^wonan keyin an jazadı, jáne köptegen tarixi máteriyaldardı, ádeby máteriyaldardı da awdaryan. Jumustı da ^wöte şögel jaksı istegen kisi.

T2/ 31–T2/ 35

Seksen besinşi žılı mamırda juŋgo kommunistik partiyasına kiringen. Şañjaŋ xalıq radiyo stansiyasınıŋ ádebiyet körkömönör bölümi qazaq gruppasınıñ bastıyı bolyan. Bul barısta bizdiñ juŋgo qazaqtariniñ aşirese mına şañjaŋdayı qazaq ultiniñ mádeniyet ^wosı salasına ^wöte zor ülester qosқан adam. ^yEndi ^wosı siyaktı bizdiñ şañjaŋ qazaqtariniñ işinde tanımalı adamdar, ^wosınday ^yegeyler ^wöte köp kezigedi. Bunıŋ b'ırı bizdiñ ultimizdiñ ^wöziniñ tegine qatıstı, baylanıstı bolıp žatsa, ^yendi b'ır jayınan bizdiñ partiyamızdiñ ulttıq sayasatiniñ abzaldiginen ayırıp qarawya bolmaydı.

Annotated text

T2/ 1

^y El-imiz-de-gi	qazaq	ult-ı	negiz-i-nen
country-POSS1PL-LOC-GI	Kazakh	nation-POSS3	main-POSS3-ABL
biz-diñ	şañjaŋ	uyğur	aptonomiyalı rayon-i-niñ
we-GEN	Xinjiang	Uyghur	autonomous region-POSS3-GEN
	Ili		
qazaq	aptonomiyalı	^w obilis-in-a	qarastı, ile, altay,
Kazakh	autonomous	prefecture-POSS3-DAT	belong Ili Altay

tarbagatay aymak-tar-i-niñ ar qaysi awdan-dar-in-da,
 Tarbagatay region-PL-POSS3-GEN every which county-PL-POSS3-LOC
ürümji qala-sin-da jäne ürümji qala-sin-a qarastı
 Ürümqi city-POSS3SG-LOC and Ürümqi city-POSS3SG-DAT belong
ürümji awdan-ı, dabančıñ rayon-ı, duñsan
 Ürümqi county-POSS3 Daban city region-POSS3 Dungsan
rayon-dar-in-da, sanji xuyzu aptonomiyalı obılıs-in-a
 region-PL-POSS3-LOC Changji Hui autonomous prefecture-POSS3-DAT
qarastı mori qazaq aptonomiyalı awdan-in-da jäne šonji, jemsar
 belong Mori Kazakh autonomous county-POSS3-LOC and Qitai Jimsar
manas, Kutıbi siyaqti awdan-dar-da, jäne kumił aymay-i-niñ
 Manas Hutubi suchlike county-PL-LOC and Hami region-POSS3-GEN
barköl qazaq aptonomiyalı awdan-ı, buratala muñul aptonomiyalı
 Barkol Kazakh autonomous county-POSS3 Bortala Mongol autonomous
“obılıs-in-a qarastı arasan, jiñ awdan-dar-i-men,
 prefecture-POSS3-DAT belong Arasan Jinghe county-PL-POSS3-WITH.POSTP
buratala qala-sin-a, “osı siyaqti jer-ler-ge tara-p
 Bortala city-POSS3SG-DAT this suchlike place-PL-DAT scatter-IP.CONV
“ornalas-kan.
 settle-GAN.POSTT3

‘The Kazakhs in our country have mainly settled in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. (More precisely) in the Ili, Altay and Tarbagatay regions that belong to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture. (Moreover), in Ürümqi city, and in the Ürümqi County, the Daban City region, and the Tongsan region that belong to Ürümqi City. In Mori Kazakh Autonomous County, and in the counties such as Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, Hutubi that belong to Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture. In Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County of the Hami region, and in Arasan and Jinghe counties that belong to the Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, and in Bortala city.’

T2/ 2

“El-iñiz-de bır milliyon tört jüz miñ-niñ
 country-POSS1PL-LOC one million four hundred thousand-GEN
üstün-de qazaq jasa-y-dı.
 over.POSS3-LOC Kazakh live-A.PRES-3

‘There are more than one million four hundred thousand Kazakhs living in our country.’

T2/ 3

“Endi “el-iñiz qazaq-tar-i partiya-miz-diñ
 NOW.FILL country-POSS1PL Kazakh-PL-POSS3 party-POSS1PL-GEN
ultıñq sayasat-i-niñ šuylalı nur-un-da, baska
 national policy-POSS3-GEN shining light-POSS3-LOC other

ult-tar-men *tereze-si* *teŋ* *bol-^up*,⁴⁹
 nation-PL-WITH.POSTP window-POSS3SG equal BOL.COP-IP.CONV
b¹rlıkte *ǰasa-p* *kel-e* *ǰatır.*
 together live-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3
 ‘Well, the Kazakh people in our country have been living together with other
 nations, sharing the same rights, in the shining light of our party’s national policy.’

T2/ 4

^y*Endi* ^y*el-ıǰız* *kazak-tar-i-niŋ* *iš-iŋ-de*
 NOW.FILL country-POSS1PL Kazakh-PL-POSS3-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC
neb¹r *ǰalıǵım*, *profesor*, *tárix* *zerttewši-si*,
 all sorts of scientist professor history investigator-POSS3SG
ádebıyetçi, *aķın* *ǰazuwši-lar* *çıķ-ti*.
 literary scholar poet writer-PL appear-PAST3
 ‘Well, there have been all sorts of scientists, professors, historians, literary scholars,
 poets, and writers among the Kazakhs in our country.’

T2/ 5

^y*Endi* *bu-lar* ^w*osı* *b¹r top* *ǰalıǵım-dar*, *maman-dar-ıǰız*
 NOW.FILL this-PL this a group scientist-PL researcher-PL-POSS1PL
bız-dıŋ *kazak* *ult-umız-dıŋ* *mádeniyet-i-niŋ*
 we-GEN Kazakh nation-POSS1PL-GEN culture-POSS3-GEN
dam-uw-iŋ-a, ^w*örkende-ıw-iŋ-e* ^w*öte* *zor*
 develop-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT prosper-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT very big
üles-ter *kos-ti*.
 contribution-PL add-PAST3
 ‘Well, this group of scientists and researchers has made a big contribution to the
 development and prosperity of the culture of the Kazakh people.’

T2/ 6

Aytalıǵı, *bız-dıŋ* *sultan ǰanbolat* *aya-mız*, *ǰakıp*
 for example we-GEN Sultan Janbolat elder brother-POSS1PL Jakip
mırzakan aya-mız, *muratқан* *omar ul-i*
 Mirzakan elder brother-POSS1PL Murankan Omar son-POSS3
aya-mız *siyakti* *b¹r top* *maman-dar-ıǰız*, *aķın*
 elder brother-POSS1PL suchlike a group researcher-PL-POSS1PL poet
ǰazuwši-lar-ıǰız, *sınşı-lar-ıǰız*, *tárixši-lar-ıǰız* *bar*.
 writer-PL-POSS1PL critic-PL-POSS1PL historian-PL-POSS1PL existing
 ‘For example, we have a number of researchers, poets, writers, critics, and historians
 such as Mr. Soltan Janbol, Mr. Jakip Mirzakan, Mr. Muratkan Omar.’

⁴⁹ The expression *tereze-si teŋ*, literally ‘its window equal’ is an idiom meaning ‘with equal rights’.

T2/ 7

^yEndi ^wosī-lar-dīŋ iŝ-īn-de jāne men b^lr adam-dī
 NOW.FILL this-PL-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC and I a person-ACC
 tanīstīr-a ket-kī-m kel-ip
 introduce-A.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GI.NESS-1SG COME.POSTV-IP.CONV
^wotīr bul musattar sālīs ul-ī de-gen kīŝi.
 SIT.POSTV3 this Musattar Salis son-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP person
 ‘Now, I would like to introduce to you one of them: Musattar Salis.’

T2/ 8

Bul kīŝi-nīŋ āke-sī sālīs de-gen kīŝi burun
 this person-GEN father-POSS3SG Salis say-GAN.PTCP person formerly
^wōlkōlūk ^wōkūmet-te ^worīnbasar bas xatčī
 provincial government-LOC deputy chief secretary
 bol-yan.
 BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3
 ‘The father of this person, called Salis, was formerly the Deputy Chief Secretary in the provincial government.’

T2/ 9

Yayni bul bīz-dīŋ respublika-mīz kūrīl-uw-dan
 actually this we-GEN republic-POSS1PL establish-UW.VN-ABL
 burun-γī jumus.
 BEFORE.POSTP-GI event
 ‘Actually, this was before our republic (i.e. the Peoples’ Republic of China) was established.’

T2/ 10

Šənjaŋ b^lrlesken ^wōkūmet-īn-de, gomindaŋ kez-īn-de
 Xinjiang united government-POSS3-LOC Kuomintang time-POSS3-LOC
 bīlay ayt-ķanda, ^wōlkōlūk ^wōkūmet-tīŋ bas
 this way tell-GAN.LOC.CONV provincial government-GEN chief
 ķatčī-sī bol-yan.
 secretary-POSS3SG BOL.COP- GAN.POSTT3
 ‘In other words, he was the Chief Secretary of the provincial government in the Xinjiang United Government in Kuomintang times.’

T2/ 11

Bas ķatčī-nīŋ ^worīnbasar-ī bol-yan.
 chief secretary-GEN deputy-POSS3 BOL.COP- GAN.POSTT3
 ‘He was the deputy of the chief secretary.’

T2/ 12

^yEndi musattar bu kışi-niñ aşılı at-ı satarқан
NOW.FILL Musattar this person-GEN original name-POSS3 Satarkan
^yeken.

E.COP.INDIR3

‘Well, Musattar’s original name was, as I have learned, Satarkan.’

T2/ 13

Áke-si sális de-gen kışi ^yeken.
father-POSS3SG Salis say-GAN.PTCP person E.COP.INDIR3

‘His father was a person called Salis.’

T2/ 14

Musattar aya-miz bir miñ toñuž žüz kīr^řk
Musattar elder brother-POSS1PL one thousand nine hundred forty
^yekı-nşı žıl-ı mawsım-da ürümji kala-sın-da dünye-ge
two-ORD year-POSS3 June-LOC Ürümqi city-POSS3SG-LOC world-DAT
kel-gen.

come-GAN.POSTT3

‘Mr. Musattar was born in Ürümqi City in June 1942.’

T2/ 15

Qarşaday-ı-nan ayawlı áke šeše-si-nen ayrıl-yan.
youth-POSS3-ABL dear father mother-POSS3SG-ABL lose-GAN.POSTT3
‘He lost his beloved parents in his youth.’

T2/ 16

Bu-niñ ayrıl-uw barıs-ı.
this-GEN lose-UW.VN process-POSS3
‘The story of how he lost them.’

T2/ 17

Bⁱr miñ toñuž žüz ^yelüw-ınşı žıl-ı musattar-dıñ
one thousand nine hundred fifty-ORD year-POSS3 Musattar-GEN
áke-si sális semiya-si-menen jáne
father-POSS3SG Salis family-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP and
baja-si abdikerim de-gen kışi
brother-in-law-POSS3SG Abdukerim say-GAN.PTCP person
semiya-si-menen ^wölke azat bol-yan gez-de
family-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP province free BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP time-LOC
bul kışi-ler ^wosı ^wendi četel-ge ket-üw
this person-PL this NOW.FILL foreign-DAT go-UW.VN
ruksat-ı-n al-ıp, sonı-men qarayurum
permission-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV that -WITH.POSTP Karakorum

taw-ı-niñ ^y*eteg-in-e* *bar-yan* *wak̄t-in-da*, *sol*
 mountain-POSS3-GEN foot-POSS3-DAT go-GAN.PTCP time-POSS3-LOC that
kez-de-gi *gomindañ-niñ* *garnizon-ı* *salıñ-ı*
 time-LOC-GI Kuomintang-GEN garrison-POSS3 commander-POSS3
jolbars *de-gen* *jay-ı-nan* ^w*öltir-il-ip*,
 Jolbars say-GAN.PTCP side-POSS3-ABL kill-PASS-IP.CONV
sonı-men *bul* *musattar salıs ul-ı* *jäne* *toktar*
 that- WITH.POSTP this Musattar Salis son-POSS3 and Toktar
abdıkerim *ul-ı* *bul* ^y*ek⁵⁰-ew-i* *de* *jetim*
 Abdukerim son-POSS3 this two-COLL-POSS3 DA.PART orphan
kal-a-dı.
 stay-A.PRES-3

‘In the year 1950, Musattar’s father, Salis, with his family, and his brother-in-law called Abdukerim and his family, got permission to go abroad when the province became free. Then, when they arrived at the foot of the Karakorum Mountain, they were killed by the person called Jolbars who was the commander of the Kuomintang garrison. Thus the son of this Musattar Salis and the son of Toktar Abdukerim, both became orphans.’

T2/ 18

Sol *kez-de* *musattar segiz* *zas-ta*, *toktar* ^w*on* *jas-ta*
 that time-LOC Musattar eight year-LOC Toktar ten year-LOC
^y*eken*.
 E.COP.INDIR3

‘That time, Musattar was eight and Toktar was ten years old.’

T2/ 19

So-dan *bu-lar baska köş-ke* ^y*er-ip*, *bul* ^y*eki* *jetim*
 that-ABL this-PL other migrant-DAT follow-IP.CONV this two orphan
bala şizañ-ya *bar-yañda*, *jungo xalıq* *azattıq*
 child Tibet-DAT go-GAN.LOC.CONV Chinese people liberation
armiyâ-sı *jay-ı-nan* *bu-lar* *bay-ıp*
 army-POSS3SG side-POSS3-ABL this-PL bring up-IP.CONV
ał-in-ip, *sol* *kez-de-gi* *askeri qolbaşı*
 TAKE.POSTV-REF.PASS-IP.CONV that time-LOC-GI army commander
muçinjun *de-gen* *kışı* *genarał*, *bu* *kışı* *musattar-dı*
 Mujinjong say-GAN.PTCP person general this person Musattar-ACC

⁵⁰ When the collective suffix {- (Ø)A²w} is added, certain stem-final vowels are dropped.

bay-ıp al-a-di³ y³eken.
 raise-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3

‘After that, they followed other migrants. When these two orphans arrived in Tibet, they were adopted by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. And General Mujinjong, who was at that time the army commander, adopted Musattar.’

T2/ 20

Sonī-men bul ana sàttārkan de-gen at-tiñ
 that- WITH.POSTP this that Sattarkan say-GAN.PTCP name-GEN
aldin-a mu de-gen w³öz-i-niñ pamilya-si-n
 front.POSS3-DAT Mu say-GAN.PTCP self-POSS3-GEN family-POSS3SG-ACC
kos-ıp soni-men musattar bol-u³p
 add-IP.CONV that -WITH.POSTP Musattar BOL.COP-IP.CONV
ket-ken jer-i w³osi y³eken bu kışi-niñ.
 LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP place-POSS3 this E.COP.INDIR3 this person-GEN

‘As a result, he added the family name Mu before his name Sattarkan. That was how the name of this person became Musattar.’

T2/ 21

Musattar y³endi lihasa-da, yayni şizay w³ölke-si-niñ
 Musattar NOW.FILL Lhasa-LOC that is Tibet province-POSS3SG-GEN
w³ortalıy-i lihasa-da bastauwüş mektep-ke w³ok-uw-ya
 capital-POSS3 Lhasa-LOC primary school-DAT study-UW.VN-DAT
kır-ıp, y³eliw tört-inşı žil-i muşınjuñ genaral-diñ
 enter-IP.CONV fifty four-ORD year-POSS3 Mujinjong general-GEN
kızmet-i lánjü-ge žötke-l-gende, musattar-di
 job-POSS3 Lanzhou-DAT transfer-PASS-GAN.LOC.CONV Musattar-ACC
lánjü-de-gi batıs soltüstük ult-tar instut-in-a
 Lanzhou-LOC-GI west north national-PL institute-POSS3-DAT
w³ok-uw-ya ber-gen.
 study-UW.VN-DAT give-GAN.POSTT3

‘Well, Musattar, started primary school in Lhasa, that is, in the capital of the province of Tibet, in Lhasa. When general Mujinjong was transferred to work in Lanzhou in 1954, he sent Musattar to study at the Northwest Institute for Nationalities in Lanzhou.’

T2/ 22

Miñ toyu³ žüz alpīs bes-inşı žil-i tamiz-da
 thousand nine hundred sixty five-ORD year-POSS3 August-LOC
musattar w³osi mektep-ten w³ok-uw tawus-kan
 Musattar this university-ABL study-UW.VN finish-GAN.PTCP
soñ, sol žil-i kīrgüyek-te kızmet-ke
 AFTER1.POSTP that year-POSS3 september-LOC job-DAT

mädeniyet *ǵurt-ın-da* *qızmet* *ıste-gen.*
 culture home-POSS3-LOC job do-GAN.POSTT3

‘After that his reputation was restored and from September 1976 until January 1988 he worked at the Culture Council of Ürümqi County.’

T2/ 26

B’r *mıñ* *toyu* *žüz* *seksen-ınşı* *žıl-ı* *qañtar-dan*
 one thousand nine hundred eighty-ORD year-POSS3 January-ABL
toqsan *altı-nşı* *žıl-ı* *tamız-ya* *deyin* *şəñjañ* *xalıq* *radiyo*
 ninety six-ORD year-POSS3 August-DAT until Xinjiang people radio
stansiya-si-nıñ *ədəbiyet* *körkömöner* *bölüm-ün-de*
 station-POSS3SG-GEN literature art department-POSS3-LOC
qızmet ıste-gen.
 job do-GAN.POSTT3

‘From January 1980 until August 1996, he worked at the Department of Literature and Art of Xinjiang People’s Radio Station.’

T2/ 27

Sonı-men *bu* *kışı* *toqsan* *altı-nşı* *žıl-ı*
 that- WITH.POSTP this person ninety six-ORD year-POSS3
tamız-da *qızmet* *üstün-de* *qatnas* *“oqiya-sın-a*
 August-LOC job on the way.POSS3-LOC traffic accident-POSS3SG-DAT
uşıra-p, *ǵarala-n-ıp,* *so-dan* *“ekı* *mıñ* *bes-ınşı*
 suffer-IP.CONV injury-REF.PASS-IP.CONV that-ABL two thousand five-ORD
žıl-ı *ǵırma* *üş-ünči* *mamır-da* *ürümǵı-de* *qaytı*
 year-POSS3 twenty three-ORD May-LOC Ürümqi-LOC die
bol-yan.

BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3

‘Then in August 1996, he was injured in a road accident on an assignment, after which, on 23 May of 2005 he died in Ürümqi.’

T2/ 28

“Endı *musattar* *bu* *kışı-nıñ* *“eñ* *ülken* *b’r* *“el-ge,* *barlıq*
 now Musattar this person-GEN SUPER big a country-DAT all
adam-ya *tanılmalı* *bol-yan* *ǵer-i,* *bu* *kışı* *mıqtı*
 person-DAT known BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP place-POSS3 this person great
awdarmaşı, *“o-nan* *keyin* *tanılmalı* *sazger,* *kompuzitor.*
 interpreter X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP known performer composer

‘Now, Musattar, he is best known by the (Kazakh) people, all of them, for being a great interpreter and moreover a well-known performer and composer.’

T2/ 29

Bu *kışı-nıñ* *“öz-i* *muzika-nı* *“öte* *ǵaksı* *“oyna-y-dı,*
 this person-GEN self-POSS3 music-ACC very good play-A.PRES-3

ʷo-nan keyin an jaz-a-dī, jāne köp-tegen
 X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP song write-PRES-3 and much-APPROX
tārīxi māteriyal-dar-dī, ādebi māteriyal-dar-dī da
 historical material-PL-ACC literary material-PL-ACC DA.PART
awdar-yan.

translate-GAN.POSTT3

‘He was good at performing music, and he composed songs. He also translated many historical and literary works.’

T2/ 30

ǰumus-tī da ʷöte šögel jaksī ište-gen kişī.
 job-ACC DA.PART very serious good do-GAN.PTCP person
 ‘He also was a person who did his job very seriously and well.’

T2/ 31

Seksen besinši žil-ī mamır-da ǰunǰo kommunistik
 eighty five-ORD year-POSS3 May-LOC China communist
partiıa-sın-a kır-gen.
 party-POSS3SG-DAT enter-GAN.POSTT3

‘In May 1985, he became a member of Chinese Communist Party.’

