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.

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.
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<th>EXAMPLES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A a</td>
<td>А а</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>alma[al.'ma] 'apple'</td>
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<td>Á á</td>
<td>Э э</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>áke[æ.'ke] 'father'</td>
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<td>B b</td>
<td>Б б</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>bala[ba.'la] 'child'</td>
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<td>D d</td>
<td>Д д</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>dán[da'en] 'grain'</td>
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<td>E e</td>
<td>Е е</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>el[el] (also [jel] 'country'</td>
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<td>F f</td>
<td>Ф ф</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>fabryka[fa.br.'ka] 'factory'</td>
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<td>G g</td>
<td>Г г</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>gazet[ga.'zet] 'newspaper'</td>
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<td>Ġ ġ</td>
<td>F f</td>
<td>[ɣ]</td>
<td>ġylym[ɣu.'lum] 'science'/knowledge'</td>
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<tr>
<td>H h</td>
<td>Х x</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>halyq халық [xə.ˈlwq] 'people/nationality'</td>
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<td>h h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>jihaz жиһаз [ʒi.ˈhɑs] 'furniture'</td>
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<td>i i</td>
<td>И и</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>til тіл [tɪl] 'language'</td>
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<td>I I</td>
<td>І І</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>iá іә [i.ˈjæ] 'yes'</td>
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<tr>
<td>І І</td>
<td>І І</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>йогурт йогурт [jo.ˈgurt] 'yoghurt'</td>
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<tr>
<td>J j</td>
<td>Ж ж</td>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>jinalys жиналыс [ʒi.ˈlɯs] or [dʒi.ˈlɯs] 'meeting'</td>
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<td>K k</td>
<td>К к</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>kelý келу [ke.ˈlyw] 'to come'</td>
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<td>L l</td>
<td>Л л</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>lóktir лектір [lɔk.ˈtɪr] 'physician'</td>
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<td>máңгілік</td>
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<td>[&quot;o.'mir]</td>
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<td>[pæ.'ter]</td>
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<td>[qχa.'zaq]</td>
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<td>[rəx.'mɛt]</td>
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<td>‘thank you’</td>
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<td>S s</td>
<td>С с</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>salý</td>
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<td>[sa.'luw]</td>
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<td>‘to sell’</td>
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<td>Sh sh</td>
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<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>shyğý</td>
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<td>[ʃu.'ɣuw]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>‘to exit’</td>
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<td>Ch ch</td>
<td>Ч ч</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>cherkes</td>
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<td>[tʃer.'kes]</td>
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<td>‘Circassian’</td>
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<td>[təuw]</td>
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<td>‘mountain’</td>
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<td>U u</td>
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<td>urpaq</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[ʊr.pɑq]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘generation’</td>
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<td>Ú ú</td>
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<td>[y]</td>
<td>úlken</td>
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<td>[yl.'ken]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘big’ or ‘many’</td>
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<td>V v</td>
<td>В в</td>
<td>[v] or [w]</td>
<td>vegetariandyq</td>
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<td>[ve.ge.ta.ri.jan.'duq]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘vegetarian (adj.)’</td>
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<td>Y y</td>
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<td>[ʊ.'dɯs]</td>
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<td>‘plate’</td>
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<td>Ý ý</td>
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<td>[uw] or [yw]</td>
<td>ýniversitet</td>
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<td>[yw.nij.ʃer.sij.'tet]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘university’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Z | з | [z] | сөздік  
sózdik  
`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 sound is often accompanied by frication, rendering a sound more similar to [ʁʁ] as opposed to an isolated [q].

