Spoken Kazakh: A case study from the Aktobe Region in Western Kazakhstan

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Cite this article:


Link to this article:

http://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tdd/issue/82059

This electronic version was first published in December 2023.

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Abstract
This article investigates spoken Kazakh, focusing on a recorded narrative from the Aktobe region in Western Kazakhstan. The paper presents an interlinear analysis of the narrative alongside an English translation and discusses various linguistic phenomena found in the spoken language. Furthermore, some comparisons with written Kazakh are provided.

Key words: Spoken Kazakh, Aktobe region, Western Kazakhstan, narrative, linguistic analysis

Kazakça konuşma dili: Batı Kazakistan’ın Aktöbe bölgesinde bir durum çalışması

Öz
Bu makale, Kazakhstan’ın batısındaki Aktöbe bölgesinde kaydedilen bir anlatıya dayanarak Kazakça konuşma diliini ele almakta. Anlatının çevriyazısı, satırarası analizi ve İngilizce çevirisine sunulduğunda, konuşma dili özet pek çok dilbilimsel olgu tartışılmaktadır. Makalede ayrıca, Kazakça yazı dili ile karşılaştırılmalara da yer verilmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kazakça konuşma dili, Aktöbe bölgesi, Batı Kazakhstan, anlatı, dilbilimsel çözümleme

Introduction
This paper aims to analyse characteristics of Kazakh spoken in Kazakhstan on the basis of a recorded narrative. In addition to some general and well-known features of spoken Kazakh, the focus will be on some interesting and unusual phenomena found in the narrative. While the analysis will touch upon all aspects of grammar, it should be noted that the description is far from comprehensive.

Kazakh is a member of the South Kipchak, also called Aralo-Caspian, subbranch of Turkic languages together with Karakalpak, Noghay, and Kipchak Uzbek. Kazakh, along with Russian, is the official language of the Republic of Kazakhstan and is spoken by roughly 16 million people globally (Johanson 2021: 100–101). More than two million speakers are found in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the Russian Federation, Mongolia, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.
The largest Kazakh diaspora outside of Kazakhstan, which numbers around 1.2 million people, is found in the northwestern parts of the People's Republic of China. Although Kazakh is spoken over a vast territory, dialectal differences are minor, and mainly of a phonological and lexical nature (Amanżolov 1959). Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is widespread among Kazakh speakers in Kazakhstan. In fact, many Kazakhs have a better command of Russian than Kazakh. There is a significant number of ethnic Russians, especially in the northern and northeastern parts of Kazakhstan. Efforts have been made, mainly through education and media, to enhance the use of Kazakh over Russian. In this connection, a gradual transition from the current Cyrillic script to a modified Latin alphabet is already in progress and is planned to be finalised in coming years. For an overview of Kazakh grammar in English, see, for instance, Somfai Kara (2002), Muhamedowa (2015), and Abish (2022).

The speaker and the recording

The recording of this narrative took place in Begimbet village of Shalkar District in October 2022. Shalkar District is located in the Aktobe region in the western part of Kazakhstan. It is a self-recording by Nazerke Myrzalina at the request of Kamar Aldasheva, one of the authors of this article and a close relative of the speaker. Therefore, although the narrative is self-recorded, Myrzalina addresses the story to a relative, which certainly has an impact on the nature and telling of the narrative.

Nazerke Myrzalina was born in the Aktobe region in 1993. She received her higher education in Public Administration and in Education with a major in English in Astana in 2010–2014. Since 2014, she has been working as a leading specialist at the local akimat ‘mayor’s office’. She is a first-language speaker of Kazakh and holds a KAZTEST certificate (B2). Russian is her second language, and she is also fluent in English. She currently lives in Aktobe with her family. Her husband, Dulat Myrzalin, is a Kazakh by nationality and a first-language speaker of the Kazakh language. He was also born in the Aktobe region. He speaks Russian as a second language and English at an elementary level. The couple have three children; his parents, also first-language speakers of Kazakh, live with them. At home, the whole family speaks solely Kazakh, and the local language situation outside the house reflects a monolingual environment. The speaker acknowledges the presence of Russian words in her speech due to the bilingual nature of information flow in Kazakh-speaking environments, however; she primarily uses Kazakh for public communication and in her workplace.

The events of the narrative took place in the period close to the recording of the audio. The speaker tells about them spontaneously, and according to her, the recording was not particularly prepared in advance and follows her line of thought, making it a free narrative.

We sincerely thank the speaker, Nazerke Myrzalina for giving us permission to use her recording, and Nazym Altybayeva for her insightful remarks.

Remarks on the annotated text

There are several factors that can cause difficulties in analyzing spoken data. Due to the unconstrained nature of the narrative, the intended message of a given utterance may not always be immediately clear. In this case, the English translation is supplemented with additional information in brackets ‘[ ]’ to clarify the meaning, see, for instance, S109. In addition, uncertainty may persist regarding the interpretation of some sentences. In this case, alongside an approximate English translation, the uncertainty is marked by a question mark in brackets ‘[?]’ at the beginning of the sentence, see, for instance, S93.

The narrative includes numerous pauses and hesitations by the speaker; we use commas ‘,’ to indicate short pauses, often after discourse markers, see, for instance, S7. Hesitations and longer pauses are denoted by ellipses ‘…’ as in S2 and S3. Lexical fillers are also present in the narrative. They are marked in the annotation, but are not provided with an English translation, see, for in-
stance, S48 and S82. False starts are given in parentheses, usually with additional ellipses ‘(...)’ to mark incomprehensible segments of speech, see, for instance, S4 or S83. Direct speech and inner thoughts are given in quotation marks ‘“”’, as in S5 and S14, respectively. Italics are used in the English translation for placeholders, see, for instance, S113.

Interestingly, the narrative exhibits a great number of linguistic features that diverge from their standard forms. These non-standard characteristics are discussed in detail in the analysis, and those selected as examples are provided with their standard counterparts. When necessary, standard forms are displayed in Cyrillic script enclosed within angle brackets ‘‹ ›’ followed by their English translation, see, for instance, S66: de-v-atîr 〈деп жатыр〉 ‘[she] is saying’. The linguistic annotation, however, does not include the standard counterparts of non-standard forms.

Finally, there are certain kinship terms in the narrative that could potentially lead to confusion for readers. The word apa ~ apay is commonly used in spoken Kazakh and has several meanings, including 1. mother, 2. older sister, 3. father’s mother, grandmother, and 4. elderly woman, used as a sign of respect. In western Kazakhstan, apa ~ apay is typically used in the second and fourth meanings. In our English translation, ‘sister’ is used for the second meaning, while ‘aunt’ is used for the fourth meaning. Furthermore, papa ‘father’ and mama ‘mother’ are translated as ‘dad’ and ‘mum’, respectively, in order to fit the colloquial nature of the language of the narrative. Additionally, the words papa and mama are occasionally used for the speaker’s parents-in-law. In this case, we translate papa and mama as ‘father-in-law’ and ‘mother-in-law’, respectively.

Annotated text with audio

INSERT: Kazakh_Audio

1. Aldı̣̈n-ü gün-ü kala-ya var-ıp kel-di-m. previous day-POSS3SG city-DAT go-CONV come-TERM-1SG
   ‘I went to the city the day before yesterday.’

2. Қala-ya bar-uw-ı̄m-niş wöz-ı̄ ülkem bîr… žîr bol-dî. city-DAT go-INF-POSS1SG-GEN self-POSS3SG big a song be(come)-TERM
   ‘My visit to the city turned into a big story.’

3. Aldı̣̈n-ü gün-ü mama-m-niş ayay-î sîn-îp previous day-POSS3SG mother-POSS1SG-GEN foot-POSS3SG break-CONV kâl-yan goy, wîtken-de bîr ay-day bol-dî. part past-LOC on month-SIM be(come)-TERM
   ‘The day before yesterday... As you know, my mum's foot broke, it has been about a month.’

go-CONV return-AN-1PL come-POST
   ’Then... we wanted to go to X-ray [it], (...) and show it to the bonesetter.’

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5. So-yan mayan “Er-ip barl” de-gen.
   that-DAT I.DAT follow-CONV go.IMP say-POST
   ‘Then, she said, “Come [with me]!”’