T2/ 32

Šənǰaǰ xalıǰ radiyo stansiıa-sī-niǰ ādebiyet körkömönör
 Xinjiang people radio station-POSS3SG-GEN literature art
bölüm-i qazaǰ grıppa-sī-niǰ bastıǰ-ī
 department-POSS3 Kazakh group-POSS3SG-GEN head-POSS3
bol-yan.

BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3

‘He became the head of the Kazakh Department at the Department of Literature and Art of Xinjiang People’s Radio Station.’

T2/ 33

Bul baris-ta bız-dıǰ ǰunǰo qazaǰ-tar-ī-niǰ áşirese mına
 this course-LOC we-GEN China Kazakh-PL-POSS3-GEN especially this
şənǰaǰ-da-ǰı qazaǰ ult-ī-niǰ mádeniyet ʷosı
 Xinjiang-LOC-GI Kazakh nation-POSS3-GEN culture this
sala-sın-a ʷöte zor üles-ter qos-kan adam.
 field-POSS3SG-DAT very big contribution-PL add-GAN.PTCP person
 ‘In this position, he was a man who made a great contribution to this field of the culture of the Chinese Kazakhs, especially of the Kazakhs in Xinjiang.’

T2/ 34

ʷEndı ʷosı sıyaǰtı bız-dıǰ şənǰaǰ qazaǰ-tar-ī-niǰ
 NOW.FILL this suchlike we-GEN Xinjiang Kazakh-PL-POSS3-GEN

iş-in-de tanımalı adam-dar, wosin-day yegey-ler wöte
inside-POSS3-LOC known person-PL this-EQUA outstanding-PL very
köp kezig-e-dı.
much meet-A.PRES-3
‘Well, among the Kazakhs in Xinjiang, we can meet famous persons, very many
outstanding persons like him.’

T2/ 35

Bu-nuñ b'ı-r-ı bız-dıñ ult-ımız-dıñ wöz-ı-nıñ
this-GEN one-POSS3 we-GEN nation-POSS1PL-GEN self-POSS3-GEN
teg-in-e katıstı, baylanıstı bol-ıp žat-sa
origin-POSS3-DAT related connected BOL.COP-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-HYP3
yendi b'ı-r jañ-ı-nan bız-dıñ partiya-mız-dıñ ultıñ
other one side-POSS3-ABL we-GEN party-POSS1PL-GEN national
sayasat-ı-nıñ abzál-dig-ı-nen ayır-ıp
policy-POSS3-GEN facilitate-DIK.VN-POSS3-ABL separate-IP.CONV
kara-uw-ya bol-ma-y-dı.
see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-PRES-3
‘One reason for this is related to the origin of our nation, and further more we cannot
disregard the favorable national policy of our party.’

T3. *Buwurşındayı xalıq ustazı* ‘A school teacher in Burqın’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 70

Date of birth: September 1941

Place of birth: Burqın County, Altay Region, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous
Region of China

Education: University

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and
speaks)

Date of recording: 10th July 2010

Place of recording: Burqın, Altay

Running text

T3/ 1–T3/ 10

Atım şaymurat qurmanbay ulımın. Bıyıl jetpiş jaska şıktım. B'ı mñ toyu^z žüz
kırk b'ıñşı žılı küzde üştas tawında buwurşın awdanınñ jeri^z wosı tawda
tuwulıan yekem. Toyuz jaska deyin ata ana tarbiyesinde bolı^p, woda keyin
b'ı žıly tayaw awıl mołası jumaş degen moładan köneşe wokıdım. Yelımız
azat bolıannan keyin mñ toyu^z žüz kırk toyuzınşı žıl azat boldı, yeluw
b'ıñşı žıldan bastap bastawuş mektepte wokıdım. Qazır qatay bastawuş
mektebinde. Yeluw törtinşı žılı bastawuş mektepti b'itirip buwurşın awdandık

^wortalaw mektepke qabıldandım. ^yElüw jetinşi žılı buwuršin ^wortalaw mektebin b'tirip qazırgı mına ile sıfân şöyân, burun ile sıfân dep ataladı, jıyari därejeli sıfânğa tösüp ^wokıdım. Alpısınşı žılı segizınşı aydın b'rinde ile sıfân b'tirip, qaytıp altayğa gelip, altayda kızımet bölisinde köktöyay awdanına böldi. Köktöyay awdandık ^wörtistegi ^wortalaw mektepte alpıs besinşi žılıya deyin alpıs besinşi žıldın ^wortasına deyin sol mektepte ^wokıtuşılık kızımet istedim.

T3/ 11–T3/ 20

Alpıs altınşı žılıya qarşı semiyalık kiyinşilik jaydayımenen awdannın awıldıqtın jäne altay aymayının auwustıruwımenen buwuršin awdanındayı mekememe kayta keldim. Kelgennen geyin ^yegistik awıldıyının jataktı ^wortalaw mektebinde istedim. Bu barısta bu alyasında köşpendi mektep boldı, tawğa köşirip, kigiz üybön de ^wokıttık. Şatır tigip te ^wokıttık, b'r dönğök üy salıp teri salıyanday jerdede ^wokıttık. Keyin turaqtı mektep salıp ^wortalaw mektepti aqtılek degen k'ıstawlık ^wornınan aşıp so jerde kızımette boldım. ^yEndi bu barısta malşı perzentter burun ^wosı b'r ^yekı maçılık çar^u waşılık k'stayında ^wokımayan ^yeken. Men alyas baryan kezde ^wosıdan ilger^{le}p ^wokıyan üste tört ^wokuşı yana bar ^yeken. Basqa tıptı ^yşkanday tarıxta ^wokımayan ^yeken. ^wo jerden... biz bastawuş mektepti irgesin bekemdewmen b'rge ^wortalaw mektepti so jerde jalıyastı aştık, jalıyastı aşkannan geyin ^wo jerden köptegen ^wortalaw b'tirgen ^wokuşılar qoyamğa kızımet istedi, ^wonın sırtında ilger^{le}p ^wokıdı, qazır ^wöz aldımnan köptegen ^wokuşılar çıktı.

T3/ 21–T3/ 30

^wOlar qazır qoyamnın ar sala kızımetterinde istep jatır, ^wokıtuşılık, doydurlık, akımşılık kızımetterde. ^yEndi qazır mal çar^uwaşılık k'staqtarının burunğa qarayanda ^wokıtuw, bala ^wokıtuw, bolaşaktı ^woylaw közji beruw burunıday ^yemes jaxsardı. ^yEndi bizdın k'stayımız negizinen köşpendi bolıp, jazda jaylawğa köşse, k'sta k'ıstawlıkqa barıp mal bayadı. Sol barısta kiyinçilik japalarda malşılar men b'rge boldım. Mına ^yemegeyti degen tör jaylaw boldı, ^yemegeyti.... jetpis ^yekınşı žılı malşılar men b'rge semiyamenen köşüp jürüp, mektep kigiz üyün aparalmay, ^wöz semiyama malçı perzentterin ^wokıtıp b'r žıl çıktım. ^wOdan geyin de basqa muyalımdar şıyıp turdu. ^wOsınday japalıqpenen biz malçı perzentterin ^wokıtıp sawatın aşıp ^wortalaw bastawış därejeliya jetkizdik. Bu ^yendi... ^wOdan geyin partiya men ^wokımettin başılıyımenen, könıl bölüwımen bizdın ultık rayonda mektepter salıp berdi, jataktı mektepter salındı.

T3/ 31–T3/ 43

Sol sekseninşı žılı jataktı mektep salınıp ^wortalaw kilastar ^yegiz töbe degen awıldık ^wotıryan jerge köşti. ^wOdan geyin men ^yekı malçarwaşılık k'stayında ^yekı mektep boldı ^wosı mekteptin jawapkerşilik kızımetin istedim. Sonımenen toqsan ^yekınşı žıldın soñında dañıkpen demalıskğa şıyıp qazır demalıp

jatırmın. Kⁱşkaşa akuwañim ^wosı. ^yEndi ^wözimde üş qız tört ul boıyan, bulardı da ^wokıttım. Bⁱr ^yekewi ^wokuw ayartuw salasında jáne başqa salalarda, bⁱr ^yekewi kizmet isteydi, bⁱrneşewi malçı bo(ñ)p qazır čarwaşıñlık kizmet-terimenen čuyıldanıp jatır. Semiyalıq jaydayımda ^yendi ^wosınşalıqtı. ^yEndi bizdiñ malçılardıñ mına köşi kon kıyınçılıyimenen bała ^wokıta almaytın jaydayları qazır ^wözgerdi. ^wÖz ^wortamızda misal üşin awıldıqtan ^wortalaw mektep aştı, jataktı mekep aştı. ^wOsında qazır balalardı barıp ^wokıtadı. Urapqtarın ^wokıtuwı... burunğıya qarayanda malşılarıñ sana sáwıyesı jaksı, jáne partiya men ^wokımettiñ malçı perzentteriniñ ^wokuwına toyuz žıldık ^wokudı bⁱtiwıne jáne ilgerlep ^wokuwına köptegen ^yekonomikalıq jaqtan jardamdar berip qazır ^wokıtip jatır. ^yEndi başqa nemene aytamız ^yendi.

Annotated text

T3/ 1

At-ım šáymurat qurmanbay ul-ı-mın.
name-POSS1SG Sheymurat Kurmanbay son-POSS3-COP1SG
'My name is Sheymurat, I am the son of Kurmanbay.'

T3/ 2

Biyıl jetpiş jas-qa čik-ti-m.
this year seventy age-DAT ascend-PAST-1SG
'This year I have entered my seventieth years.'

T3/ 3

Bⁱr mñğ toyu^z žüz kırⁱk bⁱr-ınşı žil-ı küz-de
one thousand nine hundred forty one-ORD year-POSS3 autumn-LOC
üştas taw-in-da buwurşın awdan-ı-niñ jer-ı
Üştas mountain-POSS3-LOC Burqın county-POSS3-GEN place-POSS3
^wosı taw-da tuw-ul-yan ^yekem.
this mountain-LOC birth-PASS-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR.COP1SG
'In the autumn of 1941, in the Üştas mountain of Burqın county, it was on this mountain that I was born.'

T3/ 4

Toyuz žas-qa deyın ata ana tárbiye-sın-de bol-^up
nine age-DAT until parents upbringing-POSS3SG-LOC BOL.COP-IP.CONV
^wo-dan geýin bⁱr žıl-ya tayaw awıl molla-sı
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP one year-DAT near township mullah-POSS3SG

jumaš de-gen molla-dan köneşe⁵¹ woki-di-m.

Jumash say-GAN.PTCP mullah-ABL ancient study-PAST-1SG

‘Until the age of nine, I was brought up by my parents, then I received religious education from a township mullah whose name was Jumash mullah.’

T3/ 5

yEl-ımız azat bol-yan-nan geyin

country-POSS1PL liberate BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP

mın toyuž žüz kırk toyz-ınşı žil-i azat

thousand nine hundred forty nine-ORD year-POSS3 liberate

bol-di, yeliw bır-ınşı žil-dan basta-p bastawuš mektep-te

BOL.COP-PAST3 fifty one-ORD year-ABL strat-IP.CONV primary school-LOC

woki-di-m.

study-PAST-1SG

‘After our country was liberated — it became free in 1949 — and from (19)51 on I studied at a primary school.’

T3/ 6

Qazır-gi katay bastawuš mekteb-in-de.

present-GI Katay primary school-POSS3-LOC

‘In the present day Katay primary school.’

T3/ 7

yEliw tört-ınşı žil-i bastawuš mektep-ti b’tır-ıp buwuršin

fifty four-ORD year-POSS3 primary school-ACC finish-IP.CONV Burqin

awdan-diķ wortalaw mektep-ke qabıl-da-n-di-m.

county-DER secondary school-DAT enroll-REF.PASS-PAST-1SG

‘In (19)54, I completed the primary school and was enrolled in the secondary school in Burqin County.’

T3/ 8

yEliw jeti-nşı žil-i buwuršin wortalaw mekteb-i-n

fifty seven-ORD year-POSS3 Burqin secondary school-POSS3-ACC

b’tır-ıp qazır-gi mına ile sıfın⁵² şöyan⁵³,

finish-IP.CONV present-GI this Ili pedagogical institute

burun ile sıfın de-p ata-l-a-di, jıyari därejelı

formerly Ili pedagogical say-IP.CONV call-PASS-A.PRES-3 high level

⁵¹ Here *köneşe* means religious education in Islam.

⁵² *Sıfın* is a global copy of the Chinese word *shīfàn* ‘pedagogical’.

⁵³ *Şöyan* is a global copy of the Chinese word *xuéyuàn* ‘institute, college’.

sifân-ya *tüs-üp* ^w*oķi-dī-m.*

pedagogical-DAT enter-IP.CONV study-PAST-1SG

‘In (19)57, I graduated from the secondary school in Burqin and I entered the present Ili Pedagogical Institute, it was formerly called Ili Pedagogical, a high level teacher-training (institute).’

T3/ 9

Alpīs-inšī žil-ī *segiz-inšī* *ay-dīŋ* *b¹r-in-de* *ile*

sixty-ORD year-POSS3 eight-ORD month-GEN one-POSS3-LOC Ili

sifân *b¹tīr-ip* *ķayt-ip* *altay-ya* *gel-ip*

pedagogical finish-IP.CONV return-IP.CONV Altay-DAT come-IP.CONV

altay-da *ķizmet* *bōliš-in-de*⁵⁴ *kōktoŋay* *awdan-in-a*

Altay-LOC job assignment-POSS3-LOC Fuyun county-POSS3-DAT

bōl-dī.

assign-PAST3

‘The first of August in (19)60, I graduated from Ili pedagogical and returned and came back to Altay, and in Altay I was assigned to work in Fuyun County.’

T3/ 10

Kōktoŋay awdan-dīķ *kōrtīs-te-gī* ^w*ortalaw mektep-te* *alpīs*

Fuyun county-DER Ku Ertix-LOC-GI secondary school-LOC sixty

bes-inšī žil-ya *deyīn alpīs* *bes-inšī žil-dīŋ* ^w*orta-sīn-a*

five-ORD year-DAT until sixty five-ORD year-GEN middle-POSS3SG-DAT

deyīn sol mektep-te ^w*oķitušilik* *ķizmet* *īste-dī-m.*

until that school-LOC teacher job do-PAST-1SG

‘At the secondary school in Ku Ertix which is in Fuyun County, I worked as a teacher until (19)65, until the middle of (19)65.’

T3/ 11

Alpīs altī-nšī žil-ya *ķarsī* *semyalik* *ķiyīnčilik*

sixty six-ORD year-DAT AGAINST.POSTP familial difficult

ķayday-i-menen *awdan-nīŋ* *awildīķ-tīŋ* *ģāne* *altay*

situation-POSS3-WITH.POSTP county-GEN township-GEN and Altay

aymaŋ-i-nīŋ *auwīs-tīr-uw-ī-menen* *buwuršīn*

prefecture-POSS3-GEN transfer-CAUS-UW.VN-POSS3-WITH.POSTP Burqin

⁵⁴ *Bōliš* is a translational equivalent of Chinese *fēnpèi*, ‘(job) assignment’, the first element *fēn* meaning ‘divide’. The second element *pèi* means ‘make arrangements for’. Kazakh selectively copied this Chinese expression on the verb *bōl-* ‘divide’ + the deverbal nominal suffix *-īs*. Thus *bōliš* means ‘(job) assignment’ in addition to an original meaning ‘division’.

awdan-in-da-yi mekeme⁵⁵-m-e kayta⁵⁶ kel-di-m.
 county-POSS3-LOC-GI work unit-POSS1SG-DAT again come-PAST-1SG
 ‘Towards (19)66, because of my difficult family situation, I was transferred by the county and township and the Altay prefecture back to my work unit in Burqin county.’

T3/ 12

Kel-gen-nen geyin ^yegistik awildiy-i-niñ
 come-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Egistik township-POSS3-GEN
jatakti ^wortalaw mekteb-in-de işte-di-m.
 boarding secondary school-POSS3-LOC work-PAST-1SG
 ‘After I arrived, I worked in the secondary boarding school in Egistik (‘agricultural’) township.’

T3/ 13

Bul barista bul alyaş-in-da köşpendi mektep
 this course-LOC this at first-POSS3-LOC nomadic school
bol-di taw-ya köş-ir-ip kigiz üy⁵⁷-ben de
 BOL.COP-PAST3 mountain-DAT move-CAUS-IP.CONV yurt-WITH.POSTP DA.PART
^w*oķi-t-ti-k.*
 study-CAUS-PAST-1PL
 ‘During this time, this was at first a nomadic school (so) we moved to the mountains and taught (the students) in yurts.’

T3/ 14

Şatir tig-ip te ^woķi-t-ti-k bⁱr döñböķ
 tent set up-IP.CONV DA.PART study-CAUS-PAST-1PL a wooden
üy sal-ⁱp teri sal-γan-day jer-de⁵⁸
 cottage build-IP.CONV skin put-GAN.PTCP-EQUA place-LOC
de ^woķi-t-ti-k.
 DA.PART study-CAUS-PAST-1PL
 ‘We also set up tents and gave classes, we built a wooden cottage and also gave classes in a small room.’

T3/ 15

Keyin turaķti mektep sal-ip ^wortalaw mektep-ti
 later permanent school build-IP.CONV secondary school-ACC
aķtülek de-gen kⁱstaw-liķ ^worn-i-nan
 Aktulek say-GAN.PTCP winter residence-DER place-POSS3-ABL

⁵⁵ *Mekeme* is a translational equivalent of the Chinese word *dānwèi* ‘work unit’. *Mekeme* is of Arabic origin, and means ‘court of law, office, cooperation’.

⁵⁶ *Kayta* is a lexicalized adverb based on the converb in {-A²//y}.

⁵⁷ The word *kigiz üy* ‘yurt’ is a compound, meaning literally ‘felt house’.

⁵⁸ *Teri sahyanday jer-* literally means ‘a place where skin was laid’. The speaker probably means that the place where they gave classes was rather limited in size.

aş-ıp so jer-de kı̇zmet-te bol-di-m.
 open-IP.CONV that place-LOC work-LOC BOL.COP-PAST-1SG
 ‘Later, (we) built a permanent school so that (we) opened the secondary school at the winter residence called Aktulek and I worked at that place.’

T3/ 16

ʸEndi bul baris-ta malši perzent-ter burun ʷosi
 NOW.FILL this course-LOC herdsman child-PL formerly this
bir ʸeki malčilik čarʷwašilik k̇stay-in-da ʷoķi-ma-γan
 one two cattle-breeding village-POSS3-LOC study-NEG-GAN.PTCP
ʸeken.

E.COP.INDIR3

‘And at that time, there were a few cattle-breeding villages in which the children of herdsmen had previously not studied.’

T3/ 17

Men alyaş bar-γan kez-de ʷosi-dan ilgeri-le-p
 I at first go-GAN.PTCP time-LOC this-ABL go forward-IP.CONV
ʷoķi-γan üš te tört ʷoķuši γana bar
 study-GAN.PTCP three or four student only existing
ʸeken.

E.COP.INDIR3

‘When I went there for the first time, as I have heard, there were only three or four students who continued (their) studies after this (secondary school).’

T3/ 18

Baška tipti iškanday târix-ta ʷoķi-ma-γan ʸeken.
 except even at all history-LOC study-NEG-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
 ‘Except (for them) nobody else has apparently studied in the past.’

T3/ 19

ʷO jer-den bız bastawuş mektep-ti iрге-si-n
 X place-ABL we primary school-ACC foundation-POSS3SG-ACC
bekemde-w-men ḃrge ʷortalaw mektep-ti so jer-de
 make solid-UW.VN-WITH.POSTP together secondary school-ACC that place-LOC
jałyastı aš-ti-k, jałyastı aš-kan-nan geyin
 continuous open-PAST-1PL continuous open-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
ʷo jer-den köptegen ʷortalaw ḃt-ir-gen
 X place-ABL quite a lot secondary finish-CAUS-GAN.PTCP
ʷoķuši-lar koyam-γa kı̇zmet iste-di ʷoniγ sirtin-da
 student-PL society-DAT work do-PAST3 besides.POSS3-LOC

ilger^lle-p ^w*okī-dī*.

go forward-IP.CONV study-PAST3

‘From then on, we further developed the primary school and at the same time we also continued to open secondary schools there, and after we had opened them, quite a lot of students who graduated from the secondary (school) worked for our society, others continued to study.’

T3/ 20

Qazir ^w*öz* *ald-īm-nan* *köptegen* ^w*okuši-lar* *čik-ti*.
present self front-POSS1SG-ABL quite a lot student-PL come out-PAST3
‘By now many of my students have graduated.’

