# A Grammar of Kazakh

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# 1 Socio - and Geolinguistic Situation
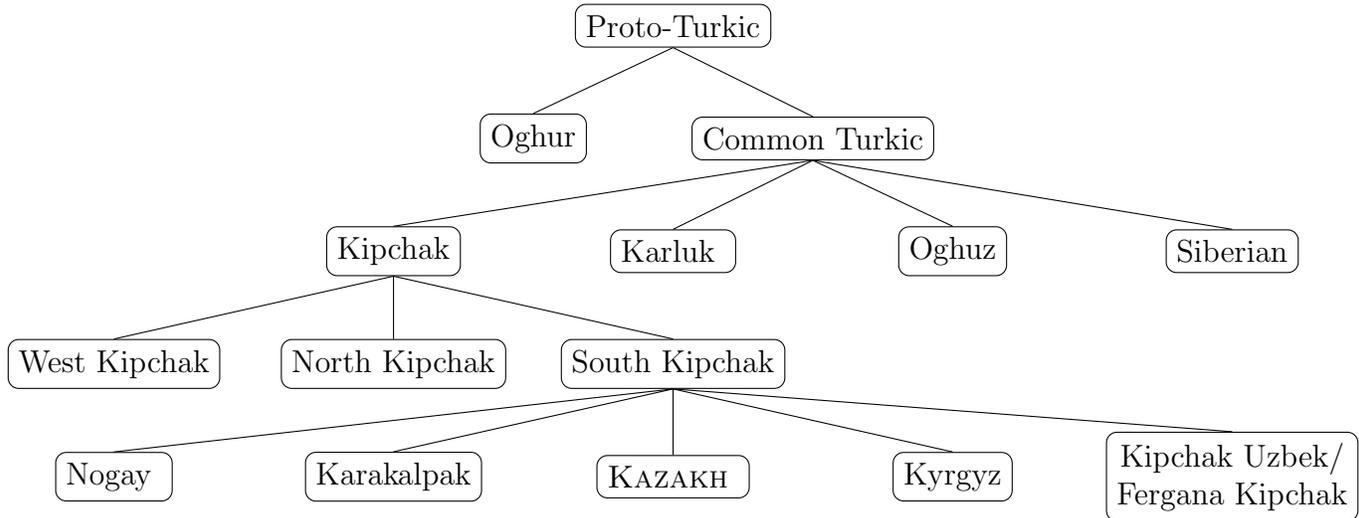
## 1.1 Locale and Speakers

The Kazakh language is spoken by approximately 12 million people throughout Central Asia, the former Soviet Union, and Western China and Mongolia. Principally, it is the sole official language of the Republic of Kazakhstan, where it enjoys official status as the *state language*. It bears noting that, in addition to Kazakh, Russian is used widely in Kazakhstan, however, it is not a *co-official language* of the Republic, rather, in accordance to the Kazakh constitution, Russian is designated as the language of *inter-ethnic communication*. Article 7.2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan permits the use of Russian as an official language and used equally to Kazakh, if so needed. Kazakh is spoken widely in the Southern, Western and Central regions of Kazakhstan, where traditionally Kazakh speaking regions are well-established, as well as a strong Turkic, Islamic identity. These regions include the cities of Shymkent, Taraz, Atyrau, Turkistan, and Qyzylorda. In the North, Northeaster and Southeastern regions, there are still many Kazakh speakers, however, as of the 20th century, these regions are strongly tied to the Russian minority. The largest city and former capital of Kazakhstan, Almaty, falls into this region, with many residents of the city using Russian for daily communication. There is, however, a growing community of Kazakh speakers in the Northeast due to emigration from other parts of the country to Almaty, as well as immigration of Kazakh dominant bilinguals from neighboring China.

Approximately 11 million speakers of Kazakh reside in the Republic of Kazakhstan. An additional 1 million speakers is reported from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China. Further significant Kazakh minority groups can also be found in the Altai Republic, of the Russian Federation, and in the Bayan-Ölgii province in Western Mongolia. There also exists communities of Kazakhs in Iran and Afghanistan. Iranian Kazakhs are concentrated in the province of Golestan and as many as 5000 ethnic Kazakhs are reported to live in the city of Gorgan. Most Kazakhs of the community have repatriated to the Republic of Kazakhstan following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Kazakh speakers in Afghanistan are largely descended of Kipchak Turks and are concentrated in the Obi district of the Herat province. Afghan Kipchaks have largely been assimilated into Pashtun speaking Aimaqs with other semi-nomadic people of Afghanistan. The use of the Kazakh language among this community is under reported. Kazakh is also spoken by diaspora communities in Germany and in Turkey, where most Kazakh-Turks have taken up residence in Istanbul, and many Kazakh speaking residence of Germany consist of Volga Germans, that had been dominant in the language due to forced relocation of Volga Germans during the Soviet era.

## 1.2 Historical and Genealogical Background

Kazakh is genealogically classified as a Turkic language and is one of 4 members of the Kipchak-Nogai subcategory. Kazakh is most genealogically similar to Karakalpak, Crimean Tatar, and the Nogai languages. Kazakh is also significantly intelligible with Kyrgyz, the native language of the neighboring Kyrgyz Republic, however, the genealogical classification of Kyrgyz is subject to debate in several Central Asian/Turkological circles, citing the sound

system with contrastive vowel length as evidence for Kyrgyz's affinity to Siberian Turkic versus other local Kipchak-Nogai Turkic languages.

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                          Proto-Turkic
                         /            \
                    Oghur          Common Turkic
                              /      |      |       \
                        Kipchak   Karluk  Oghuz   Siberian
                    /      |      \
          West Kipchak  North Kipchak  South Kipchak
                      /      |        |        \        \
                  Nogay  Karakalpak  KAZAKH  Kyrgyz  Kipchak Uzbek/
                                                      Fergana Kipchak
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# 2 Phonology

Kazakh phonology is governed by an underlying system of vowel and consonant harmony. In this section, we provide overview and description of both the consonant and vowel systems, the basics of vowel and consonant harmony in Kazakh, typical morphophonemic alternations, and a reference guide to the orthographies used to write Kazakh. We are also pleased to announced that this grammar will also contain examples and reference charts for the Kazakh Cyrillic, the Arabic-script used in Kazakh speaking areas of Xinjiang, and the new 2017 version Latin script for Kazakh, which is projected to replace Cyrillic by the year 2025.

## 2.1 Orthography

Kazakh is written in three different orthographies: Currently in Cyrillic in Kazakhstan and Mongolia, Arabic in China, or Latin, which is scheduled to become the new orthographic standard for Kazakh. In this orthography section we provide examples using both the Kazakh Cyrillic and the new Latin script. However, examples in this grammar will be provided in the new Latin orthography.

| Latin | Cyrillic | IPA | Examples |
|-------|----------|-----|----------|
| A a | А а | [ɑ] | alma<br>алма<br>[ɑl.ˈmɑ]<br>`apple' |
| Á á | Ә ә | [æ] | áke<br>әке<br>[æ.ˈke]<br>'father' |
| B b | Б б | [b] | bala<br>бала<br>[bɑ.ˈlɑ]<br>'child' |
| D d | Д д | [d] | dán<br>дән<br>[dæn]<br>'grain' |
| E e | Е е | [e] (also [je] when word-initial) | el<br>ел<br>[el] (also [jel]<br>'country' |
| F f | Ф ф | [f] | fabryka<br>фабрыка<br>[fɑ.brɪ.ˈkɑ]<br>'factory' |
| G g | Г г | [g] | gazet<br>газет<br>[gɑ.ˈzʲet]<br>'newspaper' |
| Ǵ ǵ | Ғ ғ | [ɣ] | ǵylym<br>ғылым<br>[ɣɯ.ˈlɯm]<br>`science'/ˈknowledge' |

| H h | X x<br>Һ h | [x]<br>[h] | halyq<br>халық<br>[xɑ.ˈlɯq]<br>`people/nationality'<br><br>jıhaz<br>жиһаз<br>[ʒij.ˈhɑs]<br>`furniture' |
|---|---|---|---|
| İ i | I i | [ɪ] | til<br>тіл<br>[tɪl]<br>`language' |
| I ı | И и<br>Й й | [ji]<br>[j] | ıá<br>иә<br>[i.ˈjæ]<br>'yes'<br><br>ıogurt<br>йогурт<br>[jo.ˈgurt]<br>`yoghurt] |
| J j | Ж ж | [ʒ] also [dʒ] | jınalys<br>жиналыс<br>[jɪ.nɑ.ˈlɯs] or [dʒɪ.nɑ.lɯs]<br>`meeting' |
| K k | К к | [k] | keĺу<br>келу<br>[ke.ˈlyw]<br>'to come' |
| L l | Л л | [l] | lóktir<br>лөктір<br>[lœk.ˈtɪr]<br>`physician' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| M m | М м | [m] | máńgilik<br>мәңгілік<br>[mæŋ.gɪ.ˈlɪk]<br>`eternity' |
| N n | Н н | [n] | naǵyz<br>нағыз<br>[nɑ.ˈɣɯs]<br>'authentic, true' |
| Ń ń | Ң ң | [ŋ] | qatań<br>қатаң<br>[qɑ.ˈtɑŋ]<br>`hard' |
| O o | О о | [o]<br>[ʷɤ] - word initial | qol<br>қол<br>[qχol]<br>`hand'<br><br>otan<br>отан<br>[ʷɤ.ˈtɑn]<br>`motherland' |
| Ó ó | Ө ө | [œ]<br>[ʷз] - word initial | kól<br>көл<br>[kœl]<br>`lake'<br><br>ómir<br>өмір<br>[ʷз.ˈmɪr]<br>`life' |
| P p | П п | [p] | páter<br>пәтер<br>[pæ.ˈter]<br>`apartment' |
| Q q | Қ қ | [q]<br>[qχ] - word initial | qazaq<br>қазақ<br>[qχɑ.ˈzɑq]<br>'Kazakh' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| R r | Р р | [r] | raxmet<br>рахмет<br>[rɑx.ˈmɛt]<br>`thank you' |
| S s | С с | [s] | sal*ý*<br>салу<br>[sɑ.ˈluw]<br>`to sell' |
| Sh sh | Ш ш | [ʃ] | shyǵ*ý*<br>шығу<br>[ʃɯ.ˈɣuw]<br>`to exit' |
| Ch ch | Ч ч | [tɕ] | cherkes<br>черкес<br>[tɕer.ˈkes]<br>`Circassian' |
| T t | Т т | [t] | ta*ý*<br>тау<br>[tɑuw]<br>`mountain' |
| U u | Ұ ұ | [u] | urpaq<br>ұрпақ<br>[ʊr.pɑq]<br>`generation' |
| Ú ú | Ү ү | [y] | úlken<br>үлкен<br>[yl.ˈken]<br>`big' or `many' |
| V v | В в | [v] or [w] | vegetarıandyq<br>вегетариандық<br>[ve.ge.ta.ri.jɑn.ˈdɯq]<br>'vegetarian (adj.)' |
| Y y | Ы ы | [ɯ] | ydys<br>ыдыс<br>[ɯ.ˈdɯs]<br>`plate' |
| Ý *ý* | У у | [uw] or [yw] | *ý*nıversıtet<br>университет<br>[yw.nij.ver.sij.tʲet]<br>'university' |

| Z z | З з | [z] | sózdik<br>сөздік<br>[sœz.ˈdɪk]<br>`dictionary] |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |

## 2.2 Consonant Inventory

The Kazakh consonant inventory contains approximately 25 phonemes. The consonant system hinges on a voiced/voiceless opposition for 12 of the 25 phonemes. There are 8 stop/plosive consonants: bilabial [p]/[b], dental [t]/[d], velar [k]/[g], and uvular [q]/[ʁ]. In the case of the voiceless uvular stop [q], this sounds is often accompanied by frication, rendering a sound more similar to [qχ] as opposed to an isolated [q].

Table 1: Kazakh Consonant Inventory

|  | Labial | Dental-Alveolar | Palatal | Alveo-Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plosives | [p]  [b] | [t]      [d] |  |  | [k]  [g] | [q] | [h] |
| Affricates |  |  | [d͡ʒ] | [t͡ɕ] |  |  |  |
| Fricative | [f]  [v] | [s]      [z] | [ʃ]  [ʒ] | [ɕ] | [x] | [χ]  [ʁ] |  |
| Approximate |  | [l] |  | [j] | [w] |  |  |
| Nasal | [m] | [n] |  |  | [ŋ] |  |  |
| Trill |  | [r] |  |  |  |  |  |

### 2.2.1 Labial Stops

(1)  Labial Stops [p]/[b]

- bala - [bɑ.lɑ]
  'child'

- páter - [pæ.'ter]
  'apartment' (c.f Arabic 'beyt')

The phoneme [p] as an onset is quite common in Kazakh, but in this position, it is usually indicative of a a Russian or Perso-Arabic loan word. [p] is found in native words, much more commonly, in syllable-coda positions. In this position, [p] is often included in a number of grammatical suffixes that range in function from marking converbs to indicating pseudo-superlatives

(2)  Native Kazakh words with [p]

- kóp - [kœp]
  'many', 'a lot' (c.f Turkish cok)

- alyp - [ɑ.'lɯp]
  'while taking'

- qap-qara - [qəp.qɑ.'rɑ]
  'particularly black, very black'

Finally, [p] may also appear in syllable-initial position in native Kazakh words, when this syllable is not the initial syllable.

(3)  - aspan - [əs.'pɑn]
       'sky'

- urpaq - [ur.'pɑq]
  'generation'

## 2.2.2   Dental/Alveolar Stops

Kazakh alveolar stops [d] and [t] are pronounced with the tongue on the alveolar ridge. [d] is found most commonly at the onset of both words and syllables.

(4)  • dán - [dæn]
     'grain'

   • odaq - [ʷɣ.'dɑq]
     'union'

[d] when found at the end of words is realized as [t] via word-final devoicing in Kazakh. They are often of Russian origin.

(5)  • triyod - [trɪ.'jot]
     'triod'

Voiceless alveolar stops, [t], may occur in all positions in a word and are common in both native and non-native Kazakh words. Eastern dialects of Kazakh with significant contact with Uyghur, often realize word-initial [t] as [d]

(6)  • tesik - [te.'sɪk]
     'hole', 'tear'

   • ketý - [ke.tyw]
     'to leave'

   • tuz - [tus] ([dus] for Eastern dialects)
     'salt'

## 2.2.3   Velar and Uvular Stops

Kazakh velar stops include [k] and [g], both of which are exceedingly common in native Kazakh words. In addition to /k/, the allophone [q] also surfaces when in the environment of front vowels. [k] in Kazakh only surfaces near front (-RTR) vowels and may also be found in every position of a word.

(7)  • kór - [kœr]
     'see (imperative)'

   • árkim - [ær.km]
     'every', 'each'

   • /jaqsy/ → [ʒaq.'sɯ]
     'good'

   • /oryndyq/ → [ʷɣ.rʉn.'dɯq]
     'chair'

Kazakh has only a voiceless uvular stop [q]. [q] is also very common and found in many native lexical items and in many grammatical suffixes. [q] is often pronounced, particularly in word-initial position, with some frication, sounding more like [qχ] than [q].

(8)
- qoı- [qχoj]
  'sheep'

- qaldym - [qχał.'dɯm]
  'I remained'

- qur qol- [qχur qχoɫ]
  'empty hands'

The phoneme [g] is also found in most all positions, but is also subject to allophony based on the properties of adjacent vowels. /g/ surfaces as [g] when near -RTR/front vowels, and as [ɣ] near back vowels.

(9)
- túngi - /tyn.gɪ/ → [tyŋ.gɪ]

- kelgen - [kel.gen]
  'having come'

- /aǵa/ → aǵa [aɣa]
  'elder brother'

[g] and [ɣ] are generally not found in the word-initial onset, rather are typically found in the middle of words as the onset of an internal syllable. [g]/[ɣ] is a typical alternation found in suffixes with a 2-way harmonic opposition, with [g] found in suffixes agreeing for front vowels, and [ɣ] for back vowels.

### 2.2.4 Labial Fricatives

Kazakh has only [v] and [f] for labial fricatives and are often sounds as allophones of each other. Both [f] and [v] are pronounced with the front teeth touching the lower lip. [f] is mostly found only in loan words from Russian and English or words and names of Perso-Arabic origin:

(10)
- fabrika - [fɑ.brɯ.'kɑ]
  'factory'

- Ál-Farabi - [ɑlʲ fə.'rɑ.bi]
  Ál-Farabi (Kazakh intellectual and also the name of Almaty's main highway)

- faıl - [fajl]
  'file (i.e computer files)'

Monolingual Kazakhs may also alternate this sound with /p/, as [f] is not a native Kazakh sound. Russian-dominant bilinguals, however, retain [f] and [v] in speech. [v] is a allophone of /p/ or /b/ in intervocalic positions.

### 2.2.5 Dental/Alveolar Fricatives

Dental/Alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] are pronounced with the tongue blade on the tooth ridge and the tongue body lowered when pronounced in syllables with back vowels, and with the body slightly raised to the palate in words containing front vowels (this is particularly true of Russian-dominant bilinguals more used to the type of palatalization that exists in Russian). [s] can be found in all syllabic positions in a word:

(11)
- sarymsaq - [sɑ.rɯm.'sɑq]
  'garlic'

- satyp-alý - [sɑ.tɯp.ɑɫuw]
  'to shop'

[z] may be found in all positions as well, but when found at the word-initial onset, it is an indication of a loan words. Native Kazakh words do not begin with [z]

(12)
- sóz - [sœs]
  'word'

- bizdiń - [bɪz.'dɯŋ]
  'our'

- zoologiya - [zu.ə.lo.gʲi.ja]
  'zoology'

### 2.2.6 Palatal and Alveo-Palatal Fricatives

Kazakh palatal fricative [ʃ] is produced with the tongue blade at the alveolar ridge, and, for Russian-dominant and urban Kazakhs, may also be realized as retroflex [ʂ]. It is found mainly after approximates and is also generally not a word-initial onset.

(13)
- burshaq - [bur.ʃaq]
  'hail'

- balyqshy - [ba.lɯq.ʃɯ]
  'fisherman'

When found at the beginning of the word, /ʃ/ surfaces as [ɕ], as well as when found after nasals and [l].

