Modality in Kazakh as spoken in China
Modality in Kazakh as spoken in China

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

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

Keywords: Turkic languages, Kazakh, modality

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Five years in Sweden does not make me a Swede, but the experience of participating in Swedish life and enjoying the comradeship of my friends in Uppsala has changed me in many respects. I will carry these values with me and take good care of them. Tack så mycket!
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<td>ber- ‘to give’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GO.POSTV</td>
<td>bar- ‘to go’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU.NESS</td>
<td>necessitative in {-GU^2} in Uyghur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GULUK.NESS</td>
<td>necessitative in {-G^4U^2I^2K^2} in Uyghur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓΟY.PART</td>
<td>particle Γ^2oy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYP</td>
<td>hypothetical / conditional mood {-sA^2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.COP</td>
<td>the defective copula i- ‘to be’ in Turkish and Uyghur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIR</td>
<td>indirective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJEC</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRAT</td>
<td>intraterminal viewpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP.CONV</td>
<td>convert in {-(I^4)p}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP.POSTT</td>
<td>post-terminal past in {(I^4)p}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JÁ.PART</td>
<td>já / žá particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNOW.POSTV</td>
<td>bìl- ‘to know’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KO.PART</td>
<td>particle ko in Karaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEAVE.POSTV</td>
<td>kêt- ‘to leave’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIE.POSTV</td>
<td>jat- ‘to lie’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIGHTV</td>
<td>light verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIKE:AFORESAID.FILL</td>
<td>ágîndey ‘like aforesaid’ used as a filler when one cannot find the right expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOOK.POSTV</td>
<td>bâk- ‘to look’ used as a postverb in Uyghur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.PART</td>
<td>interrogative particle {-M³A²}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAK.PTCP</td>
<td>participle in {-M³A²K²}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAK.VN</td>
<td>verbal noun in {-M³A²K²}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKČI</td>
<td>intentional in {-mA³K²či} in Uyghur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKE.LIGHTV</td>
<td>kîl- ‘to make’ used as a light verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKŞÌ</td>
<td>intentional in {-M³A²K²šI²}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKSĽ.PTCP</td>
<td>participle in {-M³A²K²šI²}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIŞTIR.PAST</td>
<td>past tense in {-ml³šťr} in Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOVE.POSTV</td>
<td>jür- ‘to move’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NESS</td>
<td>necessitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIKI</td>
<td>{-N³iči}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOW.FILL</td>
<td>‘endi ‘now’ used as a filler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORD</td>
<td>ordinal number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OY.INTERJEC</td>
<td>interjection “oy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYBAY.INTERJEC</td>
<td>interjection “oybay”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖZŁ.PART</td>
<td>particle “özli”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE.POSTV</td>
<td>sal- ‘to place’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUPERF</td>
<td>pluperfect in {-ml³šťr} in Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTP</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTT</td>
<td>post-terminal viewpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTV</td>
<td>postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCM</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUT.POSTV</td>
<td>koy- ‘to put’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>reflexive stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF.PASS</td>
<td>reflexive/passive in {(I^7)n} after a preceding l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RETURN.POSTV</td>
<td>kav- ‘to return’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE.POSTV</td>
<td>kör- ‘to see’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEND.POSTV</td>
<td>jiber- ‘to send’ used as a postverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHET.PART</td>
<td>rhetorical particle ‘eken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠL.PART</td>
<td>particle šI²</td>
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</table>

xvi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIT.POSTV</td>
<td>‘otīr- ‘to sit’ used as a postverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAND.POSTV</td>
<td>tur- ‘to stand’ used as a postverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAY.POSTV</td>
<td>kal- ‘to stay’ used as a postverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPER</td>
<td>superlative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAKE.POSTV</td>
<td>al- ‘to take’ used as a postverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THAT.FILL</td>
<td>so / sol / ana ‘that’ used as a filler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIS.FILL</td>
<td>miña ‘this’ used as a filler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THROW.POSTV</td>
<td>tasta- ‘to throw’ used as a postverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWARD.COP</td>
<td>postposition karay ‘toward, towards’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURMA.CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction turmak ‘not to mention’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTIL.POSTP</td>
<td>postposition deyin ‘until’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UW.VN</td>
<td>verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U²w}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWDA.INTRAT</td>
<td>intraterminal in {-wdA² // -(Ø)U²wdA²}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWŠI.PTCP</td>
<td>participle in {-wsI² // -(Ø)U²wsI²}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>verbal noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>voluntative mood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHAT.FILL</td>
<td>nemene ‘what’ used as a filler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITH.POSTP</td>
<td>postposition M’en / M’enen ‘with’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YÀ.INTERJEC</td>
<td>interjection ‘yà’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YA.PART</td>
<td>particle ‘yà’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transcriptions and notations

Transcriptions

The following table presents the transcription system used in this study to render the Turkic (mostly Kazakh) data. This system is based on the one employed by Johanson (Johanson & Csató eds 2006: 18–19) and later modifications by the same author.

Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cyrillic</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>low back unrounded vowel</td>
<td>А a</td>
<td>ا a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>lower-mid front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Є ə</td>
<td>ی a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>[ø]</td>
<td>mid-central unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Ө ы</td>
<td>й й</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>bilabial weak stop</td>
<td>Б б</td>
<td>ب b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>palatal strong affricate</td>
<td>Ч ч</td>
<td>چ چ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>prepalatal weak stop</td>
<td>Д д</td>
<td>د د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>upper-mid front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Е е</td>
<td>إ إ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>labial strong fricative</td>
<td>Ф ф</td>
<td>ف ف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>postpalatal weak stop</td>
<td>Г г</td>
<td>گ گ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>glottal voiceless fricative</td>
<td>Ы یر</td>
<td>ہ ہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
<td>near high front unrounded lax vowel</td>
<td>І и</td>
<td>ی й</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>high front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>И и</td>
<td>И й</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>[ɯ]</td>
<td>high back unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Ыы</td>
<td>Й й</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[ʤ]</td>
<td>palatal weak affricate</td>
<td>Ж ж</td>
<td>ج ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>postpalatal strong stop</td>
<td>К к</td>
<td>ك ك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>velar strong stop</td>
<td>Қ қ</td>
<td>ق ق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>voiced lateral approximant</td>
<td>Л л</td>
<td>ل ل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>voiced lateral velarized approximant</td>
<td>Л л</td>
<td>ل ل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>bilabial nasal</td>
<td>М м</td>
<td>م م</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>prepalatal nasal</td>
<td>Н н</td>
<td>ن ن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>postvelar nasal</td>
<td>Н н</td>
<td>ں ں</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>upper-mid back rounded vowel</td>
<td>О о</td>
<td>او او</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö</td>
<td>[ø]</td>
<td>upper-mid front rounded vowel</td>
<td>Ø о</td>
<td>او او</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>bilabial strong stop</td>
<td>П п</td>
<td>ب b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>prepalatal trill</td>
<td>Р р</td>
<td>ر ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>prepalatal strong fricative</td>
<td>С с</td>
<td>سس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>postalveolar, strong fricative</td>
<td>Щш</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>prepalatal strong stop</td>
<td>Тт</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>high back rounded vowel</td>
<td>Ўу</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>high front rounded vowel</td>
<td>Ўу</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>high near-front rounded vowel</td>
<td>Ўу</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>labial weak fricative</td>
<td>Вв</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>bilabial glide</td>
<td>Уу</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>postvelar strong fricative</td>
<td>Хх</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>palatal glide</td>
<td>Йй</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>prepalatal weak fricative</td>
<td>Жж</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ż</td>
<td>palatal weak fricative</td>
<td>Жж</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ</td>
<td>velar weak fricative</td>
<td>Жж</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A raised character indicates an extra-short or evanescent segment. This can be a vowel, as in \(b\)'r ‘one’, or a consonant, as in \(y\)el ‘country’.

### Other signs

Brackets of the type \(\{\}\) are used for glosses.  
Hyphens are used to indicate morpheme boundaries.  
A dash is placed to the right of verbal stems.  
A dash is placed to the left of bound elements.  
The sign < means ‘has developed from’, and > means ‘has developed into’.  
Simple arrows are used for morphological derivation. Thus ← means ‘is derived from’.  
Curly brackets of the type {} are used for morphophonemic transcriptions.  
A bracketed initial vowel sign indicates a consonant that occurs after stem-final vowels and is absent after stem-final consonants.  
A bracketed initial zero sign (Ø) indicates that the final vowel of the stem is dropped when the marker is added.  
Ø is the sign used for a zero element.  
Double slashes // can be used to indicate postconsonantal and postvocalic alternants in one formula.  
Language-specific morphemes are given in italics.  
The asterisk * sign is used for an unacceptable form.  
In the examples, an X indicates a pronoun that can be rendered as ‘he/she/it’ or ‘that’ or ‘it/him/her/them’ in the English translation.  
Syllables bearing high pitch, i.e. accented syllables, are underlined.
Morphophonemic notations

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\{A^2\} &= a, e \text{ (Uyghur } a, \ddot{a}) \\
\{A^2/-y\} &= a, e, y \\
\{A^3\} &= a, e, \ddot{a} \\
\{D^2\} &= d, t \\
\{G^4\} &= g, \gamma, k, \dot{k} \\
\{I^2\} &= \ddot{i}, \dddot{i} \\
\{I^3\} &= u, \ddot{u}, i \text{ (Uyghur)} \\
\{I^4\} &= j, i, u, \ddot{u} \\
\{I^4\} &= i, \ddot{i}, u, \dddot{u} \text{ (Turkish)} \\
\{K^2\} &= k, \dot{k} \\
\{L^2\} &= l, l \\
\{L^4\} &= l, l, d, t \\
\{M^3\} &= m, b, p \\
\{N^3\} &= n, d, t \\
\{U^2\} &= u, \ddot{u} \\
\{U^4\} &= u, \ddot{u}, i, \dddot{i} \text{ (Kirghiz)} \\
\{\Gamma^2\} &= \gamma, k
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

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

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

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

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

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

Data

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

The Kazakh language in China

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

Kazakhs in China mainly inhabit Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (Ile kazak aptonomiyali obilişi), Mori Kazakh Autonomous County (Mori kazak aptonomiyali awdanı) and Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County (Barköl kazak aptonomiyali awdanı) (XJYB 2011: 352). The Kazakh language is spoken in the following areas of Xinjiang:

- The Ili, Altay, and Tarbagatay regions, all of which belong to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture.
- Ürümqi City, the Daban City region (in Ürumqi County), and the Tong-san region belonging to Ürümqi City.
- Mori Kazakh Autonomous County and the counties Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, and Hutubi, which belong to the Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture (Sanjı xuyzu aptonomiyali obilişi).
- Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County of the Hami region (Kumil ay-mayını Barköl kazak aptonomiyali awdanı).
- Arasan and Jinghe Counties, which belong to the Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture (Buratala muuyul aptonomiyali obilişi), as well as Bortala City.

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

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

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

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

1 For more information about the status of Kazakh see Abish & Csató (2011: 276).
2 For more information on the history and culture of the Kazakhs in China see Benson & Svanberg 1988, 1998, and Light 1993.
Bilingual instruction
In 1964, several experimental classes (Chinese shíyàn bān) were started at some secondary schools in Xinjiang (Xiaohua Fang 2009: 59). In these classes, all subjects were taught in Chinese, except for Kazakh literature. From 1966 to 1976, due to the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, Kazakh schools were closed. Minority education in Xinjiang began to be restored and developed after 1976. At Kazakh schools, Chinese language acquisition started first from the third grade, later from the first grade in elementary schools. Until the end of 2004, at Kazakh elementary, secondary, and high schools the main subjects were taught in Kazakh. The teaching materials were translated from Chinese. In 2005, bilingual or alternatively monolingual Chinese instruction for Kazakh children started from the first grade (Abish & Csató 2011: 277). Bilingual education was expanded to 100% of the preschools in the year 2011 throughout Xinjiang.

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

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

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

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3 This variety of the language is illustrated in Text 9 of Appendix.
4 This is illustrated by Text 5 in Appendix.
the conditions for the development of Kazakh varieties are different in the various regions in Xinjiang, increasing divergence may be observed in the future. (p. 289)

Research on Kazakh in China

Academic research on Kazakh is carried out at several institutions in China: Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences (Kazakh Șinʃ’aj қойамдик ғилимдар ақедемиясы, Chinese Хинжянь shèhuì kēxuéyuàn), Minzu University of China (Kazakh 巯rtaliʃ ulttar universtiteti, Chinese Zhōngyāng mǐnzú dàxué), Xinjiang University (Kazakh Șinʃ’aj universtiteti, Chinese Xīnjìāng dàxué), The Working Committee of Minorities’ Language and Writing of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Kazakh Șinʃ’aj ҭil jazuw komiteti, Chinese Xīnjìāng wěiwú’èr žizhìqū mǐnzú yŭyán wēngzú wēiyuàn huí), The Working Committee of Minorities’ Language and Writing of Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (Kazakh .slot jazuw komiteti, Chinese Yīlǐ hāsàkè žizhígōu mǐnzú yŭyán wēngzú wēiyuàn huí), and Ili Normal University (Kazakh Īle pédägota sòywɔn, Chinese Yīlǐ shǐfān xuéyuàn). We here provide some information about these institutions.

Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, Ürümqi

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

Minzu University of China, Beijing

The Department of Kazakh Language and Literature at Minzu University of China is a relatively young department. The study of Kazakh was introduced there by Professor Geng Shimin and some other scholars in 1953. In 1971, a Section of Kazakh Language and Literature was established. The section was headed by Professor Geng Shimin (1971–1989), Professor Li Zengxiang (1989–1995), and Professor Erkin Awgali (1995–2004). In April 15, 2004, 5 From 1994 to 1996, it was called Department of Turkic Languages and Literatures (Kazakh Türk tektes ulttar ҭil-ӕdebıyetı fakulteti, Chinese Tūjùe yûyán wènxué xī). From 1996 to 2000 its name was Department of Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz Languages and Cultures (Kazakh Uyyur-kazak-kírjź ҭil-mädenıyetı fakulteti, Chinese Wēi hà kē yûyán wènhuà xī). From 2000 to 2001, the name was changed to Department of Turkic Languages and Cultures (Kazakh Türk tektes ulttar ҭil-mädenıyetı fakulteti, Chinese Tūjùe yûyán wènhuà xī). From 2001 to 2004, it was renamed Department of Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz Languages and Literatures (Kazakh Uyyur-kazak-kírjź ҭil-ӕdebıyetı fakulteti, Chinese Wēi hà kē yûyán wènxué xī) (DEKLL 2013).
the Section of Kazakh Language and Literature was made into a separate department. From the beginning the head of the new department has been Professor Zhang Dingjing.

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

The Working Committees of Minorities’ Language and Writing

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

Publications in Kazakh

There are three publishing houses which publish Kazakh books, CDs, and DVDs in China: The Ethnic Publishing House (Kazakh Ulтар baspasï, Chinese Minzú chūbān shè) in Beijing, Xinjiang People’s Publishing House (Kazakh Шиңдай қалық baspasï, Chinese Xīnjiāng rénmín chūbān shè) in Ürümqi, and Ili People’s Publishing House (Kazakh !Ile қалық baspasï, Chinese Yīlì rénmín chūbān shè) in Kuytun.

According to statistics from 2010, Xinjiang has 12 publishing houses, including 10 book publishers, and two audio and video publishing houses. In Xinjiang 1153 persons work in the publishing sector, including 726 professional and technical workers. They publish 127 newspapers, including 52 in ethnic languages, and 207 journals, of which 113 are in ethnic languages (XJYB 2011: 335). 11 Kazakh newspapers are regularly published. The best known of these are: “Xinjiang Daily” (Kazakh Шиңдай газети, Chinese Xinjiāng ribào), “Altay Daily” (Kazakh Altay газети, Chinese Ālètài ribào), “Tacheng News” (Kazakh Tarbayataй газети, Chinese Tǎchéng ribào). The number of Kazakh journals is 27. The best known are: “Ili River” (Kazakh !Ile өzeni, Chinese Yīlì hē), “Tarbagatay” (Kazakh Tarbayataй, Chinese Tǎchéng), “Heritage” (Kazakh Mura, Chinese Yíchān), “Altay Spring Scr-
nery” (Kazakh Altay ayası, Chinese Ālètài chāngwāng), “Dawn” (Kazakh Şewula, Chinese Shúguāng).

The academic journals published in Kazakh include:

 Til jāne awdarma ‘Language and Translation’ (Chinese Yüyán yǔ jānyì)⁷
 Şinfi an koyamdık yūlimi ‘Xinjiang Social Science’ (Chinese Xīnjiāng shèhuì kēxué)
 Şinfi an koyamdık yūlimdar mınbesi ‘Tribune of Social Sciences in Xinjiang’ (Chinese xīnjiāng shèhū lǐntán)
 Şinfi an universiteti yūlimi jurnalı: filosofiya-koyamdık yūlimdar ‘Journal of Xinjiang University. Philosophy, Humanities & Social Science’ (Chinese Xīnjiāng dàxué xuébào: shèhuì kēxué)
 Ile pedagogika şuveywæni yūlimi jurnalı ‘Journal of Ili Normal University’ (Chinese Yǐlǐ shìfān xuéyuàn xuébào)

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

 Yi lí shìfān xuéyuàn xuébào ‘Journal of Xinjiang Normal University’
 Zhōngyāng mǐnzu dàxué xuébào: Zhèxué shèhū kēxué bān ‘Journal of The Central University of Nationalities.⁸ Humane and Social Sciences Edition’
 Shìjiè mǐnzu ‘World Ethno-National Studies’
 Xībèi mǐnzu yánjū ‘N.W. Journal of Ethnology’
 Zhōngguó mǐnzu jiàoyu ‘Minority education’
 Xībèi mǐnzu dàxué xuébào ‘Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities’
 Mǐnzu yūwén ‘Minority Languages of China’

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

Broadcasting in Kazakh as spoken in China

Television

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

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⁶ The English translations of the journals’ names are the ones printed on the journals.
⁷ This is a high-quality periodical published in Xinjiang. It is sponsored by The Working Committee of Minority Language and Writing of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and the Xinjiang Translators’ Association and is published in five ethnic languages, namely Chinese, Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongol, and Kirghiz.
⁸ This is the former name of Minzu University of China.
jiang. XJTV3 and XJTV8 transmit programs in Kazakh for about 16 hours a day. The children's TV channel, XJTV12, however, is a shared-time channel with Chinese and Uyghur. It transmits programs for four hours a day. As a satellite channel, XJTV3 is also sent to some parts of Beijing and Gansu, where there are Kazakh communities, as well as to Kazakhstan. Apart from these, there is a Kazakh channel in the TV broadcasting service for local Kazaks in Ili, Altay, and Tarbagatay. Every larger county with Kazakh inhabitants has its own shared-time TV channel, mostly broadcasting local, domestic, and international news in Kazakh for about two hours a day.

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

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


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


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

Bilingual dictionaries published in China include:\(^9\)


Doctoral theses about Kazakh in China

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


Two other dissertations have recently been defended:

Wei, Wei Xiàndài Häsâkê yû biâodâ yûqi yîyi de jû diào shîyàn yánjiû [‘An experimental study on intonations in modal sentences in Modern Kazakh’]

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9 See for a list of dictionaries Yang (1999).
Bidula, Patima *Gǔdài tūjué yǔcí zài hāsàkè yǔ zhòng de yānbiàn* [‘A diachronic study of the changes of some Old Turkic lexical items in Modern Kazakh’] 2013. (Under the supervision of Erkin Awgali at Minzu University of China).

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

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

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

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

Volition:

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

Necessity:

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

The third modal notion, epistemic possibility, covers various types of assessments of the propositional content and can reflect a commitment to the
truth of the proposition, i.e. to its certainty, probability, possibility, etc. The source of the evaluation can be the addressee’s personal opinion or some other source.

Types of modality markers

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

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

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

Example 1

\[ Aygül \text{ kel-e} \text{ jatır.} \]
\[ Aygul \text{ come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3} \]
\[ ‘Aygul is coming.’ \]

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

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

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

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

Turkic languages also employ analytic devices:

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

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

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

**Subjective modality**

A distinction can be made between subjective and objective modality. According to Johanson (2009: 489), subjective modality expresses the addresser’s cognitive or affective attitude toward the event described in the proposition, which represents a possible fact. It can signal meanings of subjective reasoning, personal involvement, emotions, and personal judgments. The evaluation is restricted to the addresser’s personal opinion, and the addresser takes personal responsibility for it.
One kind of subjective modal meaning is concerned with volition, the addresser’s wish with respect to the realization of the propositional content. It indicates desire, need, hope, fear, purpose, command, demand, request, intention, encouragement, incitement, permission, appeal, warning, advice, recommendation, promise, etc. In Example 2, the hypothetical mood in combination with the particle *deymin* ‘lit. I say’ expresses the addresser’s subjective will.

Example 2

*Kezdes-se-m deymin.*

meet-HYP-1SG DEYMIN.PART

‘I would like to meet.’

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

Example 3

*Alla ḱala-sa, tayī kezi-g-er-mīz.*

Allah will-HYP3 again meet-AOR-1PL

‘If Allah wills, we might meet again.’

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

Example 4

*Erteg-gi jiyin-ga keşik-pe-w-im kerek.*

tomorrow-GI meeting-DAT late-NEG-UW.VN-POS1SG necessary

‘I should not be late for tomorrow’s meeting.’

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

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Example 5

*Men-če, kel-e-di.*

I-DER come -A.PRES-3

‘As for me, X comes. / As for me, X will come.’

**Objective modality**

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

Example 6

*Mektep-ke keşiş-pe-y kel-eyik.*

school-DAT be late-NEG-A.CONV COME.POST-V-1PL

‘It is desirable that we not come late to work’.

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

Example 7

*Gül çöp-ter-di ayala-uw kajet.*

flower grass-PL-ACC protect-UW.VN necessity

‘One must protect the flowers and the plants.’

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

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

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

Example 9

Bil-úw-ịm-de, bul jer-de temekị ceg-úw-ge
deleknow-UW.VN-POSS1SG-LOC this place-LOC tobacco smoke-UW.VN-DAT

tiyim sal-iìn-a-dị.
interdiction put-REF.PASS-A.PRES-3

‘As I understand it, it is forbidden to smoke here.’

Illocutionary modality

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

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

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11 In the grammar MKL, the chapter dealing with modality is called modal sözder ['modal words']. In this chapter, the modal words are described both from semantic and grammatical perspectives. A distinction is made between subjective and objective modal meanings. This distinction does not correspond to the one employed by us in this study. The authors of this grammar regard the moods and the aorist marker to be synthetic devices to express objective modal meanings, whereas the subjective modal meanings are claimed by them to be expressed by specific lexical items and some kömekşî sözder ['functional words']. The functional words are those we call particles in this study. Evidentiality is also described in this grammar as a modal category expressed by the indirective copula yeken and the verbal inflectional suffix {-(I²)ptI²}. 
Example 10

Ašiŋ-ı-n    ayt-sa-m,    bar-γi-m
clear-POSS3-ACC tell-HYP-1SG go-GI-POSS1SG
kel-me-y    tur.
come-NEG-A.CONV STAND.POSTV3

‘Frankly speaking, I do not want to go.’

Example 11

‘Eskert-e    ket-eyin,    kün    sözsız    jaw-a-dë.
warn-A.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-VOL1SG weather definitely fall-A.PRES-3

‘I warn you, it will definitely rain.’

Personal and impersonal constructions

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

Non-modal notions: Inherent properties

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

*Maltay* *al-a-mîn.*

swim-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I can swim.’

Example 13

*Maltamakshi-mîn.*

swim-MAKŠI-COP1SG

‘I intend to swim.’
Moods

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

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

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

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

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

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12 See also Csató (2012b) on the sustainability of bound morphology in Karaim.
hope, desire and willingness. The volitional content may be realizable or unrealizable.

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

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

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

**Imparative mood**

**Inventory of forms**

**Affirmative**

As in many other languages, the singular form of the imperative in Kazakh is homonymous with the bare verbal stem, e.g. *Bar!* ⟨go.IMP⟩ ‘Go!’, *Kel!* ⟨come.IMP⟩ ‘Come!’ The polite form of the imperative, used to address one person, is built with the suffix {-](I)ŋI²z}, e.g. *Bar-ŋįz!* ⟨go-IMP⟩ ‘Go!’, *Kel-ŋįz!* ⟨come-IMP⟩ ‘Come!’

The plural of the imperative is formed with the suffix {-](I)ŋ-dA²r}, e.g. *Bar-ŋį-dar!* ⟨go-IMP-PL⟩ ‘Go!’, *Kel-ŋį-der!* ⟨come-IMP-PL⟩ ‘Come!’ The polite form of the imperative in the plural is formed with the suffix {-](I)ŋI²z-dA²r}, e.g. *Bar-ŋįz-der!* ⟨go-IMP-PL⟩ ‘Go!’, *Kel-ŋįz-der!* ⟨come-IMP-PL⟩ ‘Come!’

Corresponding forms are already found in East Old Turkic as represented by Old Uyghur and Karakhanid. Here the pronominal plural marker {-Iz} and the nominal plural marker {-IAr} combine pleonastically in forms such as {-}(I-Iz-IAr}. In Old Uyghur, the plural of the imperative in {-IŋI} can be used for polite address to a person of higher rank (“auch für die höfliche
Einzahl” [‘also for the polite singular’] von Gabain 1941: 110–111), whereas the plural form in {-(I)ł-zlAr} is not used as a polite form. In Karakhanid and Chaghatay, however, {-(I)ł-lAr} and {-(I)ł-zlAr} form honorific imperatives for sets of individuals.

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

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

In Modern Uyghur, polite imperatives are formed with {-(I)ł} for a single addressee and {-(I)ł-lAr} for a set of addressees, e.g. Kir-ịñ!, Kir-ịñ-lAr! ‘Please enter!’ A respectful form used for a single individual and a set of individuals is {silA²}, e.g. Kâl-si-lä! ‘Come!’ (cf. De Jong 2007: 113, Hahn 2006: 393, Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 611,)

In Old Uyghur, Karakhanid, Chaghatay, Uyghur, Uzbek, Old Ottoman, etc., alternative forms of the singular imperative are formed with the suffix {Gll} or {Ghn}, e.g. Old Uyghur Aya-ýil! ‘Venerate!’ Uyghur Bar-ýin! {go-IMP} ‘Go!’ (cf. Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 610), Uzbek Oki-gín! (read-IMP) ‘Read!’, Çik-kin! {come out-IMP} ‘Come out!’, Karaim Išan-ýin T’en’ri-g’ä! {believe-IMP God-DAT} ‘Believe in God!’ (Csató 2012a: 124). They express reinforcement, urgency, insistence, etc., and are probably based on the imperatives of kil- and kîn- ‘to do’, derivable from a root *kî- ‘to do’. They were thus originally imperative verbs themselves rather than particles added to imperatives (Johanson forthcoming).

The corresponding Kazakh form, {G2Tn}, is today only used in poetic styles. It can, however, be observed in the southern dialect spoken in the Ili region, perhaps under the influence of Uyghur. In oral texts, the old form {G2l} may be observed (Geng 1989: 137).

Negative

Negative forms of the imperative are based on the verbal stem and the suffix of negation {M3A²}, e.g. Bar-ma! {go-NEG.IMP} ‘Do not go!’ The polite
form of the negated singular imperative is built with the suffix \{-M^3A^2-ŋI^2z\}, e.g. \textit{Kör-me-ŋiz!} \{watch-NEG-IMP\} ‘Do not watch!’. The negated plural forms are built with the suffix \{-M^3A^2-ŋ-dA^2r\}, e.g. \textit{Jaz-ba-ŋ-dar!} \{write-NEG-IMP-PL\} ‘Do not write!’ The polite forms are based on \{-M^3A^2-ŋI^2z-dA^2r\}, e.g. \textit{Ket-pe-ŋiz-der!} \{leave-NEG-IMP-PL\} ‘Do not leave!’

Basic semantic and syntactic properties

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

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

Null subjects are normal in imperative sentences. Explicit subjects are unusual, but possible, e.g. \textit{Sen kel!} \{you come.IMP\} ‘You come!’, or in the polite form \textit{Siz kel-iŋiz} \{you come-IMP\} ‘You come!’. The pronoun used for plural subjects is rendered by \textit{Sen-der kel-iŋ-der!} \{you-PL come-IMP-PL\} ‘You come!’ or by the polite form \textit{Siz-der kel-iŋiz-der!} \{you-PL come-IMP-PL\} ‘You come!’

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

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

Like sentences based on other volitional moods, imperative sentences cannot be tested for their truth value in the way that sentences such as \textit{Kel-dī} ‘X came’. It is not possible to answer the question whether \textit{Kel!} ‘Come!’ is true or not. Imperatives cannot combine with interrogative markers, whereas other volitional moods can. For instance, the voluntative can be combined
with the question particle, e.g. Ḫayt-ayṭ pa? (return-VOL.2PL Q.PART) ‘Shall we return?’

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

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

Usages

The following examples illustrate various usages of imperatives.

Orders

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

Example 14

...ḵimiyaliḵ tı̄ŋaytkš-ti al-ı̄p kel!
fertilizer-ACC take-IP.CONV COME.POSTV.IMP

‘Bring the fertilizer!’ (T5/30)

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

Requests

In the following example, the addressee asks the Creator to fulfill a wish (see Zhang 2004: 414).
Example 15

Jarat-ḳan iye-m jar bol-a
create-GAN.PTCP possessor-POSS1SG helper BOL.COP-A.CONV
kör!
SEE.POSTV.IMP
‘My Creator, please be with me!’

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

Example 16

Context: You hear someone knock on the door and you permit the person to enter.

Kịr!
come in.IMP
‘Come in!’

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

Example 17

"Endī maɣan sen "endī mīna urpak jūn-ῖn-ðe
now I.DAT you NOW.FILL THIS.FILL descendant direction-POSS3-LOC
ne jaz-ɣa-siŋ, ne ayt-ɣa-siŋ de-se-ŋ. meniŋ
urpak jūn-ῖn-ðe ayt-ar-im b/r-îmcī:
descendant direction-POSS3-LOC tell-AOR-POSS1SG one-ORD
“Urpak jaksī-dan üyren-iŋ-der!’
descendant good-ABL learn-IMP-PL
‘Now, If you ask me what I would write and what I would say concerning the descendants, what I would say concerning the descendants is first of all “Young ones, learn from what is good!”’. (T6/ 2)

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

Example 18

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

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

Example 19

*Bul jẹr-de temekị tart-pa-ngịz.*
this place-LOC tobacco smoke-NEG-IMP
'Do not smoke here.'

Verbal construction in {-wšI² // -(Ø)U²wšI²} + bol-ma (BOL.COP-NEG.IMP) may express a strong warning or threat.

Example 20

"Ọtịrịk ayt-uwši bol-ma, bala-m!
lie tell-UWšI.PTCP BOL.COP-NEG.IMP child-POSS1SG
‘Never tell a lie, my child!’

Good wishes and curses

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

Example 21

*Gūl-dey jàynà!*
flower-EQUA bloom.IMP
‘May you bloom like a flower!’

Example 22

*Jẹnjis-ke jẹt-e ber-iẹ-der!*
success-DAT reach-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-IMP-PL
‘May you always be successful!’

Example 23

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

Example 24

*Jẹtịm kal!*
orphan stay.IMP
‘May you become an orphan!’
Downtoning imperatives
There are several ways to downtone, i.e. to soften, imperatives, e.g. by adding the particle šî2 as in Examples 25 and 26. (See more about this particle in the chapter Modal particles.) The meaning of the particle can be rendered by ‘please’ in English.

Example 25
Kel šî!
come.IMP ŠI.PART
‘Come, please!’

Example 26
Ayt-înįg šî!
tell-IMP ŠI.PART
‘Tell (me), please!’

Another way of downtoning imperatives is to employ certain postverbs such as koy- ‘to put’ and jiber- ‘to send’. In Example 27, the lexical verb sönđir- ‘to turn off’ contains an -(I)p converb. In the next example, however, the -A2/y converb is used. The latter is used to signal intimacy between the addressee and addressee. Zhang (1990a: 88) suggests that, in this case, the addressee is an elder person, and the addressee a youth or a junior.

Example 27
Šam-dî sönđir-ip koy.
light-ACC turn off-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP
‘Please turn off the light.’

Example 28
Šam-dî sönđir-e γoy.
light-ACC turn off-A.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP
‘Please turn off the light.’

When the postverb koy- ‘to put’ follows a converb in -A2/y, i.e. a vowel or a glide, it is pronounced as γoy. In this case, the imperative form of the postverb is homophonous with the particle Γ2oy (see Modal particles). The dictionary DKLL describes this form in terms of the particle Γ2oy having a special function, i.e. adding the meaning ‘to entreat’ or expressing fondness (“отпну, еркелету мағынасын ұстемелейді”) (2011: 410). In our opinion, the imperative form of the postverb and the particle must be distinguished. The construction in Example 27 consists of a converb of a lexical verb and the postverb koy- ‘to put’. In Example 28, the expression sönđir-e γoy ‘please turn off’ is also a compound verb including the postverb koy. An
argument for this analysis is that this postverb can be inflected, e.g. in the plural; see Example 29.

Example 29

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Šam-di} & \text{söndir-e} & \text{γoy-ĩñ-dar!} \\
\text{light-ACC} & \text{turn off-A.CONV} & \text{PUT.POSTV-IMP-PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘Please turn off the light!’

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

Example 30

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Tez-irek} & \text{bịtir.} \\
\text{quick-COMP} & \text{finish.IMP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Please finish it a little faster.’

Ways of replacing imperatives

Some alternative constructions can be used instead of imperatives. For instance, verbal nouns (infinitives) in \{-U^2w/ -(U^2)w\}, without any marker of person, can be used for short instructions or commands in recipes, prescriptions, etc. Infinitives are the least marked forms of the verb and have impersonal meanings, which makes them suitable as lexical entries in dictionaries. As alternatives to imperatives, infinitives are probably copies of corresponding Russian expressions, e.g. \( \text{Не курить! Ne kurit'} \langle \text{not smoke.INF} \rangle \) ‘No smoking!’, cf. Kazakh \( \text{Temekи ćek-pe-w!} \langle \text{smoke.NEG-INF} \rangle \). Other examples: Russian \( \text{Сидеть михо! Sidet' tixo} \langle \text{sit. INF quietly} \rangle \) ‘Sit quietly!’, cf. Kazakh \( \text{Tiniïs } \langle \text{sit-INF} \rangle \). The frequency of this usage is, however, limited at present.

The following examples are instructions given at schools.

Example 31

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Mektep-ke} & \text{way-ĩñ-da} & \text{kel-ũw.} \\
\text{school-DAT} & \text{time-POSS3-LOC} & \text{come-UW.VN}
\end{array}
\]

‘(One should) come to school on time.’

Example 32

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Tazalik-ĩi} & \text{jaksï įste-w.} \\
\text{cleaning-ACC} & \text{good do-UW.VN}
\end{array}
\]

‘(One should) do the cleaning well.’

It is also possible to use hypothetical forms with second-person endings, as in Example 33, or in combination with \{-G^4A^2n\} \( \text{bol-sa} \langle \text{GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP} \rangle \) with second-person endings as in Example 34.
In colloquial styles, another option is to add {-sA²-y} instead of {-sA²-ŋ} to the verbal stem. This form probably comes from the possessive type of the second-person singular hypothetical mood. The personal ending -ŋ is changed to -y to entreat or beg the interlocutor who is intimate with the addressee. According to my experience, this form is typically used in Tarbagatai.

Example 35

*Kel-se-y.*

come-HYP-2SG

‘Please come / do come.’

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

Example 36

*Bügün kal-sa-ŋ kayt-e-di?*

today stay-HYP-2SG how.to.do-A.PRES-3

‘How would it be if you were to stay today?’

Example 37

*Üy-di tazala-sa-ŋ bol-ar ma yeken?*

home-ACC clean-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-AOR Q.PART RHET.PART

‘I wonder if it would be possible for you to clean the house?’

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

The aorist form {-A²r} can also be used as an alternative to an imperative, which Zhang (1990a: 89) calls a ‘paraphrastic expression’.

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13 Compare the use of the particle with *wohl* in German.
Examples 31–38 can be interpreted as suggestions to the interlocutor to consider doing something, while actually implying a strong request or an appeal. These expressions can be used when it is necessary for the speaker to avoid a direct request.

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

Example 39

\textit{Konak-tar-di jaksi küt-üp al-gay-siğ.}

\textit{guest-PL-ACC good receive-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-OPT-COP2SG}

‘You should be attentive to the guests.’

Voluntative mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The first person singular voluntative marker is \{-(A^2)yI^2\}, e.g. \textit{Bar-ayîn} (go-VOL1SG) ‘I will go / Let me go’, \textit{Kel-eyîn} (come-VOL1SG) ‘I will come / Let me come’.

The first person plural voluntative marker is normally \{-(A^2)yI^2K_2\}, e.g. \textit{Bar-ayîk} (go-VOL1PL) ‘Let us go’, \textit{Kel-eyîk} (come-VOL1PL) ‘Let us come’. The form \{-(A^2)L^2I^2K_2\} may be used in written registers, e.g. \textit{Kel bala-la-r oki-li} (come-IMP child-PL study-VOL1PL) ‘Come (children), let us study’.

The form \{-(A^2)L^2I^3\} may be applied in the Southern dialects, mainly in the Ili region, e.g. \textit{Bar-alî} (go-VOL1PL) ‘Let us go’ (Geng et al. 1999: 235).

The third person singular and plural form is \{-sl^2n+O\}, e.g. \textit{Bar-sîn} (go-VOL3) ‘Let X go’, \textit{Kel-sîn} (come-VOL3) ‘Let X come’. The plural suffix \{-L^4A^2r\} cannot be added.

---

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

15 The standard Uzbek marker is \{-(ā)yI\}, e.g. \textit{Bär-āyîk} ‘Let us go’. Kirghiz has the variant \{-(A)I\}-(yI\}, e.g. \textit{Ber-êlik} ‘Let us give’, \textit{Ber-be-êlik} ‘Let us not give’.

16 The basic form is \{-(A)I\}, found in East Old Turkic, Karakhanid, Middle Kipchak, Chaghatay, Kirghiz etc., e.g. East Old Turkic \textit{Kîl-alî} ‘Let us do’. Chaghatay \textit{Oku-li} ‘Let us read’. This type also occurs in Uyghur \{-(A)yI\}, e.g. \textit{Oku-yli} ‘Let us read’ (Hahn & Ibrahim 2006: 610). Kirghiz \{-(A)I\}-(yI\}, e.g. \textit{Ber-êli} ‘Let us give’.

17 The Orkhon Turkic voluntative marker of the third person singular is \{-zUn\}, e.g. \textit{Bar-zun} ‘Let X go’.
Negative
Negated forms of the voluntative mood are built by adding the negation suffix \{-M^{3}A^{2}\} to the verbal stem followed by a voluntative marker. The function is to express a wish, request, command, advice or permission not to do.

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

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

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

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

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

Usages
Usage of the first person forms of the voluntative
First-person voluntative markers express one’s own or a group’s wish, willingness, readiness, intention, decision or promise to perform a given action: ‘I/we will do’, ‘Let me/us do’, etc. They may convey a request for permission to carry out the action. They can in general be paraphrased by means of superordinate predicates meaning ‘to allow’, ‘to permit’, etc.
The first person singular of the voluntative expresses one’s wish, intention, self-encouragement or readiness to perform an action: ‘I will act’, ‘I want myself to act’, ‘Let me act’. It can also represent a higher will: ‘It is desirable that I act’. The addressee may be identical with the subject referent. The addresser may, though not necessarily, also ask the addressee for permission.

Example 40

Jawab-i-n men ber-eyjin.
answer-POSS3-ACC I give-VOL1SG
‘Let me answer the question.’

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

Example 41

Jür, dala-ya čiğ-ıp kel-eyik.
move outside-DAT come out-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-VOL1PL
‘Come, let us go out.’

Example 42

...ček-emiz say-din üstün-e bër salkın žer-ge
two-COLL.POSS1PL ravine-GEN top.POSS3-DAT a cool place-DAT
žat-ayık...
lie-VOL.1PL
‘…let’s sleep in a cool place up in the ravine…’ (T4/35)

An alternative way of expressing mutual encouragement or urging is to use the negated present tense in yes/no questions. The high pitch falls on the last syllable before the interrogative particle {-M³A²} (see Zhang 1990a: 90). Example 41 can alternatively be expressed as Example 43.
According to Zhang (2004: 413), the first person plural of the voluntative can be used to convene, convoke, gather, invoke, mobilize, or muster the addressee(s).

Example 44

_Duşpan-dar-ði_

enemy-PL-ACC annihilate-VOL1PL

‘Let us annihilate the enemies!’

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

Example 45

_Sabaktas-tar, köngil koy-a tūnda-yı̄k._

classmate-PL attention put-A.CONV listen-VOL1PL

‘Tóngxuémen, zánmen zhùyì tīngjiāngle.’ (Zhang 2004: 413)

[‘Students, let’s listen (to the lesson) attentively.’]

Usage of the third person forms of the voluntative

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

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

Example 46

_Sabak-ti \"osî kîlås-tå tūnda-sin._

class-ACC this class-LOC listen-VOL3

‘Let X attend a class in this classroom’.
Example 47

*Tüsür-ūl-gen  ámbr bûgûn-nen  kal-ma-y*
lit fall-PASS-GAN.PTCP order today-ABL stay-NEG-A.CONV
"wöinda-la-sën.
complete-PASS-VOL3
‘The order that is given should be completed no later than today.’

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

Example 48

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

Example 49

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

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

Example 50

*Ağ  joł bol-sën!*
white road BOL.COP-VOL3
‘Have a good trip!’, Lit. ‘May the road be white!’.

Example 51

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

In rhetorical questions, the voluntative of the third person is used to express something that is difficult or impossible to change, to fulfill or to perform. According to Zhang (2004: 415), such sentences signal the speaker’s sympathy.
Example 52

Dünye-de munday wojay is kay-dan bol-sin?
world-LOC this.EQUA easy affair which-ABL BOL.COP-VOL3
‘Shìjiè shàng nà yǒu zhème róngyì de shì er.’ (Zhang: 2004: 415)
[‘How could it be easy? Lit. ‘From where should such easy things come to the world?’]

The same also holds for the first person singular and plural of the voluntative mood.
Example 53

Biz kay-dan biy-eyik?
we which-ABL know-VOL1PL
‘How could we know?’ (‘We cannot know.’)

The double form of the third person of the voluntative, an affirmative and a negative, can be used in the first clause of concessive sentences to express that the outcome will be the same, no matter whether the state of affairs is realized or not. The English translation can be ‘no matter’, ‘even if’, ‘even though’, ‘whether … or not’; see Example 54. This idiomatic usage seems to be restricted to the third person. In first persons, the analogous forms of the hypothetical mood followed by the particle $D_2^2$ ‘also’ are preferred; see Example 55.

Example 54

Šakırtuw kel-sin kel-me-sin, bar-γan-im
invitation come-VOL3 come-NEG-VOL3 go-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG
bar-γan.
go-GAN.POSTT3
‘No matter if an invitation comes or not, I will definitely go.’

Example 55

Šakırtuw al-sa-m da al-ma-sa-m da,
invitation get-HYP-1SG DA.PART get-NEG-HYP-1SG DA.PART
bar-γan-im bar-γan.
go-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG go-GAN.POSTT3
‘No matter if I get an invitation or not, I will definitely go.’

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

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18 Munday is a contracted form of mîna-day (this-EQUA) ‘like this’ or mînan-day (this-EQUA) ‘like this’.
be’, *ol-sun* (COP-VOL3SG) can be used impersonally in the sense of ‘So be it!’, ‘All right’, ‘I do not mind’.

Example 56 Turkish

*A:* Bugün okul-a geç kal-acığ-im.

   today school-DAT be late-FUT-1SG

   ‘I will be late for school today.

*B:* Ol-sun!

   COP-VOL3SG

   ‘All right. I don’t mind.’

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

Example 57

*A:* Bul wöte kïmbat bol-ip ket-tï

   this very expensive BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
goy?

   GOY.PART

   ‘This has become very expensive, hasn’t it?’

*B:* Kïmbat bol-sïn.

   expensive BOL.COP-VOL3

   ‘It’s all right. I don’t mind.’

Example 58

*A:* Jawïn jaw-up ket-etïn bol-dïï.

   rain fall-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3

   ‘It is going to rain’

*B:* Jaw-sïn.

   fall-VOL3

   ‘Let it rain, I do not mind.’


Yes/no questions are formed with postposed question particles. The constructions solicit the opinion of the addressee(s). Third-person constructions are often used to ask for permission or advice.
Example 59

*Kel-sîn* **be?**
*come* VOl3 **Q.PART**
‘Shall X come?’

First-person constructions request permission to perform the action.

Example 60

*Ket-eyîn* **be?**
*leave* VOl1SG **Q.PART**
‘Shall/may I leave?’

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

Example 61

*Kayt-ayîk* **pa?**
*return* VOl1PL **Q.PART**
‘Shall we return?’

Questions may also be expressed by means of interrogative words (‘wh-words’).

Example 62

*Ne ayt-ayîn?*  
*what tell* VOl1SG  
‘What shall I say?’

**Optative mood**

**Inventory of forms**

**Affirmative**

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

The marker of the first person singular is {\(-G^4A^2y-mI^2n\)}, e.g.  
*Kal-yay-\(mîn\) {stay-OPT-COP1SG} ‘May I stay’,  
*Kör-gey-\(mîn\) {see-OPT-COP1SG} ‘May I see’,  
*Tap-kay-\(mîn\) {find-OPT-COP1SG} ‘May I find’,  
*Ket-key-\(mîn\) {leave-OPT-COP1SG} ‘May I leave’.

The marker of the first person plural is {\(-G^4A^2y-mI^2z\)}, e.g.  
*Kal-yay-mîz {stay-OPT-COP1PL} ‘May we stay’,  
*Kör-gey-mîz {see-OPT-COP1PL} ‘May we see’,  
*Tap-kay-mîz {find-OPT-COP1PL} ‘May we find’,  
*Ket-key-mîz {leave-OPT-COP1PL} ‘May we leave’.

36
The marker of the second person singular is \{-G^4A^2y-sl^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Kal}-\gammay-\text{si}n\) \{stay-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you stay’, \(\text{Kör}-\gammay-\text{si}n\) \{see-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you see’, \(\text{Tap}-\kay-\text{si}n\) \{find-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you find’, \(\text{Ket}-\key-\text{si}n\) \{leave-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you leave’. The polite form is \{-G^4A^2y-sl^2z\}, e.g. \(\text{Kel}-\gyy-\text{si}z\) \{come-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you come’.

The marker of the second person plural is \{-G^4A^2y-sl^2\eta-dA^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Kal}-\gammay-\text{si}n-d\text{ar}\) \{stay-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you stay’, \(\text{Kör}-\gammay-\text{si}n-d\text{er}\) \{see-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you see’, \(\text{Tap}-\kay-\text{si}n-d\text{ar}\) \{find-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you find’, \(\text{Ket}-\key-\text{si}n-d\text{er}\) \{leave-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you leave’. The polite form is \{-G^4A^2y-sl^2z-dA^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Kel}-\gyy-\text{si}z-d\text{er}\) \{come-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you come’.