T3/ 21

^w*O-lar* *qazir* *qoyam-niñ* *ar* *sala* *qizmet-ter-iñ-de*
X-PL now society-GEN each branch job-PL-POSS3-LOC
iste-p *jatir*, ^w*okitušilik* *doğdurlik* *akimšilik*
work-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3 education medical care administration
qizmet-ter-de.
job-PL-LOC
‘Now they are working in all sorts of social services, (such as) education, medical care and administration.’

T3/ 22

^y*Endi* *qazir* *malčar^uwašilik* *k^lstak-tar-i-niñ...*
NOW.FILL present cattle-breeding village-PL-POSS3-GEN
burun-γa *qara-γan-da* ^w*okī-t-uw* *bala*
formerly-DAT look at- GAN.PTCP-LOC study-CAUS-UW.VN child
^w*okī-t-uw* *bolašak-ti* ^w*oyla-w-γa* *közžiber-iw*
study-CAUS-UW.VN future-ACC think-UW.VN-DAT look-UW.VN
burun-γi-day ^y*emes jaxsar-dī*.
formerly-GI-EQUA not improve-PAST3
‘And now in the present cattle-breeding villages... compared to the past, the education, the education of children, and how they think about the future, (these things) are not like previously, they have improved.’

T3/ 23

^y*Endi* *biz-diñ* *k^lstay-imiz* *negizinen köšpendi bol-up*
NOW.FILL we-GEN village-POSS1PL mainly nomadic BOL.COP-IP.CONV
jaz-da *jaylaw-γa* *köš-še* ⁵⁹ *k^ls-ta*
summer-LOC summer pasture-DAT move-HYP3 winter-LOC

⁵⁹ See footnote 22.

kⁱstawlık-қа *bar-ⁱp* *mal* *bay-a-dī.*
winter residence -DAT go-IP.CONV livestock breed-A.PRES-3

‘And our village is mainly nomadic, whereas (the people) in the summertime move to the summer pasture, in the winter (they) go to the winter residence and breed (their) livestock.’

T3/ 24

Sol *baris-ta* *kiyinchilik* *japa-lar-da* *malši-lar-men*
that course-LOC severe hardship-PL-LOC herdsman-PL-WITH.POSTP
bⁱrge *bol-dī-m.*
together BOL.COP-PAST-1SG

‘At that time, I shared the severe hardship with the herdsmen.’

T3/ 25

Mina *^yemegeyti* *de-gen* *tör* *jäylaw⁶⁰* *bol-dī*
this Yemegeyti say-GAN.PTCP prominent grassland BOL.COP-PAST3
^yemegeyti....

Yemegeyti

‘There was this prominent grassland called Yemegeyti. Yemegeyti...’

T3/ 26

Jetpⁱs *^yekī-nšī* *žil-ī* *malči-lar-men* *bⁱrge*
seventy two-ORD year-POSS3 herdsman-PL-WITH.POSTP together
semiya-m-men *köš-üp* *jür-üp* *mektep*
family-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP move-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-IP.CONV school
kigiz üy-ü-n *apar-al-ma-y* *^wöz* *semiya-m-a*
yurt-POSS3-ACC bring-ABIL-NEG-A.CONV self home-POSS1SG-DAT
malči *perzent-ter-ī-n* *^wokī-t-īp* *bⁱr* *žil*
herdsman child-PL-POSS3-ACC study-CAUS-IP.CONV one year
čiķ-tī-m.

come out-PAST-1SG

‘In (19)72, I and my family migrated with the herdsmen, and (when) the school couldn’t bring its yurt, I taught the children of the herdsmen in my home for one year.’

T3/ 27

^wO-dan *geyiñ* *de* *baska muğalim-der* *šiγ-īp*
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP DA.PART other teacher-PL come out-IP.CONV

⁶⁰ *Tör jäylaw* is a grassland where the herdsmen breed their cattle. The Kazakhs divide large grasslands into three parts: *^yetektī jäylaw* ‘a foothill grassland’ where they live during the spring; *^worta jäylaw* ‘a middle grassland’ to which they migrate to live during June and July; and *tör jäylaw* ‘prominant grassland’ where they live during August. *Tör* denotes the place of honor in a room or yurt (usually opposite the door), here it means that the time when they migrate to the upper part of the grassland is the best time for the grasses; it is the best place for the nomads.

tur-dī.

STAND.POSTV-PAST3

‘And also later other teachers kept doing so.’

T3/ 28

^wOsin-day ĵapalīk-penen bīz malčī perzent-ter-ī-n
this-EQUA difficulty-WITH.POSTP we herdsman child-PL-POSS3-ACC
^wokī-t-īp sawatīn aš-īp ^wortalaw bastawiš dārejeli-ya
study-CAUS-IP.CONV educate-IP.CONV secondary primary level-DAT
ĵet-kīz-dī-k.

reach-CAUS-PAST-1PL

‘With such difficulties, we taught and educated the children of the herdsmen and we made them complete the secondary and primary levels.’

T3/ 29

Bul ^yendi...

this NOW.FILL....

‘This is...’

T3/ 30

^wO-dan geyīn partiya men ^wokīmet-tīj
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP party and government-GEN
basšīlīy-ī-menen kōñīl bōl-ūw-ū-men bīz-dīj
leadership-POSS3-WITH.POSTP solicitude-UW.VN-POSS3-WITH.POSTP we-GEN
ultīk rayon-da mektep-ter sal-īp ber-dī,
ethnic region-LOC school-PL build-IP.CONV GIVE.POSTV-PAST3
ĵataktī mektep-ter sal-īn-dī.
boarding school-PL build-REF.PASS-PAST3

‘Then with the solicitude of the leadership of the party (Communist Party of China) and government, they built schools in our minority region, boarding schools were built.’

T3/ 31

Sol seksen-īnšī žīl-ī ĵataktī mektep sal-īn-īp
that eighty-ORD year-POSS3 boarding school build-REF.PASS-IP.CONV
^wortalaw kīlās-tār ^yegīztōbe de-gen awīldīk ^wotīr-yan
secondary class-PL Yegistōbe say-GAN.PTCP township sit-GAN.PTCP
ĵer-ge kōš-tī.
place-DAT move-PAST3

‘In that year of (19)80, a boarding school was built, and the secondary classes moved to the township settlement called Yegistōbe.’

T3/ 32

^wO-dan geyīn men ^yekī malčarwašīlīk k^īstay-īn-da
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP I two cattle-breeding village-POSS3-LOC

ʸekʲi mektep bol-dī ʷosʲi mektep-tiŋ ʃawapkerʃilʲik
 two school BOL.COP-PAST3 this school-GEN director
ķizmet-i-n ište-dī-m.
 job-POSS3-ACC do-PAST-1SG

‘Then, there were two schools in two cattle-breeding villages, and I worked as the director of the schools’

T3/ 33

Sonʲi-menen toqʃan ʸekʲi-nʃi žil-diŋ soŋ-in-da
 that-WITH.POSTP ninety two-ORD year-GEN end-POSS3-LOC
dayʲk-pen demaliʃka šʷy-īp ķazir demal-īp
 distinction-WITH.POSTP retire-IP.CONV present rest-IP.CONV
ʃatir-mīn.

LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP1SG

‘Then at the end of (19)92 I retired with distinction and now I am retired.’

T3/ 34

Ķʃkaʃa aķuwal-īm ʷosʲi.
 in brief situation-POSS1SG this.
 ‘Briefly, this is my situation.’

T3/ 35

ʸEndʲ ʷöz-īm-de üʃ qiz tört ul
 NOW.FILL self-POSS1SG-LOC three daughter four son
bol-yan, bu-lar-dī da ʷoķi-t-tī-m.
 BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3 this-PL-ACC DA.PART study-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 ‘And I have three daughters and four sons, and I have also educated them.’

T3/ 36

Bʲr ʸek-ew-i ʷoķu aŗartu sala-sin-da ʃāne baʃka
 one two-COLL-POSS3 education sector-POSS3SG-LOC and other
sala-lar-da bʲr ʸek-ew-i ķizmet ište-y-dī,
 field-PL-LOC one two-COLL-POSS3 work do-A.PRES-3
bʲrneʃ-ew-i malči bol-ʷp ķazir čarwaʃilʲik
 some-COLL-POSS3 herdsman BOL.COP-IP.CONV present cattle-breeding
ķizmet-ter-i-menen čuʷuldan-īp ʃatir.
 work-PL-POSS3-WITH.POSTP engage in-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3

‘Two of them are in the educational sector and other fields. Two of them are employees, and the others have become herdsman, now (they) are engaged in cattle-breeding.’

T3/ 37

Semiyaliķ ʃayday-īm da ʸendʲ ʷosinʃalʲiktī.
 family situation-POSS1SG DA.PART now so much
 ‘So much for now about my family situation.’

T3/ 38

^yEndi biz-dij malči-lar-dij mina köşi kon
 NOW.FILL we-GEN herdsman-PL-GEN this migration
kiyınçılıy-ı-menen bala ^wokı-t-a
 difficult-POSS3-WITH.POSTP child study-CAUS-A.CONV
al-ma-ytın jayday-lar-ı kazır ^wözger-di.
 TAKE.POSTV-NEG-ATIN.PTCP situation-PL-POSS3 present change-PAST3
 ‘The situation for our herdsmen, who (previously) could not educate their children because of the migration, has now changed.’

T3/ 39

^wÖz ^worta-miz-da misal üşün awıldık-tan
 self place-POSS1PL-LOC for example township-ABL
^wortalaw mektep aşı-ti, jataktı mekep aşı-ti.
 secondary school open-PAST3 boarding school open-PAST3
 ‘At our place, for example, the township has opened a secondary school and a boarding school.’

T3/ 40

^wOsin-da kazır bala-lar-di bar-ıp⁶¹ ^wokı-t-a-di.
 this-LOC present child-PL-ACC take-IP.CONV study-CAUS-A.PRES-3
 ‘At present, the children go and get education there.’

T3/ 41

Urpak-tar-ı-n ^wokı-t-uw-ı... burun-yi-ya
 generation-PL-POSS3-ACC study-CAUS-UW.VN-POSS3 formerly-GI-DAT
kara-yan-da malşı-lar-dij sana sawiye-si
 look at- GAN.PTCP-LOC herdsman-PL-GEN intellect level-POSS3SG
jaqsi.
 good.
 ‘The education of the generations...Compared to the past, the herdsmen’s intellectual level is good.’

T3/ 42

Jäne partiya men ^wökimet-tij...
 and party and government-GEN
malči perzent-ter-ı-nij ^wok-uw-in-a toyız žildik
 herdsman child-PL-POSS3-GEN study-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT nine year
^wok-uw-di b’tir-uw-in-e jāne ilgerle-p
 study-UW.VN-ACC finish-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT and go forward-IP.CONV
^wok-uw-in-a köptegen ^yekonomikalık jaq-tan jardıam-dar
 study-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT quite a lot financial side-ABL help-PL

⁶¹ The expected form is *apar-ıp* ‘took’.

ber-ip qazır w oqi-t-ip jatır.
 give-IP.CONV present study-CAUS-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3

‘Moreover the party and the government... provide a large amount of financial help for the education of the herdsmen’s children so that they finish nine years of schooling and continue to study. They educate them.’

T3/ 43

ʸEndi baska nemene ayt-a-miz ʸendi?
 NOW.FILL other what say-A.PRES-COP1PL now
 ‘Well, what else is there to say now?’

T4. *Aytakinniñ aŋğimesi* ‘The story of Aytakın’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 72

Date of birth: October 1939

Place of birth: Republic of Mongolia

Education: University

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Mongol (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands, speaks, and reads), Chinese (understands, speaks, and reads), Russian (understands)

Date of recording: 3th August 2010

Place of recording: Ürümqi

Running text

T4/ 1–T4/ 10

Bır mñ toyı^z žüz w otuz üşünşı žılı altay wñüründe düngön tönkörisi degen tönköris bolıan. Yaynı işki wölkeden kelgen gomındañşıł düngön mına köterişşileri dep qoyadı ʸendi ádette ʸendi kerı küşter qoy. Sodan ana şınjaŋya kelip, şınjaŋda mına çonjıdan...çonji, turpan jaqqa kelip so žerde qozaniyaz degen uyğurdıñ ülken batırimen soys aşkandar wolar. Sonıñ bır tobı altay betine wötıp so žerdegi ʸeldi tonap kıryınçılık žasayan gezde žaylawda wotırıyan bır top qazaq awıldar ürküp muŋyulyaya wötıp ketken, muŋyulyanıñ čegarasına. Buł mölçeri bır mñ toyı^z žüz w otuz ʸeki, w otuz üş, w otus törtinşı žıldarınıñ mañı, aldı artı ʸendi. Sonda bizdiñ áke şeşelerimiz soıay wötkön. Baryannan geyin soı qobda...wO gezde muŋyulayadı kazaktar ʸendi qobda degen aymaqqā karaydı ʸeken. wOnda mına baynölgey aymayı degen wO gezde žok. So qobda aymayınıñ aqqöl degen, sumın dep qoyadı ʸendi awdan, sonısına qonıstanıp wotıradı.

T4/ 11–T4/ 20

ʸEndi mına ata, naıaşı atan, bu kışi de so bır mñ toyı^z žüz w otuz üşünşı žıldıñ aldı artında köktoıayda žürgen gezinde qatti jer sılkiniş boladı, köktoıayda.

Köktoay, çingil rayondarında. Qazırge deyin belgi bar mına köktoay men çingildin aralıyında. Sol kezde ana silkinisten jer jarılıp ketken. Azırge deyin sol jarılıp ketken jerdin silemi bar, ali jer betinde çunqur bop žatir. Sonda bu kişinin yesteliğin biz wokiyanımızda, yesteliğine žazıp ketkeninde: “kişkene bala yedim...”. Jas yedi. wOniñ aldında yen ülken ayaşı muñyulyaya sawda žasap wotiıp ketken yeken. Temirniyaz degen adam. yEndi wözi köktoayda...

T4/ 21–T4/ 30

“Janımda”,– deydi “mamatjan”,– dedi ma “bır uyur adam bar yedi”,– deydi. “Sol yekewimiz sawda žasap žurdık”,– deydi. “yEndi men wözim akemnen ayrıyam jałyız šeşemde...uldin kenjesi boıyam...”. “So çeşeme qaraymın dep biraz sawda žasap kelem dep...”. “wOniñ aldında men sawda žasaw woyımda jok yedi.”,– deydi. “wOniñ aldında çeşem anayan berip minayan berip...” “Čakırtıkke berip biraz moılańık wokıdım”. “wOnan geyin bırewge tonarya nan jauwuıya turup yedim wol meni kınap žiberdi”,– deydi. “Keške deyin kömir tasıtıp wözi adamdı kınap žibergennen geyin wonan kaşıp çyıp ketip, sodan geyin çeşemdı bayayın dep köktoayya sawda žasap çyıp ketkem”,– deydi. “Süyüp žürgende adette qazaqtardın üyinde konıp žürüşı yek”,– deydi.

T4/ 31–T4/ 40

“Tap so günü so jer qozıalatın künü azaldın žoktıyı yoy?”,– deydi. “Tereñ saydın işi kalın adam kigiz üy konıan ana bır bulaq bar yendi, sol saydın işinde ayıp žatkan. “Sonı maıaylap sonda su işet sonın jayasında awıl wotırat”,– deydi. “Mınday tereñ uzun say”,– deydi. “Sol günü tamayımızdı işip ap ağı žanımdayı uyur yekemiz saydın üstüne bır saıkın žerge žatayık dep, žazdı günü boıatın”,– deydi. “Atımızdı čiderlep arıandap qarayadın işine süytüp koydıқта wözımız yertokimimizdi jastay sap bır qarayadın tübinde žattık”,– deydi “yekemiz”. “Bır waқта kalın gürıldegen dawustan woyanıp kettim”,– deydi. “wOyanıp ketsem bükül jer dünye alay düley jer qozalıp žatır yeken”,– deydi. “Čošıp ketip janımdayını woyatıp yedim, aıla aıla aıla dep dey berdık”. “Sodan yekemiz woyanıp bır bırıımızdı kuşaktap imanımızdı aytıp wotırdık”,– deydi.

T4/ 41–T4/ 50

“Bır waқта kişkene biraz basıldı”,– deydi. “Soson yes aqılımızdan adasıp ağı attarımız çıñyırıp aytew ayayında čideri bar sonimen qaldı”,– deydi. “Aytpese üzüp ketip qalatın yedi”,– deydi. “Sonimen bır waqıtta tañ ayarıp attı”. Sodan жүgүрүp ağı sayya ne boldı yeken a? awıl adamdarı işindegi üyler ne boldı yeken? desek wol saydı körüwge bolımaydı yeken”,– deydi. “Say bıtelip kaıyan yeken”,– deydi. “Žan žayındayı qarayay tas bırak kuıap saydı bıtepti”,– deydi. “Bır adam körüwge bolımaydı, yekemiz yana tiri qalıppız”,– deydi “ağı jerde, wözi, so maıayda”. “Čošıp kettik. attı akeldik te yer tokimimizdi yerttedik te yekemiz so qalıp kaşıp baramız, kaşıp baramız

žoldiň kayda ýekenin bilmeýmiz, muňyulyyaya wötemiz dep woylaşamiz žok”, – deydi. “Kaşip baramiz kaşip baramiz ketip baramiz”.

T4/ 51–T4/ 60

“B’r wak’itta b’r askerler ustap aldi”,– deydi. “Süytsek bu’l m’ina nemeneden wötüp juŋgoniň čegaras’inan wötüp muňyuldiň zastab’ina barip ka’lyan ýekenbiz”,– deydi. Soson “sender kaydan ke’le žatirs’indar? wos’inday jer ko’zyalıp altay bet’inen ke’le žatirmiz”. Sodan geyin “sender bu’lay wötüwleriŋe bolmaydi, bu’l memleket čegaras’i m’ınaw, m’ınaw bizdiň čegara m’ınaw muňyulya...”,– dep “sodan ýekemizdi kaytarip žiberdi”,– deydi. “ýEkemiz kaytip, ža ýendi muňyul degendi uyup aldi”,– deydi. “Ža, muňyulda meniň a’yam bar, kaytpayik, ýendi ýekemiz urlanip b’r žerden wötüp keteyik”,– dep, ýekewi astında ademi atı bar a’gi mini’p žürgen sodan b’r žerden burulup baripti da, b’r žerden baripti da, muňyulyyaya wötüp ketipti. wO gezde wo a’lgi ka’liň asker turmaydi ýeken, anda sanda b’r zastapta yana turadi ýeken, ka’lyan jeri... “So sop boyi wötüp ketkem”,– deydi. Sodan “wötüp barip, izdep žürüp surastirip žürsem so ülken a’yam, a’gi temirniyaz degen a’yam so sol žerde ýeken”,– deydi. “wO ki’ši bayip a’lyan ýeken”,– deydi. “Barip, so kumdan wörtep, aley pa’ley b’rdeneni istep...

T4/ 61–T4/ 70

Ko’l astında adam istetedi ýeken. Men bary’annan geyin “a’ytaxun yax’ši kap ka’ldəŋ ba’am, a’mdi san mini’ň işimni ka’l” dep mayan berdi”. “B’rak ka’tti... jumuska ka’tti saldi”,– deydi. “Soson a’yama ren’židim”,– deydi yoy. “Žum’ıska ka’tti sa’lip, süytüp ketti.” “Sodan ren’žip süytüp keyde ketip ka’lip süytüp žürdüm.” “Kaytip šin’jaŋya ke’leyin desem wo žerden ýendi wötü ki’yi’n boldi.” So boyi a’yamn’i ko’l astında istep žürgende a’yam žoyalıp ketti”,– deydi. “wÖzi, ayak ast’inan.” Keyin m’ina abdrasu’l barip... So gezde a’gi wo ki’ši imam mo’lda woka’şayt, so mo’la’lardi ko’ly a’lyanda aparip atip tastapti ýemespe.

T4/ 71/ T4/ 77

So di’zimdi’ktiň işinen čy’ip wotir. “Sodan sol a’yam žoyalıp ketken so’ŋ sol a’yamn’i işin men žürgizdim”,– deydi yoy. “Süytüp turyanda b’r m’iň toyi’ž žüz kırk’i’nci žili bop kap ko’bdadan böl’ini’p baynölgey aymay’i degen aymak ku’ru’ldi”,– deydi. “wOs’i aymak ku’ru’lyanda aymakti’ň wortal’i’yi’n sala’tin bop ka’liň ku’rluska kirpi’š kerek boldi”,– deydi. Kirpi’šti kaydan čy’aradi? kumdan wörtew kerek. “Son’imen won’i men köterip aldim”,– deydi yoy. Köterip alip soson wos’ini’ isteytin negdi’l dep koyadi ýendi, b’r b’rlestik ku’rup, wo b’rlesti’ň basti’yi wözi bol’up, son’imen kumdan wörtep, b’r žay’i yegin yegip, biday yegip, say yegip, kaposta, kartop, sabiz yegipti, alt’insökse degen jerde.