(14)
- monsha - [mon.ɕɑ]
  'sauna' (Russian banya)

- mólsher - [mœl.ɕer]
  'size'

- úshin - [y.ɕyn]
  'for' (preposition)

[ʒ] is typical of Kazakh as spoken in Kazakhstan. It is found exclusively in the word-initial onset positions. In dialects of Kazakh in the South and East of Kazakhstan (also in Kazakh speaking communities in Uzbekistan and Xinjiang/China), /ʒ/ is pronounced as a affricate [dʒ].

(15) • jaqsy - [ʒaq.'sɯ] v. [dʒaq.'sɯ]
  'good'

  • jol - [ʒoɫ] v. [dʒoɫ]
  'road'

Urban Kazakhs and Russian-dominant Bilinguals also have the affricate [tɕ] found in Russian. This sound is usually only found in modern Russian loans into Kazakh.

(16) chimkent

### 2.2.7 Velar and Uvular Fricatives

[x] is pronounced with heavy frication from the throat, often alternating as an allophone of /k/ or a variant of /q/ [χ]

### 2.2.8 Approximates

Approximates in Kazakh include [l], [j], and [w], of which trigger different suffixes in consonant assimilation. /l/ is pronounced as [l] in the environment of front vowels, and as [ɫ] when after back vowels.

(17) • kel - [kʲel]
  'come'

  • qal - [qɑɫ]
  'stay'

The consonant cluster [-ls] in Kazakh is also often simplified to [s], deleting the underlying /l/.

(18) • bolsa → [bos.sɑ]
  'if it was'

  • kelsem → [kes.sem]
  'if I come'

The two glide approximate consonants, [w] and [j], are often found as secondary points of articulation or realizations of vowel-initial words. In the case of [j], this consonant is found in all positions and is generally used in diphthongs when syllable-final, and also as a prothetic vowel when syllable-initial

(19) • eki → [je.kɪ]
  'two'

  • qaısy [qɑj.sɯ]
  'what kind?'

Orthographic [j] may also be dropped in favor of lengthening a word-final vowel.

(20) • kúı[ky:]
  'melody'

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- kɪiz úi [kijɪz y:]
  'felt house' (Kazakh yurt)

[w] surfaces in all syllabic positions, onset and coda. It is also found in words that are vowel initial with the vowels [oe] and [o].

(21)
- taý - [tɑw]
  'mountain'

- ýaqyt - [wɑ.'qyt]
  'time'

- óte - [ʷɜ.'tʲe]
  'very'

- osylaı- [ʷɤ.sɯ.'łɑj]
  'in this manner'

## 2.2.9   Nasal Consonants

Kazakh nasal consonants, [m], [n] and [ŋ] are often subject to assimilation based on neighboring consonants. They do not generally begin words, however, there are many native words that begin with /n/, i.e '*ne*' (what). All nasals are pronounced with phonation in the vocal folds and air passed through the nasal passage. /n/ will be realized as a surface [m] when before a labial sound, and [ŋ] before velar sounds.

(22)
- ne - [nʲe]
  'what'

- on bes → [ʷɤm.'bʲes]
  'fifteen'

- óner [ʷɜ.'ner]
  'art'

- buryngý → [burɯŋ'ɣɯ]
  'former'

[m] and [ŋ] are also found on their own, in isolation, for a number of lexical items. [m] can generally occur in all positions, whereas [ŋ] is primarily found in syllable-codas.

(23)
- men - [men] (for Urban Kazakhs: [mʲen]
  'I' or 'me'

- meń - [meŋ]

- qońyr - [qχoŋ.'gɯr]

- barǵanym - [bɑr.ɣa.'nɯm]
  'I have gone'

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### 2.2.10 Trills

[r] is found in primarily coda and non-word initial syllable onsets. The tongue taps the alveolar ridge and is voiced. It may occur word-initially in Russian and Perso-Arabic loanwords.

(24) • otyr - [ʷɣ.'tʊɯ]
        'sit'

    • kerek - [kʲe.'rek]
        'necessity'

    • raxmet - [rɑx.'met] (for Urban Kazakhs: [rɑx.'mʲet]
        'thank you'

## 2.3   Vowel Inventory

The Kazakh vowel inventory contains 10 phonemic vowels, with 2 major contrasts: vowel height and vowel openness. In addition to the contrast with height and opening, rounded central vowels also change in quality when in the onset of a word, being pronounced also with a labial glide (i.e *óte* is pronounced [ʷɜte] and *otyr* as [ʷɣtʊɯ]). Of particular importance is the difference in vowel height/quality as organized by the retracted tongue root features of certain vowels. In other works, primarily ones translated from the Soviet and pre-Soviet work on Kazakh literature, Kazakh vowels are sometimes described as 'soft' or 'hard' due to the borrowing of this term from Russian academic literature (wherein 'soft/hard' describes a difference in palatalized and non-palatalized sounds in Russian), however a better understanding of this contrast is to think of the groups of sounds as either +/- RTR (retracted tongue root) per analysis of Kazakh by Vajda 2003, Doyle Wagner 2013, and North 2009, et. al.

Table 2: My caption

|  | Front [-RTR] | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Close** | ɪ | ʉ | ʊ |
| **Mid** | e | ə | o |
| **Open** | æ | œ | ɑ |

The features listed above indicate the contrasts between openness and RTR (front/back) in modern Kazakh. In addition to these vowels, variants of the open and mid-rounded vowels [œ] and [o] are only found in word-initial onsets. Ergo, Kazakh contains only 9 vowels fundamental to the phonological system, but 3 additional phonetic vowels (word-initial /o/ and /œ/ and /ə/, giving a total of 12 phonetic surface vowels.
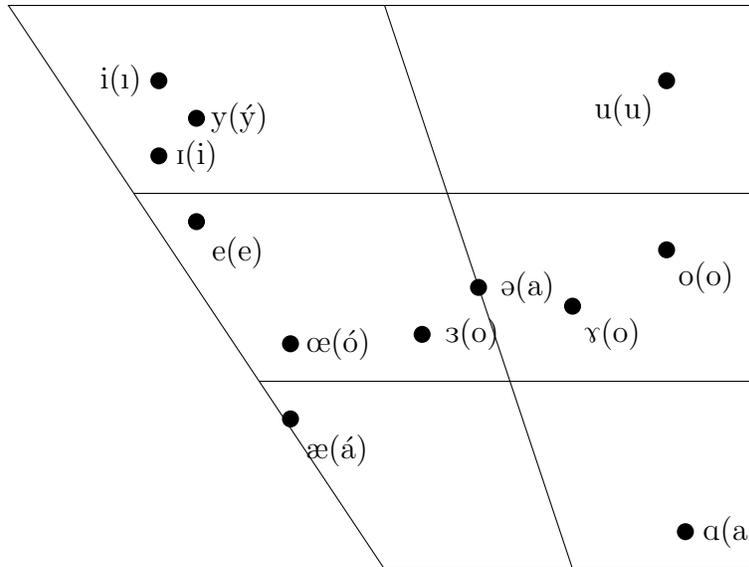
Vowels drive vowel harmony in Kazakh based on being either -RTR or not. All -RTR (front) vowels require a front variant in dependent grammatical suffixes in agglutination. In addition to the -RTR vowels listed above, the vowel [œ] and it's variant in word-initial position [ʷɜ] also trigger -RTR suffixes.

## 2.4 Vowel and Consonant Harmony

Kazakh phonology may be characterized by processes that lead to harmony in a number of different features in both consonants and vowels. As all Turkic languages, Kazakh also exhibits the prototypical Turkic *vowel harmony*, a system wherein the feature specifications of a vowel in the root triggers the appearance of allophones that share a similar feature to that of the vowel found in the root. In this section we describe the basics of these morphophonological process in vowels and consonants.

### 2.4.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony in Kazakh designates, at minimum, 2 variants for grammatical suffixes: one variant containing a -RTR/front vowel and one variant containing a back vowel. An example of this given below with the locative case suffix *-da/-de*.

(25)  Qazaqstan        Qazaqstan-da
      Kazakhstan.NOM Kazakhstan-LOC
      'Kazakhstan' 'in Kazakhstan'

(26)  Reseı        Reseı-de
      Russia.NOM Russia-LOC
      'Russia' 'in Russia'

In the above examples, *Qazaqstan* is a noun that contains only back vowels, and therefore receives the variant *-da* for the locative case, which also contains a back vowel [a]. Subsequently, in the examples with *Reseı*, containing only front vowels, the grammatical suffix

becomes '-*de*', which now contains a front vowel. In Kazakh, most all native words will contain only front vowels or back vowels. However, with the additional of many words from languages that do not have vowel harmony (Russian, Arabic, Persian, and Chinese, for example), vowel harmony is determined by the features of the vowel on the right-most periphery of the root.

(27)  polıtsıya - 'police'

(28)  Almaty qalasynyń          polisiyasy
      Almaty qala-sy-nyń        polisiya-sy
      Almaty city-3.POSS-GEN police-3.POSS

      'Almaty municipal police'

(29)  metro - 'metro'

(30)  metroǵa     baramyn
      metro-ǵa    bar-a-myn
      metro-DAT go-PRES-1SG.AGR

      'I'm going to the metro.'

### 2.4.2  Naming conventions for suffixes Used in this Grammar

The Kazakh language is an agglutinative type language that uses suffixes to express multiple grammatical function (derivation and inflection). Additionally, like most all major Turkic languages, Kazakh has a system of vowel harmony in addition to consonant harmony that affects the surface form of many of these suffixes. In this grammar we present suffixes in a way that attempts to divorce the suffix itself from their multiple surface forms. For example, we use the nomenclature of using **capital letters** for variable segments in a given suffix. For example, the dative case suffix of case has the forms -*qa*, -*ke*, -*ǵa*, and -*ge*, with four possible forms for the consonant ('q', 'k', 'g', and 'ǵ') and two possible vowels ('a' and 'e'). Since both of these elements of the suffix are variant, we discuss the 'Dative case suffix' with the designation [-GA]. This convention indicates that both the consonant and the vowel are subject to harmonization when determining the surface form. There are, however, segments of a given suffix that are invariable and do not change based on harmonization. One such example is the suffix for the instrumental case, which has the forms -*men*, -*ben* and -*pen*. Notice in this suffix, we have 3 possible forms for the initial consonant ('m', 'b', or 'p'), but the vowel is always 'e' and the final consonant is always 'n'. For cases where the segment is invariable, we write the segment in **lower case** letters. The nomenclature for a suffix like the instrumental case, then, would be [-Men], with a capital 'M' representing the variable segment, and the lower case 'en' representing invariable segments. Several suffixes have variants that are sensitive to if the last phoneme in a lexical item is a vowel or consonant. For example, the third-person possessive suffix has the forms '-*i*' and '-*y*' when they are attached to lexical items that end in a consonant, and the forms '-*si*' and '-*sy*' when the lexical item ends in a vowel. In these types of suffixes, we treat the 's' phoneme as a buffer consonant and write these type of consonants in parentheses '()' in the shorthand in square brackets, i.e the shorthand for the third-person possessive suffix would be [-(s)I]. A similar convention is used for variable vowels, for example, the suffix for the converb form has the

surface forms '-ip', '-yp' and '-p', where the form '-p' is attached to verbal roots ending in a vowel. The shorthand for this suffix is [-(I)p], with the variable vowel in capital and parentheses, since the vowel only surfaces in environments where the verbal root ends in a consonant. There are several typical patterns when observing the possible surface form of a given suffix. For example, it is quite common for suffixes to have a 4-way variation like the dative case suffix, where 'q', 'k', 'g', and 'ǵ' are possible, or 3-way variations like the instrumental case suffix with 'm', 'b', or 'p'. Here we list the most common alternations and the convention we use for marking them in our shorthand.

- Vowels

    A - indicates a 2-way variation with 'a' and 'e', ex. dative case suffix [-GA]

    I - indicates a 2-way variation with 'i' and 'y', ex. third person possessive [-(s)I]

- Consonants

    Q - indicates a 2-way variation with 'k' and 'q', ex. volitional future suffix [-MAQ]

    D - indicates a 2-way variation with 'd' and 't', ex. locative suffix [-DA]

    N - indicates a 3-way variation with 'n', 'd', and 't', ex. genitive case [-NIń]

    L - indicates a 3-way variation with 'l', 'd', and 't', ex. plural suffix [-LAr]

    M - indicates a 3-way variation with 'm', 'p', 'b', ex. negation suffix [-MA ]

    G - indicates a 4-way variation with 'g', 'q', 'k', and 'ǵ', ex. optative mood suffix [-GI]

### 2.4.3 Consonant Harmony

In addition to vowel harmony, Kazakh also has multiple allomorphs of suffixes based on harmony with the neighboring consonant. Typical variants will show harmony for the following features: voicing, sonority, and backness. Below we provide examples of these alternatives with the plural suffix, the locative suffix, and the dative suffix.

(31)   Plural Suffix [-LAr]

- bala    bala-lar
  'child' 'children'

- kirpi       kirpi-ler
  'hedgehog' 'hedgehogs'

- qazaq         qazaq-tar
  'Kazakh(sg.)' 'Kazakhs(pl.)'

- mektep mektep-ter
  'school' 'schools'

- adam     adam-dar
  'person' 'people'

- gúl    gúl-der
  'flower' 'flowers'

- sóz    sóz-der
  'word' 'words'

(32)  Locative Suffix [-DA]

- qala  qala-da
  'city' 'city-LOC'

- kól    kól-de
  'lake' 'lake-LOC'

- saıt    saıt-ta
  'website' 'website-LOC'

- mektep mektep-te
  'school' 'school-LOC'

(33)  Dative Suffix [-GA]

- bala   bala-ǵa
  'child' 'child-DAT'

- qazaq       qazaq-qa
  'Kazakh(sg)' 'Kazakh-DAT'

- sóz    sóz-ge
  'word' 'word-DAT'

- mektep mektep-ke
  'school' 'school-DAT'

In the above examples, the suffixes are listed as [-LAr], [-GA], and [-DA], a convention taken from textbooks for Anatolian/Istanbul Turkish, a related language. The convention is meant to indicate that only the letters written as capitals alternate based on the phonetic properties of nearby sounds. In the case of [-LAr] the possible variants include '*-lar, -ler, -tar, -ter, -dar and -der*', whereby '*-lar/-ler*' pattern for words that end in a vowel (*qala*) or words that end in a voiced fricative (*kirpi*). '*-tar/-ter*' occur when the word ends in a voiceless consonant, as well as words that are written orthographically with voiced consonants (which are typically devoiced word-finally in Kazakh, anyway). *-dar/-der* is found after sonorants and voiced fricatives. These types of suffixes we designate as having a 3-point contrast in form, as there exists 3 possible consonant alternations, in addition to the alternation between [-a-] and [-e-] in the suffix based on vowel harmony.

Suffixes, however, like [-GA] have a 4-way consonant distinction within the 2-way vowel alternation. Suffixes with the back-vowel [-a] in these types of suffixes, will have either a fricative or stop counter part based on if the root ends in a fricative or stop (i.e [bala] ends in a vowel, therefore [-ǵa] is the surface form of the dative case, and not *[-ga]).

Suffixes with 3-way distinction typically fall into the categories of an initial L-, N-, or M-. An example of a 3-way initial L- suffix is the plural suffix [-LAr], as well as the demonimal suffix -LA and the derivational suffix -LIK. These suffixes, like -LAr, have -lar/-ler when the

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root ends in a vowel or the consonants r, y', '-*dar/-der*' after other sonorants and voiced fricatives, and -*tar/-ter* after voiceless consonants and voiced stops. Initial N 3-way suffixes surface as either -n-, -d-, or -t-, again, depending on the voice and sonority properties of the final-consonant in the word root. The genitive, accusative, and ablative case suffixes belong to this class.

(34)   Genitive Case

- qala-nyń
  city-GEN

- qazaqstan-nyń
  Kazakhstan-GEN

- Shymkent-tiń
  Shymkent-GEN

(35)   Ablative Case

- qala-dan
  'from the city'

- Qazaqstan-nan
  'from Kazakhstan'

- Shymkent-ten
  'from Shymkent'

Finally, there are suffixes that do not obey vowel harmony at all, but still will obey consonant harmony. An example of this is the instrumental suffix '-*Men*', which as the forms '-*men, -ben, -pen*'. Further explanation of these types of declensions will be detailed further in our section on Kazakh morphology.

## 2.5   Prosodic and Lexical Stress

Kazakh lexical stress is typically syllable-final.

(36)   jumyrt**qa**
       'egg'

(37)   qazaqst**a**n
       'Kazakhstan'

(38)   ák**e**
       'father'

Words that are formed as a pair of two-words, also contain two unique stress peaks, most commonly, on the final syllable of the word.

(39)   az**y**q-tú**li**k
       'groceries'

(40)   ák**e**-shesh**e**
       'parents'

Morphologically complex words consistently place the stress on the final syllable, even in increasing levels of complexity.

(41) bal**a**
     child.NOM.SG

(42) bala-l**ar**
     child-PL

(43) bala-lar-**ym**
     child-PL-1SG.POSS

(44) bala-lar-ym**yz**
     child-PL-1PL.POSS

(45) bala-lar-ymyz-ǵ**a**
     child-PL-1PL.POSS-DAT

However, certain verbal tenses permit for stress on the penultimate syllable. These tenses include the imperative mood, the habitual past, the indirect past, and the optative. Additionally, word-final clitics in Kazakh (question particles, agreement suffixes) do not take stress, moving instead the center of stress to the penultimate syllable.

(46) qazaq   tili              grammatıkasy týraly jazàmyn
     qazaq   til-i             grammatikasy týraly jaz-a-myn
     Kazakh language-3.POSS grammar      about write-PRES-1SG.AGR

     'I am writing a grammar about the Kazakh language.'

(47) Aıtqanymà        sendiń        be
     aıt-qan-ym-a     sen-di-ń      be
     say-PTCP-1SG-DAT believe-PST-2SG Q

     'Did you believe what I said?'