6. Men da ʒumîst-tan ʃura-n-dî-m.
   I also work-ABL ask-PASS-TERM-1SG
   ‘I also took a leave from work.’

7. So-dan, keşki-liş ʃavar gel-t.
   that-ABL evening-DER news come-TERM
   ‘Then, in the evening the news came.’

8. Ḷala-ya bar-atîn kûn-nen bîr ʃûn bûrûn, papa zvan-da-t,
   city-DAT go-PN day-ABL one day before father bell-DER-TERM
   “Erteŋ bar-atîn bol-ði-k” de-p.
   tomorrow go-PN be(come)-TERM-1PL say-CONV
   ‘The day before the day of going to the city, dad called and said, “We are going tomorrow.”’

9. So-dan, taksi-ge ʃaz-ði-ayîn de-se-m, taksi-de wôrîn
   that-ABL taxi-DAT write-PASS-VOL1SG say-HYP-1SG taxi-LOC place
   żok.
   non.existing
   ‘Then, when I wanted to sign up for a taxi, there was no place in the taxi.’

10. Taksi-ge bîz... aldîn ala ʃaz-ði-a-mîz yo ʃ êndî.
    taxi-DAT we beforehand write-PASS-LFOC.INTRA-1PL PART NOW.FILL
    ‘For the taxi, we... should sign up beforehand, as you know.’

11. Sol, taksi-de wôrîn bol-ma-y ɣal-t.
    THAT.FILL taxi-LOC place be(come)-NEG-CONV REMAIN.AUX-TERM
    ‘There was no place left in the taxi.’

12. Kîrį-ekî adam ʃaz-ði-îp koy-yan, üş mašîna-ya, tolîx
    fourty-two person write-PASS-CONV PUT.AUX-POST three car-DAT full
‘Forty-two people signed up, for three cars, it was said that [the cars] were full.’

13. *Son'-men, wɔrɨn bol-ma-y yal-t.*
that-WITH.POSTP place be(come)-NEG-CONV REMAIN.AUX-TERM

‘So, there was no place left.’

that-ABL now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1SG say-CONV see-AOR-1SG say-CONV

‘Then, “What am I going to do now?” I thought, “I will see!” I thought.’

15. *So-dan mama-ya ayt-jv edj-m, üy-de-gi.*
that-ABL mother-DAT say-CONV DIST.COP-1SG house-LOC-REL

‘Then, I told about it to [my] mother-in-law, the one at home.’

16. *"Ol "Erteŋ papa-ŋ apar-ip tsa-r tanerenteŋ“*
she tomorrow father-POS.2SG carry-CONV THROW.AUX-AOR morning

‘Tomorrow your father-in-law will probably take you in the morning,” that is how she concluded it.’

17. *So-dan papa-ya “Tanerenteŋ apar-ip tsa-y-siz ba?”*
that-ABL father-DAT morning carry-CONV THROW.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-2PL Q
de-ge-m.

‘Then, I asked [my] father-in-law, “Will you take me in the morning?”’

18. *Papa “Tek apar-ip tsa-y-m” de-p, so-dan*
father only carry-CONV THROW.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-1SG say-CONV that-ABL
tanerenteŋ verte şik/ip ket-tj-k.
morning early go.out-CONV go-TERM-1PL

‘[My] father-in-law said, “I will only drop you,” then we left early in the morning.’
19. Papa segiz-ge deyin sadik-ke Yunus-ti apar-uw gerek
father eight-DAT until kindergarten-DAT Yunus-ACC carry-INF necessary
et.
DIST.COP
'[My] father-in-law had to take Yunus to the kindergarten by eight o'clock.'

20. So-yan deyin bar-iệp kel-iwy gerek te-p, so-dan
that-DAT until go-CONV come-INF necessary say-CONV that-ABL
verte šik-ti-k.
early go.out-TERM-1PL
'So we left early because he had to come back until then.'

21. Žeti bol-ma-y šik-ti-k koy de-y-m.
seven be(co.me)-NEG-CONV go.out-TERM-1 PL PART say-LFOC.INTRA-1 SG
'I think we left before seven.'

22. Žeti ge won bes kal-yandarda ma, so-dan Šalkar-ya
seven-DAT ten five remain-CONV Q that-ABL Shalkar-DAT
var-di-k, a Sarila-k-ka var-di-k.
go-TERM-1 PL oh Sarybulak-DAT go-TERM-1 PL
'So when it was around fifteen to seven, we went to Shalkar, oh [no], we went to Sarybulak.'

23. So-dan Sarila-k-ka var-iệp, papa apar-iệp tsa-t.
that-ABL Sarybulak-DAT go-CONV father carry-CONV THROW.AUX-TERM
'So we went to Sarybulak and [my] father-in-law dropped me [there].'

that-ABL a tea drink-CONV TAKE.AUX-TERM-1 PL and go.out-TERM-1 PL
'Then we had a [cup of] tea and left.'

25. Mama-niş sol papa men Āzken köter-iıp, màšina-ya
mother-ACC THAT.FILL father and Azken pick.up-CONV car-DAT
sal-t.
put-TERM
'Dad and Azken picked up mum and put her in the car.'
26. *Ayay-in-a žür-iw-ge bol-ma-y-t, kazyl-uw-ya*  
    foot-POSS3SG-DAT walk-INF-DAT be(come)-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG move-INF-DAT  
    *bol-ma-y-t de-gen soŋ, sol köter-ip*  
    say-CONV THAT.FILL pick.up-CONV  
    *sal-di.*  
    put-TERM  
    ‘Since she was told not to walk or move her foot, they lifted and put [her] in.’

27. *So-dan, Šalḳar-ya bar-di-k.*  
    that-ABL Shalkar-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
    ‘Then we went to Shalkar.’

28. *So, aya-m wōz māšina-sj-men gel-t.*  
    THAT.FILL brother-POSS1SG self car-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP come-TERM  
    ‘My brother came with his own car.’

29. *So-dan Šalkar-da... men bir-iši... ne-ge var-di-k...?*  
    that-ABL Shalkar-LOC I one-ORD what-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
    ‘Then in Shalkar... at first, I... where did we go...?’

30. *Reŋgeŋ-ge tūs-iv-al-ayiŋk bir-den de-p, sol*  
    X-ray-DAT fall-CONV-TAKE.AUX VOL1PL one-ABL say-CONV THAT.FILL  
    *gipš-i-men reŋgeŋ-ge tūs-iw-ge*  
    plaster.cast-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP X-ray-DAT fall-CAUS-INF-DAT  
    *bol-a-di eken de-gen soŋ,*  
    be(come)-LFOC.INTRA-3SG EVID.COP say-CONV  
    *bir-iši palikliŋika-ya bar-di-k.*  
    one-ORD polyclinic-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
    ‘In order to take an X-ray right away, since she was apparently told that she can take an X-ray with the plaster cast, first, we went to the polyclinic.’

    polyclinic-LOC at.least wheelchair existing EVID.COP on.the.contrary  
    ‘Fortunately, at least there was a wheelchair in the polyclinic.’
32. So kalyaskiŋ ściyar-ıp, mama-ṇı wotır-yiş-jv-al-di-k
   that wheelchair-ACC take.out-CONV mother-ACC sit-CAUS-CONV-TAKE.AUX-TERM-1PL
   ta, so-dan rengeŋ kabinet-ıν-e al-ıp bar-di-k.
   and that-ABL X-ray room-POSS3SG-DAT take-CONV GO.AUX-TERM-1PL
   'We took that wheelchair, seated mum in it and then took her to the X-ray room.'

33. ńOn-da očert ızok eken kayta, kezek.
    that-LOC queue non.existing EVID.COP on.the.contrary queue
    'Fortunately, there was no queue there — queue.'

34. So-dan kır-e yov-di-k.
    that-ABL enter-CONV PUT.AUX-TERM-1PL
    'So we entered right away.'

35 Žaksı bol-t.
    good be(come)-TERM
    'It turned out to be good.'

36. Bir ńon bes mıynt-tăy mă kūt-tă-k.
    a ten five minute-SIM Q wait-TERM-1PL
    'We waited for about fifteen minutes.'

37. So-dan kır-di-k.
    that-ABL enter-TERM-1PL
    'Then we entered.'

38. Kir-gen son, rengeŋ-ge tüs-kennen geyin, rezultat-ı-n
    enter-CONV X-ray-DAT fall-CONV result-POSS3SG-ACC
    şamalı kūt-ip tür-di-k.
    little wait-CONV STAND.AUX-TERM-1PL
    'After entering and taking the X-ray, we were waiting a little bit for the result.'

39. Sol żart sayat-tăy, kırık minut-tay aynal-di-y aw
    THAT.FILL half hour-SIM forty minute-SIM linger-TERM-1PL PART
de-y-m, sol reggen-de.
say-LFOC.INTRA-1SG THAT.FILL X-ray-LOC
‘I think we lingered for about half an hour or forty minutes, in the X-ray [room].’