The third person singular and plural are formed with the suffix \{-G^4A^2y-\O\}. The same form is used for both singular and plural. There is no possibility to add the plural suffix \{-L^4A^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Kal}-\gammay\) \{stay-OPT3\} ‘May X stay’, \(\text{Kör}-\gammay\) \{see-OPT3\} ‘May X see’, \(\text{Tap}-\kay\) \{find-OPT3\} ‘May X find’, \(\text{Ket}-\key\) \{leave-OPT3\} ‘May X leave’.

Negative
The negated first person singular form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-ml^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Bar}-\ma-\gammay-\text{mi}n\) \{go-NEG-OPT-COP1SG\} ‘May I not go’, \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy-\text{mi}n\) \{leave-NEG-OPT-COP1SG\} ‘May I not leave’, \(\text{Jaz}-\ba-\gammay-\text{mi}n\) \{write-NEG-OPT-COP1SG\} ‘May I not write’.

The negated first person plural form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sl^2z\}, e.g. \(\text{Bar}-\ma-\gammay-\text{mi}z\) \{go-NEG-OPT-COP1PL\} ‘May we not go’, \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy-\text{mi}z\) \{leave-NEG-OPT-COP1PL\} ‘May we not leave’, \(\text{Jaz}-\ba-\gammay-\text{mi}z\) \{write-NEG-OPT-COP1PL\} ‘May we not write’.

The negated second person singular form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sl^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Bar}-\ma-\gammay-\text{si}n\) \{go-NEG-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you not go’, \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy-\text{si}n\) \{leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you not leave’. \(\text{Jaz}-\ba-\gammay-\text{si}n\) \{write-NEG-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you not write’. The negated polite form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sl^2z\}, e.g. \(\text{Kör}-\gyy-\text{si}z\) \{watch-NEG-OPT-COP2SG\} ‘May you not watch’.

The negated second person plural form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sl^2\eta-dA^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Bar}-\ma-\gammay-\text{si}n-d\text{ar}\) \{go-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you not go’, \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy-\text{si}n-d\text{er}\) \{leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you not leave’, \(\text{Jaz}-\ba-\gammay-\text{si}n-d\text{ar}\) \{write-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you not write’. The negated polite plural form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2y-sl^2z-dA^2\gamma\}, e.g. \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy-\text{si}z-d\text{er}\) \{leave-NEG-OPT-COP2SG-PL\} ‘May you not leave’.

The negated third person singular and plural form is \{-M^3A^2-G^2A^2\y\}, e.g. \(\text{Bar}-\ma-\gammay\) \{go-NEG-OPT3\} ‘May X not go’, \(\text{Ket}-\pe-\gyy\) \{leave-NEG-OPT3\} ‘May X not leave’, \(\text{Jaz}-\ba-\gammay\) \{write-NEG-OPT3\} ‘May X not write’.
Basic semantic and syntactic properties

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

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

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

Decline of the optative

Outside the northeast branch of Turkic, the optative experienced a decline, lost ground, and fell into decay. Of its once complete paradigms, only parts were preserved. According to Johanson (in print), in Tatar, Uzbek, etc. the simple marker is today almost entirely missing. The reason is that its semantics largely overlapped with those of the voluntative. The moods conveyed similar meanings, both signaling ‘it is desirable that...’. For the most part there were no clear-cut boundaries between the types. The functions of the optative were largely taken over by the voluntative, forms of the hypothetical mood in {-sA²}, and the old present tense (“aorist”).

Kazakh presently uses optative only in archaizing styles and in formulaic expressions, e.g. * Köp žasa-yay-sïŋ ‘May you live long*. The third person optative {-G¹A²y} at present has the tendency to be replaced by the voluntative third personal mood form {-sI²n}. However, the combinations of the optative marker and the past tense form of the copula, *yedî*, expressing an unfulfillable wish, are still being used.19

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

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

Example 63

"Oṣi jariṣ-ta jüldegerlik al-γay-mīn!
this competition-LOC championship take-OPT-COP1SG
‘May I win the championship in this competition!’

Example 64

Baḥṭīṭī bol-γay-sīn!
happy BOL.COP-OPT-COP2SG
‘May you be happy.’

Example 65

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

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

Example 66

Ṭiḷeg-im-dī ḳabīlda-γay-sīz.
request-POSS1SG-ACC accept-OPT-COP2SG
‘May you accept my request!’

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

Example 67

"Ol zaman-dar kayt-ιp kel-me-gey
X time-PL return-IP.CONV come-NEG-OPT3 ʿe-dī.
E.COP-PAST3
‘I wish those times would not come back.’
Example 68

\textit{Dala-dan çik-kan y-t-tij ēr-gen} outside-ABL come out-GAN.PTCP dog-GEN bark-GAN.PTCP
dawis-i-n \textit{\'esti-p.} \textit{\'ol kel-me-gey \'e-di",} voice-POSS3-ACC hear-IP.CONV X come-NEG-OPT3 E.COP-PAST3
dep tereze-den sirt-ka köz jiber-di-m.
say-IP.CONV window-ABL out of door-DAT gaze-PAST-1SG

\begin{quote}
\textquoteleft I heard the barking of the dog from the outside, and I looked out of the window thinking: \textquoteleft I hope X does not come\textquoteright.\textquoteright
\end{quote}

Uyghur shares the same property when the negative optative marker \{-mi-G\textsuperscript{2}A\textsuperscript{y}\} occurs with the past tense copula \textit{id\textasciitilde{}}. The contracted form is \{-mi-G\textsuperscript{2}iydi\} + personal endings as in Example 69.

Example 69 Uyghur

\textit{Yaxsi täkrar kil-al-mi-di-m, muálimm màn-din} good repetition LIGHTV-ABL-NEG-PAST-1SG teacher I-ABL
sora-p yür-mi-giy-di.
ask-IP.CONV POSTV-NEG-OPT-PAST3

\begin{quote}
\textquoteleft I wasn\textquoteright t\textquoteright able to revise well, so I do hope the teacher does not ask me.\textquoteright (Tömür 2003: 317, 2011\textsuperscript{2}: 284)
\end{quote}

Hypothetical mood

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The grammatical marker of hypothetical mood is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}\} with possessive types of personal endings.

The hypothetical marker of the first person singular is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-m\}, e.g. \textit{Kal-sa-m} \{stay-HYP-1SG\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope to stay\textquoteright, \textit{Kör-se-m} \{see-HYP-1SG\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope to see\textquoteright.

The first person plural hypothetical marker is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-K\textsuperscript{2}\}, e.g. \textit{Kal-sa-k} \{stay-HYP-1PL\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope we stay\textquoteright, \textit{Kör-se-k} \{see-HYP-1PL\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope we see\textquoteright.

The second person singular hypothetical marker is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-\textit{n}\}, e.g. \textit{Kal-sa-n} \{stay-HYP-2SG\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you stay\textquoteright, \textit{Kör-se-n} \{see-HYP-2SG\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you see\textquoteright. The polite form is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-\textit{nl}z\}, e.g. \textit{Kel-se-niž} \{come-HYP-2SG\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you come\textquoteright.

The second person plural hypothetical marker is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-\textit{n}-dA\textsuperscript{2}r\}, e.g. \textit{Kal-sa-n-dar} \{stay-HYP-2SG-PL\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you stay\textquoteright, \textit{Kör-se-n-der} \{see-HYP-2SG-PL\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you see\textquoteright. The polite form is \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}-\textit{nl}z-dA\textsuperscript{2}r\}, e.g. \textit{Kel-se-niž-der} \{come-HYP-2SG-PL\} \textquoteleft I wish/hope you come\textquoteright.
The third person form {-sA²-O} is the form for both the singular and plural of the hypothetical mood. There is no possibility to add the plural suffix {-L⁴A²r} after it, e.g. Қal-sa {stay-HYP3} ‘I wish/hope X stay(s)’, Kör-se {see-HYP3} ‘I wish/hope X see(s)’.

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

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


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

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

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

Mübada men “o dünyə-lijàk bol-a-p ket-ip
in case I X world-DER BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
jat-sa-m, meniŋ “osə “otir-γan üy-üm
LIE.POSTV-HYP-1SG I.GEN this live-GAN.PTCP house-POSS1SG
baspana-m, baska da mal mülük-ter-im-ŋing yeŋ
home-POSS1SG other DA.PART property-PL-POSS1SG-GEN SUPER
kundu-lar-i ārine seniŋ baskar-uv-uŋ-da
valuabl-PL-POSS3 of course you.GEN govern-UW.VN-POSS2SG-LOC
bol-a-dи.
BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

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

Usages

In main clauses, the hypothetical mood expresses volition, e.g. a wish, desire, will or hope. Three different forms of the hypothetical can be used: (i) {-sA²}, (ii) {-G¹A²n} + the hypothetical form of the copula bol- ‘to become, be’, and (iii) {-A²t²n/-yt²n} + the hypothetical form of the copula bol- ‘to become, be’. The possessive personal endings are added to these forms. Examples 71 and 72 illustrate the use of the simple hypothetical form (i).

Example 71

Češe-m “osin-da bol-sa!
mother-POSS1SG this-LOC BOL.COP-HYP3

‘I wish my mother was here!’

Example 72

Alla kala-sa!
Allah bless-HYP3

‘May Allah bless (you/us)’

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

According to Zhang (2004: 421), this usage also expresses the speaker’s request for something that he/she hopes for.
Example 73

Partiya, ükîmet 📧orîn-dar-î munday surkiyaliƙ-ka
Party government place-PL-POSS3 this.EQUA wickedness-DAT
jol koy-ma-sa.
allow-NEG-HYP3
‘Dàn yuan dàng hé zhèngfǔ bûmén néng zhí xìngjìng’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
[‘I hope that the offices of the party and the government will not allow such wickedness.’]

In spoken registers, the form in {-sA²y} (-sA²y > -sA²η) is used to mark intimacy between the speaker and the interlocutor.

Example 74

Ayt-sa-y.
tell-HYP-2SG
‘Do tell!’

The postterminal form in {-G¹A²n} + the hypothetical form of the copula bol- ‘to become, be’ can express an unreal wish or a wish that is difficult to fulfill. The participle form in {-G³A²n} in itself expresses a postterminal meaning.

Example 75

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

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

Example 76

Aman esen 📧ok-uw-îm-dî biṭir-gen bol-sa-m.
safely study-UW.VN-POSS1SG-ACC finish-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
‘I wish I will finish my education safely.’

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

Example 77

Jaz-îp jiber-gen bol-sa-η.
write-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
‘Could you just write it?’
The participle in \{-A^2t^2n/-yt^2n\} combined with the hypothetical form of the copula bol- ‘to become, be’ expresses that something in the future will take place; see Example 78. This example can be interpreted in two ways: either as expressing the speaker’s hope or as an impersonal hope in the sense ‘it is to be hoped that’.

Example 78

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

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

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

Example 79

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

Example 80

Jaz-ip  jiber-gen  bol-sa-ŋiz.
write-IP.CONV  SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP  BOL.COP-HYP-2SG
‘What about your writing it?’

Example 81

Tamak-tan  soŋ  meniŋ  keŋse-m-e  kel-ip
food-ABL  AFTER2.POSTP  I.GEN  office-POSS1SG-DAT  come-IP.CONV
ket-se.
LEAVE.POSTV-HYP3
‘What about X coming to my office after the meal.’

In subordinate clauses

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

Kün jağıstü osilay jaw-a ber-se,
sky continuous this way fall-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-HYP3
taw-γa čik-pa-y-müz.
mountain-DAT ascend-NEG-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘If it rains continuously in this way, we won’t climb up the mountain.’

When the event referred to will take place in the future, the prospective form {-A²t²n// -yt²n} can be used in combination with the hypothetical form of the copula bol-.

Example 83

Bar-atîn bol-sa, mümkün kayt-ip
go-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 possible return-IP.CONV
kel-er, mümkün kel-mes.
COME.POSTV-AOR3 possible come-NEG.AOR3

‘If X goes, X may come back or not.’

Example 84

Üy-ge yerte kel-etîn bol-sa-η, tamak-ka
home-DAT early come-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-2SG food-DAT
dayîndal-a ber.
prepare-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV.IMP

‘If you come home early, start to prepare food.’

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

When the postterminal form in {-G₄A²n} + the copula bol- in {-sA²} is used in the protasis, the event referred to took place in the past. When the predicate of the apodosis is an aorist form in {-(A³)r}, either affirmative or negative, the conditional sentence expresses a supposition of the speaker about the proposition in the main clause; see Example 85.

Example 85

Bul ḳabar-dî yestî-gen bol-sa, üy-ge
this news-ACC hear-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 home-DAT
kel-ip kal-ar.
come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3

‘If X has heard the news, s/he will possibly come.’

Using a combination of the aorist in {-(A²)r} and the hypothetical form of the copula bol- in the protasis also implies a prospective meaning. In this
case the apodosis can be based on a predicate in the present tense \{-A^2// -y\}, the aorist in \{-(A^2)r\}, the volunative, the imperative; or the intentional form in \{-M^3A^2K\} (see Non-modal expressions).

Example 86

*Bul kasiporin* kel-er bol-sa, *el-ge*

this enterprise come-AOR.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 country-DAT

kompaniya-men kos'a birneše milliyon dollar karfi

company-WITH.POSTP add-A.CONV several million dollar fund

kel-mek.
come-MAK3

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

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

Example 87

*Adilsiz bol-sa bi *on-bas, *ayelsiz*

injustice BOL.COP-HYP3 judge succeed-NEG.AOR3 without wife

bol-sa *iği *on-bas.

BOL.COP-HYP3 home succeed-NEG.AOR3

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

Combination with *edi* in main clauses

In main clauses, the past tense copula *e-di* (E.COP-PAST3) expresses counterfactual wishes. See the following examples, in which the hypothetical in \{-sA^2\} is combined with *edi*.

Example 88

*Men de amerika-ya bar-sa-m *edi.*

I DA.PART America-DAT go-HYP1SG E.COP-PAST3

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

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

Example 89

*Men de sen-der-men bar-yan bol-sa-m *

I DA.PART you-PL-WITH.POSTP go-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG

edi.

E.COP-PAST3

‘If only I had also gone with you.’ (But it is not the case.)
In Example 90 the intraterminal form in \{A^2t^2n/ -yt^2n\} + the copula \textit{bol-} in \{-sA^2\} are combined with \textit{\textasciitilde ed\textbar i\textbar .}

Example 90

\textit{\textasciitilde Cet-ke} \, \textit{\textasciitilde ci\textbar y-i\textbar p} \, \textit{\textasciitilde wok-u\textbar w} \, \textit{\textasciitilde worry-in-a} \, \textit{i\textbar ye}

\textit{abroad-DAT} \, \textit{out-IP\textbar CONV} \, \textit{study-UW\textbar VN} \, \textit{chance-POSS3-DAT} \, \textit{possessing}

\textit{bol-at\textbar un} \, \textit{bol-sa-m} \, \textit{\textasciitilde ye\textbar d\textbar i\textbar .}

\textit{BOL\textbar COP\textbar ATIN\textbar PTCP} \, \textit{BOL\textbar COP\textbar HYP\textbar 1SG} \, \textit{E\textbar COP\textbar PAST3}

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

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

The copula \textit{\textasciitilde ed\textbar i\textbar } can also be observed to be pronounced as \textit{\textasciitilde ett\textbar i\textbar .} This sounds as the past tense of the verb \textit{\textasciitilde et\textbar -} ‘to do’, i.e. \textit{\textasciitilde et\textbar ti} (do-PAST3) ‘X made it’, but it is probably a variant of \textit{\textasciitilde ed\textbar i\textbar .}

Combination with \textit{\textasciitilde ed\textbar i\textbar } in conditional clauses

In counterfactual conditional clauses a hypothetical form is used in the protasis, and the predicate of the main clause is marked by the past copula \textit{\textasciitilde e\textbar di\textbar } (E\textbar COP\textbar PAST3); see Example 91.

Example 91

\textit{\textasciitilde J\textbar ay\textbar day-im} \, \textit{\textasciitilde j\textbar ar} \, \textit{\textasciitilde ber\textbar se\textbar ,} \, \textit{\textasciitilde toy\textbar i\textbar n\textbar -a}

\textit{situation-POSS1SG} \, \textit{order} \, \textit{give-HYP3} \, \textit{wedding-POSS2SG-DAT}

\textit{bar\textbar ar} \, \textit{\textasciitilde e\textbar di\textbar -m}

\textit{go-AOR\textbar PTCP} \, \textit{E\textbar COP\textbar PAST\textbar 1SG}

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

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

Example 92

\textit{\textasciitilde w\textbar \textasciitilde O\textbar mir\textbar -ge} \, \textit{\textasciitilde kay\textbar ta} \, \textit{\textasciitilde a\textbar y\textbar nal\textbar -i\textbar p} \, \textit{\textasciitilde kel\textbar gen}

\textit{life-DAT} \, \textit{again} \, \textit{turn-IP\textbar CONV} \, \textit{COME\textbar POSTV\textbar GAN\textbar PTCP}

\textit{bol\textbar sa\textbar -k\textbar ,} \, \textit{ba\textbar k\textbar it\textbar -t\textbar i\textbar n\textbar} \, \textit{\textasciitilde c\textbar \textbar i\textbar n\textbar} \, \textit{ba\textbar ya\textbar -si\textbar -n}

\textit{BOL\textbar COP\textbar HYP\textbar 1PL} \, \textit{happiness-GEN} \, \textit{real} \, \textit{worth-POSS3SG-ACC}

\textit{sez\textbar er} \, \textit{\textasciitilde ye\textbar k\textbar .}

\textit{feel-AOR\textbar PTCP} \, \textit{E\textbar COP\textbar 1PL}

‘Had we been reborn, we would know the real worth of happiness.’ (But we cannot be reborn.)
The protasis, as in Example 93, can also be based on an intraterminal form \{'-A'^2\} and the hypothetical form of the copula bol-.

Example 93

\[
\begin{align*}
Munda & \quad \text{'}e-ken-įn-dį \quad \text{bič-etin} \quad \text{bol-sa-m,} \\
\text{here} & \quad \text{E-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC} \quad \text{know-ATIN.PTCP} \quad \text{BOL.COP-HYP-1SG} \\
\text{senį} & \quad \text{uń-ge} \quad \text{ćakįr-ar} \quad \text{'}e-dį-m. \\
\text{you.ACC} & \quad \text{home-DAT} \quad \text{call-AOR.PTCP} \quad \text{E.COP-PAST-1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

Example 94

\[
\begin{align*}
B'\text{rak} & \quad \text{bārį} \quad \text{keş} \quad \text{'}e-ken-i-n \quad \text{bič-e-μin,} \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{everything} \quad \text{late} \quad \text{E-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC} \quad \text{know-A.PRES-COP1SG} \\
\text{'}eger & \quad \text{sol} \quad \text{wačit} \quad \text{kaıta} \quad \text{kel-er} \quad \text{bol-sa,} \quad \text{men} \quad \text{sol} \\
\text{if} & \quad \text{that} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{come-AOR.PTCP} \quad \text{BOL.COP-HYP3 I that} \\
\text{jayday-łar-dį} & \quad \text{kaıta} \quad \text{jas-ar} \quad \text{'}e-dį-m. \\
\text{condition-PL-ACC} & \quad \text{again} \quad \text{create-AOR.PTCP} \quad \text{E.COP-PAST-1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

Note that conditional sentences construed with a hypothetical form in the protasis and the past copula \text{'}edį in the main clause can also be used in a rhetorical question.

Example 95

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Til-i} & \quad \text{kişay,} \quad \text{dıň-į} \quad \text{musulman} \quad \text{bol-sa} \\
\text{language-POSS3} & \quad \text{Chinese} \quad \text{religion-POSS3} \quad \text{Muslim} \quad \text{BOL.COP-HYP3} \\
\text{dūŋ gon} & \quad \text{bol-ma-γanda} \quad \text{kım} \quad \text{bol-uuvwį} \\
\text{Dungan} & \quad \text{BOL.COP-NEG-GAN.LOC.CONV} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{BOL.COP-UWŚ1.PTCP} \\
\text{'}e-dį? \\
\text{E.COP-PAST3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

Combination with \text{'}eken in main clauses

The combination of the hypothetical form \{-sA^2\} with the rhetorical particle \text{'}eken expresses a strong and passionate wish or hope in Kazakh. This rhetorical particle has the same form as the indirect copula particle \text{'}eken.\textsuperscript{20}

However, according to Johanson (2012a: 55–56, cf. Karakoç 2005: 22–32),

\textsuperscript{20} For more information about the indirective particle \text{'}eken see Johanson (2000a, 2012).
functionally, the rhetorical particle displays its own distinct characteristics in relation to the indirective copula particle. Unlike the indirective copula, the rhetorical ḳeken can co-occur with the simple preterit, does not convey any indirective meaning, and is not capable of carrying personal markers. In light of all these functional differences, Johanson (2012a: 56) points out that the etymologies of these two versions of the particle might be traced back to distinct markers. The indirective copula particle ḳeken could be traced back to an old particle ārkăn, whereas the rhetorical particle goes back to the old particle ārkin; see Example 96.

Example 96

Sīnauw-dan ṭōt-ūp ket-se-m ḳeken.
exam-ABL pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-HYP-1SG RHET.PART
‘I wish indeed I could pass the exam.’

The hypothetical form in {-sA²} combined with the interrogative particle {-MⁿA²}, or an interrogative pronoun + the rhetorical particle ḳeken, expresses “rhetorical questions, with readings of wondering and hesitation” (Johanson 2012a: 55). Example 97, the combination is used in order to encourage the interlocutor to consider a message or a point of view.

Example 97

Ūy-dį tazala-sa-k pa ḳeken?
home-ACC clean-HYP-1PL Q.PART RHET.PART
‘How about cleaning the house?’

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

Example 98

Muyalîm māyān ḳekî kün-dîk ruxsat ber-se-ḡîz
teacher L.DAT two day-DER permission give-HYP-2SG
bol-a ma ḳeken?
BOL.COP-A.PRES Q.PART RHET.PART
‘Lāoshî, nin néng bûnêng gěi wǒ zhùn wǒ liàng tiān jiâ?’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
[‘Teacher, is it possible for you to give me two days’ leave?’]
Example 99

*Muvalım mayan * ylabel kün-dık ruxsat ber-se-nız teacher I.DAT two day-DER permission give-HYP-2SG
bol-ar ma * ylabel? BOL.COP-AOR 3 Q.PART RHET.PART
‘Láoshí, nǐn shīfǒu néng zhūn wǒ liàng tiān jiǎ?’ (Zhang 2004: 421)
[‘Teacher, why don’t you give me two days leave?’]

Combination with *ylabel* in conditional clauses

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

Example 100

*Munda * ylabel-iñ-di bil-etên bol-sa-m, here E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC know-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1SG
senji uy-ge çakir-ar * ylabel-mın.
you.ACC home-DAT call-AOR.PTCP E.COP.INDIR-COP1SG
‘Had I known you were here, I would indeed have invited you home.’

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

Example 101.

‘Walking so, we will not arrive there even in two days.’

Combination with the particle *şI²*

A particle *şI²* (see Modal particles) can also be added to all the hypothetical forms we have mentioned so far, i.e. the forms that indicate a wish, desire, will or hope, and can be used in rhetorical question ‘what if it were the case?’, or in the sense of ‘if only’. In combination with the particle *şI²* these expressions indicate hopeless wishes and regrets.
Example 102

*Kel-se* šị? / *Kel-se* šị.

come-HYP3 ŠL.PART come-HYP3 ŠL.PART

‘What if X comes? / If only X would come.’

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

Example 103

*Jol-dan* Œt-kende bayka-sa-ŋ-dar šị!

street-ABL pass-GAN.LOC.CONV pay attention-HYP-2SG-PL ŠL.PART

‘Be careful when you cross the street!’

Combination with *kaytedi* / *kalay*

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

Example 104

*Bügün* kal-sa-ŋ *kayt-e-di?*

today stay-HYP-2SG how to do-A.PRES-3

‘How about you staying today?’

Combination with the particle *dA* in concessives

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

Example 105

"Ol awur-up jür-se de ṣeqbek-ke

X get sick-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-HYP3 DA.PART labor-DAT

---

21 *Kaytedi* is an interrogative pronominal verb which is probably contracted from the combination of *kalay* ṣetedi (how do-A.PRES-3) ‘how to do’. There are other similar pronominal expressions, for example, *kaytse de*, which is also a shortened expression of *kalay* ṣetse de (how do-HYP3 DE.PART) ‘in any case’, and *kaytkende de* from *kalay* ṣetkende de (how do-GAN.LOC.CONV- DE.PART) ‘under any circumstances’.
‘Although he was sick, he still attended the work.’

Example 106

\[
\text{Ḳanča jaman bol-sa da, } \text{“ol } \text{öz } \text{bala-m}
\]

how much bad BOL.COP-HYP3 DA.PART X self child-POSS1SG

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

Combination with \textit{wh}-interrogatives

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

Example 107

\[
\text{Ḳayda bar-sa-ŋ } (da), \text{ “kazan-niŋ } \text{kulay-ŋ } \text{tört.}
\]

where go-HYP-2SG (DA.PART) pan-GEN ear-POSS3 four

‘Wherever you go, a pan has four handles.’

Example 108

\[
\text{“Ol } \text{kalay akša taw-up } \text{jan-i-n}
\]

X how money find-IP.CONV life-POSS3-ACC

\[
\text{bak-kan } \text{bol-sa, } \text{men de } \text{b/r}
\]

care-GAN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP3 I DA.PART a

\[
\text{amal-i-n } \text{kərastir-ar-min.}
\]

strategy-POSS3-ACC investigate-AOR-COP1SG

‘Just as X earned his money and survived, so will I also try to find a way.’

Example 109

\[
\text{Til-di } \text{sen } \text{kalay üyren-se-ŋ, } \text{men de } \text{solay}
\]

language-ACC you how learn-HYP-2SG I DA.PART that way

\[
\text{üyren-e-min.}
\]

learn-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘Just as you learned the language, so will I also learn it.’

Combination with \textit{bolγanī} / \textit{boldī}

The hypothetical verb form in \{-sA\} combined with the copulas \textit{bolγanī} (BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3) or \textit{boldī} (BOL.COP-PAST3) can mean ‘as long as’ and ‘only if’. Zhang (2004: 418) explains the meaning of such constructions as “\textit{chǒngzú tiáojiàn guānxī}” (‘sufficient conditional relation’); i.e. once the condition is fulfilled, the outcome is guaranteed.
"Osī b’r šart-im-dī makulda-sa-ŋ bol-dī,
this a condition-POSS1SG-ACC approve-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-PAST
barliš šart-ih-dī makulda-y-mín.
all condition-POSS2SG-ACC approve-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘Zhīyào nǐ dàying wǒ zhīgè tiáojiàn, wǒ jiù dàying nǐ suǒyǒu de tiáojiàn.’ (Zhang 2004: 418)
[‘If you accept my only condition, I will accept all of your conditions.’]

Example 111

Jemis bol-sa bol-γan-į, men fūr-e
fruit BOL.COP-HYP3 BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS I move-A. CONV
ber-e-mǐn.
GIVE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘As long as fruit is available, I will survive.’

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

Example 112

Jalikpay iýren-se-ŋ γana jenis-ke jet-e
untiring learn-HYP-2SG only success-DAT reach-A.CONV
al-a-sīn.
TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP2SG
‘Only if you learn untiringly may you succeed.’

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

Example 113

Üsen kel-e jat-sa, aldīn-a b’r
Usen come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV-HYP3 front.POSS3-DAT a
kārya kel-ip kōn-a kal-a-dī.
crow come-IP.CONV sit-A.CONV STAY.POSTV-A.PRES-3
‘When Usen was on the way, a crow descended and suddenly sat down in front of him.’

Contrastive
Hypothetical forms can be used to link two clauses in a contrastive sense. i.e., to emphasize the differences between the information provided in the linked clauses.
'And our village is mainly nomadic, whereas (the people) in the summertime move to the summer pasture, in the winter (they) go to the winter residence and breed their livestock.' (T3/23)

Example 115

Kiiz-i “kiyim al-a-min” de-se, ul-i
daughter-POSS3 clothes buy-A.PRES-COP1SG say-HYP3 son-POSS3
“jeytin al-a-min” de-y-di.
food buy-A.PRES-COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
‘While X’s daughter says “I want to buy clothes”, X’s son says “I want to buy food”.

Idiomatic usages

Bolsa ‘as for’

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

Example 116

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

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

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

22 The hypothetical form {sA²} is pronounced as -ša, because of assimilation with the stem-final š.
Tursa ‘considering the fact that’
Zhang (1993: 26, 2004: 420) points out that tur-sa (TUR.COP-HYP3) strengthens the truth of an assertion in the non-main clause. The expression is often use when the statement is contrary to what has been expected or what has been asserted. The meaning can be interpreted as ‘in point of fact’ in English.

Example 117

A: Aysuluw kel-e-di.
Aysulu come-A.PRES-3
‘Aysulu will come.’

B: Akša-si jok tur-sa, "ol kel-e
money-POSS3SG no TUR.COP-HYP3 she come-A.CONV
al-ma-y-di.
TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘Considering the fact that she does not have money, she will not be able to come.’

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

Example 118

"O-lar abay-di "okī-yan-i bol-ma-sa,
X-PL Abai-ACC read-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3
śin-i-men tanī-yan yemes.
real-POSS3-WITH.POSTP know-GAN.PTCP not
‘Tāmen chú dúguò guānyú ā bái de shū yīwáí, bìng bù zhěnzhēng rènshí ā bái.’
(Zhang 2004: 418)
[‘Except for having read the book about Abai, they do not really know anything about him.’]

Example 119

și-yan-ı bol-ma-sa, pàlendey b’r "oy
smile-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3 not such an idea
biltir-gen-i jok.
express-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 no
‘Except for smiling, X did not express any idea.’

Example 120 illustrates a special use of bolmasa. Bolmasa is the negated predicate of the protasis in a rhetorical question. Observe that the corre-
sponding non-negated expression is built with tursa ‘considering the fact that’; see Example 121.

Example 120.

\[
\text{Aḳša-si} \quad \text{bol-ma-sa,} \quad \text{"oł} \quad \text{kałay} \quad \text{kelinšek}
\]

money-POSS3SG BOL.COP-NEG-HYP3 X how wife

al-maṛši.
take-MAKŠI

‘Considering that X does not have money, how does X intend to marry?’

Example 121

\[
\text{Aḳša-si} \quad \text{tur-sa,} \quad \text{"oł} \quad \text{nege} \quad \text{kelinšek}
\]

money-POSS3SG BOL.COP-HYP3 X why wife

al-ma-y-di?TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3

‘Considering that X has money, why doesn’t X intend to marry?’

**bolmasa / ne bolmasa / yà bolmasa ‘or, otherwise’**

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

Example 122

\[
"\text{Öleŋ ayt,} \quad \text{ne bolmasa} \quad \text{biy bile!}
\]

song sing.IMP or dance.IMP

‘Sing or dance!’

Example 123

\[
\text{Mayan} \quad \text{án-niŋ} \quad \text{matiŋ-i} \quad \text{ne bolmasa} \quad \text{wörindawšiŋ-siŋ}
\]

I.DAT song-GEN lyric-POSS3 or performer-POSS3SG

\[
\text{kajet.}
\]
necessary

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

Zhang (2003, 146, 2004: 536) is of the opinion that bolmasa, ne bolmasa, yà bolmasa and yàki bolmasa are used to signal that the speaker prefers the first of the alternatives. The second option is given for consideration only if the first one cannot be fulfilled. He also points out the differences between these conjunctions. Bolmasa straightforwardly marks that the interlocutor prefers
the first alternative. *Ne bolmasa* is a more polite expression. *Yâ bolmasa* and *yâki bolmasa* express the speaker’s preference in an indirect way.

**Äytpese** ‘if not, otherwise’

A necessary condition is expressed by the conjunction *äyt-pe-se* (do it like that-NEG-HYP3) ‘if not, otherwise’.

Example 124

Men mîsâl-men tüsün-di-eyîn, äytpese "oy-im-di"
I example-WITH.POSTP explain-VOL1SG otherwise thougt-POSS1SG-ACC
jetki-e al-ma-y-mîn.
deliver-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I shall illustrate it with an example, otherwise I can’t explain my thought.’

Example 125

“Äytpese üz-üp ket-ip kal-atîn
otherwise break-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP
’e-di” de-y-di circumstances.
E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘Otherwise, they would have broken (the hobbles) and left”, he writes.’ (T4/ 43)

**Äytsê de** ‘even so, nevertheless, however, but, though’

**Äytsê de** (do it so-HYP3 DA.PART) ‘even so, nevertheless’ is a conjunction expressing adversative meaning (Geng et al. 1999: 282, Zhang 2003: 169, 2004: 556).

Example 126

Dawus-um jakšî ñemes, äytsê de bul án-di ayt-üp
voice-POSS1SG good not even so this song-ACC sing-IP.CONV
kör-eyîn.
SEE.POSTV-VOL1SG
‘My voice is not good, even so I may try to sing this song.’

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

**Dese de** ‘even so, nevertheless, however, but, though’

When *de-se* (say-HYP3) ‘if X says / when X says’ combines with the particle *D2A2*, i.e. *dese de*, it functions as an adversative conjunction and expresses the same meaning as *äytsê de* as we just mentioned above. The conjunction *äytsê de* in Example 127 can be substituted for *dese de* as the following example illustrates.
Example 127

Dawus-um jaksí ɣemes, dese de buł àn-dì ay-t-ìp
voice-Poss1SG good not even so this song-ACC sing-IP.Conv
kör-eyin.
SEE.PostV-Vol1SG
‘My voice is not good, even so I may try to sing this song.’

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

Example 128

“Kayt-ìp šinjan-ɣa kel-eyin dese-m
return-IP.Conv Xinjiang-Dat come-Vol1SG say-Hyp1SG
"o żer-den ɣendi "ôt-úw kiγín bol-dì.”
X place-ABL now pass-UW.VN difficult Bol.Cop-Past3
‘When I have thought about going back to Xinjiang, but it has now become
difficult to cross (the border)”’. (T4/67)

Example 129

Nazan-ɣa telefon ber-eyik dese-k
Nazan-Dat telephone give-Vol.1PL say-Hyp1PL
kara, telefon jok, adaš.
look.Imp telephone non-existing friend
‘When we wanted to call Nazan, look, there was no phone, (my) friend.’ (T9/22)

Süytse ‘in fact, in reality, in truth’
Süytse 〈söytse〉 (do it so-HYP3) ‘if X do(es) it so/when X do(es) it so’ is a
conjunction which introduces a clause that explains what actually is the case. The
predicate in the clause introduced by this conjunction is always an in-
directive form, either with the indirective particle ɣeken (mostly after nom-

Example 130

Keš-ke mal-ì-n tügenge-gende, "on šaktì
evening-Dat cattle-Poss3 ACC count-Gan.Loc.Conv ten approximately
ɣerkeq koy jok bol-"p čiγ-a-dì,
male sheep non-existing Bol.Cop-IP.Conv Come.out.Postv-A.pres-3
süytse bayanayı kärmakšìi koyší-lar-dì alda-p
in actual fact that one fisherman shepherd-pl-ACC deceive-IP.Conv
tur-yanda, "o-nîn serjik-ter-ı koy-dì
The non-productive implicative in \{-G^4I^2r\}

The marker \{-G^4I^2r\} is an old suffix that in modern Kazakh expresses male-dictions, i.e. curses. It is no longer used any more to express good wishes. The suffix is not productive and is only used in set phrases wishing evil upon somebody. Earlier the suffix was productive and could express both benedicitions and curses. In modern Kazakh, the volunatative of the third person in \{-sI^2n\} has taken over these functions.

Inventory of forms

Affirmative

The marker of the implicative is \{-G^4I^2r\}. Personal endings or the plural suffix \{-L^4A^2r\} cannot be attached to this suffix, e.g. "Öl-gir! (die-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X die!’, Jän-iğ čik-kir! (soul-POSS2SG come out- GIR.IMPR) ‘May you die!’, Min bol-yiř! (thousand BOL.COP.GIR.IMPR) ‘May X have thousand (more descendents)’!, Kur-i-p ket-kir! (vanish-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X perish!’

However, plural forms can occur in the Kazakh of speakers influenced by Uyghur because in Uyghur the plural marker \{-L^2A^2r\} can be applied after the marker \{-G^4U^2r\}.

A deverbal derivational suffix \{-G^4I^2r\} occurs in some items, e.g. "öt-kir ‘sharp’, al-yiř ‘clever’.

Negative

The negative of the implicative is built by adding \{-M^3A^2-G^2I^2r\} to the verbal stem, e. g. Jar-iğ bol-ma-yiř! (husband / wife-POSS2SG BOL.COP-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May you be left lonely!’, Köger-me-gir! (grow blue-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X fall into decay!’, Bak jaz-ba-yiř! (luck write-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X be unfortunate!’, Jür-giz-be-gir! (move-CAUS-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not be able to walk!’, Batpak-tan čik-pa-yiř! (swamp-ABL come out-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not come out from the swamp!’, Jêt-pe-gir! (reach-NEG-GIR.IMPR) ‘May X not reach (it)!’.
Basic morphological and syntactic properties

Imprecative forms can be used as a predicate or as an attribute to a nominal. In the first case, the logical subject can only be a third person, because the marker {\text{-G}^2U\text{r}} cannot take any personal agreement.

Example 131

\begin{verbatim}
Köz-üm kör bol-ýir!
\end{verbatim}

eye-POSS1SG blind BOL.COP-GIR.IMPR

‘May my eyes become blind!’

The imprecatory expression can also be used attributively, as in the small clause "ölgeniŋ kuriŋir ‘may your corpse dry up’, below.

Example 132

\begin{verbatim}
"Öl-gen-iŋ kuriŋir češek.
\end{verbatim}

die-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG dry-GIR.IMPR smallpox

‘You smallpox, your corpse may dry up.’

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

Example 133

\begin{verbatim}
"Öl-gir-diŋ yt-i-n quw-up fiber-di-m.
\end{verbatim}

die-GIR.IMPR-GEN dog-POSS3-ACC chase-IP.CONV SEND.POST-PAST-1SG

‘I chased away the dog of X who should die.’ / ‘I chased away the dog who should die.’

The imprecatory marker {\text{-G}^4U^2\text{r}} in Uyghur possesses similar properties, but the plural marker can be attached when the logical subject is plural and is not expressed overtly, e.g. Öl-gür-lär! ‘May they die!’

Old Uyghur possesses the marker {\text{-GUr}}, e.g. Ol öl-gür! ‘May X die!’ Several modern Turkic languages use its equivalents in phrases expressing curses and good wishes, e.g. Uzbek Bāy bol-gir! ‘May X become rich!’, Kör bol-gir! ‘May X become blind!’ . A close semantic counterpart is {(y)AsI} in Turkish, e.g. Kör ol-ast! ‘May X become blind!’.

Usages

Curses and blessings

In modern Kazakh, the imprecatory is solely used in curses; see the following examples.
Example 134

Jan-ıy čiï-kïr!
soul-POSS2SG come out- GIR.IMPR
‘May you die!’ (lit. ‘May your soul leave you!’)

Example 135

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

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

Example 136

Jannät-ta jan-ıy bol-yïr!
heaven-LOC soul-POSS2SG BOL.COP-GIR.IMPR
‘May your soul (rest) in heaven!’

Example 137

Bala šaya-ŋ-nïy kizï-y-ŋ kör-gir!
descendent-POSS2SG-GEN happiness-POSS3-ACC see-GIR.IMPR
‘May you see the happiness of your descendents!’

Combination of {-G^4I^r} with ğedi
The particle {-G^4I^r} in combination with the past tense form of the copula e- ‘to be’ may be used to express the speaker’s unfulfillable or unrealistic wish.

Example 138

Jatïïz kal-yïr ğe-di.
alone stay-GIR.IMPR E.COP-PAST3
‘May that X might be left alone.’

Modal nuances expressed by the aorist

Inventory of forms

Affirmative
The aorist is formed with the suffix {-A^2r} and pronominal type of personal endings.

The first person singular form for expressing possibility is {-A^2r-mL^2n},
e.g. Kal-ar-mïn (stay-AOR-COP1SG) ‘I might stay’, Kör-er-mïn (see-AOR-

The first person plural marker for expressing possibility is `{(A^2)r-mI^2z}`, e.g. Kal-ar-miz (stay-AOR-COP1PL) ‘We might stay’, Kör-er-miz (see-AOR-COP1PL) ‘We might see’, “Oki-r-miz (read-AOR-COP1PL) ‘We might read’, Bile-r-miz (dance-AOR-COP1PL) ‘We might dance’.


The third person marker `{(A^2)r-Ø}` is the marker for expressing possibility in both singular and plural. It is not possible to add the plural suffix `{L^4A^2r}` after it, e.g. Kal-ar (stay-AOR3) ‘X might stay’, Kör-er (see-AOR3) ‘X might see’, “Oki-r (read-AOR3) ‘X might read’.

Negative


The first person plural negative form is `{M^3A^2s-plI^2z}`, e.g. Bar-mas-piz (go-NEG.AOR-COP1PL) ‘We won’t go’, Kîr-mes-piz (enter-NEG.AOR-COP1PL) ‘We won’t go in’.

The second person singular negative form is `{M^3A^2s-sI^2n}`, e.g. Bar-mas-siŋ (go-NEG.AOR-COP2SG) ‘You won’t go’, Kîr-mes-siŋ (enter-NEG.AOR-COP2SG) ‘You won’t go in’. The polite singular negative form is `{M^3A^2s-slI^2z}`, e.g. Ket-pes-siŋ (leave-NEG.AOR-COP2SG) ‘You won’t leave’.


The third person singular and plural form is `{M^3A^2s-Ø}`, e.g. Bar-mas (go-NEG.AOR3) ‘X might not go / X won’t go’, Kîr-mes (enter-NEG.AOR3) ‘X won’t go in’. 

62
Basic semantic and syntactic properties

The aorist marker {-(A²)r} functions as a mood marker in main clause predicates, indicating prospectivity with the meaning of epistemic possibility. Negated forms can also express volition, a firm decision.

Geng (1989: 128) describes the form as “jiānglái bu dǐngshí” ['future aorist'] and Geng et al. (1999: 228) calls the form “tiyanaksiz keler šak” ['aorist future tense']. Zhang labels the form as “huò rán jiānglái shǐ” ['future tense expressing probability']. In other grammars, the aorist is denoted as “bolžaldık / bolžaldı keler šak” ['assumptive future tense'] (KG 2002: 519, Mamanov 2007: 116, MKL 2010: 466).

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

Usages

Predicate in main clauses

As mentioned, in main clause predicates the form {-(A²)r} expresses epistemic evaluation of the possibility that something may or may not happen.

Example 139

\[\text{Kel-\text{ip} kal-ar.} \]
\[\text{come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3} \]
\[\text{‘X might come.’} \]

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

Example 140

\[”\text{O}y\text{n \ x}\text{end}i \ \text{bar-mas-pi}n.” \]
\[\text{X.DAT now go-NEG.AOR-1SG} \]
\[\text{‘I won’t go there anymore.’} \]

Example 141

\[\text{K}i\text{r-e ber, }”\text{o}y\text{an-\text{ip} ket-pes.”} \]
\[\text{come in-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV.IMP wake up-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-NEG.AOR3} \]
\[\text{‘Come in, X won’t wake up.’} \]
Zhang (2004: 332–333) points out that forms of the second person can function as a polite and gentle command or a request.

Example 142

\[ 'Erteŋ tüs-ten keyin \ w'oz-iŋ de \]
tomorrow noon-ABL AFTER1.POSTP self-POSS2SG DA.PART
come-AOR-COP2SG

‘Mingtiān xiàwǔ nǐ yě láì yī tāng ba.’ (Zhang 2004: 333)

[‘Tomorrow, in the afternoon, could you come as well please?’]

Combination with ‘edi

A past copula ‘edi (E.COP-PAST3) may be added to the aorist to express a counterfactual meaning. In spoken registers, as in Example 143, the contracted form ‘em (E.COP-1SG) is used instead of ‘edi.

Example 143

\[
Bar-ar \ 'em.
go-AOR.PTCP E.COP.1SG
\]

‘I would have gone.’

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

Example 144 Turkish

\[
Ahmet sabah-lar-ti bir elma ye-r-di.
Ahmet morning-PL-POSS3 an apple eat-AOR-3
\]

‘In the mornings Ahmet used to eat an apple.’

In Kazakh, this is not possible. This meaning is expressed with \{-wšI^2 \// -(Ø)U^2wšI^2} + ‘edi with copula personal endings.

Example 145

\[
Axmet tāŋerteŋ-der-i b’r alma je-wši \ ‘e-diį.
Ahmet morning-PL-POSS3 an apple eat-UWŠI.PTCP E.COP-PAST3
\]

‘In the mornings Ahmet used to eat an apple.’

Idiomatic forms

Two items, bol-ar (BOL.COP-AOR3) ‘it is possible’ and čiŋ-ar (come out-AOR3) ‘can turn out to be’ ← čiŋ- ‘to come out, result’, denote presumption (see more in the chapter Lexical expressions).
Habitual
In proverbs and sayings, the aorist denotes a habit, a characteristic of the person referred to.

Example 146

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jakśi } & \text{kör-gen-j-n ayt-ar,} \\
\text{good } & \text{see-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC tell-AOR3} \\
\text{jaman } & \text{je-gen-j-n ayt-ar.} \\
\text{bad } & \text{eat-GEN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC tell-AOR3}
\end{align*}
\]

‘A good (person) talks about what s/he has seen, and a bad (person) talks about what s/he has eaten.’

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

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

Example 147 Turkish

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{İki } & \text{iki daha dört ed-er.} \\
\text{two } & \text{two more four make-AOR3}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Two and two make four.’ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 339, Example 56)

The corresponding expression in Kazakh is given in Example 148.

Example 148

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ spécifique } & \text{ jer-de pearance } \text { tört (bol-a-di).} \\
\text{two } & \text{place-LOC two four (BOL.COP-A.PRES-3)}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Two and two make four.’

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

Example 149 Turkish

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ali sigara } & \text{iç-mez.} \\
\text{Ali cigarette smoke-NEG.AOR}
\end{align*}
\]


The corresponding Kazakh expression would be as in Example 150.
Example 150

\[ \text{Ali temekî tart-pa-y-dî.} \]

\[ \text{Ali cigarette smoke-NEG-A.PRES-3} \]

‘Ali does not smoke.’

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

Example 151 Turkish

\[ \text{Gir-il-mez.} \]

\[ \text{come in-PASS-NEG.AOR} \]

‘No entry.’ (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 340, Example 62)

A corresponding expression in Kazakh is illustrated in Example 152.

Example 152

\[ \text{Kır-ųw-ge bol-ma-y-dî.} \]

\[ \text{come in-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3} \]

‘It is not possible to go in.’

Attributive

The aorist can be used as an attribute modifying the meaning of a nominal. See Examples 153–156, in which the expressions \( \text{barar jer} \) ‘place to go’, \( \text{um'İlmas balalîk kez} \) ‘unforgettable childhood time’, and \( \text{tamak bolar b'rdeme} \) ‘something to eat’ are used.