Auxiliary verb constructions also tend to show a preference for stress on the last syllable of the lexical item appearing with the auxiliary verb, and the auxiliary verb to remain unstressed.

(48) qaryndasym    qulàı       jazdady
     qaryndas-ym   qulà-ı      jazda-dy
     sister-1SG.POSS fall-CNVBII AUX-3.PST

     'My sister almost fell.'

As the assignment of lexical stress for these verbs tenses is specific to the morphological components (i.e the structure or tense used), we will further detail these suffixes and their effects on lexical stress in our sections on verbal tenses, clitics, and auxiliary verb constructiosn.

## 2.6   Syllable Structure

Kazakh syllables are mainly CV, V, VC, or CVC. Consonant clusters are most common in coda positions, but are rare. Consonant clusters, at morpheme, boundaries, are common, and

maximally include 2 consonants (-CC-). Many suffixes contain variants that either contain a buffer-vowel or an epenthesized -n- to mitigate phonotactics.

## 2.7 Orthography Rules

The below orthographic rules are conventions for spelling used in Kazakh Cyrillic. The precise Latin equivalents are still being developed, as the adoption of Latin for Kazakh is based on the Latin transcription of Russian. Therefore, we present these orthographic spelling rules assuming similar representation for Russian loans.

1. The first orthography rule applies mostly to borrowed words of Russian origin (Abdyǵalıqyzy, 2007), as well as other languages that permit complex consonant clusters at the end of words. The sequences -bl', -br', -kl', -kc, -kt, -ng, -nt, -nkt, -rg, -rk as well as the sequences -or and -ur, despite ending in back vowels, take front-vowels in their affixes

2. y/i is insered when forming derivatives of nouns endings in -mb, -mp, -kt, -ks, -nd, -ng, -sk, -rv, -ft

3. Common nouns with geminated endings -kk, -ll, -mm, -pp, -ss, and -tt simplify to a single consonants when adding suffixes

4. Proper nouns, however, retain geminated consonants Donbass-qa , Flınning

5. Words ending with -st, -st', -zd have no changes in stems, but, when adding endings, suffixes drop the final consonants E'konomist - E'konomis-ter
C"ezd - c"ez-ge - c"ezd-i-nin'

6. Only Russian words borrowed into Kazakh contain ' and ". If the words ending with a ' take inflections starting with a vowel, ' is dropped portfel' - portfelim. If the inflection starts with a consonant, ' is retained - portfel'-ge

7. Monosyllabic words ending with ' take soft endings: rol' - roli - rol'-der-i

8. If the last syllable of the word contains yo or e', the stem takes front vowel endings in inflection
aktyor-diń
duet-i-niń

9. Relative adjectives borrowed from Russian, when translating, drop the soft sound ', unless the stem of the word contains it
kommunal'nyj - kommunal-dyq
nominal'nyj - nominal-dyq
gormonal'nyj - gormonal-dyq
gastrol'nyj - gastrol'-dyq

# 3 Morphology

The morphology of the Kazakh language can be categorized as an agglutinative system that exclusively uses suffixes for both derivational and inflectional processes. There is a system of 7 nouns cases, multiple tense, mood, and aspect distinctions in verbal conjugations, and agreement processes with number and person.

## 3.1 Nouns

Nouns in Kazakh are divided into two categories: '*jalpy*' (common nouns) and '*jalqy*' (proper nouns). Nouns are words that answer the questions '*ne*'(what) and '*kim*'(who) and further denote entities that are concrete ('*derekti*') or abstract ('*dereksiz*').

Nouns in Kazakh do not bear grammatical gender or noun-class and, subsequently, agreement for gender is not observed in Kazakh. Nouns do, however, decline for case and number. In this section we detail the case morphology for nouns, the formation of plurals, the derivational processes for turning verbs into nouns, and the pronominal system.

### 3.1.1 Number - singular and plural

Kazakh has two numbers: single and plural. The singular form of the noun is unmarked:

(49)    bala

(50)    til

(51)    ana

The plural form of the noun is formed by adding the suffix [-LAr]. After words that end in a vowel or the phonemes [r](in orthography: 'r') and [j](orthography: ı), [-LAr] has the forms '*-lar/-ler*', with alternation in the vowel depending on the quality of the final vowel in the root.

(52)    meımanhana meımanhanalar

(53)    mekeme mekemeler

(54)    qaru qarular

(55)    túbir túbirler

(56)    saraı saraılar

(57)    bala balalar

For roots that end in other sonorants (nasals [m], [n], [ŋ](ń) and approximate [l]) and voiced fricatives ([z] and [ʒ](j)), the plural ending is '*-dar/-der*', again, alternating for vowel harmony with the furthest right syllable in the root.

(58)    til til-der

(59)    qalam qalam-dar

(60)    balapan-dar

(61)    qaǵaz-dar

(62)  montaj-dar

Roots ending in all other sounds, i.e voiceless consonants, as well as voiced-stops [b], [v], [g], and [d], take the plural endings '-*tar/-ter*'.

(63)  kitap kitaptar

(64)  mektep mektep-ter

(65)  balyq balyq-tar

(66)  terek terek-ter

(67)  ydys ydys-tar

(68)  aǵash aǵashtar

Depending on the concept that they denote, certain abstract/*dereksiz* nouns do not have a plural form. Such examples include nouns such as *baqyt* and *densaýlyq*. Additionally, the plural suffix only is found on count-nouns. Mass nouns, such as *sút* and *qant* do not take the plural suffix. Finally, when quantified with numerals or other quantifiers, nouns are found in their unmarked singular form.

(69)  alma almalar

(70)  bes alma

(71)  kitap kitaptar

(72)  birneshe kitap

(73)  adam adamdar

(74)  birtalaı adam

(75)  oqushy oqushylar

(76)  birsypyra oqushy

While it is common in vernacular speech to use both the quantifying phrase and a plural noun to refer to plural animate objects, in standard Kazakh, this is considered incorrect.

(77)  birtop adamdar

(78)  birsypyra oqushylar

(79)  birqora maldar

## 3.2   Noun Compounding

Nouns are commonly coined in Kazakh by combining two words from different dialects together into a compound noun. Additionally, kinship terms, related adjectives, and other 'paired expressions' constitute common compound lexical items in Kazakh.

## 3.3   Numerals

Kazakh has a base-10 counting system and individualized lexical items for 10, 100, 1000, and 1,000,000.

### 3.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

Cardinal numbers ('*Eseptik san esim*') are numbers that strictly denote quantities of entities. Entities that are qualified by cardinal numbers do not take plural endings, rather, they are left in the singular form.

(80)  eki  bala
      two child
      'two children'

(81)  on  bólme
      ten room
      'ten rooms'

(82)  júz      jylqy
      hundred steed
      'one hundred steeds'

Cardinal numbers may be simple, or, in the case of cardinals higher than 10, complex. In this section, we designate cardinal numbers that consist of two or more numerals as '*complex*'. In Kazakh cardinal numbers, cardinals indicating higher powers of numbers (i.e 100s vs. 10s vs. singular numbers) are placed to the left-edge of the complex number.

(83)  on  bes
      ten five
      'fifteen'

(84)  júz      jıyrma bes
      hundred twenty five
      'one hundred and twenty-five'

### 3.3.2 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers ('*Rettik san esim*') represent the position or rank in a sequential order. Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the suffix [-(I)nshI].

(85)  toǵyz toǵyzynshy
      toǵyz toǵyz-ynshy
      nine   nine-ORD
      'nine' 'ninth'

(86)  bir  birinshi
      bir  bir-inshi
      one one-ORD
      'one' 'first'

In complex ordinal numbers, only the last cardinal number takes the [-(I)ns'I] suffix.

(87)  jıyrma tórt, jıyrma tórtinshi
      twenty four, twenty four-ORD
      'twenty four', 'twenty fourth'

(88) eki myń     on segiz, eki myń    on segizinshi

eki myń     on segiz, eki myń    on segiz-inshi

two thousand ten eight, two thousand ten eight-ORD

'two thousand eighteen (2018)' 'two thousand eighteenth (2018th)'

### 3.3.3  Collective Numerals

Collective numbers are used to indicate a group of items, i.e 'a group of 2/3/4/etc.' They are formed with the suffix [-Aý] added to the cardinal number form. In the case of cardinal numbers that end in vowels, the final vowel of the cardinal number's base form is deleted and replaced with the [-Aý] suffix.

(89) bir  bir-eý

one one-COLL

'one' '(group of) one'

(90) eki  ek-eý

two two-COLL

'two' '(group of) two'

(91) úsh  úsh-eý

three three-COL

'three' '(group of) three'

The collective number *birey'* is also used as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'someone'

(92) bireý     kele       jatyr

bir-eý     kel-e      jatyr-Ø

one-COLL come-CNVBII lie.AUX-3

'Someone is coming.'

Collective numbers take both personal and possessive pronoun endings to express the person/number of the group referenced. In this construction, the qualifying pronoun may be found in either the nominative or the genitive.

(93) biz       tórteýimiz

biz       tórt-eý-imiz

1PL.NOM four-COL-1PL.POSS

'the four of us'

(94) bizdiń    tórteýimiz

biz-diń   tórt-eý-imiz

1PL-GEN four-COLL-1PL.POSS

'the four of us'

(95) sender     altaýyń

sender     alt-aý-yń

2PL.FAM.NOM six-COL-2SG

'the six of you'

(96)  senderdiń      altaýyń
      sender-diń     alt-aý-yń
      2PL.FAM-GEN six-COLL-2SG
      'the six of you'

(97)  olar       beseýi
      olar       bes-eý-i
      3PL.NOM five-COL-3.POSS
      'the five of them'

(98)  olardyń    beseýi
      olar-dyń   bes-eý-i
      3PL-GEN five-COLL-3
      'the five of them'

This construction is particularly common with *ekeý*, the collective numeral for two, and the first person plural pronoun in order to function much like an exclusionary 1st person plural (i.e 'the two of us', including the speaker and another person, while excluding the listener.)

(99)  biz        ekeýimiz          taýda          óskenbiz
      biz        ek-eý-imiz        taý-da         ós-ken-biz
      1PL.NOM two-COL-1PL.POSS mountain-LOC grow-PST.PTCP-1PL
      'We (the two of us) grew up in the mountains.'

### 3.3.4   Approximate Numbers

Cardinal numbers take the suffix [-LAGAn] or [-LAp] or [-DAı] to express either general approximates or unqualified amounts within a certain countable range (c.f English 'hundreds of people').

(100)  myńdaǵan
       myń-daǵan
       1000-APPROX
       'thousands (of people)'

(101)  qyryqtap
       qyryq-tap
       fourty-APPROX
       'about 40'

(102)  jetpisteı
       jetpis-teı
       sixty-APPROX
       'give or take 60'/'about 60'

Cardinal numbers also function similar to nouns in that they may also take case endings when followed by certain function words. When found in the dative case after postpositions *jy'yq, jaqyn* or *tarta*, this construction corresponds to 'about [number]' or 'close to [number]'.

(103) júzge    jýyq
      júz-ge    jýyq
      100-DAT about
      'about 100'

(104) myńǵa    jaqyn
      myń-́ga    jaqyn
      1000-DAT about
      'about 1000'

(105) elýge    tarta
      elý-ge    tarta
      50-DAT close.to
      'close to 50'

### 3.3.5 Fractions

Fractions are formed using the combination of two cardinal numbers, the first of which is in the ablative case.

(106) úshten    bir
      three-ABL one
      'one third (1/3)'

(107) onnan    eki
      ten-ABL two
      'two tenths (2/10)'

## 3.4 Cases

Kazakh has seven grammatical cases: Nominatives, Accusative, Genitive, Dative-Directional, Ablative, Locative, and Instrumental. All Kazakh cases can be traced to the ancestral proto-Kipchak language and are all fully traceable to even the ancestral Old Turkic language.

### 3.4.1 The Nominative Case - Ataý Septik

*Ataý septik* (lit. 'the naming case') is the basic, unmarked form of the noun, pronoun, numeral, etc. Noun phrases in the nominative case serve as the subject or predicate of a sentence.

(108) Azamat    jaqsy oqýshy
      Azamat.NOM good   student.NOM
      'Azamat is a good student.'

The nominative case may also mark the direct object of a transitive sentence if that object is also an indefinite noun. This difference between the nominative and accusative cases for direct objects is similar to the distribution of the English articles 'the/a' or the French 'le, la, les / un, une, des'.

(109)  Azamat   qalam        satyp       aldy
      Azamat   qalam-Ø      sat-yp      al-dy-Ø
      Azamat pen-ACC.INDEF buy-CNVBI take-PST-3
      Eng: 'Azamat bought **a** pencil', Fr: 'Azamat a acheté **un** crayon'

(110)  Azamat   qalamdy      satyp       aldy
      Azamat   qalam-dy     sat-yp      al-dy-Ø
      Azamat pen-ACC.DEF buy-CNVBI take-PST-3
      Eng: 'Azamat bought **the** pencil', Fr:'Azamat a acheté **le** crayon'

### 3.4.2  The Accusative Case - Tabys Septik

The *Tabys septik* (lit. 'the finding case') is used as the marker of a direct object if, and only if, that object is considered definite. The case has the following forms:

- **-ty/-ti**: found after voiceless consonants and voiced stops

- **-ny/-ni**: found after vowels

- **-n**: found after the 3rd person singular/plural possessive suffix

- **-dy/-di**: found in all other environments

It is used to highlight the object of a transitive action that is definite.

(111)  Azamat        oryndyqty      kóterdi
      Azamat        oryndyq-ty     kóter-di
      Azamat.NOM chair-ACC.DEF lift-PST.3
      'Azamat lifted the chair.'

In Kazakh, as previously mentioned in the section on Nominative case, direct objects may also appear in the nominative case.

(112)  men      qyzyl alma         jedim
      men      qyzyl alma-Ø       je-di-m
      1SG.NOM red   apple-ACC.INDEF eat-PST-1SG
      'I ate a red apple.'

(113)  men      qyzyl alma-ny      jedim
      men      qyzyl alma-ny      je-di-m
      1SG.NOM red   apple-ACC.DEF eat-PST-1SG
      'I ate the red apple.'

The absence of the accusative marker '-ny' in (112) indicates that the direct object is indefinite or nonspecific, whereas in (113) the presence of the marker indicates a concrete or previously referred to object. The accusative case may also appear with the presence of the indefinite article '*bir*' (one), in which case it denotes a very specific individual item, rather than a nondescript quantity or nonspecific entity.

(114)　Arman toıǵa　　　bir qoı　apardy
　　　Arman toı-ǵa　　　bir qoı　apar-dy-Ø
　　　Arman wedding-DAT one sheep gift-PST-3
　　　'Arman brought a sheep to the wedding party.'

(115)　Arman bir qoıdy　　　toıǵa　　　apardy
　　　Arman bir qoı-dy　　　toı-ǵa　　　apar-dy-Ø
　　　Arman one sheep-ACC.DEF wedding-DAT bring-PST-3
　　　'Arman brought one such a sheep to the wedding party.'

### 3.4.3　The Genitive Case - Ilik Septik

The genitive case in Kazakh is widely used and displays a degree of agreement with the possessing noun phrase and the possessed noun phrase. The case is found on the possessing noun phrase. The genitive is formed with the suffix [-NIn'] and has the following morphophological distribution:

- **-nyń/-niń**: found when root ends in a vowel or in a nasal ([m], [n], or [ŋ](orth.: 'ń'))

  (116)　kisi kisi-niń
  (117)　alma alma-nyń
  (118)　kún kún-niń
  (119)　qalam qalam-nyń

- **-dyń/-diń**: found when the root ends in a voiced fricative ([z]/z or [ʒ]/j) and the consonants [r](r), [j](ı), [l](l), and [uw/yw](ý)

  (120)　qyz qyz-dyń
  (121)　kúz kúz-diń
  (122)　balalar balalar-dyń
  (123)　shal shal-dyń
  (124)　pil pil-diń

- **-tyń/-tiń**: found when the root ends in a voiceless consonant or a voiced stop.

  (125)　qazaq qazaq-tyń
  (126)　esik esik-tiń
  (127)　Ivanov-tyń
  (128)　pedagog-tyń
  (129)　hirurg-tyń

The genitive case answers the questions *'kimniń*(whose?) and *neniń*(of what?). The genitive case also requires that the possessed noun appear with a personal possessive suffix that agrees in person and number with the noun that bears either genitive case or, in the case of abstract compounds, the noun that qualifies the possessed noun. The relationship between the nouns may be concrete or abstract.

(130)  studenttiń   kitab-i
       student-tiń   kitab-i
       student-GEN book-3.POSS
       'the student's book'

The above example is a case of a concrete relationship between the nouns, as the possessor noun is explicitly marked with the genitive case.

(131)  qoı        eti
       qoı        et-i
       sheep.NOM meat-3.POSS
       'mutton/sheep meat'

The example above, however, is abstract, with the qualifying noun 'sheep' found in the nominative case, yet the qualified noun, 'meat', still surfaces with the 3rd singular possessive marker, indicating the relationship between the two nouns. Most prepositions in Kazakh are governed by the genitive case, with the noun acting as a preposition behaving as a type of relator noun that indicates location. Nouns in these constructions in Kazakh with the genitive case can appear in both forms, with and without overt affixes.

(132)  stol  ústinde
       stol  úst-i-nde
       table top-3.POSS-LOC
       'on top the table'

(133)  stol-dyń   ústinde
       stol-dyń   úst-i-nde
       table-GEN top-3.POSS-LOC
       'on top of the table'

### 3.4.4   The Dative Case - Barys Septik

*Barys septik* - the giving case - is the marker of the indirect object as well as the goal or destination of movement. This dative case is used to express goals, directionality towards a person, location, temporal frames or even extent. The case has the following forms:

- **-ǵa/-ge**: found after vowels, nasals, and voiced consonants:

  (134)  alma alma-ǵa
         'apple' 'to the apple'

  (135)  dala dala-ǵa
         'field' 'to the field'

  (136)  áke áke-ge
         'father' 'to father'

  (137)  adam adam-ǵa
         'person' 'to the person'

(138)  jaz jaz-ǵa
       'summer' 'to summer'

- **-qa/-ke**: found in all other cases

  (139)  as as-qa
         'food' 'to the food

  (140)  ıt ıt-ke
         'dog' 'to the dog'

- **-(n)a/-(n)e**: found after the personal possessive suffixes. When found after the 3rd person singular/plural possessive suffix, it takes an 'n-' before the '-a/-e' ending.