40. So-dan, rezultat-ı̈n kol-ımız-ya žaz-ı̈p ber-t
that-ABL result-POSS3SG-ACC hand-POSS1PL-DAT write-CONV GIVE.AUX-TERM

ta, sosın yen metsestra-sı̈-nan şura-p edi-m, bir
and then NOW.FILL nurse-POSS3SG-ABL ask-CONV DIST.COP-1SG a

ver adam eken, ana ne-sı̈, vrač-ı̈, “Sol
man person EVID.COP that what-POSS3SG doctor-POSS3SG THAT.FILL
kalay?” de-p. how say-CONV

[?]. Then, [the doctor] wrote and handed us the result, and then I asked the nurse — [by
the way] he is evidently a man, her what, her doctor, — “So, how is it?” I asked.’

41. Əl ayt-tı̈: “Žaşşı vendi žaşşı bit-ip kel-atır vekçi
she say-TERM good now good end-CONV come-HFOC.INTRA two
žer-den sı̈-yan” de-p, so-lay de-dı̈.
place-ABL break-POST say-CONV that-SIM say-TERM

‘She said, “It is good now, it is going to fuse smoothly, it is broken in two places.” That is
what she said.’

42. SOSIN, ʃik-kan soŋ, “Ne bol-sa da, travmatolı̈k-tar-ya,
then go.out-CONV what be(com)e-HYP even traumatologist-PL-DAT
ana bir tanı̈s-tar-ımız-ya (kör...) kara-t-ı̈p kör-eyık!”
that an acquaintance-PL-POSS1PL-DAT (…) look-CAUS-CONV SEE.AUX-VOL1PL
de-p, so-dan men sotku-m-ı̈n skaner-le-di-ı̈m
say-CONV that-ABL I phone-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP scanner-DER-TERM-1SG
da, sol bir vek üš adam-ya lak-tır-di-k.
and THAT.FILL a two three man-DAT throw-TERM-1PL

‘Then, after we left, we said “Whatever happens, let’s (…) try to show [the result] to the
traumatologists, to those of our acquaintances!” then I scanned it with my phone and sent
it to two-three people.’

43. So-dan, wolar-dı̈n žawav-ı̈n kät-tü-k.
that-ABL they-GEN answer-POSS3SG-ACC wait-TERM-1PL

‘Then, we waited for their answers.’
44. \textit{Büz-diŋ} Sərbılakaγ-tyŋ körği-miz var edį yo.
\textit{we-gen Sarybulak-loc rel neighbour-pos1pl existing dist.cop part}
‘As you know, we have a neighbour in Sarybulak.’

45. Mäyramgül de-gen apa.
Mairamgul say-pn aunt
‘Aunt Mairamgul.’

\textit{that aunt-gen Zhambyl-loc live-pn sister-pos3sg existing part}
‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl.’

47. So-yan, ald-ing-da mama ayt-ip koy-yan yo.
\textit{that-dat front-pos3sg-loc mother tell-conv put.aux-post part}
‘Apparently, mum told [Aunt Mairamgul’s sister] earlier.’

48. Sol, žaŋaγ, “Travmatolı̇k tanı̇s-ı̇m bar.”
\textit{that.fill amentioned.fill traumatologist acquaintance-pos1sg existing}
‘I have an acquaintance who is a traumatologist.’

49. “Soyan kara-t-ip ber-e-m.”
\textit{he-dat look-caus-conv give.aux-loc conv intra-1sg}
‘I will show it to him [for you].’

50. “Esli śto, žaŋa ne-ni, rengen-ge tüş-kennen geyin
\textit{if that amentioned.fill what-acc x-ray-dat fall-conv}
rezultat-ı̇n žiber-ip körl!”
\textit{result-pos3sg-acc send-conv see.aux}
‘If there is anything, after having it X-rayed, try to send the thing, the result!’

51. “Okji-t-ip ber-e-m” de-gen.
\textit{read-caus-conv give.aux-loc conv intra-1sg say-post}
‘I will show it [to him].’ [Aunt Mairamgul’s sister] said.’

52. So-dan, sol kisi̇-ge, Maržan apay-diŋ nömır-i-niŋ,
\textit{that-abl that person-dat Marzhan aunt-gen number-pos3sg-gen}
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vatsap nömîr-ı-n al-îv-al-dî-k ta,
WhatsApp number-POS53SG-ACC take-Conv-Take.AUX-Term-1PL and
so-dan men-îŋ telefon-îm-men žîver-dî-k.
that-ABL I-GEN telephone-POS1SG-With.Postp send-Term-1PL

‘Then, we took Aunt Marzhan’s number, her WhatsApp number, and then sent it to that [traumatologist] via my phone.’

53. So-dan, rendí žanayî rengenolîk “Bî-lay žaχšî” de-v
that-ABL NOW.FILL aforementioned radiologist this-SIM good say-Conv
ayt-kan son, köŋîl-imîz birle-n-dî ma, so-dan
tell-Conv mood-POS1PL unite-Pass-Term Q that-ABL
ne-ste-dî-k, äwelî aytpakšî šîŋîkšî-ya var-dî-k.
what-Do-Term-1PL first by.the.way bonesetter-Dat go-Term-1PL

‘Then, after the aforementioned radiologist said, “It is good like this,” we were relieved. Then what did we do, by the way, first we went to the bonesetter.’

54. Sol rengen-nen şîy-a sal-îp, šîŋîkšî-ya var-îp
THAT.FILL X-ray-ABL go.out-Conv Put.Aux-Conv bonesetter-Dat go-Conv
edî-k, šîŋîkšî mal awîl-ya get-îp kal-yan
DIST.COP-1PL bonesetter cattle toward come-PN like say-Conv wife-POS3SG sîyde-t.
say.so-Term

‘Right after taking the X-ray, we went to the bonesetter. The bonesetter suddenly had left for the cattle village. “He might come back for lunch,” his wife said so.’

55. So-dan “Endî ne-stî-y-îmîz?” de-p, papa so-dan... “Gaz
that-ABL now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-Conv father that-ABL gasoline
žasa-p al-ayîn!” de-p gaz žasa-ŋ al-t,
make-Conv Take.Aux-Vol1SG say-Conv gasoline make-Conv take-Term
toltîr-îp, bag-ı-n.
fill.up-Conv tank-POS3SG-Acc

‘Then, “What are we going to do now?” we thought, then dad said... “Let me buy gasoline!” [Then] he bought gasoline in order to fill up the tank.’
Marzhan aunt-ABL news come-TERM
'Then, we wanted to go to the market to buy our sundries, and when we were on the way to the market, the news came from the aforementioned Aunt Marzhan [the sister of Aunt Mayramgul].'

57. Mayan zvan-da-di. I.DAT bell-DER-TERM
'She called me.'

58. Sol, žaŋayį, rezultat-į... boyınsha žaŋayį THAT.FILL AFOREMENTIONED.FILL result-POSS3SG according.to aforementioned adam ɣavarla-s-kan eken, travmatolįk.
person inform-COP-POST EVID.COP traumatologist
'Apparently that person informed her about the result — the traumatologist.'

59. Ne de-p, žaŋayį... žalpį ayt-kanda, “Aperaciya what say-CONV AFOREMENTIONED.FILL generally tell-CONV operation kerek.”
nessessary
'What did he say... generally speaking, “An operation is needed.”'

60. “Aperaciya-ya bar-ųw gerek.” operation-DAT go-INF necessary
"She needs to have an operation."

Aktobe-DAT go-INF necessary say-CONV tell-POST-3SG
"She needs to go to Aktobe," he evidently said.

62. ‘Endį “wOlar wőz til-ı-men ayt-ıp tür” NOW.FILL they self language-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP tell-CONV STAND.AUX
They are telling it [by using] their own language," said [Aunt Marzhan].

'She could not explain it to us.'

'So anyway, I went to the car again, to mum and dad.'

'Then, we were confused and did not know what to do now.'

'The one in Zhambyl.'
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70. *wOl ayt-ti: Men käzır ne-de-gi, Aktöbe-de-gi biṛ he tell-TERM I now what-LOC-REL Aktobe-LOC-REL an tanış-им bar, Mı̣̈ltı̣̈kbay de-gen vrač bar, acquaintance-POSS1SG existing Mylytkbay say-PN doctor existing travmatolojık, so yan söyles-e-m" de-di, traumatologist he.DAT speak-LFOC.INTRA-1SG say-TERM

‘She said, “I have an acquaintance in where, in Aktobe, a doctor named Mylytkbay, a traumatologist, I will talk to him now.”’