Example 153

\[ \text{Kerek tas-tiβ awirî-y-ĭ jok,} \]

\[ \text{necessary stone-GEN weight-POSS3 non-existing} \]

\[ \text{bar-ar jer-dîy alıstî-y-ĭ jok.} \]

\[ \text{go-AOR.PTCP place-GEN long distance-POSS3 non-existing} \]

‘A stone that you need has no weight, the place where you will go, is not far away.’

Example 154

\[ \text{EY \text{bağŭti sät-ter-im}, um'İl-mas balalîk} \]

\[ \text{SUPER happy moment-PL-POSS1SG forget-PASS-NEG.AOR.PTCP childhood} \]

\[ \text{kez-der-im.} \]

\[ \text{time-PL-POSS1SG} \]

‘My happiest time was my unforgettable childhood.’

The aorist \( \{(A^2)r\} \) in such usage, can imply future time reference.
Example 155

Tamaḥ bob-ar b’rdeme-ler al-sa-ŋ ši.
food BOL.COP-AOR.PTCP something-PL take-HYP-2SG ŠL.PART
‘Buy something that can serve as a meal.’

Example 156

Bar-ar jer bas-ar taw-um kal-ma-y,
go-AOR.PTCP place step-AOR.PTCP mountain-POSS1SG stay-NEG-A.CONV
siz-ge kel-ip pana tʃle-p wotır-mın.
you-DAT come-IP.CONV shelter beg-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-COP1SG
‘I came to beg you for a shelter, because I did not have anywhere to go to (no mountain to climb).’

Nominalized forms of the aorist {-(A²)r} can be used as nouns and are inflected in possessive suffixes and case. See Examples 157–159 in which the aorist is assigned different cases.

Example 157

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

Example 158

Context: A mother sees her daughter who is wearing a very short skirt to attend an important occasion.
Kiy-er-ge kiyim tap-pa-ɣan-day,
wear-AOR.PTCP-DAT clothes find-NEG-GAN.PTCP-EQUA
tuštuɣ-t-ŋ an-da-ɣiŋ ne?
become short-CAUS-IP.CONV X-LOC-GI-POSS2SG what
‘As if you could not find any clothes to wear, what is that short thing (that you are wearing)?’

Example 159

Muɣalim kel-mes-ten burun wok’wši-ʃ-ʃar
teacher come-NEG.AOR.PTCP-ABL BEFORE.POSTP student-PL
kitap-tar-i-n wok-ʃ y basta-dı.
book-PL-POSS3-ACC read-A.CONV START.POSTV-PAST3
‘Before the teacher arrived, the students had started to read their books.’

A negated aorist in {M³A²}s in the ablative, without a postposition, may express that an action that was supposed to be carried out did not occur. In this case, the aorist functions as a converb.
Example 160

Muxtar jarik-ti sündir-mes-ten köz-i
Muhtar light-ACC turn off-NEG.AOR.PTCP-ABL eye-POSS3
il-in-ip ket-ti.
attach-REF.PASS-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3

‘Muhtar shut his eyes without turning off the light.’

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

Example 161

Besik-ke salarda tayi da sol körşi kölanj
cradle-DAT put-AOR.LOC.CONV again DA.PART that neighbor
tuwus t'wyan-dar-dii čakir-ip, so-dan keyiń
relative kinsman-PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
"o-lar "öz-in-e tuşuk, āgiňđey āgi.
X-PL self-POSS3-DAT suitable LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL
nemene, bu bala-γa čaşiw al-a kel-e-di.
WHAT.FILL this child-DAT present take-A.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘Moreover, when they put the baby into the cradle they invite the neighbors and relatives, and they bring suitable presents and they put them into the cradle.’

(T1/ 12)

Periphrastic expressions of modality

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

{\(-G^4\Gamma^2\) + possessive personal markers + \textit{kel}-}

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

\(^{23}\) The form {\(-G^4\Gamma^2\)} probably is a preserved form of the Old Uyghur necessitative marker {\(-GU\)} which expresses meanings of purpose, necessity, potentiality, expectation, and intention. von Gabain (1959: 36) remarks that it had an abstract basic meaning from which expressions of necessity, potentiality, and purpose (“ein Müssen, Können und ein Zweck”) developed. It can refer to subject and non-subject participants. Thus \textit{he\textcircled{r}-gü} means someone or something that will/ought to give and something to be given. The meaning ‘one must’ is normally expressed by the composite suffix \{-GULUK\}, negated \{-GUSUz\}, e.g. \textit{Bil-gülik} (know\textcircled{r}-GULUK.NESS) ‘It is necessary to know’, and Modern Uyghur has preserved this marker.
Mamanov 2007: 96), and as *yuànwàng shì* ‘optative mood’ in grammars written in Chinese (Geng 1989: 140, Zhang 2004: 425). MKL and Mamanov subcategorize the construction as *erijkţ kalaw ray*, a ‘voluntary optative mood’ that signals the desire to do or not to do something. Zhang (2004: 425) subcategorizes the construction as *zhī shù yuànwàng shì*, a ‘direct stated optative mood’ that denotes that the speaker states the wish of the subject referent directly. We reserve the term “optative” for verb forms that constitute the optative paradigm; see Optative. Thus, items conveying meanings similar to those of optative verb forms will not be labeled optative in the present work. The following example illustrates inclination.

Example 162

\[\text{Ex} \] 162
\[
'\text{Endiş oṣi-lar-dīŋ iš-iŋ-de jāne men b/r adam-dī}\\
\text{tănıştir-a ket-ki-m kel-ip}\\
\text{introduce-A.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GI.NESS-1SG COME.POSTV-IP.CONV}\\
\text{'otīr bul musattar sālıș ul-ī de-gen kışi.}\\
\text{SIT.POSTV3 this Musattar Salis son-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP person}\\
\text{‘Now, I would like to introduce to you one of them: Musattar Salis.’ (T2/7)}
\]

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

Example 163

\[\text{Ex} \] 163
\[
\text{Senji kör-gi-m} \quad \text{kel-e-dį.}\\
\text{you.ACC see-GI.NESS-POSS1SG come-A.PRES-3}\\
\text{‘I want to see you / I have got the urge to see you / I feel like seeing you / the desire to see you befallen me.’}
\]

Example 164

\[\text{Ex} \] 164
\[
\text{Senji kör-gi-m} \quad \text{kel-me-y-dį.}\\
\text{you.ACC see-GI.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-A.PRES-3}\\
\text{‘I don’t have the desire to see you.’}
\]

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

Example 165

\[\text{Ex} \] 165
\[
\text{Senji kör-gi-m} \quad \text{kel-dį.}\\
\text{you.ACC see-GI.NESS-POSS1SG come-PAST3}\\
\text{‘I have got / got the desire to see you.’}
\]
Example 166

*Seni* kör-gi-m *kel-me-di.*

you.ACC see-GI.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-PAST3

‘I have not got / did not get the desire to see you.’

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

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

Example 167 Uyghur

*Seni* kör-gü-m *kël-i-du.*

you.ACC see-GU.NESS-POSS1SG come-PRES-3

‘I want to see you.’ (I am getting the desire to see you.²⁴)

Example 168 Uyghur

*Seni* kör-gü-m *kël-mä-y-du.*

you.ACC see-GU.NESS-POSS1SG come-NEG-PRES-3

‘I don’t have the desire to see you.’

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

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

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

²⁴ The similar expression exists in Turkish with similar construction, e.g. *İstanbul’u göresim geldi.* (Lewis 1967: 165)
Example 169

Sax'na-γa "osī ān-dī orīnda-p
stage-DAT this song-ACC perform-IP.CONV
čīk-ki-m bar.
COME OUT.POSTV-GL.NESS-POSS1SG existing
‘I have the desire to perform this song on stage.’

Example 170

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

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

Example 171 Uyghur

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

{-sA^2} + iygi + ʿedī

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

Example 172

Bîtir-se iygi ʿe-dî-m.
finish-HYP3 content E.COP-PAST-1SG
‘I would be content if I finished it.’
Example 173

\textit{Biṭir-me-se iygi y\textsuperscript{e}-di-m.}  
\text{finish-NEG-HYP3 content E.COP-PAST-1SG}  

‘I would be content if I did not finish it.’

Another slightly different construction is built with \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}\} with the possessive type of personal endings and iygi ‘content’ and \textit{yedi}. This is also described as “optative mood” in Zhang’s grammar (2004: 426–427). KG (2002: 514) mentions this form but not the previous form.

Example 174

\textit{Biṭir-se-m iygi y\textsuperscript{e}-dį.}  
\text{finish-HYP-1SG good E.COP-PAST3}  

‘It would be good if I could finish it.’

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

\{-sA\textsuperscript{2}\} + dey\textit{mın}

A wish can also be expressed by the frequently used periphrastic expression based on the hypothetical marker \{-sA\textsuperscript{2}\} combined with \textit{de-y-mın \langle say-A.PRES-COP1SG\rangle ‘I say’}.

Example 175

\textit{Jāna jīl barša-mīz-γa mol tabiś sila-sa}  
\text{new year all-POSS1PL-DAT rich success present-HYP3}  

\textit{de-y-mın.}  
\text{say-A.PRES-COP1SG}  

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

The rhetorical particle \textit{yeken} can be added after the hypothetical form without any change of the meaning.

Example 176

\textit{Jāna jīl barša-mīz-γa mol tabiś sila-sa}  
\text{new year all-POSS1PL-DAT rich success present-HYP3}  

72
‘I wish that the new year will bring much success to all of us.’

{-sA²} kerek

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

Example 177

Umït-üp  ket-ken  bol-sa  kerek.

forget-IP.CONV  LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP  BOL.COP-HYP³  necessary

‘X must have forgotten.’

Example 178

Jumïla  ɨs-ke  ƙirïs-se-k,  jirma  "oūz  jîl-da

unanimously  affair-DAT  start-HYP-1PL  twenty thirty  year-LOC

'evropa-nïŋ  biŋ-gen-i-n  biŋ-ip,  evropa

Europe-GEN  know-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC  know-IP.CONV  Europe

ƙatar-în-a  kos-îl-ip  ket-e
row-POSS3-DAT  add-PASS-IP.CONV  LEAVE.POSTV-A.CONV

al-uw-ɨmiz-ya  târix-tan  japon-dar  mïsâl

TAKE.POSTV-UW.VN-POSS1PL-DAT  history-ABL  Japan-PL  example

bol-a  al-sa  kerek.

BOL.COP-A.CONV  TAKE.POSTV-HYP³  necessary

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

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

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

The modal particles are typically enclitic; i.e. they constitute a prosodic unit with their hosts and are not accentable. There are also, however, accentable particles such as aw, 'yä, â, D2A2, bılem, deši and deseňši. Some particles such as I2øy and şİ2 belong to the enclitic type in some usages and to the accentable type in other usages.

We can distinguish among particles according to the syntactic positions in which they may occur. D2A2, mİ2's, de, deši, and deseňši can take only a postpredicate position. Of these, D2A2, de, deši, and deseňši can be followed by other elements, so they are not necessarily in sentence-final position. The particle mİ2's is always in sentence-final position. Some others, e.g. â, 'yä, bılem, can occur both in sentence-final and sentence-initial positions. The particles I2øy, aw, "özî can follow the first constituent of the clause and occur in postpredicate positions. Of those in postpredicate position, "özî cannot be followed by any other element and is thus sentence-final. One particle, şİ2, can be attached to any constituent.
Table 3. The syntactic position of particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>S-initial</th>
<th>Following the first constituent of the clause</th>
<th>Following any constituent</th>
<th>Postpredicate</th>
<th>S-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɨlem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$D^2A^2$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desenši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Gamma^2_oy$</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyà</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɬİŞ$^2$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>$^2$</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wözi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following, the semantic, syntactic and prosodic properties of the modal particles will be presented. The description will start with $\Gamma^2_oy$, the most frequently used modal particle.

The particle $\Gamma^2_oy$

Variants

The particle $\Gamma^2_oy$ has two variants, $γoy$ and $koy$. The form $γoy$ is attached to stems that end in a vowel or a voiced consonant, e.g. "Okî-y-dî $γoy$ (study-A.PRES-3 ӃOY.PART) ‘X studies, you know’. The form $koy$ follows voiceless consonants, e.g. "Okî-dî-k $koy$ (study-PAST-1PL ӃOY.PART) ‘We studied, you know’, Kîr-dî-k $koy$ (see-PAST-1PL ӃOY.PART) ‘We saw it, you know’.

Basic properties

The particle $\Gamma^2_oy$ does not have any lexical meaning. Its basic contribution is to mark some type of epistemic evaluation, an assessment of the propositional content. It can express a commitment to the truth of the proposition, i.e. to its certainty, probability, possibility, etc. The source of the epistemic evaluation can be the opinion of the addresser or some other person. The basic meaning varies according to the communicative functions of different types of usages, as will be described below. The particle is typically
enclitic, i.e. unaccented. In such cases, the high pitch is on the last acceptable syllable of the preceding word, as in Example 179.

Example 179

...keriküš-ter  γoy.
oppositional-pl  TOY.PART
‘…oppositionals, you know.’ (T4/ 2)

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

Example 180

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

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

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

Particles with similar formal and semantic properties occur in other Turkic languages, for instance Karakalpak γoy (Baskakov 1958: 154) Uyghur Γu (Tömür 2003: 493, 2011 2: 426), Kirghiz Γo (Hu 1986: 156), Uzbek kū (Wurm 1959: 524). Karaim employs ko in a similar function, e.g. Bil’as’ko (know-PRES-2SG KO.PART) ‘Well, you know’. The etymology of these Turkic particles is unknown. They are not likely to derive from the verb koy- ‘to put, to place’; see Downtoning imperatives.

Usages

Reference to shared knowledge

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

Example 181

“Mïnaw-unγ  nedegen  kïrgensïz,  nedegen  nïšâr  ɣe-dî”,
this-POSS2SG  how  ill-mannered  how  bad  E.COP-PAST3

25 Éva Á. Csató personal communication.
The particle $\Gamma^{2}\text{oy}$ is used similarly to the particle $ya$ in Turkish and certain southern dialects of Uyghur in Xinjiang.

Example 183 Turkish

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

Example 184 Uyghur

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

The particle $\Gamma^{2}\text{oy}$ sometimes occurs together with the filler ‘$\text{endi}$’; see Example 185. This combination is frequently used in Uyghur; see Example 186.

Example 185

Biz jôn-i-nen al-γan wakît-ta ‘$\text{endi}$;
we direction-POSS3-ABL take-GAN.PTCP time-LOC NOW.FILL
adepî târtîptî bol-uw-dî dâripte-$\text{y}-\text{mîz}$
polite well-behaved BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL
$\text{γoy}$ ‘$\text{endi}$;
$\text{ΓOY.PART}$ NOW.FILL
‘As for us, (the bride) is expected to be polite and well behaved, you know.’ (T8/ 1)

Example 186 Uyghur

Iş-lar tügi-dî ‘$\text{y}u$ $\text{ämî}$
work-PL finish-PAST3 PART NOW.FILL
‘The work is done, as you know.’

The particle $\Gamma^{2}\text{oy}$ can be used to introduce a new topic with reference to shared knowledge.
Example 187

“Soson aγa-m-a renǧi-dì-m” de-y-dì
thus brother-POSS1SG-DAT offend-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3
γoy.
ΓOY.PART
‘“Thus, I am offended by my brother”, he writes, you know.’ (T4/ 64)

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

Example 188 Turkish

Amerika’dâ bir arkadaš-um var ya.
America-LOC a friend-POSS1SG existing PART
‘A friend of mine in America, you know.’

Repudiation

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

Example 189

A: Sayan “tapsîrma ğste” de-p ayt-pa-dì-m
you.DAT homework do say-IP.CONV say-NEG-PAST-1SG
ba?
Q.PART
‘Did I not tell you to do your homework?’

B: ğste-di-m ğoy.26
do-PAST-1SG ΓOY.PART
‘But I have done it.’

Presumption

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

---

26 The Turkish translation would be ‘Yaptım ya’, ‘Yaptım ki’, ‘Yaptım ama’, and ‘Yaptım zaten’.
Example 190

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

Mïna bala tòbeles-ken γoy.

this child scuffle-GAN.POSTT3 TOY.PART

‘I presume this child has scuffled.’

Example 191 Turkish

Bu çocuk kesinlikle kavga et-miştir.

this child definitely fight DO.LIGHTV-MİŞTIR.PAST.3SG

‘I presume this child has definitely fought.’

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

Example 192

Keyb pérder ayt p jat-a-dí γoy, keyde

some-PL tell-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 TOY.PART sometimes

b’re urpak-tar-γa renji-gen kez-de ayt p

once generation-PL-DAT infuriate-GEN.PTCP moment-LOC tell-IP.CONV

jat-a-dí: ‘áveis mïnaw âke češe-nîñ

LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ČY.INTERJEC this is parents-GEN

târbiye-sî-n kör-me-gen γoy mînaw”.

good manners -POSS3SG-ACC see-NEG-GAN.POSTT3 TOY.PART this

‘As you know, some people often say, sometimes, when (they) get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.’ (T6/ 15)

Non-modal usage: Tag-question

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

Example 193

Keše ây-ge kel-me-dî-η γoy?

yesterday home-DAT come-NEG-PAST-2SG TOY.PART

‘You did not come home yesterday, did you / why not?’

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

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

Adversative usage

A specific usage of the particle ḡoy can be observed in adversative sentences. In such constructions, the particle is always accented and follows the first, topicalized, constituent of the clause, e.g. kün ‘sun’ and ḡol ‘X’ in the following examples.

Example 195

Kün ḡoy čir-iş tur, b’rak kattu suwuk.
sun ΓΟΥ.PART come out-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV3 but very cold.
‘The sun is certainly shining but it is still rather cold.’

Example 196

”Ol ḡoy ḡöz adam-imiz xendij, kiyanaṭiṭk
X ΓΟΥ.PART self man-POS1PL now betrayal
jasa-p ket-pe-se²⁷.
CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-NEG-HYP³
‘X is certainly our man but only if he does not betray us.’

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

Example 197

Siz ḡoy jeņil aputomobil-men jür-e-siz. al
you ΓΟΥ.PART light automobile-WITH.POSTP move-A.PRES-COP2SG but
bįz ši?
we ŞI.PART
‘Nín zirán shì yǒu xiǎochē zuò, kě wǒmen ne?’ (Zhang 2003: 230, 2004: 611)
[‘You certainly take a car, but what about us?’]

The combination of the hypothetical mood and ḡoy

In spoken registers, the particle ḡoy can often occur with the hypothetical mood {-SA²}. In this case it can serve to mark that the condition is irreal, as in Example 198. In Example 199, it signals that the idea is a ‘what-if’, though worth thinking about. The particle is accented in both examples.

²⁷ The Turkish translation would be ‘O bizim adamımız da hayırlık etmese’.
Example 198

Áke-m biz-dî sayîn-sa γoy. ıjan-imîz-da
father-POSS1SG we-ACC miss-HYP3 TOY.PART around-POSS1PL-LOC
bol-uw-dî armanda-sa γoy.
BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC hope-HYP3 TOY.PART
‘Had my father missed us, he would have wanted to be with us.’ (But this is not the case.)

Example 199

Akša-ler-în-dî urî-γa ber-îp kel-se-γ
гOY.PART
‘What if you give your money to a thief.’

The combination of γeken and γoy

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

Example 200

Context: The addresser sees a boy whose face is injured.
Мînâ bala tôbeles-ken γeken ıγoy.
this child scuffle-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3 TOY.PART
‘This child has apparently scuffled, you know.’

Example 201

Context: The addresser understands that X has learnt about a secret.
"Ol bil-îp al-γan γeken
X know-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
γoy.
гOY.PART
‘X has apparently figured it out, you know.’

The combination of expressions of possibility and γoy

The unaccented particle γoy may be added to expressions of possibility that consist of a hypothetical form of a lexical verb followed by bolâdî (BOL. COP-A.PRES-3) ‘is possible’ (see Lexical expressions). In this case, it emphasizes the feasibility of a piece of advice.
‘When the (old) people are not able (to take care of themselves), then the bride should even be able to wash them, wash their clothes, and their hair and faces, shouldn’t she?’ (T8/6)

The combination of \( \Gamma^2 \)oy and deym\( \text{ə} \)n
The accented particle \( \Gamma^2 \)oy in combination with de-y-\( \text{m} \)\( \text{ın} \) ‘I say’ expresses the addresser’s surmise or conjecture. According to Zhang (2003: 229, 2004: 61), it conveys the meaning that there is no evidence to confirm the statement.

Example 203

Üy-\( \text{ge} \) urı kır-gen \( \gamma \)oy deym\( \text{ə} \)n.
home-DAT thief enter-GAN.POTT 3 \( \Gamma \)oy.PART DEYMIN.PART
‘I think a thief has entered the house.’

Example 204

Bes-in\( \text{ş} \) ay-lar-da \( \gamma \)oy de-y-\( \text{m} \)\( \text{ın} \) taza kizi\( \text{̇} \)k
five-ORD month-PL-LOC \( \Gamma \)oy.PART say-A.PRES-COP1SG very interesting bol-di.
BOL.COP-PAST3
‘In May, I think, something very interesting happened.’ (T9/1)

The combination of \( \Gamma^2 \)oy and dey\( \text{s} \)i\( \text{ş} \)ğer
The particle \( \Gamma^2 \)oy cannot be used in a question containing an interrogative pronoun, as in Example 205.

Example 205

*Üy-\( \text{ge} \) kim kır-ip ket-e-di\( \text{̇} \) \( \gamma \)oy?
home-DAT who enter-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 \( \Gamma \)oy.PART

On the other hand, a combination of \( \Gamma^2 \)oy with dey\( \text{s} \)i\( \text{ş} \)ğer ‘you would say’ can be added to such questions in order to mark that the question is not meaningful and therefore cannot be answered. Thus Example 205 should be expressed as Example 206 illustrates.
Example 206

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

Üyge  kím  kır-ip  ket-e-di
home-DAT  who  enter-IP.CONV  LEAVE.POSTV-A.PRES-3

goy  deysîn?’
GOY.PART  say-A.PRES-COP2SG
‘Who will enter the house, you think?’

The complex particles bar goy / bar goy de / bar goy ši

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

Example 207

Universitet-ter  bar  goy  kalîn  kar  sebeb-i-nen
university-PL  existing  GOY.PART  thick  snow  reason-POSS3-ABL
demalîs-ka  tara-t-il-îp-tî.
rest-DAT  disperse-CAUSE-PASS-IP. POST-3
‘The universities, you know, apparently had a day off because of the heavy snow.’

In Example 208, there are two topicalized constituents, universitetter and kalîn kar sebebînen, marked by bar goy.

Example 208

Universitet-ter  bar  goy  kalîn  kar  sebeb-i-nen
university-PL  existing  GOY.PART  thick  snow  reason-POSS3-ABL
bar  goy  demalîs-ka  tara-t-il-îp-tî.
existing  GOY.PART  rest-DAT  disperse-CAUSE-PASS-IP.POSTT-3
‘Because of the heavy snow the universities apparently had a day off, you know.’

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

Ankara-da bar ᵇoy kalîy kâr jaw-îp-tî.
Ankara-LOC existing TOY.PART thick snow fall-IP.POSTT-3
‘In Ankara, you know, it apparently snowed heavily.’

Example 210 Turkish

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

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

Example 211

Söz-dî túnda-ma-sa-ŋ sayan kâmpit al-îp
word-ACC listen-NEG-HYP-2SG you.DAT candy buy-IP.CONV
ber-me-y koy-a-min bar ᵇoy.
GIVE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG existing TOY.PART
‘If you don’t listen I won’t buy you any candies, mind you.’

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

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

The particle šî²

Basic properties

The enclitic modal particle šî² has two harmonic variants, a front šî and a back šî, e.g. Kel šî! (come.IMP ŠI.PART) ‘Come, please’, Ayt šî! (tell.IMP ŠI.PART) ‘Tell (it), please!’. In certain spoken varieties, the particle has four variants: čî, či, šî and šî. The variants čî and či occur after consonants, e.g. Kel čî!, Ayt či!. The variants šî and šî are employed after vowels, e.g. Ket-pe šî! (leave-NEG-IMP ŠI.PART) ‘Do not leave, please’. In most usages it is non-accentable, and constitutes a prosodic unit with its host. For exceptions see below.

Particles with similar forms and functions also occur in some other Turkic languages, e.g. East Old Turkic čU, Uyghur ču (accented) (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011: 422), Aralo-Caspian languages -čî, -čî, -šî, -šî, etc. (Menges 1959: 472–473), Kirghiz čU (Hu 1986: 155), Noghay, Karakalpak šî (Doerfer 1959: 387, Baskakov 1958: 745), Tatar -čI (-чы, -че) (Thomsen 1959: 419: 84
“-či, -če”). The forms may go back to an interrogative particle *ču (Doerfer 1959: 387).

The modal particle šI² does not have any lexical meaning. Its basic semantic contribution is to express a notion of volition. It can only occur in post-predicate position except in its emphatic usage.

Usages

Combinations of šI² with voluntatives and imperatives

The particle šI² can follow voluntatives or imperatives. It is described as a particle that marks “renforcement de l’impératif” [‘reinforcement of the imperative’] Deny et al. 1959: 807), an emphatic command (Doerfer 1959: 387), a polite imperative (Thomsen 1959: 419), etc. Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581) claims that the combinations in question have the meaning of qiqiú shí qí shí yúqi ‘request in an entreat ing manner’. In our view, in combination with these moods the particle is also used to ask for consent or to emphasize a wish. In this function, it is not accented.

Combinations of šI² with voluntatives

In Example 212, the predicate verb carries a voluntative marker of the first person singular and is followed by the particle šI². The function can be interpreted either as softening the tone, signaling that the addresser appeals to, begs, entreats, or requests something from the interlocutor, or as reinforcing the wish of the addresser. In this case, it can be translated with please, which can also indicate both politeness and reinforcement of a request. Example 212 and 213 are ambiguous between these readings.

Example 212

*Bar-ayîn ši!*

go-VOL1SG ŠI.PART

‘Please let me go!’

Example 213

*Da-la da jel azîna-p ket-ti, ʃesîk,*

outside-LOC wind howl IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST 3 door
tereze-ler-di bekiṭ-ip al-ayîn ši!

window-PL-ACC close-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-VOL1SG ŠI.PART

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

Combinations of šI² with imperatives

When combined with imperative forms the particle šI² functions either to soften or intensify the imperative. The latter meaning is marked by an emphatic stress on the verb. See also above in *Downtoning imperatives.*
Example 214

Koy ši!
stop ŠI.PART
‘Stop it please!’ or ‘Do stop it!!!’

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

Comparison with Uyghur ču

Though the functions of the Uyghur particle ču are in most cases very similar to the those of Kazakh ši, there are also some differences. Some differences, based on Tömür’s description of the Uyghur particle (2003: 488–491, 2011: 422–425), will be mentioned here. According to Tömür, when attached to volunatives and imperatives, the Uyghur particle expresses intimacy or fondness.

Example 215 Uyghur

Bikar oltur-yučä öy-gä xät yaz-ayli ču.
in vain sit-CONV home-DAT letter write-VOL1PL PART
‘Why don’t we write a letter home instead of sitting doing nothing.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011: 424)

Example 216 can be rendered in Kazakh with the volutantative and ši, but the function of the Kazakh particle is to denote that the addressee entreats the interlocutor.

Example 216

Beker "otür-yanša ûy-ge xat jaz-ayîk ši.
in vain sit-GANŠA.CONV home-DAT letter write-VOL1PL ŠI.PART
‘Instead of sitting (here) in vain, let us please write a letter home!’

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

Example 217 Uyghur

Yaz käl-sun ču, män sêni déŋiz boy-i-γa
summer come-VOL3 PART I you.ACC sea length-POSS3-DAT
apir-i-män.
take-PRES-COP1SG
‘Let summer come, then I will take you to the seaside.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011: 425)
The same meaning in Kazakh must be expressed as in Example 218, where *aldimen* ‘at first’ is added to šī².

Example 218

\[ \text{Jaz kel-śin} \ šī \ \text{aldimen, men seni} \ \text{teņiz} \]
summer come-VOL3 ŠI.PART at first I you.ACC sea

\[ boy-īn-a \ \text{apar-a-min.} \]
length-POSS3-DAT take-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘Please (first) wait until the summer comes, (then) I will take you to the seaside.’

Combinations of imperatives and third-person voluntatives with šī² often occur with lexical items such as kāne ‘where’ / bâle-m (misfortune-POSS1SG) ‘my misfortune’, in which all elements are unaccented. The combinations indicate serious warnings. In Example 219, the postverb construction *ły-ip kör-<-tīic->* expresses the meaning ‘to try to provoke’.

Example 219

\[ \text{Kör-pa, zaŋ bar, } ỳendę sayan ly-ip \]
afraid-NEG law existing now you.DAT provoke-IP.CONV

\[ kör-śin \ šī \ kāne / bâlem. \]
SEE.POSTV-VOL3 ŠI.PART where / my misfortune

‘Do not be afraid, there is the law, now just let X try to provoke you.’

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

Example 220 Uyghur

\[ \text{Körk-maŋ, kanun bar, āmdi siz-gă čēkil-ip} \]
afraid-NEG law existing now you.DAT provoke-IP.CONV

\[ baḵ-sun ču (kēni). \]
SEE.POSTV-VOL3 PART (where)

‘Do not be afraid, there is the law; now just let X try to provoke you.’ (Tömür 2003: 491, 2011²: 425)

The use of the particle šī² with hypothetical forms

Combinations of unaccented šī² with hypothetical forms express unrealized past event, similar to Turkish expressions with *keşke, keşki* ‘I wish’ or Uyghur kaški ‘if only’. Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581) points out that the function is to emphasize (reinforce) the desire, wish or hope expressed in the sentence. There is mostly a connotation of regret or repentance.
Example 221

Bar-sa-m šī.
go-HYP-1SG ŠL.PART
‘I wish I had gone (but I did not)!’

Example 222

Bar-ma-sa-m šī.
go-NEG-HYP-1SG ŠL.PART
‘I wish I had not gone (but I went)! / I regret that I went.’

When šī² combines with a second-person hypothetical form it may express a strong recommendation. It can also convey a connotation of reproach, i.e. express disapproval or disappointment. The following example can be uttered when the addressee knows that the interlocutor has not been careful when crossing the street.

Example 223

Jöl-dan "öt-kende bayka-sa-ŋ-daršë.
street-ABL cross-GAN.LOC.CONV pay attention-HYP-2SG-PL ŠL.PART
‘Mind you, you should be careful when crossing the street.’

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

The interrogative usage

The particle šī² may be used in the sense of ‘what about?’ when asking for information or opinions. When it follows a hypothetical form it means ‘what if?’ It is always unaccented, with the preceding word carrying the accent. A non-harmonic form še is used in Standard Kazakh (KG 2002: 562). According to Zhang (2003: 194, 2004: 581), the particle can occur after a nominal phrase or after the hypothetical marker to refer to a particular concern the addresser wants to ask about.

Example 224

A: Bala-łar-i češ-e-sin-e kara-ma-y-di šeken.
‘Her children apparently do not take care of their mother.’
Example 225

A: 'Erten yü-ge kel-ip kal-ar.

tomorrow home-DAT come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-AOR3

‘X may come home tomorrow.’

B: Kel-me-se ši?

come-NEG-HYP3 ŠL.PART

‘And what if X will not come?’

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

Example 226 Uyghur

A: Tursun kāl-di.

Tursun come-PAST3

‘Tursun has arrived.’

B: Äxmät ču?

Ahmet PART

‘How about Ahmet?’ (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011\(^2\): 422)

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

Example 227 Uyghur

Ätä kēl-āl-mi-sā-m ču? (Kandak bol-i-du?)

tomorrow come-ABL-NEG-HYP-1SG PART (how BOL.COP-PRES-3)

‘And if I can’t come tomorrow?’ (= What happens?) (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011\(^2\): 422).

Hu compares the use of the Kirghiz particle čU\(^4\) to that of the Chinese question particle ne ‘what about?’, which occurs at the end of interrogative sentences (Hu 1986: 155-156).

Example 228 Kirghiz

Men bar-a-mān, siz či?

I go-PRES-COP1SG you PART

‘Wǒ yào qù, nǐn ne?’ (Hu 1986: 155-156)
[‘I will go, and what about you?’]
Karakalpak ši² is used in a similar way.

Example 229 Karakalpak

Sen-ši?
you-PART
‘And you?’ (Baskakov 1958: 745).

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

Rhetorical questions
The negated converbs in {-М³А²-й} and {-М³А²-Г⁴А²н-дА²} can be used in rhetorical questions corresponding to English ‘of course’ or ‘why not?’ Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) renders the meaning as ‘of course, no need to ask’. The particle is unaccented in this usage.

Example 230

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

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

Example 231

A: Men de "oţir-a-m ba?
1 DA.PART sit-A.PRES-COP1SG Q.PART
‘Shall I also sit down?’

B: "Oţir-ma-y / "oţir-ma-yanda ši?
sit-NEG-A.CONV / sit-NEG-GAN.LOC.CONV ŠI.PART
‘Of course, why shouldn’t you?’

Uyghur employs a similar construction to express this meaning.

Example 232 Uyghur

A: Sân mu bar-a-m-sân?
you PART go-PRES-Q-COP2SG
‘Are you going too?’
B: *Bar-ma-y ču?*  
\(\text{go-NEG-A.CONV PART}\)  
‘Of course, why shouldn’t I be going?’ (Tömür 2003: 488, 2011\(^2\): 422)

The emphatic marker *šI²*

In its emphatic usage, the particle *šI²* can follow any constituent of a sentence that the addresser wants to mark as the focus. Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) states that such usages occur mostly in spoken registers. The particle is harmonic and always accented in this usage.

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

Example 233

\[Sen \ šI, \ üy-üy-e \ kayt.\]  
\(\text{you ŠI.PART home-POS}2\text{SG-DAT return.IMP}\)  
‘You go home!’

As Example 234 illustrates, more than one constituent can be marked with *šI²*. The meaning of the particle can be rendered as ‘just’ or ‘of all’, denoting the least likely or expected person (cf. German *ausgerechnet*).

Example 234

\[Aset \ šI \ öz \ bal-a-si-n \ šI \ üy-den\]  
\(\text{Aset ŠI.PART self-child-POS}3\text{SG-ACC ŠI.PART home-ABL}\)  
\(\text{kuw-up-i.}\)  
send away-IP.POSTT-3  
‘Aset (of all persons) drove his own son (of all persons) out of the house.’

Zhang (2003: 195, 2004: 582) also claims that the function of the particle is to draw the attention of the interlocutor to a certain constituent of the sentence. We describe this as emphasis. The Uyghur particle *ču* has a similar usage. According to Tömür (2003: 489, 2011\(^2\): 422), it is added to emphasize a constituent. In his example, given here as Example 235, the emphasized constituent is the topic.

Example 235 Uyghur

\[Män \ ču \ bu \ yêkin-da \ u \ yâr-gä \ bar-al-ma-y-mân.\]  
\(\text{I PART this near-LOC that place-DAT go-ABIL-NEG-PRES-COP1SG}\)  
‘As for me, I won’t be able to go there in the near future.’ (Tömür 2003: 489, 2011\(^2\): 423)

The combinations *bar šI* and *yoy šI* may follow any constituent of a sentence that the addresser wants to stress (cf. the usage of *I²oy*).
Example 236 illustrates a special Uyghur usage that has no equivalent in Kazakh. The particle ču, which is always accented, marks, together with tēxi ‘even’, a further element that has the property expressed by the predicate of the first sentence.

Example 236 Uyghur

\[
Bu\ yār\ bāk\ molčilik\ iḵān,\ hawa-si\ ču\ tēxi. \\
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{this} & \text{place} \\
\text{very} & \text{rich} \\
\text{INDIR3} & \text{PART} \\
\text{PART} & \text{even}
\end{array}
\]

‘This land is very rich, and the climate (is good too)’ (Tömür 2003: 490, 2011²: 423).

The particle \textit{aw}

Basic properties

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

Example 237

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

\[A:\ Ȧ\ sen! \ Ȧ\ sen! \]

‘Asen! Asen!’

\[B:\ \textit{aw}! \]

‘Yes!’

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

The interjection \textit{aw} can also be pronounced with an interrogative intonation to open for an explanation.

Example 238

\[A:\ \textit{Asen}! \]

‘Asen!’

\[B:\ \textit{aw}? \]

‘Yes! (What do you want?)’
This interjection, with an interrogative intonation, can also be used when the addressee did not clearly hear what the addresser just said (Zhang 2004: 463).

Example 239

A: Páltte-m-di ṣakel-e ṣal ṣī!
cloak-POSS1SG-ACC bring-A.CONV PUT.POSTV.IMP ṣī.PART
‘Bring my cloak!’

B: Aw?
‘I beg your pardon.’

Usages

Emphasizing the truth of a statement

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

Example 240

Ayt-kan-dar-ỉ-nię ḥarj jön aw.
tell-GAN.HTCP-PL-POSS3-GEN all appropriate AW.PART
‘Everything X said is indeed appropriate.’

Example 241

Šolak-się aw Ŭumir.
short-COP2SG AW.PART life
‘Life, you are indeed short.’

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

Example 242

‘It is indeed so that you could not even answer this question.’

Combination of aw with the indirective particle ęken

The particle aw may occur after the indirective particle ęken in which case it expresses the addresser’s surprise at the truth of the statement.
Example 243

Jağan-da "oṣin-day da tenseṣidık bol-a-dî
false world-LOC this-EQUA DA.PART inequity BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
y'eken aw.
E.COP.INDIR3 AW.PART
‘There is apparently so much inequity in this false world, really!’

Example 244

"Oṣin-day da sul"wliŋ bol-a-dî y'eken
this-EQUA DA.PART beauty BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3
aw tâbiyat-ta.
AW.PART nature-LOC
‘There is apparently so much beauty in nature, really.’

Combination of aw with hypothetical forms
The particle may also be used to emphasize a wish expressed with the hypo-
thetical mood form {-sA^2}, as in Example 245.

Example 245

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

Presumption
The particle can be used to mark that the addresser is, on the basis of proba-

Example 246

Context: The addresser observes that it has become warmer and draws the
conclusion that spring is coming.
Köktèm kel-ip kal-ip-tî aw.
spring come-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 AW.PART
‘Spring is definitely coming!’

Example 247

Context: The addresser gets the news that X missed the bus and draws the
conclusion that X will be late.
Keşig-ip kal-atîn bol-di aw.
be late-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3 AW.PART
‘X will definitely be late!’
Emphatic usage
The particle *aw* can be used when addressing a person in an emphatic way. It may introduce a discourse in which the addressee expresses emotions such as anger, sympathy, condemnation, love and fear. Zhang (2003: 210, 2004: 594) claims that in such expressions the particle particularly shows that the addressee is critical; see Example 248. As Example 249 illustrates, this is not always the case however. The particle can also express intimacy and friendliness with the interlocutor.

Example 248

*Aya-tay aw aţirin sůyle-se-ñiz bol-mas pa?*

brother-DIM AW.PRT lower speake-HYP-2SG BOL.COP-NEG.AOR Q.PRT

Minaw jiyin zal-i ğoy.

this meeting hall-POSS3 TOY.PRT

‘Hi, brother, couldn’t you lower your voice? This is a meeting hall, you know.’

Example 249

*Kalka-m aw turay-iŋ kayda?*

dear-POSS1SG AW.PRT house-POSS2SG where

‘Hi, my dear, where is your house?’

Combination of *aw* with *deymĩn*

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

Example 250

*Konak-tar jãiũda-p kal-dĩ aw de-y-mĩn.*

guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PRT SAY-PRES-COP1SG

‘I guess the guests have approached the house.’

Combination of *aw* with *‘yã / ‘ã*

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

Example 251

*Konak-tar jãiũda-p kal-dĩ aw ‘yã / ‘ã?*

guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PRT YÅ.PRT / Å.PRT

‘The guests have indeed approached the house, haven’t they?’
Combination of *aw* with modal adverbs

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

Example 252

\[\text{Konak-tar jakinda-p kal-di aw sirâ.}\]

guest-PL come near-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3 AW.PART SIRÂ.PART

‘The guests have probably approached the house.’

**The particle *“özî***

Basic properties

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

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

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

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

Usages

Non-modal usage: Topicalizer

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

Example 253

\[\text{Son-da “o kez-de bezik “özî kur tur-a-di.}\]

that-LOC X time-LOC cradle ÖZİ.PART empty stand-A.PRES-3

‘At that time, the cradle stands empty.’ (T1/ 17)
Example 254

Könsert "özi tartımdı basta-l-dı γoy.
cast OZI.PART pleasant start-PASS-PAST3 GOY.PART
‘The concert started pleasantly indeed.’

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

Example 255

Ádıl "özi meniŋ jaḵın ayayı-im.
Ádıl OZILPART I.GEN close brother-POSS1SG
‘Ádıl, he is my close friend.’

Example 256

Ádıl "özi mayan kımbattı siliḥ usun-yan adam.
Ádıl OZILPART I.DAT precious present give-GAN.PART person
‘Ádıl is the man who gave me a precious present.’

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

Example 257

Bügün "özi aspan-da julduz körin-be-y-dı γoy.
today OZI.PART sky-LOC star be visible-NEG-A.PRES-3 GOY.PART
‘Just today, no star is visible in the sky, you know.’

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

Example 258

Ádıl "özi mayan kımbattı siliḥ usun-dı.
Ádıl OZILPART I.DAT precious present give-PAST3
‘Ádıl has given me a precious present.’

The particle "özi cannot be used as a focus particle in Kazakh.

Subjective attitude

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

“Keš-ke deyin kōmir tasī-t-îp "özî evening-DAT UNTIL.POSTP coal transport-CAUS-IP.CONV ÖZI.PART
adam-dî kina-p žiber-gen-nen geyin man-ACC mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
"onan kaš-îp čîy-îp ket-îp, X.ABL run-IP.CONV COME OUT.POSTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
so-dan geyin češe-m-di bay-ayîn then AFTER1.POSTP mother-POSS1-ACC take care-VOL1SG
de-p köktoγay-ya sawda žasa-p say-IP.CONV Fuyun-DAT commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
čîy-îp ket-kem” de-y-di.
come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
“‘After (he) made me transport coal all the time, after he mistreated me so much (I) ran away from him. Then, in order to take care of my mother, I went to Fuyun to do business’, he writes.’ (T4/ 29)

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

Example 260

Senî kör-îp jüreg-im jar-îl-γali you.ACC see-IP.CONV heart-POSS1SG split-PASS-GALI.CONV
tur "özî.
STAND.POSTV3 ÖZI.PART
‘I am so glad to see you so that my heart is breaking.’

The particle "özî indicates ‘simply’, ‘merely’, ‘just’ in the following examples.

Example 261

“So boyî aya-m-nîn kołastîn-da that ALONG.POSTP brother-POSS1SG-GEN under the leadership.POSS3-LOC
ist-îp žür-gende aya-m work-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV brother-POSS1SG
žoγal-îp ket-tî” de-y-di, "özî,
disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 ÖZI.PART
ayayastînana”. suddenly
“‘During the time when I worked for my brother my brother disappeared’, he writes,
“all of a sudden’. ’ (T4/ 68)
Example 262

"B’r adam kör-ʉw-ge bol-ma-y-dī, 潟-emîz
one person see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 two-COLL.POSS.PL
yanâ tiri kal-ıp-pîz” de-y-di “âqi jêr-de
only living stay-IP.POSTT-COP.PL say-A.PRES-3 aforesaid place-LOC
“özi, so maṇya-da.”
ÖZI.PART that surrounding-LOC

“‘We couldn’t see anyone, only the two of us have survived’, he writes, “at that
place, in those surroundings’.” (T4/48)

Example 263

Tîl-iﬂ-dî kadîrle-se-ﬂ w’on-da wöz
language-POSS2SG-ACC respect-HYP-2SG X-LOC self
ult-uﬂ-nîy wözi nak tunuk til-i-men
nation-POSS2SG-GEN ÖZI.PART exactly purely language-POSS3-WITH.POSTP
söyle-w-ge daydîlan-uv kerek koy adam-dar.
speak-UW.VN-DAT get used to-UW.VN necessary TOY.PART person-PL

‘If you respect your language, then you must get used to speaking precisely and
purely the language of your nation, mustn’t you?’ (T5/25)

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

Example 264 negative attitude

Context: We have already been waiting a long time.

Bîz senî ƙaﬂan-ya deyîn küt-e-mîz wözi?
we you.ACC when-DAT UNTIL.POSTP wait-A.PRES-COP.PL ÖZI.PART

‘How long shall we wait for you?’

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

Example 265 Chinese

Context: My mother is not behaving as usual.

Wô mā zêmê le, zhè shî?
I mother how PAST this is

‘What is wrong with my mother?’
Example 266

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

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

Example 267 Uyghur

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

Alternatively, this can be expressed also by:

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

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

Example 268

Bul / mïnaw kayt-ken-ŋ, bul / mïnaw?
this / this one how to do-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG this / this one
‘What have you done?’

Compare Example 268 with its Chinese equivalent.

Example 269 Chinese

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

The particle $D^2A^2$

Variants

The particle $D^2A^2$ is harmonic with four variants: $da$, $de$, $ta$, $te$. After vowels and voiced consonants $da$, $de$ occur; see Examples 270 and 271.
Example 270

*Ayt-pa-y-dī*  
dañ.  
tell-NEG.A.PRES-3  
DA.PART  
‘X clearly do(es) not tell.’

Example 271

*Iste-y-dī*  
de.  
do-A.PRES-3  
DA.PART  
‘X clearly work(s).’

The variants *ta* and *te* occur after voiceless consonants.

Example 272

*Kün*  ḍ*stīk*  *ta.*  
day  warm  DA.PART  
‘The weather is unfortunately warm.’

Example 273

*Bala*  köp  *te.*  
child  many  DA.PART  
‘The children are unfortunately numerous.’

In certain spoken varieties the variant *dā* occurs if the preceding syllable ends with a vowel or a voiced consonant, whereas *tā* occurs after voiceless consonants, e.g. *Isteydī dā* (do-A.PRES-3  DA.PART)  ‘X clearly work(s)’,  
*Köp tā* (many DA.PART)  ‘There are clearly many’.

Uyghur has the variants *dā* and *tā*; see the use of *dā* in Example 274.

Example 274 Uyghur

*Dā-y-du*  dā.  
tell-A.PRES-3  DĀ.PART  
‘X clearly tells.’

The spoken Kazakh variants having *dā* and *tā* are probably influenced by Uyghur. This particle is different from the particle *D^2.A^2* meaning ‘also’ which etymologically comes from the word *takī* ‘and, also’ (Clauson 1972: 466)

Basic properties

The basic meaning of the particle *D^2.A^2* is to express epistemic evaluation. It occurs only in postpredicate position. Its function is to strengthen the validity of a statement, i.e. to express that it is obviously the case. The particle *D^2.A^2* is accented. Its usages in Kazakh are the same as those of the corresponding Uyghur particle.
Usages

Emphatic usage

The particle $D^2A^2$ is used to express that the speaker emphasizes that the statement is understandable, unsurprising, expected, predictable, inevitable, reasonable, acceptable, logical, normal, natural and justifiable. Zhang (2003: 231, 2004: 612) states that the speaker employs this particle to emphasize that the statement is logical according to his/her understanding.

