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## **Spoken Kazakh: A Case Study from the Aktobe Region in Western Kazakhstan**

### **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 bölgesinden bir durum çalışması**

### **Öz**

Bu makale, Kazakistan'ın batısındaki Aktöbe bölgesinde kaydedilen bir anlatıya dayanarak Kazakça konuşma dilini incelemektedir. Anlatının çevriyazısı, satırasası analizi ve İngilizce çevirisi sunulduktan sonra konuşma diline özgü pek çok dilbilimsel olgu tartışılmaktadır. Makalede ayrıca, Kazakça yazı dili ile karşılaştırmalara da yer verilmektedir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Kazakça konuşma dili, Aktöbe bölgesi, Batı Kazakistan, 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 (Amanžolov 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-atır* <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. *Aldiñγī* *gün-ü* *kala-γa* *var-ïp* *kel-dï-m.*  
previous day-POSS3SG city-DAT go-CONV come-TERM-1SG  
‘I went to the city the day before yesterday.’
2. *Ƙala-γa* *bar-uw-ïm-nïñ* *wöz-ï* *ülkem* *bïr...* *žïr* *bol-dï.*  
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. *Aldiñγī* *gün-ü...* *mama-m-nïñ* *ayay-ï* *sïn-ïp*  
previous day-POSS3SG mother-POSS1SG-GEN foot-POSS3SG break-CONV  
*Ƙal-γan* *γoy,* *wötken-de* *bïr* *ay-day* *bol-dï.*  
REMAIN.AUX-POST PART past-LOC one month-SIM be(come)-TERM  
‘The day before yesterday... As you know, my mum’s foot broke, it has been about a month.’
4. *So-γan...* *reñgeñ-ge* *tüs-ïr-ïp,* (...) *sïñikšï-γa* *Ƙara-t-ïp,*  
that-DAT X-ray-DAT fall-CAUS-CONV (...) bonesetter-DAT look-CAUS-CONV  
*bar-ïp* *Ƙayt-Ƙï-mïz* *kel-gen.*  
go-CONV return-AN-1PL come-POST  
‘Then... we wanted to go to X-ray [it], (...) and show it to the bonesetter.’

5. *So-yan mayan “yEr-ıp bar!” de-gen.*  
 that-DAT I.DAT follow-CONV go.IMP say-POST  
 ‘Then, she said, “Come [with me]!”’
6. *Men da žumıs-tan sūra-n-dī-m.*  
 I also work-ABL ask-PASS-TERM-1SG  
 ‘I also took a leave from work.’
7. *So-dan, keškī-lik χavar gel-t.*  
 that-ABL evening-DER news come-TERM  
 ‘Then, in the evening the news came.’
8. *Қала-ға бар-аtīn күн-нен бір гүн бұрын, papa zvan-da-t,*  
 city-DAT go-PN day-ABL one day before father bell-DER-TERM  
*“yErteñ bar-аtīn bol-dī-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 žaz-īl-ayīn de-se-m, taksi-de worīn*  
 that-ABL taxi-DAT write-PASS-VOL1SG say-HYP-1SG taxi-LOC place  
*žok.*  
 non.existing  
 ‘Then, when I wanted to sign up for a taxi, there was no place in the taxi.’
10. *Taksi-ge bız... aldīn ala žaz-īl-a-mīz γo yendī.*  
 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 worīn bol-ma-y γal-t.*  
 THAT.FILL taxi-LOC place be(come)-NEG-CONV REMAIN.AUX-TERM  
 ‘There was no place left in the taxi.’
12. *Қіры-екі adam žaz-īl-ıp қой-ған, үш машина-ға, толық*  
 fourty-two person write-PASS-CONV PUT.AUX-POST three car-DAT full

*de-p.*

say-CONV

‘Forty-two people signed up, for three cars, it was said that [the cars] were full.’

13. *Sonı-men,            wörin    bol-ma-y            yal-t.*  
that-WITH.POSTP    place    be(come)-NEG-CONV    REMAIN.AUX-TERM

‘So, there was no place left.’

14. *So-dan            “Endi    ne-sti-y-m”            de-p,            “Kör-er-ım”    de-p.*  
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-iv    edi-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. *wOl    “Erteñ    papa-ñ            apar-ıp            tsa-r            tañerteñ”*  
she    tomorrow    father-POSS2SG    carry-CONV    THROW.AUX-AOR    morning  
*de-p,            so-lay            koy-yan.*  
say-CONV    that-SIM    put-POST

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

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

say-POST-1SG

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

18. *Papa            “Tek    apar-ıp            tsa-y-m”            de-p,            so-dan*  
father    only    carry-CONV    THROW.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-1SG    say-CONV    that-ABL  
*tañerteñ    verte    šik-ıp            ket-ti-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-ip kel-uw 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(come)-NEG-CONV go.out-TERM-1PL PART say-LFOC.INTRA-1SG  
 '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-dï-k, a Sarılaq-ka var-dï-k.*  
 go-TERM-1PL oh Sarybulak-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
 'So when it was around fifteen to seven, we went to Shalkar, oh [no], we went to Sarybulak.'
23. *So-dan Sarılaq-ka var-ıp, papa apar-ıp 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].'
24. *So-dan bir šäy iş-ıp al-dï-k ta, šik-ti-k.*  
 that-ABL a tea drink-CONV TAKE.AUX-TERM-1PL and go.out-TERM-1PL  
 'Then we had a [cup of] tea and left.'
25. *Mama-ni sol papa men Äzken köter-ıp, mäšina-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-ın-a                      žür-üw-ge                      bol-ma-y-t,                      қозыал-ұw-ya*  
 foot-POSS3SG-DAT      walk-INF-DAT      be(come)-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG      move-INF-DAT  
*bol-ma-y-t    de-geñ soñ,      sol                      köter-ip*  
 be(come)-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG      say-CONV      THAT.FILL      pick.up-CONV  
*sal-dï.*  
 put-TERM

‘Since she was told not to walk or move her foot, they lifted and put [her] in.’

27. *So-dan,      Şalkar-ya      bar-dï-k.*  
 that-ABL      Shalkar-DAT      go-TERM-1PL

‘Then we went to Shalkar.’

28. *So,                      aya-m                      wöz      mäşina-sï-men                      gel-t.*  
 THAT.FILL      brother-POSS1SG      self      car-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP      come-TERM

‘My brother came with his own car.’

29. *So-dan      Şalkar-da...      men      bïr-ïnşï...      ne-ge      var-dï-k...?*  
 that-ABL      Shalkar-LOC      I      one-ORD      what-DAT      go-TERM-1PL

‘Then in Shalkar... at first, I... where did we go...?’

30. *Reñgeñ-ge      tüs-iv-al-ayïk    bïr-den      de-p,      sol*  
 X-ray-DAT      fall-CONV-TAKE.AUX-VOL1PL      one-ABL      say-CONV      THAT.FILL  
*gipis-i-men    reñgeñ-ge      tüs-ir-üw-ge*  
 plaster.cast-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP      X-ray-DAT      fall-CAUS-INF-DAT  
*bol-a-dï    eken      de-geñ soñ,*  
 be(come)-LFOC.INTRA-3SG      EVID.COP      say-CONV  
*bïr-ïnşï      paliklińika-ya      bar-dï-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.’

31. *Paliklińika-da      äytewür      kalyaska      var      eken      қayta.*  
 polyclinic-LOC      at.least      wheelchair      existing      EVID.COP      on.the.contrary

‘Fortunately, at least there was a wheelchair in the polyclinic.’