Table 1: Kazakh Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Alveo-Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[ɾ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>[ɕ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
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<td>[ŋ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[j]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1 Labial Stops

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

- bala - [ba.la]
  ‘child’
- páter - [pæ.ˈter]
  ‘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 - [kəp]
  ‘many’, ‘a lot’ (c.f Turkish cok)
- alyp - [a.’lp]
  ‘while taking’
- qap-qara - [ɑp.ˈqa.’ɾa]
  ‘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 - [ɑs.’pən]
‘sky’
• urpaq - [ur.'paq]  
  ‘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 - [i'daq]  
‘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 - [tri.'jot]  
‘triiod’

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.'sik]  
‘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 - [koër]  
‘see (imperative)’

• árkim - [aër.km]  
‘every’, ‘each’

• /jaqsy/ → [zaq.'sw]  
‘good’

• /oryndyq/ → [w'y.ruµ.'duq]  
‘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 \[q\] than \([q]\).

\[(8)\]  
- qoı- \([q\text{ixo}]\)  
  ‘sheep’  
- qaldym - \([q\text{xal.’dum}]\)  
  ‘I remained’  
- qur qol- \([q\text{ur qol}]\)  
  ‘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 \([\grave{y}]\) near back vowels.

\[(9)\]  
- tünği - /\text{tyn.gi}/ \rightarrow [\text{tyŋ.gi}]  
- kelgen - [kel.gen]  
  ‘having come’  
- /\text{aγa}/ \rightarrow \text{aγa} [\text{aγa}]  
  ‘elder brother’

\([g]\) and \([\grave{y}]\) 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. \([g]/[\grave{y}]\) is a typical alternation found in suffixes with a 2-way harmonic opposition, with \([g]\) found in suffixes agreeing for front vowels, and \([\grave{y}]\) 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 - [f\text{a.br.’kə}]  
  ‘factory’  
- Ál-Farabi - [\text{al\’ fə.’ra.bi}]  
  Ál-Farabi (Kazakh intellectual and also the name of Almaty’s main highway)  
- fail - [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 - [sa.ru.m.'saq] 'garlic'
     • satyp-alý - [sa.tuıp.-tooltip] ‘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 - [søs] ‘word’
     • bizdíň - [biz.'duŋ] ‘our’
     • zoologiya - [zu.ə.lo.gi.ia] ‘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 [ʃ]. It is found mainly after approximates and is also generally not a word-initial onset.

(13) • burshaq - [burʃaq] ‘hail’
     • balyqshy - [ba.luqʃeʃ] ‘fisherman’

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

(14) • monsha - [mon.ca] ‘sauna’ (Russian banya)
     • móšher - [moèl.ʃeʃ] ‘size’
     • úšin - [y.çin] ‘for’ (preposition)

[z] 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), /[z]/ is pronounced as a affricate [dʒ].
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.

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 [l] when after back vowels.

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

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

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

[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.
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 - [wˈtər]  
    ‘sit’  
  • kerek - [kˈrek]  
    ‘necessity’  
  • raxmet - [rˈxəmet] (for Urban Kazakhs: [rˈxəmət])  
    ‘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. òte is pronounced [wˈste] and otyr as [wˈtər]). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front [-RTR]</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>œ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ø/), 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 \[\text{œ}\] and its variant in word-initial position \[^{w_3}\] 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 -\(\text{da}/\text{de}\).

(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 -\(\text{da}\) 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 qalasınyň polisiyasy
    Almaty qala-sy-nyň polisiya-sy
    Almaty city-3.POSS-GEN police-3.POSS
    ‘Almaty municipal police’

(29) metro - ‘metro’

(30) metro-ǵá 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 ‘g’ 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 [-NI’n]

  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 ‘g’, 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’
gul  gül-der
'flower' 'flowers'
söz  sóz-der
'word' 'words'

(32) Locative Suffix [-DA]
qala  qala-da
'city' 'city-LOC'
köl  köl-de
'lake' 'lake-LOC'
sait  sait-ta
'website' 'website-LOC'
mektep  mektep-te
'school' 'school-LOC'

(33) Dative Suffix [-GA]
bala  bala-´ga
'child' 'child-DAT'
qazaq  qazaq-qa
'Kazakh(sg)' 'Kazakh-DAT'
söz  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 [-ga] 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
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-nyň
  city-GEN
- qazaqstan-nyň
  Kazakhstan-GEN
- Shymkent-tiň
  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) jumyrtqa
  ‘egg’
(37) qazaqstan
  ‘Kazakhstan’
(38) âke
  ‘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) azyq-túlik
  ‘groceries’
(40) âke-sheshe
  ‘parents’
Morphologically complex words consistently place the stress on the final syllable, even in increasing levels of complexity.