Annotated text

T4/ 1

B'ir mññ tojĩ žüz wotuz üš-ünšij žil-ĩ altay
 one thousand nine hundred thirty three-ORD year-POSS3 Altay
wöñür-ün-de düngön töñköris-i de-gen
 surrounding-POSS3-DAT Dungan revolution-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP
töñköris bol-yan.
 revolution BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3
 'In 1933, in the surroundings of the Altay (prefecture) there was a revolution called the Dungan Revolution.'

T4/ 2

Yayni işki wölke-den⁶² kel-gen gomindañ-şil düngön
 or inland-ABL come-GAN.PTCP Kuomintang-DER Dungan
mına köteriş-i ler-i de-p koy-a-di yendi
 this revolutionary-PL-POSS3 say-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL
adette yendi ker-i küş-ter yoy.
 usually NOW.FILL oppositional-PL FOY.PART
 'In other words, the Dungans of the Kuomintang, who came from other parts of China, they are usually called the revolutionaries, oppositionals, you know.'

T4/ 3

So-dan ana şinjañ-ya kel-ip şinjañ-da mına
 then THAT.FILL Xinjiang-DAT come-IP.CONV Xinjiang-LOC this
čonjĩ-dan... čonjĩ, turpan jak-ka kel-ip so žer-de
 Qitai-ABL Qitai Turfan side-DAT come-IP.CONV that place-LOC
kožaniyaz de-gen uyğur-dñ ülken batır-i-men
 Kožaniyaz say-GAN.PTCP Uyghur-GEN big hero-POSS3-WITH.POSTP
soyis aš-kan-dar wolar.
 fight open-GAN.PTCP-PL X-PL

'Then they came to Xinjiang, that is from Qitai in Xinjiang ...
 They came to the land of Qitai and Turfan, and they were the ones who started the to fight there against the Uyghur's great hero called Kožaniyaz.'

T4/ 4

So-nñ b'ir tob-ĩ altay bet-in-e wöt-üp
 that-GEN a group-POSS3 Altay region-POSS3-DAT pass-IP.CONV
so žer-de-gi yel-di tona-p kırınčilik
 that place-LOC-GI people-ACC rob-IP.CONV killing

⁶² *İşki wölke* is a translational equivalent of Chinese *neidi*, which literally means 'inland'. The people in Xinjiang, Xizang, and Hainan employ this word to refer to prefectures or places in China different from their own.

žasa-γan *gez-de* *žäyläw-da* *ʷotür-γan*
 CREATE.LIGHTV -GAN.PTCP time-LOC summer pasture-LOC live-GAN.PTCP
bʲr *top* *қазақ* *awıl-dar*⁶³ *ürk-üp* *муңғулыа-ға*
 a group Kazakh household-PL frighten-IP.CONV Mongolia-DAT
ʷöt-üp *ket-ken,* *муңғулыа-нӳӳ* *čegara-sın-a.*
 pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT3 mongolia-GEN border-POSS3SG-DAT
 ‘Some of them went to the Altay region and when they robbed and killed the local people. Some Kazakh households living in the summer pasture got frightened and moved to Mongolia, to the Mongolian border areas.’

T4/ 5

Bul *mölčer-i* *bʲr* *mıñ* *toγıʳ* *žüz*
 this approximate-POSS3 one thousand nine hundred
ʷotuz *ʳekı* *ʷotuz* *üş* *ʷotuz* *tört-ınşı* *žıl-dar-i-nıñ*
 thirty two thirty three thirty four-ORD year-PL-POSS3-GEN
mañ-i, *aldı artı* *ʳendı.*
 vicinity-POSS3 around.POSS3 NOW.FILL
 ‘This was approximately in the years of 1932, (19)33, (19)34.’

T4/ 6

Son-da *bız-dıñ* *áke šeše-ler-iñiz* *solay* *ʷöt-kön.*
 that-LOC we-GEN parent-PL-POSS1PL that way pass-GAN.POSTT3
 ‘At that time our parents had moved to the other side.’

T4/ 7

Bar-γan-nan *geyın* *sol* *қобда...*
 go-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP that Kobda...
 ‘After they went (to Mongolia), that Kobda...’

T4/ 8

ʷO *gez-de* *muñğulya-da-γı* *kazaқ-tar* *ʳendı* *қобда*
 X time-LOC Mongolia-LOC-GI Kazak-PL NOW.FILL Kobda
de-gen *aymaқ-қа* *қара-γ-dı* *ʳeken.*
 say-GAN.PTCP prefecture-DAT belong-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3
 ‘At that time, the Kazakhs in Mongolia belonged to a prefecture called Kobda (as I have heard).’

T4/ 9

ʷOn-da *mına* *baynölgey* *aymaγ-i* *de-gen*
 that-DAT this Bayan-Ölgii prefecture-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP

⁶³ The word *awıl* refers here to a group of yurts housing related families. It is translated here as ‘household’. In other contexts, the same word can mean ‘village’ and ‘township’.

^wo gez-de žoq.

X time-DAT non-exisiting.

‘At that time (the one) called Bayan-Ölgii prefecture did not exist.’

T4/ 10

So kobda aymay-ı-nıñ akköl de-gen, sumın
that Kobda prefecture-POSS3-GEN Akköl say-GAN.PTCP Sumın
de-p koy-a-dı ^yendı, awdan, sonı-sın-a
say-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL county that-POSS3SG-DAT
konısta-n-ıp ^wotır-a-dı.

settle down-REF-IP.CONV live -A.PRES-3

‘(The Kazakhs) settled down and lived in the county Akköl, usually called Sumın, in the Kobda prefecture.’

T4/ 11

^yEndı mına ata, nayaşı ata-ıñ⁶⁴, bu kış de
NOW.FILL this grandfather grandfather-POSS2SG this person DA.PART
so bır mın toytı žüz ^wotuz üš-ünčı žıl-dıñ
THAT.FILL one thousand nine hundred thirty three-ORD year-GEN
aldı artın-da köktoıay-da žür-gen gez-ın-de katti
around.POSS3-LOC Fuyun-DAT move-GAN.PTCP time-POSS3-LOC strong
jer sılkınıs bol-a-dı köktoıay-da.
earthquake BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 Fuyun-LOC

‘And now, this Grandfather, your grandfather, in about 1933, when he was in Fuyun there was a strong earthquake in Fuyun.’

T4/ 12

Köktoıay čingil rayon-dar-ın-da.
Fuyun Qinggil region-PL-POSS3-LOC
‘In the regions of Fuyun and Qinggil.’

T4/ 13

Qazır-ge deyin belgi bar mına köktoıay men
present-DAT UNTIL.POSTP mark existing this Fuyun and
čingil-dıñ aralıy-ın-da.
Qinggil-GEN between-POSS3-LOC

‘A mark (of this) remains between Fuyun and Qinggil.’

T4/ 14

Sol kez-de ana sılkınıs-ten jer jar-ıl-ıp
that time-LOC that shake-ABL earth split-PASS-IP.CONV

⁶⁴ Nayaşı ata means ‘maternal grandfather’.

ket-ken.

LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT3

‘At that time the earth split because of that earthquake.’

T4/ 15

Äzir-ge deyın sol jar-ıl-ıp

now- DAT UNTIL.POSTP that crack-PASS-IP.CONV

ket-ken jer-diñ sılem-i bar alı

LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP earth-GEN remnant-POSS3 existing still

jer bet-ın-de çuñkur bop žatır.

earth surface-POSS3-LOC hole BOL.COP.IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3

‘A remnant remains in the earth that cracked, and there is still a hole on the surface of the earth.’

T4/ 16

Son-da bu kışi-niñ yesteliğ-i-n biz

that-LOC this person-GEN diary-POSS3-ACC we

wokı-yan-imiz-da, yesteliğ-in-e žaz-ıp

read-GAN.PTCP-POSS1PL-LOC diary-POSS3-DAT write-IP.CONV

ket-ken-in-de “kışkene bala ye-di-m...”

LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-LOC small child E.COP-PAST-1SG

‘At that time, as we read in this person’s diary, he writes “I was a child...”’

T4/ 17

Žas ye-di.

young E.COP-PAST3

‘He was young.’

T4/ 18

wO-niñ aldın-da yeñ ülken aya⁶⁵-sı munğulıya-ya

X.GEN front.POSS3-LOC SUPER big brother-POSS3SG Mongolia-DAT

sawda žasa-p, wöt-üp ket-ken

commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP

ye-ken.

E.COP.INDIR3

‘And before him his biggest brother moved over to Mongolia to do business.’

T4/ 19

Temirniyaz de-gen adam.

Temirniyaz say-GAN.PTCP person

‘A man called Temirniyaz.’

⁶⁵ *Aya* means elder brother.

T4/ 20

^yEndi ^wöz-i köktoɣay-da...
 but self-POSS3 Fuyun-LOC
 ‘But he himself in Fuyun (county)...’

T4/ 21

“Jan-īm-da” de-y-dī, “māmätjan” de-dī ma
 beside-POSS1SG-LOC say-A.PRES-3 Memetjan say-PAST3 Q.PART
 “b’r uyɣur adam bar ^ye-dī” de-y-dī.
 an Uyghur person existing E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 ““Together with me”—he writes, “there was an Uyghur man”—he writes. I think he
 called him “Memetjan”.’

T4/ 22

“Sol ^yek-ew-īmiz sawda žasa-p
 that two-COLL-POSS1PL commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
 žür-dī-k” de-y-dī.
 MOVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL say-A.PRES-3
 ““He, the two of us were doing business”—he writes.’

T4/ 23

^oEndi men ^wöz-īm äke-m-nen
 now I self-POSS1SG father-POSS1SG-ABL
 ayr-ıl-ɣam, jalyız šeše-m-de ul-dīñ
 separate-PASS-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG single mother-POSS1SG-LOC son-GEN
 kenje-si bol-ɣam.”
 youngest child-POSS3SG BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG
 ““I myself had lost my father. I had been the youngest boy of my single mother”.’

T4/ 24

“So çeše-m-e ḳara-y-m̄in de-p,
 THAT.FILL mother-POSS1SG-DAT take care-A.PRES-COP1SG say-IP.CONV
 b’raz sawda žasa-p kel-e-m
 some commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
 de-p...”
 say-IP.CONV
 ““I take care of my mother”, he writes, “I do business”, he writes.’

T4/ 25

“^wO-niñ aldīn-da men sawda žasa-w
 X.GEN before.POSS3-LOC I commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-UW.VN
^woy-īm-da jok ^ye-dī” de-y-dī.
 idea-POSS1SG-LOC non-existing E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 ““Earlier I didn’t have any idea about doing business”, he writes.’

T4/ 26

^w*O-niñ* *aldin-da* *češe-m* *anayan*
 X.GEN before.POSS3-LOC mother-POSS1SG that.DAT
ber-ip *minayan* *ber-ip...*”
 give-IP.CONV this.DAT give-IP.CONV
 ‘Earlier my mother sent me here and there...’

T4/ 27

“*Čäkirt-tik*⁶⁶-*ke* *ber-ip* *b'raz* *molla-liķ* *ʷokī-dī-m.*”
 student-DER-DAT give-IP.CONV some Mullah-DER study-PAST-1SG
 “‘(She) sent me to study and I studied a little religion’.”

T4/ 28

^w*O-nan* *geyın* *b'rew-ge* *tonar-ya* *nan*
 X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP someone-DAT clay oven-DAT nan
ǰau-w-ya *tur-up* *ʷe-dī-m* *ʷol* *meni*
 cover-UW.VN-DAT stand-IP.CONV E.COP-PAST-1SG X I.ACC
ķina-p *žiber-dī*” *de-y-dī.*
 mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘Later I worked for someone as a baker, (but) he mistreated me (very much)’”, he writes.’

T4/ 29

“*Keš-ke* *deyın* *kömır tasī-t-īp* *ʷözi*
 evening-DAT UNTIL.POSTP coal transport-CAUS-IP.CONV ÖZL.PART
adam-dī *ķina-p* *žiber-gen-nen* *geyın*
 man-ACC mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
^w*onan* *kaš-īp* *čīy-īp* *ket-īp,*
 X.ABL run-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
so-dan *geyın* *češe-m-dī* *baγ-ayın*
 then AFTER1.POSTP mother-POSS1-ACC take care-VOL1SG
de-p *köktöyay-ya* *sawda* *žasa-p*
 say-IP.CONV Fuyun-DAT commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
čīy-īp *ket-kem*” *de-y-dī.*
 come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
 “‘After (he) made me transport coal all the time, after he mistreated me so much (I) ran away from him. Then, in order to take care of my mother, I went to Fuyun to do business’, he writes.’

T4/ 30

“*Süyt-üp* *žür-gende* *adette* *ķazak-tar-dīy*
 do so-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV usually Kazak-PL-GEN

⁶⁶ *Čäkirt* is a student of a Muslim religious school.

üy-in-de qon-ıp žür-üwšī ^ye^{dik}
 home-POSS3-LOC stay-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-UWŠI.PTCP COP.PAST.1PL
de-y-dī.

say-A.PRES-3

“‘When I was there, we used to stay in Kazakh homes’, he writes.’

T4/ 31

“Tap so gün-ü so jer qozγat-atin kün-ü
 exact that day-POSS3 that earth-quake-ATIN.PTCP day-POSS3
ažal-dīñ žoq-tīγ-ī γoy” de-y-dī.
 death-GEN non-existing-DER-POSS3 FOY.PART say-A.PRES-3

“‘Just that day, the day of the earthquake, it was not the day for us to die, you know’, he writes.’

T4/ 32

“Tereñ say-dīñ iŝ-ī qalīñ adam, kigiz üy
 deep ravine-GEN inside-POSS3 many people yurt
qon-γan, ana bⁱr bulaq bar ^yendi sol
 settle-GAN.POSTT3 that a spring existing NOW.FILL that
say-dīñ iŝ-in-de aγ-īp žat-kan.
 ravine-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC flow-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP

“‘Deep inside the ravine there are many people, and there are yurts set up there, and a spring flows inside this ravine’.

T4/ 33

“Sonī mañayla-p son-da su iŝ-e-t so-nīñ
 that.ACC come nearer-IP.CONV that-LOC water drink-A.PRES-3 that-GEN
jaγa-sin-da awıl ^wotir-a-t”,⁶⁷ de-y-dī.
 shore-POSS-LOC household live-A.PRES-3 say-A.PRES-3

“‘(People) move close to it and drink water there, and a household is settled on its shores’, he writes.’

T4/ 34

“Minday tereñ uzun say”, de-y-dī.
 such deep long ravine say-A.PRES-3

“‘It is such a deep and long ravine’, he writes.’

T4/ 35

“Sol gün-ī tamay-īmiz-dī iŝ-īp ap
 that day-POSS3 meal-POSS1PL-ACC eat-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV.IP.CONV
āgi žan-īm-da-γī uyγur ^yek-emiz say-dīñ
 aforesaid side-POSS1SG-LOC-GI Uyghur two-COLL.POSS1PL ravine-GEN

⁶⁷ The speaker means the place where people stay in the summer.

üstün-e bⁱr salķin žer-ge žat-ayıķ de-p,
top.POSS3-DAT a cool place-DAT lie-VOL.1PL say-IP.CONV
žazdī gün-ī bol-atin” de-y-dī.
summery day-POSS3 BOL.COP-ATIN.PAST.INTRAT3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘On that day, after we have eaten our meal, together with the aforementioned Uyghur, the two of us said ‘let’s sleep in a cool place up in the ravine’. It was one of the summer days”, he writes.’

T4/ 36

At-īmiz-dī čiderle-p arķanda-p karayay-dīñ
horse-POSS1PL-ACC hobble-IP.CONV lasso-IP.CONV pine-GEN
ış-ın-e süyt-üp koy-dī-ķ ta
inside-POSS3-DAT do so-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-PAST-1PL DA.PART
^wöz-īmiz ^yertoķim-īmiz-dī jasta-y sa^li-p bⁱr
self-POSS1PL saddle-POSS1PL-ACC pillow-A.CONV PUT.POSTV.IP.CONV a
karayay-dīñ tüb-ın-de žat-tī-ķ” de-y-dī “^yek-emiz”.
pine-GEN under-POSS3-LOC lie-PAST-1PL say-A.PRES-3 two-COLL.POSS1PL
“‘(We) hobbled and lassoed our horses among the pine trees, and then we pillowed our heads on our saddles, and slept under a pine tree”, he writes, “both of us”.’

T4/ 37

“Bⁱr waķ-ta kalıñ gürülde-gen dawus-tan ^woyan-ıp
a time-LOC big rumble-GAN.PTCP sound-ABL wake up-IP.CONV
ket-tī-m” de-y-dī.
LEAVE.POSTV-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3
“‘Suddenly, I was awakend by a big rumbling sound”, he writes.’

T4/ 38

“^wOyan-ıp ket-se-m bükül jer dünye alay düley
wake up-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-HYP-1SG whole earth world heavily
jer kozya-l-ıp žatır ^yeken” de-y-dī.
earth- quake-PASS-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3 E.COP.INDIR3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘When I woke up, the whole earth was heavily shaking”, he writes.’

T4/ 39

“Čošī-p ket-ıp jan-ım-da-yī-nī
scare-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV beside-POSS1SG-LOC-GI-ACC
^woyat-ıp ^ye-dī-m alla alla alla de-p, de-y
wake-IP.CONV E.COP-PAST-1SG Allah Allah Allah say-IP.CONV say-A.CONV
ber-dī-k”.
GIVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL
“‘I was scared and after I woke my companion, we kept calling Allah, Allah, Allah”.’

T4/ 40

“Sodan ^yek-emiz ^woyan-*ip* *bⁱr bⁱrimiz-di*
then two-COLL.POSS1PL wake up-IP.CONV each other.POSS1PL-ACC
*k^uşakta-p iman-*imiz-di* ayt-*ip* ^wotir-di-k^u”
hug-IP.CONV prayer-POSS1PL-ACC tell-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-PAST-1PL
de-y-di.
say-A.PRES-3*

“Then both of us woke up, hugged each other, and were praying”, he writes.’

T4/ 41

“*Bⁱr waq-ta kışkene bⁱraz bas-*il-di*” *de-y-di*.
a time-LOC little a bit diminish-PASS-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3*

“After some time, it diminished a bit”, he writes.’

T4/ 42

“Soson ^yes aqıl-*imiz-dan* adas-*ip*⁶⁸ *âgi at-tar-*imiz**
then sense mind-POSS1PL-ABL lose-IP.CONV aforesaid horse-PL-POSS1PL
*çığyır-*ip*, âytew ayay-*in-da* çider-i bar*
neigh-IP.CONV anyhow finally-POSS3-LOC hobble-POSS3 existing
sonimen kal-di” *de-y-di*.
then stay-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

“Then we did not know what to do, our horses neighed, anyway, finally thanks to the hobbles they did not run away”, he says.’

T4/ 43

“*Âypese üz-*ip* ket-*ip* kal-atin*
otherwise break-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP
ye-di” *de-y-di*.
E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

“Otherwise, they would have broken (the hobbles) and left”, he writes.’

T4/ 44

“*Sonî-men bⁱr waqit-ta tañ ayar-*ip* at-ti.*⁶⁹”
that-WITH.POSTP a time-LOC dawn grow light-IP.CONV appear-PAST3
‘Then some time later the day dawned.’

T4/ 45

“Sodan jügür-*ip* *âgi say-ya ne bol-di*
then run-IP.CONV aforesaid ravine-DAT what BOL.COP-PAST3
*eken â? awıl adam-dar-i iş-*in-de-gi**
RHET.PART A.PART household person-PL-POSS3 inside-POSS3-LOC-GI

⁶⁸ *yEs aqıldan adasuw* is a proverb meaning ‘to go out of one’s mind’, ‘to lose one’s senses’.

⁶⁹ *Tañ ayarip at-* is an expression meaning ‘begin to grow light’, ‘dawn’, ‘daybreak’.

üy-ler ne bol-dī yēken? de-se-k wot say-dī
 yurt-PL what BOL.COP-PAST3 RHET.PART say-HYP-1PL X ravine-ACC
kör-üw-ge bol-ma-y-dī yēken” de-y-dī.
 see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘Then we ran to that ravine, to see what had happened to that ravine, what happened to the people living in the households inside the ravine. They disappeared”, he writes.’

T4/ 46

“Say bīte-l-ip ƙal-ƣan yēken”
 ravine block-PASS-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
de-y-dī.
 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘The ravine was apparently blocked up”, he writes.’