Example 275

Ánši bol-yan soŋ atakiti-siŋ da.
singer BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP AFTER2.POSTP famous-COP2SG DA.PART

‘Since you are a singer, you are, of course, famous.’

Example 276

Alis-tan kel-gen soŋ b’rneše gün
far-ABL come-GAN.PTCP AFTER2.POSTP several day
arala-p kayt-a-di da.
visit-IP.CONV RETURN.POSTV-A.PRES-3 DA.PART

‘Since X came from far away, he will, of course, stay here for several days and then return.’

According to Zhang, the particle can also be used to express emotional nuances (qìnggǎn ‘sentiment’; 2004: 613). In such cases, the particle carries emphatic accent, that is, it is pronounced as an exclamation.

Example 277

BaKIT de-gen ‘osì da! happiness say-GAN.PTCP this DA.PART

‘Clearly, this is happiness!’

Combinations with indirective forms

A statement marked by the copula *yeken* or the verb form in {-(I²)ptI²} conveys indirective meaning. The particle $D^2A^2$ can be combined with these markers and expresses that the speaker has just become aware of something. Here the accent falls on the last syllable of the preceding word. The combination can be interpreted as ‘I see’, ‘it is obvious’, ‘it is clear’; see Example 278.

Example 278

Mina mal-dar köršiles awul-diší *yeken*
this cattle-PL neighborhood townshipNIKI E.COP.INDIR3

‘It is obvious that these cattle belong to the neighborhood township.’
In juxtaposed clauses

The particle $D^2A^2$ may be used in juxtaposed clauses to highlight the semantic relation between the two clauses. The nature of the relationship is not expressed by $D^2A^2$ particle. The reading is dependent on the content and can be paraphrased by using adverbial expressions like bolmasa or āytpeše. Zhang claims that in such expressions the particle conveys a regretful attitude (2003: 232, 2004: 613).

Example 279

\[
\text{Katši kitap jok ta bolmasa sat-ip}
\]

relevance book not existing DA.PART otherwise buy-IP.CONV
\[
\text{al-ayin de-gen woy-im bar}
\]

take.POSTV-VOL1SG say-GAN.PTCP thought-POSS1SG existing

bol.COP - ATIN.PAST.INTRAT3

‘There is unfortunately not a relevant book, otherwise I would have bought a copy.’

Example 280

\[
\text{Kün jilī-n-ba-y ak ket-ti, āytpeše}
\]

weather warm-REF-NEG-A.CONV AK.PART LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 otherwise
\[
\text{sūr-ya mätala-p kel-er ɛ-di-k te}
\]

water-DAT swim-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-AOR E.COP-PAST-1PL DA.PART

‘The weather is still not warm. Otherwise we could have gone swimming.’

The particle $mI^2s$

Variants

The particle $mI^2s$ has two harmonic variants, one front, $mǐs$, and one back, $mĩs$, e.g. Kel-ip-ti mĩs (come-IP.POSTT-3 MIS.PART) ‘X has apparently come’. Ayt-üp-ti mǐs (tell-IP.POSTT-3 MIS.PART) ‘X has apparently said it’.

Basic properties

The unaccentable particle $mI^2s$, which occurs in postpredicate position, goes back to the indirective marker ār-miš derived from the verb ār- ‘to be’. Particles with similar forms occur in several other Turkic languages, e.g. Turkish imiš (1.COP.INDIR), and have an ambiguous temporal value allowing both non-past and past interpretations: ‘is/was evidentially’ (Johanson 2000: 67, 2003: 276). Uyghur possesses the reportive copula marker -(i)miš, e.g. Yaxši yazarimiš ‘X is reportedly writes good’ (Tömür 2011²: 270).

Indirectivity does not express personal attitudes, and therefore not a modal category as defined in this study. Nonetheless, indirective markers “get various contextual interpretations and display various pragmatic extensions of their central meaning” (Johanson 2003: 282). This seems to be the case in Kazakh. Some scholars claim that the Kazakh particle $mI^2s$ has developed
into a dubitative particle on the basis of its reportive meaning and that it thus expresses epistemic evaluation. The addresser is said to report a fact with an ironic and doubtful attitude (Geng et al. 1999: 230, KG 2002: 563, Zhang 2003: 212, 2004: 596).

Usages
In the following examples, functions of the particle $ml^2$s will be illustrated. In Example 281, $\text{yeken}$ has indirective meaning, marking hearsay, inference or perception. When followed by $ml^2$s, as in Example 282, it is necessarily interpreted as conveying hearsay. The particle $ml^2$s adds a dubitative meaning, expressing that something has been claimed to be the case although there is no proof for it. This meaning can be translated as ‘allegedly’. Compare Examples 281 and 282.

Example 281

*Kelìn-i suluw yeken.*
bride-POSS3 beautiful E.COP.INDIR3
‘His bride is apparently beautiful.’

Example 282

*Kelìn-i suluw yeken mis.*
bride-POSS3 beautiful E.COP.INDIR3 MIS.PART
‘His bride is allegedly beautiful.’

In the following example, the particle $ml^2$s, without $\text{yeken}$, expresses an ironical comment implying that the statement is not true.

Example 283

*Kelìn-i suluw mis.*
bride-POSS3 beautiful MIS.PART
‘His bride is reportedly beautiful (according to what is said, but not necessarily true).’

The particle $ml^2$s conveys the dubitative meaning also when following an indirective verb form in $\{(-l^2)ptl^2\}$.

Example 284

*Kìlás-imiz-ya jàña "okuvší kel-etìn bol-\"p-üî mís.*
class-POSS1PL-DAT new student come-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-IP.POSTT-3 MIS.PART
‘A new student will allegedly, but not very probably, come to our class.’
The Uyghur reportative copula marker -(i)miš conveys mostly reportive meanings. Depending on the context, it may imply a sarcastic, ironical meaning (Tömür 2003: 304, 2011^2: 271). Tömür states the differences between the reportive copula marker -(i)miš and the indirective copula ikän. According to him, the reportive copula emphasizes that the source of the information is hearsay, while the copula ikän signals that the source of the statement is not identified (2003: 304, 2011^2: 271).

Example 285 Uyghur

\textit{Yèz-iwat-kan-miš.}

write-PRES-GAN.POSTT-MIŠ3

‘X was reportedly writing’ (Johanson 2003: 279).

In some contexts, this copula in Uyghur may get an ironical reading, expressing that the addresser does not think that the statement is true. Compare the Kazakh particle \textit{mIšs}, which always has an ironical meaning when it is not used in combination with \textit{eken}.

The particle \textit{iyà}

Basic properties
The particle \textit{iyà} conveys a subjective epistemic meaning confirming the truth of a proposition. It occurs in both sentence-initial and postpredicate positions and is always accented. In some expressions its meaning is similar to that of the Uyghur particle hà. Its most general function is to give an affirmative answer to a question, like English ‘yes’.

Example 286

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{A: Xat-tï jaz-dï-ŋ ba?} & letter-ACC write-PAST-2SG Q.PART \\
‘Did you write the letter?’ & \\
\textit{B: íYà jaz-dï-m.} & \textit{YÀ.PART write-PAST-1SG} \\
‘Yes, I did.’ & \\
\end{tabular}

Usages
In rhetorical questions
The particle \textit{iyà} can be added to interrogative sentences including the rhetorical particle \textit{eken}. Such questions can be described as meditative-rhetorical questions. In this usage, \textit{iyà} is interchangeable with the particle \textit{à} (see below). Both particles may express the addresser’s will to learn the truth. In Example 287, the question includes the rhetorical copula \textit{eken}. Such ques-
tions are rhetorical because the addresser, as a rule, does not expect an answer. The indirective copula can be interpreted in different ways depending on the context. In this example, it marks that the addresser is surprised to find that the weather is cold.

Example 287

\[ \text{Kün nege suw-up}}^{28} \text{ ket-ti} \text{ yeken?} \]
weather why cold-{BOL.COP-}IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 RHET.PART
‘Why has it become so cold?’

In Example 288, the particle ́yà or á is added to express a meditative reading that can be rendered in English with ‘I wonder’. A corresponding Turkish expression is acaba ‘I wonder if’, ‘oh, indeed!’

Example 288

\[ \text{Kün nege suw-up}^{29} \text{ ket-ti} \text{ yeken} ́yà/á?} \]
weather why cold-{BOL.COP-}IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 RHET.PART
Ya.PART/Á.PART
‘I wonder why it has become so cold?’

The particle can also be added to yes-no questions containing the indirective particle. Depending on the context, the particle can express the addresser’s anxiousness to learn the answer.

Example 289

\[ \text{Bała àke-si-n izde-p tap-ti ma} \text{ yeken} ́yà/á?} \]
child father-POSS3SG-ACC look for-IP.CONV find-PAST3 Q.PART
RHET.PART Ya.PART/Á.PART
‘I wonder if the child found his father?’

Interrogative sentences followed by the Kazakh indirective particle yeken without an added ́yà or á particle do not have the meditative-rhetorical meaning expressed by the corresponding Noghay indirective particle (Kara-koç 2005: 26–27).

Example 290 Noghay

\[ \text{Tis kira-} \text{ lar-da} \text{ da noyay-lar bar de-p} \]
foreign country-PL-LOC DA.PART Noghay-PL existing say-IP.CONV

---

28 *Suwup* is contracted from *suwuՔ bolup* (cold *BOL.COP-IP.CONV*) ‘became cold’. The stem *suwu* in the example is a short form of *suwuՔ*.

29 See the previous footnote.
Introducing a new topic
In sentence-initial position, the particle یا can precede a question that introduces a new topic. The function in this case is to draw the interlocutor’s attention to the new topic and to mark that an answer is expected.

Example 291

یا، که‌سِ تِن‌دِ  کَیدا  بِل‌دی‌یه؟
Y.A.PART yesterday evening-LOC where BOL.COP-PAST-2SG
‘Well, where were you last night?’

There is a phonetically similar particle یا which signals that a new topic will be introduced. This particle is probably a shortened version of یاریدی ‘all right’. In my experience, the particle یا is preferred by males, whereas females use یا instead. In Example 292, the male addressee uses the particle and pronounces it as یا.

Example 292

‘...یا  یندی  مَهَنعل  دِسِگِ  یُر‌عَ  
J.A.PART now Mongolia say-GAN.PTCP-ACC know-IP.CONV
ال‌دی‌ک’  دِس‌ی‌دِ،  ‘یا  مَهَنعل‌دای  منِین
TAKE.POSTV-PAST-1PL say-A.PRES-3 J.A.PART Mongolia-LOC I.GEN
ایا‌م  بَر...’
brother-POSS1SG existing
‘...“Well, now we have got acquainted with Mongolia’, he writes. “Well, I have a brother in Mongolia ...”’ (T4/ 55)
Sudden realization

In sentence-initial position, the particle 'yà can denote that the addresser suddenly realizes something. In this case, the statement is not an answer to a question.

Example 293

\[ 'Yà, \text{yes-}m \text{-e} \quad \text{w} \text{oral-}dī, \quad \text{w} \text{ol} \text{men}īŋ \]

\[ \text{YĀ.PART} \quad \text{mind-POSS1SG-DAT} \quad \text{return-PAST} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{I.GEN} \]

\[ \text{w} \text{okuwšī-m} \quad \text{bol-atīn.} \]

\[ \text{student-POSS1SG} \quad \text{BOL.COP-ATIN.PAST.INTRAT3} \]

‘Oh yes, it came to my mind, X was one of my students.

Example 294

Context: I am reading a newspaper. One piece of news reminds me of an event which I have already heard about.

\[ 'Yà, \quad \text{r} \text{e} \text{sti-gen-}m \text{īn.} \]

\[ \text{YĀ.PART} \quad \text{hear-GAN.POSTT-COP1SG} \]

‘Oh yes, I have heard about it.’

Question tag

In postpredicate position, the particle 'yà may be used when politely asking for a confirmation or consent. Zhang (2003: 199, 2004: 586) claims that in this usage the particle is always accented to signal that the interlocutor is earnestly requested to corroborate a statement based on the addresser’s assumption. In our observation, it is used to ask for confirmation or consent, but the statement does not need to express the addresser’s assumption. In this usage, 'yà is interchangeable with the particle à (see below).

Example 295

\[ \\text{M} \text{ina} \quad 'ūy \quad \text{aygerim-der} \text{-}dīkī \quad 'yà? \]

\[ \text{this house} \quad \text{Aykerim-PL-DIKI} \quad \text{YĀ.PART} \]

‘This house belongs to the Aykerims, does it not?’

Example 296

\[ \\text{Teledidar} \text{-} dī \quad \text{sōndir} \text{-} ip \quad \text{faj,} \quad 'yà? \]

\[ \text{television-ACC} \quad \text{shut down-IP.Conv} \quad \text{go to bed.IMP} \quad \text{YĀ.PART} \]

‘Turn off the TV and then go to bed, is it OK?’

The particle à

Basic properties

The particle à is always accented and occurs in both sentence-initial and postpredicate positions. It combines with verb forms of all moods and with different modal particles occurring in postpredicate position. Its basic meaning is also subjective epistemic evaluation. In some expressions, its function
corresponds to that of the particle ʼyâ. As an interjection, younger Kazakhs in China often use a copy of the Chinese particle ă, which, when used as an interjection, is similar to the Kazakh particle both in function and form. An account of this phenomenon will be given below.

Usages
Meditative-rhetorical questions
The particle ȧ can be added to interrogative sentences including the rhetorical particle ʻeken to form meditative-rhetorical questions. In this usage, it is interchangeable with the particle ịyȧ.

Example 297


“‘Then we ran to that ravine, to see what had happened to that ravine, what happened to the people living in the households inside the ravine. They disappeared’, he writes.’ (T4/45)

Interjection
Like the particle aw (see above), the particle ā is frequently used as an interjection in response to a call. It confirms that the addressee has heard the call.

Example 298

A: Āy kïz!
AY.INTERJEC girl
‘Hey, girl!’

B: Ā!
Ā.PART
‘Yes!’

Instead of the Kazakh particle ā, many bilinguals today use a copy of the Chinese particle a with rising tone, i.e. interrogative intonation. In example 299, this particle is used as an echo question indicating that the respondent is ready to continue the dialogue. The particle may also be used to ask the addressee to repeat an utterance.
Example 299

A: Áy ḳiz!
   ÆY.INTERJEC girl
   ‘Hey, girl!’

B: A!? (with rising intonation)
   Æ.PART
   ‘I beg your pardon?’

In Example 299, the particle can also be interpreted as a confirmation in the sense of “I am listening”. Example 300 illustrates a similar use of a in Chinese.

Example 300 Chinese

A: Xiao huāhuā!
   small.DIM Huahua
   ‘Xiao Huahua!’

B: Á!?
   Æ.PART
   ‘Yes?’

The particle â can express an immediate reaction confirming that the addressee has understood a given utterance; see the following two examples.

Example 301

Context: The addressee has listened to the addressee's instruction about how to download different apps.

Á, solay ma?
   Æ.PART like that Q.PART
   ‘Yes, is it so? (I got it.)’

Example 302

Context: Two drivers have tried to catch up with each other, and finally one has overtaken the other.

Á, bâle-m, ʃendî kal-ar-sîŋ.
   Æ.PART unfortune-POS1SG now stay-AOR-COP2SG
   ‘Yes, my misfortune, now you will stay behind me.’

In the spoken language there are some set phrases expressing immediate reaction.
Set phrase à degennen

À de-gen-nen (À.PART say-GAN.PTCP-ABL) ‘while saying à’ expresses quickness and can be translated as ‘in no time’, ‘in a very short time’.

Example 303

Bala-m Uppsala-γa ³ndi bar-dî-η.
child-POSS1SG Uppsala-DAT now go-PAST-2SG
À de-gen-nen könjil-de-gi-dey
À.PART say-GAN.PTCP-ABL will-LOC-GI-EQUA
bol-a koy-uw kay-da?
BOL.COP-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-UW.VN where-LOC
‘My child, you just went to Uppsala. Where can you realize your wishes in such a short time?’

Set phrases à degenše / à degenše bolγan jok

The two phrases à de-genše (À.PART say-GANŠA.CONV) ‘in as much time as it takes to say à’, and à de-genše bolγan jok (À.PART say-GANŠA.CONV BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP non-existing) ‘not even as much time as it takes to say à’ are interchangeable, both expressing quickness and immediacy.

Example 304

À de-genše / à de-genše bolγan
À.PART say-GANŠA.CONV / À.PART say-GANŠA.CONV BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP
jok, urī usta-t-pa-y kaš-ip ket-ti.
non-existing thief catch-CAUS-NEG-A.CONV run-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
‘The thief ran away immediately without being caught.’

Set phrase à dese mà de-

The phrase à dese mà de- (À.PART say-HYP3 take.IMP say) ‘When one says à ‘yes’ the other one says mà ‘take’, expresses a retort, i.e. an answer to a remark in a sharp, angry, or witty manner.

Example 305

Bul bala ülkey-e gel-e,
this child grow-A.CONV COME.POSTV-A.CONV
à de-se mà de-yi疽n bol-di.
à de-HYP3 take.IMP de-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3
‘When growing up this child gives ill-mannered answers.’

Comment on a piece of information

The particle à can be used as an explanatory comment that can be interpreted as ‘just to inform you’, ‘be aware that’, and ‘you should know that’.

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Example 306

-Men jür-di-m ȧ! I move-PAST-1SG Ⱥ.PART
‘I am going, you see.’

The past tense is used here to express that the action is about to take place, a kind of prospectivity. In a sense, the action has already occurred in the addresser’s mind. The same is true for boldī in Example 309; see below.

The use of the particle ȧ in Example 306 is very similar to the corresponding Chinese expression with the particle a. Kazakhs living in China use this particle very frequently. See Example 307.

Example 307

Wô zōu le ȧ! I go PAST A.INTERJEC
‘I am going, you see!’

According to Zhang (2003: 198, 2004: 584), the function of such expressions is that the addresser wants to remind the interlocutor of the state of affairs presented in the sentence. In our view, the function is not to remind, but to add an explanatory comment.

The question tag
The particle ȧ may be used by the addresser to remind the addressee of something that s/he knows about. The addresser expects a positive reaction from the addressee(s).

Example 308

Ḳarsî ƙak ta sap’retkiz-ip opposite side DA.PART happen quickly-IP.CONV
uy-up al-yan kusa-yan ȧ?
understand-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP resemble-GAN.POSTT3 Ⱥ.PART
‘The interlocutor seems to understand it at once, doesn’t s/he?’ (T5/ 34)

The usage of the particle ȧ may correspond to the usage of ñyà as a question tag (see above) to convey that the addresser expects the interlocutor to agree.

Example 309

Jeŋil-eṭin bol-dī aw ȧ/’yà? be defeated-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3 AW.PART Ⱥ.PART/ YÀ.PART
‘It has become clear that X will be defeated, right?’
Combination with imperative and voluntative mood markers
According to Zhang (2003: 198, 2004: 584), when the particle ā follows ‘imperative’ (in our terminology imperative and voluntative) forms, it can be used to ask the interlocutor to concern himself/herself with the requested affair or to wait for the consent of the interlocutor. In this usage the sentence in Example 310, Men ğstep köreyin ‘Let me try to do it’, is pronounced with affirmative (falling) intonation and the following particle ā with interrogative (rising) intonation. Observe that in this usage the intonation pattern is different from that in Example 311, which is pronounced as one intonational unit without a break before the particle. The accent/high tone is on the particle ā.

Example 310
Men ğste-p kör-eyin, ā?
I do-IP.CONV SEE.POSTV-VOL1SG Ā.PART
‘Wǒ gān gè shì shì, á?’ (Zhang 2003: 198, 2004: 584)
[‘Let me try to do it, ok?’]

Example 311
Tazalik-ti jaksı ğste-ň-del, ā /\yä?
cleaning-ACC good do-IP-PL Ā.PART / YĀ.PART
‘Do the cleaning well, is this clear?’

There is a stylistic difference between the particles ā and \yä. According to Zhang (2003: 199, 2004: 585), \yä may make the utterance more polite.

The particles de, deşi, and desenşi

Basic properties
The particles de, deşi, and desenşi, which always occur in postpredicate position, are based on the verb de- ‘to say’ and reflect the stance of the interlocutor.

The particle de, which has no variants, should not be confused with the variant de of the particle D²A² (see above). It is always unaccented, with the preceding syllable carrying the accent. The particle de comes from the imperative form of the verb de- ‘to say’ (Zhang 2003: 216, 2004: 600). Though it also has an emphatic variant with a long vowel eː, it cannot be proven that it goes back to a converb.

Different converb forms of the verb de- ‘to say’ have been grammaticalized as particles in Turkic languages. In Kazakh, the {-(I⁴)p} form de-p (de-IP.CONV) ‘saying’ is employed as a quotation particle in connection with a verb of speaking.
Example 312

\[ \text{Example 312} \]

\[ \text{Ake-m} \quad \text{“bar!”} \quad \text{de-p} \quad \text{ayt-tü.} \]

father-POSS1SG go.IMP say-IP.CONV tell-PAST3

‘My father told me: “Go!”’

The quotation particle must normally be used to embed a direct quotation in a predicate based on a verb of speaking. The lexical verb \textit{de-} ‘to say’ can, however, take a direct quotation without a quotation particle. When used together with a postverb, the converb form in \{ -A^2 // y \} of the verb \textit{de-} is used, e.g. \textit{de-y kel-ip} (say-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV) ‘having said’.

Example 313

\[ \text{Example 313} \]

\[ \text{“Azattï-ka} \quad \text{koljet-kiz-di-k!”} \quad \text{de-y} \quad \text{kel-ip} \]

freedom-DAT reach-CAUS-PAST-1PL say-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV

kóz-in-e ištk jas al-di.

eye-POSS3-DAT warm tear take-PAST3

‘Having said “We attained freedom!” X’s eyes filled with warm tears.’

The particles \textit{deşği} and \textit{deseşşği} are obviously complex, based on \textit{de-} but also containing the particle \textit{şİ}. The form \textit{deşği} consists of the imperative of \textit{de-} plus \textit{şİ}. The form \textit{deseşşği}, is based on the hypothetical form of the second person \textit{deseş} ‘imagine you say’ plus \textit{şİ}.

For the use of the participle \textit{degen} as an emphatic particle, a topic particle, and a marker of contrast see Zhang (1999) and Muhamedowa (2011).

The usages of the particle \textit{de}

The usages of the particle \textit{de} are in some respects similar to those of the quotation particle \textit{dep} ‘saying’ and its variant \textit{de-y kel-ip} ‘having said’ mentioned above. The particle \textit{de}, however, does not embed direct quotations, but is more of an emphatic particle expressing understanding or consent. It is often used when the addressee repeats information given by the interlocutor, thereby confirming that the message is understood. Uyghur has a corresponding particle \textit{dä} with the same function.

In the following example, B confirms having understood what A has said. The piece of information whose reception is confirmed can be repeated or paraphrased. Alternatively, the answer can be a simple confirmation without referring to the words of the interlocutor.

Example 314

\[ \text{Example 314} \]

\[ A: \text{Bu-lar} \quad \text{fakultet-imiz-ge} \quad \text{jåñ-å-dan} \quad \text{kabiïda-n-yan} \]

this-PL department-POSS1PL-DAT new-ABL accept-REF.PASS-GAN.PTCP

\[w \text{oku\v{s}i-lar-îmiz}.\]

student-PL-POSS1PL

‘These are the students who have recently been accepted at our department.’
B: Bu-\textit{lar} fakultet-imiz-\textit{ge} jänä-dan kabilda-n-\textit{yan}  
student-\textit{PL} DE.PART  
\textit{de}.  
\textit{I understand, these are the students who have recently been accepted at our department.}'

or
B: So\textit{lay} \textit{de}.  
so DE.PART  
\textit{I got it.}'

The particle \textit{de} can follow markers of indirectivity, the indirective copula \textit{\v{y}eken}, or the indirective verb form in \{-\textit{(I}^2\text{)}\textit{ptI}^2\}, when the information is based on a secondary source. Its function is still to confirm the receipt of the information given.

Example 315
\textit{\v{y}Erte\v{n} kün \textit{stik} bol-a-dì \textit{\v{y}eken} \textit{de}.}  
tomorrow weather warm BOL.COP.A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 DE.PART  
\textit{I understand, it will apparently be warm tomorrow.}'

The usages of the particle \textit{de\textsc{	ext{"s}}i}

The particle \textit{de\textsc{	ext{"s}}i}, in which the verbal stem carries the high pitch, [\textit{\de\text{"s}i}], is an emphatic form that can be paraphrased as ‘thus’, ‘that is to say’, ‘in other words’, ‘as claimed by you’, ‘according to you’. In Example 316, the fact that information received is based on a secondary source is expressed by an indirective form. Zhang (2003: 217, 2004: 600) claims that the particle in this usage expresses an epistemic evaluation; i.e. the addressee comes to realize the truth of a state of affairs just at the moment of speaking.

Example 316
\textit{\v{y}Erte\v{n} kün \textit{stik} bol-a-dì \textit{\v{y}eken} \textit{de\textsc{	ext{"s}}i}.}  
tomorrow weather warm BOL.COP.A.PRES-3 E.COP.INDIR3 DE\textsc{	ext{"s}}I.PART  
\textit{Thus it will apparently be warm tomorrow.}'

In echo questions, when the addressee repeats all or part of what someone else has just said, the particle \textit{de\textsc{	ext{"s}}i} can express that the addressee regards the quoted statement to be doubtful, incredible or unconvincing. Such echo questions are pronounced with a special emphatic stress on the particle.
Example 317

A: Men kör-me-di-m.
    I see-NEG-PAST-1SG
    ‘I did not see (it).’

B: “Kör-me-di-m” deşi, suwayt.
    see-NEG-PAST-1SG DEŞI.PART liar
    ‘You say “I did not see (it)” you liar.’

The particle deşi may occur at the end of a main clause to express that the addressee wants to remind the interlocutor that special attention should be given to the statement expressed by the clause. Zhang (2004: 601) observes that the addressee uses the particle ironically to remind the interlocutor of some shared memories.

Example 318

Context: The addressee does not believe that no lake in the world is brighter than Lake Sayram.

Bir kez-de dünya-de Sayram köl-ği-nen aydında su
a time-LOC world-LOC Sayram lake-poss3-abl bright water
jok de-p tur-up al-dı-ṇ
non-existing say-ip.conv STAND.POSTV-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-2SG
deşi.
DEŞI.PART
‘Once you insisted that “no lake in the world is brighter than Lake Sayram”.’

According to our observations, the particle need not always refer to a shared memory. It can also be used to introduce a new topic, such as Marţan in Example 319.

Example 319

Marţan uzak wakit kezık-pe-gen sabaktas-im deşi,
Marţan long time meet-NEG-GAN.PTCP classmate-poss1SG DEŞI.PART
üy-in-e bar-ıp sålemdes-ip kıyit-tı-m.
home-poss3-dat go-ip.conv greet-ip.conv return-PAST-1SG
‘You see, Marţan is my classmate whom I had not met for a long time; I visited her at home.’

When the particle is attached to a question, as in Example 320, it may signal that the question is meant rhetorically, i.e. that no answer is required. The question is used to persuade the interlocutor to believe in the addressee’s opinion. Zhang expresses the same view when writing that the particle signals that the addressee is eager to get the interlocutor’s consent (2003: 218, 2004: 601-602). The particle desenşi can also be used in this function.
Example 320

Context: The addresser is of the opinion that it is not possible for the local people to come to terms with the hot weather and expects the interlocutor to share this opinion.

Mïna ʾstiḵ-ka jergilḵtši turyun-dar kalay tōz-e-diš deši?!
DEŠI.PART
‘Tell me, how is it possible for the local inhabitants to endure this hot weather?’

The addresser can address the rhetorical question to himself/herself. In Example 321, the particle signals that there is no possible answer to the question.

Example 321

Amerika-γa sayaxat-ka bar-uw-γa mūmḵinšīḵ bar ma America-DAT travel-DAT go-UW.VN-DAT possibility existing Q.PART ʾeken deši?
RHE.T.PART DEŠI.PART
‘Tell me, is there any chance for me to travel to America?’

The following example illustrates that the particle is used to add emphasis to an exclamation. The particle ᵁšiŋši can also be used in this function.

Example 322

ʾErtay tartuw-i-n kōr-se māz bol-a-diš deši? Ertay present-Poss3-ACC see-HYP3 satisfy-A.PRES-3 DEŠI.PART
‘When Ertay sees the present he will be satisfied, won’t he?’

The usages of the particle ᵁšiŋši

As mentioned, the particle ᵁšiŋši (say-HYP-2SG-ŠI.PART) may occur in rhetorical questions and exclamations emphasizing the addresser’s approval or disapproval. The syllable before the particle ši” is accented.

Example 323

Ḵanday kōrkeš jër ᵁšiŋši?
how beautiful place DESEŠI.PART
‘It’s such a beautiful place, isn’t it?’

Example 324

Ḵanday jelḵurun ᵁšiŋši?
how odious DESEŠI.PART
‘How odious, don’t you think?’
Zhang (2004: 602) points out that in the polite version of the hypothetical form of the second person *desenjiši* can be used in formal style.

Example 325

Context: A schoolchild speaks to the teacher.

Ülkey-gende men de b'ır muyağim bol-sa-m
grow up-GAN.LOC.CONV I DA.PART a teacher BOL.COP-HYP-1SG

*kanday faksi* desenjiši!

how good DESE-DIZI.PART

‘How good it would be if I also became a teacher when I grow up, don’t you agree?’

The particle *desenjiši* may be used in the sense ‘what if you say’.

Example 326

*Meyan “ötirik ayt!” de-genše, “öl!” desenjiši.*

I -DAT lie tell say-GANŞA.CONV die DESE-DIZI.PART

‘Instead of saying to me “Tell a lie!”, what if you say “Die!”’

The particle *bilem*

Basic properties

The verbal form *bilem* (bil-A.PRES-COPTSG) ‘I know’ from *bil- ‘to know, to understand’ is grammaticalized as a particle that conveys subjective modality based on epistemic evaluation. In initial or postpredicate position it emphasizes that the addressee is very sure of the statement and cannot be mistaken with respect to this (Zhang 2003: 235–234, 2004: 615). In initial position, the particle is accented and implies strong certainty.

Example 327.

*Bilem “öl keše kel-di.”*

BILEM.PART X yesterday come-PAST3

‘I know, X came yesterday.’

When the particle stands in the postpredicate position, as in Example 328, the level of certainty may be reduced. The addressee just assumes that the state of affairs has taken place. In this case, it can be rendered as ‘I think’.

Example 328

”Ol keše kel-di, bilem.

X yesterday come-PAST3 BILEM.PART

‘X came yesterday, I think.’

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Lexical expressions

In this chapter, lexical means of expressing modal notions, including adverbs and verbal and nominal constructions, will be dealt with. The list of items to be included here cannot be exhaustive. We will only describe some of the most frequently used lexical expressions of modality.

Modal adverbs
As described in the chapter Modal particles, the particles do not contribute to the description of events, but convey some kind of stance, a cognitive or affective attitude towards the events described. These can include meanings related to subjective reasoning and belief, personal involvement, emotions, evaluations, or judgments concerning the propositional content (Johanson 2012: 51). Similar concepts may be also expressed by some adverbs such as ‘definitely’, ‘actually’, ‘really’, ‘indeed’, ‘apparently’, ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’ etc. Because of this similarity, in some grammars the modal adverbs are dealt with as particles (Zhang 2003, 2004, Tömür 2011). In this study, we regard particles and adverbs as different categories. Unlike particles, adverbs possess a lexical meaning. Adverbs can modify predicates or sentences. When the adverbs modify a predicate, they have only the predicate in their semantic scope, and when they modify a sentence, they have the entire sentence in their scope. Our main concern here will be the modal adverbs that belong to the level of sentence adverbs. Modal adverbs are propositional operators that describe the speaker’s own assessment of the propositional content or his/her personal commitment. Adverbs that modify, the predicate, for instance with respect to quantity or time, as in the following example, will not be discussed in this dissertation.
In Kazakh, modal adverbs are relatively free to occur in postpredicate or sentence-initial positions depending on the context and the personal preferences of the speaker.

Possibility

*Bâlkım* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *bâlki* ‘perhaps’
The adverbs *bâlkım* ‘maybe, perhaps’ and *bâlki* ‘perhaps’ express subjective evaluation of possibility in the sense of ‘may be the case’. They are of Arabic/Persian origin. Similar lexical items with the same meaning are *bâlkım* and *bâlki* in Uyghur and *belki* in Turkish. They can be used as free variants, but according to Zhang, *bålkım* is more frequently used (2004: 622).

The meanings of these adverbs have been described by Zhang (2004: 621–622). He observes that *bâlkım* ‘maybe, perhaps’ and *bâlki* ‘perhaps’ can occur both in sentence-initial and sentence-final positions.

Example 330

*Bâlkım, ‘ol’eręŋ  kel-se  kerek.*
perhaps X tomorrow come-HYP3 necessary
‘*Yěxǔ tā míngtiān lái.*’ (Zhang 2004: 622)
‘*X might perhaps come tomorrow.*’

Actually, *bâlkım* ‘maybe, perhaps’ can also be used to modify a non-first constituent and consequently occurs in other positions in the clause.

Example 331

*’Ol bâlkım  ‘eręŋ  kel-se  kerek.*
X perhaps tomorrow come-HYP3 necessary
‘X might come, perhaps tomorrow.’

*Mümkıń* ‘possible’
The adjective *mümkıń* ‘possible’ may function as an adverb and operate at the proposition level to express that the speaker evaluates the proposition as possibly true (see also Rentzsch 2012: 475). This adverb can also occur in sentence-final position.
possibly late come-A.PRES-3 late come-A.PRES-3 possibly
‘It is possible that X will come late.’

Probability

Áytewir/áytew ‘anyway’, ‘anyhow’

Basic properties

The adverb áytewir/áytew can be translated into English by a number of expressions such as ‘anyway’ or ‘anyhow’, ‘as a matter of fact’, ‘no matter what it is’, ‘after all’, ‘the point is’, ‘in any case’, ‘disregard the previous and then…’or ‘the important thing is that’. The forms áytewir/áytew are interchangeable. We have not observed any differences in their usages. Áytew is most probably a contracted form of áytewir. According to Zhang (2003: 214, 2004: 598) áytewir is the standard version, whereas áytew is used in colloquial registers.

Zhang (2003: 214, 2004: 598) claims that áytewir/áytew can intensify a conclusion or a consequence, or express that a state of affairs cannot be changed. It always marks the message that the speaker wants to clarify and highlights what is most relevant in the given speech situation. Uyghur has a corresponding expression in iškilip, also used in the contracted form iškip ‘anyway / anyhow’. Some Kazakhs in China use the Uyghur form of the particle (see T8/7, T8/8).

Usages

Several examples below illustrate how this adverb is used in different positions in sentences. In Example 333, áytew introduces the clause which contains the important part of the statement.

Example 333

“Soson ḍes aḵil-imiz-dan adas-įp āği at-tar-imiz
then sense mind-POSS1PL-ABL lose-IP.CONV aforesaid horse-PL-POSS1PL
čiŋri-iŋ, aytew ayata-i-da čiḏer-i bar
neigh-IP.CONV anyhow finally-POSS3-LOC hobble-POSS3 existing
sonimen kal-diǐ de-y-diǐ.
then stay-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

‘‘Then we did not know what to do, our horses neighed, anyway, finally thanks to the hobbles they did not run away”, he says.’ (T4/42)

The adverb can introduce a sentence as Example 334.
Example 334

 Bíl-me-y-mịn, men-ịg sọz-ịm kulay-in-a
know-NEG.A.PRES-COP1SG I.GEN ward-POSS1SG ear-POSS3-DAT
kịr-ṇị me, kịr-me-ṇị me? Aytewir
enter-PAST3 Q.PART enter-NEG-PAST3 Q.PART anyway
ün-ị "ōš-ip kal-ṇị.
sound-POSS3 lapse into silence-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3
‘I do not know, if X heard me or not. Anyway X has become silent.’

In Example 335, ãytew is in postpredicate position and indicates that the speaker believes there is nothing more to say about the issue.

Example 335

 Aγa-γ-nan telefon kel-ṇị, “kọp šarwa-lar-ịm
brother-POSS2SG-ABL telephone come-PAST3 many work-PL-POSS1SG
bar ẹ-eđi, ülgür-e al-ṃa-y
existing E.COP-PAST3 reach-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV
jīr-ṃịn” de-y me? Üy-ge
MOVE.POSTV-1SG say-PRES Q.PART home-DAT
kel-me-yṭin bol-ț-i p-ṭi ãytew.
come-NEG-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-IP.POSTT-3 anyhow
‘There was a phone call from your brother, and he said “I have much work (to do), and (I) do not have any time” or something. Anyway he apparently will not come home.’

Bārįb’ r ‘all the same, nevertheless’

Basic properties

The adverb bārįb’ r can be used in the sense of ‘all the same’ or ‘nevertheless’. In some cases, such as the first example below, the meaning can be interchangeable with aytewir / ãytew ‘anyway’, ‘anyhow’. Literally it comes from the pronoun bārį ‘all’ and b’r ‘one’, or ‘same’. Uyghur has a corresponding form bāribir with exactly the same function. This is a frequently used expression in other Turkic languages as well.

Usages

According to Zhang (2003: 215, 2004: 598), bārįb’ r can indicate an unchangeable objective fact. We prefer to understand the function of bārįb’ r, for instance in Example 336, as expressing that the statement in the second clause is not conditioned by the statement made in the first clause.
Example 336

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ḳala-} & -\text{yan-}i\text{-n-dī} & \text{iste}, & bārīb' \text{r} \\
\text{want-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC} & \text{do.IMP} & \text{all the same} \\
\text{ṣek-ken-}i\text{-n-dī} & al-a-sīn. \\
\text{sow-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG-ACC} & \text{take-A.PRES-COP2SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do what you want, all the same, you reap what you have sown.’

In Example 337, bārīb’r is used in postpredicate position and expresses the attitude of the speaker.

Example 337

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ket-se-} & -\eta & k\text{e}\text{-}t-e & b\text{e}r, & m\text{ayan} & b\text{ārīb’r}. \\
\text{leave-HYP-2SG} & \text{leave-A.CONV} & \text{GIVE.PSTV.IMP} & \text{I.DAT} & \text{all the same} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘If you are leaving, then leave, it is all the same to me.’

The meaning conveyed by bārīb’r in Example 338 is the same as that of āytewjir / āytew ‘anyway’. The two adverbs are interchangeable in this example.

Example 338

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bārīb’r/} & \quad āytewjir & wöl-eṭin & bol-γan \\
\text{all the same} & \text{anyway} & \text{die-ATIN.PTCP} & \text{BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP} \\
\text{son,} & \text{b’rge} & wöl-eyik. \\
\text{AFTER2.POSTP} & \text{together} & \text{die-VOL1PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘We’re dying anyway, so let us die together.’

Čamasī ‘probably’

The adverb čamasī ‘probably’ indicates ‘should be the case’. It goes back to the noun čama ‘strength, power’.

Example 339

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aksa} & -kâl^{30}, \quad č\text{amasī,} & sîz & \text{poṣṭaṣi-sîz} & γoy & \text{de-}γ-\text{mın.} \\
\text{sir} & \text{probably you} & \text{postman-COP2SG} & \text{TOY.PART} & \text{say-A.PRES-COP1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Sir, you should be a postman, I think.’ (KD 10: 125)

Siyayī ‘seemingly’

In Standard Kazakh, siyayī ‘seemingly’ ← siyak ‘appearance’, siyki ‘likely’ ← siyık ‘physiognomy’ may be found as sentence adverbs (KG 2002: 572) but this usage is not found in our data.

---

^{30} Aksa kal is a word used to address old persons politely.
Example 340 Standard Kazakh

\[ Siyayi, \text{ so-}lar \text{ uy-de jok. } \]
seemingly that-PL home-LOC not existing
‘Seemingly, they are not at home.’ (KG 2002: 572)

Example 341 Standard Kazakh

\[ Siykii, \text{ so-}lar \text{ ayt-pa-y}an. \]
likely that-PL tell-NEG-GAN.POSTT3
‘Seemingly, they did not tell.’ (KG 2002: 572)

\[ A\text{sili} \text{'most probably', 'actually'} \]
The adverb \text{a\text{si}li} ‘actually, as a matter of fact’ \leftrightarrow \text{asli} ‘fundamental, essential’, is of Arabic/Persian origin. It expresses the speaker’s assessment that the proposition is highly probable.

Example 342

\[ A\text{sili} \text{ 'ol kel-me-ydi. } \]
most probably X come-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘Actually, X is not coming.’

The other usage is when \text{a\text{si}li} is used to express the meaning ‘actually’, ‘as a matter of fact’. Zhang claims that \text{a\text{si}li} ‘actually’ is used to correct a wrong estimation of a situation (2004: 616). Uyghur has the same adverb \text{\text{\text{a}}}\text{\text{\text{si}}}\text{i} ‘actually’ with similar function.

Example 343

\[ Bul, \text{ a\text{si}li}, \text{ 'o-n}u\text{g katelig-i 'emes 'e-d}i. \]
this actually X GEN mistake-POSS3 not E.COP-PAST3
‘Zhè qi\text{sh}ì bìng bùshì tā de cuò.’ (Zhang 2004: 616)
‘This was not, actually, X’s mistake.’

\[Sir\'a \text{ ‘apparently, probably’, zad}\text{i} \text{ ‘essentially’, teg}\text{i} \text{ ‘obviously, apparently’} \]
The adverbs \text{si\text{r}a} ‘apparently, probably’, \text{zadi} ‘essentially’, \text{tegi} ‘obviously, apparently’ are synonyms and express high probability. Uyghur employs the adverb \text{zadi} ‘essentially’ with similar functions.
Example 344

"Osînaw üy-de, alayda, bar aw, sîrâ sîr this house-LOC however existing AW.PART apparently secret böten. Jaŋayı šal saray-ya teŋe-p, nege strange aforesaid old man palace-DAT compare-IP.CONV why kül-di ̞ eken?

laugh-PAST3 RHE.T.PART

‘But there really is a secret in this house, probably. Why did that old man compare it to a palace and laugh?’

In the next example, the adverb occurs in a question. In this case, the speaker wants to elicit an exact answer (Zhang 2004: 627).

Example 345

Tegi kaysi-ŋ-ðikî durus čîk-ti?
Precisely which-POSS2SG-NIKI right come out-PAST3

‘Zuihòu jiùjìng nǐmen shuí de duìle?’ (Zhang 2004: 627)

‘Precisely, which of your (answers) turned out to be right?’

Another adverb, synonymous to the above mentioned ones is, according to KG, zayîrî ‘clearly, obviously’ ← zaxîr ‘prominent, obvious’ of Arabic/Persian origin. According to this grammar, zayîrî can be added to a sentence (‘kîstîrma müše’)—sentence adverb in our terminology—to express the speaker’s self assessment of the content. This lexical item may be used in some regions of Kazakhstan (2002: 574–575), but as mentioned above it does not occur in our data.

Example 346 Standard Kazakh

Zayîrî, so-łar kel-e koy-mas.
clearly that-PL come-A.CONV PUT.POSTV-NEG.AOR3

‘Obviously, they won't show up.’ (KG 2002: 575).

Certainty

Arine / âlbette ‘of course, certainly’
The adverbs ârine / âlbette are used to indicate that the statement is established beyond doubt; i.e. it confirms the truth of the statement. It may be used in the sense of ‘really’, ‘actually’, ‘certainly’, ‘indubitably’ and ‘of course’. Arine is of Iranian origin, from هرآیینه ى ‘indeed, verily, certainly, undoubtedly’ (APPED 2004: 3643), whereas âlbette is ultimately of Arabic origin with the form اليپه. They are interchangeable in meaning. The corresponding form in Uyghur is âlwättä, and in Turkish elbet, elbette. The particles ârine / âlbette may also be used in a meaning similar to Turkish tabii, a
word of Arabic origin, written as ططبيع meaning ‘naturally, of course’ (Redhouse 2000: 1075).

According to Zhang (2003: 234, 2004: 614), when these adverbs occur in sentence-initial position and carry the high tone, their function is to mark that in the speaker’s opinion, the state of affairs referred to by the sentence is beyond doubt and obvious. When used alone as an utterance, these adverbs are normally stressed, i.e. the first syllable carries the high tone. In Example 347, the whole sentence falls under the scope of the operator, and the stressed adverb affirms the whole statement.

Example 347

\[ \text{ Armenian, Turfan-GEN grape-POSS3 SUPER good BOL.COP-\text{-A.PRES-3 da}.} \]

DA.PART


[‘The best is, of course, the grape from Turfan.’]

In Example 348, the operators ārine / ālbette precede the predicate and only confirm the verb not the whole statement. As we can see from this example, the particle \( D^2 A^2 \) (see Modal particles) can occur together with ārine / ālbette.

Example 348

\[ \text{ Bul pikir-ge åke-m ārine / ālbette de.} \]

agree-NEG-A.PRES-3 DA.PART

‘My father does not, of course, agree with this opinion.’

See a further example of the use of ārine from our recordings.

Example 349

\[ \text{ Mūbada men } \text{ "o dünyey-lık bol-"p ket-ip in case I X world-DER BOL.COP-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV} \]

\[ \text{ jat-sa-m, meniç } \text{ "osî "otir-yan üy-üm LIE.POSTV-HYP-1SG I.GEN this live-GAN.PTCP house-POSS1SG} \]

\[ \text{ baspana-m, baska da mal mülük-ter-îm-ney } \text{ \"ey home-POSS1SG other DA.PART property-PL-POSS1SG-GEN SUPER} \]
Your lip, certainly, does not get dry of thirst.

Zhang (2003: 234, 2004: 615) states that when ãrine / âlbette are not stressed they express objective evaluation in the sense of ‘it is obvious that’.

Example 350

Árine / âlbette munday kônjil gûy-di kazîr-gî kala of course / certainly this.ÉQUA mood state-ACC present-GL city turýun-dar-i tûsîn-e ber-me-y-di.

inhabitant-PL-POSS3 understand-A.CONV GIVE.POSTV-NEG-A.PRES-3 ‘It is obvious that people living in cities today often do not understand such feelings.’

The particles ãrine / âlbette are frequently used in poems, as the following examples illustrate.

Example 351

greeting you.DAT we climb-NEG-GAN.PTCP high-PL ‘For numerous centuries, the people loved what they saw.
(What they saw), of course, were the forerunners who left the others behind. Greetings to you, we have not succeeded better.’ (Aybergenov 2005)

Example 352

idle-IP.CONV ‘Your lip, certainly, does not get dry of thirst,
if you put a spoon with a fitting handle into the stream.
God will not let the aspiring man be thirsty,
there is no benefit in being uselessly idle.’ (Šorayaňov1984: 44)

Sözsiz, söţok ‘surely’
Sözsiz ‘surely’ is derived from söz ‘word’ with the private suffix {-sI$^2$z} literally meaning ‘without a word’. The complex adverb söţok ‘surely’, from söz ‘word’ and jok ‘non-existing’, also expresses certainty. Both convey the meaning that the speaker does not have any doubt about the truth of the statement.