  (141)  atam                  atama
         ata-m                 ata-m-a
         grandfather-1SG.POSS grandfather-1SG.POSS-DAT

         'my grandfather' 'to my grandfather'

  (142)  ákeń                  ákeńe
         áke-ń                 áke-ń-e
         father-2SG.POSS father-2SG.POSS-DAT

         'your father' 'to your father'

  (143)  balasy       balasyna
         bala-sy      bala-sy-na
         child-3.POSS child-3.POSS-DAT

         'his/her/their child' 'to his/her/their child'

  (144)  ákesi         ákesine
         áke-si        áke-si-ne
         father-3.POSS father-3.POSS-DAT

         'his/her/their father' 'to his/her/their father'

The dative case indicates the goals of verbs of motion, as well as the location or direction of an action.

(145)  Jomart       qalaǵa    bardy
       Jomart       qala-ǵa   bar-dy-Ø
       Jomart.NOM city-DAT go-PST.3
       'Jomart went to the city.'

(146)  kólikti       garaj-ǵa    qoıdyq
       kólik-ti      garaj-ǵa    qoı-dy-q
       car-ACC.DEF garage-DAT put-PST-1PL
       'We put the car in the garage.'

(147)  maldy           qoraǵa      qamadyq
       mal-dy          qora-ǵa     qama-dy-q
       cattle-ACC.DEF shelter-DAT lock-PST-1PL
       'We locked the cattle in the shelter.'

The case is also used to highlight the indirect object or recipient of an action.

(148)  kisige      nan                  berdim
      kisi-ge      nan-Ø                  ber-di-m
      person-DAT bread.ACC.INDEF give-PST-1SG

      'I gave the person some bread.'

It is also used to mark the experiencer of some verbs.

(149)  Asanǵa    túlki    unaıdy
      Asan-ǵa    túlki    una-ı-dy
      Asan-DAT fox.NOM like-PRES-3

      'Asan likes a fox' (a fox is pleasing to Asan).

Finally, the dative case is also used to indicate the extent of an action or the time frame for a given durative event.

(150)  oqý        merzimi    eki jylǵa    sozyldy
      oqý        merzim-i    eki jyl-ǵa    sozyl-dy-Ø
      school.NOM term-3.POSS two year-DAT last-PST-3

      'The school term lasted for 2 years.'

(151)  men        tek    eki aptaǵa    keldim
      men        tek=  eki apta-ǵa    kel-di-m
      1SG.NOM only= two week-DAT come-PST-1SG

      'I came for only two weeks.'

### 3.4.5   The Ablative Case - Shyǵys Septik

*Shyǵys Septik* - 'the leaving/exiting case' - is used to carry multiple meanings. The main purpose of the case is to define the benchmark of an action in a certain physical or temporal frame. The ablative case endings are:

- **-dan/-den**: found after noun stems ending in vowels, sonorants [l](l), [r](r), [uw/yw](ý), [j](ı) and voiced fricatives [z](z) and [dʒ](j).

- **-tan/-ten**: found after noun stems ending in voiceless consonants and voiced stops.

- **-nan/-nen**: found after noun stems ending in nasal sounds [m](m), [n](n), and [ŋ](ń) as well as after the 3rd person possessive suffix.

The case can be used to mark the partitive of a certain quantity:

(152)  sen        sútten    ishtiń
      sen        sút-ten    ish-ti-ń
      2SG.NOM milk-ABL drink-PST-2SG

      'You drank some of the milk.'

It can also mark the source of either an action or another noun.

(153) men      Qazaqstannan     keldim
men      Qazaqstan-nan    kel-di-m
1SG.NOM Kazakhstan-ABL come-PST-1SG

'I came from Kazakhstan.'

(154) Bolattan    hat              aldym
Bolat-tan   hat-Ø            al-dy-m
Bolat-ABL letter-ACC.INDEF take-PST-1SG

'I got a letter from Bolat.'

The ablative case is also used to denote the source or material of another noun.

(155) sandyq     temirden  jasalǵan
sandyq     temir-den jas-al-ǵan-Ø
case.NOM iron-ABL  make-PASS-PST.PTCP-3

'The trunk is made of iron.'

(156) shujyq      jylqynyń  etinen           jasalǵan
shujyq      jylqy-nyń et-i-nen         jasal-ǵan-Ø
sausage.NOM horse-GEN meat-3.POSS-ABL make-PASS-PST.PTCP-3

'The sausage is made from the meat of horses.'

The case is also used as the bench mark in comparative sentences.

(157) Sáúle Qaırattan    bes jyl   kishi
Sáúle Qaırat-tan   bes jyl   kishi
Sáúle Qaırat-ABL five years small

'Sáúle is 5 years younger than Qaırat.'

The ablative is also used as the obligatory marker of arguments for certain verbs. For example, the verb 'suraý (to ask):

(158) muǵalimimizden         suradym
muǵalim-imiz-den       sura-dy-m
teacher-1PL.POSS-ABL ask-PST-1SG

'I asked our teacher.'

### 3.4.6   The Locative Case - Jatys Septik

*Jatys septik* – 'the lying down case' – is used to denote the physical or temporal location. Unlike the dative and ablative cases, which are dynamic in meaning, the locative is static. The case has the following endings:

- **-da/-de**: found after voiceless consonants and voiced stops

- **-ta/-te**: found after all other consonants

- **-nda/-nde**: found after nouns endings in the 3 person singular/plural suffix.

Nouns in locative case are often governed by stative verbs, but sometimes are used with verbs of motion when the motion is contained to a certain physical or temporal state or location. It is often used with past participles to render a similar meaning to English 'when...' in subordinate clauses dealing with past time frames.

(159)  Sharyn shatqaly        Qazaqstanda      ornalasqan
       Sharyn shatqal-y        Qazaqstan-da      orna-la-s-qan
       Sharyn canyon-3POSS Kazakhstan-LOC find-PASS-RECIP-PST.PERF-3

       'Sharyn Canyon is located in Kazakhstan.'

(160)  Men        Almatyǵa      barǵan-da,        Sabırany    kórdim
       Men        Almaty-ǵa      bar-ǵan-da,        Sabıra-ny    kór-di-m
       1SG.NOM Almaty-DAT go-PST.PTCP-LOC, Sabira-ACC see-PST-1SG

       'I saw Sabira when I went to Almaty.'

(161)  Ájem                        Taldyqorǵan qalasynda        turady
       Áje-m                        Taldyqorǵan qala-sy-nda        tur-a-dy
       grandmother-1SG.POSS Taldykorgan city-3POSS-LOC sit-PRES-3

       'My grandmother lives in the city of Taldykorgan.'

When noun phrases in the locative are used to exhaustively modify an addition noun phrase, the endings takes an addition 'ǵy/gi' to mark the status of the phrase as a relative clause instead of a simple prepositional phrase.

(162)  Almaty qalasynda        dúken kóp
       Almaty qala-sy-nda        dúken kóp
       Almaty city-3.POSS-LOC store   many

       'There are many stores in Almaty city.'

(163)  Almaty qalasyndaǵy        dúkende    bolǵanymda                    osy
       Almaty qala-sy-nda-ǵy        dúken-de bol-ǵan-ym-da                    osy
       Almaty city-3.POSS-LOC-REL store-LOC be-PST.PTCP-1SG.POSS-LOC this
       kitapty          aldym
       kitap-ty          al-dy-m
       book-ACC.DEF take-PST-1SG

       'I bought this book when I was in the store, that is in Almaty city.'

### 3.4.7   The Instrumental Case - Ko'mektes Septik

*Kómektes septik* - 'the helping case' - is used to indicate that a noun is the instrument or means by which the subject is able to achieve or accomplish a given action. The noun may be either a physical object or an abstract concept. The case suffix for the instrumental is one of the few invariable case endings with respect to vowel harmony in Kazakh; it may only have the vowel 'e'. Also, unlike many of the case forms, the instrumental case is not stressed, instead, the final syllable of the noun phrase remains the center of stress. The case has the following endings:

- **-men**: found after vowels, nasal, [l] and [r]

(164)    balalar balalar-men

- **-ben**: found after voiced fricatives [z] and [ʒ]

(165)    ógiz ógiz-ben

- **-pen**: found after voiceless consonants and voiced stops

(166)    sút sút-pen

The case is most readily translated into English as 'with' or 'by means of'

(167)    Men         Muratpen   sóılestim
         Men         Murat-pen  sóıle-s-ti-m
         1SG.NOM Murat-INST speak-RECIP-PST-1SG
         'I spoke with Murat.'

(168)    Men         kesemen sý              ishtim
         Men         kese-men sý             ish-ti-m
         1SG.NOM cup-INST drink-PST-1SG
         'I drank the water with the cup.'

(169)    Aıjan kólikpen  jumysqa   barady
         Aıjan kólik-pen jumys-qa  bar-a-dy
         Aıjan car-INST  work-DAT go-PRES-3
         'Aijan goes to work by car.'

## 3.5   Personal Pronouns

Kazakh is a typical language for pronouns, with 3 persons in both the singular and plural. Additionally, there is a T/V distinction in Kazakh with the 2nd person, 'siz' for formal address, and 'sen' for informal address. In Kazakh this may be an indication of status, as well as respect for age (most all people, regardless of status, who are older, will be addressed with '*siz*' and younger people with '*sen*'). Below is a table detailing the personal pronouns and their forms in the seven cases:

|            | NOM    | GEN         | DAT       | ACC       | LOC       | ABL        | INSTR       |
|------------|--------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| 1SG        | men    | men-iń      | ma-ǵan    | me-ni     | men-de    | me-nen     | meni-men    |
| 2SG        | sen    | sen-iń      | sa-ǵan    | se-ni     | sen-de    | se-nen     | seni-men    |
| 2SG formal | siz    | siz-diń     | siz-ge    | siz-di    | siz-de    | siz-den    | siz-ben     |
| 3SG        | ol     | o-nyń       | o-ǵan     | o-ny      | o-nda     | o-dan      | ony-men     |
| 1PL        | biz    | biz-diń     | biz-ge    | biz-di    | biz-de    | biz-den    | biz-ben     |
| 2PL        | sender | sender-diń  | sender-ge | sender-di | sender-de | sender-den | sender-men  |
| 2PL formal | sizder | sizder-diń  | sizder-ge | sizder-di | sizder-de | sizder-den | sizder-men  |
| 3PL        | olar   | olar-dyń    | olar-ǵa   | oldar-dy  | olar-da   | olar-dan   | olar-men    |

**Proximal Demonstrative Pronouns**   - the Kazakh demonstrative pronouns include: *bul, osy, myna,* and *mynaý.* All demonstratives, when used as determiners for a noun phrase, will trigger the definite accusative case, when that noun phrase functions as the direct object.

- **bul** - *bul* is used in general to point out to objects that are nearby or within a touch distance. Abstract nouns and time words are also generally found with *bul.*

  (170)   bul bizdiń    mektep
          bul bizdiń    mektep
          this 1PL.GEN school

          'this is our school'

  (171)   bul jerde     kóp   qar   jaýady
          bul jer-de    kóp   qar   jaý-a-dy
          this place-LOC much snow fall-PRES-3

          'It snows a lot in this place.'

  (172)   bul bizdiń kompıuter

- **osy** - *osy* is used with more emphasis on the selection of the object, event, time, place or topic as opposed to a list of other listed or potential items.

  (173)   osy mektepte   oqımyn
          osy mektep-te  oq-ı-myn
          this school-LOC study-PRES-1SG.AGR

          'I study at this school (as opposed to the other ones).'

  (174)   toıǵa          osy kóılekti       kiemin
          toı-ǵa         osy kóılek-ti      ki-e-min
          wedding-DAT this dress-ACC.DEF wear-PRES-1SG.AGR

          'I will wear this dress to the wedding.'

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*osy* is identical in meaning to *myna*; the choice may be stylistic or dialectical.

- **mynaý** - *mynaý* is used in predicative sentences. Unlike the other demonstratives, *mynaý* can not be used as a determiner.

(175)  mynaý meniń  ákem
      mynaý meniń  áke-m
      this  1SG.GEN father-1SG.POSS

      'This is my father.'

(176)  myna kisi  meniń  ákem
      myna kisi  meniń  áke-m
      this  person 1SG.GEN father-1SG.POSS

      'This person is my father'

(177)  mynaý kisi meniń ákem ***
      *Ungrammatical


**Distal Demonstrative Pronouns**   - sol, ol, ana, anay'


**Question Words**   *kim* - 'who'
*ne* - 'what'
*qaɪda* - 'where'
*qaɪsy* - 'which'
*neshe* - 'how many, how much'
*neshinshi* - 'what number'
*qaɪdan* - 'from where'
*nesheý* - 'how many'
*qalaɪ* - 'how'
*qaɪdaǵy* - 'where at, at which place'


**Definite Pronouns**   *bári* - 'everyone'
*barlyq* - 'all'
*búkil* - 'entire, whole'
*barsha* - 'entire'
*túgel* - 'every single one'
*jappaɪ* - 'all together'


**Indefinite Pronouns**   *keɪbir* - 'some'
*bireý* - 'someone'
*birdeńe* - 'something'
*birnárse* - 'something'
*árkim* - 'anyone'
*árbir* - 'everyone'
*birneshe* - 'some'

**Negative Pronouns**   *eshbir* - 'no one'
*eshkim* - 'nobody'
*eshteńe* - 'nothing'
*eshnárse* - 'nothing'
*eshqashan* - 'never'
*eshgaısy* - 'none'
*eshqandaı* - 'none/neither'

**Reflexive Pronouns**   Reflexive pronouns in Kazakh are formed by using the word óz with the subsequent personal possessive suffixes.

Table 4: Reflexive Pronoun óz paradigm for person, number, and case

|         | Nom       | Gen           | Dat          | Acc          | Loc          | Abl           | Inst          |
|---------|-----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| **1SG**     | óz-im     | ózim-niń      | ózim-e       | ózim-di      | ózim-de      | ózim-nen      | ózim-men      |
| **2SG**     | óz-iń     | ózińniń       | óziń-e       | óziń-di      | óziń-de      | óziń-nen      | óziń-men      |
| **2SG.POL** | óz-ińiz   | ózińiz-diń    | ózińiz-ge    | ózińiz-di    | ózińiz-de    | ózińiz-den    | ózińiz-ben    |
| **3SG**     | óz-i      | ózi-niń       | ózi-ne       | ózi-n        | ózi-nde      | ózi-nen       | ózi-men       |
| **1PL**     | óz-imiz   | ózimiz-diń    | ózimiz-ge    | ózimiz-di    | ózimiz-de    | ózimiz-den    | ózimiz-ben    |
| **2PL**     | óz-der-iń | ózderiń-niń   | ózderiń-e    | ózderiń-di   | ózderiń-de   | ózderiń-nen   | o'zderiń-men  |
| **2PL.POL** | óz-der-ińiz | ózderińiz-diń | ózderińiz-ge | ózderińiz-di | ózderińiz-de | ózderińiz-den | ózderińiz-ben |
| **3PL**     | óz-der-i  | ózderi-niń    | ózderi-ne    | ózderi-n     | ózderi-nde   | ózderi-nen    | ózderi-men    |

(178)   men        ózim              úıdi             jınadym
       men        óz-im             úı-di            jına-dy-m
       1SG.NOM REFLX-1SG.POSS house-ACC.DEF clean-PST-1SG

       'I cleaned the house by myself.'

(179)   ol         óziniń                sheshesin             qatty     syılaıdy
       ol         óz-i-niń              sheshe-si-n           qatty     syıla-ı-dy
       3SG.NOM REFLEX-3.POSS-GEN mother-3.POSS-ACC.DEF extremely respect-PRES-3

       'He respects his mother very much.'

(180)   olar dombyralaryn ózderimen birge alyp kelipti

## 3.6   Possessive Suffixes

Possession in Kazakh is expressed with suffixes and the existential copula '*bar*'. The possessive suffixes play a large role in acting as determiners and variables of agreement in a multitude of sentences and constructions. The basic paradigm is provided below:

Table 5: Kazakh Personal Possessive Suffixes

| | **Suffix** | After vowels | After consonant (preceding syllable contains back vowel) | After consonant (preceding syllable contains front vowel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | [-(I)m] | -m<br>bala-m<br>'my child' | -ym<br>otan-ym<br>'my homeland' | -im<br>til-im<br>'my language' |
| 2SG | [-(I)ń] | -ń<br>bala-ń<br>'your child' | -yń<br>otan-yń<br>'your homeland' | -ń<br>til-ń<br>'your language' |
| 2SG.POL | [-(I)ńIz] | -ńyz/-ńiz<br>bala-ńyz<br>'your child (pol.)' | -yńyz<br>otan-yńyz<br>'your homeland (pol.) | -ńiz<br>'til-ńiz'<br>'your language (pol.)' |
| 3SG | [-(s)I] | -sy/-si<br>bala-sy<br>'his/her child' | -y<br>otan-y<br>'his/her homeland' | -i<br>til-i<br>'his/her language' |
| 1PL | [-(I)mIz] | -myz/-miz<br>bala-myz<br>'our child' | -ymyz<br>otan-ymyz<br>'our homeland' | -imiz<br>til-imiz<br>'our language' |
| 2PL | [-(I)ńIz] | -ńyz/-ńiz<br>bala-ńyz<br>'your (pl.) child' | -yńyz<br>otan-yńyz<br>'your (pl.) homeland) | -ńiz<br>til-ńiz<br>'your (pl.) language' |
| 2PL.POL | [-(I)ńIz] | -ńyz/-ńiz<br>bala-ńyz<br>'your (sg.pol.) child' | -yńyz<br>otan-yńyz<br>'your (sg.pol.) homeland) | -ńiz<br>til-ńiz<br>'your (sg.pol.) language' |
| 3PL | [-(s)I] | -sy/-si<br>bala-sy<br>'their child' | -y<br>otan-y<br>'their homeland' | -i<br>til-i<br>'their language' |

All personal possessive endings act as determiners, meaning that they describe a degree of definiteness such that any direct object, that is qualified with a possessive ending, must also take the overt accusative case suffix [-DI].