T4/ 47

“Žan žay-īn-da-γī ƙarayay tas b¹rak ƙula-p
 the one around-POSS3-LOC-GI pine stone all topple-IP.CONV
say-dī bīte-p-tī” de-y-dī.
 ravine-ACC block-IP.POSTT-3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘The pines and stones around it toppled down and blocked the ravine”, he writes.’

T4/ 48

“B¹r adam kör-üw-ge bol-ma-y-dī, yēk-emiz
 one person see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 two-COLL.POSS1PL
ƣana tiri ƙal-īp-piz” de-y-dī “āgi jēr-de
 only living stay-IP.POSTT-COP1PL say-A.PRES-3 aforesaid place-LOC
wōžī, so maƣay-da.”
 ÖZL.PART that surrounding-LOC
 “‘We couldn’t see anyone, only the two of us have survived”, he writes, “at that place, in those surroundings”.’

T4/ 49

“Čošī-p ket-tī-k at-tī ākel-dī-k
 frighten-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL horse-ACC bring-PAST-1PL
te yertokīm-īmiz-dī yertte-dī-k te
 DA.PART saddle-POSS1PL-ACC saddle-PAST-1PL DA.PART
yēk-emiz so ƙalp-ī ƙaš-īp bar-a-miz
 two-COLL.POSS1PL that mould-POSS3 run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL
ƙaš-īp bar-a-miz žol-dīŋ ƙay-da
 run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL way-GEN which-LOC
yē-ken-ī-n bīl-me-y-miz, muŋɣuɣya-ƣa
 E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC know-NEG-A.PRES-COP1PL Mongolia-DAT

^wöt-e-miz de-p ^woɣla-ɣamiz žok”
 pass-A.PRES-COP1PL say-IP.CONV think-GAN.PTCP.COP1PL non-existing
 de-y-dj.

say-A.PRES-3

““We were frightened, and we brought the horses, and saddled them with our saddles, then the two of us kept riding and riding, we didn’t know where to, we did not have the intention to go to Mongolia”, he writes.’

T4/ 50

“Kaš-ip bar-a-miz kaš-ip bar-a-miz
 run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ket-ip bar-a-miz.”

leave-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL

““We kept running away”.’

T4/ 51

“B^lr waķit-ta b^lr asker-ler usta-p al-dī”
 a time-LOC an soldier-PL stop-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST3
 de-y-dj.

say-A.PRES-3

““Then some soldiers stopped us”, he writes.’

T4/ 52

“Süyt-se-k bul mīna nemene-den ^wöt-ip ĵungo-niņ
 do so-HYP-1PL this this what-ABL pass-IP.CONV China-GEN
 čegara-si-nan ^wöt-ip muŋɣul-diņ zastab-in-a bar-ip
 border-POSS3SG-ABL pass-IP.CONV Mongol-GEN gate-POSS3-DA go-IP.CONV
 kał-yan ^yeken-biz” de-y-dj.

STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR-COP1PL say-A.PRES-3

““In fact, we passed the thing, we passed the Chinese border and apparently reached the entrance to Mongolia”, he writes.’

T4/ 53

Soson “sen-der kay-dan kel-e žatir-siņ-dar?”
 then you-PL which-ABL come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP2SG-PL

“^wosin-day ĵer kozya-l-ip altay bet-i-nen
 this-EUQA earth shake-PASS-IP.CONV Altay region-POSS3-ABL
 kel-e žatir-miz.”

come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP1PL

““Then, (the soldiers asked), “Where are you coming from?” “We are coming from the Altay region, where there has been an earthquake”.’

T4/ 54

“So-dan geyin “sen-der bulay ^wöt-üw-ler-iñ-e
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP you-PL this way pass-UW.VN-PL-POSS2SG-DA
bol-ma-y-dī, bul memleket čegara-sī mīnaw,
BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 this country border-POSS3SG this is
mīnaw biz-dīñ čegara mīnaw muñyul-ya... ” de-p
this is we-GEN border this is Mongolia-DAT say-IP.CONV
so-dan ^yek-emiz-dī kaytar-ip žiber-dī ”
then two-COLL.POSS1PL-ACC send back-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-PAST3
de-y-dī.
say-A.PRES-3

““Then they said, ‘You cannot pass like this, this is a country border, this is our border, this is the border of Mongolia...’ Then, they sent us back”, he writes.’

T4/ 55

^yEk-emiz kayt-ip, žā ^yendi muñyul
two-COLL.POSS1PL return-IP.CONV JĀ.PART now Mongol
de-gen-dī uñ-up al-dī-k ” de-y-dī,
say-GAN.PTCP-ACC know-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-2PL say-A.PRES-3
“žā muñyul-da men-iñ aya-m bar,
JĀ.PART Mongolia-LOC I.GEN brother-POSS1SG existing
kayt-pa-yīk, ^yendi ^yek-emiz urlan-ip bⁱr
return-NEG-VOL1PL now two-COLL.POSS1PL hide-IP.CONV a
žer-den ^wöt-üp ket-eyik ” de-p,
place-ABL pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-VOL1PL say-IP.CONV
^yek-ew-i astin-da ademī at-i bar
two-COLL-POSS3 under.POSS3-LOC beautiful horse-poss3 existing
āgi mīn-ip žür-gen sodan bⁱr žer-den
aforesaid ride-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP then a place-ABL
burul-up bar-ip-tī da bⁱr žer-den bar-ip-tī
turn-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 DA.PART a place-ABL go-IP.POSTT-3
da muñyulya-ya ^wöt-üp ket-ip-tī.
DA.PART Mongolia-DAT pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3

““The two of us returned. Well, now we have got acquainted with Mongolia”, he writes. “Well, I have a brother in Mongolia, let us not return, let us hide and cross somewhere.” Thus the two of them, on the two beautiful horses, turned back at a place and passed quickly over to Mongolia.’

T4/ 56

^wO gez-de, ^wo ālgi kalīñ āsker tur-ma-y-dī
X time-loc X AFORESAID.FILL many soldier guard-NEG-A.PRES-3
^yeken, anda sanda bⁱr zastap-ta yana tur-a-dī
E.COP.INDIR3 rarely a gate-LOC only guard-A.PRES-3

ʸeken, qatyan ʃer-i...

E.COP.INDIR3 rest area-POSS3

‘At that time, not many soldiers were stationed there, (they) were stationed only at one entrance but rarely, and the rest of the area was...’

T4/ 57

“*So sop boyi ʷöt-üp*
THAT.FILL that ALONG.POSTP pass-IP.CONV
ket-kem” de-y-dı
LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
“‘Since then I stayed in (Mongolia)”, he writes.’

T4/ 58

“*Sodan ʷöt-üp bar-ıp, izde-p*
then pass-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-IP.CONV seek-IP.CONV
žür-üp surastır-ıp žür-se-m so
MOVE.POSTV-IP.CONV search-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-HYP-1SG that
ülken aya-m, ägi temirniyaz de-gen
eldest brother-POSS1SG aforesaid Temirniyaz say-GAN.PTCP
aya-m so sol žer-de ʸeken” de-y-dı.
brother-POSS1SG THAT.FILL that place-LOC E.COP.INDIR3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘After I went over, I started to seek and search, my eldest brother, my brother called Temirniyaz was there”, he writes.’

T4/ 59

“*ʷO kışi bayi-p al-yan ʸeken”*
X person grow rich-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
de-y-dı.
say-A.PRES-3
“‘He apparently became rich”, he writes.’

T4/ 60

“*Bar-ıp, so, kum-dan ʷörte-p, áley páley*
go-IP.CONV THAT.FILL sand-ABL burn-IP.CONV various
bʰrdeŋe-ni ište-p... ”.
something-ACC do-IP.CONV

“‘After I arrived (in Mongolia), I burned bricks and did different things...’”

T4/ 61

Qolastın-da adam ište-t-e-dı ʸeken.
under the leadership.POSS3-LOC people do-CAUS-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3
“‘He apparently has people who work for him’.”

T4/ 62

“Men bar-yan-nan geyin ‘äytaxun, yaxşı kâp
 I go-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Aytaqin good COME.IP.CONV
 qal-də-ŋ bala-m, ämdi sän minij
 STAY.POSTV-PAST-2SG child-POSS1SG now you I.GEN
 iş-im-ni qal⁷⁰, de-p mayan ber-dj.”
 business-POSS1SG-ACC do.IMP say-IP.CONV I.DAT give-PAST3
 “‘After I got there, ‘Aytaqin, it is good that you came, my child, now you shall run
 my business’ he said, and handed over (his business) to me”.’

T4/ 63

Bⁱrağ kattı... jūmus-qa kattı sal-dı de-y-dj.
 but hard work-DAT hard place-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
 “‘But hard... (he) made me work very hard’, he writes.’

T4/ 64

“Soson aya-m-a renжі-dj-m” de-y-dj
 thus brother-POSS1SG-DAT offend-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3
 ɣoy.
 FOY.PART
 “‘Thus, I am offended by my brother”, he writes, you know.’

T4/ 65

“Žumus-qa kattı sal-ip süyt-üp ket-tj.”
 work-DAT hard place-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
 “‘He made me work very hard”.’

T4/ 66

“Sodan renжі-p süyt-üp keyde ket-ip
 then offend-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV sometimes leave-IP.CONV
 qal-ip süyt-üp žür-dü-m.”
 STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-PAST-1SG
 “‘Then I was offended and sometimes left. (My life) was like that”.’

T4/ 67

“Qayt-ip şinjaŋ-ya kel-eyin de-se-m
 return-IP.CONV Xinjiang-DAT come-VOL1SG say-HYP-1SG
^wo žer-den ^yendj ^wöt-üw qiyin bol-dj.”
 X place-ABL now pass-UW.VN difficult BOL.COP-PAST3
 “‘When I have thought about going back to Xinjiang, but it has now become
 difficult to cross (the border)”.’

⁷⁰ The sentence, yaxşı kâp qaldij balam, ämdi sän minij işimni qal, is in Uyghur.

T4/ 68

“So *boyi* *aya-m-niñ* *qolastin-da*
 that ALONG.POSTP brother-POSS1SG-GEN under the leadership.POSS3-LOC
iste-p *žür-gende* *aya-m*
 work-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV- GAN.LOC.CONV brother-POSS1SG
žoyal-ıp *ket-ti*”, *de-y-di*, “^w*özi*,
 disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 ÖZI.PART
ayayastinan”.
 suddenly
 ““During the time when I worked for my brother my brother disappeared”, he writes,
 “all of a sudden”.”

T4/ 69

Keyin mina abdrasul bar-ıp...
 later this Abdurasul go-IP.CONV
 ‘Later, Abdurasul went...’

T4/ 70

So gez-de ägi ^w*o kişi* *imam molda*
 that time-LOC AFORESAID.FILL X person Imam Mullah
^w*okša-y-t* ⁷¹ *so molla-lar-di* *qol-ya*
 like-A.PRES-3 THAT.FILL Mullah-PL-ACC hand-DAT
al-yanda *apar-ıp* *at-ıp*
 take-GAN.LOC.CONV take-IP.CONV shoot-IP.CONV
tasta-p-ti ^y*emespe*.
 THROW.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 EMESPE.PART
 ‘I guess that the person mentioned before (the brother) was an imam, a mullah.
 When the mullahs were arrested they took him and shot him.’

T4/ 71

So diziñdik-tiñ iñ-i-nen *čiy-ıp* ^w*otir*.
 that list-GEN inside-POSS3-ABL come out-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV3
 ‘(His name) appeared on that list.’

T4/ 72

“*Sodan sol aya-m* *joyal-ıp* *ket-ken*
 then that brother-POSS1SG disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP
soñ, *sol aya-m-niñ* *iñ* ⁷² *-i-n*
 AFTER2.POSTP that brother-POSS1SG-GEN business-POSS3-ACC

⁷¹ ^w*Okšayt* ‘like, as’ is uttered very close to Uyghur pronunciation. The Kazakh term should be *uqsayt* / *uqsaydı* ‘like, as’. One can find such pronunciation recently in Xinjiang due to the Uyghur influence.

⁷² *Iñ* ‘work, business, job’. The consonant *š* here is a material copy from Uyghur, whereas the Kazakh word is pronounced as *iš* ‘work, business, job’.

men žürgiz-di-m” de-y-dı ɣoy.
 I run-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3 FOY.PART

“‘Then after my brother disappeared, I ran my brother’s business”, he writes.’

T4/ 73

“Süyt-üp tur-ɣanda b’r miŋ toɣı̃ žüz
 do so-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV one thousand nine hundred
ķirk-inčī žil-i bop ƙap ƙobda-dan
 forty-ORD year-POSS3 BOL.COP.IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV Kobda-ABL
böl-in-ip baynölgey aymay-i de-gen
 separate-REF.POSS-IP.CONV Bayan-Ölgii prefecture-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP
aymaƙ ƙur-ul-dı” de-y-dı.
 prefecture establish-PASS-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

“‘Then the year of 1940 arrived, and the prefecture called Bayan-Ölgii was established and separated from Kobda”, he writes.’

T4/ 74

“^wOsi aymaƙ ƙur-ul-ɣanda aymaƙ-tiŋ
 this prefecture establish-PASS-GAN.LOC.CONV prefecture-GEN
^wortalı̃-y-i-n sal-atın bop ƙalıŋ
 capital-POSS3-ACC build-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP.IP.CONV many
ƙurlus-ƙa ƙırpış gerek bol-dı” de-y-dı.
 construction-DAT brick need BOL.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

“‘When the prefecture was founded, many bricks were needed to build the capital of this place”, he writes.’

T4/ 75

Ƙırpış-ti ƙay-dan čıyar-a-dı? ƙum-dan ^wörte-w
 brick-ACC where-ABL produce-A.PRES-3 sand-ABL burn-UW.VN
kerek.
 necessary

“‘Where is the brick produced? It has to be burnt from sand”.’

T4/ 76

“Sonı-men ^wonı men köter-ip al-dı-m”
 that-WITH.POSTP X.ACC I undertake-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-1SG
de-y-dı ɣoy.
 say-A.PRES-3 FOY.PART

“‘Then, I undertook the business”, he writes, you know.’

<i>“Köter-ip</i>	<i>al-ïp</i>	<i>sonï-men</i>	<i>“osï-nï</i>
undertake-IP.CONV	TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV	that-WITH.POSTP	this-ACC
<i>iste-ytïn</i>	<i>negdïl</i> ⁷³	<i>de-p</i>	<i>ķoy-a-dï</i>
do-ATIN.PTCP	union	say-IP.CONV	PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3
<i>bïr bïrlestïķ</i>	<i>ķur-up,</i>	<i>“o bïrles-tïņ</i>	<i>bastïy-ï</i>
a union	build-IP.CONV	X union-GEN	head-POSS3
<i>bol-“p,</i>	<i>sonï-men</i>	<i>ķum-dan</i>	<i>“örte-p,</i>
BOL.COP-IP.CONV	that-WITH.POSTP	sand-ABL	burn-IP.CONV
<i>bïr ķay-ï</i>	<i>“egïņ “eg-ip,</i>	<i>bidäy “eg-ip,</i>	<i>säy</i> ⁷⁴
a side-POSS3	farm-IP.CONV	wheat cultivate-IP.CONV	vegetable
<i>“eg-ip,</i>	<i>ķaposta,</i>	<i>kartop,</i>	<i>sábïz “eg-ip-tï,</i>
cultivate-IP.CONV	cabbage	potato	carrot cultivate-IP.POSTT-3
<i>altïnsökse</i>	<i>de-gen</i>	<i>ķer-de.</i>	
Altïnsökse	say-GAN.PTCP	place-LOC	

‘After he undertook (the business), he founded a union for doing this, and he became the head of the union. Then he burned bricks, on the other hand, he did farming, and cultivated wheat, vegetables, cabbage, potatoes and carrots in the place called Altïnsökse.’

T5. *Ĵungodayï ķazak tïli* ‘The Kazakh language in China’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 58

Date of birth: 1952

Place of birth: Altay, China

Education: University

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands).

Date of recording: 3th July 2011

Place of recording: Burqin, Altay

Running text

T5/ 1–T5/ 10

“Endï tïl mäsäläsïndä soĴ ĵalpï “ömiŗ sürüp kele ĵatķan mäsäle, ķazïr ķazak tïlinde mïnanday bïr ĵäyït bar. BuĴ “endï keyïn tïlge tönetiņ ķawup, men “öziņ “oyĴap ķörgende. Nege “olay deseņ miysalı, ädetteĵi sözdï aytatïn boĴsaķ “osïniņ iķine ķöptegen xanzuŗa atawĴardï ķosïp aĴamïz. BuĴ bizŗe boĴyanda “ol ķazaktïķi ķusap ķetken. “Ol bïr mäsäle. “Endï bïr mäsäle mïna

⁷³ *Negdïl* «нэгдэл» ‘union’ is a Mongol term.

⁷⁴ *Säy* ‘vegetables’ is a global copy of the Chinese lexical item *cài* ‘vegetables, dish, greens’. This term is currently often used among Kazakhs in China instead of *ķöktat* ‘vegetables’.

telefon nömirdi aytayık misali qarapayim narseni. ^wOsı telefon nömırin qazaqşa aytıp bersen ana tıñdayan adam çarşap ketedi. Mıne ^wosı günde ^wosınday. ^wOy akam ay andayını uyalmadım yoy dep jatadı qarşı jak. Qanzuśasın tıp ^yetkizip uyup aladı.

T5/ 11–T5/ 20

Mıne bu nemene? Bu tıldegi çıbarlık. Kele jatқан çıbarlık, kele jatқан kawıp aldayı jerde dep ^woylaymız biz ^yendi. Keybır balalar bar, bütün aytıp turanı qanzuśa ^yekenin de bılmeysın, qazaqşa ^yekenin de bılmeysın. Qaysı günü men joı jonekey bır maşınaya ^wotırıp keldim. Bır ^yekı bała ^wotırıptı ^yeken, ^yekewı de muñuı balalar. Muñuı kızbalalar ^yendi. Qazır qazaqşa söylep kelip jatıp, qanzuśa bop ketet. ^wÖstüp ^wözi... Biz uqtık ^yendi, biz qanzu tılınen qabarımız bar bolıñnan keyin.

T5/ 21–T5/ 30

Sonda mıne qazırğı jastarda bu ^yendi bır ülken bu... Arısın kuwatın bolsaq bu ultıñ ruhı maselesi. ^wÖziñniñ ultıñdı sen qadırlemesen... Ultıñdı qadırlesen sen tılın qadırlewın kerek. Tılıñdı qadırlesen ^wonda ^wöz ultıñniñ ^wözi naq tunuq tılınen söylewge daydılanuw kerek qoy adamdar. ^yEndi bu urpaqtarımız qazır bizdın ^wözimizdi buzup bara jatır, bizdi ^wosıyan. Jañayını biz xanzuśa aytamız, nömirdi. ^wÖzi süytemiz. ^wOñay sekildi a? Kıymiyalıq tıñaytıkıstı alıp kel dep jatқан kışını ^yestigem joq men. ^wOnı aytpaydı.

T5/ 31–T5/ 43

Huafı dey saladı. Anşeyin jep jeñil. Qarşı jakta sap ^yetkizip uyup alyan kusayan a? Al ^yendi bılay bır köldenen jañınan qarasañ mına tıl bırak çıbarlap... Babam, mamam deydi. Bu qazaq tılı ^yemes. Baba dey saladı. Mama dey saladı. Jep jeñil sekildi. Sonda turmustuq daydıda ^wosı tıldın azuw maselesi... ^yEndi sen adette tildi zerttep jür ^yekensin... ^wOsı jakta ülkendew küş çıyarsa boladı ^yendi.

Annotated text

T5/ 1

^y Endi tıl	másala-sı-nda	sol	jalpı	^w ömır sür-üp	
now	language	question-POSS3-LOC	that	general	exist-IP.CONV
kel-e	jat-қан		masele	qazır	qazaq
COME.POSTV-A.CONV	LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP		problem	present	Kazakh
tıl-in-de	mınan-day	bır	jañıt	bar.	
language-POSS3-LOC	this-EQUA	a	situation	existing	

‘Now, concerning the language, the general problem we are facing is that the present-day Kazakh language is in a special situation.’

T5/ 2

Bul ^y*endî* *keyin* *tîl-ge* *tön-etîn* *kawup*
 this now later language-DAT approach-ATIN.PTCP danger
men ^w*öz-îm* ^w*oyla-p* *kör-gende.*
 I self-POSS1SG think-IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV
 ‘I think that this is an imminent danger to the future of the language.’