Example 353

Jëgis sözsz / sözţok biz-diki.
victory surely we-NIKI
‘The victory is definitely ours.’

Constructions expressing volition

Order

One of the lexical items expressing the notion of giving an order is the verb buyur- {buyîr-} ‘to order to be done’. The person who is getting the order functions as the object of the verb buyur-, and the action s/he is ordered to carry out is expressed by an infinitive phrase assigned the dative case.

Example 354

Senië čir-ıp ket-iw-ge buyur-a-mîn!
you.ACC come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-UW.VN-DAT order-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I order you to go out!’

The same meaning can also be expressed with the participant who gets the order in the dative case and the action to be carried out being the object of the verb buyur- ‘to order’. See the alternative version in Example 355.

Example 355

Sayan čir-ıp ket-iw-di buyur-a-mîn!
you.DAT come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-UW.VN-ACC order-A.PRES-COP1SG
‘I order you to go out!’

The following example illustrates the case when the verb takes both the participant and the action as objects. Both constituents are assigned the accusative case. Such a double accusative marking would be not accepted in Turkish.
Example 356

\[
\text{Muyalîm } \text{"okuwši-lar-dî } \text{tapsirma-nî } \text{işte-p}
\]

teacher student-PL-ACC homework-ACC do-IP.CONV

tel-iv-ge buyur-dî.
COME.POSTV-UW.VN-DAT order-PAST

‘The teacher asked the students to do the homework.’

This use of \textit{buyur}-, as in Examples 355 and 356, sounds solemn and ceremonious. \textcite{Zhang} (1990a: 90) observes that such expressions are used only on formal occasions when the addressee has a higher social position than the addressee. These expressions often occur in texts translated from Chinese, because in Chinese there is no imperative mood and orders are expressed by lexical means, e.g. by the verb \textit{mingling} ‘to order’. In Kazakh as spoken in China, the frequent use of the verb \textit{buyur}- ‘to order’ is a frequential copy of the corresponding Chinese expression. See the Chinese translations of Example 355.

Example 357

\textit{Wǒ mìnglìng nǐ chūqù.}

I order you go out

‘I order you to go out.’

In Standard Kazakh, the expression \textit{buyur-a- mín} (order-A.PRES-COP\textsc{1sg}) ‘I order that, I command that’ is used in the announcement of a constitutional judgment in the court, written in capital letters \textit{БҰЙЫРАМЫН}. See the following example.

Example 358 Standard Kazakh

\textit{Қазақстан respublika-sî-nîş 2005 žîl-γî 22 қараša-da-γî}

Kazakhstan republic-POSS\textsc{3sg-gen} 2005 year-GI 22 November-LOC-GI

day-PL-GEN 9-1 bab-i-n \textit{işke asîr-uw}

put into practice-UW.VN

day-PL-GEN 9-1 chapter-POSS\textsc{3-acc}

\textit{maksat-iñ-da BUYUR-A-MÎN:...}

\textit{intention-POSS\textsc{3-loc} order-A.PRES-COP\textsc{1sg}}

‘I proclaim the coming into force of the law of Nov. 22, 2005 paragraph 9/1 of the Republic of Kazakhstan.’

**Requesting, suggesting**

Requests in written applications can be expressed lexically by using the verbs \textit{"otîn-} ‘to entreat, ask’, \textit{sura-} ‘to beg’ or \textit{talap}\textit{'et-} ‘to request, ask’. \textcite{Zhang} observes (1999: 92) that because of their formal style, the polite form of the infinitive, i.e. \textit{\{-(I)ŋ}{\textsc{2z}\}}\textsc{1}, has to be used in the complement clause. The plural can optionally be added.
The following example taken from our recordings illustrates the usage of the verb *talap* 'et- ‘to request, ask’.

Example 360

Jayeden aya-lar-iṣṣ-nīṣ jāne bawīr-lar-iṣṣ-nīṣ
in particular brother-PL-POSS2GEN and brother-PL-POSS2GEN
*da* pijir-i-n al-iṣṣ, išīnīs, iṭĩmâktī
don-IP.VN al-IP.POSS(pl), išīnīs, iṭĩmâktī
da спис opinion-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV peace collaboration
*negiz-in-de* meniṣ artkī mal mülk-iṃ-e iyeliṣ
basis-POSS3-LOC I.GEN last property-POSS1SG-DAT own
*‘et-iw-iṣṣ-dī* talap ‘et-e-mīn.

DO.LIGHTV-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC request DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘In particular, I ask you to listen to the advice of your elder brothers, as well as your younger brothers, and to possess my last properties on the basis of peace and collaboration.’ (T7/ 3)

Suggestions can be expressed by the compound verb *usunus* ‘et- ʿusīnis et-’ ‘to suggest’.

Example 361

*Kiṭāb-tīn* key mazmun-dar-iṇ-a ʿozgeriş
book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change
*‘engiz-iw-iṣṣ-dī* usunus ‘et-e-mīn.

insert-UW.VN-POSS2SG-ACC suggestion DO.LIGHTV-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I suggest you revise some of the contents of the book.’

The addressee who is expected to carry out the speaker’s proposal can be the subject of the complement clause. In this case, the subject of the complement clause is in the genitive. The following example illustrates the case when the subject *ṣiz-dīn* (you-GEN) ‘your’ is included to the complement clause of the sentence given in Example 361.

Example 362

*Siz-dīn* kiṭāb-tīn* key mazmun-dar-iṇ-a ʿozgeriş
you-GEN book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change
If the participant who is expected to carry out the proposal is a complement of the verb usunus yet- then it is assigned the dative case; see for instance siz-ge (you-DAT) ‘to you’ in Example 363.

Example 363

Siz-ge kitap-tiŋ key mazmun-dar-in-a özgeriş you-DAT book-GEN some content-PL-POSS3-DAT change

yengiz-iwjiz-di usunus yet-e-miņ.

‘I suggest you revise some of the contents of the book.’

Wishing

A wish can be expressed lexically with the verb kala- ‘to want, wish’. The non-main verb in the complement clauses occurs in the form of an infinitive and takes the accusative.

Example 364

Bul jer-ge kel-üw-i-n kala-y-miņ. this place-DAT come-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC want-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘I want X to come here.’

An overt subject of the infinitive takes the genitive: o-niŋ kel-üw-i-n (X.GEN come-UW.VN-POSS3SG-ACC).

Similar volitional predicates include tıle- ‘to wish, desire’, ümüt yet- ümıt et- ‘to hope’, armanda- ‘to hope, aim at’, kökse- ‘to wish, desire’. Example 365 illustrates a case with the lexical verb tıle- ‘to wish, desire’.

Example 365

Endi minaw negiz-i-nen endi sol ǝke
NOW.FILL this is principle-POSS3-ABL NOW.FILL that father
bol-yan adam češe bol-yan adam bır-ińçi
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person mother BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP person one-ORD
küdai-dan tıle-ytın-i urpak ol
God-ABL wish-INFIN.PTCP-POSS3 descendant X
urpay-i-niŋ bolaşay-i-niŋ jariŋ bol-üw-i-n
descendant-POSS3-GEN future-POSS3-GEN bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC
‘It is in principle so that a father, a mother, wishes from God first of all that the children, the future of his/her children will be bright.’ (T6/ 17)

Constructions expressing necessity

Necessity may be expressed by complex forms based on adjectival operators, such as kajet, kerek, tiyis ‘needed, necessary’ together with a verbal noun. English interpretations can use such as modal verbs such as ‘must’, ‘have to’, ‘should’, or an adjective ‘necessary’. Such expressions are impersonal and are often used to describe an expected or recommended behavior or expected circumstances. They can be used to give advice or to state social or ethical norms or behaviors, though without strong obligatory force. The negated expressions are built by adding 'emes ‘is not’ after the modal operators, or simply substituting kažetsiz (need-DER) ‘needless, unnecessary’ for these modal operators. See Examples 366 and 367 for the use of these expressions of necessity.

Example 366

Ülken-der-diŋ aldın-da kelîn-der ibali bol-uw
elder-PL-GEN front.POSS3-LOC bride-PL courteous BOL.COP-UW.VN

kerek.
necessary

‘Brides must be courteous towards old people.’ (T8/ 2)

Example 367

this task-ACC time-POSS3-LOC fulfill-UW.VN necessary

‘One should complete this task in time. / It is necessary to complete this task in time.’

If the infinitive has an overt subject it is optionally assigned either the nominative or the genitive, as in Example 368. The different case assignments do not have any bearing on the meaning of the sentence.

Example 368

Bul miŋdet-ti biREW / biREW-diŋ way-in-da
this task-ACC somebody / somebody-GEN time-POSS3-LOC
atkar-uw-î kajet/kerek/tiyis.
fulfill-UW.VN-POSS3 necessary

‘Somebody has to do this in time.’
According to KG (2002: 577), kerek construed with a verbal noun can also express the speaker’s subjective assessment in some contexts.

Example 369

'yEndi-gi šara katal sögis bol-uw kerek.
now-gi solution cruel reprimand BOL.COP-UW.VN necessary
‘Now the solution must be a cruel reprimand.’ (KG 2002: 577)

In old texts written in literary Kazakh, the construction is sometimes built with the verbal noun in {-M³A²k} (see Non-modal expressions) in the non-main clauses.

The word lazım ‘necessary, ought’ can be construed with the participle in {-G⁴A²n}, as in Example 370, or with the verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U²w}, as in Example 371, in order to express necessity.

Example 370

Adam-niŋ "ōŋ-i de, kiyım-i de, ǰan-i
man-GEN face-POSS3 DA.PART clothes-POSS3 DA.PART soul-POSS3
da, "oy piyıl-i da bārī ādemi
DA.PART thought attention-POSS3 DA.PART all beautiful
bol-γan-i lazım.
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3 necessary
‘One has to be beautiful both in face, clothes, soul, and thoughts.’ (Kekilbayev 2013: 166)

Example 371

"Oyān jawap kaytar-ma-w üşün, adam
X.DAT answer return-NEG-UW.VN FOR.POSTP man
ar-i-n da, namis-i-n da,
conscience-POSS3-ACC DA.PART honor-POSS3-ACC DA.PART
âlevmettiŋ bedel-i-n de jöyalt-kan
social authority-POSS3-ACC DA.PART lose-GAN.PTCP
bol-uw-i lazım.
BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3 necessary
‘For not giving an answer to X, one should lose his/her conscience, honor, and social authority.’ (DKLL 5 : 654)

In order to express the meaning ‘not necessary’ the word kažet-siz ‘needless, unnecessary’ derived with the privative suffix {-sI²z} is used. In this case the verbal noun in {-w // -(Ø)U²w} has to be chosen.
Objective evaluations of necessity can be expressed with another impersonal construction in which either the adjective jön ‘right, correct, suitable’ or abzal ‘right, correct, admissible’ is used in combination with a participle in {−G^4A^2n}. In the corresponding English translations, modal verbs such as ‘ought to’ or ‘had better’ can be used. The constructions are mainly employed to express recommendations or expected behavior. Observe that abzal is less frequently used. The negated expression is more frequently expressed with kažetsiz (need-DER) ‘needless, unnecessary’.

Example 373

"Eger dene-ge jabıș-ıp tur-yan kene-ni
if body-DAT stick-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PART tick-ACC
bayka-sa-ıjiz wağıt "otkız-be-ıy däriger-ge
notice-HYP-2SG time pass-NEG-A.CONV doctor-DAT
kör-in-gen jön.
see-GAN.PTCP right
‘When you notice a tick attaching itself to your body, you had better see a doctor before it is too late.’

Example 374

Ulayatti söz-der-di ãste yes-ten čıgar-ma-yan abzal.
wise word-PL-ACC at all mind-ABL eliminate-NEG-GAN.PTCP correct
‘One should never forget the wise words.’

An overt subject of the participle takes either the nominative or the genitive, as in Example 375. A possessive suffix attached to the participle marks agreement with the subject.

Example 375

"Ermek /"Ermek-tiŋ "o-yan bar-ıp ayt-kan-ı
Ermek / Ermek-GEN X.DAT go-IP.CONV tell-GAN.PTCP-POSS3
jön / abzal.
right
‘It would be better for Ermek to go and tell X.’

Some similar constructions are based on adjectives such as durus (duris) ‘right, true, correct’, layık ‘suitable, appropriate’. The lexical verb can be either a verbal noun or a participle form in {−G^4A^2n}.
Example 376

\[\text{Aḥīn-dādī kategoriya-γa bōl-UW durus / layīk āymes.}\]

poet-PL-ACC category-DAT divide-UW.VN right / suitable not

‘It would be better not to categorize the poet.’

Example 377

\[\text{Ḳīz bala ādēptī bol-γan durus / layīk.}\]

female child courteous BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP right / suitable

‘The girl had better be courteous.’

The necessity marker šart ‘essential’ can occur with a verbal noun. The definition given to this term in DKLL (15: 270) is necessary, “қерек, қажет деген мағынада”, however, the construction seems to indicate a stronger obligation than the other expressions of necessity, and can be translated into English as ‘absolutely necessary’, ‘must’, ‘need to’ or ‘be required to’.

Example 378

\[\text{Ḳoy-dī wāʾrbīt-UW āṣūn, yāŋ ald-ī-men tiyįstī jāyday bol-UW šart.}\]

sheep-ACC fertilize-UW.VN FOR.POSTP SUPER front-POSS3-WITH.POST

necessary condition BOL.COP-UW.VN essential

‘For fertilizing sheep, it is first of all absolutely necessary to ensure suitable conditions.’ (DKLL 15: 270)

There are also other expressions denoting strong obligation, for instance, the lexical item mindetti ‘obligatory’ construed with the dative form of the verbal noun. Example 379 can express both objective and subjective evaluation.

Example 379

\[\text{Ḳīn-uv-ge ḍindētti-sīŋ.}\]

bing-UW.VN-DAT obligatory-COP2SG

‘You are obliged to bring (it).’

Another lexical item, māzhbūr ‘constrained, compelled’, takes a complement clause based on the dative form of a verbal noun. Unlike other modal constructions this always expresses objective evaluation. A comparable English interpretation is ‘be obliged to’, ‘have to’.

Example 380

\[\text{Ḳīndīk-tī ayt-UW-γa māzhbūr-mīn.}\]

truth-ACC tell-UW.VN-DAT compelled-COP1SG

‘I have to tell the truth.’
When referring to necessity in the past, the copula bol-dī (BOL.COP-PAST3) must be added. See Examples 381 and 382.

Example 381

"O-lar-dī üy-ge šakîr-uw-im kerek / kajet
X-pl-ACC home-DAT invite-UW.VN-POSS1SG necessary bol-dī.
BOL.COP-PAST3

'It was necessary for me to invite them home.'

Example 382

"wOśi aymak kur-ul-yanda aymak-iįy
this prefecture establish-PASS-GAN.LOC.CONV prefecture-GEN
wortalıy-ı-n sal-atîn bop kalîn
capital-POSS3-ACC build-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP.IP.CONV many
kurlus-ka kîrpiś kerek bol-dî”
dey-dî.
construction-DAT brick need BOL.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3

"‘When the prefecture was founded, many bricks were needed to build the capital of this place”, he writes.’ (T4/ 74)

If the past copula y-e-dî (E.COP-PAST3) is attached, the meaning is counterfactual; see Example 386.

Example 383

"Ol jiîîn-ya katnas-uw-im kajet / kerek y-e-dî.
X meeting-DAT attend-UW.VN-POSS1SG necessary E.COP-PAST3

‘I should have attended that meeting.’

Comparison with Uyghur

The Uyghur expressions of necessity are very similar to the Kazakh ones. According to Yakup (2009), the most significant difference between Kazakh and Uyghur in this respect is that Kazakh does not possess grammaticalized verbal suffixes that could be categorized as necessity markers. The other expressions are almost all the same, except for some lexical items that are different in the two languages. Constructions are built in Uyghur with the adjectives lazîm, kërîk, zörîr ‘necessary’ and şärt ‘essential’ construed with verbal nouns in {-I3}s or in very few cases {-mA2K2}. Observe that zörîr ‘necessary’ is not used in Kazakh.

Example 384 Uyghur

Yol-da maŋ-ỹanda kattık dikkât kil-mâk
road-LOC walk-GAN.LOC.CONV strong attention do-INF
necessary
‘One should be very careful when walking on the road. / It is necessary to be very careful when walking on the road.’

Example 385 Uyghur

Wakit-ka ämäl kil-iš lazim/keräk/zörür/šärt.
time-DAT obey do-VN necessary
‘One should respect the time. / It is necessary to respect the time.’

Yakup (2009: 490) mentions an expression based on the compound verb toyra käl- ‘fit, suitable’ construed with the dative case of a verbal noun. He considers the construction to be a less grammaticalized expression of necessity. In our opinion, however, the lexical item toyra käl-, from indicating the meaning of ‘fit’ and ‘suitable’ to the meaning of ‘have to’, has already gone through a slight process of grammaticalization. This expression also exists in Kazakh.

Example 386 Uyghur

Doktor-lük-ka kir-iš üčün čätäl til-i-din
doctor-DER-DAT enter-VN FOR.POSTP foreign language-POSS3-ABL
imtihan bër-iš-kä toyra kêl-i-du.
exam give-VN-DAT have to-PRES-3
‘In order to become a Ph.D. student one has to take an exam in a foreign language.’
(Yakup 2009: 490)

The corresponding Kazakh expression would be as in the following example.

Example 387

Doktorant-ka kabïlda-n-uv üşün çet
doctor-DAT accept-REF.PASS-UW.VN FOR.POSTP foreign
til-i-nen ʒemtikan ber-üw-ge tʻwra kel-e-di.
language-POSS3-ABL exam give-UW.VN-DAT have to-A.PRES-3
‘In order to be accepted as a Ph.D. student one has to take an exam in a foreign language.’

Constructions expressing possibility

The notion of possibility comprises a scale of meanings ranging from permission to prohibition in a predominately deontic sense. Permission can be expressed in Kazakh by an impersonal expression based on the present tense of the copula bol-a-di´ (BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3) ‘is possible’. The complement is a verbal noun in the dative or a clause based on a hypothetical verb form.
Example 388

*Kir-ųw-ge*  *bol-a-di.*
enter-UW.VN-DAT   BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘It is possible to come.’

Example 388 has an impersonal reading. In other cases, the personal reference is marked with a possessive marker attached to the verbal noun or to the hypothetical form {-sA²}; see Example 389.

Example 389

*Kir-ųw-įn-e / kir-se-į  bol-a-di.*
enter-UW.VN-POSS2SG-DAT   enter-HYP-2SG   BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘It is possible for you to enter.’

Note that according to Zhang (1990a: 93, 2004: 421), when the hypothetical form of the verb bears the sentence accent, this construction can indicate that the speaker is suggesting something to the interlocutor. In Example 390, the addressee speaks about his/her own judgment.

Example 390

*Doxtir-γa  b'r körin-se-įniz  bol-a-di.*
doctor-DAT   a be visible-HYP-2SG   BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘Nín yīnggài zhāo yīshēng qù kàn yī kàn.’ (Zhang 2004: 422)

[‘You should go and see a doctor.’]

In Uyghur, the negated copula *bol-ma-y-du* (BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3) ‘it is not possible’ with a complement clause based on a negated hypothetical form in {-m[~f²]-sA²} expresses strong necessity (Yakup 2009: 487). The same is also true for Kazakh. The necessity expressed by Example 391 is stronger than that expressed in Example 390.

Example 391

*Doxtir-γa  körin-be-se-įniz  bol-ma-y-di.*

‘You absolutely must see a doctor.’

Permission can be expressed impersonally by the passive forms of the compound verbs *jolber-* ‘to allow’ or *ruksat'yet-* ‘permit to’. The complement of these verbs is a verbal noun in the dative, as in the following Examples 392 and 393.
Example 392

Kir-ũw-ge  jolber-il-e-di.
enter-UW.VN-DAT  allowed-PASS-A.PRES-3
‘Entering is allowed. / One may enter.’

Example 393

Sʷwret-ter-di  kir-ip  tamašala-w-γa  ruksat
picture-PL-ACC  enter-IP.CONV  watch-UW.VN-DAT  permit
'et-il-e-di.
DO.LIGHTV-PASS-A.PRES-3
‘It is permitted to enter and look at the pictures. / One may enter and look at the pictures.’

Observe that, in spoken registers, there is another impersonal expression built with the passive form of the compound verb jol koγ- ‘put on the way’. This construction seems to have been copied from Uyghur.

Example 394

Kir-ũw-ge  jolγoy-il-a-di.
enter-UW.VN-DAT  allow-PASS-A.PRES-3
‘Entering is allowed. / One may enter.’

Prohibition can be expressed with the negated form of the copula boladï ‘is possible’, i.e. bol-ma-y-diï  (BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3) ‘is not possible’; see Example 395. The complement of bol-ma-y-diï is a clause based on the dative form of a verbal noun.

Example 395

Temekį  tart-ũw-γa  bol-ma-y-di.
tobacco  smoke-UW.VN-DAT  BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘Smoking is not allowed.’

The subject of the complement clause can be represented by a possessive suffix on the verbal noun, e.g. "öt-ũw-ler-iŋ-e  (pass-VN-PL-POSS2SG-DAT) ‘your passing’ in Example 396.

Example 396

"So-dan  geyiŋ  "sen-der  bulay  "öt-ũw-ler-iŋ-e
that-ABL  AFTER1.POSTP  you-PL  this way  pass-UW.VN-PL-POSS2SG-DA
bol-ma-y-diï,  bul  memleket  čegara-si  miŋaw,
BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3  this  country  border-POSS3SG  this is
miŋaw  biž-diŋ  čegara  miŋaw  muŋγul-γa…”  de-p
this is  we-GEN  border  this is  Mongolia-DAT  say-IP.CONV
The verbs *tiyim sal-* ‘to forbid, to prohibit’, *çekte-* ‘to forbid’, *teje-* ‘to restrict, to limit’ or *fol berme-* ‘not to give way’, *ruksat őtepe-* ‘not to permit’ can also be used to express prohibition. Example 397 illustrates prohibition expressed with *tiyim sal*.

Example 397

*Temekï tart-uw tiyim sal-ın-a-dï.*

tobacco smoke-UW.VN forbid-REF.PASS-A.PRES-3

‘It is forbidden to smoke.’

Constructions expressing probability

A number of lexical items can render different meanings of probability and likelihood. Zhang describes them as particles (Zhang 2004). We treat them here as lexical items because they still have, to some degree, their original lexical meanings. Some of them can be inflected in person and number and take complements, namely complement clauses based on non-finite verb forms.

*Bolar, őiýar*

In some Turkic languages probability is expressed with a grammaticalized mood such as, the presumptive marker {-D²T¹r}³¹ in Turkish, or {-Du}³² in Uyghur. A frequently used expression in Kazakh is the copula *bol-ar* (BOL.COP-AOR3) ‘it is probable’ ← *bol-* ‘to become/be, to become/be possible’, and *őiý-ar* (COME OUT-AOR3) ‘can turn out to be’ ← *çık-* ‘to turn out, result’. The difference between *bolar* and *őiýar* can be described as their expressing different degrees of probability. *Bolar* is used when the probability is not high. As for *őiýar*, it is used to denote a higher degree of probability but not certainty. *Bolar* and *őiýar* can be, in some cases, used interchangeably. Personal endings of the first and second persons can be added.

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³¹ For instance, *Herhalde bir yer-ler-de karşılış-muş-iz-dir* (probably one place-PL-LOC meet-POSTT-1PL-DIR) ‘We have probably met somewhere or other’. (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 343, Example 81).

³² For instance, *Uyghur Âxmät òy-dï bar du* (Ahmet home-LOC existing DU.COP3) ‘X might be at home’. 

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See the two Examples 398 and 399, in which bolar and čiγar takes nominal complement clauses.

Example 398

Meniy kókey-im-de jür-gen b’r baña bar,
I.GEN thought-POSS1SG-LOC move-GAN.PTCP a child existing
b’r wòpali sol ból-ar.
a faithful that is possible-AOR3
‘One boy is on my mind, that is probably the faithful one.’

Example 399

Ürümği kög-i-nen julduz kör-ip tur-γan-im
Ürümqi sky-POSS3-ABL star see-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG
w’osi čiγ-ar.
this turn out-AOR3
‘This is probably the first time I have seen a star in the sky of Ürümqi.’

The non-finite verb forms in the complement clauses can express different viewpoints. A {-G^4A^2n} form renders a postterminal viewpoint; see Example 400.

Example 400

Üy-ge kàyt-ip kel-gen ból-ar.
home-DAT return-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-GAN.PTCP be possible-AOR3
‘X probably has returned home.’

Intraterminal or prospective meanings are expressed by {-A^2tI^2n/-ytI^2n}.

Example 401

Bu-łar-dí sat-atın čiγ-ar.
this-PL-ACC sell-ATIN.PTCP turn out-AOR3
‘X will probably sell these.’

Focal intraterminal viewpoint can be expressed with the converb in {-\(I^4p\)} of the lexical verb and the {-G^4A^2n} form of a postverb. The postverb can be one of the following: "otîr- ‘to sit down, sit’, / tur- ‘to stand’, / jür- ‘to move, go on’ / jatîr- ‘to lie down, lie’. See Example 405.

Example 402

Sáken kitáp "okî-p "otîr-yan ból-ar.
Sáken book read-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-GAN.PTCP be possible-AOR3
‘Sáken is probably reading a book.’
The four verbs \textit{otür}– ‘to sit down, sit’, / \textit{tur}– ‘to stand’, / \textit{für}– ‘to move, go on’ / \textit{javılır}– ‘to lie down, lie’ can, of course, also be used as lexical verbs; see Example 40.

Example 403

\textit{Murat mektep-te jür-gen čiy-ar.}
Murat school-LOC move-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3

‘Murat is probably at school now.’

If the lexical verb in the complement clause is a converb in \{-A²//y\} then only the postverb \textit{jat}– ‘to lie down, go to bed, be lying, be in bed’ can be used; see Example 404.

Example 404

\textit{Murat mektep-ke bar-a jat-kan čiy-ar.}
Murat school-DAT go -A.CONV lie.POSTV-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3

‘Murat is probably going to the school now.’

Čiýar can be pronounced with an interrogative intonation, as a tag question. In this case, it denotes a high degree of certainty.

Example 405

\textit{Düken jab-il-ip kal-γan čiy-ar?}
store close-PASS-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP turn out-AOR3

‘The store has certainly closed.’

\textit{Körinedi} and \textit{uksaydī}

Likelihood is expressed by \textit{körin-e-dî} ‘it seems’ (be visible-A.PRES-3) ← \textit{kör}– ‘to see’ or \textit{uksa-y-dî} (resemble-A.PRES-3) ‘it looks like’ ← \textit{uksa}– ‘to resemble’. These expressions are used either in impersonal constructions or as modal adverbs modifying predicates; see Examples 406 and 407, respectively.

Example 406

\textit{O-lar mayan kurt may ber-ip jat-kan körinedi.}
X-PL I.DAT kurt fat give-IP.CONV lie.POSTV-GAN.PTCP probably

‘It seems that they give me kurt\textsuperscript{33} and butter.’

Example 407

\textit{So gez-de ági \textit{w}o kişî imam molda}
that time-LOC AFORESAID.FILL X person Imam Mullah

\textsuperscript{33} A traditional Kazakh food made from solid yogurt. The solid yogurt is cut into small pieces and must be dried in the sun for some days (Kural 2003: 178).
I have the feeling that we left it in the bank. Then we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is not do so."

**Siyakti, şikildi, sekildi, and álpetti**

The postpredicate modal operators *siyakti* ‘like, similar’ ← *siyak* ‘appearance, image’, *şıkildi* ‘like, similar’ ← *sikil* ‘color’, *sekildi* ‘like, similar’ ← *sekil* ‘form’, *álpetti* ‘like, similar’ ← *álpet* ‘appearance’ express likelihood. See Examples 408 and 409 for the use of *siyakti* ‘like, similar’. Example 409 illustrates a high-copying vanity in which the copied Chinese elements are underlined.

**Example 408**

*Kel-gen jol-imiz “osi (bul “emes) siyaktı.*

*come-GAN.ptcp way-poss1pl this (this not) seemingly*

‘Háoxiàng zánmen lái shí de lù (bù) shì zhè tiáo.’ (Zhang 2004: 624)

[‘This seems (does not seem) to be the way we came.’]

**Example 409**

do so-past-1sg*

‘Then, “It seems we have left it in the taxi, it seems it is in the taxi, this phone”, we said. Then we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is possibly in the bank, I have the feeling that we left it in the bank”.’ (T9/ 27)
Mümkün, ihtimal, kàdjìk

Low probability is expressed by using the items mümkün ‘possible’, ihtimal ‘probable’, šúbáli ‘doubtful, suspicious’, or kàdjìk ‘improbable’. They take complement clauses based on a verbal noun. The subject of the complement clause is in the genitive as in Example 410. Observe that the same subject could also be in the nominative without changing the meaning. In this example, the adverb àbden ‘completely’ is used to express a higher degree of probability.

Example 410

*Sondiktan da jàŋ-jàŋ söz-dij ‘esuy xanım-niŋ ayt-uw-i àbden mümkün.*

tell-UW.VN-POSS3 completely possible

‘Consequently, it is completely possible that lady Yesui said the aforesaid words.’ (Jurtbayev 2005: 56)

In Example 411, the complement clause bes jas ilgeri ne keyîn boluwî ‘X’s being five years older or younger’ follows the predicate mümkün ‘possible’.

Example 411

*Ketbûka kir–kir’ bes jas-ta, mümkün bes jas ilgeri ne keyîn bol-uw-i. Ketbûka was forty or forty-five years old, plus or minus five years or so.’ (Jurtbayev 2005: 39)

According to KG (2002: 579), the Kazakh variety spoken in Turkmenistan uses the lexical item šek ‘doubt, suspicion’ to express low probability. The word šek ‘doubt, suspicion’, a loanword of Arabic origin شَكّ, is used in several Turkic languages. In Kazakh as spoken in China, šek ‘doubt’ is not frequently used.

Example 412 Kazakh in Turkmenistan

*So-yam kara-yanda tanîs dos-i* look-GAN.LOC.CONV acquaintance friend-POSS3

‘Accordingly, it is doubtful that X is a friend of him/her.’ (KG 2002: 579)
The negated volunatative of the copula *bol-ma-sïn* (BOL.COP-NEG-VOL3) ← *bol-* ‘to become, be’ is used in the sense of ‘it is hopefully not…’. According to Zhang (2002: 246, 2004: 625), *bolmasïn* implies that the speaker is anxious that something should be the case. Zhang describes it as a particle, but in our opinion it is an idiomatically used lexical item. The complement clauses can be based on participles conveying different viewpoints. In Example 413, the participle in {-G'A^2_n} is used to express a postterminal meaning.

Example 413

*Üstün-de četel jazuw-i bar şeke, četel-diḳ konak joyal-t-ip al-γan maγizdi närse bolmasïn.*

‘There is a foreign letter there, hopefully it is not an important thing that a foreign guest has lost.’
Non-modal expressions

For the sake of comparison, two categories expressing inherent properties will be briefly commented on in this chapter, although they do not correspond to the strict definition of modality used so far.

Ability

Forms expressing ability, that is an inherent property of a participant in a state of affairs, are based on a converb in \{-A^2//-y\} and the postverb al- ‘to take’ or bil- ‘to know’. The negated forms expressing impossibility are \{-A^2//-y\} + al-ma- \{A.CONV take-NEG\} / bil-me- \{A.CONV know-NEG\}, i.e. the negated forms of the postverbs. Observe that the lexical verb cannot be negated in such expressions. The postverb bil- is less frequently used today than al-. Ability forms indicate physical or mental ability to perform an action. They express an inherent property and not an attitude towards the content of the proposition, and will therefore not be treated here as modal expressions in the strict sense applied in this study.

The Turkish form expressing ability, \{(y)Abil-\}, also expresses possibility. It is analogous to the Kazakh forms; i.e. it goes back to a converb in \{-yA\} and the postverb bil- ‘to know’, e.g. Yaz-abil iyory um \{write-ABIL-PRES-1SG\} ‘I am able to write / I can write / it is possible for me to write’. Negation is expressed with \{-yA-mA-\}, e.g. Yaz-a-ma-m ‘I am not able to write. / I cannot write / it is not possible for me to write’. In Turkish, the lexical verb can also be negated: Gel-me-ye-bil-ir \{come-NEG-A.CONV-ABIL-AOR\} ‘it is possible that X will not come’.

Examples 414 and 415 illustrate the use of the two Kazakh postverbs. The postverb al- can be used to express ability and possibility, whereas bil- expresses only ability. In spoken registers, the converb suffix \{-A^2//-y\} may disappear in contracted forms, e.g. Jaz-al ma-y-di \{write-ABIL-NEG A.PRES-3\} ‘X is not able to write / X cannot write / it is not possible for X to write’. The postverb al- does actually convey deontic and epistemic modality. Here we give only one example of the use of these postverbs al- and bil-; see Example 414.
Example 414

\[\text{Jaz-}a \quad \text{al-a-min.}\]
\[
\text{write-A.CONV \quad \text{TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG}}
\]
‘I am able to write / I can write / It is possible for me to write / I might write / I am allowed to write.’

Example 415

\[\text{Jaz-}a \quad \text{bi\-l-e-min.}\]
\[
\text{write-A.CONV \quad \text{KNOW.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1SG}}
\]
‘I am able to write / I can write.’

In Uyghur, form in \{(y)A^2A^2\} indicates ability and possibility as in Example 416.

Example 416 Uyghur

\[\text{Körmä\-y-män.}\]
\[
\text{see-ABIL-A.PRES-COP1SG}
\]
‘I am able to see / I can see / it is possible for me to see.’

The negation is signaled by adding the negation suffix \{-M^2A^2\} to the post-verb; see Example 417.

Example 417 Uyghur

\[\text{Kör-\-mä\-y-män}\]
\[
\text{see-ABIL-NEG-A.PRES-COP1SG}
\]
‘I am not able to see / I cannot see / it is not possible for me to see.’

In colloquial Uyghur some morphophonological processes take place, e.g. regressive assimilation in the negation, \textit{Kör-\-mä\-y-män} ‘I am not able to see / I cannot see’.

**Intentionality**

**The suffix \{-M^3A^2K^2\}**

The deverbal marker \{-M^3A^2K^2\}, which combines the suffixes \{-M^3A^2K^2\} and \{-\text{šI}^2\}, expresses the intention, willingness, or decision to perform an action or to have an action performed.\(^{34}\) Just like the previous forms of ability, the forms of intentionality denote inherent properties of participants in the state of affairs and do not express any attitude towards the

\(^{34}\) In the following example the king does not intend to perform the action of building a bridge, but he intends to have this action performed: “The king said: ‘I intend to build a bridge’”.

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content of the proposition. Intentionality will therefore not be treated here as modality in the strict sense.

The agentive nominalizer {-šI^2} generates lexical items denoting persons occupied with what is denoted by the stem, e.g. mal-ši ‘shepherd’ ← mal ‘cattle’. The suffix {-šI^2} is often used in combination with verbal nouns in {-w // -(Ø)U^2w}^35 to form agent nouns, e.g. küzet-üw-ši ‘guardian’ ← küzet-üw ‘to guard’. Forms in {-wšI^2 // -(Ø)U^2wšI^2} may, like other nominals, be used in attributive position.

Example 418

"Esik küzet-üwši kart kir-ip kel-di.
gate keep-UWŠI.PTCP old enter-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-PAST
‘The old man, who is a gatekeeper, suddenly came in.’

In contrast to the particle šI^2 which is normally not accented (see the exceptions from this in Modal particles), the suffix {-šI^2} can carry the high tone. Observe that {-M^3A^2K^2šI^2} can be accented on the second syllable. Thus we conclude that the second element is the suffix and not the particle.

Usages of {-M^3A^2K^2šI^2}

As predicate in main clauses

Copulas of the first and second persons attach to {-M^3A^2K^2šI^2} when it is used as a predicate in main clauses. See Examples 419 and 420.

Example 419

"Kiši-ni kurmet ye-iş-der! ‘et-iş’ de-p
young-ACC respect DO-İŞTV-IMP-PL say-IP.CONV
"öşyet ayt-paşši-miín men.
will tell-MAKSİ-COP1SG I
‘Respect young people! (These are) the wills I want to say.’ (T6/ 7)

Example 420

Sen bügün kel-mekşi-siğ be?
you today come-MAKSİ-COP2SG Q.PART
‘Do you intend to come today?’

The corresponding negated expressions are formed with the copula ye-mes as in Example 421.

35 The marker of verbal nouns has two variants. After stems ending in low vowels the marker is {-w}, e.g. the verbal noun kara-w ‘looking’ formed from the verbal stem kara- ‘to look’. Consonant stems and stems in high vowels take the marker {-ØU^2w}, e.g. žaz-uw ‘writing’ ← žaz- ‘to write’, ok-ow ‘reading’ ← ok- ‘to read’. A bracketed initial zero sign (Ø) indicates that the final vowel of the stem is dropped when the marker is added. It is impossible to indicate alternants in one formula of this kind; double slashes can be used to separate them. Thus we use the notation{-w // -(Ø)U^2w}.
Example 421

Men  kel-mekši  'emes-pin.
I  come-MAKŠI.PTCP  not-COP1SG
‘I do not intend to come.’

The past meaning ‘intended to’ is expressed by adding the past tense copula \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{yi}}\) to \{-M\(3\)A\(2\)K\(2\)šI\(2\}\}. See the form kezdespekši \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{im}}\) ‘I intended to meet’ in Example 422.

Example 422

\begin{align*}
\text{Ayžan-men} & \quad \text{bügün kezdes-pekši} & \quad \overset{\text{e-di}}{\text{m}}. \\
\text{Ayjan-WITH.POSTP} & \quad \text{today meet-MAKŠI.PTCP} & \quad \text{E.COP-PAST-1SG} \\
\text{Čuyul jumus-um} & \quad \overset{\text{či-yip}}{\text{kal-ıp}}. & \quad \text{bar-a} \\
\text{urgent affair-POSS1SG} & \quad \text{come out-IP.CONV} & \quad \text{STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV} \quad \text{go-A.CONV} \\
\text{al-ma-di-m.} & & \\
\text{TAKE.POSTV-NEG-PAST-1SG} & \\
\text{‘I intended to meet Ayjan today. But an urgent affair arose and I could not go there.’}
\end{align*}

According to Zhang (2004: 380), the combination \{-M\(3\)A\(2\)K\(2\)šI\(2\}\} plus \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{yi}}\) can also be used when the speaker intends to carry out the intended action later. The past tense copula \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{yi}}\) is used in such cases in order to make the expression more polite. See the form pikjirlespekši \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{im}}\) ‘I would like to talk’ in Example 426.

Example 423

\begin{align*}
\text{Men} & \quad \overset{\text{siz-ben}}{\text{b/r pikjirles-pekši}} & \quad \overset{\text{e-di}}{\text{m}}, & \quad \text{wakıt-ınjiz} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{you-WITH.POSTP} & \quad \text{a talk-MAKŠI.PTCP} & \quad \text{E.COP-PAST-1SG} \quad \text{time-POSS2SG} \\
\text{bar ma?} & & & \\
\text{existing Q.PART} & & & \\
\text{‘Wǒ xiāng gěn nǐn jiāo huàn yíxià yìjiān, nǐn yǒu kòng ma?’} & \text{(Zhang 2004: 380)} \\
\text{‘I would like to talk with you, do you have time?’}
\end{align*}

In our view, \(\overset{\text{ed}i}{\text{yi}}\) refers to the time of the intention, not to the fulfillment of the intended action. Instead of expressing the present intention, the speaker prefers to talk about the intention in the past tense which is more modest and polite. It leaves more freedom for negotiation. The speaker does not express the intention as a fact in the present situation, which makes it easier for the interlocutor to object. The same kind of situation is expressed in the following example.
Context: You want to meet me today but I prefer to meet Ayjan today. I propose that we meet tomorrow.

\[\text{Ayžan-men būgūn kezdes-pekiş ́e-di-м.}\]
\[\text{Ayjan-WITH.POSTP today meet-MAKŠI.PTCP E.COP-PAST-1SG}\]
\[\text{́Erteğ keł-se-江山 kayt-e-di?}\]
\[\text{tomorrow come-HYP-2SG how to do-A.PRES-3}\]

‘I intended to meet Ayjan today. What if you come tomorrow?’

\{-M³A²K²šl²\} with inanimate subjects

When the marker \{-M³A²K²šl²\} attaches to a passive verb, the sentence does not include any person whose intention is rendered by the marker; i.e. the first actant is missing. Such a sentence is interpreted as conveying an impersonal intention, as illustrated in Example 425.

Example 425

\[\text{Keşte b’y jinalıs aš-il-makši.}\]
\[\text{evening a meeting open-PASS-MAKŠI}\]

‘A meeting is intended to be held in the evening.’

Intransitive verbs, as a rule, cannot take any passive suffix in Kazakh. However, certain intransitive verbs such as bol- ‘to become, be’ and čık- ‘to come out’ can be used with \{-M³A²K²šl²\} to express impersonal intentions when the subject is inanimate and not capable of intending, such as jinalıs ‘meeting’ and kişıp ‘book’ in the following examples. These are rendered here in Examples 426 and 427, which can be translated into English as passives.

Example 426

\[\text{Keşte b’y jinalıs bol-makši.}\]
\[\text{evening a meeting BOL.COP-MAKŠI3}\]

‘A meeting is intended (to be held) in the evening.’

Example 427

\[\text{Kışıp čık-pakši.}\]
\[\text{book come out-MAKŠI3}\]

‘A book is intended to be published.’

The following examples, 428 and 429, based on the intransitive verbs, uş- ‘to fly’ and wòt- ‘to pass’, in which the subject of the \{-M³A²K²šl²\} is inanimate and is incapable of intending, can be understood as metonymical expressions. The inanimate subjects, uşak ‘airplane’ and maşına ‘car’, are used here to imply their controllers, the pilot and the driver.
Example 428

_Ušak_ uš-pakšī.
airplane fly-MAKSī3
‘The airplane is going to take off.’

Example 429

_Mašina_ "ört-pekšī.
car pass-MAKSī3
‘The car is going to pass.’

As a participle

The use of \{-M³A²K²šI²\} in attributive position is mostly restricted to spoken registers, e.g. _kel-mekšī adam_ (come-MAKSī.PTCP man) ‘the man who intends to come’, _ayt-pakšī sōz-im_ (tell-MAKSī.PTCP word) ‘the word I intend to say’. Corresponding expressions in the written language are expanded by means of the copula _bol-γan_ (BOL.COP.GAN.PTCP), e.g. _kel-mekšī bol-γan adam_ (come-MAKSī.PTCP BOL.COP.GAN.PTCP man) ‘the man who intends to come’.

When a word ending in \{-M³A²K²šI²\} does not modify any head noun, then plural, possessive, and case suffixes cannot be attached to it, and the copula _bolγan_ has to be used to carry these suffixes. See the expression _jazbakšī bolγandarīmdī_ ‘what I intend to write’ in Example 433.

Example 430

_Jaz-baḵšī_ bol-γan-dar-im-dī āveli
write-MAKSī.PTCP BOL.COP.GAN.PTCP-PL-POSS1SG-ACC at first
"ōz-iğ-men akıldas-bak-pin.
self-POSS2SG-WITH.POSTP consult-MAKSī-COP1SG
‘It is my strong intention first to consult you concerning what I intend to write.’

In written registers, the marker \{-M³A²K²šI²\} cannot take on any of these suffixes. In the spoken language, however, in some restricted cases, the possessive suffix can attach directly to \{-M³A²K²šI²\}, e.g. _ayt-pakšī-im_ (tell-MAKSī-POSS1SG) ‘what I want to say’. The same meaning can also be expressed periphrastically with _ayt-pakšī bol-γan-im_ (tell-MAKSī.PTCP BOL.COP.GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG) ‘what I intend to say’. Note a syntactically similar construction, consisting of the voluntative of the verb _ayt_- ‘to say’ and the participle of the verb _de_- ‘to say’: _ayt-ayīn de-gen-im_ (tell-VOL1SG say-GAN.PTCP-POSS1SG) ‘what I want to say’. The construction based on \{-M³A²K²šI²\} plus _bolγan_ expresses intention, whereas the one based on the voluntative plus _degen_ expresses purpose.
The sentential particle *ayt*after*<br>
The {-M3A2K2I2} form derived from the verb *ayt- ‘to tell’ has been gram-<br>maticalized as a sentential particle. In this function, *ayt*after*<br>expresses an illocutionary speech act in the sense of ‘I mean’, ‘what I want to say’, etc. The particle cannot take any suffix to express person. Thus, in the following example, it is rendered in English as ‘I mean’, but the Kazakh particle does not specify the person.

Example 431

*Aytpaši, jahl-ul saltanat-in-a*
AYTPAKŠI.PART close-PASS-UW.VN celebration-POSS3-DAT

*bar-atün-dar bar ma?*
go-ATIN.PTCP-PL existing Q.PART

‘What I mean is, is there anybody who will go to the farewell party?’

The suffix {-M3A2K2}

The suffix {-M3A2K2}, is a deverbal suffix which generates verbal nouns and participles and is mostly used in written language registers. Certain lexicalized forms may be found in spoken registers (see below). The suffix {-M3A2K2}, which presumably had a type of prospective meaning, has low frequency of use.

Usages of {-M3A2K2}

Verbal noun

The suffix {-M3A2K2} derives verbal nouns. This was also the case in languages such as East Old Turkic and Chaghatay. In Kazakh, verbal nouns in {-M3A2K2} are restricted to older literary texts and petrified expressions such as proverbs and sayings. The relatively frequent use of verbal nouns in {-M3A2K2} in early Kazakh literary works is probably an influence of Chaghatay. See the postverb expression *kamalip kal-mak* ‘to be enclosed’ in Example 432, and *arī-mak* ‘to be exhausted’, *semir-mek* ‘to put on weight’ in Example 433.

Example 432

*Čiy-ar ğesig-i-n tab-a al-ma-y,*
come out-AOR door-POSS3-ACC find-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-A.CONV

*wayım kayyi-niŋ iš-in-e kir-ip*
sadness sorrow-GEN inside-POSS3-DAT go in-IP.CONV

*al-ip, kama-l-ip kal-mak,*
TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV enclose-PASS-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-MAK.VN
‘To be enclosed in sadness and sorrow and not find a way out is itself a weakness.’
(Abai 2010: 14).

Example 433

\[ Arî-mak, \quad semîr-mek \quad \text{w}^\text{oy-dan.} \]

be tired-MAK.VN put on weight-MAK.VN thought-ABL
‘To be exhausted or put on weight depends on thoughts.’ (KP 2009: 82)

In spoken language, instead of the verbal nouns \( kal\-mak \) ‘staying’, \( arî\-mak \) ‘being tired’, and \( semîr\-mek \) ‘putting on weight’, the infinitive forms in \( \{ -\text{w} \// -(\emptyset)\text{U}^2\text{w} \} \), \( kal\-uw \) ‘staying’, \( ar\-uw \) ‘being tired’, and \( semîr\-uw \) ‘putting on weight’, would be used in the above examples.