(181)  ol        kitap            aldy
       ol        kitap-Ø          al-dy-Ø
       3SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF take-PST-3

       'he took a/some book'

(182)  ol        kitapty          aldy
       ol        kitap-ty         al-dy-Ø
       3SG.NOM book-ACC.DEF take-PST-3

       'he took the book.'

(183)  ol        kitabymdy              aldy
       ol        kitab-ym-dy            al-dy-Ø
       3SG.NOM book-1SG.POSS-ACC.DEF take-PST-3

       'he took my book'

(184)  * ol kitabym aldy
       * Ungrammatical

Most cases with the genitive case pronouns, particularly in the 1st and 2nd person, indicate prodrop, allowing the use of only the possessive ending. When used with overt genitive case pronouns, agreement between the pronoun and the possessive ending is mandatory.

(185)  meniń    elim
       meniń    el-im
       1SG.GEN country-1SG.POSS
       'my country'

(186)  elim
       el-im
       country-1SG.POSS
       'my country'

(187)  seniń    atyń
       seniń    at-yń
       2SG.GEN horse-2SG.POSS
       'your horse'

(188)  atyń
       at-yń
       horse-2SG.POSS
       'your horse'

(189)  onyń    aýyly
       onyń    aýyl-y
       3SG.GEN village-3.POSS
       'his village'

(190)  aýyly
       aýyl-y
       village-3.POSS
       'his village' or 'their village'

As seen above in (190), the number of the possessor is ambiguous. In Kazakh, the 3rd singular and the 3rd plural forms are often the same. For this reason, we generally gloss ambiguous morphological items as 3 as opposed to 3SG or 3PL. The 1st person plural possessive ending [-(I)mIz] may be omitted when the 1st person plural pronoun in the genitive case is overt.

(191)  bizdiń    Qazaqstan
       bizdiń    Qazaqstan
       1PL.GEN Kazakhstan
       'our Kazakhstan'

(192)  bizdiń    Qazaqstanymyz
       bizdiń    Qazaqstan-ymyz
       1PL.GEN Kazakhstan-1PL.POSS
       'our Kazakhstan'

(193)  Qazaqstanymyz
       Qazaqstan-ymyz
       Kazakhstan-1PL.POSS
       'our Kazakhstan'

Possessive constructions are formed with personal endings, with the possessor in the genitive case, the possessed object marked for the personal ending corresponding to the person and number of the possessor, and the copular verb 'BAR'. Negative possessive sentences are rendered with the negative existential copular verb '*joq*'.

(194)  atym          bar
       at-ym          bar
       horse-1SG.POSS COP.EXIST

       'I have a horse.' (lit. 'my horse exists')

(195)  páteriń          joq
       páter-iń          joq
       apartment-2SG.POSS COP.EXIST.NEG

       'You do not have an apartment'

(196)  Sáýleniń óz     kompjuteri   joq           eken
       Sáýle-nin' óz    kompjuter-i  joq           eken
       Sáule-GEN REFLEX computer-3.POSS COP.EXIST.NEG EVID

       'It seems that Sáule does not have her own computer.'

(197)  táýelsiz    elimiz          bar
       táýelsiz    el-imiz          bar
       independent country-1PL.POSS COP.EXIST

       'We have an independent country.'

## 3.7   Verbal Morphology

The Kazakh verbal system contains complex inflection for agreement in person and number. As previously stated, Kazakh does not display agreement for noun-class or canonical grammatical gender. Kazakh also has a system of tense and aspect, exhibiting multiple present, past, and future tenses that are differentiating forms based on evidentiality, durative/iterative aspect, and volitionality.

### 3.7.1   Composition of Verbs

Kazakh verbs, in the infinitive, take the 'ý' which is pronounced [uw] or [yw] depending on the phonetic features of the vowel in the verbal root.

(198)  Examples of Kazakh Infinitives

- alý - [ɑl'uw] - 'to take'
- barý - [bɑr'uw] - 'to go'
- ishý - [ɪɕ'yw] - 'to drink'
- sóileý - [sœlej'yw] - 'to speak'
- jatý - [ʒat'uw] (or dialectical [dʒatuw] - 'to lie down'
- sekirý - [sekɪr'yw] - 'to jump'

In addition to simple verbs composed of a verbal root, Kazakh also has many compound verbs that are formed in combination with a noun or an adjective. Noun or adjectival compliments to a compound verb are usually tied semantically to the verb.

(199) Examples of Compound Kazakh Verbal Infinitives - Nouns

- dem alý - 'to breathe' (lit. 'to take breath')
- tús kórý - 'to dream' (lit. 'to see dreams')
- án salý - 'to sing' (lit. 'to place/set a song'

(200) Compound Verbs with Adjectives

- yza bolý - 'to become angry', 'yza' - 'angry'
- aman bolý - 'to be/become healthy', 'aman' - 'healthy'
- myj-myj bolý - 'to get wrinkled', 'myj' - onomatopoeia for wrinkles

### 3.7.2 Copular Verbs

Kazakh has two copular verbs, one that is primarily predicative in nature, 'bolý', and the other which is invariable, and describes existential statements, 'bar'. The copular verb is particularly important as is it also the method of expressing agreement in multiple verbal tenses. The following forms for the copular verb are given below in affirmative:

Table 6: Kazakh Copular Verb 'boly" in the affirmative

| Person | Ending and Variants | Example | Translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | | |
| 1st person | -myn/-pyn/-byn -min/-pyn/-bin | men student-pin | I am a student |
| 2nd person (informal) | -syń/-siń | sen dosym-syń | You are my friend |
| 2nd person (formal) | -syz/-siz | siz muǵalimsiz | You are a teacher |
| 3rd person | -Ø | ol jazýshy-Ø | He is a writer |
| Plural | | | |
| 1st person | -myz/-byz/-pyz -miz/-biz/-piz | biz oqýshylar-myz | We are students |
| 2nd person (informal) | -syń-dar/ -siń-der | sender dostarymsyn'dar | You all are my friends (informal) |
| 2nd person (formal) | -syz-dar/ -siz-der | sizder qonaqtarsyzdar | You all are guests (formal) |
| 3rd person | -Ø | olar jazýshylar-Ø | They are writers |

In the above table we see that the endings for the 1st person singular and plural are variable based on the consonant harmony with the final consonant in the predicate nominative. The rules governing this distribution are identical to the rules governing other 3-way suffixes

beginning with [M-]. Additionally, the copular form for the 3rd person is a zero-copula in both the singular and in the plural. Finally, the plural forms of the 2nd person predicate are attached directly to the nominative singular form of the noun, meaning there is no need to add an additional pluralizing suffix to indicate that the predicate nominative is also plural.

The negative form of the copula is the verb '*emes*', and it takes all of the same clitic forms above to express person/number agreement.

Table 7: Kazakh negative copula with *emes*

| Person | Ending and Variants | Example | Translate |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Singular** | | | |
| 1st person | emes-pin | men student emes-pin | I am not a student |
| 2nd informal | emes-siń | sen dosym emes-siń | you are not my friend |
| 2nd formal | emes-siz | siz muǵalim emes-siz | you are not the teacher |
| 3rd | emes-Ø | ol jazýshy emes-Ø | he is not a writer |
| **Plural** | | | |
| 1st | emes-piz | biz oqýshy emes-piz | we are not students |
| 2nd informal | emes-siń-der | sender dostarym emes-siń-der | you all (informal) are not my friends |
| 2nd formal | emes-siz-der | sizder dáriger-ler emes-siz-der | you all (formal) are not doctors |
| 3rd | emes-Ø | olar jazýshy emes-Ø | they are not writers |

The existential copular '*bar*' is used in conjunction with personal possessive suffixes to express possession. We will present further analysis of this copular in our section on personal possessive endings.

### 3.7.3 Tense

Kazakh tenses are formed by adding a particular suffix to indicate temporal location (i.e past, present, future) and evidentiality (witness/non-witnessed). In addition, agreement suffixes for person and number are added, generally, after the suffix. In Kazakh, there is divide between verbal tenses that display agreement in the form of copular clitics and fully-realized person/number agreement suffixes. The divide here is critical in determining the center of stress, since clitics, as mentioned in our section on prosidy, are never stressed in Kazakh. Here we detail the agreement patterns and formation of each tense in Kazakh.

**Present Indefinite Tense** – '*Aýyspaly osy shaq*' - the present indefinite tense - is formed by adding the suffix [-a/-e/-ı] after the verbal root and the subsequent agreement-clitic after the tense ending.

(201)  Aıdos zavodta     jumys isteıdi
       Aıdos zavod-ta    jumys iste-ı-di
       Aıdos factory-LOC word   do-PRES-3

       'Aıdos works at the factory.'

(202)  Men        ýnıversıtette    oqımyn
       men        ýnıversıtet-te   oq-ı-myn
       1SG.NOM university-LOC study-PRES-1SG

‘I study at the University.’

(203) Siz       barasyz
      siz       bar-a-syz
      2PL.NOM go-PRES-2PL

‘You go.’

(204) biz       oınaımyz
      biz       oına-ı-myz
      1PL.NOM play-PRES-1PL.

‘We play.’

(205) sender       oınaısyńdar
      sen-der       oına-ı-syń-dar
      2.NOM-PL play-PRES-2-PL

‘You play (informal).’

(206) Olar       oınaıdy
      Olar       oına-ı-dy
      3PL.NOM play-PRES-3

‘They play.’

**Present Continuous Tense**   - *Naq osy shaq* - the present continuous tense is formed using a main verb and one of four auxiliary verbs: *otyrý* (sit), *jatý* (lie down), *turý* (stand) and *júrý* (walk) and the copular personal endings for agreement. Subsequently, stress is found on the final syllable of the main-verb, which is found in the converbal form *-yp/-ip/-p*. The function of this converbal form will be covered further in our section on Kazakh syntax and coordination.

(207) men       kitap           oqyp       jatyrmyn
      men       kitap-Ø         oqy-p       jatyr-myn
      1SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-1SG

‘I am reading a book.’

(208) sen       kitap           oqyp       jatyrsyń
      sen       kitap-Ø         oqy-p       jatyr-syń
      2SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-2SG

‘You are reading a book.’

(209) siz                kitap               oqyp       jatyrsyz
      siz                kitap-Ø             oqy-p       jatyr-syz
      2SG.FORMAL.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-2SG.FORMAL

‘You (formal) are reading a book.’

(210) ol       kitap           oqyp       jatyr
      ol       kitap-Ø         oq-yp       jatyr-Ø
      3SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-3

‘He is reading a book.’

(211) biz     kitap     oqyp     jatyrmyz
      biz     kitap-Ø     oq-yp     jatyr-myz
      1SG.PL.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-1PL

      'We are reading a book.'

(212) sender     kitap     oqyp     jatyrsyńdar
      sen-der     kitap-Ø     oq-yp     jatyr-syń-dar
      2-PL.NOM book-ACC-INDEF read-CNVBI lie-2-PL

      'You all (informal) are reading a book.'

(213) sizder     kitap     oqyp     jatyrsyzdar
      siz-der     kitap-Ø     oq-yp     jatyr-syz-dar
      2.FORMAL-PL.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-2.FORMAL-PL

      'You all (formal) are reading a book'

(214) olar     kitap     oqyp     jatyr
      olar     kitap-Ø     oq-yp     jatyr-Ø
      3PL.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-3

      'They are reading a book.'

The distribution for auxiliary verb is different depending on the manner of the action. *jatyr* is the most free of these auxiliaries, being able to readily combine with most actions. *jatyr* always adds a color of durative aspect, indicating that the action is ongoing or in process.

(215) meniń     mamam     as   daıyndap     jatyr
      meniń     mama-m     as   daıynda-p     jatyr-Ø
      1SG.GEN mother-1SG.POSS food prepare-CNVBI lie-3

      'My mother is making food (right now).'

(216) meniń     mamam     as   daıyndaıdy
      meniń     mama-m     as   daıynda-ı-dy
      1SG.GEN mother-1SG.POSS food prepare-PRES-3

      'My mother makes food (as she always does).'

However, other auxiliaries such as *otyr* and *tur* are limited in their distribution.

(217) meniń     ákem     kassanyń     aldynda aqsha     sanap
      meniń     áke-m     kassa-nyń     aldynda aqsha-Ø     sana-p
      1SG.GEN father-1SG.POSS register-GEN near-LOC money-ACC.INDEF count-CNVBI
      tur
      tur-Ø
      stand-3

      'My father is counting money by the register.'

(218) meniń     ákem     kassanyń     aldynda aqsha     sanap
      meniń     áke-m     kassa-nyń     aldyn-da aqsha-Ø     sana-p
      1SG.GEN father-POSS.1SG register-GEN near-LOC money-ACC.INDEF count-CNVBI
      otyr
      otyr-Ø
      sit-3

* ungrammatical use of *otyr*

In this example, preference for *tur* is used when the main verb describes short, perfective actions. In the case of (218), the use of *otyr* implies that the speaker's father must be a cashier that is continually standing on his feet and constantly sits there and counts money. Whereas in (217), the speaker is describing what his father is doing simply at the moment, and that it is a short action that is a subset of what their father usually does.

    *otyr* is much more limited than the other auxiliaries and is used generally to describe actions that are occuring at the moment of speaking.

(219)  Sáýle dosyna      hat      jazyp      otyr
         Sáýle dos-y-na      hat      jaz-yp      otyr-Ø
         Saule friend-3.POSS-DAT letter-ACC.INDEF write-CNVBI sit-3

         'Saule is writing a letter to her friend (at this very moment).'

(220)  Sáýle dosyna      hat      jazyp      jatyr
         Sáýle dos-y-na      hat-Ø      jaz-yp      jatyr-Ø
         Saule friend-3.POSS-DAT letter-ACC.INDEF write-CNVBII sit-3

         'Saule is writing a letter to her friend (she's in the process of doing it, but it isn't clear that she is doing it right at this very moment).

(221)  Sáýle dosyna      hat      jazyp      tur
         Sáýle dos-y-na      hat-Ø      jaz-yp      tur-Ø
         Saule friend-3.POSS-DAT letter-ACC.INDEF write-CNVBII stand-3

         'Saule writes letters to her friend (it is a constant, repeating, on-going action)'

**Simple Future Tense**   – The simple future tense has the indentical surface form as the present simple tense. Simple future tense is generally understood as being a future action based on context or supporting temporal adverbs such as *erteń* (tomorrow).

(222)  kitapty      stóldyń    ústine      qoıamyn
         kitap-ty      stól-dyń    úst-i-ne      qoı-a-myn
         book-ACC.DEF table-GEN top-3.POSS-DAT put-PRES-1SG

         'I will put the book on top of the table.'

(223)  qoıshy    qoı          soıady
         qoıshy    qoı-Ø        soı-a-dy
         shepherd sheep-ACC.INDEF slaughter-PRES-3

         'The shepherd will slaughter a sheep.'

(224)  men      súret       salamyn
         men      súret-Ø      sal-a-myn
         1SG.NOM picture-ACC.INDEF paint-PRES-1SG

         'I paint a picture.'

(225)  men      erteń    súret      salamyn
         men      erteń    súret-Ø      sal-a-myn
         1SG.NOM tomorrow picture-ACC.INDEF paint-PRES-1SG

         'Tomorrow, I will paint a picture.'

**Possible Future/Aorist Future Tense** - *Boljaldy Keler Shaq* is formed in Kazakh using the suffixes *-ar/-er/-r*, with *-r* being used when the verb root ends in a vowel. This formed is used in statements that may or may not come to pass in the future. It is commonly found in conjunction with the conditional mood.

(226)  men       jazarmyn
       men       jaz-ar-myn
       1SG.NOM write-AOR.FUT-1SG

       'I will (likely) write'

(227)  sen       kelersiń—
       sen       kel-er-siń
       2SG.NOM come-FUT.AOR-2SG

       'you will (most likely) come'

(228)  sen       kelseń,        men       bararmyn
       sen       kel-se-ń       men       bar-ar-myn
       2SG.NOM come-COND-2SG 1SG.NOM go-FUT.AOR-1SG

       'If you come, then I will go.'

When used with the question particles *ma/ba/pa/me/be/pe* and the evidential particle *eken*, it conveys a similar meaning to the rhetorical 'I wonder...' in English

(229)  olar bizge jolyǵar ma eken?

(230)  ol aıtar ma eken?

(231)  Murat keler me eken?

**Volitional/Intended Future** - the volitional/intended future tense in Kazakh is formed with the suffix [-MAQ] which has the following forms: -maq/-mek, -baq/-bek, and -paq/-pek, followed by copular personal endings for agreement. *-maq/-mek* is found after verb stems that end in vowel as well as the sounds: *'l', 'm', 'n', 'ń, 'l'* and *'r'*. This tense is used to highlight the speaker's conviction, dedication, and intention to complete an action in the future.

(232)  • ber-mek 'will give/intends to give'

       • bar-maq 'will go/intends to go'

       • kel-mek 'will come/intends to come'

(233)  men       kinoǵa        barmaqpyn
       men       kino-ǵa       bar-maq-pyn
       1SG.NOM cinema-DAT go-VOL.FUT-1SG

       'I will (definitely) go to the cinema.'

(234)  olar      kinoǵa        barmaq
       olar      kino-ǵa       bar-maq-Ø
       3PL.NOM cinema-DAT go-VOL.FUT-3

       'They will (most definitely) go to the cinema.'

**Simple Past Tense** - the simple past in Kazakh is formed with the suffix [-DI] after the verbal root. The suffix has the following allomorphs: *-dy, -di, -ty* and *-ti*. Unlike the many other tenses, personal endings for the simple past tense are true suffixes and not clitics, meaning the Simple Past Tense has slightly different forms compared to the copula, and the [-DI] suffix plus the agreement suffix act as the centers of stress.