32. *So kalyaskı-nı şıyar-ıp, mama-nı wotır-ğiz-iv-al-dı-k*  
 that wheelchair-ACC take.out-CONV mother-ACC sit-CAUS-CONV-TAKE.AUX-TERM-1PL  
*ta, so-dan reñgeñ kabiñet-in-e al-ıp bar-dı-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. *wOn-da oçert žok eken kayta, kezek.*  
 that-LOC queue non.existing EVID.COP on.the.contrary queue  
 ‘Fortunately, there was no queue there — queue.’
34. *So-dan kİR-e γoy-dı-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. *BİR won bes müynt-täy mä küt-tü-k.*  
 a ten five minute-SIM Q wait-TERM-1PL  
 ‘We waited for about fifteen minutes.’
37. *So-dan kİR-dı-k.*  
 that-ABL enter-TERM-1PL  
 ‘Then we entered.’
38. *KİR-gen soñ, reñgeñ-ge tüs-kennen geyin, rezultat-ı-n*  
 enter-CONV X-ray-DAT fall-CONV result-POSS3SG-ACC  
*şamalı küt-ıp tır-dı-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 žart sayat-täy, kİRiñ minut-tay aynal-dı-γ aw*  
 THAT.FILL half hour-SIM forty minute-SIM linger-TERM-1PL PART

*de-y-m, sol rengen-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-ï-n kol-ïmiz-ya žaz-ïp ber-t*  
 that-ABL result-POSS3SG-ACC hand-POSS1PL-DAT write-CONV GIVE.AUX-TERM  
*ta, sosïn yen metsestra-sï-nan sұra-p edi-m, bïr*  
 and then NOW.FILL nurse-POSS3SG-ABL ask-CONV DIST.COP-1SG a  
*yer adam eken, ana ne-sï, vrač-ï, "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. *wOl ayt-tï: "Žaxsï yendi žaxsï bït-ïp kel-atïr yekï*  
 she say-TERM good now good end-CONV come-HFOC.INTRA two  
*žer-den sïñ-yan" de-p, so-lay de-dï.*  
 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. *Sosïn, šïk-kan soñ, "Ne bol-sa da, travmatolïk-tar-ya,*  
 then go.out-CONV what be(come)-HYP even traumatologist-PL-DAT  
*ana bïr tanïs-tar-ïmiz-ya (kör...) kara-t-ïp kör-eyik!"*  
 that an acquaintance-PL-POSS1PL-DAT (...) look-CAUS-CONV SEE.AUX-VOL1PL  
*de-p, so-dan men sotkı-m-nen skaner-le-dï-m*  
 say-CONV that-ABL I phone-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP scanner-DER-TERM-1SG  
*da, sol bïr yek üš adam-ya laqtïr-dï-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-dïñ žawav-ï-n küt-tü-k.*  
 that-ABL they-GEN answer-POSS3SG-ACC wait-TERM-1PL

'Then, we waited for their answers.'

44. *Biz-diñ Sarbılaq-ta-ğı körşi-miz var edi ғo.*  
 we-GEN Sarybulak-LOC-REL neighbour-POSS1PL existing DIST.COP PART  
 ‘As you know, we have a neighbour in Sarybulak.’
45. *Mäyramgül de-gen apa.*  
 Mairamgul say-PN aunt  
 ‘Aunt Mairamgul.’
46. *Sol apa-nıñ Žambıl-da тұr-atın apa-sı var тұyin.*  
 that aunt-GEN Zhambyl-LOC live-PN sister-POSS3SG existing PART  
 ‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl.’
47. *So-yan, ald-ın-da mama ayt-ıp қoy-ған ғo.*  
 that-DAT front-POSS3SG-LOC mother tell-CONV PUT.AUX-POST PART  
 ‘Apparently, mum told [Aunt Mairamgul’s sister] earlier.’
48. *Sol, жаңағи, “Травматолік таңис-ім бар.”*  
 THAT.FILL AFOREMENTIONED.FILL traumatologist acquaintance-POSS1SG existing  
 ‘‘I have an acquaintance who is a traumatologist.’’
49. *“Soyan қара-t-іп бер-e-m.”*  
 he.DAT look-CAUS-CONV GIVE.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-1SG  
 ‘‘I will show it to him [for you].’’
50. *“Esli što, жаңа ne-ні, реңге-ге түс-kennen геyin*  
 if that AFOREMENTIONED.FILL what -ACC X-ray-DAT fall-CONV  
*rezultat-і-n жібер-іп көр!”*  
 result-POSS3SG-ACC send-CONV SEE.AUX  
 ‘‘If there is anything, after having it X-rayed, try to send *the thing*, the result!’’
51. *“wOқi-t-іп бер-e-m” de-gen.*  
 read-CAUS-CONV GIVE.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-1SG say-POST  
 ‘‘I will show it [to him],’’ [Aunt Mairamgul’s sister] said.’
52. *So-dan, sol қис-ге, Маржан апай-дiñ нөмір-і-нiñ,*  
 that-ABL that person-DAT Marzhan aunt-GEN number-POSS3SG-GEN

*vatsap* *nömır-ı-n* *al-ıv-al-dı-k* *ta,*  
 WhatsApp number-POSS3SG-ACC take-CONV-TAKE.AUX-TERM-1PL and  
*so-dan* *men-ıñ* *telefon-ım-men* *živer-dı-k.*  
 that-ABL I-GEN telephone-POSS1SG-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,* *ıendı* *žanağı* *rengenolık* *"Bı-lay* *žaxsı"* *de-v*  
 that-ABL NOW.FILL aforementioned radiologist this-SIM good say-CONV  
*ayt-kan soñ,* *köñıl-ımız* *bırle-n-dı* *ma,* *so-dan*  
 tell-CONV mood-POSS1PL unite-PASS-TERM Q that-ABL  
*ne-ste-dı-k,* *äweli* *aytpaқsı* *sıñıksı-ya* *var-dı-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* *şıy-a* *sal-ıp,* *sıñıksı-ya* *var-ıp*  
 THAT.FILL X-ray-ABL go.out-CONV PUT.AUX-CONV bonesetter-DAT go-CONV  
*edı-k,* *sıñıksı* *mal* *awıl-ya* *get-ıp* *kal-yan*  
 DIST.COP-1PL bonesetter cattle village-DAT leave-CONV REMAIN.AUX-POST  
*ayayastınan,* *"Äbet-ke* *taman* *kel-etın* *sıyaхtı"* *de-p* *äyel-ı*  
 suddenly lunch-DAT toward come-PN like say-CONV wife-POSS3SG  
*süyde-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* *"ıEndı* *ne-stı-y-mız?"* *de-p,* *papa* *so-dan...* *"Gaz*  
 that-ABL now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV father that-ABL gasoline  
*žasa-p* *al-ayın!"* *de-p* *gaz* *žasa-v* *al-t,*  
 make-CONV TAKE.AUX-VOL1SG say-CONV gasoline make-CONV take-TERM  
*toltır-ıp,* *bag-ı-n.*  
 fill.up-CONV tank-POSS3SG-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.'

56. *So-dan, bazar-ya var-ıp usaq-tüyeg-ımız-dı al-iv-al-ayık*  
 that-ABL market-DAT go-CONV sundry-POSS1PL-ACC take-CONV-TAKE.AUX-VOL1PL  
*de-p, bazar žaq-qa bar-ivatır edi-k, žaŋ*  
 say-CONV market side-DAT go-HFOC.INTRA DIST.COP-1PL aforementioned  
*Maržan apay-dan xavar kel-t.*  
 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-dı.*  
 I.DAT bell-DER-TERM  
 ‘She called me.’

58. *Sol, žaŋayı, rezultat-ı... boyınša žaŋayı*  
 THAT.FILL AFOREMENTIONED.FILL result-POSS3SG according.to aforementioned  
*adam xavarla-s-kan eken, travmatoljik.*  
 person inform-COOP-POST EVID.COP traumatologist  
 ‘Apparently that person informed her about the result — the traumatologist.’

59. *Ne de-p, žaŋayı... žalpı ayt-ğanda, “Aperaciya kerek.”*  
 what say-CONV AFOREMENTIONED.FILL generally tell-CONV operation  
 necessary  
 ‘What did he say... generally speaking, “An operation is needed.”’

60. *“Aperaciya-ya bar-ıw gerek.”*  
 operation-DAT go-INF necessary  
 ‘“She needs to have an operation.”’

61. *“Aktöbe-ge bar-ıw gerek” te-p ayt-ıp-tı.*  
 Aktobe-DAT go-INF necessary say-CONV tell-POST-3SG  
 ‘“She needs to go to Aktobe,” he evidently said.’