71. So-dan, *wOl kaytadan zvan-da-t. that-ABL she again bell-DER-TERM

‘Then, she called again.’

72. “Men sol kisi-men söyles-tj-m.” I that person-WITH.POSTP speak-TERM-1SG

“‘I spoke with that person.”’

73. “*wOl käzır, žañayi, sawiktirw wortalı̣̈y-in-a he now AFOREMENTIONED.FILL recovery center-POSS3SG-DAT awiş-ip ket-ken eken.” change-CONV LEAVE.AUX-POST EVID.COP

“‘He has now apparently transferred to a health center.”

74. Bırak ta, “Travmatologiya bölım-in-de tanış-tar-им but also traumatology department-POSS3SG-LOC acquaintance-PL-POSS1SG bar, so lar-ya tapsır-ip köy-a-m.” existing that-PL-DAT entrust-CONV PUT.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-1SG

‘But also, “I have acquaintances in the traumatology department, I will hand [her] over to them.”’

75. “Napravleńiye, žoldama al-ip kel-sın de-p ayt-ip-ti...” referral referral take-CONV come-VOL.3SG say-CONV tell-POST-3SG de-t.
say-TERM

“‘He evidently said, ‘Let her bring the referral — the referral,’ she said.’
76. So-dan, "Bİz ṣe ndişı ne-sti-y-miş?" de-p.
that-ABL we now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV
'Then, "What are we going to do now?" we thought.'

77. So-nan taj, wo-nij ara-sin-ša.
that-ABL again it-GEN between-POSS3SG-EQU
'Then again, in the meanwhile...'

78. (Bİz...) ana Kandıyaš-ta-ţï kuday-îmjiz var
(We...) THAT.FILL Kandyagash-LOC-REL co-mother-in-law-POSS1PL existing
et.
DIST.COP
'We have our co-mother-in-law in Kandyagash.'

79. So-yan... rengen-de žasasyţin metsestra vol-îp, so-yan
she.DAT X-ray-LOC do-PN nurse be(com)e-CONV she.DAT
živer-îp koy-yam-biş, ženge-m-nij mame-si yo,
send-CONV PUT.AUX-POST-1PL sister-in-law-POSS1SG-GEN mother-POSS3SG PART
wöz-im-nij ženge-m-nij.
self-POSS1SG-GEN sister-in-law-POSS1SG-GEN
'To her... she works as an X-ray nurse, we had sent it to her. She is my sister-in-law's mother, as you know, my own sister-in-law's [mother].'

80. So-yan živer-îp koy-di-š, rezultat-i-n rengen-nij.
she.DAT send-CONV PUT.AUX-TERM-1PL result-POSS3SG-ACC X-ray-GEN
'We sent her the X-ray result.'

81. wOl, wOl, (...) wo-dan čavar gel-di.
She she (...) she-ABL news come-TERM
'She, she (...) news came from her.'

82. wOl, żanajgį, ne-nį, "Eki žay-în-da-gį,
She AFOREMENTIONED.FILL what-ACC two side-POSS3SG-LOC-REL
žanajgį, ayak-tųg veķi (țarîn...) veķi žay-į-nan
AFOREMENTIONED.FILL foot-GEN two (...) two side-POSS3SG-ABL
83. “Aperaciya-niŋ kažet jok” de-p tur de-p.
operation-GEN necessary non.existing say-CONV STAND.AUX say-CONV

‘She is saying, “The operation is not necessary.”’

84. Son-day қa/var gel-t.
that-SIM news come-TERM
‘Such news came.’

85. Süyt-ıvatkanda, tayi bıɾ wöz-im-niŋ, tayi bıɾ apa-m
do.so-HFOC.INTRA.CONV also a self-POSS1SG-GEN also an aunt-POSS1SG
bar et, so-yan şı̄k-kam-bı̄z.
existing DIST.COP she.DAT go.out-POST-1PL

‘In the meanwhile, I have another, I have another aunt, we had called her.’

she polyclinic-LOC accountant be(come)-CONV do-LFOC.INTRA-3SG
‘She works as an accountant in a polyclinic.’

87. WOyan da şı̄k-ţ-k, “Tan içs-tar-i̇ŋ bol-sa,
she.DAT also go.out-TERM-1PL acquaintance-PL-POSS2SGG be(come)-HYP
“oķı̄-ţ-ı̄p kör-şī mı̄na ne-ni” de-p, “Şişimīk-tı̄”
read-CAUS-CONV SEE.AUX.IMP-PART this what-ACC say-CONV radiograph-ACC
de-p.
say-CONV

‘We called her as well, and said, “If you have any acquaintances, please show this thing to them — the radiograph.”’

she also a person-DAT read-CAUS-POST EVID.COP
‘She apparently showed it to a person as well.’
de also operation necessity Актөбе-DAT come-INF3 порtal-DAT
sal-γиζ-и, Актөбе-ге өм-уу гереқ” de-p-tи.
put-CAUS-CONV Актөбе-DAT get-INF necessary сау-POST-3SG
‘Apparently, he also said, “The operation is necessary. Let her come to Aktobe. It is necessary
to register her in the portal and get her to Aktobe.”’

90. ыEndи биңнеңе вранд uжe, ne de-p түр...
now several doctor already what сау-CONV STAND.AUX
эшап-дая... ne-ни... аperациya-ни қаζет de-p
AFOREMENTIONED-SIM.FILL what-ACC operation-ACC necessary сау-CONV
tanи-p түр.
know-CONV STAND.AUX
‘Now several doctors are already, what are they saying, what was it, they are recognizing
the need for an operation.’

91. Al... ыенди напрвлеңие ап-уу гереқ кә ыендый.
and now referral take-INF necessary ПТCL NOW.FILL
‘And... now a referral is needed, as you know.’

what бе(come)-HYP even go-CONV look-PASS-VOL1PL
‘Whatever happens, let’s go and have it checked.’

93. Кәзир бейнет-и-нен өақ-ғаммен, Актөбе-ге өм-кіз-уу киң
now difficulty-POSS3SG-ABL escape-CONV Актөбе-DAT get-CAUS-INF difficult
bol-ип түр да, sol үшін... киңсің-ип, биң
be(come)-CONV STAND.AUX and that for struggle-CONV one
шың-ин, сосьң ыендый ne bol-sa da, көр-ең.
side-POSS3SG-ABL then now what бе(come)-HYP even see-VOL1PL
‘[?] Even if we run away from the difficulties now, it is difficult to get to Aktobe, and be-
cause of this... we will face difficulties, on the one hand, then whatever happens now, let’s see.’

94. Men аyt-ті-m.
I tell-TERM-1SG
‘I told [them].’
95. *Aya-m* bar yo *rendi*.  
brother-POSS1SG existing PTCL NOW.FILL  
‘As you know, I have a brother.’

96. *Kaşi-m-da aya-m* bar, *äke-m* bar.  
near-POSS1SG-LOC brother-POSS1SG existing father-POSS1SG existing  
‘I have my brother and my dad next to me.’

97. *Sol ayt-ìvatìr-im* da *rendi*.  
THAT.FILL tell-HFOC.INTRA-1SG also NOW.FILL  
‘I am telling [them] as well.’

98. “*Käżir beynet-i-nen kaš-kaßen, “w-o-nj, verteŋ ülkem*  
now difficulty-POSS3SG-ABL escape-CONV X-ACC tomorrow big  
beynet-ke yal-îp koy-sa-k, ne-sti-y-mìz?”  
difficulty-DAT remain-CONV PUT.AUX-HYP-1PL what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL  
‘[?] Even if we run away from the difficulties now, if we have big difficulties tomorrow, what can we do?’

99. “*Ne bol-sa da,* tekser-t-îk, *kara-t-ayîk.”  
what be(come)-HYP even investigate-CAUS-VOL1PL look-CAUS-VOL1PL  
‘Whatever happens, let’s have them investigate it, let’s have them look into it.’

100. “*Bil-etin vrač-tar yo* *rendi” de-p.  
know-PN doctor-PL PTCL NOW.FILL say-CONV  
‘The doctors are knowledgeable, aren’t they?’ I said.’

that-ABL Shalkar-GEN surgeon-POSS3SG-DAT front-POSS3SG-LOC see-PASS-NEG-CONV  
get-kem-biz yo. LEAVE.AUX-POST-1PL PTCL  
‘Then, we had not been to the surgeon in Shalkar, as you know.’