(41) bala
cchild.NOM.SG

(42) bala-lar
cchild-PL

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

(44) bala-lar-ymyz
cchild-PL-1PL.POSS

(45) bala-lar-ymyz-ga
cchild-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
qazaq til-i
Kazakh language-3.POSS grammar
grammatikasy týraly jaz-a-myn
‘I am writing a grammar about the Kazakh language.’

(47) Aıtqanym a
aıt-qan-ym-a
say-PTCP-1SG-DAT
sendi-ú
believe-PST-2SG
‘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 qulài jazdady
qaryndas-ym qulà-1 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 constructions.

### 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 (Abdygalqyzy, 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 inserted 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, Flhnning.

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-diň
   duet-i-ńiň

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 [ı](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) memanhana memanhanalar
(53) mekeme mekemeler
(54) qaru qarular
(55) túbir túbirler
(56) sarai sarailar
(57) bala balalar

For roots that end in other sonorants (nasals [m], [n], [n]([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) qağaz-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’.

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 densaglyq. Additionally, the plural suffix only is found on count-nouns. Mass nouns, such as süt and qant do not take the plural suffix. Finally, when quantified with numerals or other quantifiers, nouns are found in their unmarked singular form.

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.

### 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) togyz togyzynshy  
    togyz togyz-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 tört, jıyrma törtinshi  
    twenty four, twenty four-ORD  
    ‘twenty four’, ‘twenty fourth’
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 [-Áy] 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 [-Áy] suffix.

(88) eki mýń on segiz, eki mýń on segizinshi
eki mýń on segiz, eki mýń on segiz-inshi
two thousand ten eight, two thousand ten eight-ORD
‘two thousand eighteen (2018) ’ ‘two thousand eighteenth (2018th)’

(89) bir bir-éy
one one-COLL
‘one’ ‘(group of) one’

(90) eki ek-éy
two two-COLL
‘two’ ‘(group of) two’

(91) ´usht´ushéy
three three-COL
‘three’ ‘(group of) three’

The collective number biréy’ is also used as an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘someone’

(92) biréy kele jatypr
bir-éy kel-e jatyr-Ø
one-COLL come-CN VBP 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 tórt-éy-imiz
biz tórt-éy-imiz
1PL.NOM four-COL-1PL.POSS
‘the four of us’

(94) bizdín tórt-éy-imiz
biz-dín tórt-éy-imiz
1PL-GEN four-COL-1PL.POSS
‘the four of us’

(95) sender altáyún
sender alt-áy-yú
2PL.FAM.NOM six-COL-2SG
‘the six of you’
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 ekeý-imiz taý-da ósken-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) myń-dagunakan
    myń-dagunakan
    1000-APPROX
    ‘thousands (of people)’

(101) qyryq-tap
    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]’.
3.3.5 Fractions

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

(106) úşhten 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’.
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.

(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’

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- **-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.
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 morphological distribution:

- **-nyň/-niň**: found when root ends in a vowel or in a nasal ([i], [u], or [y](orth.: ‘ń’))
  
  (116) kisi kisi-ń
  
  (117) alma alma-ń
  
  (118) kün kün-ń
  
  (119) qalam qalam-ń

- **-dyň/-diň**: found when the root ends in a voiced fricative ([z]/z or [s]/s) and the consonants [r], [j], [l], and [uw/yw]

  (120) qyz qyz-dýň
  
  (121) kúz kúz-diň
  
  (122) balalar balalar-dýň
  
  (123) shal shal-dýň
  
  (124) pil pil-diň

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

  (125) qazaq qazaq-tyň
  
  (126) esik esik-tiň
  
  (127) Ivanov-tyň
  
  (128) pedagog-tyň
  
  (129) hirurg-tyň

The genitive case answers the questions ‘kimniň’(whose?) and neniň(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.
The above example is a case of a concrete relationship between the nouns, as the possessor noun is explicitly marked with the genitive case.

\[
\text{(131) } \text{qoı eti} \\
\text{qoı et-i} \\
\text{sheep.NOM meat-3.POSS} \\
\text{‘mutton/sheep meat’}
\]

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.