Table 8: Kazakh Simple Present Tense with Personal Endings

| Pronouns | Verbs | Personal Endings | Translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| men | otyr-dy- | -m | 'I sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -m | 'I laughed' |
| sen | otyr-dy- | -ń | 'You (inf.) sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -ń | 'You (inf.) laughed |
| siz | otyr-dy- | -ńyz | 'You (f.) sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -ńiz | 'You (f.) laughed' |
| ol | otyr-dy- | -Ø | 'S/he sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -Ø | 'S/he laughed' |
| biz | otyr-dy- | -q | 'We sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -k | 'We laughed' |
| sender | otyr-dy- | -ń-dar | 'You all (inf.) sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -ń-der | 'You all (inf.) laughed' |
| sizder | otyr-dy- | -ń-dar | 'You all (f.) sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -ń-der | 'You all (f.) laughed' |
| olar | otyr-dy- | -Ø | 'They sat' |
| | kúl-di- | -Ø | 'They laughed' |

(235)  búgin men    bir  jańa kitap        aldỳm
       búgin men    bir  jańa kitap-Ø      al-dy-m
       today 1SG.NOM new one  book-ACC.INDEF take-PST-1SG
       'Today I bought a new book.'

**Remote Past Tense** - *Burynǵy ótken shaq* - the name of the tense itself explains that the action took place a long time ago prior to the moment of speaker. While the Simple/Recent past indicates that the speaker might have witnessed the event, the Remote Past Tense indicates that the speaker might have not witnessed the event occur, but is aware of its outcomes. The Remote Past Tense is formed by adding the simple present tense endings to the '-*yp/-ip/-p*' converb form (glossed above as CNVBI).

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Table 9: Remote Past Tense Paradigm

|        | Pronoun | Alý - 'take' | kelý - 'come' | sanaý - 'count' |
|--------|---------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1SG      | Men    | al-yp-pyn    | kel-ip-pin    | sana-p-pyn      |
| 2SG Inf  | Sen    | al-yp-syń    | kel-ip-siń    | sana-p-syń      |
| 2SG Form | Siz    | al-yp-syz    | kel-ip-siz    | sana-p-siz      |
| 3SG      | Ol     | al-yp-ty     | kel-ip-ti     | sana-p-ty       |
| 1PL      | Biz    | al-yp-pyz    | kel-ip-piz    | sana-p-pyz      |
| 2PL Inf  | Sender | al-yp-syńdar | kel-ip-sińder | sana-p-syńdar   |
| 2PL Form | Sizder | al-yp-syzdar | kel-ip-sizder | sana-p-syzdar   |
| 3PL      | Olar   | al-yp-ty     | kel-ip-ti     | sana-p-ty       |

(236)  azattyq        jolynda          jalyndap    janyppyz
       azattyq        jol-y-nda        jal-yn-da-p jan-yp-pyz
       freedom.NOM.SG path.3.POSS-LOC  x-x-x-x     x-CNVBI-2PL.AGR
       ''

**Witnessed Past Tense** - the witnessed past tense is formed by adding the adjectival past participle suffix [-GAn], which has the forms *-qan/-ken/-ǵan/-gen* and the copular personal endings for agreement. Subsequently, the ending [-GAn] is the center of stress for verbs conjugated in this tense. The suffixes *-qan/-ken* are found only after voiceless stops and the fricatives 's' and 'sh', *-ǵan/-gen* are found after verbal roots ending in vowels, nasals, and voiced consonants. The personal endings are identical to the copular forms.

Table 10: Kazakh Witnessed Past Tense Paradigm

|            | Pronoun | Alý - take    | Kelý - come    | Sanaý - count    |
|------------|---------|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1SG        | men     | al-ǵan-myn    | kel-gen-min    | sana-ǵan-myn     |
| 2SG        | sen     | al-ǵan-syń    | kel-gen-siń    | sana-ǵan-syń     |
| 2SG.formal | siz     | al-ǵan-syz    | kel-gen-siz    | sana-ǵan-syz     |
| 3SG        | ol      | al-ǵan-Ø      | kel-gen-Ø      | sana-ǵan-Ø       |
| 1PL        | biz     | al-ǵan-byz    | kel-gen-biz    | sana-ǵan-byz     |
| 2PL        | sender  | al-ǵan-syńdar | kel-gen-sińder | sana-ǵan-syńdar  |
| 2PL.formal | sizder  | al-ǵan-syzdar | kel-gen-sizder | sana-ǵan-syzdar  |
| 3PL        | olar    | al-ǵan-Ø      | kel-gen-Ø      | sana-ǵan-Ø       |

(237)   men        ony       kórgénmin
        men        o-ny      kór-gen-min
        1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC see-PST.PTCP-1SG.AGR

        'I have seen it.'

### 3.7.4   Interrogative Forms

Interrogative forms in Kazakh are formed with the particle [MA]. The particle [MA] will
typically sit at the end of a sentence. The suffix [MA] has the following forms:

- **ma/me** - used after words ending in vowels and after the consonants [r], [l], [j], and
  [uw/yw]

- **ba/be** - used after words ending in nasal consonants ([m], [n], and [ŋ], and voiced
  fricatives [z] and [ʒ]

- **pa/pe** - used after words ending in voiceless consonants and voiced stops

### 3.7.5   Verbal Negation

Verbs are negated using the same suffix described in the section in interrogative forms, [MA],
however, this time the suffix sits immediately to the right of the verbal root and before any
and all tense suffixes. For certain verb forms that are formed by adverbial participle and the
copula for agreement, negation is achieved using the negative existential copula *joq*, which
is found with the subsequent copular agreement forms for person and number. Verb tenses
negated in this manner include the witnessed past.

(238)   men        ony       kórgen       joqpyn
        men        ony       kór-gen      joq-pyn
        1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC see-PST.PTCP COP.EXIST.NEG-1SG

        'I have never seen this.'

### 3.7.6   Valency Increasing/Decreasing Operations

Kazakh has both a causative and passive mood to increase and decrease the valency of
verbal arguments. Kazakh allows some verbs to shift from intransitive to transitive. This
productive process is used across the board with the causative suffix -[DIr] or [-DIrTQIz].

(239)   men        kúldim
        men        kúl-di-m
        1SG.NOM laugh-PST-1SG

        'I laughed'

(240)   men        sábıdi       kúldirdim
        men        sábı-di      kúl-dir-di-m
        1SG.NOM baby-ACC.DEF laugh-CAUS-PST-1SG

        'I made the baby laugh.'

In causative sentences of this type, the object that is being made to do the action is found in the accusative case, indicating that the effect of the causative suffix on an intransitive verb is to render a typical transitive one. The suffix forms for the causative are [-DIr] and [-T] with '-tyr/-tir' after verbs roots endings in voiceless consonants, and '-dyr/-dir' elsewhere. If a verb root ends in a vowel, the causative suffix is -t-. Additionally causative suffixes can be stacked on top of the -DIr suffix, in which case they have the form -t or -tQIz. The causative may also be applied to transitive verbs, rendering a 2-place transitive verb, in which case the person or object being made to perform the transitive action is found in the dative case.

(241)  syný
       syn-ý
       break-INF

       'to break (itself) - intransitive'

(242)  aǵash    syndy
       aǵash    syn-dy-ø
       tree.NOM break-PST-3

       'The tree broke.'

(243)  men        aǵashty      syndyrdym
       men        aǵash-ty     syn-dyr-dy-m
       1SG.NOM tree-ACC.DEF break-CAUS-PST-1SG

       'I broke the tree.'

(244)  men        Asanǵa     aǵashty      syn-dyr-t-ty-m
       men        Asan-ǵa    aǵash-ty     syn-dyr-t-ty-m
       1SG.NOM Asan-DAT tree-ACC.DEF break-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG

       'I made Asan break the tree.'

Valency decreasing operations in Kazakh include the passive voice, that is formed with the suffix -Il or, in the case of verbs that end in the phoneme [-l], the suffix -In. The suffix is added to the verbal root to decrease the number of verbal arguments by one.

(245)  Sáýle hat              jazdy
       Sáýle hat              jaz-dy
       Saule letter.ACC.INDEF write-PST.3

       'Saule wrote a letter.'

(246)  hat    jazyldy
       hat    jaz-yl-dy
       letter write-PASS-PST.3

       'A letter was written.'

The passive may also stack for many verbs, to render a meaning similar to "it is done/it is written/it has been said" in English.

(247)  Ákesi              ulyna            jazǵan            hatta      bylaı
       áke-si             ul-y-na          jaz-ǵan           hat-ta     bylaı
       father-3POSS. son-3.POSS-DAT write-PST.PTCP letter-LOC like.this

| delinedi: | óz | elińdi | | umytpa |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| de-li-n-e-di | óz | el- iń-di | | umyt-pa |
| say-PASS-PASS-PRES-3 | REFLX | motherland-2SG.POSS-ACC.DEF | | forget-NEG.IMP |

'It was said in his father's letter to his son: do not forget your motherland.'

### 3.7.7 Mood

Kazakh has 4 moods: Indicative, Imperative, Optative, and Conditional (which is further divided into Real and Unreal Conditional).

**Indicative Mood (Ashyq Rai')** - the indicative mood is used to explicitly state events in the present, past, and future.

(248)   Prezident Nursultan Nazarbayev AQSh-ta saparda júr

(249)   Prezident Nursultan Nazarbayev 2018 jyldyń qańtar aıynda AQSh-ta bolyp qaıtty

(250)   Prezident Nursultan Nazarbayev 2018 jyldyń qańtar aıynda AQSh-ta bolady

The indicative mood is therefore simply the mood of the tenses listed above.

**Imperative Mood** - the imperative mood is used both for commands and evocations. Within this mood, there are 5 additional types of imperatives that range from simple commands, to polite requests, to tasked imperatives. Simple imperatives are formed with either the verb root or the suffixes '-yńyz/-ińiz' for second person singular polite, or the suffixes '-yńdar/ińder' for second person plural familiar, or '-yńyzdar/-ińizder' for second person plural polite requests:

(251)   Imperative paradigm with 'aıt-' (say)

- *aıt* - 'say' (2nd person singular, direct command)

- *aıt-yńyz* - 'please say' (2nd person singular, polite command)

- *aıt-yńdar* - 'please say' (2nd person plural, familiar)

- *aıt-yńyzdar* - 'please say' (2nd person plural, polite)

Furthermore, there also exists a special affix for 3rd person imperatives (let him say, let her do, let them come, etc.). This suffix -*syn/-sin* is directly attached to the verbal root.

(252)   *aıt* - *aıt-syn* - 'let him say'

The imperative mood is negated using the suffix [-MA] used in verbal negation. It is found directly to the right of the verbal root and before any additional imperative mood markers.

(253)   Negative imperatives

- | sen | barma |
  |---|---|
  | sen | bar-ma-Ø |
  | 2SG.FAM.NOM | go-NEG-IMP |

  'Don't go!'

- siz      barmańyz
  siz      bar-ma-ńyz
  2SG.POL.NOM go-NEG-2SG.POL.IMP

  'Do not go/Please do not go'

- sender barmańdar
  sen-der bar-ma-ń-dar
  2SG-PL go-NEG-2.FAM-PL-IMP

  'Don't go (to a group).'

- olar      barmasyn
  olar      bar-ma-syn
  3PL.NOM go-NEG-3.IMP

  'Let them not go./May they not go.'

**The Conditional Mood**   - used to denote an action which one wants to happen, or that may possibly happen under certain circumstances. A sentence containing aorist verbs shows that an action has not happened, but could have happened if certain circumstances took place. There exists both the real and the unreal conditional mood. Both are formed by adding the suffix [-sA], with the allomorphs *-sa* and *-se*. This suffix is added next to the verbal root and is followed by personal endings identical to those used for the simple present tense. Some speakers may also use the Persian loanword *'eger'* at the head of a conditional clause.

(254)  jańbyr jaýsa,      biz      jumysqa barmaımyz
       jańbyr jaý-sa-Ø      biz      jumys-qa bar-ma-ı-myz
       rain      fall-COND-3 1PL.NOM work-DAT go-NEG-PRES-1PL.AGR

       'If it rains, then we will not go to work.'

(255)  eger úıińdi             satsań,      men      ony      satyp
       eger úı-ıń-di           sat-sa-ń,      men      ony      sat-yp
       if      house-2SG.POSS-ACC.DEF sell-COND-2SG, 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC.DEF buy-CNVBI

       alar      edim
       al-ar      e-di-m
       take-AOR.FUT AUX-PST-1SG

       'If you were to sell your house, then I would buy it.'

Unreal conditional shows an implied wish that the speaker would have done or had done something. It is almost always found with the unreal future tense in the matrix clause. In this clause, the conditional [-sA] is not used, rather, the witnessed past/past participal construction with [-GAn] and the locative case.

(256)  ajar kómek bergende          osy isti        bitirgen
       ajar kómek ber-gen-de,      osy is-ti        bit-ir-gen
       Ajar help      give-PST.PTCP-LOC this work-ACC.DEF finish-CAUS-PST.PTCP

       bolar      edim
       bol-ar      e-di-m
       be-AOR.FUT AUX-PST-1SG

'If Ajar had helped me, I would have finished this work.'

**The Optative Mood** - the optative mood is used to express wishes or desires to do something. It is formed with the suffix [-GI-] which has the forms *-ǵy, -gi, -qy* and *-ki* and is subsequently followed personal possessive endings and a tensed form of the auxiliary verb *kel-*, meaning 'to come'.

(257)  Examples of the Optative

- onyń     úlengisi          keledi
  onyń     úlen-gi-si        kel-e-di
  3SG.GEN marry-OPT-3.POSS come-PRES-3

  'He wishes to get married.' - (lit. 'his wanting to get married is coming')

- meniń    úlengim           keldi
  meniń    úlen-gi-m         kel-di-Ø
  1SG.GEN marry-OPT-1SG.POSS come-PST-3

  'I wished to get married.'

- seniń    úlengiń           kele          me
  seniń    úlen-gi-ń         kel-e-Ø       me
  2SG.GEN marry-OPT-2SG.POSS come-PRES-3 Q

  'Do you wish to get married?'

- senderdiń             úlengileriń                     keledi.
  sender-diń            úlen-gi-leriń                   kel-e-di
  2PL.FAMILAR-GEN marry-OPT-2PL.FAMILIAR.POSS come-PRES-3

  'You all (familiar) wish to get married.'

### 3.7.8   Participles

Kazakh has a large number of participial verb forms. Most commonly used participles include the past participles [-GAn] (having the forms *-ǵan/-gen/-qan/-ken*) and the present participle [-(ɪ)ATIn] (having the forms *-atyn/-etin/-ɪatyn/-ɪetin*). In addition to these traditional participles, Kazakh also employs numerous 'converb' suffixes, the most common being [-(I)p] and [ɪ/-a/-e], both of which are used in auxiliary verb constructions.

**Past Participle [-GAn]** - the past participle [-GAn] is identical in form to the witnessed past tense discussed in the section on verbal morphology. Verbal forms with [-GAn] are used to denote actions that have been completed and whose results are still in effect at the time of speaking.

(258)  televizor  sóndirilgen
       televizor  són-dir-il-gen-
       television swith-CAUS-PASS-PST.PTCP-3
       'The television is switched off.'

Additionally past participles are used for relative clauses where the main verb is in the past tense.

(259)  baraxolkada    alǵan          kitabym        osy
       baraxolka-da   al-ǵan         kitab-ym       osy
       baraxolka-LOC  take-PST.PTCP  book-1SG.POSS  this

‘This is the book that I bought at Baraxolka[1]’

(260)  osy áńgimeni       maǵan      aıtqan          adam   Astanadan
       osy áńgime-ni      maǵan      aıtqan          adam   Astana-dan
       this story-ACC.DEF  1SG.DAT    speak-PST.PTCP  person Astana-ABL

‘The man who told me this story is from Astana.’

Past participles can also be combined with the auxiliary verb *e-* to indicate pluperfect or anterior perfect events that occurred further in the past than other reported past events.

(261)  uıaly      telefon    alǵan          edim,          istemeı jatyr
       uıaly      telefon    al-ǵan         e-di-m         iste-me-ı jatyr
       cell.phone take-PST.PTCP  AUX-PST-1SG  work-NEG-PST AUX.3

‘I bought a cell phone, but it didn’t/does not work.’

**Present participle - (ı)AtIn**    - the present participle [-(ı)AtIn] has the forms ‘-*atyn/-etin*’ for verb roots endings in a consonant, and the forms -*ıatyn/-ıetin* for roots endings in vowels. This participle is used for either habitual actions in the present or future events that will occur. Like the past participle [-GAn], the present participle is commonly used in relative clauses

(262)  jumysqa    baratyn        áıel
       jumys-qa   bar-atyn       áıel
       work-DAT   go-PRES.PTCP   lady

‘the lady/woman who goes to work (or who will go to work).’

However, sometimes present actions are represented with the past participle [-GAn] in relative clauses, particularly with verbs in the continuous present tense. The use of [-GAn] vs. [-(ı)AtIn] is one of non-habitual vs. habitual action.

(263)  kitap oqıp      otyrǵan        qyz
       kitap oqı-p     otyr-ǵan       qyz
       book  read-CNVBI  AUX-PST.PTCP   girl

‘The girl who is reading a book.’

(264)  kitap oqyp      otyratyn       qyz
       kitap oqy-p     otyr-atyn      qyz
       book  read-CNVBI  AUX-PRES.PTCP  girl

‘the girl who is always reading a book/the girl who always reads books.’

---

[1]A large outdoor Bazaar in Almaty, approximately 10km north of Rozybakieva Street.

**Converbs -Ip and [-ı/-a/-e]**    - converbs play a large role in Kazakh sentenial coordination. As participles, they seldom modify other nouns, rather, they chain together more complex verbal forms (see above in our example for habitual vs. non-habitual action). Further details on these forms are found in our section on Kazakh syntax re: sentential coordination and auxiliary verb constructions.

## 3.8   Adjectival Morphology

Adjectives in Kazakh are divided into two groups: qualitative (or standard adjectives) and relative adjectives.

### 3.8.1   Qualitative Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives are placed before the noun phrase that they modify and are typically used to denote color, properties, or other states of the noun. Both Qualifying and relative adjectives do not agree in number, gender, or case with the modifying noun.