T5/ 3

Nege ^w*olay* *de-se-ŋ* *mîsal-î* *âdettegi* *söz-dî*
 why so say-HYP-2SG example-POSS3 usual word-ACC
ayt-atîn *bol-sa-k* ^w*osî-nîŋ* *îş-in-e* *köptegen*
 say-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1PL this-GEN in between-DAT quite a lot
xanzu-şa *ataw-lar-dî* *kos-ip* *al-a-mîz.*
 Chinese-der term-PL-ACC add-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ‘If you ask why, for instance, if we say a usual sentence (in Kazakh), then we add quite a lot of Chinese terms to it.’

T5/ 4

Bul *bîz-şe* *bol-ŋanda* ^w*ol* *kazak-tîkî*
 this we-DER BOL.COP-GAN.LOC.CONV X Kazakh-NIKI
kusa-p *ket-ken.*
 resemble-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT3
 ‘For us, those (Chinese terms) are just like Kazakh (terms).’

T5/ 5

^w*Ol* *bîr mâsele.*
 X a problem
 ‘That is a problem.’

T5/ 6

^y*Endî* *bîr* *mâsele* *mîna* *telepon* *nömîr-dî* *ayt-ayîk*
 now an issue this telephone number-ACC say-VOL1PL
mîsalî *karapayîm* *nârse-nî.*
 example-POSS3 simple thing-ACC
 ‘Now another issue, let us say phone numbers, for example, a simple thing.’

T5/ 7

^w*Osî* *telepon* *nömîr-i-n* *kazak-şa* *ayt-ip*
 this telephone number-POSS3-ACC Kazakh-DER tell-IP.CONV
ber-se-ŋ *ana* *tîŋda-ŋan* *adam* *çarşa-p*
 GIVE.POSTV-HYP-2SG that listen-GAN.PTCP person tire-IP.CONV
ket-e-dî.
 LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘If you say a phone number in Kazakh, the listener gets tired.’

T5/ 8

Mîne ^w*osî* *gün-de* ^w*osîn-day*.
 look this day-LOC this-EQUA
 ‘Look, this is how it is today.’

T5/ 9

^w*Oy* *âke-m* *ay* *anda-γi-nî*
 OY.INTERJEC father-POSS1SG AY.INTERJEC that-GI-ACC
uy-at-ma-dî-m *γoy*” *de-p* *ĵat-a-dî*
 understand-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG FOY.PART say-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
ķarsî *ĵaķ*.
 opposite side
 ‘The interlocutor always says, “Oh my dear, oh, I have not been able to understand it”.’

T5/ 10

Ķanzu-ša-sî-n *lîp* ^y*etķiz-ip* *uy-up*
 Chinese-DER-POSS3-ACC happen quick-IP.CONV understand-IP.CONV
at-a-dî.
 TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘In Chinese, they understand it at once.’

T5/ 11

Mîne *bul* *nemene?*
 look this what
 ‘Look, what is this?’

T5/ 12

Bul *tîl-de-gî* *ĉîbarlîķ*.
 this language-LOC-GI contamination
 ‘This is language contamination.’

T5/ 13

Kel-e *ĵat-ķan* *ĉîbarlîķ* *kel-e*
 come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP contamination come-A.CONV
ĵat-ķan *ķawîp* *aldayî* *ĵer-de* *de-p*
 LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP danger forthcoming place-LOC say-IP.CONV
^w*oyla-y-mîz* *bîz* ^y*endi*.
 think-A.PRES-COP1PL we NOW.FILL
 ‘We think this contamination is a forthcoming danger.’

T5/ 14

Keybⁱr bala-lar bar bütün ayt-ⁱp tur-^ıyan-ⁱ
some child-PL existing whole tell-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-POSS3
qanzu-^ışa ^ye-ken-ⁱ-n de
Chinese-DER E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC DA.PART
bıl-me-y-sı^ıq qazaq-^ışa ^ye-ken-ⁱ-n de
know-NEG-A.PRES-COP2SG Kazakh-DER E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC DA.PART
bıl-me-y-sı^ıq.
know-NEG-A.PRES-COP2SG

‘There are some children who, whatever they say, you don’t know whether it is Chinese or Kazakh.’

T5/ 15

Qaysı gün-ⁱ men jol jönekey bⁱr maşına-^ıya
which day-POSS3 I way during a bus-DAT
^wotır-ⁱp kel-dı-m.
sit-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-PAST-1SG

‘One day, during a trip, I took a bus.’

T5/ 16

Bⁱr ^yekı bala ^wotır-ⁱp-tı ^yeken, ^yek-ew-ⁱ
a two child sit-IP.POSTT-3 E.COP.INDIR3 two-COLL-POSS3
de mu^ııyul bala-lar.
DA.PART Mongol child-PL

‘There were two children sitting there, both of them were Mongols.’

T5/ 17

Mu^ııyul kızbala-lar ^yendı.
Mongol young girl-PL NOW.FILL
‘They were Mongol young girls.’

T5/ 18

Qazır qazaq-^ışa söyle-p kel-ⁱp
now Kazakh-DER speak-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV
jat-ⁱp qanzu-^ışa bol-^ıp ket-e-t.
LIE.POSTV-IP.CONV Chinese-DER BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
‘They spoke Kazakh first and then they switched to Chinese.’

T5/ 19

^wÖst-ⁱp ^wözi...
do so-IP.CONV ÖZİ.PART
‘Just like this...’

T5/ 20

Biz uķ-ti-ķ *ⁱendi,* *biz ķanzu tıl-i-nen*
 we understand-PAST-1PL NOW.FILL we Chinese language-POSS3-ABL
ķabar-īmiz bar bol-yan-nan keyin.
 knowledge-POSS1PL existing BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
 ‘We understood it, because we know Chinese.’

T5/ 21

Son-da mîne ķazır-gi jas-tar-da bul ⁱendi b¹r
 that-LOC here present-GI young-PL-LOC this NOW.FILL a
ülken bul...
 big this
 ‘Thus, here, in the present young generations, this is a big...’

T5/ 22

Arı-si-n kuw-atın bol-sa-ķ bul
 to the other side-POSS3-ACC trace back-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1PL this
ult-tiñ ruh-ı masele-si.
 nation-GEN spirit-POSS3 issue-POSS3
 ‘Looking at it more deeply, this is an issue concerning the spirit of the nation.’

T5/ 23

ⁱÖz-iñ-niñ ult-iñ-di sen ķadırle-me-se-ñ...
 self-POSS2SG-GEN nation-POSS2SG-ACC you respect-NEG-HYP-2SG
 ‘If you don’t respect your own nation...’

T5/ 24

Ult-iñ-di ķadırle-se-ñ sen tıl-i-n
 nation-POSS2SG-ACC esteem-HYP-2SG you language-POSS3-ACC
ķadırle-w-iñ kerek.
 respect-UW.VN-POSS2SG necessary
 ‘If you esteem your nation, you have to esteem its language.’

T5/ 25

Tıl-iñ-di ķadırle-se-ñ ⁱon-da ⁱöz
 language-POSS2SG-ACC respect-HYP-2SG X-LOC self
ult-uñ-niñ ⁱözi naķ tunuķ tıl-i-men
 nation-POSS2SG-GEN ÖZ1.PART exactly purely language-POSS3-with.POSTP
söyle-w-ge daydılan-uw kerek ķoy adam-dar.
 speak-UW.VN-DAT get used to-UW.VN necessary 1FOY.PART person-PL
 ‘If you respect your language, then you must get used to speaking precisely and purely the language of your nation, mustn’t you?’

T5/ 26

^yEndi bul, urpak-tar-imiz kazir biz-dij ^wöz-imiz-di
 NOW.FILL this generation-PL-POSS1PL present we-GEN self-POSS1PL-ACC
 buz-up bar-a jatir, biz-di ^wosi-yan.
 destroy-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3 we-ACC this-DAT
 ‘Now, in this respect, this (young) generation has a bad effect upon us as well.’

T5/ 27

Janayı-ni b¹z xanzu-ša ayt-a-miz, nomır-di.
 aforesaid-ACC we Chinese-DER say-A.PRES-COP1PL number-ACC
 ‘As mentioned before, we say (phone) numbers in Chinese.’

T5/ 28

^wÖzi süyt-e-miz.
 ÖZ1.PART do so-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ‘We simply do so.’

T5/ 29

^wOñay sekildı á?
 convenient like Á.PART
 ‘It is sort of easier, isn’t it?’

T5/ 30

Kimiyalik tıñayıtķış-tı al-ıp kel de-p
 fertilizer-ACC take-IP.CONV COME.POSTV.IMP say-IP.CONV
 jat-kan kışi-nı ^yestı-geⁿ-ım jok men.
 LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP person-ACC hear-GAN.PTCP-COP1SG non-existing I
 ‘I have never heard a person say “Bring the *kimiyalik tıñayıtķış*!” (“fertilizer” in Kazakh).’

T5/ 31

^wO-nı ayt-pa-y-dı.
 X-ACC say-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ‘They do not say it.’

T5/ 32

Huafı⁷⁵ de-y sal-a-dı.
 fertilizer say-A.CONV PLACE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
 ‘They just say *huafı* (‘fertilizer’ in Chinese).’

⁷⁵ The lexical item *huafı* ‘fertilizer’ has been globally copied from Chinese *huàfěi*. The Kazakh term for fertilizer is *kimiyalik tıñayıtķış*.

T5/ 33

Änşeyin ğep ğeñil.
just easy.RED
'It is just easier to say.'

T5/ 34

Ğarsı ğak ta sap^yetkiz-ıp
opposite side DA.PART happen quickly-IP.CONV
uy-up at-ıan ğusa-ıan á?
understand-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP resemble-GAN.POSTT3 Ā.PART
'The interlocutor seems to understand it at once, doesn't s/he?'

T5/ 35

At^yendı bılay bⁱr köldeneñ ğay-ı-nan ğara-sa-ı
but now this way an opposite side-POSS3-ABL look-HYP-2SG
mına tıl bⁱrağ ğıbarla-p...
this language completely contaminate-IP.CONV
'However, if you look at it from the other side, the language has been completely contaminated...'

T5/ 36

Baba-m, mama-m de-y-dı.
father-POSS1SG mother-POSS1SG say-A.PRES-3
'They say *babam* (my father) and *mamam* (my mother).'

T5/ 37

Bul ğazak tıl-ı^yemes.
this Kazakh language-POSS3 not
'This is not Kazakh.'

T5/ 38

Baba de-y sal-a-dı.
father say-A.CONV PLACE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
'They just say *baba* (father).'

T5/ 39

Mama de-y sal-a-dı.
mother say-A.CONV PLACE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
'They just say *mama* (mother).'

T5/ 40

Ğep ğeñil sekildi.
easy.RED like
'It is sort of easier.'

T5/ 41

Sonda turmus-tuq daydi-da^wosi til-dij az-uw
thus life-DER habit-LOC this language-GEN deteriorate-UW.VN
masele-si...
problem-POSS3

‘Thus, in our daily habits, this is a problem of language deterioration...’

T5/ 42

Endi sen adette til-di zertte-p
NOW.FILL you usually language-ACC investigate-IP.CONV
jür^yeken-sij...
MOVE.POSTV E.COP.INDIR-COP2SG

‘Well, you are apparently a linguist...’

T5/ 43

Osı jak-ta ülken-dew küş çıyar-sa bol-a-di^yendi.
this side-LOC big-COMP make effort-HYP3 BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL
‘More effort should be made in this field.’

T6. *Urpakqa aqiliya* ‘Advice to the descendants’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 71

Date of birth: 1941

Place of birth: Kaba county, Altay, China

Education: Primary school

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and speaks).

Date of recording: 17th July 2012

Place of recording: Terekti, Altay

Running text

T6/ 1–T6/ 10

Jaşım mîne jetpiştin üstüne çıktı. ^yEndi mağan sen ^yendi mına urpaq jöninde ne jazasın, ne aytasın desen, meniñ urpaq jöninde aytarım: b¹rinçi: “urpaq jaksıdan üyreniñder!” “Jamannan jireniñder!” “Doska meyrimdi bol!” “Duşmanıña katan bol!” “Ülkendi sila!” “Kışını qurmet ^yetiñder!”,—dep ^wösiyet aytpaqsımın men. Üytkeni, adam mñ jaşamaydı urpaq mñ jasaydı yoy. Sondıqtan áke ^worınday almayan armandı, áke ^wornınday almayan jaksı isterdi urpaq ^worındayt. Sondıqtan urpaqqa jaksı boluw jöninde, ülgili boluw jöninde, kalıktñ neyılayan jaksı müddesinen çıruw jönindegi men ^yendi jazsamda arızdamsamda balalarıma ^wosı...

T6/ 11–T6/ 20

Üytkeni adam urpaqpen körkeyedi, urpaq bolaşaktiñ iyesi. Sondıktan ^wol urpaqpen körkeyip urpaq bolaşaktiñ iyesi boıandıyı sebepti, sol bolaşaktik urpaqtı ata ana jaksı iske jetekteu, jaksı istı üyretu, jaksı iske boysundıruw jaydaylar bolsa ^wol urpaq jaman bolmayt. Üytkeni ata ananıñ ^wösiyetin tıñdayan urpaқта jaman bolmayt. Üytkeni ákeden nenı kördiñ çeşeden nenı kördiñ... Keyb¹rewler ayt¹p jatadı qoy, keyde b¹r urpaqtarğa renjigen kezde ayt¹p jatadı: “ay mınaw áke çeşeniñ tárbiyesin körmegen qoy mınaw”. “Mınawıñ nedegen körgensiz, nedegen nashar ^yedi”, dep süytüp jatadı qoy. ^yEndi mınaw negizinen ^yendi sol áke bolğan adam çeşe bolğan adam, b¹rinçi qıdaydan tileytini urpaq, ^wol urpayiniñ bolaşayiniñ jarik boluwın tileyt. ^wOl urpayiniñ bolaşayı jarik boluwı üşin, sol b¹r áke çeşe ^wözindegi bar qasiyet, ^wözindegi bar ^wönegeli isteri bolsa urpaqqa üyretip ketse jaksı boladı dep ^woylaymın. Mençe, mına urpaq jönindegi aytatınım, sol ^yendi bul sekildi istermenen çuıuldanıp jaksı boluwın tileyim ^yendi. Kimde kim, ^wöz urpayım bolsın, baskalardan t^wwğan urpaq bolsın, áke çeşeniñ ^wösiyetin, áke çeşeniñ jaksı talım tárbiyesin üyrense boladı ^yendi.

T6/ 21–T6/ 24

^wOl áke çeşe degende, ^wol ákeniñde bızdıñde keyb¹r qatelik jerlerimiz boladı. Áke men çeşeniñ. ^wOl nashar jerlerin urpaq: “^wOy, meniñ ákem süytti, áytip istegen”, dep jamançılıyın üyrenip ap, ^yerten qünü ^wolda b¹r jamandık istese ^wonıñ nemene beker... Bolaşaktik urpaq bolalmaydı demekşimin qoy ^yendi.

Annotated text

T6/ 1

<i>Ĵas-im</i>	<i>mıne</i>	<i>jetpiş-tiñ</i>	<i>üstün-e</i>	<i>çik-ti.</i>
age-POSS1SG	here and now	seventy-GEN	over.POSS3-DAT	ascend-PAST3

‘I am now over seventy years old.’

T6/ 2

<i>^yEndi</i>	<i>mayan sen</i>	<i>^yendi</i>	<i>mına</i>	<i>urpaq</i>	<i>jön-in-de</i>
now	I.DAT you	NOW.FILL	THIS.FILL	descendant	direction-POSS3-LOC
<i>ne</i>	<i>ĵaz-a-siñ,</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ayt-a-siñ</i>	<i>de-se-ñ,</i>	<i>meniñ</i>
what	write-A.PRES-COP2SG	what	tell-A.PRES-COP2SG	say-HYP-2SG	I.GEN
<i>urpaq</i>	<i>jön-in-de</i>	<i>ayt-ar-im</i>	<i>b¹r-inçi:</i>		
descendant	direction-POSS3-LOC	tell-AOR-POSS1SG	one-ORD		
<i>“Urpak</i>	<i>ĵaksı-dan</i>	<i>üyren-iñ-der!”</i>			
descendant	good-ABL	learn-IMP-PL			

‘Now, If you ask me what I would write and what I would say concerning the descendants, what I would say concerning the descendants is first of all “Young ones, learn from what is good!”.’

T6/ 3

“Ĵaman-nan ĵiren-iŋ-der!”

bad-ABL loathe-IMP-PL

“Loathe what is bad!”

T6/ 4

“Dos-ka meyrimdĭ bol!”

friend-DAT compassionate BOL.COP.IMP

“Be compassionate towards your friends!”

T6/ 5

“Duřman-iŋ-a katar bol!”

enemy-POSS2SG-DAT hard BOL.COP.IMP

“Be hard towards your enemies!”

T6/ 6

“Ülken-dĭ sila!”

old-ACC respect.IMP

“Respect old people!”

T6/ 7

“Kĭřĭ-nĭ kŭrmet ʸet-iŋ-der!”

de-p

young-ACC respect DO.LIGHTV-IMP-PL say-IP.CONV

ʷösiyet ayt-paķřĭ-mĭn men.

will tell-MAKřĭ-COP1SG I

“Respect young people!” This is my advice, which I want to tell (the descendants).’

T6/ 8

Üytkenĭ, adam mĭŋ ĵasa-ma-y-dĭ urpaķ mĭŋ

because man thousand live-NEG-A.PRES-3 descendant thousand

ĵasa-y-dĭ ʷoy.

live-A.PRES-3 ʷOY.PART

‘Because a man does not live for thousand years but the descendants do, you know.’

T6/ 9

Sondiķtan āke ʷorĭnda-y aĭ-ma-ŋan

therefore father fulfil-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-GAN.PTCP

arman-dĭ, āke ʷornĭnda-y aĭ-ma-ŋan

hope-ACC father fulfil-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-GAN.PTCP

ĵaķřĭ ĭs-ter-dĭ urpaķ ʷorĭnda-y-t.

good thing-PL-ACC descendant fulfil-A.PRES-3

‘Therefore, the descendants fulfil the hope and good things that couldn’t be realized by the father.’

T6/ 10

Sondıktan urpaq-ka ğaksı bol-uw jön-in-de,
therefore descendant-DAT good BOL.COP-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC
ülgili bol-uw jön-in-de, kalık-tiñ neyilayan
exemplary BOL.COP-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC people-GEN various
ğaksı müdde-si-nen ğıy-uw jön-in-de-ğı
good expectation-POSS3SG-ABL ascend-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC-GI
men ʹendi jaz-sa-m da arızdan-sa-m da
I NOW.FILL write-HYP-1SG DA.PART ask for-HYP-1SG DA.PART
bala-lar-ım-a ʹosı...
child-PL-POSS1SG-DAT this

‘Therefore, no matter what I would write to the descendants or ask of them, concerning to be good, to be exemplary, to fulfil people’s various expectations, this is to my children...’

T6/ 11

Üytkeni adam urpaq-pen körkey-e-dı, urpaq
because man descendant-WITH.POSTP prosper-A.PRES-3 descendant
bolaşaq-tiñ iye-si.
future-GEN possessor-POSS3SG
‘Because, a man prospers through his descendants and the descendants are the possessors of the future.’

T6/ 12

Sondıktan ʹol urpaq-pen körkey-ip, urpaq
therefore X descendant-WITH.POSTP prosper-IP.CONV descendant
bolaşaq-tiñ iye-si bol-ıandıy-ı sebepti
future-GEN possessor-POSS3SG BOL.COP-GANDIK.VN-POSS3 because of
sol bolaşaq-tiğ urpaq-ti ata ana ğaksı is-ke jetekte-ıw
that future-DER descendant-ACC parents good thing-DAT lead-UW.VN
ğaksı is-ti üyret-ıw, ğaksı is-ke boysundır-ıw
good thing-ACC teach-UW.VN good thing-DAT convince-UW.VN
ğayday-lar bol-sa ʹol urpaq jaman
situation-PL BOL.COP-HYP3 X generation bad
bol-ma-y-t.

BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3

‘Therefore, because a man prospers through his descendants and these are the possessors of the future, if the parents lead the descendants to the right way, if they teach (them) good things and convince them to do good things, the descendants will not be bad.’

T6/ 13

Üytkeni ata ana-niñ ^wösiyet-i-n tñjda-ğan urpaķ
because parents-GEN will-POSS3-ACC listen-GAN.PTCP descendant
ta ğaman bol-ma-y-t.

DA.PART bad BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3

‘Because a descendant who listens to her/his parents won’t be bad.’

T6/ 14

Üytkeni áke-den ne-ni kör-dı-ñ çeşe-den ne-ni
because father-ABL what-ACC see-PAST-2SG mother-ABL what-ACC
kör-dı-ñ...

see-PAST-2SG

‘Because what you have seen from your father, what you have seen from your mother...’