Predicate in main clauses

The form \( \{ -\text{M}^3\text{A}^2\text{K}^2 \} \) may occur as predicate in main clauses and indicates prospectivity in the sense of something foreseen or predicted. Personal copula endings can be added in the first and second persons. Negation is expressed by the copula \( \text{yemes} \) ‘is not’. In Examples 434 and 435, a form in \( \{ -\text{M}^3\text{A}^2\text{K}^2 \} \) functions as predicate.

Example 434 Literary Kazakh

\[ Bul \ jîlîmalî telefon, \ Firefox OS jîye-sî-men \]
this mobile telephone Firefox OS system-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP
\[ jarîk \ kôr-mek. \]
light see-MAK3
‘This mobile phone is foreseen/predicted to be released with the Firefox OS system.’

Example 435

\[ Bul \ retkî jarîs \ biz-diţ čeșușî kezen-imîz \]
this time competition we-GEN decisive period-POSS1PL
\[ bol\-mak. \]
BOL.COP-MAK3
‘This competition is foreseen to be a decisive period for us.’

The past tense copula \( \text{yedî} \) may be added to \( \{ -\text{M}^3\text{A}^2\text{K}^2 \} \), and indicates ‘meant to’. See \( \text{âkelmek} \ \text{yedî} \) ‘meant to bring’ in Example 436.

Example 436

\[ Tay\-day \ kîzîl koy-dî \ âkel-mek \ \text{y}^\text{e-dî,} \ Ulan \]
colt-EQUA red sheep-ACC bring-MAK.PTCP E.COP-PAST3 Ulan
kön-be-dị.
agree-NEG-PAST3
‘X meant to bring a colt-like red sheep, but Ulan did not agree.’

According to Zhang (2004: 336), the form {-M³A²K²} may be used with a particular function in interrogative sentences, namely to intensify the rhetorical meaning; see Examples 437 and 438. The form {-M³A²K²šI²} cannot be used in this function.

Example 437

\(^{9}\)El-diŋ \ närse-si\-n \ men \ kayaŋ al-mak-piŋ?
other-GEN \ thing-POSS3SG-ACC \ I \ how \ take-MAK-COP.1SG
‘Biérën de dōngxi wò zēnme néng ná?!’ (Zhang 2004: 336)
‘How could I mean to take the belongings of other people?’

Example 438

\(^{10}\)On\-day \ bol-sa, \ biť-diŋ \ kün-imiz \ ne \ bol-mak?
X-EQUA \ BOL.COP-HYP3 \ we-GEN \ life-time-POSS1PL \ what \ BOL.COP-MAK3
‘Yào nàyàng, wōmen hái yǒu shé me huó tóu er?’ (Zhang 2004: 336)
‘If it is so, what will be the meaning of our life?’

In set phrases

Forms in {-M³A²K²} may be used adnominally to express that the following noun is appropriate for what the form {-M³A²K²} denotes. Expressions of this type are set phrases, and it is not possible to expand them by adding a complement. Only a few expressions of this type are used today, e.g. ayt-pak söz (tell-MAK.PTCP word) ‘a word to say’. Observe that this expression has a passive meaning ‘a word to be said’. The same meaning can also be expressed through a passive verb form, e.g. ayt-il-mark söz (tell-PASS-MAK.PTCP word) ‘a word to say (to be said)’. Another example would be üyle-n-bek kız (marry-REF.PASS-MAK.PTCP girl) ‘a girl to marry’.

In the following Example 439, the expression bermek jawabî ‘the answer that X would give’ is used.

Example 439

Tölegen \ “o-niŋ \ ber-mek \ jawab-i\-n \ küt-üp
Tölegen \ X.GEN \ give-MAK.PTCP \ answer-POSS3SG-ACC \ wait-IP.CONV
jür-di, \ B’raŋ álî \ kün-ge \ deyin \ sibis
MOVE.POSTV-PAST3 \ but \ now \ day-DAT \ UNTIL.POSTV \ sound
bol-yan \ jok.
BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP \ not existing
‘Tölegen was waiting for the answer that X would give. But there was still no news.’

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Observe that in this example *bermek jawap* cannot be used without a possessive suffix. Like {-M³A²K²śli²}, the suffix {-M³A²K²} does not take on case, possessive, or plural suffixes. According to KG (2002: 533), this is because words with these suffixes cannot function as normal attributive modifiers. This is valid except for the very restricted cases mentioned above.

In attributive clauses

In attributive clauses with the predicate in {-M³A²K²} the copula *bol-yan* (BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP) must be added; see, for instance, the expression *kelmek bol yan konakтар* ‘the guests who mean / are meant to come’ in Example 440. For attributive clauses with a predicate in {-M³A²K²śli²}, (see above).

Example 440

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kel-mek} & \quad \text{bol-yan} & \quad \text{konak-tar-in-a} & \quad \text{azirlik} \\
\text{come-MAK.PTCP} & \quad \text{BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP} & \quad \text{guest-PL-POSS3-DAT} & \quad \text{preparation} \\
\text{jasad-p} & \quad \text{jur.} \\
\text{CREATE.POSTV-IP.CONV} & \quad \text{MOVE.POSTV3}
\end{align*}
\]

‘X is doing the preparations for the guests who mean / are meant to come.’

In the spoken language, the corresponding expressions can be formed with the aorist participle in {-(A²)r} or, in some cases, the participle in {-(A²tI^2)n // -ytI^2n}. For example, instead of *kelmek bol yan konak* the expression *kelletin konak* ‘the guests who will be meant to come’ can be used in Example 440.

Example 439 can be paraphrased as Example 441, where the aorist participle *berer* is used instead of *bermek*.

Example 441

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tölegen } & \quad \text{"o-niŋ} & \quad \text{ber-er} & \quad \text{jawab-i-n} & \quad \text{küt-üp} \\
\text{Tölegen } & \quad \text{X.GEN} & \quad \text{give-AOR.PTCP} & \quad \text{answer-POSS3SG-ACC} & \quad \text{wait-IP.CONV} \\
\text{jür-di} & \quad \text{h’rak} & \quad \text{ali} & \quad \text{kün-ge} & \quad \text{deyin} & \quad \text{sibis} \\
\text{MOVE.POSTV-PAST3} & \quad \text{but} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{day-DAT} & \quad \text{UNTIL.POSTV} & \quad \text{sound} \\
\text{bol yan} & \quad \text{jok.} \\
\text{BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP} & \quad \text{not existing}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Tölegen has been waiting for the answer which X is expected to give, but there is still no news.’

In verb clauses

The {-M³A²K²} form expanded with the copula *bol-* ‘to become, be’ may build verb clauses. In the adverbial clause in Example 442, the {-M³A²K²} form in *azirle-mek* is construed with the verb in {-(I^4)p} of the copula *bol-*.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Example 442}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Example 441}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Example 440}
\end{align*}
\]
Example 442

*Sosïn Aysha tamak âzirle-mek bolʷp, as üy-ge*
then Aysha food prepare-MAK.PTPC BOL.COP-IP.CONV kitchen-DAT
karay jîlî-dî.
TOWARD.POSTP move-PAST3
‘Then Aysha moved towards the kitchen to prepare food.’

Small clause with nouns meaning intention
In Example 443, the {-M³A²K²} form with its complement is construed with the noun niyet ‘intention’ to form an expression meaning ‘to have the intention to’, i.e. ‘to intend to’.

Example 443

‘Eger *osîn-da* jumus iste-y al-sa-m, b’raz
if this-LOC work do-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-HYP-1SG some
ângime-ler jaz-bak niyet-im bar.
story-PL write-MAK.PTCP intention-POSS1SG existing
‘If I work here, I have the intention to write some stories.’

In Example 444, the complement based on {-M³A²K²} is assigned the dative case, governed by the verb *urun* -<urî>- ‘to attempt’.

Example 444

*Urî kapêčik-tî bayîp-pen bildîr-t-pe-y*
thief wallet-ACC care-WITH.POSTP let know-CAUS-NEG-A.CONV
*kol-în-a* tüs-îr-üp, kaš-pak-ka
hand-POSS3-DAT flint-CAUS-IP.CONV run away-MAK.PTCP-DAT
*urun-up* jat-ţanda usta-l-dî.
attempt-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV arrest-PASS-PAST3
‘The thief was arrested when he attempted to run away, after he had carefully and stealthily stolen the wallet.’

Lexicalized as a noun
Lexicalizations such as *jasîrîn-bak* (hide-REF-MAK) ‘hide-and-seek’, *čak-pak* (strike-MAK) ‘flint, lighter’, or *iš-pek je-mek* (drink-MAK eat-MAK) ‘foodstuff’ express things that are suitable or otherwise relevant for the action in question.

The sentential particle *demek*
A lexicalized form *demek* ‘that means’, ‘that is to say’, thus’, may be used as an illocutionary speech act, as in Example 445; see *Illocutionary modality*.

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The conjunction *turmak* ‘not to mention’

Zhang (2004: 568) describes the grammaticalized form *turmak* ‘not to mention’ as a conjunction indicating a contrast or an exception. See Example 446 for an illustration of this usage.

Example 446

*Ağa-ya* sabīn *turmak,* sabāktū ine de money-DAT soap TURMAK.CONJ threaded needle DA.PART sat-īp al-uw kiyin. sell-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-UW.VN difficult

‘With the money it is even difficult to buy a threaded needle, not to mention soap’.

Comparison of \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī^2\} and \{-M^3A^2K^2\}

In grammars, the two suffixes \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī^2\} and \{-M^3A^2K^2\} are dealt with as variants. They are described as a single category labeled in some grammars as “maksatī keler šak” ‘intentional/purposive future tense’ (Geng et al. 1999: 228, MKL 2002: 466, KG 2002: 519) and as “niyet keler šak” ‘intentional future tense’ in Mamanov (2007: 116). In Chinese it is referred to as “mūdi jiānglái shì” ‘purposive future tense’ (Geng 1989: 129, Zhang 2004: 389).

This should not, however, blur the fact that there are significant semantic differences between their core meanings. For instance, Geng et al. (1999: 228–229) claim that \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī\} plus copula personal endings, e.g. *Jaz-bakšī-mīn* (write-MAKŠI-COP1SG) ‘I intend to write’, may signal the inevitability of the intended action. KG (2002: 534) describes how the element (“субъект”) \{-ṣī\} is added to \{-M^3A^2K^2\} in order to specify its intentional meaning. Zhang (2004: 335–336) also states that \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī\} can be used to intensify the will of an agent. Moreover, he claims that \{-M^3A^2K^2\} and \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī\} can be interchangeable, but that they express different attitudes on the part of the speaker. The form in \{-M^3A^2K^2\} implies indubitable certainty on the part of the speaker; thus it can be used to express a predetermined event. \{-M^3A^2K^2ṣī\} on the other hand can signal less certainty about the occurrence of the event. In our observation, however, differences can be seen not only differences with respect to attitudes, but also with respect to other features. The two forms can be interpreted as similar when they occur as main-clause predicates, and in attributive function when...
the first argument is a controller, i.e. someone who can carry out the action consciously and willingly. However, when \{-M^3A^2K^2\} is used as an old infinitive it cannot be replaced by \{-M^3A^2K^2šI^2\}.

In Examples 447 and 448, the two suffixes are free variants in the predicate position of a main clause.

Example 447
\begin{verbatim}
Äke-m büğün kel-mek.
father-POSS1SG today come-MAK3
\end{verbatim}

Example 448
\begin{verbatim}
Äke-m büğün kel-mekši.
father-POSS1SG today come-MAKŠI3
\end{verbatim}

Both examples can be translated in the same way:
‘My father is expected / intends to come today.’

The copula bol-di, past tense of bol- ‘to become, be’, can be added to \{-M^3A^2K^2\} and \{-M^3A^2K^2šI^2\} to express a past intention to do something. Compare the following two examples where \{-M^3A^2K^2\} and \{-M^3A^2K^2šI^2\} function as predicates expanded with bol-di and express a meaning of determination in the past. In Example 449, \{-M^3A^2K^2\} bol-di is used, whereas in Example 450 \{-M^3A^2K^2šI^2\} bol-di is used.

Example 449
\begin{verbatim}
Kaşen dala-yə čik-pak bol-di.
Kasen outside-DAT come out-MAK.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3
\end{verbatim}

Example 450
\begin{verbatim}
Kaşen dala-yə čik-pakši bol-di.
Kasen outside-DAT come out-MAKŠI.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST3
\end{verbatim}
‘Kasen decided to go out.’

In Examples 451 and 452, the forms are in attributive position and have the same readings.

Example 451
\begin{verbatim}
Ayt-pak woy-i-n tüsün-dü-m.
tell-MAK.PTCP idea-POSS3-ACC understand-PAST-1SG
\end{verbatim}

Example 452
\begin{verbatim}
Ayt-pakši woy-i-n tüsün-dü-m.
tell-MAKŠI idea-POSS3-ACC understand-PAST-1SG
\end{verbatim}
‘I understood the idea that X intended / was expected to express.’
However, in Example 453 {-M³A²K²} cannot be replaced by {-M³A²K²šI²} because {-M³A²K²šI²} expresses intention and not expectation. The intentional interpretation is not allowed by the context. Thus, Example 454 is not well formed.

Example 453

\[ \text{Jas kartay-mak, jok } \tilde{\text{t}} \text{w-ma}k, \]

young grow old-Mak3 non-existing be born-Mak3

\[ \text{t} \tilde{\text{w}}-\text{yan } \text{"ölmek.} \]

be born-GAN.PTCP die-Mak3

‘Young people are expected to grow old, non-existing people to be born, and born people to die.’ (Axmetov 1976: 15)

Example 454

\[ * \text{Jas kartaymaksı, jok tumaksı, tumak } \text{"ölmeksi.} \]

From these examples, the conclusion can be drawn that intentional interpretation presupposes the involved entity’s control—except for examples such as 447–452—whereas expectation is not dependent on control. Therefore {-M³A²K²} and {-M³A²K²šI²} are interchangeable when the interpretation can be intentional. In cases where the interpretation must be expectational {-M³A²K²šI²} is excluded. The suffix {-M³A²K²} may express what cannot be changed, what is predetermined, for instance in the sense of being scheduled. However {-M³A²K²šI²} cannot have this meaning.

Comparison with Uyghur

Uyghur has the same markers {-mA²K²} and {-mA²K²či}, but they are never used in the same meanings. There is a clear distinction between them. In main clause predicates, {-mA²K²} is only used as an old infinitive, while {-mA²K²či} is used to express intentionality, e.g. Kälümäči ‘X intends to come’, not *Kälümäč. The Kazakh usage of {-mA²K²} in non-main clause predicates has no equivalent in Uyghur.\[36\]

The suffix {-mA²K²}

The Uyghur infinitive marker {-mA²K²} is restricted to the old written style. It may also derive verbal nouns. Example 455 is a proverb.

Example 455 Uyghur

\[ \text{Al-mak-nin } \text{bär-} \text{mik-} \text{i } \text{bar.} \]

take-MAK-GEN give-MAK.VN.POSS3 existing

‘Taking entails giving.’ (Tömür 2011: 240)

\[36\] For similar forms in Kirghiz, see Kirchner (2006b: 351). For Tatar and Bashkir, see Berta (2006: 294)
The corresponding expression in Kazakh is illustrated in Example 456.

Example 456

\[\text{Al-mak-tūj \ ber-meg-i \ bar.}\]
\[\text{take-MAK-GEN \ give-MAK-POSS3 \ existing}\]
\[\text{‘Taking entails giving.’}\]

The form \{-mA^2K^2tA^2\}, i.e. \{-mA^2K^2\} plus locative, functions as an intra-terminal (progressive) predicate in main clauses.

Example 457 Uyghur

\[\text{Wātin-imız \ uč-kan-däk \ ilgirili-māktā.}\]
\[\text{country-POSS1PL \ fly-GAN.PTCP-DEK.DER \ progress-MAKTA}\]
\[\text{‘Our country is progressing very fast. (Tömür 2011: 240)}\]

The corresponding expression in Kazakh, (see Example 458,) may be formed with the intraterminal in \{-wda // -(Ø)U^2wdA^2\}. This form is not very productive.

Example 458

\"\text{Otān-imız \ uškan \ ķus-tay \ al-im-yā}\]
\[\text{country-POSS1PL \ fly-GAN.PTCP \ bird-EQUA \ front-DAT}\]
\[\text{bas-udwa}\]
\[\text{step -UWDA.INTRAT}\]
\[\text{‘Our country is progressing very fast.’}\]

In Uyghur, the past tense copula \(i-di\) may be added to \{-mA^2K^2tA^2\} to express a past intraterminal, as in Example 459. This usage is not very productive in Kazakh.

Example 459 Uyghur

\[\text{Oḵyruči-lar \ diŋkāt \ bilān \ dārš aylı-makta \ i-di.}\]
\[\text{student-PL \ careful \ BILAN.POSTP \ lesson-MAKTA \ E.COP-PAST3}\]
\[\text{‘The students were listening attentively to the lesson.’ (Tömür 2011^2: 240)}\]

The suffix \{-mA^2K^2či\}

The Uyghur suffix \{-mA^2K^2či\} may occur as a predicate in main clauses, just as in Kazakh. It expresses intention, willingness, and a decision to perform an action.

Copulas of the first and second persons attach to \{-mA^2K^2či\}. In Example 460, the copula of the first person is attached to \{-mA^2K^2či\}. 

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Example 460 Uyghur

Män kāl-mākči-mān.
I come-MAKČI-COP1SG
‘I intend to come today.’

The corresponding negation is formed with the copula ā-mās, as in Example 461.

Example 461 Uyghur

Män kāl-mākči āmās-mān.
I come-MAKČI not-COP1SG
‘I do not intend to come’.

The suffix {-mA^K2či} may be expanded with the past tense form of the copula bol- ‘to become, be’. Like the corresponding expression in Kazakh, the Uyghur form bol-di (BOL.COP-PAST3) adds the meaning of a decision in the past; see Example 462.

Example 462 Uyghur

Ālkām uxtī-mačči bol-di.
Alkam sleep-MAKČI BOL.COP-PAST3
‘Alkam decided to sleep.’
Conclusions

In this study, expressions of modality in Kazakh as spoken in China are described from a functional perspective. The modal notions volition, deontic evaluation, and epistemic evaluation express attitudes towards the propositional content and are conveyed in Kazakh by grammaticalized moods, particles, and lexical devices. All these categories are treated in detail, and ample examples of their different usages are provided.

The basic function of the four mood categories imperative, voluntative, optative, and hypothetical is the expression of volition. The markers are old suffixes also found in other Turkic languages. It has been demonstrated that these four mood categories can express a wide range of different volitional ideas depending on the context and their combinations with modifying elements.

The imperative mood has a number of specific features. For example, it only refers to second persons, normally does not have an overt subject, and cannot be combined with interrogative markers. Imperatives express orders, requests, permission, advice, suggestions, prohibitions, good wishes, and curses. Imperatives can be downtoned with the help of particles.

The voluntative mood primarily expresses subjective will. Its usages in all persons have been described. The first person expresses the addresser’s willingness, readiness, intention, decision, or promise to perform a given action. The third person signals command, demand, instruction, appeal, invitation, or request that an action be brought about by some entity other than the addressee. The negated forms convey prohibitive meanings.

The optative mood denotes willing, wishing, desire, intention, hope, aspiration, incitement, requesting, promising, advice, expectation, necessity, obligation, or prediction with respect to a non-factual situation. It does not always express the speaker’s subjective will. Its use has declined in Kazakh as in many other Turkic languages. Today it is mainly used in idiomatic expressions to express a polite request. In combination with the past copula Ęedi, it expresses fear, worry, and warnings about the possible occurrence of an undesired situation.

The function of the hypothetical mood depends on whether it marks the predicate of a main clause or the predicate of the protasis in a conditional clause. In main clauses, it is an imaginative mood expressing supposed events, and as such it may convey desiderative meanings, i.e. desires, wishes, or hope in the sense of ‘imagine it is the case’, ‘what if it were the case?’
The hypothetical forms can combine with different forms of the copula and other items. The usages of these combinations have been studied in detail.

The modal nuances expressed by the non-productive imprecatīve in \{-G^4I^2\} and the aorist have been treated whenever suitable, also in comparison with corresponding forms in other Turkic languages.

The periphrastic expressions of modality dealt with in this study are \{-G^4I^2\} + possessive personal markers + kel- as well as \{-G^4I^2\} + possessive personal markers + bar. Both devices convey inclination. The periphrastic constructions \{-sA^2\} + iyği + ’edi and \{-sA^2\} + deymın express wishes, whereas \{-sA^2\} + kerek expresses presumption.

Kazakh is characterized by the use of a large inventory of particles. Many express stance, i.e. some kind of cognitive or affective attitude towards the events described, and these play an especially significant role in spoken communication. A thorough description of the usages and the syntactic and phonetic properties of these particles has been provided.

One of the most frequently used particles, Ӏtı oy, serves to convey epistemic evaluation, assessments of the propositional content. The basic semantic contribution of the particle ʃI is to express volition. Its function varies according to its combinations with different mood categories.

Other particles treated are aw, wözi, D^3A^2, mİ’s, i’yä, ä, de, deşi and de-seşi, and bılem.

Finally, attention has also been given to lexical categories such as adverbs, verbs, and set phrases expressing modal notions.

The definition of modality employed in this study excludes ability and intentionality, and these are accordingly not included among the modal categories dealt with. For the sake of comparison, however, descriptions of some non-modal categories are given in chapter Non-modal expressions.

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

The following tables illustrate some important points in the description. Table 4 summarizes the forms and basic meanings of the synthetic devices. The various volitional and epistemic attitudes conveyed by modal particles are given in Table 5. Modal notions expressed by lexical categories are summarized in Table 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moods</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Modal nuances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>orders, commands, requests, permission, advice, suggestions, prohibitions, good wishes, curses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{(I^2)η-dA^2r}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{(A^2)yI^2n}</td>
<td>wishing, willingness, readiness, intention, decision, promise to perform a given action, allow, permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{(A^2)yI^2K^2}</td>
<td>wishes, intentions, desires, proposals, cohortative use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG/PL</td>
<td>{-sl^2n}</td>
<td>commands, demands, instructions, appeals, invitations, requests, permission, hope, wishes requests, fear, warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{-G^4A^2y-mI^2n}</td>
<td>wishes, desires, hope, requests, fear, warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{-G^4A^2y-mI^2z}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{-G^4A^2y-sI^2η}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{-G^4A^2y-sI^2η-dA^2r}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG/PL</td>
<td>{-G^4A^2y}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{-sA^2m}</td>
<td>wishes, desires, requests, counterfactual wishes, regret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{-sA^2K^2}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{-sA^2η}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{-sA^2ηdA^2r}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG/PL</td>
<td>{-sA^2}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprecative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{-G^4I^2r}</td>
<td>curses, unrealistic wishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{(A^3)r-mI^2n}</td>
<td>epistemic possibility; commands, requests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{(A^3)r-mI^2z}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>{(A^3)r-sI^2η}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>{(A^3)r-sI^2η-dA^2r}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG/PL</td>
<td>{(A^3)r}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Modal particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal particles</th>
<th>Modal nuances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>meditative-rhetorical use, comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw</td>
<td>approval, regret, disappointment; comprehension, presumption, assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilet</td>
<td>certainty, assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D²A²</td>
<td>statement is understandable, unsurprising, expected, predictable, inevitable, reasonable, acceptable, and logical; regret; comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deşi</td>
<td>comprehension; doubtful attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deseyşî</td>
<td>approval, disapproval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γøy</td>
<td>presumption, comprehension, plausibility of a possibility, surmise, conjecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḳyā</td>
<td>meditative-rhetorical use, anxiousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḵфесс</td>
<td>dubitative, ironical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣİ²</td>
<td>reinforcement, entreaty, begging, appeal, emphasis of desire, wishing, hope, disapproval, disappointment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṽözİ</td>
<td>positive or negative attitude</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Lexical expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal notions</th>
<th>Modal words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>boladî ‘to be possible’, jolber- ‘to allow’, ruksat’et- ‘to permit’, jolyay- ‘to allow’, tiyim sal- ‘to forbid, prohibit’, ğekte- ‘to forbid’, teje- ‘to restrict, limit’ or jolberne- ‘not to allow’, ruksat’etpe- ‘not to permit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
čıyar ‘to be possible’, körınedi, uksaydı, siyaktı, siğıldı, sekildı, állpettı ‘it seems’, mümkün ‘possible’, iktimal ‘probable’, kädık ‘improbable’ bolmasın ‘it is hopefully not…’, kerek ‘necessity’; ârine / âlbette ‘of course, certainly’, sözsiz, sözjok ‘surely’
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XJYB= Xīnjīāng nǐnjīān [‘Xinjiang yearbook’] 2011. Ürümqi: Xīnjīāng niánjìān shè [‘Xinjiang Yearbook Society Press’].


Appendix

Texts

T1. *Bałanïñ dünýege kelïwïne baylanïstï saïṭtar* ‘Customs concerning the birth of a child’

Metadata
Gender: female
Age: 46
Date of birth: 23th April 1964
Place of birth: Ürümqi County, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China
Education: High School
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands and speaks)
Date of recording: 17th July 2010
Place of recording: Burqin County (in a Kazakh village), Altay.

Running text
T1 / T1/ 1 – T1/ 10
Bиждиң казақ қалқі əнді өй жасап балаң боýынан бастап... Той қасыяның қыз, əнді балаң боўдә. Балаң боýынан қыз өй өйүз ай өйүз күн көйөрөт. Əсі өрісінә көп теген өшөрөт, мисалы ауыр нәрсәң ді эүрмөр көрөр, дікәт қыялүүнүң өшөрөт. Ауыр нәрсәң эүрмөр көрөр, өңөн қыз өл алып қалыпки даир ѝшөр көрөр. Соң эңде əнді ѝшөрдың нәрестөң əнді ѝөсіп жеткүлөй эчкүнөп эүүлдөр боўдә əсі. Соңөөн соң өйүз ай өйүз күн өшүп бошанынан қыз, өл бала, нәресте дүнөге өлөнү. Дүнөге көлкүннөң қыз, биждиң казақ қалқыңда əнді чылдуку андан б'р əнді нөмөң өйү өткөзөр əнді қышындыр. Əл эңдө əнді көршілерді, өңөң төвүс т'өйындөрдің бәрің чыкыр, б'р қышындыр өйү өткөзөр. Соң эңдө əнді тан атканаң əнді өзимиздөр əнді өңөөңдүң көлкүн көрүп, өңөө жүрө жөнөө биөрмөр б'р əнді өсөндөрдүң ачык, түрлү түрлү қыздың қызыкту /dialogued чыркыр, өңөөңдөй көрші коңдоңдүр əнді бүл баланиң дүнөге көлкүнкүнүн сөндөй көунышталаң боўдә.
Sonümen süyte süyte sol balâ... jetî kûnnen keyîn buł balanî besîkke schlâdî. Besîkke salarda tarî da sol körşî ûlân, tuwus têwyandarî çakîrîp, sodoon keyîn ûlar özîne tuştuk âgîndey âgi, nemene, bu balâya çâşîw ala keledî. Çâşîw ala kep sonûmen bunî besîkke schlâdî. Besîkke salûw barîsînda, buł besîkî... Besîktîn koł bawî deymîz, besîk körpe deymîz, "oîyan âgi" oraytîn jörgek, ana minaşînîn bîrîn, "özderînîn koldarîmen tîgî, tûrlî tüstegi kâzaktîn ûrnenkerîn salîp, sonûmen, "oł balanî... Besîktî jasa koçyannan keyîn, sêrttan bîr moledan çakîr kep sodoon keyîn "buł balâya azan çakîrînîz", dep süytedî. Sonda û o kezde besîk ûözî kû turadî. Kur turîyanan keyîn, îrîmîcîk, kurt, "özîmîzînî kazaçkî tayamdarî akep, sodoon keyîn jânegi âgi besîktîn tîbek salatîn jérîne âgi tayamdarîmîzdî sodoon, bîr, biytip ûkoyadî. Sonûmen âgi kelgen körşîsî, tuwus, sodoon keyîn janelî biytip kołîn tosîp turup jaņayî tayamdarîn âlîp aîîp sonûmen âgi balanîn tôştîmasîn jeymîz dep, âgînî jeydî. Jep, jep boîyanannan keyîn, sodoon keyîn jaņayî mîlî da azan çakîradî.

Azan çakîrîp, sodoon keyîn, senîn atîn pâlembay dep bayayî, mâselen, ayyuł yâkî serîk dese: "serîk!" senîn atîn "serîk!" senîn atîn "serîk!" dep so sekîldî âgi üs ret çakîradî. Azan çakîradî, "osînday at koyadî balâya. Azan çakîrîp at ûkoyadî. "Oînan keyîn, süyte sûyte kep, bu balanî... ɏendî... Ɋerîk ün boloðî. Ɋerîk kûn boloðanda, kazaçk ûözîmîzîn atamîz kazaçkîn saltînda, Ɋ erîk kîsîk s'wîdî bîr têgenege quyupalamîz da, bu balanî s'wîya çomîldîrîmîz. S'wîya çomîldîrîp, çâsin alamîz. Al ɏendî, "osînîn arasînda bîr kafî kaîyân söz bar ûkeken. Buł bala üs tört kûn "ôtkenen keyîn, âgîndey âgi, terîsî jaman bo këtpesîn dep, tuzdu... âgi, s’wîdî b’raz ûlman kîp alamîz da, "oîyan âgi, tuzdî aštîrak kîp salîp ap, balanî, neçe ret, kîrîkî çîkkânça, sol âgi, tuzduk s'wîya çomîldîrîmîz. Ʉondayî makståtimîz, balanînî terîsî jaksî boluw üsûn.

gende bu balanı sundetteymiz. Moldanı çakirip, sundetep, "özümüzüň saltımız boynuca sundetep, jeti jaska kelgende bayayı sundet toyn jasaymiz ul bala bosa. Al, kızbala bosa, bunuň başyk toyn jasaymiz dep. So, sonday bär, "özümüz kuwanıp, kalça berip, dos jaran, tuwuş t'wyandarımızdii, körşi koňandarımızdii çakirip, sonday salttarımiz bar "ötkzęip jataţi.

Annotated text
T1/ 1

Bix-diý kazak kalğ-i endi toy jasa-p
we-gen Kazakh people-POSS3 NOW.FILL wedding create-IP.CONV
balalı bol-ğan-nan basta-p...
pregnant BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL start-IP.CONV
‘Our Kazakh people get married, and then they start to get children...’

T1/ 2

Toy jasa-ğan-nan keyin, endi balalı
wedding create-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP NOW.FILL pregnant
bol-a-di.
BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
‘After they have got married they get children.’

T1/ 3

Balalı bol-ğan-nan keyin, toyuz ay toyuz kün
pregnant BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP nine month nine day
kötör-e-di.
carry-A.PRES-3
‘After they have become pregnant, they bear (the baby) 9 months and 9 days.’

T1/ 4

"Osî baris-ta, köp-tegen is-ter bol-a-di,
this course-LOC lot-APPROX thing-PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
misali, avîr narse-ni de köter-me-w kerek,
for example heavy thing-ACC DA.PART carry-NEG-UW.VN necessary
dikat kıl-atın is-ter bol-a-di.
careful do-ATIN.PTCP thing-PL BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
‘During this time, there are very many things, for example, one should not carry heavy things, and there are things which you have to pay attention to.’

T1/ 5

Avîr narse-ni köter-me-w kerek, "o-nan keyin,
heavy thing-ACC carry-NEG-UW.VN necessary X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
âğı albatılı kalaymaêan darij iš-pe-w kerek.
AFORESAID.FILL random arbitrary medicine drink-NEG-UW.VN necessary
‘One should not carry heavy things, or take medicine without careful judgment.’
Sol kezdę þendı, jıš-te-gı náreste-nıŋ þendı, "öš-ip
that time-LOC NOW.FILL inside-LOC-GI infant-GEN NOW.FILL grow-IP.CONV
jetıl-úw-in-e tótenše paydašı bol-a-di "oši.
mature-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT extraordinary useful BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 this
‘Then this will be very useful for the growth and development of the unborn baby.’
T1/7
Sonı-men sol toyuz ay toyuz kün-i
that-WITH.POSTP THAT.FILL nine month nine day-POSS3
toš-ip, bosan-γan-nan keyın, "ol bala,
complete-ip.conv deliver-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP X child
náreste dünye-ge kel-e-di;
infant world-DAT come-A.PRES-3
‘Then, when the nine months and nine days have passed, that baby is born.’
T1/8
Dünye-ge kel-gen-nen keyın, biz-diŋ kazaḵ
world-DAT come-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP WE-GEN Kazakh
kalq-in-da þendı, čildekaña37 de-gen b’r þendı,
people-POSS3-LOC NOW.FILL čildekaña say-GAN.PTCP a NOW.FILL
nemene toy "ötkiz-e-di þendı kišigirim.
WHAT.FILL celebration hold-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL rather small
‘When it has been born, our Kazakh people hold a celebration which is called
čildekaña, which is, a relatively small one.’
T1/9
"Ol kezdę þendı körşi-ler-di; ţakın tuvus t’w-γan-dar-diŋ
X time-LOC NOW.FILL neighbor-PL-ACC close relative kinsman-PL-GEN
bár-i-n čakir-ip, b’r kišigirim toy
all-POSS3-ACC invite-IP.CONV a rather small celebration
"ötkiz-e-di.
pass through-A.PRES-3
‘At that time, they call the neighbors, all the close relatives and hold a relatively
small celebration.’
T1/10
Sol kezdę þendı taŋ at-kança þendı "öz-imiz-diŋ
that time-LOC NOW.FILL dawn-GANŠA.CONV NOW.FILL self-POSS1PL-GEN
þendı án-der-imiz-di čırka-p, kara jorya
NOW.FILL song-PL-POSS1PL-ACC sing-IP.CONV black jogtrotting horse

37 A celebration for a newborn baby (Kural 2003: 452).
'Until the break of day we sing our songs and we have a dance which is called “black jog-trotting horse”, we sing all those, and people tell interesting stories and the neighbors become very happy because this child has been born.'

T1/11

Sonî-men sïyt-e sïyt-e soł bala jëtî künk-nen that-WITH.POSTP do so-A.CONV do so-A.CONV that child seven day-ABL keyîn buł bala-nî besîk-ke sal-a-dî. AFTER1.POSTP this child-ACC cradle-DAT put-A.PRES-3 ‘Then, in this way this child seven days later... they put the child into the cradle.’

T1/12

Besîk-ke sal-ar-da tayî da soł körşî kolan çradle-DAT put-AOR.LOC.CONV again DA.PART that neighbor tuwuş t“wyan-dar-dî cakîr-ip, so-dan keyîn relative kinsman-PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP “o-lar “öz-in-e tuştuk 39, āgindey āgi. X-PL self-POS3-DAT suitable LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL nemene, bu bala-γa çâshuw 40 al-a kel-e-dî. WHAT.FILL this child-DAT present take-A.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-3 ‘Moreover, when they put the baby into the cradle they invite the neighbors and relatives, and they bring suitable presents and they put them into the cradle.’

T1/13

Çâshuw al-a ke 1/jp sonî-men bu-nî present bring-A.CONV COME.POSTV-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP this-ACC besîk-ke sal-a-dî. cradle-DAT put-A.PRES-3 ‘They bring a present, and then they put it into the cradle.’

38 Normally avt- is the verb for ‘to tell, to say’. The use of çîyar- ‘to invent’ in this context means to find something very interesting to tell.

39 This word, which is not found in Kazakh dictionaries, is most probably copied from Uyghur (Uyyp ur tilin j izahlk loyîi).
At that time, the cradle stands empty. So T₁/say (to the mullah): please, recite the azan. After they have constructed the cradle, they invite a mullah from outside, then they do so. T₁/Kazakh design, and then that baby...

rolled around the baby, they have made all these things themselves, in colorful design and such like ana mïna—a mullah... When they put (the baby) into the cradle, this cradle...

When they put (the baby) into the cradle, this cradle to which the baby’s hand is tied in the cradle to which the baby’s hands are tied (Kural 2003: 57). When they put (the baby) into the cradle, this cradle...

A piece of lace in the cradle to which the baby’s hands are tied. 41 Azan (from Arabic ʻadhān) consists of formulas pronounced into the right ear of a child shortly after its birth (Encyclopedia of Islam 1, p. 188).
defecate?’ brought as a present through the hole. Kazakh food, such as cheese is expected to fit this as transport the urine into a pot underneath the cradle. The guests throw the food they have brought as a present through the hole, asking: ‘Did X defecate?’ This expression has been lexicalized as a noun and is used as the name of this ritual.

43 See footnote 33.
44 Tübek is a device put on the genitals of the male baby when he is lying in the cradle. It serves to transport the urine into a pot underneath the cradle.
45 Tıštima is the name of a ritual performed when a baby is put into the cradle for the first time. Relatives and friends gather around the cradle, in which there is a hole. The baby’s excrement is expected to fall down into a pot or a tübek. The guests throw the food they have brought as a present through the hole, asking: Tıštima ma? (defecate-PAST3-O) ‘Did X defecate?’ This expression has been lexicalized as a noun and is used as the name of this ritual.
46 Where the tübek is inserted.
‘(They) eat. After they have eaten, after that the mullah I have mentioned recites the azan.’

Aforesaid mullah recite the azan.

‘Now he has recited the azan, and then he calls your name, whatever you are called, simply, for example, if the baby is called Aygul, or Serik, “Serik! Your name is Serik! Your name is Serik!” in this way, he calls out (the name) three times.’

‘He recites the azan, in this way he gives a name to the baby.’

‘He recites the azan and gives a name to the baby.’

‘Then, time goes by, and this child...’

‘Forty days have passed.’
Kū'k kūn bol-γanda, kazak, ʻoż-imız ata-mız
forty day Bol.Cop-GAN.LOC.Conv Kazakh self-POSS1PL father-POSS1PL
kazak-ᴛ ŋ salt-ɪn-da kirič kasik s'w-dī b'ɾ tegene-ge
Kazakh-GEN tradition-POSS3-LOC forty spoon water-ACC a basin-DAT
kuy-up al-a-mız da, bul bala-nī
pour-IP.Conv take.Postv-A.pres-Cop1PL DA.Part this child-ACC
s'w-ya čomildir-a-mız.
water-DAT bathe-A.pres-Cop1PL
‘When forty days have passed, we Kazakhs, according to the tradition of our Kazakh ancestors, we pour forty spoons of water into a basin and immerse the baby in that water.’

T1/27

S'w-ya čomildir-ip, čaš-i-n al-a-mız.
water-DAT bathe-IP.Conv hair-POSS3-ACC take-A.pres-Cop1PL
‘We bathe it in the water and cut its hair.’

T1/28

Al ʻenđi, ʻosî-nıg ara-sı̄n-da b'ɾ ʻal-佗'
however NOW.FILL this-GEN among-POSS3SG-LOC a remain-IP.Conv
kal-γan sōz bar ʻeken.
STAY.Postv-GAN.PTCP word existing E.Cop.INDIR3
‘However, now, there is one thing among them (the traditions) that I have not mentioned.’

T1/29

Bul bala uš tört kūn ʻōt-ken-nen keyın,
this child three four day pass-GAN-ABL after1.postp
āgindey āgi āte-si jaman
LIKE.AFORESAID.FILL AFORESAID.FILL skin-POSS3SG bad
bo'üp ket-pe-sı̄n de-p, tuzdu...
Bol.Cop-IP.Conv leave.Postv-NEG-OPT3 say-IP.Conv salty
āgi s'w-dī b'raz jīman ʻal-佗
AFORESAID.FILL water-ACC a little bit warm do-IP.Conv
al-a-mız da, ʻo-γan āgi
 TAKE.Postv-A.pres-Cop1PL DA.Part x-ABL AFORESAID.FILL
tuz-dī aštī-raḵ ʻal-佗 sal-ı̄p
salt-ACC strong-Comp do-IP.Conv place.Postv-IP.Conv
al-佗, bala-nī neşe ret ʻirk-ı
Take.Postv-IP.Conv child-ACC several time forty-POSS3
In order to prevent such problems this body should be healthy.

Our intention in doing this for the skin of the child to be healthy.

It is so that some persons later in their life get itchy skin or other things happen. And in order to prevent such problems, it is certainly good for the (whole) body. This is what I have wanted to tell you.

Tuzduk (salt-der) ‘salty’ should in Kazakh normally be tuzdï, a word consisting of a noun and a denominal nominal suffix form in {L^1T^2}. The ending used here is a copy of {L^1T^2} in Uyghur.
‘Later, one of the things is that if the baby’s shoulder blade gets stiff, in such a case they put grease on the baby and then straighten and stretch the baby.’

Māselen, mīna kol-dan al-īp /accounts/ a/āp, for example this arm-ABL take-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV biytip köter-īp, soz-a-mīz, ʻo-nan geyiń, do so-IP.CONV lift-IP.CONV stretch-A.PRES-COP1PL X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP b/r kol, b/r ayak-tan biytip soz-atīn kez-der an arm a leg-ABL do so-IP.CONV stretch-ATIN.PTCP time-PL bol-a-dī. BOL.COP-A.PRES-3

‘For example, they take (the baby) by this arm, and doing so they lift it and stretch it, and sometimes they lift the baby by holding one arm and one leg and stretch it (the baby).’

ʻO-nan geyiń, jawirīn-dar-i āgi X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP shoulder blade-PL-POSS3 AFORESAID.FILL üyüs-üp kal-a-dī. cramp-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-A.PRES-3

‘Then, it can happen that the baby, so to speak, suffers cramps in its shoulder blades.’

jasay-mız ul bala bol-sa.
makem-PRES-COP1PL male child BOL-COP-HYP3

‘We invite a mullah, and he circumcises the boy. After he has circumcised him, according to our tradition, when he is seven years old, it is so that we arrange a Circumcision Feast for him, if it is a boy.’

T1/ 40

 ál kiz bala bol-sa bu-niŋ besik toy-i n
but female child BOL-COP-HYP3 this-GEN cradle celebration-POSS3-ACC
jasay-mız dep.
makem-PRES-COP1PL DEP.PART

‘However, if it is a girl, we arrange a Cradle Feast for her, that is how it is.’

T1/ 41

So son-day b’r ozi-imiz kuwan-ip kalja
THAT.FILL that-EQUA a self-POSS1PL rejoice-IP.CONV kalja
ber-ip, dos jaran, tuwus iyän-dar-imiz-di,
give-IP.CONV friend relative kinsman-PL-POSS1PL-ACC
korsi kolay-dar-imiz-di cachir-ip, son-day salt-tar-imiz
neighbour-PL-POSS1PL-ACC invite-IP.CONV that-EQUA tradition-PL-POSS1PL
bar otkiz-ip jat-atin.
existing go through-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-ATIN,PTCP

‘We have such a tradition celebrating that we rejoice, giving kalja and inviting our friends, relatives and neighbors.’

T2. Aygili adam: Musattar ‘A famous person: Musattar’

Metadata
Gender: male
Age: 60
Date of birth: September 1941
Place of birth: Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China
Education: University
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Uyghur (understands, speaks, reads, and writes), Chinese (understands, speaks, reads, and writes), Mongol (understands)
Date of recording: 12th August 2010
Place of recording: Ürümqi

48 Meat of a sacrificial animal for a woman who has just given birth or for a person who has recovered from a disease (Kurał 2003: 435).
Elımizdeği kazak ültii negizinde bızdınq şonjaş uyyur aptonomiyali rayonunii ile kazak aptonomiyali "obilisina karastii, ile, altay, terbayatay aymaktarının ar kayşi awdandırında, ürümüş kalişında jâne ürümüş kalişına karastii ürümüş awdani, dabançın rayonii, duşsan rayondarında, sanî xuyzu aptonomiyali "obilisina karastii mori kazak aptonomiyali awdani, jâne şonjii, jemsar, manas, kütibi siyaktu awdandarda jâne kümîl aymayınıň barköl kazak aptonomiyali awdani, burataqa munyyil aptonomiyali "obilisina karastii arasan, jiń awdandarimên, buratala kalişina "osi siyaktu jérlerge tarap "ornałaskan. Elımizde b’r milliyan tört jüz mûnniň üstünde kazak jasaydî. Endi elımiz kazaktarı partyamızdıği ullañ sayasatiniň şûyulaği nurunda, başka ullañtarmañ terezesî teş bol”p, b’rlikte jasap kele jâtir. Endi elımiz kazaktařiň işinde neb’r  ýaﬀim, profesor, târix zerttevşişi, âdebiyetçi, aêin jazuwsiñlar çiktii. Endi bular "osi b’r top ýalimdar, mamandarimiz bızdınq kazak útilumızdır mañeniyiñ damuwlina, "örkendeuvuñe "ote zor ülester kösti. Aytalîk, bızdınq sultan jänbolat ayamız, jaêkîr mirzakan ayamız, muitıkan omar uli ayamız siyaktu b’r top mamandarimiz, aêin jazuwsıñlarımız, siňılarımız, târixsiñlarımız bar. Endi "osiñdariñ işinde jâne men b’r adamdı tanistira ketim kenil "otir, bul musattar saliva uli degen kişi. Bul kişiniň âke-şi saliva degen kişi burun "ölkölük "ökûmete "örünbasar bas xatêli bolýan. Yañi bul bızdınq respublikamız kürňluwdan burunyşi jumus. Şonjaş b’rlešken "ökûmetinde, gomindañ kezinde bitlay aytkañda, "ölkölük "ökûmettiñ bas katçisî bolýan.

Musattar "Endi lixasada, yâyni şızaq "ölkeşinij" ortalığı lixasada bastauwuş mektepke "oquuwyâ kiriq, "ëlûw törtinş işlii muşinjuiq genaralidiş kizmetiñ lanjüge žötkelgende, musattarşı lânjüdeği batüs soltüstük ulttar instutına "oquuwyâ bergen. Mînş toyu" işiz alpş işinş işlii tamızda musattar "osî mektepten "oquu tawiskan soñ, soł jili kîrgüyekte kizmetke bölünip, "öziniñ köyamdiñ kizmetiñ gansu "ölkeşiniñ aksay kazaq aptonomiyali awdanıñan "oḳtıwuşilik sîndi ulayättii žumuspen bastayan "eken. Sonîmen "oöl b'ir mînş toyu" işuz jetpîşinş işlii "öziniñ t'wyan jeri şonjanç partici, şonjançınşiði urūmişği kałasîna kayta "oralyan. B'raқ sol kezdeği keya b'ir sołakay sayasattarşı kesirinen "oöl awîl küstaka, tawîr rayonya aparîlip, b'ir kanśa jil dene "eŋbegimen şûyûldancyan. ODan keyin bünüñ atak abîroyî kalpîna keltirîlip b'ir mînş toyu" işuz jetpîş altınşi işlii kûrmüyeken b'ir mînş toyu" işuz seksen segizinş işlii kañtrya deyin urûmîjı awdanı mâydeniynet jurtında kizmet istegen. B'ir mînş toyu" işuz sekseninş işlii kañtardan toksan altınşi işlii tânimya deyin şonjan xalîk radıyo stansiyaşîñmiş ädebiyet körkomôner bölûmünde kizmet istegen. Sonîmen bu kıṣi toksan altınşi işlii tâmîzza kizmet üstünde katnas "ökriyasina uşırap Jaralanip, sodan "eki mînş besinş işlii jîrma üsünçî mamûrda urûmîjîde kaytis bolyan. "Endi musattar bu kıṣiñinş "eŋ ulken b'ir tanîmlamli "elge, barîk adamyia tanîmlamli bolyan jërî bu kıṣi mîkîti awdamasî, "onan keyin tanîmlamli sazger, kompuzitor. Bu kıṣiñinş "özi muzikanî "ote jaksî "oynaydı, "onan keyin ân jazadî, ñane köptegen târixi mâtériyalardî, ädeby mâtériyalardî da awdaryañ. Êmustî da "ote şögel jaksî istegen kıṣi.