\[
\text{(132) stol ústinde} \\
\text{stol úst-i-nde} \\
\text{table top-3.POSS-LOC} \\
\text{‘on top the table’}
\]

\[
\text{(133) stol-dyń ústinde} \\
\text{stol-dyń úst-i-nde} \\
\text{table-GEN top-3.POSS-LOC} \\
\text{‘on top of the table’}
\]

### 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:

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

\[
\text{(134) alma alma-ğa} \\
\text{‘apple’ ‘to the apple’}
\]

\[
\text{(135) dala dala-ğa} \\
\text{‘field’ ‘to the field’}
\]

\[
\text{(136) áke áke-ge} \\
\text{‘father’ ‘to father’}
\]

\[
\text{(137) adam adam-ğa} \\
\text{‘person’ ‘to the person’}
\]
(138) jaz jaz-ţa
‘summer’ ‘to summer’

• -qa/-ke: found in all other cases

(139) as as-qa
‘food’ ‘to the food

(140) rt rt-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 ákeñe
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 qalańa bardy
Jomart qala-ńa bar-dy-Ø
Jomart.NOM city-DAT go-PST.3
‘Jomart went to the city.’

(146) kółhti garaj-ńa qoıdyq
kółik-ti garaj-ńa qoı-dy-q
car-ACC.DEF garage-DAT put-PST.1PL
‘We put the car in the garage.’

(147) maldy qorańa qamadyq
mal-dy qora-ńa 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) Asan´ ga túlki unady
Asan-˘ ga 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) oq´ y merzimi eki jyl´ ga sozyldy
oq´ y merzim-i eki jyl-˘ ga 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 apta˘ ga keldim
men tek= eki apta-˘ ga kel-di-m
1SG.NOM only= two week-DAT come-PST-1SG
‘I came for only two weeks.’

3.4.5 The Ablative Case - Shy˘ gys Septik

Shy˘ gys 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](˘ y), [j](ı) and voiced fricatives [z](z) and [d](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 [n](˘ n) as well as after the 3rd person possessive suffix.

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

(152) sen s´ utten ishti˘ n
sen s´ ut-ten ish-ti-˘ n
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.
‘I came from Kazakhstan.’

‘I got a letter from Bolat.’

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

‘The trunk is made of iron.’

‘The sausage is made from the meat of horses.’

‘Sáúlé is 5 years younger than Qarat.’

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

‘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 Almatyga barqan-da, Sabirany kórdim
Men Almaty-ğ a bar-ğan-da, Sabira-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 Taldyqorgan qalasynda turady
Áje-m Taldyqorgan qala-synda 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 ‘˘gy/˘gi’ to mark the status of the phrase as a relative clause instead of a simple prepositional phrase.

(162) Almaty qalasynda düken kóp
Almaty qala-sy-nda düken kóp
Almaty city-3.POSS-LOC store many
‘There are many stores in Almaty city.’

(163) Almaty qalasynda˘ gy düken-de bolganynda osy
Almaty qala-sy-nda˘ gy düken-de bol-ğan-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]
• **-ben**: found after voiced fricatives [z] and [ʒ]

(165) ǵiz ǵiz-ben

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

(166) sūt sūt-pen

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

(167) Men Muratpen sóilestim
    Men Murat-pen sóile-s-ti-m
    1SG.NOM Murat-INST speak-RECIP-PST-1SG
    ‘I spoke with Murat.’