T6/ 15

Keybⁱrew-ler ayt-ⁱp ğat-a-dı ğoy, keyde
some-PL tell-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ğOY.PART sometimes
bⁱr urpaķ-tar-ğa renği-gen kez-de ayt-ⁱp
once generation-PL-DAT infuriate-GEN.PTCP moment-LOC tell-IP.CONV
ğat-a-dı: “áy mınaw áke çeşe-niñ
LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ÁY.INTERJEC this is parents-GEN

tárbiye-si-n kör-me-gen ğoy mınaw”.
good manners -POSS3SG-ACC see-NEG-GAN.POSTT3 ğOY.PART this

‘As you know, some people often say, sometimes, when (they) get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.’

T6/ 16

“Mınaw-ıñ nedegen körgensız, nedegen náşár ^ye-dı”,
this-POSS2SG how ill-mannered how bad E.COP-PAST3
de-p süyt-üp ğat-a-dı ğoy.

say-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ğOY.PART

“‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is”, (they) often say so, as you know.’

T6/ 17

^yEndi mınaw negiz-i-nen ^yendi sol áke
NOW.FILL this is principle-POSS3-ABL NOW.FILL that father
bol-ğan adam çeşe bol-ğan adam bⁱr-ıñçı
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person mother BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person one-ORD
ķuday-dan tñle-ytın-ı urpaķ, ^wol
God-ABL wish-ATIN.PTCP-POSS3 descendant X
urpay-ı-niñ bolaşay-ı-niñ ğariķ bol-uw-ı-n
descendant-POSS3-GEN future-POSS3-GEN bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC

tîle-y-t.

wish-A.PRES-3

‘It is in principle so that a father, a mother, wishes from God first of all that the children, the future of his/her children will be bright.’

T6/ 18

^w*Ol urpay-i-niñ bolaşay-ı jarık bol-uw-ı*
X descendant-POSS3-GEN future-POSS3 bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3
üüşün sol b'ır äke çeşe ^wöz-ın-de-gı bar kasiyet,
FOR.POSTP that a parents self-POSS3-LOC-GI all merit
^wöz-ın-de-gı bar ^wönegeli is-ter-i bol-sa ,
self-POSS3-LOC-GI all exemplary thing-PL-POSS3 BOL.COP-HYP3
urpak-ka üyret-ip ket-se jaksı bol-a-dı
generation-DAT teach-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-HYP3 good BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
de-p ^woyla-y-mın.
say-IP.CONV think-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘In order to ensure that the future of the descendants is bright, I think, it is good that the parents teach their children all the good qualities and exemplary features themselves might have.’

T6/ 19

Men-çe, mına urpak jön-ın-de-gı ayt-atın-ım,
I-DER this descendant direction-POSS3-LOC-GI tell-ATIN.PTCP-POSS1SG
sol ^yendi bul sekildı is-ter-menen çuyldan-ıp
that NOW.FILL this like thing-PL-WITH.POSTP engage in-IP.CONV
jaksı bol-uw-ı-n tîle-y-ım ^yendi.
good BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC wish-A.PRES-COP1SG NOW.FILL

‘As for me, what I will tell you about the descendants is that I wish they do such things and that they are good.’

T6/ 20

Kimde kim, ^wöz urpay-ım bol-sın, başka-lar-dan
whoever self descendant-POSS1SG BOL.COP-VOL3 other-PL-ABL
t'w-yan urpak bol-sın, äke çeşe-niñ ^wösiyet-i-n,
bear-GAN.PTCP descendant BOL.COP-VOL3 parents-GEN directive-POSS3-ACC
äke çeşe-niñ jaksı talım tarbiye-si-n üyren-se
parents-GEN good good manners-POSS3SG-ACC learn-HYP3
bol-a-dı ^yendi.
BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL

‘Whoever, no matter if it is my own child or others’, it would be good if he/she learns the directives and good manners from the parents.’

T6/ 21

^w*Ol äke çeşe de-gende, ^wol äke-niñ de bız-dıñ*
X parents say- GAN.LOC.CONV X father-GEN DA.PART we-GEN

de keybır katelik jer-ler-imiz bol-a-di.
 DA.PART some faulty place-PL-POSS1PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
 ‘Speaking about parents, fathers, and we too have faults.’

T6/ 22

Áke men češe-niň.
 father and mother-GEN
 ‘Both fathers and mothers (have faults).’

T6/ 23

^w*Ol nášár jer-ler-i-n urpak: “^wOy, meniň*
 X bad place-PL-POSS3-ACC descendant OY.INTERJEC I.GEN
áke-m süyt-ti, áyt-íp iste-gen”, de-p
 father-POSS1SG do so-PAST3 do that-IP.CONV do-GAN.POSTT3 say-IP.CONV
jamančiliy-i-n üyren-íp ap, ^yerten
 badness-POSS3-ACC learn-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV.IP.CONV tomorrow
gün-i ^wol da bⁱr jamanđık iste-se ^wonıň nemene
 day-POSS3 X DA.PART one badness do-HYP3 X.GEN WHAT.FILL
beker...

vain

‘The children speak about these faults: “Oh, my father has done so and so...”, and they learn the bad thing and when they later also do bad things and then it is in vain...’

T6/ 24

Bolaşak-tiň urpak bol-al-ma-y-di
 future-DER generation BOL.COP-ABIL-NEG-A.PRES-3
de-mekşı-mın γoy ^yendi.
 say-MAKŞI-1SG FOY.PART NOW.FILL
 ‘I want to say that they cannot become the generation for the future, as you know.’

T7. ^w*Ösiyetim* ‘My testament’

Metadata

Gender: male

Age: 71

Date of birth: May 1941

Place of birth: Jemeney county, Altay, China

Education: High school

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands)

Date of recording: 20th July 2012

Place of recording: Kaba, Altay

Running text

Balam millât, sen uldarîmnîj işinde kenjesi, ^wosî çañıraqtîj iyesisiñ. Mübada men ^wo dünyelik bol^up ketip jatsam, meniñ ^wosî ^wotîryan üyüm-baspanam, başkada malmülükterimniñ ^yej kundu-larî ârine seniñ baskaruwunda boladı. Jüyeden aya-larîñniñ jâne bawîrlarîñniñ da pikirin alıp, tînişo intimaqtî negizinde meniñ artkî malmülküme iyelik ^yetüwüñdi talap ^yetemîn. Äken tölegen.

Annotated text

T7/ 1

Bala-m millât, sen ul-dar-îm-nîj iş-în-de
 child-POSS1SG Millat you son-PL-POSS1SG-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC
kenje-si, ^wosî çañıra-k-tîj iye-si-siñ.
 the last born-POSS3SG this home-GEN owner-POSS3SG-COP2SG
 ‘My son Millat, you are the youngest among my sons, and you are the owner of this house.’

T7/ 2

Mübada men ^wo dünye-lik bol-^up ket-ip
 in case I X world-DER BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
jat-sa-m, meniñ ^wosî ^wotîr-yan üy-üm
 LIE.POSTV-HYP-1SG I.GEN this live-GAN.PTCP house-POSS1SG
baspana-m, başka da malmülük-ter-îm-nîj ^yej
 home-POSS1SG other DA.PART property-PL-POSS1SG-GEN SUPER
kundu-lar-î ârine seniñ başkar-uw-uñ-da
 valuable-PL-POSS3 of course you.GEN govern-UW.VN-POSS2SG-LOC
bol-a-dî.
 BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands.’

T7/ 3

Jüyeden aya-lar-îñ-nîj jâne
 in particular elder brother-PL-POSS2SG-GEN and
bawîr-lar-îñ-nîj da pikir-i-n al-îp,
 younger brother-PL-POSS2SG-GEN DA.PART opinion-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV
tîniş intimaqtî negiz-în-de meniñ artkî
 peace collaboration basis-POSS3-LOC I.GEN last
malmülk-üm-e iyelik ^yet-üw-üñ-dî
 property-POSS1SG-DAT own DO.LIGHTV-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC
talap ^yet-e-mîn.
 request DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘In particular, I ask you to consult with your elder brothers, as well as your younger brothers, and become the owner of my last properties in a peaceful and collaborative way.’

T7/ 4

Äke-ŋ *tölegen.*

father-POSS2SG Tölegen

‘Your father, Tölegen.’

T8. *Kelın boluw* ‘To be a bride’

Metadata

Gender: female

Age: 71

Date of birth: May 1940

Place of birth: Kaba county, Altay, China

Education: University

Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Uyghur (understands), Chinese (understands and reads).

Date of recording: 25th July 2012

Place of recording: Kaba, Altay

Running text

Biz jöñinen alyan waqıtta ^yendi, ädepti tärtpiti boluwdi däripteymiz ^yoy ^yendi. Ülkenderdiñ aldında kelinder ibalı boluw kerek. Ülkenderdi silaw kerek. Betinen almw kerek. Awırıp sırqap qalsa qamqorlıq jasap, tamayın wayında berip, dări berip degen siyaqtı. Tipti şaması kelmeytin adamdar bolsa, juwundırıp, kiyimin juwup, bası gözün juwup, ^wöstüp koysa da boladı ^yoy. ^yEndi minday keybır ^wokaş isterdi körgen waqıtında ülkender ^yendi işkip köñline simay sonan keyin renjip qalatın axwıdar çiyadı ^yoy ^yendi. Sonıñ üşin ibalı boluw kerekti däripteymiz, ädepti boluw kerekti däripteymiz. Söz söylewde bolsın, jürüs turusta bolsın, barlıyında işkip qurmet ^yetüwdi däripteymiz ^yoy.

Annotated text

T8/ 1

<i>Biz</i>	<i>jön-i-nen</i>	<i>al-yan</i>	<i>waqıt-ta</i>	<i>^yendi,</i>
we	direction-POSS3-ABL	take-GAN.PTCP	time-LOC	NOW.FILL
<i>ädepti tärtpiti</i>	<i>bol-uw-di</i>	<i>däripte-y-miz</i>		
polite well-behaved	BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC	advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL		
<i>oy</i>	<i>^yendi.</i>			
FOY.PART	NOW.FILL			

‘As for us, (the bride) is expected to be polite and well behaved, you know.’

T8/ 2

Ülken-der-diñ aldın-da kelın-der ibalī bol-uw
 elder-PL-GEN front.POSS3-LOC bride-PL courteous BOL.COP-UW.VN
kerek.

necessary

‘Brides must be courteous towards old people.’

T8/ 3

Ülken-der-di sila-w kerek.
 old-PL-ACC respect-UW.VN necessary
 ‘(The bride) must respect the old people.’

T8/ 4

Bet-i-nen al-ma-w kerek.
 face-POSS3-ABL take-NEG-UW.VN necessary
 ‘(The bride) must not be rude towards them.’

T8/ 5

Awır-ıp sırka-p kał-sa kamkorlık
 fall sick-IP.CONV get sick-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-HYP3 help
řasa-p, tamay-i-n way-in-da
 CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV food-POSS3-ACC time-POSS3-LOC
ber-ıp, dări ber-ıp de-gen siyařtı.
 give-IP.CONV medicine give-IP.CONV say-GAN.PTCP suchlike
 ‘If they get sick, (the bride) should help by giving them food and medicine in time, and suchlike.’

T8/ 6

Tipti řama-si kel-me-ytın adam-dar bol-sa,
 even strength-POSS3SG come-NEG-ATIN.PTCP person-PL BOL.COP-HYP3
řuwun-dır-ıp, kiyim-i-n řuw-up, bas-i
 wash-CAUS-IP.CONV clothes-POSS3-ACC wash-IP.CONV head-POSS3
göz-ü-n řuw-up, wöst-üp koy-sa
 eye-POSS3-ACC wash-IP.CONV do it as this-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-HYP3
da bol-a-di řoy.
 DA.PART BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 ĞOY.PART
 ‘When the (old) people are not able (to take care of themselves), then the bride should even be able to wash them, wash their clothes, and their hair and faces, shouldn’t she?’

T8/ 7

yEndi minday⁷⁶ keybır wokař is-ter-di kör-gen
 NOW.FILL this.EQUA some impertinent thing-PL-ACC see-GAN.PTCP

⁷⁶ *Minday* is a contracted form of *mina-day* (this-EQUA) ‘like this’ or *minan-day* (this-EQUA) ‘like this’

waḳit-in-da *ülken-der* *ʸenḍi* *ʃḳip* *köŋl-in-e*
 time-POSS3-LOC elder-PL NOW.FILL anyway mood-POSS3-DAT
si-ma-y *so-nan* *keyin* *renji-p*
 fit in-NEG-A.PRES that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP offend-IP.CONV
kal-atin *axwal-dar* *č̣y-a-ḍi*
 STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP situation-PL come out-A.PRES-3
ɣoy *ʸenḍi*.

FOY.PART NOW.FILL

‘When the old people have experienced some impertinences, they do not like it, and it can happen that they are offended, you know.’

T8/ 8

Soṇij *üşün* *ibaḷi* *bol-uw* *kerek-ṭi*
 that.GEN FOR.POSTP courteous BOL.COP-UW.VN necessary-ACC
däripte-y-ṃiz.
 advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘That is why the bride is expected to be courteous.’

T8/ 9

Ädepṭi *bol-uw* *kerek-ṭi* *däripte-y-ṃiz*.
 polite BOL.COP-UW.VN necessary-ACC advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL
 ‘We advise the bride to be polite.’

T8/ 10

Söz *söyle-w-de* *bol-sin,* *jürüs turus-ta*
 word speak-UW.VN-LOC BOL.COP-VOL3 behavior-LOC
bol-sin, *barḷij-in-da* *ʃḳip* *q̣urmet* *ʸet-uw-ḍi*
 BOL.COP-VOL3 all-POSS3-LOC anyway respect DO.LIGHTV-UW.VN-ACC
däripte-y-ṃiz *ɣoy*.
 advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL FOY.PART

‘We expect the bride to respect (the old people) in speech, in behavior, and in all respects.’

T9. *Ǵoǵaṭıyan qoḷfon* ‘The lost cell phone’

Metadata

Gender: Female

Age: 30

Date of birth: August 1982

Place of birth: Ürümqi, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China.

Education: University

Language competence: Kirghiz (mother tongue), Kazakh (as second mother tongue), Uyghur (understands, speaks and reads), Chinese (understands, speaks, reads and writes).

Date of recording: 20th October 2011

Place of recording: Ürümqi

Running text

T9/ 1–T9/ 10

Besinşi aylarda ɣoy deymın taza kızı̄k boldı. Guli ʸekewimiz kezdesetin bop... Mayan bʻr telefon beripti. Sonan geyin ʸekewimiz kezdesip sonan “kayda baramız?” desem, “men kiyim tiktiruwşı ʸedim, daşımın̄ya barıp” dep süytti. Sonan geyin “bopti” dep, sonan geyin ʸekemiz fadwanşin kılısıp bʻr bʻrimizge, so daşımında kezdesetin boldı. Sodan geyin tüste kezdestik koy deymın taza kızı̄k. Sonan geyin daşımın̄ya barıp, jumusumızdı bʻtırıp...

Aldında bʻr yinxan̄ya kirdik. Yinxan̄ya kirgen kezde ɣanxaw, kim guli pâyduy turyan kezde, telepon ke^{lip} kaldı buyan. Sonan geyin ɣolında köp nerseleri bar bolatın. Sonimen aytım ^woɣan.

T9/ 11–T9/ 20

“Áy, nerselerind̄i men köterip turayın, sen dyenxwada söylesip bolıanşa” dep süyttim de. Soson “jok iştenketpeydi” dep unamay koydı. ʸE bopti dep süyttik. Sol bânkege akşan̄ı koydık. Sodan geyin yinxan̄nan çıktı. Čıyıp sodan geyin, ʸekewimiz joldıñ ^wortasında ketip bara jatıp, bʻr jerden tamak jeyik pa dep... Sodan geyin nâzan̄ya telefon berdik. Nâzan̄ istedi ma istemedi ma dep telefon bersek, nâzan̄ dâ daşımında mamasimen bʻrge ɣuan̄jye kʻp jürüpti. “^wOy, men mamamdı joɣya salıp tastayın da sonimen sendermen kezdeseyin” dep süytti. Sodan geyin ^wol mamasın joɣya salıp tastap, sonimenen bızge telefon berdı.

T9/ 21–T9/ 30

Sodan geyin üşewümüz bʻr jerde kezdesip ^wotirip... Nâzan̄ya telefon bereyik desek kara, telefon jok, adaş. Gulidıñ epo şowjisi, pin go. Sonimen telefon kane dep, sonimen telefondı berdik. Telefondı berip jatırmız berip jatırmız dyenxwa toñlı kara. Zay jıñzay tuñdın̄ı yij̄i zay tuñdın̄ı. Somenen oybay bunu čuzu čıya salıp koyyan uksaymız, čuzu čıda ɣalın uksaydı bul telefon dep, somen akırın̄ ^woylap bayıp, áy, toktap tur á, çokim sol yinxanda ɣalɣalın boluwı mümkün, wo za ɣanjüe sol yinxanda ɣalın siyakti dep süyttim. Desem, somen “bar^{ip} köreyikpa?” dep süytti. Somen bar^{ip} köreyik dep bardık yinxan̄ya. Barıp, sodan geyin suradık.

T9/ 31–T9/ 40

Kıre ɣalında bawannan suradık. Surap aytık: áy, womın ɣan̄cay zayji cün neygi salı, cün čyenli. Dañ şı womındı dyenxwa jyu lazay jili dep aytık.

Desek sonimen bawán... Mina şışyan̄tıw bar şıyar bız şipin köremiz dep süytsek, “^woy, senderge körsetüwge bolmaydı, bız ^wözimiz köremiz ” dep unamaydı. Sonimen güytaydıñ aldına gep, sodan geyin dâl so kızbała haymıy şyabán nı. So(men) so kızdan suradık. Surasaɣ basta türı ^wözgerip turdı

ana kizbałanñ, b'ırl türli fanjñ gänjue tiñ jinjan dı. Sodan geyin “šinmı šowji?” dep süytti. Sodan: “pingo šowji xisidı pingo šowji” desek, sodan geyin basında söziniñ bas ayayı kamlapadı de, sodan geyin, “a, gañsáy igi wizu dama gıy nazow ıı” dep süytti bizge.

T9/ 41–T9/ 50

Sodan geyin “a? šinmı yañdı dama?” dep süyttik. Bugo dyenxwa hayzay iji zay tuñdini. Womın butıñdı zay da dyenxwa. Sodan geyin aytıq: “bukiniñ” dep süyttik. “Biz ^wosı jerge kelgen kezde telefon berdik.” “Dañşı wo piñyow jyu ba dyenxwa lazay jıı”. “Dañşı wo jyu kandi çinçin çuču dı”. “Ta lawgun şı jinča” dep süttik. “Zay payçuso gunzo nı.” “Dayhur...”

T9/ 51–T9/ 61

“Womın giy ta da dyenxwa ıı”. “Womın yaw bawın nı” dep süyttik. De-gen(de) lam, ana kizbała, güytaydayı isteytin kizbała ündemey lam kir^{ip} ketti. Kirketiplam, b'ırl kezde lam, šowjidi alıp çiyip jatır. “A, şıbuşı jigi xisidı šowji?” “A?” womın dañşı dow... “A!” koyşı boldı ^yendi, tabılyannan geyin boldı, bumen töbelespey qoyayık dep, somen çı kettik ağı jerden. Süytüp ağı telefon joıalmadı. Üytkeni ana pingo šowjisiniñ kinñ miy yongwo dı rin qalay ^wşırip qalay jandıruwda b'ıraz kıyın uqsaydı. Tiñşwo yow zijidi b'ırl kilti bar ^yeken deydi yoy ^wonñ, men de bilmeydi ^yekem. Sodan geyin çıktık, men guı nızan üşewümüz. Ağı jerden altın tawup alyan siyaqtı bop.

Annotated text

Chinese lexical elements are underlined.

T9/ 1

*Bes-inşı ay-lar-da*⁷⁷ yoy *de-y-mın* *taza*⁷⁸ *kızıq*
five-ORD month-PL-LOC FOY.PART say-A.PRES-COP1SG very interesting
bol-dı.

BOL.COP-PAST3

‘In May, I think, something very interesting happened.’

T9/ 2

Guli ^y*ek-ew-ımız* *kezdes-etin* *bop* ...
Guli two-COLL-POSS1PL meet- ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP.IP.CONV
‘Guli and I, the two of us, decided to meet ...’

⁷⁷ The lexical item *besinşı ay* (five-ORD month) ‘May’ is a selective copy of Chinese *wǔ yuè* ‘May’. The term in Kazakh is *mamır* ‘May’.