102. *Soyan chiaruk-ka bar-dî-k.*  
then surgeon-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
‘So we went to the surgeon.’

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103. “Oyan, χιρύρκ‑ka... ne‑ge... žaz‑djr‑ip köy‑dj‑k. he.DAT surgeon‑DAT what‑DAT write‑CAUS‑CONV put‑AUX‑TERM‑1PL ‘To him, to the doctor... to the thing... we registered [her].’

104. Kïm‑ge? who‑DAT ‘To whom?’

105. Awïl‑dïŋ метsestra‑şi‑n‑a χavarla‑s‑t‑k, Žaz‑djr de‑p. village‑GEN nurse‑POSS3SG‑DAT inform‑COOP‑TERM‑1PL write‑CAUS say‑CONV ‘We got in touch with the village nurse in order to register [her].’

106. ḳEndj ăldîn ala žaz‑jîl‑ma‑sa, kâzîr, now.fill beforehand write‑PASS‑NEG‑HYP now ne‑t‑il‑me‑y‑dî yo, (...) kabída‑ma‑y‑t what‑do‑PASS‑NEG‑LFOC‑INTRA‑3SG PTCL (...) accept‑NEG‑LFOC‑INTRA‑3SG pacîyent‑tį. patient‑ACC ‘Because if she does not register beforehand, you know what will not happen this time, (...) they do not accept patient[s].’

107. Sondîktan, Žaz‑djr‑dî‑k. therefore write‑CAUS‑TERM‑1PL ‘So we had [her] registered.’

108. So‑dan χιρûrk‑ka var‑dî‑k. that‑ABL surgeon‑DAT go‑TERM‑1PL ‘Then, we went to the surgeon.’

109. Xîrûrk‑ka bar‑ip, sîhımîk‑tî körset‑ip, ald‑în‑da kezek surgeon‑DAT go‑CONV radiograph‑ACC show‑CONV front‑POSS3SG‑LOC queue köb eken. many EVID.COP ‘We went to the surgeon and showed him the radiograph, apparently, there was a long queue in front of [his office].’
go.out-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV 'Somehow we told the people in front of [the office] that we would only show [the radiograph] and leave.'

enter-TERM-1PL 'We entered in about ten to fifteen minutes.'

12. So-dan kır-dık-m da, (ALBL ) ırurk-ka körset-ıv edı-m, that-ABL enter-TERM-1SG and surgeon-DAT show-CONV DIST.COP-1SG siňi:miği-tiŋ yara-t ta, “Őz-i yayda?” de-t.
radiograph-ACC look-TERM and self-POSS3SG where say-TERM 'Then, I entered and showed it to the surgeon, he looked at the radiograph and asked, “Where is she?”'

13. Sosîn “őz-i astı-da... ne-de, maşi-na-da żatîr” de-v then self-POSS3SG under-LOC what-LOC car-LOC lie-HFOC.INTRA say-CONV edı-m. “Al-ıp kel-iţiţ, arka-la-سا-ňiş da al-ıp DIST.COP-1SG take-CONV come-IMP2 back-GER-HYP-2SG even take-CONV kel-iţiţ!” de-p ana ırurk sůyde-p, men-i šiyy-ar-ıp come-IMP2 say-CONV that surgeon say.so-CONV I-ACC go.out-AOR-CONV sal-dì. PUT.AUX-TERM 'Then, I said, “She is downstairs... lying in the thing... in the car.” The surgeon said, “Bring her! Bring her even if you have to carry her!” and he sent me out.'

that-ABL remedy non.existing 'So there was no way out.'

15. Al-ıp kel de-p tür-yan soň, kalay take-CONV come.IMP say-CONV STAND.AUX-AN how
äkel-me-y-m  →endj.  
bring-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-1SG  now  
‘After he said to bring her, how can I not bring her now.’

116. So-dan  aya-m-a  šiş-ti-m.  
that-ABL  brother-POSS1SG-DAT  go.out-TERM-1SG  
‘Then I called my brother.’

117. Aya-m  Şalkar-da  žumiş  iste-vatır  edि  yo.  
brother-POSS1SG  Shalkar-LOC  work  do-HFOC.INTRA  DIST.COP  PTCL  
‘My brother was working in Shalkar, as you know.’

118. ‘Žumiş-iň-a  ket-e  ber,  yegeгer  kerek  bol-sa-ŋ,  
work-POSS2SG-DAT  leave-CONV  GIVE.AUX.IMP  if  necessary  be(come)-HYP-2SG  
šı̣̈-ı̣̈-e  šı̣̈-tı̣̈-kı̣̈.  
inform-COOP-CONV  take-CAUS-LFOC.INTRA-1PL  say-POST-1PL  PTCL  
‘Go to your job, if we need you, we will call and [have someone to] pick you up!’ we had said.’

119. So-dan  aya-m...  
that-ABL  brother-POSS1SG  
‘Then my brother...’

120. Ābet-tiq  wakış-tę  bol-i̠p  kal-yan  et.  
lunch-GEN  time-POSS3SG  be(come)-CONV  REMAIN.AUX-POST  DIST.COP  
‘It was almost time for lunch.’

121. So-dan  (...)  aya-m-a  kel,  tezdet-i̠p  de-p,  
that-ABL  (...)  brother-POSS1SG-DAT  come.IMP  speed.up-CONV  say-CONV  
so-dan,  aya-m  kel-di.  
that-ABL  brother-POSS1SG  come-TERM  
‘Then, I told my brother to come quickly, and then my brother came.’

122. So-dan  kaytadan  kalyaska  al-i̠p  šiş-ti-k.  
that-ABL  again  wheelchair  take-CONV  go.out-TERM-1PL  
‘Then, we took the wheelchair and we went out again.’
'Ve took the wheelchair out of the polyclinic, seated mum in it and took her [inside] the polyclinic.'

124. Sosīn, palikliňika-da lift jok. then polyclinic-LOC elevator non.existing 'Then, there is no elevator in the polyclinic.'

125. ṭEkį jetaż-dį palikliňika yo. two floor-ADJ polyclinic PTCL 'Apparently, it is a two-story polyclinic.'

126. ṭEkį-nįį jetaż-ĩn-a šiy-ũw kįyĩn. two-ORD floor-POSS3SG-DAT go.out-INF difficult 'It is difficult to get to the second floor.'

127. Lestńica, baspaldaq ƙana var. staircase staircase only existing 'There is only a staircase — a staircase.'

128. So-dan vendo "Ne-sti-y-mįź?" de-p, ᣀke-m men that-ABL now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV father-POSS1SG and aya-m, amal ẓok, mama-m-dį kįter-ĩv brother-POSS1SG remedy non.existing mother-POSS1SG-ACC lift-CONV al-t.
TAKE.AUX-TERM 'So, "What are we going to do now?" we thought. My dad and my brother, there was no other way, picked up my mum.'

129. Mama-m salmaň-tį-law et ārį. mother-POSS1SG weight-ADJ-COMP DIST.COP also 'My mum is also overweight.'
There was no other way, they picked her up slowly and somehow managed to take her upstairs.'

They took her to the examination table right away, and seated her in front of the surgeon.'

'After the surgeon looked at it, he said, "The plaster cast has not been applied correctly." He opened the plaster cast… but did not look at anything else.'

'Then, he made the plaster cast again.'

In order to make the plaster cast, the nurses said, "Go and bring a bandage!" Then I ran. Fortunately, there was a pharmacy downstairs.
Selected characteristics illustrated with examples from the text

Phonology

The Kazakh sound system exhibits several characteristics that are not always reflected in the orthography. Based on the narrative, we begin our description with some of these well-known phonological phenomena.

The vowel e in initial position typically exhibits a prothetic қ, e.g. S41: қекі ‘two’, S8: қертен ‘tomorrow’. Exceptions include copular markers based on the defective verb e- ‘to be’, e.g. S40: екен ‘it is evident that’, S117: еді ‘was’. See also Kirchner (1992: 93).


The bilabial glide w, rendered in the Cyrillic script as ɣ, is found in all positions, e.g. S120: ɰат-і ‘make’ ‘its time’, S54: аулық-ға ‘to the village’, S150: ашас-ғас ‘to go’, S61: бар-ұғ ‘to go’, S27: кел-ұғ ‘to come’. The diphthongized ы, rendered in Cyrillic with the letter ы, is found in the following two backvocalic examples of the narrative: S93: кийін ‘difficult’ and S54: сияқты ‘like’. In front-vocalic environments, it may be realized as ы or и.