The Kazakhs in our country have mainly settled in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. (More precisely) in the Ili, Altay and Tarbagatay regions that belong to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture. (Moreover), in Ürümqi city, and in the Ürümqi County, the Daban City region, and the Tongshan region that belong to Ürümqi City. In Mori Kazakh Autonomous County, and in the counties such as Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, Kutbi suchlike county and Hami region, Barkol Kazakh autonomous county, Bortala Mongol autonomous prefecture, Arasan Jinghe county and in the counties such as Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, Kutbi that belong to Ürümqi City, and in the counties such as Qitai, Jimsar, Manas, Kutbi that belong to Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture. In Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County of the Hami region, and in Arasan and Jinghe counties that belong to the Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, and in Bortala city.

T2/ 2

El-imiz-de b/r million tört jüz mii̱n-ni̱y

There are more than one million four hundred thousand Kazakhs living in our country.

T2/ 3

Endi el-imiz kaẕak-tar-i̱ party-mii̱n-dii̱

There are more than one million four hundred thousand Kazakhs living in our country.
Well, the Kazakh people in our country have been living together with other nations, sharing the same rights, in the shining light of our party’s national policy.

‘Well, there have been all sorts of scientists, professors, historians, literary scholars, poets, and writers among the Kazakhs in our country.’

‘For example, we have a number of researchers, poets, writers, critics, and historians such as Mr. Soltan Janbol, Mr. Jakip Mirzakan, Mr. Muratkan Omar.’

49 The expression terezesi teŋ, literally ‘its window equal’ is an idiom meaning ‘with equal rights’.

189
‘Now, I would like to introduce to you one of them: Musattar Salis.’

‘The father of this person, called Salis, was formerly the Deputy Chief Secretary in the provincial government.’

‘Actually, this was before our republic (i.e. the Peoples’ Republic of China) was established.’

‘In other words, he was the Chief Secretary of the provincial government in the Xinjiang United Government in Kuomintang times.’

‘He was the deputy of the chief secretary.’
‘Endi musattar bu kisi-niŋ asili at-i satarakan.
NOW.FILL Musattar this person-GEN original name-POSS3 Satarkan.
yeken.
E.COP.INDIR3
‘Well, Musattar’s original name was, as I have learned, Satarkan.’

T2/ 13
Ake-si salis de-gen kisi yen.
father-POSS3 Salis say-GAN.PL person E.COP.INDIR3
‘His father was a person called Salis.’

T2/ 14
Musattar aya-miz bir miŋ toyu^ žuz kiʁ^k
Musattar elder brother-POSS1PL one thousand nine hundred fourty
yeke nişžiil-i mawsim-da urumji kala-sin-da dünye-ge
two-ORD year-POSS3 June-LOC Ürümqi city-POSS3LOC world-DAT
kel-gen.
come-GAN.POSTT3
‘Mr. Musattar was born in Ürümqi City in June 1942.’

T2/ 15
Karşadayi-nan ayawli ake sese-sinen ayril-yan.
youth-POSS3ABL dear father mother-POSS3ABL lose-GAN.POSTT3
‘He lost his beloved parents in his youth.’

T2/ 16
Bu-niŋ ayril-uw baris-i.
this-GEN lose-UW.VN process-POSS3
‘The story of how he lost them.’

T2/ 17
B’r miŋ toyu^ žuz yeluw-inşžiil-i musattar-din
one thousand nine hundred fifty-ORD year-POSS3 Musattar-GEN
ake-si salis semiya-si-menen jane
father-POSS3 Salis family-POSS3WITH.POSTP and
baja-si abdíkerim de-gen kisi
brother-in-law-POSS3 Abdikerim say-GAN.PL person
semiya-si-menen ‘olke azat bol-yan gez-de
family-POSS3WITH.POSTP province free BOL.COP-GEN.PL person time-LOC
bul kisi-ler ‘osii ‘endij çetel-ge ket-uw
this person-PL this NOW.FILL foreign-DAT go-UW.VN
ruksat-i-n al-ıp, soni-men karayurum
permission-POSS3-ACC take-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP Karakorum
In the year 1950, Musattar’s father, Salis, with his family, and his brother-in-law called Abdikerim and his family, got permission to go abroad when the province became free. Then, when they arrived at the foot of the Karakorum Mountain, they were killed by the person called Jolbars who was the commander of the Kuomintang garrison. Thus the son of this Musattar Salis and the son of Toktar Abdikerim, both became orphans.’

T2/ 18

Sol kez-de musattar segiz žas-ta, toktar w’on jas-ta
that time-LOC Musattar eight year-LOC Toktar ten year-LOC ɣeken.
E.COP.INDIR3

‘That time, Musattar was eight and Toktar was ten years old.’

T2/ 19

So-dan bu-lar baska kōš-ke ɣer-ip, bu ɣekı jetim
that-ABL this-PL other migrant-DAT follow-IP.CONV this two orphan
bala šizan-ya bar-γanda, ǰungo xalik azattık
child Tibet-DAT go-GAN.LOC.CONV Chinese people liberation
ărmiyā-si jay-ı-nan bu-lar bay-ip
army-POSS3SG side-POSS3-ABL this-PL bring up-IP.CONV
al-ın-ip, sol kez-de-gi ʾaskeri kolbaššī
TAKE.POSTV-REF.PASS-IP.CONV that time-LOC-GI army commander
mučinjuŋ de-gen kiṣi genaral, bu kiṣi musattar-di
Mujinjong say-GAN.PTCP person general this person Musattar-ACC

50 When the collective suffix ‘{(O)A}²w’ is added, certain stem-final vowels are dropped.
‘After that, they followed other migrants. When these two orphans arrived in Tibet, they were adopted by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. And General Mujinjong, who was at that time the army commander, adopted Musattar.’

T2/20

Sonī-men bul ana sättārkan de-gen at-tiyn

that- WITH POSTP this that Sattarkan say-GAN PTCP name-GEN

aldīn-a mu de-gen "öz-i-niŋ pamiliya-si-n

front.POSS3-DAT Mu say-GAN PTCP self-POSS3-GEN family-POSS3 GEN ACC

kos-īp sonī-men musattar bol-"p

add-IP CONV that- WITH POSTP Musattar BOL COP IP CONV

ket-ken jer-i "osi "eken bu kisi-niŋ.

LEAVE POSTV GAN PTCP place-POSS3 this E COP INDIR3 this person-GEN

‘As a result, he added the family name Mu before his name Sattarkan. That was how the name of this person became Musattar.’

T2/21

Musattar "endī līxasa-da, yawni šızaŋ "ölke-si-niŋ

Musattar NOW FILL Lhasa LOC that is Tibet province-POSS3 GEN

"ortalıği-i līxasa-da bastauwuș mektep-ke "ok-uv-ya

capital-POSS3 Lhasa LOC primary school-DAT study-UW VN DAT

kīzmet-i lānji-ge žıtle-l-gende, musattar-dı

job-POSS3 Lanzhou DAT transfer-PASS GAN LOC CONV Musattar ACC

lānji-de-gi hatış soltüstük ul-tar institut-in-a

Lanzhou LOC GI west north national PL institute POSS3 DAT

"ok-uv-ya ber gen.

study UW VN DAT give GAN POSTT3

‘Well, Musattar, started primary school in Lhasa, that is, in the capital of the province of Tibet, in Lhasa. When general Mujinjong was transferred to work in Lanzhou in 1954, he sent Musattar to study at the Northwest Institute for Nationalities in Lanzhou.’

T2/22

Miŋ toyu źüz alpiş bes-inişi žil-i tamız-da

thousand nine hundred sixty five ORD year POSS3 August LOC

musattar "osi mektep-ten "ok-uw tawus-kan

Musattar this university ABL study UW VN finish GAN PTCP

soŋ, sol źil-i kiŋguyek-te kizmet-ke

AFTER 1 POSTP that year POSS3 September LOC job DAT
'After Musattar graduated from this university in August 1965, he was assigned to the prestigious job of a teacher and started teaching in the Aksai Kazakh Autonomous County of Gansu Province in September of the same year.'

'Then, in 1970, he returned to his birthplace Xinjiang, to the City Ürümqi in Xinjiang.'

'But due to the harm of some leftist policies of that time, he was sent to the countryside and worked as a laborer for several years.'
'After that his reputation was restored and from September 1976 until January 1988 he worked at the Culture Council of Ürümqi County.'

T2/ 26

Bır mıği toğuž züz seksen-iňşiž il-i kaňtar-dan
one thousand nine hundred eighty-ORD year-POS3 January-ABL
toksan altı-nşiž il-ı tamız-γa deyin şenjaŋ xalîk radiyo
ninety six-ORD year-POS3 August-DAT until Xinjiang people radio
stansiyası-niş iş ende¿ vörkümden bölüm-üň-de
station-POS3SG-GEN literature art department-POS3-LOC
kishmet ichte-gen.
job do-GAN.POSTT3

‘From January 1980 until August 1996, he worked at the Department of Literature
and Art of Xinjiang People’s Radio Station.’

T2/ 27

Sonì-men bu kışış toksan altı-nşiž il-ı
that- WITH.POSTP this person ninety six-ORD year-POS3
tamız-da kışmet üstünk-de katnas ùkiya-sîn-a
August-LOC job on the way. POS3-LOC traffic accident-POS3SG-DAT
uşra-p, jaraña-i, so-dan ýekî miň bes-iňşi
suffer-IP.CONV injury-REF.PASS-IP.CONV that-ABL two thousand five-ORD
zil-ı jirma üş-üńçi mamir-da ûrümji-de kaytîs
year-POS3 twenty three-ORD May-LOC Ürümqi-LOC die
bol-yan.
BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3

‘Then in August 1996, he was injured in a road accident on an assignment, after
which, on 23 May of 2005 he died in Ürümqi.’

T2/ 28

‘Endî musattar bu kışış-nîgy ëñ ülken bîr ël-ge, barliŋ
now Musattar this person-GEN SUPER big a country-DAT all
adam-γa tanîm lã bol-γan jer-i, bu kışî mîktî
person-DAT known BOL.COP-GAN.PTCP place-POS3 this person great
awðarmasî, ç-o-nan keyin tanîm lã sazger, kompuzîtor.
interpreter X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP known performer composer
‘Now, Musattar, he is best known by the (Kazakh) people, all of them, for being a
great interpreter and moreover a well-known performer and composer.’

T2/ 29

Bu kışış-nîgy ëñ-î muzika-nî ëñ-î ote fakaşî ëñ-î oyna-y-dî,
this person-GEN self-POS3 music-ACC very good play-A.PRES-3
He was good at performing music, and he composed songs. He also translated many historical and literary works.

In May 1985, he became a member of the Chinese Communist Party.

He became the head of the Kazakh Department at the Department of Literature and Art of Xinjiang People’s Radio Station.

In this position, he was a man who made a great contribution to the field of the culture of the Chinese Kazakhs, especially of the Kazakhs in Xinjiang.
T2/ 35

Bu-nuŋ b'r-i biz-diŋ ult-imiz-diŋ wöz-i-niŋ
this-GEN one-POSS3 we-GEN nation-POSS1PL-GEN self-POSS3-GEN
teg-in-e katıştı, baylanıštı bol-"p žat-sa
origin-POSS3-DAT related connected BOL.COP-IP.CONV LIŒ.POSTV-HYP3
yendi b'r jay-i-nan biz-diŋ partiya-miz-diŋ ultük
other one side-POSS3-ABL we-GEN party-POSS1PL-GEN national
sayasat-i-niŋ âbzál-dig-i-nen ayir-iḫ
policy-POSS3-GEN facilitate-DIK.VN-POSS3-ABL separate-IP.CONV
kara-uw-ya bol-ma-y-di.
see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-PRES-3
‘One reason for this is related to the origin of our nation, and further more we cannot
disregard the favorable national policy of our party.’

T3. Buvuruşündayi xalïk ustazi ‘A school teacher in Burqin’

Metadata
Gender: male
Age: 70
Date of birth: September 1941
Place of birth: Burqin County, Altay Region, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous
Region of China
Education: University
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and
speaks)
Date of recording: 10th July 2010
Place of recording: Burqin, Altay

Running text
T3/ 1–T3/ 10
Atiim şaymurat kurmanbay ułmïn. Biyiil jetpiš jasqa şiktîm. B'ri miŋ toyu' żüz
kïr'k b'riňişi žiili küzde üstas tawnda buwurusïn awdanïniŋ jeri' osi tawda
tuwulyan 'ekem. Tøyüz žaska deyin ata ana tärbiyesinde bol'p, òdan keyïn
b'r žîlya tayaw awil mołasi jumaş degen moładan köneše "okïdïm. ŒElîmîz
azat bol'an nan keyïn miŋ toyu' żüz kîr'k toyüzinïşi žiïl azat bôleï, œelüw
b'riňişi žïldan bastap bastawuš mektepte "okïdïm. Kazïr katay bastawuš
mektebindé. œElüw törtiňişi žiili bastawuš mektepti b'tiриp buwurusïn awdandiðk
Alpiš altinışı şilça karsı semiyaliği kişiniliği jaydayiğimenen awdannın awildıktn jăne altay aymayiğin awuwstüruvümenen buwursün awdanındayi mekememe şayta keldim. Kelgennen geyin ergency avildırignon jataktı wortalaw meketebede iştedim. Buš barısta buh alyaşında köşpendı mektep boldı, tawya köşırip, kigiz üybôn de "okittik. Şatır tigıp te "okittik, b’r dönêbök üy safl teri salyanday jerede "okittik. Keyin turaktı mektep salıp wortalaw mekteptı aktûlek degen ḵįstawliği ḵornınan aşıp so jerde kişmette boldim. Əndj bû barısta malşı perzentter burun "ösı b’r ęki maçıllık čarلغwaşıllık ġ’stayında ğerįmayağ ęken. Men alyaş baryan kezde "osıdan ılder ilep ğerįyan üstte tört ôkusiğ ęana bar ęken. Başka tipti şkandyad tărixta ğerįmayağ ęken. o jerden... bij bastavus mekteptı ĭrğesin bekemdeywen b’rge wortalaw mekteptı so jerde jâlyastı aştık, jâlyastı aşkannın geyin ọo jerden köpteng wortalaw b’tirgen ôokuşlar koşamya kişmet iştedi, ounıŋ sırtında ılder ilep ğerirdi, kazıır ọz aldınnan köptegen ôokuşlar çıktı.

T3/ 21–T3/ 30

T3/ 31–T3/ 43
Sol seksenüşpi şilä jataktı mektep salınıp wortalaw kılastır ęegiz töbe degen avildık "otirın jerge köşti. "Odan geyin men ęki malçarwaşıllık ęstayında ękiı mektep boldı "ösı mekteptığ jawapperşılıği kişmetin iştedim. Sonûmenen toksan ękişiň şiläını sonında dañıkpen demalışka şrįıp kazır demalıp
jakiftim. K'skaşı akuwafiim 'osî. 'Endî wöziimde üş qız tört ul boylan, buñardi da w'oçütümm. Br' yekewji w'okuw ayartuw sañasinda jâne başka salañarda, b'r yekewji kızmët jsteydi, b'rneşewj mälći bo(h)i p kazîr çarwašlík kızmët-terimenen çûyuldanip jäţir. Semiyaiğ jaydayi]'inda 'endî w'osînñalîk'tî. 'Endî bığdiñ malçilardîñ mîna kôşî kon kiyînçîllîyîmenen bala w'oçîta almaytîn jaydaylarî kazîr w'oçgërdi. 'Öz w'ortamîzda müsał üşûn awîldîktan w'ortawaw mektep aštî, jatkattî mekep aštî. 'Osinde kazîr bañalardîñ barîp w'oçitàdî. Urpaktarîñ w'oçîtůwî... burûñyîyâ karayanda malçilardîñ sana sawîyesî jâksi, jâne partiya men w'oçîmlettiñ malçîi përzëntterîñîñ w'okuwîña toyuz zîlîdîk w'okuði b'tîrûwîne jâne ilgerlep w'okuwîña köptegen y'ekonomikañ zîldîk jaktan jardamdar berip kazîr w'oçîtîp jatîr. 'Endî başka nemene aytamîz 'endî.

Annotated text

T3/ 1

At-im shäymurat kûrmanbay ul-i-mîn.
name-POSS1SG Sheymurat Kûrmanbay son-POSS3-COP1SG
‘My name is Sheymurat, I am the son of Kûrmanbay.’

T3/ 2

Biyîl jetpis jas-ka çîk-tî-m.
this year seventy age-DAT ascend-PAST-1SG
‘This year I have entered my seventieth years.’

T3/ 3

Br mîn toyuž zûz kîrî b'r-inşî zîl-i küz-de
one thousand nine hundred forty one-ORD year-POSS3 autumn-LOC
üştas taw-in-da buwurşîn awdan-i-nîûy jër-i
Üstas mountain-POSS3-LOC Burqin county-POSS3-GEN place-POSS3
w'osi taw-da tuv-ul-yan y'ekem.
this mountain-LOC birth-PASS-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR.COP1SG
‘In the autumn of 1941, in the Üstas mountain of Burqin county, it was on this mountain that I was born.’

T3/ 4

Toyuz ğas-ka deyîn ata ana tärbiye-sîn-de bol-“p
nine age-DAT until parents upbringing-POSS3G-LOC BOL.COP-IP.CONV
w’dan geyîn b/r zîl-ya tawaw awîl mollâ-sî
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP one year-DAT near township mullah-POSS3SG
In (19)54, I completed the primary school and was enrolled in Burqin County. ‘After our country was liberated — it became free in 1949 — and from (19)51 on I studied at a primary school.’

In the present day Katay primary school.

In (19)54, I completed the primary school and was enrolled in the secondary school in Burqin County.

Formerly Ili pedagogical institute call-PASS-A.PRES-3 high level

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51 Here köneše means religious education in Islam.

52 Sîfân is a global copy of the Chinese word shìfân ‘pedagogical’.

53 Sōyān is a global copy of the Chinese word xuéyuàn ‘institute, college’.
sīfān-ya tūs-üp wōkī-di-m.
pedagogical-DAT enter-IP.CONV study-PAST-1SG

‘In (19)57, I graduated from the secondary school in Burqin and I entered the present Ili Pedagogical Institute, it was formerly called Ili Pedagogical, a high level teacher-training (institute).’

T3/ 9

assign-PAST3

‘The first of August in (19)60, I graduated from Ili pedagogical and returned and came back to Altay, and in Altay I was assigned to work in Fuyun County.’

T3/ 10

until that school-LOC teacher job do-PAST-1SG

‘At the secondary school in Ku Ertix which is in Fuyun County, I worked as a teacher until (19)65, until the middle of (19)65.’

T3/ 11


54 Bōlīs is a translational equivalent of Chinese fēnpēi, ‘(job) assignment’, the first element fēn meaning ‘divide’. The second element pēi means ‘make arrangements for’. Kazakh selectively copied this Chinese expression on the verb bōl- ‘divide’ + the deverbal nominal suffix -īs. Thus bōlīs means ‘(job) assignment’ in addition to an original meaning ‘division’.
awdan-în-da-γî mekeme$^{55}$-m-e kayta$^{56}$ kel-di-m.

county-POSS3-LOC-GI work unit-POSS1SG-DAT again come-PAST-1SG

‘Towards (19)66, because of my difficult family situation, I was transferred by the county and township and the Altay prefecture back to my work unit in Burqin county.’

T3/ 12

Kel-gen-nen geyin $^γ$egistîk awildîy-î-nîn

come-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Egistîk township-POSS3-GEN

jataktî wortalaw mekteb-în-de ıste-di-m.

boarding secondary school-POSS3-LOC work-PAST-1SG

‘After I arrived, I worked in the secondary boarding school in Egistîk (‘agricultural’) township.’

T3/ 13

Buł barîsta buł alγaş-în-da köşpendî mektep

this course-LOC this at first-POSS3-LOC nomadic school

bol-di taw-γa köş-îr-ip kigiz iyy$^{57}$-ben de

BOL.COP-PAST3 mountain-DAT move-CAUS-IP.Conv yurt-WITH.POSTP DA.PART

“okî-t-tï-k.

study-CAUS-PAST-1PL

‘During this time, this was at first a nomadic school (so) we moved to the mountains and taught (the students) in yurts.’

T3/ 14

Šatîr tig-ip te “okî-t-tï-k b/r dögbök

tent set up-IP.Conv DA.PART study-CAUS-PAST-1PL a wooden

iyy sal-γp terî sal-γan-day jer-de$^{58}$
cottage build-IP.Conv skin put-GAN.PTCP-EQUA place-LOC
de “okî-t-tï-k.

DA.PART study-CAUS-PAST-1PL

‘We also set up tents and gave classes, we built a wooden cottage and also gave classes in a small room.’

T3/ 15

Keyîn turakîtî mektep sal-ip “ortalaw mektep-ti

later permanent school build-IP.Conv secondary school-ACC

aktulek de-gen kståw-liķ “orn-î-nan

Aktulek say-GAN.PTCP winter residence-DER place-POSS3-ABL

$^{55}$ Mekeme is a translational equivalent of the Chinese word dānwê ‘work unit’. Mekeme is of Arabic origin, and means ‘court of law, office, cooperation’.

$^{56}$ Kayta is a lexicalized adverb based on the converb in {-A$^2$/y}.

$^{57}$ The word kigiz iyy ‘yurt’ is a compound, meaning literally ‘felt house’.

$^{58}$ Terî salγanday jer- literally means ‘a place where skin was laid’. The speaker probably means that the place where they gave classes was rather limited in size.

202
aş-ıp so jer-de kizmet-te bol-di-m.

open-IP.CONV that place-LOC work-LOC BOL.COP-PAST-1SG

‘Later, (we) built a permanent school so that (we) opened the secondary school at the winter residence called Aktulek and I worked at that place.’

T3/ 16

’yEndı buł barış-ta małši perzent-ter burun osı
NOW.FILL this course-LOC herdsmen child-PL formerly this
bir yekı malciiliği çaırwaşıılık k’say-in-da oği-ma-yan
one two cattle-breeding village-POSS3-LOC study-NEG-GAN.PTCP
yeken.
E.COP.INDIR3
‘And at that time, there were a few cattle-breeding villages in which the children of herdsmen had previously not studied.’

T3/ 17

Men alyaş bar-yan kez-de osı-dan ilgeri-le-p
I at first go-GAN.PTCP time-LOC this-ABL go forward-IP.CONV
oğı-yan üs te tört oğuşi yana bar
study-GAN.PTCP three or four student only existing
yeken.
E.COP.INDIR3
‘When I went there for the first time, as I have heard, there were only three or four students who continued (their) studies after this (secondary school).’

T3/ 18

Baska tiptı ışkanday tarih-ta oğı-ma-yan yeken.
except even at all history-LOC study-NEG-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
‘Except (for them) nobody else has apparently studied in the past.’

T3/ 19

”O jer-den biz bastawuş mektep-tı irge-sı-n
X place-ABL we primary school-ACC foundation-POSS3SG-ACC
bekemde-w-men bırgə ortalaw mektep-tı so jer-de
make solid-UW.VN-WITH.POSTP together secondary school-ACC that place-LOC
jałastı aš-tı-k. jałastı aš-kan-nan geyin
continuous open-PAST-1PL continuous open-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
”o jer-den kıpıtega ortalaw b’tir-gen
X place-ABL quite a lot secondary finish-CAUS-GAN.PTCP
”okuşı-lar köyam-ya kizmet ıste-dı onıŋ sırtın-da
student-PL society-DAT work do-PAST3 besides.POSS3-LOC

203
ilgerle-p  "okî-dî.  
go forward-IP.CONV  study-PAST3

‘From then on, we further developed the primary school and at the same time we also continued to open secondary schools there, and after we had opened them, quite a lot of students who graduated from the secondary (school) worked for our society, others continued to study.’

T3/ 20

Kazîr  "öz  ald-im-nan  kôptegen  "okuşî-lar  čîk-tî.  
present  self  front-POSS1SG-ABL  quite  lot  student-PL  come out-PAST3

‘By now many of my students have graduated.’

T3/ 21

"O-lar  kazîr  koyam-nînî  âr  sala  kizmet-ter-în-de  
X-PL  now  society-GEN  each  branch  job-PL-POSS3-LOC
iste-p  jâtîr,  "okuştîliki  doydurîk  âkimîşîlîk  
work-IP.CONV  LIE.POSTV.AOR3  education  medical  care  administration  
kizmet-ter-de.  
job-PL-LOC

‘Now they are working in all sorts of social services, (such as) education, medical care and administration.’

T3/ 22

"Endî  kazîr  malçar"wašîliki  "stak-tar-i-nînî...  
NOW.FILL  present  cattle-breeding  village-PL-POSS3-GEN
burun-ya  kara-yan-da  "okî-t-uw  bala  
formerly-DAT  look  at-GAN.PTCP-LOC  study-CAUS-UW.VN  child  
"okî-t-uw  bolašak-tî  "oyla-w-ya  köţzîber-ûw  
study-CAUS-UW.VN  future-ACC  think-UW.VN-DAT  look-UW.VN
burun-ûi-day  yemes  jaxsar-dî.  
formerly-GI-EQUA  not  improve-PAST3

‘And now in the present cattle-breeding villages… compared to the past, the education, the education of children, and how they think about the future, (these things) are not like previously, they have improved.’

T3/ 23

"Endî  biz-diîn  "stay-imîz  negizînîn  köşpendi bol-up  
NOW.FILL  we-GEN  village-POSS1PL  mainly  nomadic  BOL.COP-IP.CONV  
jaz-da  jâylâw-ya  köş-še 59  k’s-ta  
summer-LOC  summer  pasture-DAT  move-HYP3  winter-LOC

59 See footnote 22.
winter residence -DAT go-IP.CONV livestock breed-A.PRES-3
‘And our village is mainly nomadic, whereas (the people) in the summertime move to the summer pasture, in the winter (they) go to the winter residence and breed (their) livestock.’
T3/ 24
Sol barış-ta kiyinçiliğ japa-lar-da malši-lar-men
that course-LOC severe hardship-PL-LOC herdsman-PL-WITH.POSTP
b’rage bol-dī-m.
together BOL.COP-PAST-1SG
‘At that time, I shared the severe hardship with the herdsmen.’
T3/ 25
Mina łemegeyti de-gen tör jayləw bol-dī
this Yemegeyti say-GAN.PTCP prominent grassland BOL.COP-PAST3
łemegeyti....
Yemegeyti
‘There was this prominent grassland called Yemegeyti. Yemegeyti...’
T3/ 26
Jetps ękei-nşi zil-i malči-lar-men b’rage
seventy two-ORD year-POS3 herdsman-PL-WITH.POSTP together
semiya-men kōš-üp jūr-üp mektep
family-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP move-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-IP.CONV school
kızgız yū-ü-n apar-al-ma-y wöz semiya-m-a
yurt-POSS3-ACC bring-ABL-NEG-A.CONV self home-POSS1SG-DAT
malči perzent-ter-i-n woki-t-üp b’r zil
herdsman child-PL-POSS3-ACC study-CAUS-IP.CONV one year
čik-ti-m.
come out-PAST-1SG
‘In (19)72, I and my family migrated with the herdsmen, and (when) the school couldn’t bring its yurt, I taught the children of the herdsmen in my home for one year.’
T3/ 27
wO-dan ge yn de başka mǔyalım-der şiy-üp
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP DA.PART other teacher-PL come out-IP.CONV

60 Tör jayləw is a grassland where the herdsmen breed their cattle. The Kazakhs divide large grasslands into three parts: ęetekti jayləw ‘a foothill grassland’ where they live during the spring; őrtə jayləw ‘a middle grassland’ to which they migrate to live during June and July; and tör jayləw ‘prominent grassland’ where they live during August. Tör denotes the place of honor in a room or yurt (usually opposite the door), here it means that the time when they migrate to the upper part of the grassland is the best time for the grasses; it is the best place for the nomads.
‘And also later other teachers kept doing so.’

T3/ 28

"Oşin-day japaţi-penen biz mälći perzent-ter-i-n
difficulty-WITH.POSTP we herdsman child-PL-POSS3-ACC
"oş-t-ip sawaţin aşi-ip "ortalaw bastawiş därejeli-γa
study-CAUS-IP.CONV educate-IP.CONV secondary primary level-DAT
jet-kız-dî-k.
reach-CAUS-POSTP-1PL
‘With such difficulties, we taught and educated the children of the herdsmen and we made them complete the secondary and primary levels.’

T3/ 29

Bul ýendî...
this NOW.FILL....
‘This is...’

T3/ 30

"O-dan geyin partıya men "ökimet-ţiŋ
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP party and government-GEN
bassilîy-î-menen könil böl-ûw-û-men biz-dîŋ
leadership-POSS3-WITH.POSTP solicitude-UW.VN-POSS3-WITH.POSTP we-GEN
ulttîŋ rayon-da mektep-ter sal-üp ber-dîŋ,
ethnic region-LOC school-PL build-IP.CONV GIVE.POSTV-PAST3
jataktî mektep-ter sal-în-dîŋ.
boarding school-PL build-REF.PASS-PAST3
‘Then with the solicitude of the leadership of the party (Communist Party of China) and government, they built schools in our minority region, boarding schools were built.’

T3/ 31

Sol seksen-inşi zîl-î jataktî mektep sal-în-üp
that eighty-ORD year-POSS3 boarding school build-REF.PASS-IP.CONV
"ortalaw kîlîs-tår ęegiztöbe de-gen awîldîŋ "otûr-γan
secondary class-PL Yegistöbe say-GAN.PTCP township sit-GAN.PTCP
jer-ge köş-tîŋ.
place-DAT move-PAST3
‘In that year of (19)80, a boarding school was built, and the secondary classes moved to the township settlement called Yegistöbe.’

T3/ 32

"O-dan geyin men ęekî mälçarwaşiilik îstay-în-da
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP I two cattle-breeding village-POSS3-LOC
And I have three daughters and four sons, and I have also educated them. And I have become herdsmen, now (they) are engaged in cattle-breeding. Two of them are in the educational sector and other fields. Two of them are employees, and the others have become herdsmen, now (they) are engaged in cattle-breeding. So much for now about my family situation.
'Endi biz-diy malci-lar-diy mina kosi kon
NOW.FILL WE-GEN herdsman-PL-GEN this migration
kiyincilii-ii-menen bala woki-t-a
difficult-POSS3-WITH.POSTP child study-CAUS-A.CONV
al-ma-yitn jayday-lar-i kazir "ozger-dii.
TAKE.POSTV-NEG-ATIN.PTCP situation-PL-POSS3 present change-PAST3
'The situation for our herdsmen, who (previously) could not educate their children
because of the migration, has now changed.'

T3/ 39
'Oz orta-miz-da misal usun awildik-tan
self place-POSS1PL-LOC for example township-ABL
ortalaw mektep as-tii, jatakii mekap as-tii.
secondary school open-PAST3 boarding school open-PAST3
'At our place, for example, the township has opened a secondary school and a
boarding school.'

T3/ 40
'Osin-da kazir balal-tar-di bar-ip61 woki-t-a-di.
this-LOC present child-PL-ACC take-IP.CONV study-CAUS-A.PRES-3
'At present, the children go and get education there.'

T3/ 41
Urpa-k-tar-i-n woki-t-uw-i... burun-yii-ya
generation-PL-POSS3-ACC study-CAUS-UW.VN-POSS3 formerly-GI-DAT
kara-yi-da malci-lar-diy sana sawiye-sii
look at GAN.PTCP-LOC herdsman-PL-GEN intellect level-POSS3SG
jaksi.
good.
'The education of the generations...Compared to the past, the herdsman’s
intellectual level is good.'

T3/ 42
Jane partiya men wokimet-tiig...
and party and government-GEN
malci percent-ter-i-nilj wok-uw-in-a toyiz zildik
herdsman child-PL-POSS3-GEN study-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT nine year
wok-uw-di bitir-uw-in-e jane ilgerle-p
study-UW.VN-ACC finish-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT and go forward-IP.CONV
wok-uw-in-a koptegen 'ekonomikaliik jak-tan jardam-dar
study-UW.VN-POSS3-DAT quite a lot financial side-ABL help-PL

61 The expected form is apari-ip ‘took’.
‘Moreover the party and the government... provide a large amount of financial help for the education of the herdsmen’s children so that they finish nine years of schooling and continue to study. They educate them.’

T3/ 43

‘Well, what else is there to say now?’

T4. Aytakînîn ângîmesi ‘The story of Aytakîn’

Metadata
Gender: male
Age: 72
Date of birth: October 1939
Place of birth: Republic of Mongolia
Education: University
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Mongol (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands, speaks, and reads), Chinese (understands, speaks, and reads), Russian (understands)
Date of recording: 3th August 2010
Place of recording: Ürümqi

Running text
T4/ 1–T4/ 10
B'ır mıň toyiž züz wotuz üşünşi zılıñ altay önüründe dügün töŋkörşiñ degen töŋkörşiñ bolýan. Yañi işki ölkeden kelgen gomendañşil dügün mïnä köterişşileri dep köyadi endi ädette endi ñer küster goy. Sodañ ana şinjança kelip, şınjança mïna çonjidan...çonj, turpan jaŋka kelip so żerde kožaniyaz degen uyyurðin ülen batirümen soýış aškandar wolar. Soniñ b’r tobi altay betine ötip so żerdegi yeldi tonap kirynçiliñ žasayan gezde zaylawda otiýan b’r top kazak awïldar ürküp muñýulyaya ötip ketken, muñýulyanîñ čegarasına. Buł mölçeri b’r mıň toyiž züz wotuz ýekî, wotuz üş, wotus törtinşi zildarîñin mañi, aldï artï endi. Sonda bïzdirï äke şeselerîmiz soñay wötön. Baryannan geýin soñ kobda...O gezde muñýulyadaññ kazaktar endi kobda degen aymakça karaydi ýeken. Onda mïna baynölgey aymayiñ degen wø gezde şok. So kobda aymayîñin akkol degen, sumiñ dep köyadi endi awdan, soniñina konistanip otirädi.

T4/ 11–T4/ 20
Endi mïna ata, nayaşä atañ, bu kışä de so b’r mıň toyiž züz wotuz üşünşi zildin aldï artïnda köktoγyaða žürgen gezinde ḳattî jer sılkînîñ bołädir, köktoγyaða.
Kökötoyay, çıngıl rayondarında. Kazirge deyin belgi bar mına köktoyay men çıngildiğ aralıylında. Sol kezde ana silkinisten jer jariilıp ketken. Azirge deyin sol jariilip ketken jerdip şikem bar, alı jer betinde çünkur bop zatır. Sonda bu kişiniğ 'esteligin bız 'okîyanîmizda, 'esteligine şazîp ketkeninde: "kişkene baña 'edim...". Jasn 'edî. "Onîn aldında 'en ülken aysâ münyulyaya sawda şasap 'ötip ketken 'eken. Temîrniyaz degen adam. 'Endî 'özi kökötoyayda...

T4/ 21–T4/ 30

T4/ 31–T4/ 40

T4/ 41–T4/ 50
žoldin kayda ḳekenin bilmeymiz, muḫyulyaya ḳemeniz dep ḳoyamız ḳok”,
– deydi. “Ḵašip baramız ḳašip baramız ketip baramız”.

T4/ 51–T4/ 60

T4/ 61–T4/ 70

T4/ 71/ T4/ 77

211
In 1933, in the surroundings of the Altay (prefecture) there was a revolution called the Dungan Revolution.

In other words, the Dungans of the Kuomintang were usually called the revolutionaries, oppositionals or inland people, you know.

Then they came to Xinjiang, that is from Qitai in Xinjiang … They came to the land of Qitai and Turfan, and they were the ones who started the to fight there against the Uyghur’s great hero called Közaniyaz.’

62 İskı “ölke” is a translational equivalent of Chinese neidi, which literally means ‘inland’. The people in Xinjiang, Xizang, and Hainan employ this word to refer to prefectures or places in China different from their own.
'Some of them went to the Altay region and when they robbed and killed the local people. Some Kazakh households living in the summer pasture got frightened and moved to Mongolia, to the Mongolian border areas.'

'This was approximately in the years of 1932, (19)33, (19)34.'

'At that time our parents had moved to the other side.'

'After they (went) (to Mongolia), that Kobda…'

'At that time, the Kazakhs in Mongolia belonged to a prefecture called Kobda (as I have heard).'

The word awïł refers here to a group of yurts housing related families. It is translated here as 'household'. In other contexts, the same word can mean 'village' and 'township'.

63
So kobda aymay-î-nîŋ akköl de-gen, sumîn that Kobda prefecture-POSS3 GEN Akköl say-GAN PTCP Sumîn de-p koy-a-dî ÿ endî, awdan, sonî-sîn-a say-IP CONV put-POSTV A PRES 3 NOW FILL county that-POSS3 SG DAT konista-n-ip wotîr-a-dî. settle down-REF IP live A PRES 3

‘At that time (the one) called Bayan-Ölgii prefecture did not exist.’

T4/ 10

‘(The Kazakhs) settled down and lived in the county Akköl, usually called Sumîn, in the Kobda prefecture.’

T4/ 11

‘And now, this Grandfather, your grandfather, in about 1933, when he was in Fuyun there was a strong earthquake in Fuyun.’

T4/ 12

Köktöyay čingil rayon-dar-in-da. Fuyun Qinggil region PL POSS 3 LOC

‘In the regions of Fuyun and Qinggil.’

T4/ 13

‘A mark (of this) remians between Fuyun and Qinggil.’

T4/ 14

Sol kez-de ana silkiņîs-ten jer jar-il-ip

that time-LOC that shake ABL earth split-PASS IP CONV

---

64 Nayaśi ata means ‘maternal grandfather’.
At that time the earth split because of that earthquake.

‘A remnant remains in the earth that cracked, and there is still a hole on the surface of the earth.’

‘At that time, as we read in this person’s diary, he writes “I was a child…”’

‘And before him his biggest brother moved over to Mongolia to do business.’

‘A man called Temirniyaz.’

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65 Ayá means elder brother.
"Endi wöz-i köktoγay-da...
but self-POSS3 Fuyun-LOC
‘But he himself in Fuyun (county)…’

T4/ 21

“Jan-ımda” de-y-dî, “mâmâţjan” de-dî ma
becide-POSS1SG-LOC say-A.PRES-3 Memetjan say-PAST3 Q.PART
“br uyγur adam bar y-e-dî” de-y-dî.
an Üyghur person existing E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
‘Together with me’—he writes, “there was an Üyghur man”—he writes. I think he
called him “Memetjan’.

T4/ 22

“Sol yek-ew-ımjız sawda żasa-p
that two-COLL-POSS1PL commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
ţür-dî-k” de-y-dî.
MOVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL say-A.PRES-3
‘He, the two of us were doing business”—he writes.’

T4/ 23

“Endi men wöz-im âke-m-nen
now I self-POSS1 SG father-POSS1 SG-ABL
ayr-il-yam, jalyğ şeşe-m-de ul-dîn
seperate-PASS-GAN.POSTT.COP1 SG single mother-POSS1SG-LOC son-GEN
kenje-si bol-yam."
youngest child-POSS3SG BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT.COP1 SG
‘I myself had lost my father. I had been the youngest boy of my single mother’.

T4/ 24

“So češe-m-e karay-min de-p,
THAT.FILL mother-POSS1 SG-DAT take care-A.PRES-COP1 SG say-IP.CONV
b’raz sawda żasa-p kel-e-m
some commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV COME.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1 SG
dep...” say-IP.CONV
‘I take care of my mother’, he writes, “I do business”, he writes.’

T4/ 25

“O-nîn aldîn-da men sawda żasa-w
X.GEN before.POSS3-LOC I commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-UW.VN
woy-ımda jok y-e-dî” de-y-dî.
idea-POSS1 SG-LOC non-existing E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
‘Earlier I didn’t have any idea about doing business”, he writes.’

216
“O-niŋ aldîn-da češe-m anaŋan
X.GEN before.POSS3-LOC mother-POSS1SG that.DAT
ber-ip miŋaŋan ber-ip...”
give-IP.CONV this.DAT give-IP.CONV
‘Earlier my mother sent me here and there...’

“Çâkîrt-tîk66-ke ber-ip b’raz mollâ-lik ‘oŋi-di-m.’
student-DER-DAT give-IP.CONV some Mullah-DER study-PAST-1SG
“(She) sent me to study and I studied a little religion.”

“O-nan geyin b’rew-ge tonar-ya nan
X-ABL AFTER1.POSTP someone-DAT clay oven-DAT nan
jau-w-ya tur-îp ‘e-di-m ‘ol meni
cover-UW.VN-DAT stand-IP.CONV E.COP-PAST-1SG X I.ACC
kina-p žiber-di” de-y-di.
mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
‘Later I worked for someone as a baker, (but) he mistreated me (very much)”, he
writes.’

“Keš-ke deyin kömîr tasi-t-îp ‘ožî
evening-DAT UNTIL.POSTP coal transport-CAUS-IP.CONV ÖZI.PART
adam-dî kina-p žiber-gen-nen geyin
man-ACC mistreat-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
‘onan kaš-îp čiŋ-îp ket-îp,
X.ABL run-IP.CONV COME.OUT.POSTV-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV
so-dan geyin češe-m-dî bay-ayîn
then AFTER1.POSTP mother-POSS1-ACC take care-VOL1SG
de-p köktoŋay-ya sawda źasa-p
say-IP.CONV Fuyun-DAT commerce CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV
čiŋ-îp ket-kem” de-y-di.
come out-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.POSTT.COP1SG say-A.PRES-3
‘“After (he) made me transport coal all the time, after he mistreated me so much (I)
ran away from him. Then, in order to take care of my mother, I went to Fuyun to do
business”, he writes.’

“Süyt-îp žûr-gende ādette kazak-tar-dîŋ
do so-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV usually Kazak-PL-GEN

66 Çâkîrt is a student of a Muslim religious school.
“When I was there, we used to stay in Kazakh homes”, he writes.

T4/ 31

“Tap so gün-ū so ğer kozyal-atin kün-ū
exact that day-POSS3 that earth-quake-ATIN.PTCP day-POSS3
ažal-diŋ žok-tiŋ-ı ızoy” de-y-dı.
death-GEN non-existing-DER-POSS3 TOY.PART say-A.PRES-3

“Just that day, the day of the earthquake, it was not the day for us to die, you know”, he writes.’

T4/ 32

“Tereŋ say-diŋ iš-i kalıŋ adam, kigiz ızuy
deep ravine-GEN inside-POSS3 many people yurt
kon-γan, ana bı’r bulak bar ʒendı sol
settle-GAN.POSTT3 that a spring existing NOW.FILL that
say-diŋ iš-in-de ay-ıp żat-kan.
ravine-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC flow-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP

“Deep inside the ravine there are many people, and there are yurts set up there, and a spring flows inside this ravine”.

T4/ 33

“Sonı maŋayla-p son-da su iš-e-t so-niŋ
that.ACC come nearer-IP.CONV that-LOC water drink-A.PRES-3 that-GEN
jaŋa-siŋ-da awiŋ “otü-r-a-t”,67 de-y-dı.
shore-POSS-LOC household live-A.PRES-3 say-A.PRES-3

“(People) move close to it and drink water there, and a household is settled on its shores”, he writes.’

T4/ 34

“Mınday tereŋ uzun say”, de-y-dı.
such deep long ravine say-A.PRES-3

“It is such a deep and long ravine”, he writes.’

T4/ 35

“Sol gün-i tamay-imiz-di iš-ip ap
that day-POSS3 meal-POSS1PL-ACC eat-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV.IP.CONV
ągį żan-im-da-γį uyγur ḳek-emiz say-diŋ
aforesaid side-POSS1SG-LOC-GI Uyghur two-COLL.POSS1PL ravine-GEN

67 The speaker means the place where people stay in the summer.
“When I woke up, the whole earth was heavily shaking. I was scared and after I woke my companion, we kept calling Allah, Allah, Allah.”
“Sodan ʾek-emīz ʾoyan-īp ʾbīʾr bʾrīmīz-dī then two-COLL.POSS1PL wake up-IP.CONV each other.POSS1PL-ACC kušakta-p īman-īmīz-dī āyt-īp “ʾotūr-dī-k” hug-IP.CONV prayer-POSS1PL-ACC tell-IP.CONV SIT.POSTV-PAST-1PL de-y-dī.
say-A.PRES-3 “‘Then both of us woke up, hugged each other, and were praying’, he writes.’
T4/ 41
“ʾBr wāk-ta kīshkene bʾraz bas-īl-dī” de-y-dī. a time-LOC little a bit diminish-PASS-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 “‘After some time, it diminished a bit’, he writes.’
T4/ 42
“Soson ᵇes ākīl-īmīz-dan adas-īp 68 āgī at-tar-īmīz then sense mind-POSS1PL-ABL lose-IP.CONV aforesaid horse-PL-POSS1PL čījīrūʾ-īp, āytəw āyay-in-da čīder-i bar neigh-IP.CONV anyhow finally-POSS3-LOC hobble-POSS3 existing sonīmen kal-dī” de-y-dī.
then stay-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 “‘Then we did not know what to do, our horses neighed, anyway, finally thanks to the hobbles they did not run away’, he says.’
T4/ 43
“Aytpese ṣūz-ūp ket-īp kal-atīn otherwise break-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP ᵇe-dī” de-y-dī.
E.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 “‘Otherwise, they would have broken (the hobbles) and left’, he writes.’
T4/ 44
“Sonī-men ʾbīʾr wakīt-ta taŋ āyar-īp at-tī. 69” that-WITH.POSTP a time-LOC dawn grow light-IP.CONV appear-PAST3 ‘Then some time later the day dawned.’
T4/ 45
“Sodan jūgūr-īp āgī say-γa ne bol-dī then run-IP.CONV aforesaid ravine-DAT what BOL.COP-PAST3 ʾeken āʔ awīl ādəm-dar-ī īṣ-in-de-gī RHET.PART Ā.PART household person-PL-POSS3 inside-POSS3-LOC-GI

68 ʾEs ākīldan adasuv is a proverb meaning ‘to go out of one’s mind’, ‘to lose one’s senses’.
69 Taŋ āyarīp at- is an expression meaning ‘begin to grow light’, ‘dawn’, ‘daybreak’.
“We couldn’t see anyone, only one around the ravine. They disappeared”, he writes.