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

(169) Aıjan kólica pen jumysqa barady
    Aıjan kólica 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:
Table 3: Kazakh Personal Pronouns per Case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>INSTR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>men-iń</td>
<td>ma-ğan</td>
<td>me-ni</td>
<td>me-de</td>
<td>me-nen</td>
<td>meni-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>sen-iń</td>
<td>sa-ğan</td>
<td>se-ni</td>
<td>se-de</td>
<td>se-nen</td>
<td>seni-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG formal</td>
<td>siz</td>
<td>siz-diń</td>
<td>siz-ge</td>
<td>siz-di</td>
<td>siz-de</td>
<td>siz-den</td>
<td>siz-ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ńol</td>
<td>o-ńyń</td>
<td>o-ğan</td>
<td>o-ńy</td>
<td>o-ńda</td>
<td>o-ńan</td>
<td>ony-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ńbiz</td>
<td>ńbiz-diń</td>
<td>ńbiz-ge</td>
<td>ńbiz-di</td>
<td>ńbiz-de</td>
<td>ńbiz-den</td>
<td>ńbiz-ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>sender</td>
<td>sender-diń</td>
<td>sender-ge</td>
<td>sender-di</td>
<td>sender-de</td>
<td>sender-den</td>
<td>sender-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL formal</td>
<td>sizder</td>
<td>sizder-diń</td>
<td>sizder-ge</td>
<td>sizder-di</td>
<td>sizder-de</td>
<td>sizder-den</td>
<td>sizder-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ńolar</td>
<td>ńolar-dyń</td>
<td>ńolar-ğa</td>
<td>ńoldar-dy</td>
<td>ńolar-da</td>
<td>ńolar-dan</td>
<td>ńolar-men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proximal Demonstrative Pronouns - the Kazakh demonstrative pronouns include: *bul*, *osy*, *myña*, and *myñaň*. 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 jer-de kőıp qar jaýady
bul jer-de kőıp qar jaý-a-dy
  this place-LOC much snow fall-PRES-3
  ‘It snows a lot in this place.’

  (172) bul bizdiń komputer

- **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 oqımyń
  osy mektepte oqı-myın
  this school-LOC study-PRES-1SG.AGR
  ‘I study at this school (as opposed to the other ones).’

  (174) tońga osy köılekti kiemın
tor-ğa osy köılekti ki-e-min
  wedding-DAT this dress-ACC.DEF wear-PRES-1SG.AGR
  ‘I will wear this dress to the wedding.’
osy is identical in meaning to myna; the choice may be stylistic or dialectical.

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

  (175) mynáy meniń akem
  mynáy 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) mynáy kisi meniń ákem ***
  *Ungrammatical

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

**Question Words**  
* kim - ‘who’
* ne - ‘what’
* qaida - ‘where’
* qaisy - ‘which’
* neshe - ‘how many, how much’
* neshinshi - ‘what number’
* qaidan - ‘from where’
* neshey - ‘how many’
* qalai - ‘how’
* qaidaqy - ‘where at, at which place’

**Definite Pronouns**  
* bári - ‘everyone’
  * barlyq - ‘all’
  * búkil - ‘entire, whole’
  * barsha - ‘entire’
  * túgel - ‘every single one’
  * jappar - ‘all together’

**Indefinite Pronouns**  
* kebir - ‘some’
  * birey - ‘someone’
  * birdeñe - ‘something’
  * birnärse - ‘something’
  * árkim - ‘anyone’
  * árbi - ‘everyone’
  * birneshe - ‘some’
Negative Pronouns  
*eshbir* - ‘no one’  
*eshkim* - ‘nobody’  
*eshte’ ne* - ‘nothing’  
*eshn´ arse* - ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Abl</th>
<th>Inst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>óz-iú</td>
<td>óz-iú-niú</td>
<td>óz-iú-e</td>
<td>óz-iú-di</td>
<td>óz-iú-de</td>
<td>óz-iú-nen</td>
<td>óz-iú-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>óz-i</td>
<td>óz-i-niú</td>
<td>óz-i-ne</td>
<td>óz-i-n</td>
<td>óz-i-nde</td>
<td>óz-i-nen</td>
<td>óz-i-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>óz-der-iú</td>
<td>óz-deri-niú</td>
<td>óz-deri-e</td>
<td>óz-deri-di</td>
<td>óz-deri-nde</td>
<td>óz-deri-nen</td>
<td>o’z-deri-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>óz-der-i</td>
<td>óz-deri-niú</td>
<td>óz-deri-ne</td>
<td>óz-deri-n</td>
<td>óz-deri-nde</td>
<td>óz-deri-nen</td>
<td>óz-deri-men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(178) men ózim údi jmadym  
1SG.NOM REFLX-1SG.Poss house-ACC.DEF clean-PST-1SG  
‘I cleaned the house by myself.’

(179) ol óziniú sheshesin qatty syladý  
3SG.NOM REFLEX-3.POSS-GEN mother-3.POSS-ACC.DEF extremely respect-PRES-3  
‘He respects his mother very much.’