⁷⁸ The lexical item *taza* ‘very’ is a global copy of Uyghur *taza* ‘very’.

T9/ 3

Mayan b¹r telefon ber-ip-ti.
 I.DAT a telephone give-IP.POSTT-3
 ‘She called me.’

T9/ 4

So-nan geyin ^yek-ew-imiz kezdes-ip so-nan
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP two-COLL-POSS1PL meet-IP.CONV that-ABL
kayda bar-a-miz de-se-m men kiyim tiktir-uwşı
 where go-A.PRES-COP1PL say-HYP-1SG I clothes sew-UWŞI.PTCP
^ye-di-m, daşimin-ğa bar-ıp, de-p süyt-ti.
 E.COP-PAST-1SG Dashimin-DAT go-IP.CONV say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3
 ‘Then, the two of us met, and then, when I asked, “Where shall we go?”—She said,
 “I was going to order a dress, go to Dashimin”.’

T9/ 5

So-nan geyin “bopti” de-p, so-nan geyin
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP all right say-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
^yek-emiz *faduanşin* kilis-ıp *b¹r b¹rimiz-ge*
 two-COLL-POSS1PL SMS MAKE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV each other-POSS1PL-DAT
so daşimin-da kezdes-etin bol-di-k.
 that Dashimin-LOC meet-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST-1PL
 ‘Then, we said “all right”. Then the two of us sent an SMS to each other, and we
 decided to meet in Dashimin.’

T9/ 6

So-dan geyin tüs-te kezdes-ti-k koy
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP noon-LOC meet-PAST-1PL TOY.PART
de-y-mın taza kızıq.
 say-A.PRES-COP1SG very interesting.
 ‘Then we met at noon, I think. It was very interesting.’

T9/ 7

So-nan geyin daşimin-ğa bar-ıp jumus-umız-di
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Dashimin-DAT go-IP.CONV job-POSS1PL-ACC
bitir-ip aldın-da b¹r yinxan-ğa ⁷⁹ kır-di-k.
 finish-IP.CONV at first-POSS3-LOC a bank-DAT enter-PAST-1PL
 ‘Then we went to Dashimin, did our shopping and first we went to a bank.’

T9/ 8

Yinxan-ğa kır-gen kez-de ganxaw kim guli pâydy
 bank-DAT enter-GAN.PTCP time-LOC exactly who Guli queue

⁷⁹ *Yinxan* ‘bank’ is a lexical item globally copied from Chinese. The Kazakh term for *bank* is “*bánke*”.

tur-γan kez-de telefon ke^{l-ip}
 stand-GAN.PTCP moment-LOC telephone come-IP.CONV
kał-dī⁸⁰ buyan.
 STAY.POSTV-PAST3 this.DAT
 ‘When we went into the bank, and while Guli was queueing up, she got a phone call.’

T9/ 9

So-nan geyin kol-in-da köp narse-ler-i
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP hand-POSS3-LOC lots of thing-PL-POSS3
bar bol-atin.
 existing BOL.COP- ATIN.PAST.INTRAT
 ‘Then she had lots of things in her hands.’

T9/ 10

Sonī-men ayt-ti-m^w o-γan.
 that-WITH.POSTP tell-PAST-1SG X.DAT
 ‘Then I said to her.’

T9/ 11

“Ay, narse-ler-iñ-dī men köter-ip tur-ayin
 AY.INTER thing-PL-POSS2SG-ACC I lift-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-VOL1SG
sen dyenxwa-da söyles-ip bol-γanča” de-p
 you telephone-LOC speak-IP.CONV BOL.COP- GANŞA.CONV say-IP.CONV
süyt-ti-m de.
 do so-PAST-1SG DE.PART
 ‘I said, “Look, I’ll hold your things till you finish your conversation on the phone”.’

T9/ 12

Soson “jok iştenk-et-pe-y-dī⁸¹” de-p
 then no nothing-DO.LIGHTV-NEG-A.PRES-3 say-IP.CONV
una-ma-y koy-dī.
 agree-NEG-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-PAST3
 ‘Then she said “No, no problem!”—and she did not agree.’

T9/ 13

“E bopti” de-p süyt-ti-k.
 E.INTERJEC all right say-IP.CONV do so-PAST-1PL
 ‘“All right”, we said and we did so.’

⁸⁰ The dropping of the last consonant of the verb *kel-* and the converb suffix $\{-(l^4)p\}$ in the postverbal construction here, i.e. *ke kał-* ‘arrive, come’ is a phenomenon copied from Uyghur. The correct Kazakh form is *kelip kał-*.

⁸¹ *İštenketpeydi* < *ʔešteme ʔetpeydi* or *ʔešteje ʔetpeydi* ‘no problem’. Literally it means ‘it makes nothing’.

T9/ 14

Sol bânke-ge akša-ni koy-dî-k.
that bank-DAT money-ACC deposit-PAST-1PL
'We deposited the money in the bank.'

T9/ 15

Sodan geyin yinxan-nan çik-ti-k.
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP bank-ABL come out-PAST-1PL
'Then we left the bank.'

T9/ 16

Çiy-ip sodan geyin, yek-ew-ımız jol-din
come out-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP two-COLL-POSS1PL road-GEN
*w**orta-sin-da ket-ip bar-a*
middle-POSS3SG-LOC leave-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.CONV
jat-ip, b'r jer-den tamak je-yik
LIE.POSTV-IP.CONV a place-ABL food eat-VOL1PL
pa de-p...
Q.PART say-IP.CONV
'After we came out, when we were walking in the street, we said, "Shall we eat?"...'

T9/ 17

So-dan geyin nazan-ya telefon ber-di-k.
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Nazan-DAT telephone give-PAST-1PL
'Then we called Nazan.'

T9/ 18

Nazan iste-di ma iste-me-di ma
Nazan work-PAST3 Q.PART work-NEG-PAST3 Q.PART
de-p telefon ber-se-k, nazan da
say-IP.CONV telephone give -HYP-1PL Nazan DA.PART
dashimin-da mama-si-men b'rge
Dashimin-LOC mother-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP together
gwanjye k^{ll-i} p⁸² jur-up-ti.
shopping MAKE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3
'When we called Nazan to ask whether she was working or not, she was shopping in Dashimin with her mother.'

T9/ 19

"Oy, men mama-m-di jol-ya sal-ip
OY.INTERJEC I mother-POSS1SG-ACC road-DAT place-IP.CONV
tasta-yin da soni-men sen-der-men
THROW.POSTV-VOL1SG DA.PART that-WITH.POSTP you-PL-WITH.POSTP

⁸² This kind of omission occurs only in Uyghur not in Kazakh.

kezdes-eyin” *de-p* *süyt-ti*.
 meet-VOL1SG say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3
 ‘She said, “As soon as I send my mother (home), I will meet you”.’

T9/ 20

So-dan geyin *ʷol* *mama-si-n* *jol-ya*
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP X mother-POSS3SG-ACC road-DAT
sal-ip *tasta-p,* *soni-menen*
 place-IP.CONV THROW.POSTV-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP
biz-ge telefon ber-di.
 we-DAT telephone give-PAST3
 ‘Then she sent her mother and then she called us.’

T9/ 21

So-dan geyin *üş-ew-ümüz* *bʲr* *jer-de*
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP three-COLL-POSS1PL a place-LOC
kezdes-ip *ʷotir-ip...*
 meet-IP.CONV sit-IP.CONV
 ‘Then we three met at a place and sat down at a place...’

T9/ 22

Nazan-ya telefon ber-eyik *de-se-k*
 Nazan-DAT telephone give-VOL.1PL say-HYP-1PL
kara, *telefon* *jok,* *adaş.*
 look.IMP telephone non-existing friend
 ‘When we wanted to call Nazan, look, there was no phone, (my) friend.’

T9/ 23

Guli-diŋ *apo šowji-si* *pingo.*
 Guli-GEN iPhone-POSS3SG apple.
 ‘Guli’s iPhone, the Apple.’

T9/ 24

Soni-men *“telefon kane?”* *de-p,* *sonimen telefon-di*
 that-WITH.POSTP telephone where say-IP.CONV then telephone-ACC
ber-di-k.
 give-PAST-1PL
 ‘Then, “Where is the phone?”, we asked. Then we called (the phone).’

T9/ 25

Telefon-di *ber-ip* *jatir-miz*
 telephone-ACC give-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP1PL

ber-ip *jatır-miz* *dıyınxwa* *tuŋ* *lı*
give-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP1PL phone get through PAST
qara.

look.IMP

‘We kept on calling the phone, look, the call got through.’

T9/ 26

Zay *jıñzay* *tuñdini* *yıñi* *zay* *tuñdini.* ⁸³
is in process of getting through still be getting through
‘It was ringing and ringing.’

T9/ 27

Somenen “^woybay *bu-nu* *čuzuči-ya* *sal-ip*
then OYBAY.INTERJEC this-ACC taxi-DAT place-IP.CONV
koy-yan *uksa-y-miz* *čuzuči-da* *kal-yan*
PUT.POSTV-GAN.PTCP like-A.PRES-COP1PL taxi-LOC leave-GAN.PTCP
uksa-y-di *bul* *telefon*”, *de-p,* *somen* *aqirın*
like-A.PRES-3 this telephone say-IP.CONV then slowly
^w*oyla-p* *bay-ıp,* ⁸⁴ “*ay* *toқта-p*
think-IP.CONV LOOK.POSTV-IP.CONV AY.INTERJEC stop-IP.CONV
tur *á* *čoķim* *sol* *yınxañ-da* *kal^{ip}*
STAND.POSTV.IMP Á.PART definitely that bank-LOC leave-IP.CONV
kal-yan *bol-uw-i* *mümkün* *wo za*
STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3 possible I how
gánjüe *sol* *yınxañ-da* *kal-yan* *siyaķti*” *de-p*
feel that bank-loc leave-GAN.PTCP seemingly say-IP.CONV
süyt-ti-m.

do so-PAST-1SG

‘Then, “It seems we have left it in the taxi, it seems it is in the taxi, this phone”, we said. Then we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is possibly in the bank, I have the feeling that we left it in the bank”.’

T9/ 28

De-se-m, *somen* “*bar^{ip}* *kör-eyik* ⁸⁵ *pa?*”
say-HYP-1SG then go.IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-VOL1PL Q.PART
de-p *süyt-ti.*
say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3

‘When I said that, then, she asked “Shall we try to go (back to the bank)?”’

⁸³ Here the speaker switches to Chinese.

⁸⁴ The usage of postverbal construction ^w*oyla-p baķ-* ‘try to think, to think’ is copied from Uyghur. The genuine Kazakh expression should be ^w*oyla-p kör-* ‘to try to think, to think’.

⁸⁵ The dropping of the converb form here is also an Uyghur phenomenon.

T9/ 29

Somen “*bar*^{IP} *kör-eyik*” *de-p* *bar-dī-k*
 then go.IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-VOL1PL say-IP.CONV go-PAST-1PL
yinxan-ya.
 bank-DAT

‘Then, “Let us try!” we said and we went (back) to the bank.’

T9/ 30

Bar-ip *so-dan* *geyin* *sura-dī-k*.
 go-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP ask-PAST-1PL

‘We went there and then asked.’

T9/ 31

Kır-e *kal-γanda* *bawān-nan*
 go in-A.CONV STAY.POSTV- GAN.LOC.CONV security guard-ABL
sura-dī-k.
 ask-PAST-1PL

‘Having entered we asked the security guard.’

T9/ 32

Sura-p *ayt-tī-k:* “*ay,* *womīn* *gañcay*
 ask-IP.CONV tell-PAST-1PL AY.INTERJEC we just before
zayji *cün* *neygi* *sa* *li,* *cün* *çyen* *li.*”
 in here deposit that what PAST deposit money PAST
 ‘We said, “Hi, we deposited, that thing, the money here just before”.’

T9/ 33

“*Danşı* *womīndi* *dyenxwa* *jyu* *la* *zayji* *li*”
 at that time our telephone precisely forget in here PAST
de-p *ayt-tī-k*.
 say-IP.CONV tell-PAST-1PL

‘“At that time, we forgot our cellphone here”, we told (him).’

T9/ 34

De-se-k, *soni-men* *bawān...*
 say-HYP-1PL that-WITH.POSTP securiy guard
 ‘When we said (that) the security guard...’

T9/ 35

“*Mina* *šišyanṭiw* *bar* *čy-ar* *biz* *šipin*
 this camera existing turn out-AOR3 we video
kör-e-miz” *de-p* *süyt-se-k,* “^w*oy,* *sen-der-ge*
 watch-A.PRES-COP1PL say-IP.CONV do so-HYP-1PL OY.INTERJEC you-PL-DAT
körset-uw-ge *bol-ma-y-dī,* *biz* “*öz-īmiz*
 show-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 we self-POSS1PL

kör-e-miz” de-p una-ma-y-dī.

watch-A.PRES-COP1PL say-IP.CONV agree-NEG-A.PRES-3

‘When we asked, “There must be a camera here. We will watch the video.” The security guard did not agree and said, “It cannot be shown to you. We will watch it ourselves”.’

T9/ 36

Sonī-men güytáy-dij aldīn-a kel-ip, so-dan
that-WITH.POSTP counter-GEN front.POSS3-DAT come-IP.CONV that-ABL
geyin dal so kızbala hāymiy şyabān nī.

AFTER1.POSTP exactly that young girl has not off from work PART

‘Then, we went to the counter, and that girl had not left the bank.’

T9/ 37

Somen so kız-dan sura-dī-ķ.

then that girl-ABL ask-PAST-1PL

‘Then we asked the girl.’

T9/ 38

Sura-sa-ķ basta tür-i “özger-ip
ask-HYP-1PL in the beginning complexion-POSS3 change-IP.CONV
tur-dī, ana kızbala-niñ, b’r türli, fanjñ gānjüe
STAND.POSTV-PAST3 that young girl-GEN peculiar anyhow feeling
tiñ jinjandī.

rather nervous

‘When we asked the girl, her complexion first changed, somehow, I had the feeling that she was nervous.’

T9/ 39

So-dan geyin “şinmi şowji” de-p süyt-ti.
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP what cellphone say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3

‘Then she asked, “What cellphone?”’

T9/ 40

So-dan: “pingo şowji xisīdī pingo şowji” de-se-k,
that-ABL apple cellphone black apple cellphone say-HYP-1PL
sodan geyin basında söz-i-niñ bas
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP in the beginning word-POSS3-GEN beginning
ayay-ī kamlāş-pa-dī de, so-dan geyin, “a?”
end-POSS3 fit-NEG-PAST3 DE.PART that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP A.PART
gānsây igī wizu dama gıy nazow lī” de-p
just before an Uyghur aunt PART take PAST say-IP.CONV

süyt-ti biz-ge.

do so-PAST3 we-DAT

‘Then, when we said, “iPhone, a black iPhone” she started to say things which did not make sense, then she said to us, “Oh, just before an Uyghur lady has taken it”.’

T9/ 41

So-dan geyin “a? šinmi yañdi dama?” de-p
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP A.PART what kind of aunt say-IP.CONV

süyt-ti-k.

do so-PAST-1PL

‘Then, “What kind of lady?” we asked.’

T9/ 42

*Bugo dyenxwa hayzay yiji zay tuñdini.*⁸⁶
but telephone still remaining COP getting through

‘But the phone was still getting through.’

T9/ 43

*Womın butıñdi zay dadyenxwa.*⁸⁷
we incessant COP dial

‘We kept dialing.’

T9/ 44

So-dan geyin ayt-ti-k.: “bukiñ” de-p
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP tell-PAST-1PL impossible say-IP.CONV

süyt-ti-k.

do so-PAST-1PL

‘Then we replied, “It is impossible”.’

T9/ 45

“Biz wosı jer-ge kel-gen kez-de telepon
we this place-DAT come-GAN.PTCP time-LOC telephone

ber-di-k.”

give-PAST-1PL

‘“We made a call when we came here.”’

T9/ 46

“Dañši wo pıñyow jyu badyenxwa la zayıñ lı.”
at that time my friend precisely the phone forget in here PAST

‘“At that time my friend left her phone here.”’

⁸⁶ Here the speaker switches to Chinese.

⁸⁷ See the previous footnote.

T9/ 47

“Daŋši wo jyu kandī činčinčuči.”

at that time I precisely saw clearly

“I saw it very clearly that time.”

T9/ 48

“Ta lawguŋ ši jinča” de-p sūt-ti-k.

her husband COP policeman say-IP.CONV do so-PAST-1PL

“Her husband is a policeman”, we said.’

T9/ 49

“Zay pâyçuso guŋzoni.”

in police station work

“He works at a police station.”

T9/ 50

“Dâyhur...”

later

“Later...”

T9/ 51

“Womîn giy ta dadyenxwa lî.”

we to he dial PAST

“We called him.”

T9/ 52

“Womîn yaw bawân nî” de-p süyt-ti-k.

we will report PART say-IP.CONV do so-PAST-1PL

“We will report the case (to the police)”, we said.’

T9/ 53

De-gende lam⁸⁸, ana kizbala, giytây-da-yî

say-GAN.LOC.CONV PART that young girl counter-LOC-GI

iste-ytîn kizbala ünde-me-y lam kîr⁸⁹

work-ATIN.PTCP young girl emit a sound-NEG-A.CONV PART go in.IP.CONV

ket-tî⁸⁹.

LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3

‘As soon as we said (that), that young girl, the young girl who worked at the counter went over to another room without saying anything.’

⁸⁸ *Lam* is a particle copied from Uyghur.

⁸⁹ See footnote 85.

T9/ 54

Kir^{ip} *ket-ip* *lam, b^lr* *kez-de* *lam,*
 go in.IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV PART a time-LOC PART
šowji-dī *al-ī^p* *čīy-īp* *jatīr.*
 cellphone-ACC take-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3
 ‘Very soon after she went over to the other room, she came out with the cellphone.’

T9/ 55

“*A,* *šībuši* *jiği* *xisīdī* *šowji?*”
 A.INTERJEC if it is this black cellphone
 “‘Well, is it this black cellphone?’”

T9/ 56

A, *womīn* *daṇši* *dow...* ⁹⁰
 A.INTERJEC we at that moment even
 ‘Oh, at that moment we were even...’

T9/ 57

“*A?* *koy* *ši* *bol-dī* *yendī,* *tabīl-yan-nan*
 A.PART leave ŠI.PART BOL.COP-PAST3 NOW.FILL find-GAN.PTCP-ABL
geyīn *bol-dī,* *bu-men* *töbeles-pe-y*
 AFTER1.POSTP BOL.COP-PAST3 this-WITH.POSTP quarrel-NEG-A.CONV
koy-ayīk” *de-p,* *somen* *čī^{ip}*
 PUT.POSTV-VOL1PL say-IP.CONV then come out-IP.CONV
ket-tī-k *āgi* *jer-den.*
 LEAVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL aforesaid place-ABL
 “‘Well, never mind, after we have we found it, let us not quarrel with her”, we said.
 Then we left.’

T9/ 58

Süytüp *āgi* *telefon* *joyal-ma-dī.*
 thus aforesaid telephone disappear-NEG-PAST3
 ‘Thus the phone was not lost.’

T9/ 59

Üytkeni *ana* *pingo* *šowji-sī-nīṇ* *kinīṇ* *mīy* *yongwodi*
 because that apple cellphone-POSS3SG-GEN probably NEG used
rīn *kalay* *wōšīr-ip* *kalay* *jandīr-uw -da*
 person how switch off-IP.CONV how switch on-UW.VN-LOC
b^lraz *kiyn(al-atīn)* *uḵsa-y-dī.*
 somehow have difficulty(-ATIN.PTCP) like-A.PRES-3
 ‘Because, to a person who has never used an iPhone, probably, it seems to be
 difficult to switch on and to switch off (the phone).’

⁹⁰ Here the speaker switches to Chinese.

T9/ 60

Tiŋšwo yow zījīdī bʰr kɨlt-ɨ bar ʷeken
 hearsay existing self a key-POSS3 existing E.COP.INDIR3
de-y-dī ɣoy ʷonīŋ, men de bɨl-me-y-dī
 say-A.PRES-3 IOY.PART X.GEN I DA.PART know-NEG-A.PRES-3
 ʷekem.

E.COP.INDIR.COP1SG

‘As I have heard, there is a code in it. I do not know it either.’

T9/ 61

Sodan geyin čik-ti-k men guli nāzān
 that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP come out-PAST-1PL I Guli Nazan
üş-ew-ümüz, algı jer-den altın taw-up
 three-COLL-POSS1PL aforesaid place-ABL gold find-IP.CONV
at-yan siyakti bop.

TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP suchlike BOL.COP.IP.CONV

‘Then we three, Guli, Nazan and I, left (the bank) as if we had found some treasure.’