(265)   qyzyl alma
        red    apple
        'red apple'

(266)   qart    adam
        elderly person
        'old man'

(267)   ystyq sy
        hot    water
        'hot water'

### 3.8.2   Relative Adjectives

Relative adjectives are morphologically complex adjectives that are derived from other parts of speech by employing derivational affixes. Nouns themselves can act as relative adjectives

(268)   erkek qoı
        man   sheep
        'male sheep'/'ram'

(269)   qyz bala
        girl child
        'daughter'/'little girl'

Denominalizing suffixes can also be added to nouns to derive adjectives. The most common suffix in this family is the suffix [-DI] which has the forms *-dy/-di*, *-ty/-ti*, and *-ly/-li*.

(270)   kúshti       kisi
        kúsh-ti      kisi
        strength-DENOM person
        'strong man'

(271)  aqyldy          bala
       aqyl-dy          bala
       intellect-DENOM child
       'smart child'

(272)  deneli          áıel
       dene-li          áıel
       fat-DENOM lady
       'fat lady'

Adjectives derived from verbs and other denominals are marked with the suffix [-GIsh] which has the forms *-ǵysh/-gish* and *-qysh/-kish*:

(273)  bilgish
       bil-gish
       know-DEVERB
       'aware'

(274)  alǵysh

Older forms of this suffix include *-qyr/-kir* or *-ǵyr/-gir*:

(275)  ótkir

The additional variant *-shaq/-shek* is also quite common.

(276)  kyzǵanshaq

(277)  maqtanshaq

### 3.8.3  Degrees of Comparison

Kazakh has comparative and superlative degrees of comparison.

**Comparative Degree**   The comparative degree is formed with the suffixes [-(I)rAQ] and [-DAý].

(278)  úlken úlkenirek
       big    big-COMP
       'big' 'bigger'

(279)  qara  qara-laý
       black black-COMP
       'black' 'blacker'

(280)  juas juas-taý

(281)  uzyn uzyn-yraq

**Superlative Degree**   Superlatives are formed by adding the morpheme *eń* directly before the adjective.

(282)   úlken eń   úlken
      big    SUP big

      'big' 'biggest'

(283)   jaqsy eń   jaqsy
      good SUP good

      'good' 'best'

Superlative degree can also be expressed by reduplication. In this construction, the first syllable is taken and the suffix *-p* is added to the truncated adjective, then repeated before the full adjective. This is particularly productive for colors

(284)   qara  qap-qara
      black REDUP-black

      'black' 'blackest/quite black'

(285)   sary   sap-sary
      yellow REDUP-yellow

      'yellow' 'yellowest/quite yellow'

(286)   qyzyl qyp-qyzyl
      red   REDUP-red

      'red' 'reddest/quite red'

Other cases of reduplication show full preservation and repitition of the adjective.

(287)   myj     myj-myj     myj-myj-myj
      wrinkled wrinkled-wrinkled wrinkled-wrinkled-wrinkled

      'wrinkled' 'quite wrinkled' 'extremely wrinkled'

# 4   Syntax

## 4.1   Word Order

Kazakh is a head-final, Subject-Object-Verb type language, like all Turkic languages. Unmarked, neutral sentences are generally SOV, however; given a clear context and overt case marking, Kazakh sentences may also allow SVO or OVS with emphatic intonation to indicate semantic differences.

(288)   Murat sút          qaınatty
      Murat sút-Ø          qaına-t-ty-Ø
      Murat milk-ACC.INDEF boil-CAUS-PST-3

      'Murat boiled (some) milk' (SOV - neutral word order)

(289)   Murat qaınatty       sútti
      Murat qaına-t-ty-Ø      sút-ti
      Murat boil-CAUS-PST-3 milk-ACC.DEF

'It was Murat who boiled the milk' (SVO - emphasis is placed on 'Murat')

(290)　Sútti　　　　qaınatty　　　Murat
　　　　Sút-ti　　　　qaına-t-ty-Ø　　Murat
　　　　milk-ACC.DEF boil-CAUS-PST-3 Murat

'Murat *boiled* the milk (instead of drinking it).' (OVS - emphasis is placed on 'qai'natty', the action)

Verbs in Kazakh generally follow their objects or subjects, and modifiers always precede the phrases that they act to modify. This behavior is predicted by head-final type languages and is remarkably consistent across multiple domains in Kazakh.

(291)　soqyr tyshqan
　　　　soqyr tyshqan
　　　　blind mouse

'blind mouse' (adjective/modifier precedes the modifyee/noun phrase)

(292)　soqyr tyshqannyń titteı шasy
　　　　soqyr tyshqan-nyń titteı шa-sy
　　　　blind mouse-GEN small nest-3.POSS

'The blind mouse's small nest' (genitive case DP (blind mouse) precedes the DP (small burrow) that is qualifies)

(293)　jabaıy mysyq soqyr tyshqandy　　bir sátte　　jep　　qoıdy
　　　　jabaıy mysyq soqyr tyshqan-dy　bir sát-te　je-p　　qoı-dy-Ø
　　　　wild　cat　blind mouse-ACC.DEF one glimpse-LOC eat-CNVBI put.AUX-PST-3

'A wild cat ate the blind mouse in no time.' (compliment PP modifying VP immediately precedes the VP, both object and subject DP precede the VP, main lexical verb precedes AuxiliaryV in the VP)

### 4.1.1　Coordination

Nominal coordination in Kazakh is achieved using either the conjunction '*jáne*'(and), or the suffixes *men/pen/ben* for groups of people (it has the same form as the instrumental case). Coordination can also be achieved with the suffix [DA] (which has the forms *da, de, ta, te*). While identical in form to the locative case, this suffix is a clitic and is therefore never stressed.

(294)　Sársen kitap　　　jáne qalam　　　satyp　　aldy
　　　　Sársen kitap-Ø　　jáne qalam-Ø　　sat-yp　　al-dy-Ø
　　　　Sársen book-ACC.INDEF COOR pen-ACC.INDEF barter-CNVBI take-PST-3

'Sársen bought a book and a pen.'

(295)　Qaırat pen　Asqar fýtbol　　　　oınaıdy
　　　　Qaırat pen　Asqar fýtbol-Ø　　　oına-ı-dy-Ø
　　　　Qaırat COOR Asqar football-ACC.INDEF play-PRES-PST-3

'Qaırat and Asqar play football.'

Verbs can be coordinated as well with *jáne* and the [DA] clitic. The *men/ben/pen* form cannot be used for verbs. When used with verbs, the [DA] clitic comes after verbs in the CNVBI ([-(I)p] form. The final verb, however, is tensed and all other verbs in the sentence are understood as sharing the same tense/aspect/mood features of the tensed verb.

(296) Men     sýret           salyp        ta,   esep
      men     sýret-Ø         sal-yp       ta,   esep-Ø
      1SG.NOM picture-ACC.INDEF draw-CNVBI COOR math.puzzle-ACC.INDEF

      shyǵaryp     ta   úlgerdim
      shyǵar-yp    ta   úlger-di-m
      release-CNVBI COOR manage-PST-1SG

      'I had time/managed to draw a picture and finish a math puzzle.'

## 4.2 Concordance

The subject and the verb must agree for person and number by overt markings. As Kazakh does not have grammatical gender, this feature is not involved in Kazakh agreement. Most often, concordance is expressed in the form of the agreement and personal possessive suffixes. In the case of 3rd person predicates and subjects, the agreement variable is identical.

(297) men     asyǵyspyn
      men     asyǵys-pyn
      1SG.NOM hurried-1SG

      'I am in a hurry'

(298) sen     asyǵyssyń
      sen     asyǵys-syń
      2SG.NOM hurried-2SG

      'you are in a hurry'

(299) ol      asyǵys
      ol      asyǵys-Ø
      3SG.NOM hurried-3

      'he is in a hurry' (only clear that it is singular based on the overt pronoun '*ol*')

Kazakh allows pro-drop, where the subjects can be dropped in instances in which they are pragmatically or grammatically inferable. If the subject is dropped, the person and number can be inferred based on the overt agreement suffixes on the verb.

(300) búgin jumysqa  keshigip      bardym
      búgin jumys-qa keshig-ip     bar-dy-m
      today work-DAT be.late-CNVBI go-PST-1SG

      'I was late for work today.'

## 4.3 Modifiers

Modifiers in Kazakh do not show any agreement with the entities that they modify. Neither number, gender, nor case of the head noun affect the surface form of the adjectives. The

only exception is the case of possessive pronouns in the genitive, which requires the possessed noun to match in person and number with a personal possessive suffix.

(301)  qyzyl shalshyq
      qyzyl shalshyq
      red    towel
      'a red towel'

(302)  qyzyl shalshyqtar
      qyzyl shalshyq-tar
      red    towel-PL
      'red towels' (no agreement in number in the form of the adjective *qyzyl*)

(303)  úlken kisi
      úlken kisi
      big    person
      'a big person'

(304)  úlken kisige
      úlken kisi-ge
      big    person-DAT
      'to the big person' (no agreement in case, *úlken* has same form in both nominative and dative cases, the same is true for all cases)

(305)  senıń     qasyǵyń
      senıń     qasyǵ-yń
      2SG.GEN spoon-2SG.POSS
      'your spoon'

(306)  bizdıń    qasyǵymyz
      bizdıń    qasyǵ-ymyz
      1PL.GEN spoon-1PL.POSS
      'our spoon'

A modifier can be either an adjective or a noun. When nouns act as modifiers, the qualified noun is marked with the 3rd person possessive suffix.

(307)  sary    kóılek
      sary    kóılek
      yellow dress
      'a yellow dress'

(308)  toı      sybaǵasy
      toı      sybaǵa-sy
      wedding gift-3.POSS
      'wedding gift'

Modifiers can also be relativized nouns.

(309) mekteptegi     tórt bólmeli     kitaphana
       mektep-te-gi     tórt bólme-li     kitaphana
       school-LOC-REL four room-ADJ.REL library
       'the four room library at the school'

## 4.4 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences come in two types: polar, or yes/no, question sentence, or wh-sentences. For yes/no interrogative sentences, this is achieved by adding the question particle [MA] at the end of the clause.

(310)

Wh-interrogative sentences are in-situ in Kazakh. Questions words do not raise to the head of the clause like in English, French, or other European languages.

(311) Sáýle ýnıversıtette     on saǵat jumys istedi
       Sáýle ýnıversıtet-te     on saǵat jumys iste-di-Ø
       Saule unıversıty-LOC ten hour work do-PRES-3
       'Saule works for ten hours at the University'

(312) **kim** ýnıversıtette     on saǵat jumys istedi
       **kim** ýnıversıtet-te     on saǵat jumys iste-di-Ø
       **who** university-LOC ten hour work do-PST-3
       'Who works at the university of 10 hours'

(313) Sáýle [**qaı jerde**] on     saǵat jumys istedi
       Sáýle [**qaı jer-de**]     on     saǵat jumys iste-di-Ø
       Saule [**what place-**LOC] ten     hour work does-PST-3
       'Where does Saule work for 10 hours?'

(314) Saýle ýnıversıtette     [**neshe saǵat**]     jumys istedi
       Saýle ýnıversıtet-te     [**neshe saǵat**]     jumys iste-di-Ø
       Saule university-LOC [**how.many hour**] work do-PST-3
       'How long does Sayle work at the University?'

(315) Sáýle ýnıversıtette     on saǵat [**ne**] istedi
       Sáýle ýnıversıtette     on saǵat [**ne**] iste-di-Ø
       Saule university-LOC ten hour what do-PST-3
       'What did Saule do at the university for 10 hours?'

## 4.5 Clausal Structures

### 4.5.1 Independent Clauses

Compound sentences have two or more independent clauses with complete thoughts and related ideas. The relationship between independent clauses of compound sentences are specified by conjunctions. Independent clauses fall into the following types:

- Coordinating – coordinating independent clauses are formed by chaining two complete clauses with the conjunction *jáne* ('and) or the clitic *[TA]*. These are identical in formation to the patterns of nominal conjunction seen with nouns.

  (316)  Gúlsimge       sińglisi                    aına                    syılady,    jáne
         Gúlsim-ge      sińgli-si                   aına-Ø                  syıla-dy-Ø  jáne
         Gúlsim-DAT younger.sister-3.POSS mirror-ACC.INDEF gift-PST-3 and

         aǵasy                    oǵan       taraq              alyp          berdi
         aǵa-sy                   oǵan       taraq-Ø            alyp          ber-di-Ø
         older.brother-3.POSS 3SG.DAT comb-ACC.INDEF take-CNVBII give-PST-3

         'Gúlsim's younger sister gifted her a mirror, and her older brother gave her a comb.'

  (317)  Toı       kesh bitti       de,    bız túngi    saǵat eki jarymǵa
         Toı       kesh bit-ti-Ø    de,    bız túngi    saǵat eki jarym-ǵa
         wedding late  end-PST-3 COOR we  evening hour  two half-DAT

         taksı                  shaqyrdyq
         taksı-Ø                shaqyr-dy-q
         taxi-ACC.INDEF order-PST-1PL

         'The wedding party ended very late, (and/so) we ordered a taxi to come at 2:30 am.'

- Disjunctive – disjunctive clauses are formed with the conjunction *sonda da* and describe events where the first clause describes a state, and the second clause qualifies that state to have happened despite other circumstances.

  (318)  tańerteń qar  jaýdy,        sonda=da  men          ormanǵa    bardym
         tańerteń qar  jaý-dy-Ø,     sonda=da  men          orman-ǵa   bar-dy-m
         morning snow fall-PST-3 but=COOR 1SG.NOM forest-DAT go-PST-1SG

         'It snowed in the morning, and I still went into the forest (anyway, despite the snow).'

- Of Reason – clauses of reasons are chained together with the conjunctions *sebebi* or *óıtkeni*. They indicate the reason for which a main action took place.

  (319)  biz          ormanǵa   barmadyq          sebebi óte  kóp qar      jaýdy
         biz          orman-ǵa  bar-ma-dy-q       sebebi óte  kóp qar      jaý-dy-Ø
         1PL.NOM forest-DAT go-NEG-PST-1PL very   much snow fall-PST-3

         'We did not go into the forest, because it had snowed a lot.'

- Sequential - sequential clauses are chained together using *birese* in both clauses. It indicates that both actions are happening in a defined sequence or share a certain time frame.

  (320)  birese jańbyr jaýady     birese qar  jaýady    tańerteńnen beri
         birese jańbyr jaý-a-dy   birese qar  jaý-a-dy  tańerteń-nen beri
         once   rain    fall-PRES-3 once   snow fall-PRES-3 morning-ABL since

'First it rains, then it snows, since morning.'

- Oppositional - oppositional clauses are connected with *biraq* (but).

(321)   aýa     raıy              óte  tamasha  biraq biz       ormanǵa
          aýa     raı-y            óte  tamasha  biraq biz       orman-ǵa
          weather state-3.POSS very wonderful but   1PL.NOM forest-DAT
          barmadyq
          bar-ma-dy-q
          go-NEG-PST-1PL
          'The weather is very wonderful, but we didn't go to the forest.'

### 4.5.2   Subordinate Clauses

A subordinate clause can either modify an adjacent (main) clause, provide additional information or serve as a component of an independent clause. A subordinate clause as a rule precedes the main clause. Subordinate clauses may be of the following types:

1. Adverbial - the dependent clause provides information regarding the manner, time, or place of the event and action performed. These subordinate clauses are formed in the following ways in Kazakh:

   - **Participles in the Locative Case** - the verb of the subordinate clause is found in the past participle form [-GAn] and then declined in the locative case. This has a similar function to English clauses headed with 'when...' to indicate a time frame.

   (322)   Roza Rymbaeva Áliya ánin                   oryndaǵanda,
           Roza Rymbaeva Áliya án-i-n              orynda-ǵan-da,
           Roza Rymbaeva Aliya song-3.POSS-ACC.DEF perform-PST.PTCP-LOC,
           tyńdaýshylardyń     kózderi        jasqa toldy
           tyńdaý-shy-lar-dyn'  kóz-der-i        jasqa tol-dy-Ø
           listener-PL-GEN      eye-PL-3.POSS tear  burst-PST-3
           'When Roza Rymbaeva performed the song Aliya, the listeners burst into tears.'

   The types of clauses may also be formed with verbs in the past participle followed by the words *kezde* (lit. 'at the time that...'), *kúnde* or *shaqta*.

   (323)   men      aıtqan        kezde, sen      tyńdamadyń
           men      aıt-qan       kezde sen       tyńda-ma-dy-ń
           1SG.NOM say-PST.PTCP when  2SG.NOM hear-NEG-PST-2SG
           'When I said [it], you didn't hear.'

   - **Using participles in the dative or ablative cases after the postpositions** *son, sheıin, keıin, deıin, beri, buryn.*

(324)　Jańa telefon　　　　　satyp　　　alǵannan　　　　　beri, Aıdos
　　　　Jańa telefon-Ø　　　　sat-yp　　al-ǵan-nan　　　　beri, Aıdos
　　　　new telefon-ACC.INDEF buy-CNVBI take-PST.PTCP-ABL since, Aıdos
　　　　dostarymen　　　　　kóp　habarlasady
　　　　dos-tar-y-men　　　　kóp　habarla-s-a-dy
　　　　friend-PL-3.POSS-INST much talk-RECIP-PRES-3
　　　　'Since he bought a new phone, Aidos talks to his friends a lot.'

2. Conditional - sentences in the conditional mood also constitute a type of subordinate clause

(325)　eger mende　　kóp　qarjy　　bolǵanda,　　　Parijge　　barǵan
　　　　eger men-de　kóp　qarjy　　bol-ǵan-da-Ø Parij-ge　bar-ǵan
　　　　if　1SG.LOC many resources be-COND-3　　Paris-DAT go-PST.PTCP
　　　　bolar　　　　　edim
　　　　bol-ar　　　　　e-di-m
　　　　be-AORIST.PTCP AUX-PST-1SG
　　　　'If I had the means, I would have gone to Paris.'

3. Subordinate clauses of purpose - subordinate clauses of purpose ('in order to...' or 'for ...') are expressed in Kazakh with the postposition úshin after a verb in the infinitive.