62. *ıEndi “wOlar wöz tıl-ı-men ayt-ıp tır”*  
 NOW.FILL they self language-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP tell-CONV STAND.AUX

*de-t.*

say-TERM

“They are telling it [by using] their own language,” said [Aunt Marzhan].’

63. *wO-nī tüşin-dır-e al-ma-t bız-ge.*  
 it-ACC understand-CAUS-CONV TAKE.AUX-NEG-TERM we-DAT  
 ‘She could not explain it to us.’

64. *Sonı-men, ne gerek, men kıytadan mäsına-ya*  
 that- WITH.POSTP what necessary I again car-DAT  
*var-dı-m, mama-ya, papa-ya.*  
 go-TERM-1SG mother-DAT father-DAT  
 ‘So anyway, I went to the car again, to mum and dad.’

65. *“Süytıp xavar kel-ıvatır.”*  
 such news come-HFOC.INTRA  
 “Such news are coming.”

66. *“wOsı-lay de-vatır” de-p.*  
 this-SIM say-HFOC.INTRA say-CONV  
 “This is what she is saying,” I said.’

67. *So-dan bas-ımız yat-tı, yen ne-ste-r-ımız-dı*  
 that-ABL head-POSS1PL freeze-TERM now what-do-AOR-POSS1PL-ACC  
*bıl-me-y.*  
 know-NEG-CONV  
 ‘Then, we were confused and did not know what to do now.’

68. *Süyt-ıvatқан gez-de, sosın žaңa-γı, Maržan*  
 do.so-HFOC.INTRA.AN time-LOC then AFOREMENTIONED.FILL Marzhan  
*apa-men xayttan söyles-tı-k.*  
 aunt-WITH.POSTP again speak-TERM-1PL  
 ‘In the meanwhile, we talked again to aunt Marzhan.’

69. *Žaңay Žambıl-da-γı.*  
 AFOREMENTIONED.FILL Zhambyl-LOC-REL  
 ‘The one in Zhambyl.’

70. *ʷOl ayt-t̃i: “Men k̃az̃ır ne-de-g̃i, Aqt̃obe-de-g̃i b̃ır*  
 he tell-TERM I now what-LOC-REL Aktobe-LOC-REL an  
*tañıs-ım bar, M̃ilt̃ıkbay de-gen vrač bar,*  
 acquaintance-POSS1SG existing Myltykbay say-PN doctor existing  
*travmatol̃ık, so-yan s̃öyles-e-m” de-d̃i.*  
 traumatologist he.DAT speak-LFOC.INTRA-1SG say-TERM  
 ‘She said, “I have an acquaintance *in where*, in Aktobe, a doctor named Myltykbay, a traumatologist, I will talk to him now.”’
71. *So-dan, ʷol k̃aytadan zvan-da-t.*  
 that-ABL she again bell-DER-TERM  
 ‘Then, she called again.’
72. *“Men sol k̃ışı-men s̃öyles-t̃i-m.”*  
 I that person-WITH.POSTP speak-TERM-1SG  
 “I spoke with that person.”
73. *ʷOl k̃az̃ır, žaṇaỹı, sawıkt̃ır̃ıw ʷortal̃ıy-ın-a*  
 he now AFOREMENTIONED.FILL recovery center-POSS3SG-DAT  
*aw̃ıs-ıp ket-ken eken.”*  
 change-CONV LEAVE.AUX-POST EVID.COP  
 “He has now apparently transferred to a health center.”
74. *B̃ıraқ ta, “Travmatologiya b̃öl̃im-ın-de tañıs-tar-ım*  
 but also traumatology department-POSS3SG-LOC acquaintance-PL-POSS1SG  
*bar, so-lar-ya taps̃ır-ıp k̃oy-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. *“Napravleñiye, žoldama al-ıp kel-s̃ın de-p ayt-ıp-t̃i...”*  
 referral referral take-CONV come-VOL3SG say-CONV tell-POST-3SG  
*de-t.*  
 say-TERM  
 “He evidently said, ‘Let her bring the referral — the referral,’” she said.’

76. *So-dan, “Biz yendı ne-sti-y-mız?” 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 tayı, wo-nıñ ara-sın-ša.*  
 that-ABL again it-GEN between-POSS3SG-EQU  
 ‘Then again, in the meanwhile...’
78. *(Bız...) ana Kandıyaş-ta-γı kúdayay-ımız 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... reñgen-de žasa-ytın metsestra vol-ıp, so-yan*  
 she.DAT X-ray-LOC do-PN nurse be(come)-CONV she.DAT  
*živer-ıp koy-γam-bız, ženge-m-nıñ mama-sı γo,*  
 send-CONV PUT.AUX-POST-1PL sister-in-law-POSS1SG-GEN mother-POSS3SG PART  
*wöz-ım-nıñ ženge-m-nıñ.*  
 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-ıp koy-dı-k, rezultat-ı-n reñgen-nıñ.*  
 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 χavar gel-dı.*  
 She she (...) she-ABL news come-TERM  
 ‘She, she (...) news came from her.’
82. *wOl, žañayı, ne-nı, “Ekı žay-ın-da-γı,*  
 She AFOREMENTIONED.FILL what-ACC two side-POSS3SG-LOC-REL  
*žañayı, ayak-tıñ yekı (žarın...) yekı žay-ı-nan*  
 AFOREMENTIONED.FILL foot-GEN two (...) two side-POSS3SG-ABL



*sīṅ-yan, žaṅa, ʏeki tobīχ sīṅ-yan, žeṅīl sīṅ-yan,*  
 break-POST AFOREMENTIONED.FILL two ankle break-POST slightly break-POST  
*bī-lay bīt-īp ket-e-t” de-p ayt-īp tūr.*  
 this-SIM fuse-CONV LEAVE.AUX-LFOC.INTRA-3SG say-CONV tell-CONV STAND.AUX  
 ‘[?] She, *what [is she saying]*, she is saying, “The two sides, the two (...) the foot is broken in two sides. The two ankles are broken, slightly broken, they are going to fuse.”’

83. *“Aperaciya-nīṅ kažet jōk” de-p tūr de-p.*  
 operation-GEN necessary non.existing say-CONV STAND.AUX say-CONV  
 ‘She is saying, “The operation is not necessary.”’

84. *Son-day χavar gel-t.*  
 that-SIM news come-TERM  
 ‘Such news came.’

85. *Sūyt-īvatkanda, tayī bīr wöz-īm-nīṅ, tayī bīr apa-m*  
 do.so-HFOC.INTRA.CONV also a self-POSS1SG-GEN also an aunt-POSS1SG  
*bar et, so-yan šīk-ķam-bīz.*  
 existing DIST.COP she.DAT go.out-POST-1PL  
 ‘In the meanwhile, I have another, I have another aunt, we had called her.’

86. *wOl paliklińika-da, ʏesepšī-būyalter vol-īv īsti-y-t.*  
 she polyclinic-LOC accountant be(come)-CONV do-LFOC.INTRA-3SG  
 ‘She works as an accountant in a polyclinic.’

87. *wOyan da šīk-tī-ķ, “Tanīs-tar-īṅ bol-sa,*  
 she.DAT also go.out-TERM-1PL acquaintance-PL-POSS2SGG be(come)-HYP  
*wōķī-t-īp kōr-šī mīna ne-nī” de-p, “Sńi:mīķ-tī”*  
 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.”’

88. *wOl da bīr adam-ya wōķī-t-ķan eken.*  
 she also a person-DAT read-CAUS-POST EVID.COP  
 ‘She apparently showed it to a person as well.’