Other less frequently described phenomena of spoken Kazakh found in the narrative are discussed below.


Spoken Kazakh exhibits various external and internal sandhi phenomena, which can be evidenced through numerous examples presented in the narrative. These include the following:


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The spoken data exhibits numerous types of contractions. The following instances are attested:

- Devoicing of $d$- preceded by a voiceless -$k$ occurs in S20 and S61: *gerek te-p* ‘keren dem’ ‘literally: necessary say-CONV’.


- Affricativization of $z$ occurs in žok ‘not existing’ after the voiceless consonant $t$ in S124: *lif jok* ‘lift tok’ ‘there is no elevator’, and in S83: *każet jok* ‘każet tok’ ‘it is not necessary’, cf. S114: *amal žok* ‘amal tok’ ‘there is no way out (literally: there is no remedy)’.


- Defricativization of $ç$ is attested in one example after the consonant $y$, see S118: *kerek bol-saŋ kabarra-s-ip al-dিr-a-miz* ‘kerek bolsan хabarlasyp aldyramy’ ‘if we need you, we will call and [have someone to] pick you up’.

- Partial regressive assimilation is observed in certain consonant clusters between morphemes. The syllable-final $n$ often becomes $m$ when followed by a bilabial consonant, e.g. S118: *de-gem-biz dişen-biz* ‘we had said’, S93: *kaş-kamment* ‘kaşkammente’ ‘even if [we] run away’, S79: *żyver-ip koy-yam-biz* ‘berezin koyzanyby’ ‘we had sent [it]’, S132: *sal-im-ba-yan* ‘salymbatan’ ‘[it] has not been applied’, S2: *ülken biŋ* ‘ulken bir’ ‘a big’. Similarly, $n$ becomes $ŋ$ when followed by $g$ or $y$, e.g. S82: *siŋ-yam* ‘styngan’ ‘[it] is broken’, S4: *rengen-ge* ‘rentgentge’ ‘to the X-ray’.

The spoken data exhibits numerous types of contractions. The following instances are attested:

- The auxiliary verb *tasta* ‘to throw’ is realized as *tåsa*, e.g. S16: *apar-ip tsa-r* ‘aparyn tøstår’ ‘[he] will drop [her]’, S17: *apar-ip tsa-y-siz* ‘aparyn tøstays¥’ ‘you will drop [her]’, S18: *aparip tsa-y-t* ‘aparyn tøstaitømøn’ ‘I will drop [her]’.

- The vowel of the question particle *ne* ‘what?’ and the initial vowel of the following word are merged, e.g. S14: *ne-sti-y-m* ‘ne isteømøn’ ‘what am I going to do?’, S53: *ne-ste-di-k* ‘ne isteødik’ ‘what did we do?’, S55: *ne-sti-miz* ‘ne isteømøz’ ‘what do we go to do?’, S67: *ne-sti-r-imiz-di* ‘ne isteørimøz’ ‘what to do (literally: what do-AOR-POSS1PL-ACC)’, S106: *ne-tiil-me-y-di* ‘ne etiømeødiøy’ ‘what will not happen? (literally: what-do-PASS-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG)’.

- In postverbal constructions, the auxiliary verb *al-‘to take’ is often contracted with the preceding convers *-{(l)}p*, at the same time resulting in a sandhi, e.g. S30: *rengen-ge tis-iv-al-øyik* ‘rentøntge tʊsɪn alayik’ ‘let’s take an X-ray’, S32: *mama-ni* ‘otir-iyz-iv-al-di-k* ‘manamen otaryzyny aldyk’ ‘we seated mum’, S52: *al-iv-al-di-k* ‘alyp aldyk’ ‘we took [it]’, S56: *al-iv-al-øyik* ‘alyn alayik’ ‘let’s buy [it]’. Similarly, the grammaticalized high-focal intraterminal form *{(l)}v-atir*, developed from the convers *{(l)}p* + the auxiliary verb *жал-‘ the old aorist marker *-ir, exhibits a sandhi phenomenon of the convers and the deletion of *- of the auxiliary *жал-*, e.g. S56: *bar-iv-atir edik-k baryn jutiry ediy ‘we were going’, S65: *xavar kel-iv-atir* ‘habar kelin jutiry’ ‘news are coming’, S66: *de-v-atir* ‘de jutiry’ ‘[she] is saying’, S97: *ayt-
In compound words of city names, the first vowel and the first syllable of the second constituent are omitted in S78: Қандығаш-та-ғу Қандығаш-тағығы 'the one in Kandyagash' and in S22: Sarıbak-қа 'Sarybak' respectively.

In other morpheme boundaries, i.e. S68: қайтатан қайтадан 'again'.

Furthermore, the pronominal verbs süyt- 'to do so' and s öde- 'to say so' are pronounced as süyt- and s öde-, respectively, e.g. S68: süyt-ju-at-kan gez-de 'сыйтп жатқан кезде' 'in the meanwhile', S54: āyel-şi s öde-t 'айел сөйдеді' 'his wife said so'.

The final glide in the modal particle (ғой) is often deleted, resulting in forms like ғользова и ғодаса. S108: қор машина қор машина 'the one in Kandyagash' and in S22: Sarıbak-қа 'Sarybak', respectively.

Furthermore, progressive assimilation of syllables and suffixes containing a rounded high vowel results in labial harmony, e.g. S8: бүрү ' bury', S31: айт эйге 'at least', S1: гүнү 'its day', S36: күт-ү-к 'куттук' 'we waited'.

The normally two-fold harmony in the conjunction {D±A²} 'and,' 'too' is not attested in the narrative. It is represented as {D²а}, i.e. ға or ға, in front environments as well, e.g. S40: бер та берді де 'he gave [it] and', S6: мен да 'me too', S42: сканер-ле-ди-м а 'I scanned [it] and'.

A similar observation can be made in the case of the question particle (M³A³), where the back vocalic variant may be used following a front vocalic word as in S53: көңил-имиз бирлє-дї ma 'were we relieved? (Literally: mood-poss1pl unite-pass-term Q)' However, this contrasts with S36: 'он бәс мүйкит-тәй мә 'about fifteen minutes', where the question particle is harmonized with the preceding word.
Variation in suffixes

In certain positions, the 1SG personal marker of the pronominal type, i.e. {+M\textsuperscript{1}N} is shortened. Most frequently it occurs after the low-focal intraterminal marker {-A\textsuperscript{2}/-y}, e.g. S14: ne-sti-y-m? ‘what am I going to do?’, S21: de-y-m қейімін ‘I say’, S49: kara-t-ip ber-e-m қаратегі берімін ‘I will show’, S74: tapsı̈r-ip koy-a-m тапсырып қойымын ‘I will hand [her] over’, S115: ākel-me-y-m қалкемейімін ‘I do not bring’. The same is observed after the aorist marker {-A\textsuperscript{2}} in S14: kör-er-im қоюрімін ‘I will see’, after the auxiliary _pago to lie (down)’ in S97: ayt-

The 3SG personal marker {-d\textsuperscript{1}N}\textsuperscript{2} is often realized as a shortened and devoiced -t after the low-focal intraterminal marker {-A\textsuperscript{2}/-y}, e.g. S26: žūr-üw-ge bol-ma-y-t жұруғе болмаідым ‘she cannot walk’, S86: īsti-y-t-істейіді ‘[she] works’, S106: kabilda-ma-y-t-қабылдамайдым ‘[they] do not accept’. In the same way, the terminal marker {-D\textsuperscript{1}N} frequently becomes -t in 3SG when following a vowel or the voiced consonant l, e.g. S7: gel-t қеді ‘it came’, S8: zvanda-t звондадым ‘[he] called’, S11: bol-ma-y yat-l-болмай қалдым ‘there was no [place] left’, S25: sal-t салды ‘[they] put’, S40: ber-t берді ‘[he] gave’, S55: al-t салды ‘[he] bought’, S63: tūsin-dire al-ma-t түсінір емді алмадым ‘[she] could not explain’, S75: de-t қөді ‘[she] said’, S112: kara-t қарағды ‘[he] looked’, S19: gerek et қерек еді ‘[it] was necessary’.

Furthermore, the 1PL of the volutative marker, i.e. {-A\textsuperscript{2}yI\textsuperscript{2}K\textsuperscript{3}} also shows variation. It is shortened to -ı̈k in S99: tekser-t-ı̈k тексеріп еді ‘let’s have them investigate it’. Furthermore, the lax vowel is often reduced resulting in forms like S99: kara-ayk қаратегің ‘let’s have them look into it’ and S93: kör-eyk қорейік ‘let’s see’.