(326)　jańa kózildirik　　　alý　　úshin kóz dárigerine　　　bardym
　　　　jańa kózildirik-Ø　　al-ý　　úshin kóz dáriger-i-ne　　bar-dy-m
　　　　new glasses-ACC.INDF take-INF for　　eye doctor-3.POSS-DAT go-PST-1SG
　　　　'I went to the eye doctor in order to get some new glasses.'

4. Subordinate clauses of reason - clauses corresponding to English 'owing to ...' or 'having/not having done ...'. They are formed with the construction past participle [-GAn] and the postposition soń or with the suffix [-DIQtAn] attached to a past participle [-GAn].

(327)　Ýnıversıtetti　　　　bitirgendikten,　　　tez arada jumysqa
　　　　Ýniversıtet-ti　　　bi-tir-gen-dikten,　　tez ara-da jumys-qa
　　　　Univerisity-ACC.DEF finish-CAUS-PST.PTCP fast middle work-DAT
　　　　turdym
　　　　tur-dy-m
　　　　stand-PST-1SG
　　　　'Due to my graduation from the university,I was able to find a job within a short time. (I got this job *because* I finished university).'

(328)　Astynda kóligi　　　bolmaǵandyqtan,　　　　　Eset toıǵa　　bara
　　　　Astynda kólig-i　　　bol-ma-ǵan-dyqtan　　　Eset toı-ǵa　bar-a
　　　　own　　car-3.POSS be-NEG-PST.PTCP-BECAUSE Eset party-DAT go-CNVBI
　　　　almady
　　　　al-ma-dy-Ø
　　　　take.AUX-NEG-PST-3

'Due to not having a car, Eset was not able to go to the party.'

The negative form of this construction uses simply the negative converb II form.

(329)  maǵan    eshnárse aıtpaı          Jomart jańa komputer
      maǵan    eshnárse aıt-pa-ı         Jomart jańa komputer-Ø
      1SG.DAT nothing  say-NEG-CNVBI Jomart new  computer-ACC.INDEF

      satyp        alypty          ózine
      sat-yp       al-yp-ty        óz-i-ne
      buy-CNVBII take-CNVBII-PST-3 REFLX-3.POSS-DAT

      'Without saying anything to me, Jomart bought himself a new computer.'

### 4.5.3  Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are formed with either the present or past participles of verb forms and immediately precede the noun phrase that they modify. In Kazakh, relative clauses are either past or non-past and are headed by a verb phrase that is headed by a present [-(y)AtIn] or past [-GAn] participle.

(330)  ol   kisi    osy kósheniń    boıynda          turady.     ol        maǵan
      ol   kisi    osy kóshe-niń boı-y-nda      tur-a-dy.    ol        maǵan
      that person this street-GEN part-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3. 3SG.NOM 1SG.DAT

      kómektesti
      kómektes-ti-Ø
      help-PST-3

      'That person lives on this street. He helped me.'

(331)  [maǵan   kómektesken]$_{RC}$ kisi    osy kósheniń    boıynda          turady
      maǵan   kómektes-ken-Ø kisi    osy kóshe-niń boı-y-nda      tur-a-dy
      1SG.DAT help-PST.PTCP  person this street-GEN corner-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3

      'The person, who helped me, lives on this street.'

In the above two cases, we see the two independent clauses in (330) fused together into a single complex sentence. The verb, *kómektesý*, commands the dative case. The whole clause appears before the noun phrase that it modifies, i.e before *kisi*, and it retains the case marking for the object of *kómektesý* in the dative case (*maǵan*). How, then, would the clause change based on flipping the arguments of the verb?

(332)  ol   kisi    osy kósheniń    boıynda          turady.     men      oǵan
      ol   kisi    osy kóshe-niń boı-y-nda      tur-a-dy.    men      oǵan
      this person this street-GEN corner-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3. 1SG.NOM 3SG.DAT

      kómektestim.
      kómektes-ti-m
      help-PST-1SG.

      'That person lives on this street. I helped him.'

(333) men        kómektesken   kisi   osy kósheniń  boıynda         turady
      men        kómektes-ken  kisi   osy kóshe-niń boı-y-nda        tur-a-dy
      1SG.NOM help-PST.PTCP person this street-GEN corner-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3

      'The person, whom I helped, lives on this street. '

In the complex sentence, the only distinguishing feature is the case of the 1st person singular
pronoun. In a relative clause that is verbalized, if it is in the nominative, then it acts as
the subject of the relative clause. In these constructions, the who sentence is preserved,
defaulting to either past or present, depending on the type of participle used.

(334) men        kómektesetin   kisi
      men        kómektes-etin  kisi
      1SG.NOM help-PRES.PTCP person

      'The man, whom I am helping'

(335) men        kómektesken   kisi
      men        kómektes-ken  kisi
      1SG.NOM help-PST.PTCP person

      'the man, whom I helped'

**Wh-Clauses**    Wh-clauses are formed in the same way as relative clauses in Kazakh, with
a nominalized verbal clause, headed by a verbal participle, functioning as either the subject
or object of the sentence.

(336) aıtqanyńdy                                 bilmeımin
      aıt-qan-yń-dy                              bil-me-ı-min
      say-PST.PTCP-2SG.POSS-ACC.DEF know-NEG-PRES-1SG

      'I don't know what you said.'

### 4.5.4   Adjunct and Compliment Modifiers

Adjunct and compliment modifiers both precede the noun phrase that they qualify. When
they precede and modify verb phrases, they receive an adverbial meaning. Adjunct modifiers
are located further from the noun phrase compared to compliment modifiers. Compliment
phrases, particularly in the cases of nouns qualifying other nouns, are indicated by the
qualified noun marked with the 3rd person possessive suffix.

(337) qyzyl qapty     ertegiler kitaby
      qyzyl qap-ty    ertegi-ler kitab-y
      red    cover-ADJ tale-PL    book-3.POSS

      'the red book of tales'

(338) qyzyl qapty     ertegiler kitaby        stoldyń       ústinde
      qyzyl qap-ty    ertegi-ler kitab-y       stol-dyń      úst-i-nde
      red    cover-ADJ tale-PL    book-3.POSS counter-GEN top.side-3.POSS-LOC

      'The red book of tales [is] on the counter.'

## 4.6 Auxiliary Verb Constructions

The Kazakh language contains a large number of auxiliary verb constructions wherein a lexical verb in a converb/gerundative form is paired with a second verb to express a wide range of functions. Principally, auxiliary verb constructions are used to add additional semantic, aspectual, or temporal meaning to the lexical verb. The lexical verb most commonly occurs in either the [-(I)p] or [-a/-e-ı] converb/gerundative form. For certain auxiliary verbs, there is a difference between which converbial form the main lexical verb is found. For example, the lexical verb '*bery*", meaning 'to give', can be used to indicate an action that is done for the benefit of another party when it is used with the [-(I)p] converb (glossed as CNVBI), but may also be used to indicate repetitive, constant, continuous actions when used with the [-a/-e/-ı] converb (glossed as CNVBII).

(339)  siz       olarǵa      bárin             túsindirip
     siz       olarg'a     bár-i-n           tús-in-dir-ip
     2SG.PL.NOM 3PL.DAT all-3.POSS-ACC.DEF understand-PASS-CAUS-CNVBI

     berdińiz          be
     ber-di-ńiz        be
     give-PST-2SG.POL Q

     'Did you make everything understood for them?'

(340)  siz            suraqtardy        qoıa            beresiz
     siz            suraq-tar-dy      qoı-a           ber-e-siz
     2SG.POL.NOM question-PL-ACC.DEF place-CNVBII give-PRES-2SG.POL

     'You always ask (the same) questions.'

Typically, constructions using the [-(I)p] converb retain similarity to their original lexical meaning than the [-a/-e/-ı] converbial constructions. However, for other auxiliaries, there is little similarity between the meanings rendered by the same auxiliary when used with different converbs. For example, the auxiliary verb '*alý*', meaning 'to take', when used with the [-(I)p] converb indicates that the action is done for the benefit or sake of the doer of the action. When used with the [-a/-e/-ı] converb, it indicates that the subject is able to do the action encoded by the lexical verb.

(341)  men        daladan  aqsha              taýyp        aldym
     men        dala-dan aqsha-Ø            taý-yp       al-dy-m
     1SG.NOM field-ABL money-ACC.INDEF find-CNVBI take-PST-1SG

     'I found some money outside (for myself – implication: I took *and kept* the money).'

(342)  sen        qazaqsha          jaqsy sóıleı           alasyń
     sen        qazaqsha          jaqsy sóıle-ı          al-a-syń
     2SG.NOM Kazakh.language good  speak-CNVBII take-PRES-2SG

     'You can speak Kazakh well (you are able to speak Kazakh well).'

Some auxiliary constructions are limited to certain converbs. For example, '*kórý*' (to see) is used with the [-(I)p] converb to indicate that the subject is attempting the action. '*kórý*' may be used with the [-a/-e/-ı] converb as well, but only in the negative, to warn or forbid an action.

(343)    men      siz           úshin ýaqyt          taýyp        kórermin
          men      siz           úshin ýaqyt-Ø      taý-yp      kór-er-min
          1SG.NOM 2SG.POL.NOM for      time-ACC.INDEF find-CNVBI see-PRES-1SG

          'I will try to find time for you.'

(344)    maǵan    ótirik        aıta        kórme
          maǵan    ótirik-Ø     aıt-a       kór-me-Ø
          1SG.DAT lie-ACC.INDEF say-CNVBII say-NEG-IMP

          'Don't you dare tell me a lie.'

Other auxiliaries are limited to only a single type of converb. '*jazdaý*', for example, can only appear next to the [-a/-e/-ı] converb to mean that an action nearly occurred, but was not completed.

(345)    adasa          jazdadyq
          adas-a         jazda-dy-q
          go.astray-CNVBI AUX-PST-1PL

          'We almost got lost/almost went astray (but we didn't, in fact).'

Finally, several auxiliary verbs can be chained together, in multiple combinations, to express extremely nuanced and complex verbal predicates.

(346)    qorqynyshtan jýregim       toqtap      qala          jazdady
          qorqynysh-tan jýreg-im      toqta-p     qal-a        jazda-dy-Ø
          fear-ABL         heart-1SG.POSS stop-CNVBII stay.AUX-CNVBI AUX-PST-3

          'Due to fear, my heart nearly came to a sudden stop.'

## 4.7   Function Words

Function words are words with little to no lexical meaning that serve to express grammatical relations within other words, parts of the sentences, and specify the mood or attitude of the speaker. Function words include: conjunctions, postpositions, and particles.

### 4.7.1   Conjunctions

Conjunctions serve to combine nouns, verbs, and sentences. According to their morphological structure, conjunctions can be thought of as either simple or complex. Conjunctions in Kazakh can be grouped into several types.

Table 11: Kazakh Conjunction and Types with Examples

| Types | Conjunctions | English Variants |
|---|---|---|
| Coordinating conjunctions (yń ǵaılastyq jalǵaýlyq) | **jáne** **men/ben/pen** **da/de/ta/te** | and, as well as<br><br>alma **jáne** almurt<br>'apple and pear'<br>Qasym mektepke **de**, jumysqa **da** barady<br>'Qasym goes to school as well as to work' |
| Opposite conjunctions | alaıda áitse de áitpese | Nevertheless<br>Shynardyń saǵaty toqtap qalǵan, **alaıda** ol sabaqqa keshikpeı keldi<br>'Shynar's clock stopped, nevertheless she was not late to work' |
| Conjunctions of Reason | óıtkeni, sebebi, sol sebepti, sol sebepten, sondyqtan | because, the reason why, that's why, because of that<br><br>Men janǵaq satyp almadym, **sebebi** ol óte qymbat eken<br>'I didn't by nuts, because they were very expensive' |
| Disjunctive Conjunctions | ne, nemese, birese, ai'tpese, sonda da, áitkenmen | either, or, otherwise, even then, but still<br><br>Maǵan telefon soq, **áitpese** ol menıń esimde qalmaıdy<br>'Give me a call, otherwise I will forget about it' |
| Resultative Conjunctions | sondyqtan, sol úshin sonyń arqasynda | as a result<br>for that reason<br>because of that<br><br>Ol araqty kop ishken, **sondyqtan** mas bolyp qalǵan<br>'He had too much vodka, as a result he got drunk' |
| Conditional Conjunctions | olaı bolsa onda eger | if so<br>then<br>if<br><br>**Eger** sen qalaǵa kelseń men seni teatrǵa aparamyn<br>'If you come to the city, I will take you to the theatre' |

### 4.7.2 Postpositions

As a head-final language, Kazakh employs postpositions where English and other European languages use prepositions. Postpositions in Kazakh generally follow either noun phrases or nominalized verbs in the [-GAN] participial forms. Postpositions in Kazakh require certain case endings on the nouns that they modify. For example, the postposition, *saıyn* means 'each time' or 'every time' and it requires the nominative case.

(347)  aı          saıyn
       aı          saıyn
       month.NOM each

       'every month'

(348)  men        aı          saıyn Almatyǵa    baramyn
       men        aı          saıyn Almaty-ǵa   bar-a-myn
       1SG.NOM month.NOM every almaty-DAT go-PRES-1SG

       'I go to Almaty every month.'

(349)  aıtqan                 saıyn
       aıt-qan-Ø              saıyn
       say-PST.PTCP-NOM every

'Everytime someone says ...' or 'Whenever someone says ...'

Table 12: Kazakh Postpositions

| Postposition | Use |
|---|---|
| úshin - for, because<br>because of, for the sake of | May be used:<br>1) After nouns in the nominative<br>2) With infinitives<br>3) With past participles [-GAn] |
| sıyaqty, sekildi - like, seems,<br>as if | May be used:<br>1) After nouns in the nominative<br>2) Adjectives<br>3) Present [-(y)AtIn] and past [-GAN] participles |
| arqyly - through, by, with | May be used:<br>1) After nouns (nominative)<br>2) infinitives |
| boıynsha - according to, based on, by | May be used :<br>1) after nouns in the nominative<br>2) infinitives nominalized with 3 person possessive suffix (also nominative) |
| boıyna, boıy - 'during' | May be used:<br>1) after nouns (pertaining to time frames) in nominative case |
| jóninde - 'about' | May be used:<br>1) after nouns in the nominative case |
| qarsy - against, opposed to | May be used:<br>1) after nouns in the Dative case |
| taman/jaqyn/qaraı - 'towards, closer to, approx/about' | Maybe be used:<br>1) after nouns in the Dative case |
| basqa - 'besides', 'apart from' | May be used:<br>1) after nouns in the Ablative case<br>2) after nominalized infinitives in the ablative case |
| beri - 'since, from the time ...' | May be used:<br>1) after nouns in the Ablative case |

**úshin** - 'for'

(350) tamaq úshin
food for
'for food'

(351) ony kórý úshin keldim
ony kór-ý úshin kel-di-m
3SG.ACC see-INF for come-PST-1SG
'I came to see him.'

(352) temeki shekken úshin ákesi balasyn jazalady
temeki shek-ken úshin áke-si bala-sy-n jazala-dy-Ø
tobacco smoke-PST.PTCP for father-3.POSS child-3.POSS-ACC.DEF punish-PST-3
'The father punished his child for smoking cigarettes.'

**sıyaqty / sekildi** - 'look like' or 'seem'

(353) alma sıyaqty
apple seem
'It looks like an apple.'

(354) mynaý jazatyn sıyaqty
mynaý jaz-atyn sıyaqty
this.one write-PRES.PTCP seem
'This one seems to write.'

(355) mynaý oqyǵan sıyaqty
mynaý oqy-ǵan sıyaqty
this.one read-PST.PTCP seem
'this one seems to be well educated'

**arqyly**   - through, by, with

(356) kópir arqyly
kópir arqyly
bridge through
'via the bridge'

(357) áńgimelesý arqyly
áńgimele-sý arqyly
conversation-3.POSS through
'by means of talking, by having a conversation'

(358) tergeý arqyly
terge-ý arqyly
interrogate-INF through
'by means of interrogation, by having interrogated'

**boıynsha**   - according to, by

(359) Amerika Qurama Shtattarynyń shaqyrýy boıynsha
Amerika Qurama Shtattar-y-nyń shaqyr-ý-y boıynsha
America united state-3.POSS-GEN invite-INF-3.POSS according.to
'By invitation of the United States of America.'

(360) Dástúr boıynsha Qazaq ulty qudalaryna togyz kıit
Dástúr boıynsha Qazaq ult-y quda-lar-y-na togyz kıit
tradition according.to Kazakh nation-3.POSS in.law-PL-3.POSS-DAT nine gift
kıgizedi
kıgiz-e-di
present-PRES-3
'In accordance with tradition, Kazakh people present their in-laws with nine sets of gifts.'

**boıy or boıyna**   - during, over the course of

(361) bir apta boıy
one week during
'in the span of one week'

(362) on  jyl  boıyna
ten year during.LOC
'over the course of ten years'

**jóninde**   - 'about'

(363) aýa      raıy        jóninde sóılesý
aýa      raı-y       jóninde sóıle-s-ý
weather state-3.POSS about   speak-RECIP-INF
'to conversate about the weather'

**qarsy**   - back at, against, in opposition to

(364) ákesine           qarsy  sóılemeıdi
áke-si-ne          qarsy  sóıle-me-ı-di
father-3.POSS-DAT against speak-NEG-PRES-AUX.3
'One should not speak back to their (own) father.'

**taman/jaqyn/qaraı**   - closer to, approximately, towards (Fr. 'vers')

(365) kóktemge qaraı   gúl              egemiz
kóktem-ge qaraı   gúl-Ø            eg-e-miz
spring-DAT towards flower-ACC.INDEF plant-PRES-1PL
'We will plant some flowers closer to springtime.'

**basqa**   - apart from, besides, another, different from

(366) úıge      qaıtýdan      basqa amalym         qalmady
úı-ge      qaıt-ý-dan     basqa almaly-m       qal-ma-dy-Ø
house-DAT leave-INF-ABL besides choice-1SG.POSS remain-NEG-PST-3
'I had no choice but to go home.'

**beri**   - since, from the time that

(367) eki myń      tórtinshi jyldan    beri
eki myń      tórt-inshi jyl-dan    beri
two thousand four-ORD year-ABL since
'Since 2004 (lit 'since the two-thousand-and-fourth year').'

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