89. *“Ol da: “Aperaciya qazet. Aktöbe-ge kel-sin. Portal-ya he also operation necessary Aktobe-DAT come-IMP3 portal-DAT sal-γiz-ip, Aktöbe-ge žet-uw gerek” de-p-ti. put-CAUS-CONV Aktobe-DAT get-INF necessary say-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. *γEndi birneše vrač uže, ne de-p tūr... now several doctor already what say-CONV STAND.AUX žaŋaγı-day... ne-ni... aperaciya-ni qazet de-p AFOREMENTIONED-SIM.FILL what-ACC operation-ACC necessary say-CONV tanı-p tūr. 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... γendi napravleñiye al-uw gerek ko γendi. and now referral take-INF necessary PTCL NOW.FILL*  
 ‘And... now a referral is needed, as you know.’
92. *Ne bol-sa da, bar-ip kara-l-ayıq. what be(come)-HYP even go-CONV look-PASS-VOL1PL*  
 ‘Whatever happens, let’s go and have it checked.’
93. *Käzır beyneť-ı-nen qaş-qañmen, Aktöbe-ge žet-kız-uw kıyın now difficulty-POSS3SG-ABL escape-CONV Aktobe-DAT get-CAUS-INF difficult bol-ıp tūr da, sol üşin... kıyınşın-ıp, bir be(come)-CONV STAND.AUX and that for struggle-CONV one žay-ı-nan, soşın γendi ne bol-sa da, kör-eyk. side-POSS3SG-ABL then now what be(come)-HYP even see-VOL1PL*  
 ‘[?] Even if we run away from the difficulties now, it is difficult to get to Aktobe, and because of this... we will face difficulties, on the one hand, then whatever happens now, let’s see.’
94. *Men ayt-ti-m. I tell-TERM-1SG*  
 ‘I told [them].’

95. *Aya-m bar γo γendi.*  
 brother-POSS1SG existing PTCL NOW.FILL  
 ‘As you know, I have a brother.’
96. *Қағи-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-ıvatır-im da γendi.*  
 THAT.FILL tell-HFOC.INTRA-1SG also NOW.FILL  
 ‘I am telling [them] as well.’
98. *“Käzır beynet-ı-nen kaç-қammen, wo-nı, γerten ülkem  
 now difficulty-POSS3SG-ABL escape-CONV X-ACC tomorrow big  
 beynet-ke γal-ıp koy-sa-қ, ne-sti-y-mız?”  
 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-ık, қара-t-ayıқ.”  
 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. *“Bıl-etın vrač-tar γo γendi” de-p.  
 know-PN doctor-PL PTCL NOW.FILL say-CONV  
 ““The doctors are knowledgeable, aren’t they?” I said.’*
101. *So-dan, Šalkar-dıñ xirurg-ın-a ald-ın-da kör-ın-be-y  
 that-ABL Shalkar-GEN surgeon-POSS3SG-DAT front-POSS3SG-LOC see-PASS-NEG-CONV  
 get-kem-bız γo.  
 LEAVE.AUX-POST-1PL PTCL  
 ‘Then, we had not been to the surgeon in Shalkar, as you know.’*
102. *Soyan xirurg-қа bar-dı-қ.  
 then surgeon-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
 ‘So we went to the surgeon.’*

103. *ʷOyan, χirurq-qa... ne-ge... žaz-dır-ıp koy-dı-ķ.*  
 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. *Kim-ge?*  
 who-DAT  
 ‘To whom?’
105. *Awıl-dıñ metsestra-sın-a χavarla-s-tı-ķ, žaz-dır 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. *ʷEndi aldın ala žaz-ıl-ma-sa, kızıř,*  
 NOW.FILL beforehand write-PASS-NEG-HYP now  
*ne-t-ıl-me-y-dı γo, (...) kabılda-ma-y-t*  
 what-do-PASS-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG PTCL (...) accept-NEG-LFOC.INTRA-3SG  
*paciyent-ti.*  
 patient-ACC  
 ‘Because if she does not register beforehand, you know what will not happen this time, (...) they do not accept patient[s].’
107. *Sonđıktan, žaz-dır-dı-ķ.*  
 therefore write-CAUS-TERM-1PL  
 ‘So we had [her] registered.’
108. *So-dan χirurq-qa var-dı-ķ.*  
 that-ABL surgeon-DAT go-TERM-1PL  
 ‘Then, we went to the surgeon.’
109. *Xirurq-qa bar-ıp, sını:mıķ-ti körset-ıp, ald-ın-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].’

110. *Äytewiř, ald-ın-da-γı adam-dar-γa ayt-ıp, tek körset-ıp*  
 somehow front-POSS3SG-LOC-REL person-PL-DAT say-CONV only show-CONV  
*šiy-a-mız de-p.*  
 go.out-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV  
 ‘Somehow we told the people in front of [the office] that we would only show [the radio-graph] and leave.’
111. *Bir won won bes müynt-tiň šama ma, mañ-ın-da*  
 a ten ten five minute-GEN about Q side-POSS3SG-LOC  
*kır-dı-k.*  
 enter-TERM-1PL  
 ‘We entered in about ten to fifteen minutes.’
112. *So-dan kır-dı-m da, xırurk-ka körset-iv edi-m,*  
 that-ABL enter-TERM-1SG and surgeon-DAT show-CONV DIST.COP-1SG  
*sni:mıķ-tı yara-t ta, “wÖz-i γayda?” 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?”’
113. *Sosın “wÖz-i astı-da... ne-de, mašina-da žatır” de-v*  
 then self-POSS3SG under-LOC what-LOC car-LOC lie.HFOC.INTRA say-CONV  
*edi-m. “Al-ıp kel-iñiz, arka-la-sa-ñiz da al-ıp*  
 DIST.COP-1SG take-CONV come-IMP2 back-DER-HYP-2SG even take-CONV  
*kel-iñiz!” de-p ana xırurk süyde-p, men-i šiy-ar-ıp*  
 come-IMP2 say-CONV that surgeon say.so-CONV I-ACC go.out-AOR-CONV  
*sal-dı.*  
 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.’
114. *So-dan amal žoķ.*  
 that-ABL remedy non.existing  
 ‘So there was no way out.’
115. *Al-ıp kel de-p tır-γan soñ, kalay*  
 take-CONV come.IMP say-CONV STAND.AUX-AN how

- äkel-me-y-m*                      *yendi.*  
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*                      *şik-ti-m.*  
that-ABL    brother-POSS1SG-DAT    go.out-TERM-1SG  
‘Then I called my brother.’
117. *Aya-m*                      *Šalkar-da*            *žumıs*    *iste-vatır*            *edi*            *yo.*  
brother-POSS1SG    Shalkar-LOC    work    do-HFOC.INTRA    DIST.COP    PTCL  
‘My brother was working in Shalkar, as you know.’
118. *“Žumıs-ıñ-a*            *ket-e*            *ber,*            *yeger*    *kerek*            *bol-sa-ñ,*  
work-POSS2SG-DAT    leave-CONV    GIVE.AUX.IMP    if    necessary    be(come)-HYP-2SG  
*ķabarla-s-ıp*            *al-dır-a-mız!”*                      *de-gem-biz*    *yo.*  
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. *Äbet-tiñ*    *wakıt-ı*            *bol-ıp*            *ķal-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-ıp*            *de-p,*  
that-ABL    (...)    brother-POSS1SG-DAT    come.IMP    speed.up-CONV    say-CONV  
*so-dan,*    *aya-m*                      *kel-dı.*  
that-ABL    brother-POSS1SG    come-TERM  
‘Then, I told my brother to come quickly, and then my brother came.’
122. *So-dan*    *ķaytadan*    *kalyaska*    *al-ıp*            *şik-ti-k.*  
that-ABL    again            wheelchair    take-CONV    go.out-TERM-1PL  
‘Then, we took the wheelchair and we went out again.’

123. *Paliklińika-nıñ iş-i-nen kalyaska al-ıp šiy-ıp,*  
 polyclinic-GEN into-POSS3SG-ABL wheelchair take-CONV go.out-CONV  
*mama-nı wotır-γız-iv al-ıp, paliklińika-γa kİR-giz-dİ-k.*  
 mother-ACC sit-CAUS-CONV take-CONV polyclinic-DAT enter-CAUS-TERM-1PL  
 ‘We took the wheelchair out of the polyclinic, seated mum in it and took her [inside] the polyclinic.’
124. *Sosın, paliklińika-da lift joq.*  
 then polyclinic-LOC elevator non.existing  
 ‘Then, there is no elevator in the polyclinic.’
125. *ıEkİ etaž-dİ paliklińika γo.*  
 two floor-ADJ polyclinic PTCL  
 ‘Apparently, it is a two-story polyclinic.’
126. *ıEkİ-nšİ etaž-ın-a šiy-ıw kiyin.*  
 two-ORD floor-POSS3SG-DAT go.out-INF difficult  
 ‘It is difficult to get to the second floor.’
127. *Lestnica, baspaldak қана var.*  
 staircase staircase only existing  
 ‘There is only a staircase — a staircase.’
128. *So-dan vendi “Ne-sti-y-miz?” de-p, äke-m men*  
 that-ABL now what-do-LFOC.INTRA-1PL say-CONV father-POSS1SG and  
*aya-m, amal žoq, mama-m-dİ köter-iv*  
 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 salmaq-tİ-law et äri.*  
 mother-POSS1SG weight-ADJ-COMP DIST.COP also  
 ‘My mum is also overweight.’