T4/ 46

“Say biṭe-l-ip kal-yan ṭeken”

ravine block-PASS-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-GAN.PTCP E.COP.INDIR3
de-y-di.
say-A.PRES-3

“The pines and stones around it toppled down and blocked the ravine”, he writes.

T4/ 47

“Ţan žay-in-da-ţi̇ ĵaraŷay tas b’raḳ kula-p

the one around-POSS3-LOC-G1 pine stone all topple-IP.CONV
say-di biṭe-p-ti” de-y-di.
ravine-ACC block-IP.POSTT-3 say-A.PRES-3

“The pines and stones around it toppled down and blocked the ravine”, he writes.

T4/ 48

“B’r adam kör-ùw-ge bol-ma-y-dī, ṭeken-ems

one person see-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 two-COLL.POSS1PL
γana tiri kal-ıp-piţ” de-y-di “agi jer-de
only living stay-IP.POSTT-COP1PL say-A.PRES-3 aforesaid place-LOC
”özî, so maňay-da.”

ÖZLPART that surrounding-LOC

“We couldn’t see anyone, only the two of us have survived”, he writes, “at that place, in those surroundings”.

T4/ 49

“Ċoši-p ket-ti̇-k at-ti ākel-di-k

frighten-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST-1PL horse-ACC bring-PAST-1PL
te ṭertokim-ǐm-di ṭert-di-k te
DA.PART saddle-POSS1PL-ACC saddle-PAST-1PL DA.PART
ṭeken-ems so kalp-i kaš-ıp bar-a-miţ
two-COLL.POSS1PL that mould-POSS3 run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL
kaš-ıp bar-a-miţ žol-diņ kay-da
run-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.PRES-COP1PL way-GEN which-LOC
ṭeken-i-n biḷ-me-miţ, muγuyla-ya
E.COP-GAN.PTCP-POSS3-ACC know-NEG-A.PRES-COP1PL Mongolia-DAT
“Then, when they came to us, they asked, ‘Where are you coming from?’ ‘We are coming from the Altay region, where there has been an earthquake’.”
“So-dan geyin “sen-der bulay “öm-iw-ler-iy-e
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP you-PL this way pass-UM.VN-PL-POSS2SG-DA
bol-ma-y-di, bul memleket čegara-si miñaw,
BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 this country border-POSS3SG this is
miñaw biž-diį čegara miñaw muŋųyul-ya...” de-p
this is we-GEN border this is Mongolia-DAT say-IP.CONV
so-dan ye-emiz-di kaytar-ıp žiber-di”
then two-COLL.POSS1PL-ACC send back-IP.CONV SEND.POSTV-PAST3
de-y-di.
say-A.PRES-3

“Then they said, ‘You cannot pass like this, this is a country border, this is our
border, this is the border of Mongolia...’ Then, they sent us back”, he writes.’

T4/ 55

“Ek-emiz kayt-ıp, žá yeendį muŋųyul
two-COLL.POSS1PL return-IP.CONV JÁ.PART now Mongol
de-gen-di uy-up al-di-k” de-y-di,
say-GAN.PTCP-ACC know-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-2PL say-A.PRES-3
“žá muŋųyul-da men-iŋ aya-m bar,
JÁ.PART Mongolia-LOC L.GEN brother-POSS1SG existing
kayt-pa-yiik, yeendį ye-emiz urlan-äp b/r
return-NEG-VOL1PL now two-COLL.POSS1PL hide-IP.CONV a
žer-den “öm-üp ket-eiįk” de-p.
place-ABL pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-VOL1PL say-IP.CONV
ye-emiz-asṭin-da âdemį at-i bar
two-COLL-POSS3 under.POSS3-LOC beautiful horse-poss3 existing
âgi min-ip žür-gen sodan b/r žer-den
aforesaid ride-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP then a place-ABL
burul-up bar-ip-ti da b/r žer-den bar-ip-ti
turn-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3 DA.PART a place-ABL go-IP.POSTT-3
DA.PART Mongolia-DAT pass-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-IP.POSTT-3

“The two of us returned. Well, now we have got acquainted with Mongolia”, he
writes. “Well, I have a brother in Mongolia, let us not return, let us hide and cross
somewhere.” Thus the two of them, on the two beautiful horses, turned back at a
place and passed quickly over to Mongolia.”

T4/ 56

"O gez-de, "o âlgi kalinį asker tur-ma-y-di
X time-loc X AFORESAID.FILL many soldier guard-NEG-A.PRES-3
ye-ne, anda sanda b/r zastap-ta yana tur-a-di
E.COP.INDIR3 rarely a gate-LOC only guard-A.PRES-3
‘At that time, not many soldiers were stationed there, (they) were stationed only at one entrance but rarely, and the rest of the area was…’

T4/ 57

“So sop boyi ‘ot-up
that along posto pass-IP.CONV
ket-kem”
dey-di
leave.postv-gan posto cop 1sg say-3.pres-3
‘‘Since then I stayed in (Mongolia)”, he writes.’

T4/ 58

“Sodan ‘ot-up bar-ip, izde-p
then pass-IP.CONV go posto-ip.conv seek-IP.CONV
zur-ip surastir-ip zur-se-m
move posto-ip.conv search-IP.conv move posto-hyp-1sg that
ulken aya-m, agi temirniyaz de-gen
eldest brother POSS 1sg aforesaid Temirniyaz say-3.gan.ptcp
aya-m so sol zer-de ‘eken”
dey-di.
brother POSS 1sg that posto conv place loc e cop indir 3 say-3.pres-3
‘‘After I went over, I started to seek and search, my eldest brother, my brother called Temirniyaz was there”, he writes.’

T4/ 59

“O kisi bayi-p al-yan ‘eken”
x person grow rich conv take posto-gan ptcp e cop indir 3
dey-di.
say-3.pres-3
‘‘He apparently became rich”, he writes.’

T4/ 60

“Bar-ip, so, kum-dan ‘or-te-p, aley paley
go posto conv that fill sand abl burn conv various
b’rdeje-ni iste-3.pres…”
something acc do conv
‘‘After I arrived (in Mongolia), I burned bricks and did different things…”

T4/ 61

Kolastun-da adam iste-t-e-di ‘eken.
under the leadership poss 3 loc people do caus 3.pres-3 e cop indir 3
‘‘He apparently has people who work for him”.'
“Men bar-γan-nan geyin ʿaytaxun, yaxši käp
I go-GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Aytaqin good COME.IP.CONV
kal-do-ŋ bala-m, ämdi sân miniŋ
STAY.POSTV-PAST-2SG child-POSS1SG now you I.GEN
iš-im-ni kal70, de-p mayan ber-di.’”

“After I got there, ‘Aytaqin, it is good that you came, my child, now you shall run my business’ he said, and handed over (his business) to me”.

T4/ 63

“Bi rak kattī… jumus-ka kattī sal-dī de-y-dī,
but hard work-DAT hard place-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘But hard… (he) made me work very hard”, he writes.’

T4/ 64

“Noxon aya-m-a renži-dj-m” de-y-dī
thus brother-POSS1SG-DAT offend-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3
γoy.
ΓOY.PART
“‘Thus, I am offended by my brother”, he writes, you know.’

T4/ 65

“Žumus-ka kattī sal-îp süyt-üp ket-tî.”
work-DAT hard place-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3
“‘He made me work very hard’.

T4/ 66

“Sodan renji-p süyt-üp keyde ket-ip
then offend-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV sometimes leave-IP.CONV
kal-îp süyt-üp žür-dī-m.’
STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV-PAST-1SG
“‘Then I was offended and sometimes left. (My life) was like that’.

T4/ 67

“Kayt-îp šinjag-γa kel-eyin de-se-m
return-IP.CONV Xinjiang-DAT come-VOL1SG say-HYP-1SG
“o žer-den yendî “ot-uw kiyin bol-dī.”
X place-ABL now pass-UW.VN difficult BOL.COP-PAST3
“When I have thought about going back to Xinjiang, but it has now become difficult to cross (the border)”.

70 The sentence, yaxši käp kaldîŋ bâlam, ämdi sân miniŋ išimmî kâl, is in Uyghur.
“So boyî aya-m-nûŋ kolaštîn-da
that ALONG.POSTP brother-POSS1SG-GEN under the leadership.POSS3-LOC
îstê-p żûr-gende aya-m
work-IP.CONV MOVE.POSTV- GAN.LOC.CONV brother-POSS1SG
ţoyal-îp ket-tî”, de-y-dî, “w’ôzi,
disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3 ÖZI.PART
ayayastînan”.
suddenly
“‘During the time when I worked for my brother my brother disappeared’”, he writes,
“all of a sudden’.”

Keyîn mîna abdrasul bar-îp...
later this Abdurasul go-IP.CONV
‘Later, Abdurasul went…’

‘I guess that the person mentioned before (the brother) was an imam, a mullah.
When the mullahs were arrested they took him and shot him.’

‘(His name) appeared on that list.’

“Sodan sol aya-m joyal-îp ket-ken
then that brother-POSS1SG disappear-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP
son, sol aya-m-nûŋ ış 72-î-n
AFTER2.POSTP that brother-POSS1SG-GEN business-POSS3-ACC

71 “Oţxaî ‘like, as’ is uttered very close to Uyghur pronunciation. The Kazakh term should be uţsaxaî/ uţsaydî ‘like, as’. One can find such pronunciation recently in Xinjiang due to the Uyghur influence.
72 IŞ ‘work, business, job’. The consonant ş here is a material copy from Uyghur, whereas the Kazakh word is pronounced as ış ‘work, business, job’.
men žürgiz-di-m” de-y-di ɣoy.
I run-PAST-1SG say-A.PRES-3 TOY.PART
“‘Then after my brother disappeared, I ran my brother’s business”, he writes.’

T4/ 73

“Süyt-üp tur-γanda b’r mîn toyî žüz
do so-IP.CONV STAND.POSTV-GAN.LOC.CONV one thousand nine hundred
kîrück-înçî žîl-i bop kap kobda-dan
fourty-ORD year-POSS3 BOL.COP.IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-IP.CONV Kobda-ABL
böl-in-ip baynölgey aymay-i de-gen
separate-REF.POSS-IP.CONV Bayan-Ölgii prefecture-POSS3 say-GAN.PTCP
aymak kur-ul-dî” de-y-dî.
prefecture establish-PASS-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘Then the year of 1940 arrived, and the prefecture called Bayan-Ölgii was established and separated from Kobda”, he writes.’

T4/ 74

“‘Oşî aymak kur-ul-γanda aymak-iţî
this prefecture establish-PASS-GAN.LOC.CONV prefecture-GEN
"ortalîy-în sal-atin bop kalîn
capital-POSS3-ACC build-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP.IP.CONV many
kurtüs-ka kîrpiş kerek bol-dî” de-y-dî.
construction-DAT brick need BOL.COP-PAST3 say-A.PRES-3
“‘When the prefecture was founded, many bricks were needed to build the capital of this place”, he writes.’

T4/ 75

Kirpiş-tî kay-dan çiγar-a-dî? kum-dan ořte-w
brick-ACC where-ABL produce-A.PRES-3 sand-ABL burn-UW.VN
kerek.
necessary
“‘Where is the brick produced? It has to be burnt from sand’.”

T4/ 76

“Sonî-men "onî men köter-ip al-dî-m”
that-WITH.POSTP X.ACC I undertake-IP.CONV TAKE.POSTV-PAST-1SG
de-y-di ɣoy.
say-A.PRES-3 TOY.PART
“‘Then, I undertook the business”, he writes, you know.’

227
“Köter-ip  al-ip  soni-men  ṭosî-nî
undertake-IP.CONV  TAKE.POSTV-IP.CONV  that-WITH.POSTP  this-ACC
iste-yîn  negdił73  de-p  koy-a-dî  ṭendî,
do-ATIN.PTCP  union  say-IP.CONV  PUT.POSTV-A.PRES-3  NOW.FILL
b’r  b’rlestîk  kur-up,  ṭo b’rles-ti  bastîy-i  ṭoz-i
a  union  build-IP.CONV  X  union-GEN  head-POSS3  self-POSS3
bol-”p,  soni-men  kum-dan  ṭor-te-p,
BOL.COP-IP.CONV  that-WITH.POSTP  sand-ABL  burn-IP.CONV
b’r  żay-i  ṭegin  ṭeg-ip,  bidây  ṭeg-ip,  ṭay74
a  side-POSS3  farm-IP.CONV  wheat  cultivate-IP.CONV  vegetable
ṭeg-ip,  kaposta,  kartop,  ṭâbį  ṭeg-ip-ti,
cultivate-IP.CONV  cabbage  potato  carrot  cultivate-IP.POSTT-3
altinsöňke  de-gen  ṭeɾ-de.
Altinsöňke  say-GAN.PTCP  place-LOC
‘After he undertook (the business), he founded a union for doing this, and he became
the head of the union. Then he burned bricks, on the other hand, he did farming, and
cultivated wheat, vegetables, cabbage, potatoes and carrots in the place called
Altinsöňke.’

T5. Ḥungodaýi  kazak  tîlî  ‘The Kazakh language in China’

Metadata
Gender: male
Age: 58
Date of birth: 1952
Place of birth: Altay, China
Education: University
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Chinese (understands and speaks), Uyghur (understands).
Date of recording: 3th July 2011
Place of recording: Burqin, Altay

Running text
T5/ 1–T5/ 10
7Endi tîl mêsâlîsîndî sol şalîp ṭûmiři ṭumîr şûrip kele jatkan mašîle, kazîr kazak
tijînde mînanday b’r jáyît ban. Buł ṭendî keyin tilge tönetîn käwup, men
ṭozîm ṭorylî körgende. Nege ṭołay denez miyalsî, âdetgeı sözîdi aytaîn
bolșak ṭûsîniṭ igunakan xanuṣa atawlârdi koșîp alamîz. Buł bîzše
bołyanda ṭoł kazakṭîkî ĸusap ketken. ṭOł b’r mašîle. ṭEndî b’r mašîle mînâ

73 Negdił ('үүрэг') ‘union’ is a Mongol term.
74 ṭay ‘vegetables’ is a global copy of the Chinese lexical item cài ‘vegetables, dish, greens’.
This term is currently often used among Kazakhs in China instead of köktî ‘vegetables’.

T5/ 11–T5/ 20

T5/ 21–T5/ 30

T5/ 31–T5/ 43

Annotated text
T5/ 1

'Endî til másăla-si-nđa sol jalpi ömîr sû'-îp
now language question-POS3-LOC that general exist-IP.CONV
kel-e jat-kan másele kazar kazaq
COME.POSTV-A.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN,PTCP problem present Kazakh
til-in-de minan-day b'îr jáyît bar.
language-POS3-LOC this-EQUA a situation existing

‘Now, concerning the language, the general problem we are facing is that the present-day Kazakh language is in a special situation.’
I think that this is an imminent danger to the future of the language.

If you ask why, for instance, if we say a usual sentence (in Kazakh), then we add quite a lot of Chinese terms to it.

For us, those (Chinese terms) are just like Kazakh (terms).

If you say a phone number in Kazakh, the listener gets tired.
Mine "osī gūn-de "osīn-day.
look this day-LOC this-EQUA
‘Look, this is how it is today.’

“"Oy ăke-m ay anda-ɡī-nī
OY.INTERJEC father-POS1SG AY.INTERJEC that-GI-ACC
uy-al-ma-dī-m ɡoy” de-p jat-a-di
understand-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG TOY.PART say-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
karsī jak.
opposite side
‘The interlocutor always says, “Oh my dear, oh, I have not been able to understand it”.’

Kanzu-ša-sī-n lipt’etkiž-ip uy-up
Chinese-DER-POS3-ACC happen quick-IP.CONV understand-IP.CONV
al-a-dī.
TAKE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
‘In Chinese, they understand it at once.’

Mine buł nemene?
look this what
‘Look, what is this?’

Būl tīl-de-gi čibarlık.
this language-LOC-GI contamination
‘This is language contamination.’

Kel-e jat-kan čibarlık kel-e
come-A.CONV LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP contamination come-A.CONV
jat-kan kāwīp aldayi jer-de de-p
LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP danger forthcoming place-LOC say-IP.CONV
"oyīta-y-miz biz ỳendi.
think-A.PRES-COP1PL we NOW.FILL
‘We think this contamination is a forthcoming danger.’
There are some children who, whatever they say, you don’t know whether it is Chinese or Kazakh.

One day, during a trip, I took a bus.

There were two children sitting there, both of them were Mongols.

They were Mongol young girls.

They spoke Kazakh first and then they switched to Chinese.

Just like this…
T5/ 20

*Biz* uk-tū-k āndē, biz kanzu til-i-nen
we understand-PAST-IPL NOW.FILL we Chinese language-POSS3-ABL
kabar-imiz bar bol-γan-nan keyin.
knowledge-POSS1PL existing BOL.COP.GAN.PTCP-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
‘We understood it, because we know Chinese.’

T5/ 21

Son-da mine kazır-gi jas-tar-da bul āndē b’r
that-LOC here present-GI young-PL-LOC this NOW.FILL a
ülken bul...
big this
‘Thus, here, in the present young generations, this is a big…’

T5/ 22

*Arī-sī-n* kuv-atīn bol-sa-k bul
to the other side-POSS3-ACC trace back-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-HYP-1PL this
ult-tūŋ ruh-i māsēl-ej.
nation-GEN spirit-POSS3 issue-POSS3
‘Looking at it more deeply, this is an issue concerning the spirit of the nation.’

T5/ 23

‘*Ož-iŋ-niŋ* ult-tūŋ-dī sen kādirle-me-se-ŋ...
self-POSS2SG-GEN nation-POSS2SG-ACC you respect-NEG-HYP-2SG
‘If you don’t respect your own nation…’

T5/ 24

*Ult-iŋ-dī* kādirle-se-ŋ sen til-i-n
nation-POSS2SG-ACC esteem-HYP-2SG you language-POSS3-ACC
kādirle-w-tūŋ kerek.
respect-UW.VN-POSS2SG necessary
‘If you esteem your nation, you have to esteem its language.’

T5/ 25

*Til-iŋ-dī* kādirle-se-ŋ “on-da “ōz
language-POSS2SG-ACC respect-HYP-2SG X-LOC self
ult-tūŋ-niŋ “ōzi nak tunuk til-i-men
nation-POSS2SG-GEN ÖZI.PART exactly purely language-POSS3-with.PTCP
söyle-w-ge daydīl-an-uw kerek koy adam-dar.
speak-UW.VN-DAT get used to-UW.VN necessary TOY.PART person-PL
‘If you respect your language, then you must get used to speaking precisely and purely the language of your nation, mustn’t you?’
'Endi bul, urpak-tar-imiz kazir biz-diy "oz-imiz-di
NOW.FILL this generation-PL-POSS1PL present we-GEN self-POSS1PL-ACC
buz-up bar-a jatir, biz-di "osi-yan.
destroy-IP.CONV GO.POSTV-A.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR3 we-ACC this-DAT
‘Now, in this respect, this (young) generation has a bad effect upon us as well.’
T5/ 27
Jagnay-ni b/z xanzu-şa ayt-a-miz, nömîr-di.
aforesaid-ACC we Chinese-DER say-A.PRES1PL number-ACC
‘As mentioned before, we say (phone) numbers in Chinese.’
T5/ 28
"Ozi sûyt-e-miz.
ÖZI.PART do so-A.PRES-COP1PL
‘We simply do so.’
T5/ 29
"Oñay sekildi ä?
convenient like A.PART
‘It is sort of easier, isn’t it?’
T5/ 30
Kimiyalık tıjayiţiš-ti al-ip kel de-p
fertilizer-ACC take-IP.CONV COME.POSTV.IMP say-IP.CONV
jat-kan kisi-ni "esti-ge".im jok men.
LIE.POSTV-GAN.PTCP person-ACC hear-GAN.PTCP-COP1SG non-existing I
‘I have never heard a person say “Bring the kimiyalık tıjayiţiš!” (“fertilizer” in
Kazakh).’
T5/ 31
"O-ni ayt-pa-y-dii.
X-ACC say-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘They do not say it.’
T5/ 32
Huafii75 de-y sal-a-dii.
fertilizer say-A.CONV PLACE.POSTV-A.PRES-3
‘They just say huafii (‘fertilizer’ in Chinese).’

75 The lexical item huafii ‘fertilizer’ has been globally copied from Chinese huàféi. The
Kazakh term for fertilizer is kimiyalık tıjayiţiš.
It is just easier to say.

The interlocutor seems to understand it at once, doesn’t s/he?

However, if you look at it from the other side, the language has been completely contaminated…

They say babam (my father) and mamam (my mother).

This is not Kazakh.

They just say baba (father).

They just say mama (mother).

‘It is sort of easier.’
Thus, in our daily habits, this is a problem of language deterioration…'

'Well, you are apparently a linguist…'

'More effort should be made in this field.'

Annotated text

T6/ 1

Jas-im mjne jeptis-tiň üstün-e čik-ti.
age-POSS1SG here and now seventy-GEN over.POSS3-DAT ascend-PAST3
‘I am now over seventy years old.’

T6/ 2

'yEndij mayan sen yendij mjna urpak jön-in-de
now 1.DAT you NOW.FILL THIS.FILL descendant direction-POSS3-LOC
ne jaz-a-siŋ, ne ayt-a-siŋ de-se-ŋ, meniň
urpak jön-in-de ayt-ar-im b/r-ińči:
descendant direction-POSS3-LOC tell-AOR-POSS1SG one-ORD
“Urpak jaksi-dan üyren-ųŋ-der!”
descendant good-ABL learn-IMP-PL
‘Now, If you ask me what I would write and what I would say concerning the descendants, what I would say concerning the descendants is first of all “Young ones, learn from what is good!”.’

237
“Jaman-nan jiren-iğ-der!”
bad-ABL loathe-IMP-PL
“Loathe what is bad!”

“Dos-ka meyrimdi bol!”
friend-DAT compassionate BOL.COP.IMP
“Be compassionate towards your friends!”

“Duşman-iğ-a ƙatany bol!”
enemy-POSS2SG-DAT hard BOL.COP.IMP
“Be hard towards your enemies!”

“Ülken-diy sila!”
old-ACC respect.IMP
“Respect old people!”

“Kişi-ni kurmet yet-iğ-der!” de-p
young-ACC respect DO.LIGHTV-IMP-PL say-IP.CONV
wösiyet ayt-paḵši-min men.
will tell-MAKŠI-COP1SG I
“Respect young people!” This is my advice, which I want to tell (the descendants).’

Üytkeni, adam mįj jasama-ya-di urpak miŋ
because man thousand live-NEG-A.PRES-3 descendant thousand
jasama-ya-di goy.
live-A.PRES-3 GOY.PART
‘Because a man does not live for thousand years but the descendants do, you know.’

Sondiktan åke wöriňa-y al-ma-γan
therefore father fulfil-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-GAN.PTCP
arman-di, åke wöninya-y al-ma-γan
hope-ACC father fulfil-A.CONV TAKE.POSTV-NEG-GAN.PTCP
jakši is-ter-di urpak wöriňa-y-t.
good thing-PL-ACC descendant fulfil-A.PRES-3
‘Therefore, the descendants fulfil the hope and good things that couldn’t be realized by the father.’
T6/ 10

Sondiktan urpak-ka jaksı bol-uw jôn-in-de,
therefore descendant-DAT good BOL.COP-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC
ülgili bol-uw jôn-in-de, kañik-tiñ neñilıyan
exemplary BOL.COP-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC people-GEN various
jaksı mûdde-sî-nen cê-uw jôn-in-de-gi
good expectation-POSS3G-ABL ascend-UW.VN direction-POSS3-LOC-GI
men yên-î jaz-sa-m da arizdan-sa-m da
I NOW.FILL write-HYP-1SG DA.PART ask for-HYP-1SG DA.PART
bala-lar-îm-a wosı...
child-PL-POSS1SG-DAT this
‘Therefore, no matter what I would write to the descendants or ask of them,
concerning to be good, to be exemplary, to fulfil people’s various expectations, this
is to my children....’

T6/ 11

Üytkenî adam urpak-pen körkey-e-dj, urpak
because man descendant-WITH.POSTP prosper-A.PRES-3 descendant
bolaşak-tiñ iye-si.
future-GEN possessor-POSS3SG
‘Because, a man prospers through his descendants and the descendants are the
possessors of the future.’

T6/ 12

Sondiktan wol urpak-pen körkey-ip, urpak
therefore X descendant-WITH.POSTP prosper-IP.CONV descendant
bolaşak-tiñ iye-si bol-ûndiy-î sebepti
future-GEN possessor-POSS3SG BOL.COP-GANDIK.VN-POSS3 because of
sol bolaşak-tîk urpak-ti ata ana jaksı is-ke jetekte-uw
that future-DER descendant-ACC parents good thing-DAT lead-UW.VN
jaksı is-tî üyret-uw, jaksı is-ke boysundîr-uw
good thing-ACC teach-UW.VN good thing-DAT convince-UW.VN
jayday-lar bol-sa "ol urpak jaman
situation-PL BOL.COP-HYP3 X generation bad
bol-ma-y-t.
BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3
‘Therefore, because a man prospers through his descendants and these are the
possessors of the future, if the parents lead the descendants to the right way, if they
teach (them) good things and convince them to do good things, the descendants will
not be bad.’
because descendant will listen to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because a descendant who listens to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because what you have seen from your father, what you have seen from your mother…”

As you know, some people often get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.

‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is”, (they) often say so, as you know.’

this is principle that father

Now.Fill this is principle POSS3-ABL NOW.FILL that father

because descendant will listen to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because a descendant who listens to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because what you have seen from your father, what you have seen from your mother…”

As you know, some people often get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.

‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is”, (they) often say so, as you know.’

this POSS2SG how ill-mannered how bad E.COP-PAST3

say-IP.CONV do so-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV-A.PRES-3 TOY.PART

‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is”, (they) often say so, as you know.’

this POSS3-ABL NOW.FILL that father

because descendant will listen to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because a descendant who listens to her/his parents won’t be bad.

Because what you have seen from your father, what you have seen from your mother…”

As you know, some people often get angry with the young ones, “Well, this (child) surely has not learned good manners from her/his parents”.

‘What an ill-mannered, what a bad (child) this is”, (they) often say so, as you know.’

this POSS3-GEN future POSS3-GEN bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC
‘It is in principle so that a father, a mother, wishes from God first of all that the children, the future of his/her children will be bright.’

T6/ 18

"Ol urpay-ı-nişi bolaşay-ı jariş bol-uw-ı

X descendant-POSS3-GEN future-POSS3 bright BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3

üśün sol b’r àke češe "öz-in-de-gi bar kasiyet,

FOR.POSTP that a parents self-POSS3-LOC-GI all merit

"öz-in-de-gi bar "önegeli is-ter-i bol-sa ,

self-POSS3-LOC-GI all exemplary thing-PL-POSS3 BOL.COP-HYP3

urpak-ka üyret-ip ket-se jaksı bol-a-dı
generation-DAT teach-IP.CONV LEAVE.POSTV-HYP3 good BOL.COP-A.PRES-3
de-p "øyla-y-mın.
say-IP.CONV think-A.PRES-COP1SG

‘In order to ensure that the future of the descendants is bright, I think, it is good that the parents teach their children all the good qualities and exemplary features themselves might have.’

T6/ 19

Men-çe, minya urpak jön-in-de-gi ayt-atın-ım,
I-DER this descendant direction-POSS3-LOC-GI tell-ATIN.PTCP-POSS1SG

sol y’endı bul şekildi is-ter-menen čuylidan-ip

that NOW.FILL this like thing-PL-WITH.POSTP engage in-IP.CONV

jaksı bol-uw-ı-n tile-y-ım y’endi.
good BOL.COP-UW.VN-POSS3-ACC wish-A.PRES-COP1SG NOW.FILL

‘As for me, what I will tell you about the descendants is that I wish they do such things and that they are good.’

T6/ 20

Kimde kim, "öz urpay-ım bol-sın, baska-lar-dan

whoever self descendant-POSS1SG BOL.COP-VOL3 other-PL-ABL

i’w-yan urpak bol-sın, àke češe-nişi "ösiyet-i-n,

bear-GAN.PTCP descendant BOL.COP-VOL3 parents-GEN directive-POSS3-ACC

âke češe-nişi jaksı tâlim târbiye-si-n üyren-se

parents-GEN good good manners-POSS3SG-ACC learn-HYP3

bol-a-dı y’endi.
BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 NOW.FILL

‘Whoever, no matter if it is my own child or others’, it would be good if he/she learns the directives and good manners from the parents.’

T6/ 21

"Ol àke češe de-gende, "ol àke-nişi de biz-dişi

X parents say- GAN.LOC.CONV X father-GEN DA.PART we-GEN
Speaking about parents, fathers, and we too have faults.’

Both fathers and mothers (have faults).’

‘The children speak about these faults: “Oh, my father has done so and so…”, and they learn the bad thing and when they later also do bad things and then it is in vain…’

‘I want to say that they cannot become the generation for the future, as you know.’
"In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands."

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

In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands.‘In case I pass away, the house where I live, my home, and my most valuable other belongings, of course, will be in your hands.’
'In particular, I ask you to consult with your elder brothers, as well as your younger brothers, and become the owner of my last properties in a peaceful and collaborative way.'

T7/ 4

Ake-ŋ tölegen.
father-POSS2SG Tölegen

‘Your father, Tölegen.’

T8. Kelin bołuw ‘To be a bride’

Metadata
Gender: female
Age: 71
Date of birth: May 1940
Place of birth: Kaba county, Altay, China
Education: University
Language competence: Kazakh (mother tongue), Uyghur (understands), Chinese (understands and reads).
Date of recording: 25th July 2012
Place of recording: Kaba, Altay

Running text

Annotated text
T8/ 1

Biz jön-i-nen al-yan wakî-ta əendi, adepti tärтипти bołuw-di däripte-y-miz əoy əendi.
we direction-POSS3-ABL take-GAN.PTCP time-LOC NOW.FILL
polite well-behaved BOL.COP-UW.VN-ACC advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL
γoy əendi.
ΓOY.PART NOW.FILL

‘As for us, (the bride) is expected to be polite and well behaved, you know.’
Ulken-der-dığı aldın-da kelın-der ibali bol-uw
elder-PL-GEN front.POSS3-LOC bride-PL courteous BOL.COP-UW.VN
kerek.
necessary
‘Brides must be courteous towards old people.’

Ulken-der-dığı sila-w kerek.
old-PL-ACC respect-UW.VN necessary
‘(The bride) must respect the old people.’

Bet-i-nen al-ma-w kerek.
face-POSS3-ABL take-NEG-UW.VN necessary
‘(The bride) must not be rude towards them.’

Awir-üp sırka-p kal-sa kamkorlik
fall sick-IP.CONV get sick-IP.CONV STAY.POSTV-HYP3 help
jasa-p, tamay-i-n way-ın-da
CREATE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV food-POSS3-ACC time-POSS3-LOC
give-IP.CONV medicine give-IP.CONV say-GAN.PTCP suchlike
‘If they get sick, (the bride) should help by giving them food and medicine in time, and suchlike.’

Tipiti šama-sığ kel-me-yiğin adam-dar bol-sa,
even strength-POSS3SG come-NEG-ATIN.PTCP person-PL BOL.COP-HYP3
djuwun-dır-üp, kiyim-i-n juw-up, bas-i
wash-CAUS-IP.CONV clothes-POSS3-ACC wash-IP.CONV head-POSS3
göz-ü-n juw-up, wöst-üp koy-sa
eye-POSS3-ACC wash-IP.CONV do it as this-IP.CONV PUT.POSTV-HYP3
da bol-a-dī gay.
DA.PART BOL.COP-A.PRES-3 TOY.PART
‘When the (old) people are not able (to take care of themselves), then the bride should even be able to wash them, wash their clothes, and their hair and faces, shouldn’t she?’

‘Endi mindsay’ keybır wokaş iş-ter-dığ kör-gen
NOW.FILL this.EQUA some impertinent thing-PL-ACC see-GAN.PTCP

*Mindsay is a contracted form of minha-day (this.EQUA) ‘like this’ or minan-day (this.EQUA) ‘like this’
waqit-in-da  ulken-der  yendij  iskip  kogl-in-e

time-POSS3-LOC  elder-PL  NOW.FILL  anyway  mood-POSS3-DAT
si-ma-y  so-nan  keyijn  renji-p

fit in-NEG-A.PRES  that-ABL  AFTER1.POSTP  offend-IP.CONV
kal-atin  axwal-dar  ciy-a-di

STAY.POSTV-ATIN.PTCP  situation-PL  come out-A.PRES-3

goy  yendij.

FILL  any way

‘When the old people have experienced some impertinences, they do not like it, and it can happen that they are offended, you know.’

T8/8

Sonij  usin  ibali  bol-uw  kerek-ti

that.GEN  FOR.POSTP  courteous  BOL.COP-UI.VN  necessary-ACC
daripye-y-miz.

advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘That is why the bride is expected to be courteous.’

T8/9

Adepti  bol-uw  kerek-ti  daripye-y-miz.

polite  BOL.COP-UI.VN  necessary-ACC  advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL

‘We advise the bride to be polite.’

T8/10

Soj  soyle-w-de  bol-sin,  jarus turus-ta

word  speak-UI.VN-LOC  BOL.COP-VOL3  behavior-LOC
bol-sin,  barliy-in-da  iskip  kurmet  je-et-uw-di

BOL.COP-VOL3  all-POSS3-LOC  anyway  respect  DO.LIGHT-VU.VN-ACC
daripye-y-miz  goy.

advocate-A.PRES-COP1PL  FILL

‘We expect the bride to respect (the old people) in speech, in behavior, and in all respects.’

T9. Jolatjan kolon ‘The lost cell phone’

Metadata

Gender: Female
Age: 30
Date of birth: August 1982
Place of birth: Ürümqi, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China.
Education: University
Language competence: Kirghiz (mother tongue), Kazakh (as second mother tongue), Uyghur (understands, speaks and reads), Chinese (understands, speaks, reads and writes).
Running text
T9/ 1–T9/ 10


T9/ 11–T9/ 20

T9/ 21–T9/ 30

T9/ 31–T9/ 40
In May, I think, something very interesting happened.

Guli and I, the two of us, decided to meet …

‘very’ is a global copy of Uyghur taza ‘very’. ‘May’ is a selective copy of Chinese wū yuè ‘May’. The term in Kazakh is mamïr ‘May’.

77 The lexical item besînîş ay (five-ORD month) ‘May’ is a selective copy of Chinese wū yuè ‘May’. The term in Kazakh is mamïr ‘May’.

78 The lexical item taza ‘very’ is a global copy of Uyghur taza ‘very’.

248
Mayan bʼr telefon ber-ip-ti.
I.DAT a telephone give-IP.POSTT-3
‘She called me.’

T9/ 4

So-nan geyın łyek-ew-imız kezdes-ip so-nan
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP two-COLL-POSS1PL meet-IP.CONV that-ABL
kayda bar-a-mız de-se-m men kiyım tıkشرط-uvși
where go-A.PRES-COP1PL say-HYP-1SG I clothes sew-UWS1.PTCP
łye-di-m, daşıımın-ya bar-ip, de-p süyt-ti.
E.COP-PAST-1SG Dashimin-DAT go-IP.CONV say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3
‘Then, the two of us met, and then, when I asked, “Where shall we go?”—She said,
“I was going to order a dress, go to Dashimin”.’

T9/ 5

So-nan geyın “bopți” de-p, so-nan geyın
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP all right say-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP
łyek-emız faduanṣin khilis-ip bʼr bʼrımız-ge
two-COLL-POSS1PL SMS MAKE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV each other.POSS1PL-DAT
so daşıımın-da kezdes-etin bol-dı-k.
that Dashimin-LOC meet-ATIN.PTCP BOL.COP-PAST-1PL
‘Then, we said “all right”. Then the two of us sent an SMS to each other, and we decided to meet in Dashimin.’

T9/ 6

So-dan geyın tôs-te kezdes-tı-k koy
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP noon-LOC meet-PAST-1PL TOY.PART
de-y-mın taza kızık.
say-A.PRES-COP1SG very interesting.
‘Then we met at noon, I think. It was very interesting.’

T9/ 7

So-nan geyın daşıımın-ya bar-ip jumus-unimiz-dı
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Dashimin-DAT go-IP.CONV job-POSS1PL-ACC
biṭır-ip aldîn-da bʼr yinxan-ya79 kir-dı-k.
finish-IP.CONV at first.POSS3-LOC a bank-DAT enter-PAST-1PL
‘Then we went to Dashimin, did our shopping and first we went to a bank.’

T9/ 8

Yinxan-ya kir-gen kez-de ganxaw kim guli pàydı̃y
bank-DAT enter-GAN.PTCP time-LOC exactly who Guli queue

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79 Yinhay ‘bank’ is a lexical item globally copied from Chinese. The Kazakh term for bank is “bänke”.

249
When we went into the bank, and while Guli was queueing up, she got a phone call.

Then she had lots of things in her hands.

Then I said to her.

I said, “Look, I’ll hold your things till you finish your conversation on the phone.”

‘Then she said “No, no problem!”—and she did not agree.’

All right”, we said and we did so.’

The dropping of the last consonant of the verb kel- and the converb suffix {-t(1)p} in the postverbal construction here, i.e. ke kal- ‘arrive, come’ is a phenomenon copied from Uyghur. The correct Kazakh form is kelip kal-.

Išteŋketpeydî < ýeštême ýetpeydi or ýešteñe ýetpeydi ‘no problem’. Literally it means ‘it makes nothing’.

250
Sol bánk-ge aḵša-nī koy-dī-k. that bank-DAT money-ACC deposit-PAST-1PL ‘We deposited the money in the bank.’

Sodan geyin vinxaṇ-nan čīk-ti-k. that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP bank-ABL come out-PAST-1PL ‘Then we left the bank.’

Črį-įp sodan geyin, ‘ek-ew-imiz jol-diğer come out-IP.CONV that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP two-COLL.Poss1PL road-GEN wort-a-sīn-da ket-įp bar-a middle-Poss3SG-LOC leave-IP.CONV GO.POV-A.CONV jat-įp, b’r jer-den tamak je-yiğ LIE.POV-IP.CONV a place-ABL food eat-VOL.1PL pa de-p... Q.PART say-IP.CONV ‘After we came out, when we were walking in the street, we said, “Shall we eat?”’

So-dan geyin nāzān-ya telefon ber-dī-k. that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP Nazan-DAT telephone give-PAST-1PL ‘Then we called Nazan.’

Nāzān ěste-đi ma ěste-me-di ma Nazan work-PAST3 Q.PART work-NEG-PAST3 Q.PART de-p telefon ber-se-k, nāzān da say-IP.CONV telephone give-HYP-1PL Nazan DA.PART daśimin-da mama-sī-men b’rge Dashimin-LOC mother-Poss3SG-WITH.POSTP together gwanjye kʰi p 82 jūr-üp-ti. shopping MAKE.LIGHTV-IP.CONV MOVE.POV-IP.POSTT-3 ‘When we called Nazan to ask whether she was working or not, she was shopping in Dashimin with her mother.’


82 This kind of omission occurs only in Uyghur not in Kazakh.
kezdes-eyin” de-p süyt-ti.
meet-VOL.1SG say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3
‘She said, “As soon as I send my mother (home), I will meet you”.’

T9/ 20
So-dan geyin "ọl mana-si-n jol-γa
that-ABL AFTER 1.POSTP X mother-POSS3SG-ACC road-DAT
sal-ịp tasta-p, soni-menen
place-IP.CONV THROW.POSTV-IP.CONV that-WITH.POSTP
biz-ge telefon ber-dị.
we-DAT telephone give-PAST3
‘Then she sent her mother and then she called us.’

T9/ 21
So-dan geyin üş-ew-ümiz b’r jer-de
that-ABL AFTER 1.POSTP three-COLL-POSS1PL a place-LOC
kezdes-ip "otir-ịp...
meet-IP.CONV sit-IP.CONV
‘Then we three met at a place and sat down at a place…”

T9/ 22
Názan-γa telefon ber-eyik de-se-k
Nazan-DAT telephone give-VOL.1PL say-HYP-1PL
kara, telefon jok, adaš.
look.IMP telephone non-existing friend
‘When we wanted to call Nazan, look, there was no phone, (my) friend.’

T9/ 23
Guli-diŋ ṣAPO ọsowji-sị pingo.
Guli-GEN iPhone-POSS3SG apple.
‘Guli’s iPhone, the Apple.’

T9/ 24
Soni-men "telefon kane?” de-p, soni-men telefon-dị
that-WITH.POSTP telephone where say-IP.CONV then telephone-ACC
ber-dị-k.
give-PAST-1PL
‘Then, “Where is the phone?” we asked. Then we called (the phone).’

T9/ 25
Telefon-dị ber-ịp jatir-mịz
telephone-ACC give-IP.CONV LIE.POSTV.AOR-COP1PL
When I said that, we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is possibly in the bank, I have the feeling that we left it in the taxi”. ‘It was ringing and ringing.’

Then, “It seems we have left it in the taxi, it seems it is in the taxi, this phone”, we said. Then we went through everything in our memories. I said, “Wait a minute, it is possibly in the bank, I have the feeling that we left it in the bank”.’

‘When I said that, then, she asked “Shall we try to go (back to the bank)?”’

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83 Here the speaker switches to Chinese.
84 The usage of postverbal construction “oya-p bak- ‘try to think, to think’ is copied from Uyghur. The genuine Kazakh expression should be “oya-p kör- ‘to try to think, to think’.
85 The dropping of the convert form here is also an Uyghur phenomenon.
‘Then, “Let us try!” we said and we went (back) to the bank.’

‘We went there and then asked.’

‘Having entered we asked the security guard.’

‘We said, “Hi, we deposited, that thing, the money here just before”.’

‘At that time, we forgot our cellphone here”, we told (him).’

‘When we said (that) the security guard…’

‘This camera existing turn out-AOR3 we video watch-A.PRES-COP1PL say-IP.CONV do-so-HYP-1PL OY.INTERJEC you-PL-DAT show-UW.VN-DAT BOL.COP-NEG-A.PRES-3 we self-POSS1PL
‘When we asked, “There must be a camera here. We will watch the video.” The security guard did not agree and said, “It cannot be shown to you. We will watch it ourselves”.’

T9/36

Sonï-men güytá-dîn aldîn-a kel-ip, so-dan
that-WITH.POSTP counter-GEN front.POSS3-DAT come-IP.CONV that-ABL
geyin dâl so kîzbala hàymîv șyabân nî
AFTER1.POSTP exactly that young girl has not off from work PART
‘Then, we went to the counter, and that girl had not left the bank.’

T9/37

Somen so kîz-dan sura-dî-k.
then that girl-ABL ask-PAST-1PL
‘Then we asked the girl.’

T9/38

Sura-sa-k basta tür-i "özger-ip
ask-HYP-1PL in the beginning complexion-POSS3 change-IP.CONV
tur-dî, ana kîzbala-nîyî, bîr türîlî, fanînî gânjüê
STAND.POSTV-PAST3 that young girl-GEN peculiar anyhow feeling
tîn jinîndî.
rather nervous
‘When we asked the girl, her complexion first changed, somehow, I had the feeling that she was nervous.’

T9/39

So-dan geyîn "şînmî şowji” de-p sîyt-tî.
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP what cellphone say-IP.CONV do so-PAST3
‘Then she asked, “What cellphone?”’

T9/40

So-dan: “pingo şowji xisîdî pingo şowji” de-se-k,
that-ABL apple cellphone black apple cellphone say-HYP-1PL
sodan geyîn bașînda sîz-i-nîyî bas
that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP in the beginning word-POSS3-GEN beginning
ayav-i kamlaş-pa-dî di, so-dan geyîn, ‘a2
end-POSS3 fit-NEG-PAST3 DE.PART that-ABL AFTER1.POSTP A.PART
gansây igî wizu dama gîy nazow li” de-p
just before an Uyghur aunt PART take PAST say-IP.CONV
‘Then, when we said, “iPhone, a black iPhone” she started to say things which did not make sense, then she said to us, “Oh, just before an Uyghur lady has taken it”.’

T9/ 41

So-dan  geyin  “a? šĩnmĩ  vaŋdĩ  dama?”  de-p
that-ABL  AFTER1.POSTP  A.PART  what  kind  of  aunt  say-IP.CONV
sũyt-ti-k.
do so-PAST-1PL

‘Then, “What kind of lady?” we asked.’

T9/ 42

Bugo  dyenxwa  hayzay  yįį  zay  tuŋdĩnį.86
but  telephone  still  remaining  COP  getting  through

‘But the phone was still getting through.’

T9/ 43

Womĩn  butųŋdĩ  zay  dadyenxwa.87
we  incessant  COP  dial

‘We kept dialing.’

T9/ 44

So-dan  geyin  ayt-ti-k.:  “bukiŋĩ”  de-p
that-ABL  AFTER1.POSTP  tell-PAST-1PL  impossible  say-IP.CONV
sũyt-ti-k.
do so-PAST-1PL

‘Then we replied, “It is impossible”.’

T9/ 45

“Biź  “osĩ  jer-ge  kel-gen  kez-de  telepon
we  this  place-DAT  come-GAN.PTCP  time-LOC  telephone
ber-di-k.”
give-PAST-1PL

“‘We made a call when we came here.’”

T9/ 46

“Danišĩ  wo  piŋyow  jyu  badyenxwa  la  zāyįį  li.”
at  that  time  my  friend  precisely  the  phone  forget  in  here  PAST

“‘At that time my friend left her phone here.’”

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86 Here the speaker switches to Chinese.
87 See the previous footnote.

256
“Danšî wo jyu kandî čińcińçuđi.”

at that time I precisely saw clearly
““I saw it very clearly that time.””

“Ta lawgun ši jinča” de-p süt-ti-k.

her husband COP policeman say-IP.CONV do so-PAST-1PL
““Her husband is a policeman”, we said.’

“Zày pàyčuso gunzonî.”

in police station work
““He works at a police station.””

“Dàyhur...”

later
““Later...””

“Womîn giy ta dadyenxwa lî.”

we to he dial PAST
““We called him.””

“Womîn yaw bawân nî” de-p süyt-tî-k.

we will report PART say-IP.CONV do so-PAST-1PL
““We will report the case (to the police)”, we said.’

De-gende lam 88, ana kîzbala, güytáy-da-yî

say-GAN.LOC.CONV PART that young girl counter-LOC-GI

iste-ytîn kîzbala unde-me-y lam kîp 89

work-ATIN.PTCP young girl emit a sound-NEG-A.CONV PART go in.IP.CONV

LEAVE.POSTV-PAST3

‘As soon as we said (that), that young girl, the young girl who worked at the counter went over to another room without saying anything.’

88 Lam is a particle copied from Uyghur.
89 See footnote 85.
‘Very soon after she went over to the other room, she came out with the cellphone.’

‘A. Well, is it this black cellphone?’

‘Oh, at that moment we were even…’

‘“Well, never mind, after we have found it, let us not quarrel with her”, we said. Then we left.’

‘Thus the phone was not lost.’

‘Because, to a person who has never used an iPhone, probably, it seems to be difficult to switch on and to switch off (the phone).’

90 Here the speaker switches to Chinese.
‘As I have heard, there is a code in it. I do not know it either.’

‘Then we three, Guli, Nazan and I, left (the bank) as if we had found some treasure.’