Morphology

Word formation

Derivational suffixes may attach to both earlier and recent copies, see, for instance, the denominal verbal suffix {-L\textsuperscript{1}3A\textsuperscript{3}} used with an earlier copy in S58: xavar-la-s қан ‘[he] informed’ ← қабар ‘information’, ‘news’ of Arabic origin. More recent copies include S57: zvan-da-dji ‘[she] called’ ↔ Russian звон ← звонить ‘to ring’ and S42: skaner-le-di-m ‘I scanned’ ↔ Russian сканер ‘scanner’. Similarly, the denominal adjective marker {-L\textsuperscript{1}N} occurs together with a Russian copy in S125: rekì etaz-dji ‘two-floor’ ↔ Russian этажо ‘floor’.

Furthermore, interesting compounding includes gaz ğasa-p al- ‘to buy gasoline’ in S55. The verb ğasa- ‘to do’, ‘to make’ in this context is used only in the spoken language, cf. standard gaz kuy-ip al- and gaz tolʧir-ip al- ‘to buy gasoline’.

Case marking

The dative case marking in S70: so-yan sölýes-e-m ‘I will talk to him’ is unusual in Kazakh as sölýes- ‘to talk’, ‘to speak’ may take a second argument typically in the instrumental case as in S72: Men soł kįsį-men sölýes-ti-m ‘I spoke with that person’.

Postpositions

The use of the postposition boïnša ‘according to’ instead of тұраті ‘about’ in S58: Sol, {Name:Boïnsha} rezultat-ї boïnša {Name:Boïnsha} adam xavarla-s-қан eken, travmatologîk ‘Apparently that person informed her about the result — the traumatologist,’ deviates from standard Kazakh, however, it may be used in spoken registers.
Approximative numerals

The indefinite article bir and the question particle {M^2A^2} can add to the approximative nature of approximative adverbial phrases formed, for instance, by the simulative suffix {+D^2A^2y} as seen in S36. A similar observation is evident in S22, where the plural form of the complex converb in kal-yandarda, followed by the question particle {M^2A^2}, also exhibit approximation. Moreover, in S11, the already approximative meaning conveyed by the interval =on~on bes ‘ten-fifteen’ is further emphasized by the addition of šama ‘about’ and maŋ-İn-da ‘Literally: side-POSS3SG-LOC’, both of which also convey the sense of approximation.

Postverbal constructions

A well-known phenomenon in Kazakh is the frequent use of postverbal constructions. The narrative analyzed in this paper exhibits a high number of these constructions based predominantly on the converb {-(İ)p}, and to a lesser extent, on the converb {-A^2/-y}, combined with auxiliary verbs such as S24: al- ‘to take’, S40: ber- ‘to give’, S3: kal- ‘to remain’, S12: koy- ~ S34: yoy- ‘to put’, S16: tsa- ‘to throw’ etc., or with grammaticalized auxiliaries such as S117: ŋatır ‘to lie (down)’ and S38: tur ‘to stand’. A non-standard use of the postverbal construction in S56: bar-İv-ätîr edî-k ‘we were going/we were on the way’, will be described below, while its phonological and morphophonological characteristics have already been mentioned above. Otherwise, postverbal constructions found in the narrative are consistent with standard Kazakh.

Viewpoint aspect and tense

High-focal intraterminality in the narrative is expressed by the converbial form (either {-(İ)p} or {-A^2/-y}) of a lexical verb and the grammaticalized auxiliaries ŋatır ‘to lie (down)’ or tur ‘to stand’. In one case, namely in S56, the use of the converb {-(İ)p} in the imperfect bar-İv-ätîr edî-k ‘we were going/we were on the way’ instead of {-A^2/-y}, i.e. bar-a ŋatır edî-k ‘id.’ is considered non-standard according to Kazakh grammar rules. However, in spoken Kazakh, it is regarded as an acceptable form.

A significant part of the narrative is told in the past tense. However, it is important to note that the past copular marker edî ~ et ‘was’ is attached to the predicate bar ~ var ‘exist’, and it is often utilized to serve a particular narrative style, i.e. to create a sense of distance to the past, rather than to indicate an actual past possession. For instance, in S78: Kandiyas-ta-ţi ku đáoyay-imiz var et ‘We have our co-mother-in-law in Kandyagash’, the co-mother-in-law in question has an ongoing presence, i.e. she is alive.

Furthermore, the particle tûyîn ‘used to be’ is typically used in dialects spoken in South Kazakhstan to indicate habitual past (Doskaraev 2010: 5). In S46: Sol apa-nîñ Zambil-da tur-ätîn apa-sî var tûyîn ‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl,’ the use of var tûyîn serves the same narrative purpose as the previously mentioned bar edî.

Syntactic features

Sentence and clauses

The speaker tends to use syntactically less-complex sentences. Finite clauses with verbal predicates, e.g. S6: Men da ŋumis-tan şura-n-di-m ‘I also took a leave from work’, finite existential clauses, e.g. S114: So-dan amal şok ‘So there was no way out’, and finite possessive clauses, e.g. S95: Aya-m bar yo-렌디 ‘As you know, I have a brother’ are relatively frequent.

On the other hand, nonfinite clauses are mainly represented by relative clauses formed by participant nominals, e.g. S46: Sol apa-nîñ Zambil-da tur-ätîn apa-sî var tûyîn ‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl,’ by adverbial action clauses, see, for instance, {G^A^2n} + soŋ and {G^A^2n} + DAT + keyîn, respectively in S38: Kiş-gen soŋ, rengeŋ-ge tüs-kennen geyîn, rezultat-i-n şamali kût-îp tur-di-k ‘After entering and taking the X-ray, we were waiting a little bit for the result’, and most...
frequently by the verb \{-{I^{+}}p\}, e.g. S5: \textit{So-yan mayan “Er-ip bar!” de-gen} 'Then she said, “Come [with me]!”’.

Furthermore, the verb \{-{I^{+}}p\} is often used for linking events, as in S109: \textit{Xirurk-ka bar-ip siit-i̇m-i̇k-ti̇ körset-ip ald-i̇n-da kezek köp eken} ‘We went to the surgeon and showed the radiograph, apparently, there was a long queue in front of [his office]’. The most frequently used coordinative conjunction is represented by the use of the back-vocalic (D\textsuperscript{2}a) ‘also’, ‘too’, regardless of the nature of the vocalic environment, see, for instance, S112: \textit{So-dan kir-dı̇-m da, xirurk-ka körset-ı̇v edı̇-m, siit-i̇m-i̇k-ti̇ kara-tı̇ ta, “ı̇z-ı̇ kayda?” de-t} ‘Then I entered and showed it to the surgeon, he looked at that radiograph and asked, “Where is she?”’. Furthermore, sentences are most commonly linked by discourse markers, such as \textit{so-yan, so-dan, so} ~ \textit{so, so-dan sol, sonı̇-men, sosın, sondı̇ktan, al} in the meaning of ‘then’, ‘so’, ‘therefore’, ‘and’ etc., see, for instance, S102: \textit{So-yan xirurk-ka bar-dı̇-k} ‘So we went to the surgeon’.

\textbf{Word order}

Spoken Kazakh has a fairly flexible constituent order. The narrative exhibits numerous instances of scrambling where various syntactic categories, both on phrasal and clausal levels, are placed in non-canonical positions. See the following examples:

- S12: The locative adverbial phrase \textit{ū̄s mašı̇na-yı̇} ‘for three cars’ is situated after the verbal predicate, i.e. \textit{žaz-il-ip köy-yı̇n} ‘signed up’.
- S15: The relational adjective \textit{ı̇y-de-gı̇} ‘the one at home’ is extraposed from its head noun, i.e. \textit{ma̱ma-yı̇} ‘to mum’, that it normally modifies.
- S16: The temporal adverb \textit{tańertı̇n} ‘morning’ is extraposed from its modifier, i.e. \textit{ı̇rter} ‘tomorrow’.
- S25: The direct object \textit{ma̱ma-nı̇} ‘mum (ACC)’ is topicalized at the beginning of the sentence.
- S67: The main clause, i.e. \textit{so-dan bas-imı̇z yat-tı̇} ‘then we were confused’ proceeds the adverbial clause, i.e. \textit{ne-s-ı̇rter-imı̇z-dı̇ bı̇l-me-yı̇} ‘we did not know what to do.’