130. *Amal* *žoq,* *köter-ïp,* *so-nï* *žäymen,* *amal-da-p,*  
remedy non.existing lift-CONV that-ACC slowly remedy-DER-CONV  
*äytewir* *al-ïp* *šïk-tï.*  
somehow take-CONV GO.OUT.AUX-TERM  
‘There was no other way, they picked her up slowly and somehow managed to take her [upstairs].’
131. *Kušetki-ge* *bïr-den* *al-ïp* *bar-ïp,* *˚otïr-γïz-ïp,*  
examination.table-DAT one-ABL take-CONV GO.AUX-CONV sit-CAUS-CONV  
*χirurk-tïŋ* *ald-ïn-a* *süyt-tï.*  
surgeon-GEN front-POSS3SG-DAT do.so-TERM  
‘They took her to the examination table right away, and seated her in front of the surgeon.’
132. *So-dan* *χirurk* *ķara-t* *ta,* *“Mïna-nïŋ* *gip’s-i* *durïš*  
that-ABL surgeon look-TERM and this-GEN plaster.cast-POSS3SG correct  
*sal-ïm-ba-γan”* *de-p,* *gip’s-i-n* *aš-ïp...* *artïγ*  
put-PASS-NEG-POST say-CONV plaster.cast-POSS3SG-ACC open-CONV more  
*˚ešteŋe* *ķara-ma-γan.*  
nothing look-NEG-POST  
‘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.’
133. *Sol,* *sonï-men,* *ķaytadan* *gip’s* *žasa-p* *ber-t.*  
THAT.FILL that-WITH.POSTP again plaster.cast make-CONV GIVE.AUX-TERM  
‘Then, he made the plaster cast again.’
134. *Gip’s* *žasa-w* *üşïn* *mayan* *“Bint* *al-ïp* *kel!”*  
plaster.cast make-INF for I.DAT bandage take-CONV come.IMP  
*de-p,* *metsestra-lar-ï,* *so-dan* *žügïr-ïp,* *tömen-de* *ķayta*  
say-CONV nurse-PL-POSS3SG that-ABL run-CONV down-LOC on.the.contrary  
*apteka* *var* *et.*  
pharmacy existing DIST.COP  
‘In order to make the plaster cast, the nurses said, “Go and bring a bandage!” Then I ran. Fortunately, there was a pharmacy downstairs.’



135.	<i>Paliklińika-nıñ</i>	<i>žan-ın-da-yı</i>	<i>apteka-ya</i>	<i>var-ıp,</i>	<i>ıekı</i>	<i>bint</i>
	polyclinic-GEN	side-POSS3SG-LOC-REL	pharmacy-DAT	go-CONV	two	bandage
	<i>al-ıp</i>	<i>kel-dı-m.</i>				
	take-CONV	come-TERM-1SG				

'I went to the pharmacy near the polyclinic, and brought two bandages.'

### 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 *ɣ*, e.g. S41: *ıekı* <еки> 'two', S8: *ıerten* <ертең> 'tomorrow'. Exceptions include copular markers based on the defective verb *e*- 'to be', e.g. S40: *eken* <екен> 'it is evident that', S117: *edı* <еді> 'was'. See also Kirchner (1992: 93).

The vowels *o* and *ö* in initial position exhibit a prothetic *w*, e.g. S9: *worın* <орын> 'place', S62: *wolar* <олар> 'they', S3: *wötken-de* <өткенде> 'in the past', S28: *wöz* <өз> 'self'.

The bilabial glide *w*, rendered in the Cyrillic script as <у>, is found in all positions, e.g. S120: *wakıt-ı* <уақыты> 'its time', S54: *awıl-ya* <ауылға> 'to the village', S134: *žasa-w* <жасау> 'to make', and depending on the backness vs. frontness of the preceding consonant-final syllable, it may be realized as either *ɯw* ~ *ɯ:* or *üw* ~ *ü:*, e.g. S61: *bar-ɯw* <бару> 'to go', S20: *kel-üw* <келу> 'to come'.

The diphthongized *iy*, rendered in Cyrillic with the letter <и>, is found in the following two back-vocalic examples of the narrative: S93: *kıyın* <қиын> 'difficult' and S54: *sıyahtı* <сияқты> 'like'. In front-vocalic environments, it may be realized as *iy* or *i:*.

The aforementioned characteristics are predominantly relevant to indigenous Kazakh words and earlier borrowings, e.g. S9: *worın* <орын> 'place', cf. S33: *očert* 'queue' ⇐ Russian <очередь> 'id.', S120: *wakıt-ı* <уақыты> 'its time', cf. S90: *uže* 'already' ⇐ Russian <уже> 'id.', S93: *kıyın* <қиын> 'difficult', cf. S125: *paliklińika* 'polyclinic' ⇐ Russian <поликлиника> 'id.'.

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

The vowel *a* in the first syllable may undergo palatalization and change to *ä* in the environment of *y*, *š* and *z*, e.g. S24: *šäy* <шай> 'tea', S45: *Mäyramgül* <Майрамгүл> 'Mairamgul', S64: *mäšina-ya* <машинаға> 'to the car', S93: *käzır* <қазір> 'now'.

The near-high lax vowels *i* and *ı* are often reduced or dropped, e.g. S99: *kara-t-ayık* <қаратайық> 'let's have them look [into it]', S13: *sonı-men* <сонымен> 'so', S18: *šık-ıp ket-tı-k* <шығып кеттік> 'we left', S53: *ne-ste-dı-k?* <не істедік?> 'what did we do?', S39: *žart* <жарты> 'half', S42: *ıek-üş* <еки-үш> 'two-three'.

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

- Voicing of word-initial and word-final velar *k* and *q* inconsistently occur in the environment of vowels, glides and the voiced consonants *r* and *n*, e.g. S64: *ne gerek?* <не керек?> 'what is needed?', S13: *worın bol-ma-y ıal-dı* <орын болмай қалды> 'there was no place left', S84: *ıavar gel-t* <хабар келді> 'the news came', S68: *süyt-ıv-at-kan gez-de* <сөйтіп жатқан кезде> 'in the meanwhile', S39: *aynal-dıy aw de-y-m* <айналдық ау деймін> 'I think we lingered', S54: *ayıyastınan* 'suddenly' <аяқастынан>, S132: *artıy ıešteıe* <артық ештеңе> 'anything else'.

- Devoicing of *d*- preceded by a voiceless *-k* occurs in S20 and S61: *gerek te-p* «керек деп» ‘Literally: necessary say-CONV’.
- The stops *b* and *p* tend to develop to fricatives in the environment of vowels, glides and the voiced consonants *z* and *r* in word- or syllable-initial, as well as in word-final positions, e.g. S22: *Šalkar-ya var-dī-k*, cf. S27: *Šalkar-ya bar-dī-k* «Шалқарға бардық» ‘we went to Shalkar’, S53: *de-v ayt-kan* «деп айтқан» ‘[he] said’, cf. S75: *de-p ayt-ipti* «деп айтыпты» ‘[he] apparently said’, S55: *gaz žasa-v al-t* «газ жасап алды» ‘[he] bought gasoline’, cf. *gaz žasa-p al-ayin* «газ жасап алайын» ‘let me buy gasoline’, S80: *živer-ip koy-dī-k* «жіберіп қойдық» ‘we sent [it]’, cf. S50: *žiber-ip kör!* «жіберіп көр!» ‘try to send [it]!’, S105: *ħavarla-s-tī-k* «хабарластық» ‘we got in touch’, S78: *ħudayay-īmiz var* «құдағайымыз бар» ‘we have our co-mother-in-law’, S86: *esepši-buǵalter vol-iv isti-y-t* «есепші-бухгалтер болып істейді» ‘[she] works as an accountant’.
- Affricativization of *ž* occurs in *žok* ‘not existing’ after the voiceless consonant *t* in S124: *lift жоқ* «лифт жоқ» ‘there is no elevator’, and in S83: *kažet жоқ* «қажет жоқ» ‘it is not necessary’, cf. S114: *amal жоқ* «амал жоқ» ‘there is no way out (Literally: there is no remedy)’.
- Fricativization of the back velar *k* can also be attested in all positions in the environment of the consonants *n*, *d* and *s*, e.g. S68: *Maržan apa-men ħayttan* «Маржан апамен қайтадан» ‘with aunt Marzhan again’, cf. S64: *men qaytadan* «мен қайтадан» ‘I again’, S12: *tolix de-p* «толық деп» ‘Literally: full say-CONV’, S82: *tobix siŋ-yan* «тобық сынған» ‘the ankle is broken’, S41: *žaqsı*, cf. S35: *žaqsı* «жақсы» ‘good’.
- Defricativization of *ħ* is attested in one example after the consonant *ŋ*, see S118: *kerek bol-sa-ŋ ħabarla-s-ip al-dir-a-miz* «керек болсаң хабарласып алдырамыз» ‘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* «дегенбіз» ‘we had said’, S93: *kaš-ħammen* «қашқанмен» ‘even if [we] run away’, S79: *živer-ip koy-ħam-biz* «жіберіп қойғанбыз» ‘we had sent [it]’, S132: *sal-īm-ba-ħan* «салынбаған» ‘[it] has not been applied’, S2: *ülkem bir* «үлкен бір» ‘a big’. Similarly, *n* becomes *ŋ* when followed by *g* or *γ*, e.g. S82: *siŋ-ħan* «сынған» ‘[it] is broken’, S4: *reŋgeŋ-ge* «рентгенге» ‘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 *tša-*, e.g. S16: *apar-ip tša-r* «апарып тастар» ‘[he] will drop [her]’, S17: *apar-ip tša-y-siz* «апарып тастайсыз» ‘you will drop [her]’, S18: *apar-ip tša-y-m* «апарып тастаймын» ‘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?* «не істеймін?» ‘what am I going to do?’, S53: *ne-ste-dī-k?* «не істедік?» ‘what did we do?’, S55: *ne-sti-y-miz?* «не істейміз?» ‘what are we going to do?’, S67: *ne-ste-r-īmiz-dī* «не істерімізді» ‘what to do (Literally: what do-AOR-POSS1PL-ACC)’, S106: *ne-t-ıl-me-y-dī?* «не етілмейді?» ‘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 converb  $\{-[I^4]p\}$ , at the same time resulting in a sandhi, e.g. S30: *reŋgeŋ-ge tūs-iv-al-ayık* «рентгенге түсіп алайық» ‘let’s take an X-ray’, S32: *tama-ni otir-γiz-iv-al-dī-k* «маманы отырғызып алдық» ‘we seated mum’, S52: *al-iv-al-dī-k* «алып алдық» ‘we took [it]’, S56: *al-iv-al-ayık* «алып алайық» ‘let’s buy [it]’. Similarly, the grammaticalized high-focal intraterminal form  $\{-[I]v-atir\}$ , developed from the converb  $\{-[I^4]p\}$  + the auxiliary verb *ħat-* + the old aorist marker *-ir*, exhibits a sandhi phenomenon of the converb and the deletion of *ž-* of the auxiliary *ħat-*, e.g. S56: *bar-iv-atir edī-k* «барып жатыр едік» ‘we were going’, S65: *ħavar kel-iv-atir* «хабар келіп жатыр» ‘news are coming’, S66: *de-v-atir* «деп жатыр» ‘[she] is saying’, S97: *ayt-*

*iv-atır-im* «айтып жатырмын» ‘I am telling’, S117: *žumıs iste-v-atır edı* «жұмыс істеп жатыр еді» [‘he] was working’, S85: *süyt-iv-at-қанда* «сөйтіп жатқанда» and S68: *süyt-iv-at-қан gez-de* «сөйтіп жатқан кезде» ‘in the meanwhile’. The auxiliary *žat-* is contracted in one instance with the converb {-A<sup>2</sup>//-y}, which results in the deletion of both the converb and the initial *ž-* of the auxiliary, i.e. S41: *bit-ıp kel-atır* «бітіп келе жатыр» [‘the bone] is going to fuse’.

- In compound words of city names, the first vowel and the first syllable of the second constituent are omitted in S78: *Қандiyaš-ta-γi* «Қандыағаштағы» ‘the one in Kandyagash’ and in S22: *Sarılaқ-қа* «Сарыбұлаққа» ‘to Sarybulak’, respectively.
- In other morpheme boundaries, i.e. S68: *хayttan* «қайтадан» ‘again’.

Furthermore, the pronominal verbs *söyt-* ‘to do so’ and *söyde-* ‘to say so’ are pronounced as *süyt-* and *süyde-*, respectively, e.g. S68: *süyt-iv-at-қан gez-de* «сөйтіп жатқан кезде» ‘in the meanwhile’, S54: *äyel-i süyde-t* «әйелі сөйдеді» ‘his wife said so’.

The final glide in the modal particle {Γ<sup>2</sup>oy} is often deleted, resulting in forms like *γo* and *қo*, e.g. S79: *ženge-m-niη tama-si γo* «жеңгемнің мамасы ғой» ‘my aunt’s mother, as you know’, S91: *al-ıw gerek қo* «алу керек қой» ‘it is necessary to take, as you know’.

The word *γendı* «енді» ‘now’ may be shortened to *γen*, see, for instance, S67.

## Morphophonology

### Sound harmony

In literary Kazakh, intrasyllabic back vs. front harmony, affecting both vowels and consonants, is generally not applied in copies of foreign origin, e.g. S59: *aperaciya* «операция» ‘operation’ ⇐ Russian «операция» ‘id.’, S125: *paliklińika* «поликлиника» ‘polyclinic’ ⇐ Russian «поликлиника» ‘id.’, S52: *telefon* «телефон» ‘telephone’ ⇐ probably via Russian «телефон» ‘id.’.

However, loanwords tend to undergo phonological adaptation in the spoken language to better suit Kazakh phonology and phonotactics, e.g. S12: *mašina*, cf. S64: *mäšina* «машина» ‘car’ ⇐ Russian «машина» ‘id.’, S39: *қiriқ minut-tay* «қырық минуттай» ‘about forty minutes’, cf. S36: *won bes müynt-täy* «он бес минуттай» ‘about fifteen minutes’ ⇐ probably via Russian «минута» ‘minute’. Further examples include S48: *travmatoliқ* «травматолог» ‘traumatologist’ ⇐ Russian «травматолог» ‘id.’, S133: *gip’s* «гипс» ‘plaster cast’ ⇐ Russian «гипс» ‘id.’, S102: *хирurқ-қа* «хирургқа» ‘to the surgeon’ vs. S101: *хирurg-ın-a* «хирургына» ‘to the surgeon of’ ⇐ Russian «хирург» ‘surgeon’, S109: *śni:mıq-tı* «снимокты» ‘radiograph (ACC)’ ⇐ Russian «снимок» ‘picture’, ‘radiograph’. See also an earlier copy of Arabic origin, standard *қазir* «қазір», cf. S93: *käzir* ‘now’. It is worth noting that Russian (loan)words in Kazakh are typically written according to Russian orthography when using the Cyrillic script. Some earlier loanwords of Russian origin have undergone a higher degree of both phonological and orthographical adaptation, e.g. S52: *nömır* «нөмір» ‘number’ ⇐ Russian «номер» ‘id.’.

Furthermore, progressive assimilation of syllables and suffixes containing a rounded high vowel results in labial harmony, e.g. S8: *burın* «бұрын» ‘before’, S31: *äytewır* «әйтеуір» ‘at least’, S1: *gün-ü* «күні» ‘its day’, S36: *küt-tü-k* «күттік» ‘we waited’.