Furthermore, in S80, according to Kazakh syntactic rules, the possessor, i.e. \textit{renggen-nı̇} ‘X-ray’ should precede the possessum, i.e. \textit{rezultat-ı̇n} ‘result-POSS3SG-ACC’, and the possessive construction itself, i.e. \textit{renggen-nı̇ renggen-nı̇} rezultat-ı̇n instead of rezultat-ı̇n renggen-nı̇ X-ray result (ACC)’ should precede the verbal predicate, i.e. \textit{ı̇zver-ip koyp-dı̇-k} ‘we sent’.

- It is worth looking at the Russian translation of S80: ‘Так мы отправили результат рентген’a. Russian influence is striking at both phrasal and clausal levels. Since both constituents of the noun phrase, i.e. \textit{rezultat-ı̇n} renggen-nı̇ are of Russian origin, it was most likely copied as a noun phrase. supplemented by additional Kazakh genitive and possessive markers.
- Scrambling of syntactic constituents is frequently used in spoken Kazakh and carries various discourse-pragmatic and stylistic functions, e.g. afterthought in S12, clarification in S15 and S16, topicalization in S25, reminder of a previously activated topic in S67 and S80.

\textbf{Direct speech constructions}

The narrative is very rich in direct speech constructions and exhibits various standard and non-standard patterns. Often, the direct speech is simply followed by a finite verb of saying, most commonly \textit{de- ‘to say’}, as in S5. However, most frequently, direct speech is formed by adding \textit{de-p} ‘say-CONV’ as a quotation particle between the direct speech and another finite verb, e.g. \textit{ayt- ‘to tell’} as in S61. The clause order can also vary, see, for instance, S8, where the direct speech, i.e. \textit{ı̇rter-ba-rı̇tın bol-dı̇-k} ‘we are going tomorrow’ followed by \textit{de-p} ‘say-CONV’ is placed after the main predicate, i.e. \textit{ızan-dı̇-ı̇ tı̇ he called}, a Russian copy that may be the reason for the non-canonical clause order; cf. Russian ‘За день до того дня, как мы поедем в город, папа позвонил: “Мы собираемся
In S18, de-p 'say-CONV' stands alone after the direct speech, i.e. tek apar-ip tsay-y-m 'I will only drop you,' and it is directly followed by another thought, i.e. so-dan tanertereg verte šiy-ip ket-ti-k 'then we left early in the morning,' smoothly linking the two clauses together. Occasionally, direct speech may be embedded between two verbs of saying, as in S70, where it is situated between ayt- 'to tell' and de- 'to say', respectively.

In S75, we find direct speech within direct speech, where the speaker’s choice of the indirective postterminal marker {-(I)p} in ayt-ip-tį [he] evidently said’ typically implies second-hand information, although according to the context, it was first-hand information perceived by Aunt Marzhan, whom the speaker quotes. The use of the indirective postterminal marker {-(I)p}, seems to be confusion on the speaker’s side when quoting the words of Aunt Marzhan, possibly because the information was second-hand for the speaker herself.

Modal particles

Spoken Kazakh is very rich in modal particles. The most productive modal particle used in the narrative is {Г^2}oy which is realized as either yo scoff or ko scoff ko. It most commonly conveys shared knowledge (whether it has been explicitly shared or not) as in S117: Aya-m Şölkar-da şunjis jste-v-atisch ediy yo 'My brother is working in Shalkar, as you know.' {Г^2}oy is often followed by the lexical filler rendj 'now', and similarly carries the function of shared information or givenness, e.g. S10: Taksi-ge biz... aldiň ala žaz-il-a-miş yoy rendj 'For the taxi, we... should sign up beforehand, as you know.' There are instances where {Г^2}oy is followed by de-y-миn 'say-LPOCINA-TACG', and expresses conjecture, e.g. S21: Žetj bol-ma-y šık-ti-k koey-de-y-m i think we left before seven.' For more on the functions of {Г^2}oy, see, for instance, Abish (2016: 75–84) and Christopher (2020).

Other modal particles of the narrative include the enclitic -sï in S87, aw in S39 and түгүн in S46. As discussed earlier, the use of the past habitual түгүн is characteristic of the dialects spoken in the southern regions of Kazakhstan (Doskaraev 2010: 5). It is possible that the mention of Zhambyl, a city located in South Kazakhstan, influenced the speaker’s choice of using түгүн.

Other pragmatic strategies

Naturally, the narrative exhibits numerous false starts, self-corrections, pauses, repetitions, placeholders and lexical fillers, which are all typical phenomena found in spoken language. They are frequently used by the speaker as pragmatic tools to correct mistakes, to replace a word or thought she is not able to recall, and to gain time to remember or formulate a thought. The two most widely used lexical fillers are rendj 'now' and Žanajy 'aforementioned’ with their various forms often combined with the lexical item ne ‘what’, e.g. S50: Žanja ne-ni, S90: Žanajy-day ne-ni. In S87, the lexical item ne-ni ‘what (ACC)’ given as ‘thing (ACC)’ in the English translation functions as a placeholder and it mirrors the morphosyntactic feature (ACC) of the target item, i.e. sů:mik-tį ‘radiograph (ACC)’, which appears in the postpredicative position where it bears the function of clarification. Similarly, in S70, ne-de-qi translated as ‘in where’ (Literally: what-LOC-REL) functions as a placeholder for Aktöbe-de-qi ‘in Aktobe’ (Literally: Aktöbe-LOC-REL).

Foreign lexicon


In comparison, the number of Russian loans is much higher. Due to its nature, the narrative contains numerous medical terms that do not have Kazakh counterparts, e.g. S53: rengenolı̄k ‘рентгенолог’ ‘radiologist’ ← Russian рентгенолог ‘id,’ S59: apерации ‘операция’ ‘operation’ ← Russian операция ‘id,’ S113: ѫхирук ѫхирур ‘surgeon’ ← Russian ѫхирур ‘id.’
Besides the prevalence of medical terminology, the number of Russian elements is still significant. Other Russian loanwords used in both spoken and literary Kazakh are, for instance, S89: "partial — 'portal' ≡ Russian ‘порtal’ 'id.', S55: "bag-f/n — 'its tank (ACC)' ≡ Russian ‘бак’ 'tank', S42: "skaner-le-di-m — 'канерледиим' 'I scanned' ≡ Russian 'сканер' 'scanner'.

The number of Russian loanwords in Kazakh began to increase after the Russian conquest in the 19th century (Johanson 2021: 213). After the Republic of Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, a process of Kazakhization has been implemented through Kazakh language policy, resulting in the creation of Kazakh equivalents for many foreign copies (Aldasheva 2022: 138).

Although certain Russian words have Kazakh counterparts, many Kazakh speakers in Kazakhstan show a tendency to use Russian forms in their spoken language. See the following examples from the narrative: S19: "sadik-ke — 'to the kindergarten' ≡ Russian ‘садик’ 'kindergarten' instead of bala-bakša — ‘балабакша’ 'id.', S124: "lift — 'elevator' ≡ Russian ‘лифт’ 'id.' instead of žedelšatj — ‘жеделсаты’ 'id.' S54: "ābed — 'lunch' ≡ Russian ‘обед’ 'id.' instead of tūskı — ‘түскі’ 'id.' S134: "apteka — 'pharmacy' ≡ Russian ‘аптека’ 'id.' instead of dārixda — ‘дарыкда’ 'id.' In some cases, however, the speaker provides the Kazakh equivalent right after the Russian word, e.g. S33: "oçert — ‘queue’ ≡ Russian ‘очередь’ 'id.' vs. kezek — ‘kæzek’ 'id.', S75: "napравлёніе — 'referral' ≡ Russian ‘направление’ 'id.' vs. žoldtama — ‘жолдама’ 'id.' S127: "lestńica — 'staircase' ≡ Russian ‘лестница’ 'id.' vs. baspałdaq — ‘баспалдақ’ 'id.'

Other grammatical categories of Russian origin, such as adverbs and phrases, are occasionally used in the narrative, see, for instance, S90: "uże — 'already' ≡ Russian ‘уже’ 'id.', S50: "esli — 'if there is anything' ≡ Russian ‘если что’ 'id.'

Furthermore, international words that are part of the standard Kazakh lexicon include for instance S52: "telefon — ‘telephone’, S9: "taksi — ‘такси’ 'taxi', S39: "minut — 'minute' vs. S111: "mùyn — ‘minute’ 'minute'.

References and readings


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