The normally two-fold harmony in the conjunction {D<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>} ‘and’, ‘too’ is not attested in the narrative. It is represented as {D<sup>2</sup>a}, i.e. *ta* or *da*, in front environments as well, e.g. S40: *ber-t ta* «берді де» [‘he] gave [it] and’, S6: *men da* ‘me too’, S42: *skaner-le-dı-m da* ‘I scanned [it] and’.

A similar observation can be made in the case of the question particle {M<sup>3</sup>A<sup>2</sup>}, where the back vocalic variant may be used following a front vocalic word as in S53: *köñil-ımiız birle-n-dı ma* ‘were we relieved? (Literally: mood-POSS1PL unite-PASS-TERM Q)’. However, this contrasts with S36: *won bes müynt-täy mä* ‘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.  $\{+M^3I^4n\}$  is shortened. Most frequently it occurs after the low-focal intraterminal marker  $\{-A^2//y\}$ , e.g. S14: *ne-sti-y-m?* «не істеймін?» ‘what am I going to do?’, S21: *de-y-m* «деймін» ‘I say’, S49: *qara-t-ïp ber-e-m* «қаратып беремін» ‘I will show’, S74: *tapsïr-ïp qoy-a-m* «тапсырып қоямын» ‘I will hand [her] over’, S115: *äkel-me-y-m* «әкелмеймін» ‘I do not bring’. The same is observed after the aorist marker  $\{-(A^2)r\}$  in S14: *kör-er-ïm* «көремін» ‘I will see’, after the auxiliary *žatïr* ‘to lie (down)’ in S97: *ayt-ïv-atïr-ïm* «айтып жатырмын» ‘I am telling’, and after the postterminal marker  $\{-G^4A^2n\}$  in S17: *de-ge-m* «дегенмін» ‘I said/asked’. In the latter,  $\{-G^4A^2n\}$  is shortened to *-ge*, most likely to avoid a word-final *-nm* consonant cluster.

The 3SG personal marker  $\{-dI^2\}$  is often realized as a shortened and devoiced *-t* after the low-focal intraterminal marker  $\{-A^2//y\}$ , e.g. S26: *žür-üw-ge bol-ma-y-t* «жүруге болмайды» ‘she cannot walk’, S86: *ïsti-y-t* «істейді» ‘[she] works’, S106: *qabïlda-ma-y-t* «қабылдамайды» ‘[they] do not accept’.

In the same way, the terminal marker  $\{-D^2I^4\}$  frequently becomes *-t* in 3SG when following a vowel or the voiced consonant *l*, e.g. S7: *gel-t* «келді» ‘[it] came’, S8: *zvanda-t* «звондады» ‘[he] called’, S11: *bol-ma-y qal-t* «болмай қалды» ‘there was no [place] left’, S25: *sal-t* «салды» ‘[they] put’, S40: *ber-t* «берді» ‘[he] gave’, S55: *al-t* «алды» ‘[he] bought’, S63: *tüsiñ-dïr-e al-ma-t* «түсіндіре алмады» ‘[she] could not explain’, S75: *de-t* «деді» ‘[she] said’, S112: *qara-t* «қарады» ‘[he] looked’, S19: *gerek et* «керек еді» ‘[it] was necessary’.

Furthermore, the 1PL of the voluntative marker, i.e.  $\{-(A^2)yI^2K^2\}$  also shows variation. It is shortened to *-ik* in S99: *tekser-t-ik* «тексертейік» ‘let’s have them investigate it’. Furthermore, the lax vowel is often reduced resulting in forms like S99: *qara-t-ayıq* «қаратайық» ‘let’s have them look into it’ and S93: *kör-eyik* «көрейік» ‘let’s see’.

### Morphology

#### Word formation

Derivational suffixes may attach to both earlier and recent copies, see, for instance, the denominal verbal suffix  $\{+L^3A^2\}$  used with an earlier copy in S58: *qavar-la-s-kan* ‘[he] informed’ ← *qabar* ‘information’, ‘news’ of Arabic origin. More recent copies include S57: *zvan-da-dï* ‘[she] called’ ← Russian «звон» ← «звонить» ‘to ring’ and S42: *skaner-le-dï-m* ‘I scanned’ ← Russian «сканер» ‘scanner’. Similarly, the denominal adjective marker  $\{+L^3I^4\}$  occurs together with a Russian copy in S125: *vekï etaž-dï* ‘two-floor’ ← Russian «этаж» ‘floor’.

Furthermore, interesting compounding includes *gaz žasa-p al-* ‘to buy gasoline’ in S55. The verb *žasa-* ‘to do’, ‘to make’ in this context is used only in the spoken language, cf. standard *gaz quy-ïp al-* and *gaz toltïr-ïp al-* ‘to buy gasoline’.

#### Case marking

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

#### Postpositions

The use of the postposition *boyïnša* ‘according to’ instead of *turalï* ‘about’ in S58: *Sol, žañayï, rezultat-ï... boyïnša žañayï adam qavarla-s-kan eken, travmatolïk* ‘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<sup>3</sup>A<sup>2</sup>} can add to the approximative nature of approximative adverbial phrases formed, for instance, by the similative suffix {+D<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>y} 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<sup>3</sup>A<sup>2</sup>}, also exhibit approximation. Moreover, in S111, the already approximative meaning conveyed by the interval *won-won bes* ‘ten-fifteen’ is further emphasized by the addition of *šama* ‘about’ and *mañ-ïn-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 {-[I<sup>4</sup>]p}, and to a lesser extent, on the converb {-A<sup>2</sup>//y}, combined with auxiliary verbs such as S24: *al-* ‘to take’, S40: *ber-* ‘to give’, S3: *kal-* ~ S11: *yal-* ‘to remain’, S12: *koy-* ~ S34: *yoγ-* ‘to put’, S16: *tsa-* ‘to throw’ etc., or with grammaticalized auxiliaries such as S117: *žatır* ‘to lie (down)’ and S38: *tur* ‘to stand’. A non-standard use of the postverbal construction in S56: *bar-iv-atır edi-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 {-[I<sup>4</sup>]p} or {-A<sup>2</sup>//y}) of a lexical verb and the grammaticalized auxiliaries *žatır* ‘to lie (down)’ or *tur* ‘to stand (up)’. In one case, namely in S56, the use of the converb {-[I<sup>4</sup>]p} in the imperfect *bar-iv-atır edi-k* ‘we were going/we were on the way’ instead of {-A<sup>2</sup>//y}, i.e. *bar-a žatır edi-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 *edi* ~ *et* ‘was’ is attached to the predicate *bar* ~ *var* <бар> ‘existing’, 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: *Қандығаш-та-ғи қудайғай-іміз var et* ‘We have our co-mother-in-law in Kandygash’, the co-mother-in-law in question has an on-going presence, i.e. she is alive.

Furthermore, the particle *tuyın* ‘used to be’ is typically used in dialects spoken in South Kazakhstan to indicate habitual past (Doskaraev 2010: 5). In S46: *Sol apa-niñ Žambıl-da tur-atın apa-si var tuyın* ‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl’, the use of *var tuyın* serves the same narrative purpose as the previously mentioned *bar edi*.

### Syntactic features

#### Sentence and clauses

The speaker tends to use syntactically less-complex sentences. Finite clauses with verbal predicates, e.g. S6: *Men da žumıs-tan sūra-n-dī-m* ‘I also took a leave from work’, finite existential clauses, e.g. S114: *So-dan amal žok* ‘So there was no way out’, and finite possessive clauses, e.g. S95: *Aγa-m bar yo vendi* ‘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-niñ Žambıl-da tur-atın apa-si var tuyın* ‘That aunt used to have a sister living in Zhambyl’, by adverbial action clauses, see, for instance, {-G<sup>4</sup>A<sup>4</sup>n} + *soγ* and {-G<sup>4</sup>A<sup>4</sup>n} + DAT + *keyin*, respectively in S38: *Kir-gen soγ, rengeñ-ge tūs-kennen geyin, rezultat-ı-n šamalı küt-ip tur-dī-k* ‘After entering and taking the X-ray, we were waiting a little bit for the result’, and most

frequently by the converb {-[I<sup>4</sup>]p}, e.g. S5: *So-yan mayan “yEr-ıp bar!” de-gen* ‘Then she said, “Come [with me]!”’.

Furthermore, the converb {-[I<sup>4</sup>]p} is often used for linking events, as in S109: *Xirurk-ka bar-ıp sñi:mı̄k-t̄ī körset-ıp ald-ın-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<sup>2</sup>a} ‘also’, ‘too’, regardless of the nature of the vocalic environment, see, for instance, S112: *So-dan k̄ir-d̄i-m da, x̄irurk-ka körset-iv edi-m, sñi:mı̄k-t̄ī kara-t ta, “wÖz-ı̄ 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 *so-yan, so-dan, sol ~ so, so-dan sol, sonı̄-men, sosın, sondı̄ktan, al* in the meaning of ‘then’, ‘so’, ‘therefore’, ‘and’ etc., see, for instance, S102: *So-yan x̄irurk-ka bar-d̄i-k* ‘So we went to the surgeon.’

### 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 *üş mašina-ya* ‘for three cars’ is situated after the verbal predicate, i.e. *žaz-ıl-ıp koy-yan* ‘signed up’.
- S15: The relational adjective *üy-de-gi* ‘the one at home’ is extraposed from its head noun, i.e. *mama-ya* ‘to mum’, that it normally modifies.
- S16: The temporal adverb *tañerteñ* ‘morning’ is extraposed from its modifier, i.e. *verteñ* ‘tomorrow’.
- S25: The direct object *mama-nı̄* ‘mum (ACC)’ is topicalized at the beginning of the sentence.
- S67: The main clause, i.e. *so-dan bas-ımız yat-tı̄* ‘then we were confused’ proceeds the adverbial clause, i.e. *ne-s-ter-ımız-dı̄ bıl-me-y* ‘we did not know what to do.’
- Furthermore, in S80, according to Kazakh syntactic rules, the possessor, i.e. *reñgen-niñ* ‘X-ray-GEN’ should precede the possessum, i.e. *rezultat-ı̄-n* ‘result-POSS3SG-ACC’, and the possessive construction itself, i.e. *reñgen-niñ rezultat-ı̄-n* instead of *rezultat-ı̄-n reñgen-niñ* ‘X-ray result (ACC)’ should precede the verbal predicate, i.e. *živer-ıp koy-d̄i-k* ‘we sent’.
- It is worth looking at the Russian translation of S80: *‘Так мы отправили результат рентгена’*. Russian influence is striking at both phrasal and clausal levels. Since both constituents of the noun phrase, i.e. *rezultat-ı̄-n reñgen-niñ* 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.

### 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 *de-* ‘to say’, as in S5. However, most frequently, direct speech is formed by adding *de-p* ‘say-CONV’ as a quotation particle between the direct speech and another finite verb, e.g. *ayt-* ‘to tell’ as in S61. The clause order can also vary, see, for instance, S8, where the direct speech, i.e. *verteñ bar-atın bol-d̄i-k* ‘we are going tomorrow’ followed by *de-p* ‘say-CONV’ is placed after the main predicate, i.e. *zvan-da-t* ‘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 поедem в город, папа позвонил: “Мы собираемся*

поехать завтра”’. In S18, *de-p* ‘say-CONV’ stands alone after the direct speech, i.e. *tek apar-ïp tsa-y-m* ‘I will only drop you,’ and it is directly followed by another thought, i.e. *so-dan tañerteñ verte şïğ-ïp ket-tï-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-ïp-tï* ‘[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  $\{\Gamma^2oy\}$  which is realized as either *γoy* ~ *γo* or *қoy* ~ *қo*. It most commonly conveys shared knowledge (whether it has been explicitly shared or not) as in S117: *Aya-m Şalkar-da žumïs iste-v-atïr edï γo* ‘My brother is working in Shalkar, as you know.’  $\{\Gamma^2oy\}$  is often followed by the lexical filler *vendï* ‘now’, and similarly carries the function of shared information or givenness, e.g. S10: *Taksi-ge bïz... aldïn ala žaz-ïl-a-mïž γoy vendï* ‘For the taxi, we... should sign up beforehand, as you know.’ There are instances where  $\{\Gamma^2oy\}$  is followed by *de-y-mïn* ‘say-LFOC.INTRA-1SG’, and expresses conjecture, e.g. S21: *Žetï bol-ma-y şïk-tï-k қoy de-y-m* ‘I think we left before seven’. For more on the functions of  $\{\Gamma^2oy\}$ , see, for instance, Abish (2016: 75–84) and Christopher (2020).

Other modal particles of the narrative include the enclitic *-şï* in S87, *aw* in S39 and *tuyïn* in S46. As discussed earlier, the use of the past habitual *tuyïn* 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 *tuyïn*.

### 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 *vendï* ‘now’ and *žañayï* ‘aforementioned’ with their various forms often combined with the lexical item *ne* ‘what’, e.g. S50: *žaña ne-nï*, S90: *žañayï-day ne-nï*. In S87, the lexical item *ne-nï* ‘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. *sni:mïk-tï* ‘radiograph (ACC)’, which appears in the postpredicative position where it bears the function of clarification. Similarly, in S70, *ne-de-gï* translated as ‘in where’ (Literally: what-LOC-REL) functions as a placeholder for *Aktöbe-de-gï* ‘in Aktobe’ (Literally: Aktobe-LOC-REL).

### Foreign lexicon

Like most Turkic languages, Kazakh exhibits borrowings from Mongolic, Arabic, Persian, Russian, and other languages. Examples for old borrowings of Arabic-Persian origin include, for instance, S84: *çavar* «хабар» ‘information’, ‘news’, S56: *bazar* «базар» ‘market’, S98: *beynet-ke* «бейнетке» ‘to difficulty’, S120: *wakït-i* «уақыты» ‘its time’, and of Mongolic origin, for instance, S78: *қудағай-ïmïž* «құдағайымыз» ‘our co-mother-in-law’.

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: *reñgenolïk* «рентгенолог» ‘radiologist’  $\Leftarrow$  Russian «рентгенолог» ‘id.’, S59: *aperaciya* «операция» ‘operation’  $\Leftarrow$  Russian «операция» ‘id.’, S113: *çirurg* «хирург» ‘surgeon’  $\Leftarrow$  Russian «хирург» ‘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: *portal* «портал» 'portal' ← Russian «портал» 'id.', S55: *bağ-ï-n* 'its tank (ACC)' «бағын» ← Russian «бак» 'tank', S42: *skaner-le-dï-m* «сканерледім» 'I scanned' ← Russian «сканер» 'scanner'.

The number of Russian loanwords in Kazakh began to increase after the Russian conquest in the 19<sup>th</sup> 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-baқša* «балабақша» 'id.', S124: *lift* 'elevator' ← Russian «лифт» 'id.' instead of *žedelsatı* «жеделсаты» 'id.', S54: *äbed* 'lunch' ← Russian «обед» 'id.' instead of *tüşki as* «түскі ас» 'id.', S134: *apteka* 'pharmacy' ← Russian «аптека» 'id.' instead of *däriřana* «дәріхана» 'id.'. In some cases, however, the speaker provides the Kazakh equivalent right after the Russian word, e.g. S33: *očert* 'queue' ← Russian «очередь» 'id.' vs. *kezek* «кезек» 'id.', S75: *napravleñiye* 'referral' ← Russian «направление» 'id.' vs. *žoldama* «жолдама» 'id.', S127: *lestniца* 'staircase' ← Russian «лестница» 'id.' vs. *baspaldaқ* «баспалдақ» 'id.'.

Other grammatical categories of Russian origin, such as adverbs and phrases, are occasionally used in the narrative, see, for instance, S90: *uže* 'already' ← Russian «уже» 'id.', S50: *vesli što* 'if there is anything' ← Russian «если что» 'id.'.

Furthermore, international words that are part of the standard Kazakh lexicon include for instance S52: *telefon* «телефон» 'telephone', S9: *taksi* «такси» 'taxi', S39: *minut* or S111: *tüyunt* «минут» 'minute'.

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