(180) olar dombyralaryn özderimen birge alyp keliipti

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>After vowels</th>
<th>After consonant (preceding syllable contains back vowel)</th>
<th>After consonant (preceding syllable contains front vowel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-[I]m</td>
<td>-ym</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bala-m</td>
<td>otan-ym</td>
<td>'my homeland'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'my child'</td>
<td>'my language'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-[I]iú</td>
<td>bala-ú</td>
<td>til-iú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'your child'</td>
<td>'your language'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-iúy/-iúz</td>
<td>-yúy</td>
<td>-iúz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.POL</td>
<td>-[I]úiz</td>
<td>bala-iúyz</td>
<td>'til-iúiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'your child (pol.)'</td>
<td>your homeland (pol.)</td>
<td>'your language (pol.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-iú/-iúz</td>
<td>-yiúz</td>
<td>-iíz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-(s)I</td>
<td>bala-sy</td>
<td>til-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'his/her child'</td>
<td>'his/her homeland'</td>
<td>'his/her language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-myz/-miz</td>
<td>-yúy</td>
<td>-imiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-[I]miz</td>
<td>bala-úyz</td>
<td>'our language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'our child'</td>
<td>'our homeland'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-iúy/-iúz</td>
<td>-yiúz</td>
<td>-iíz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-[I]úiz</td>
<td>bala-iúyz</td>
<td>til-iíz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'your (pl.) child'</td>
<td>'your (pl.) homeland)</td>
<td>'your (pl.) language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-iúy/-iúz</td>
<td>-yiúz</td>
<td>-iíz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.POL</td>
<td>-[I]úiz</td>
<td>bala-iúyz</td>
<td>til-iíñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'your (sg.pol.) child'</td>
<td>'your (sg.pol.) homeland)</td>
<td>'your (sg.pol.) language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-iúy/-iúñ</td>
<td>-yiúz</td>
<td>-iíñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-(s)I</td>
<td>bala-sy</td>
<td>til-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'their child'</td>
<td>'their homeland'</td>
<td>'their language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.
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) päteriň joq
    päter-iň joq
    apartment-2SG.POSS COP.EXIST.NEG
    ‘You do not have an apartment’

(196) Sáyle nin’ öz kompjuteri joq eken
    Sáyle-nin’ öz 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) tányelsiz el-imiz bar
    tányelsiz 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 - [al’uw] - ‘to take’
- barý - [bar’uw] - ‘to go’
- ishý - [ic’yw] - ‘to drink’
- sóileý - [sélej’yw] - ‘to speak’
- jatý - [ʒat’uw] (or dialectical [dʒatuw] - ‘to lie down’
- sekirý - [sekir’yw] - ‘to jump’

36
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 kóryý - ‘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 it also the method of expressing agreement in multiple verbal tenses. The following forms for the copular verb are given below in affirmative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Kazakh Copular Verb ‘boly’ in the affirmative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(informal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(formal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(informal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(formal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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 prosody, 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 istedi
Aıdos zavod-ta jumys iste-i-di
Aıdos factory-LOC word do-PRES-3
‘Aıdos works at the factory.’

(202) Men ýniversitette oqımyń
men ýniversitet-te oqı-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 omamyz
biz oma-i-myz
1PL.NOM play-PRES-1PL
‘We play.’

(205) sender omasýndar
sent-der oma-i-syú-dar
2.NOM-PL play-PRES-2-PL
‘You play (informal).’

(206) Olar omandy
Olar oma-i-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 *júry* (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 jatyrsyýn
sen kitap-Ø oqy-p jatyr-syýn
2SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-2SG
‘You are reading a book.’

(209) siz kitap oqyp jatyr-syz
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 oqy-p jatyr-Ø
3SG.NOM book-ACC.INDEF read-CNVBI lie-3
‘He is reading a book.’
We are reading a book.'

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

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

'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.

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

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

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

'My father is counting money by the register.'
* 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 occurring at the moment of speaking.

(219) Sáyle dosyna hat jazyp otyr
Sáyle 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) Sáyle dosyna hat jazyp jatyr
Sáyle 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) Sáyle dosyna hat jazyp tur
Sáyle 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 identical 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 erteñ (tomorrow).

(222) kitapty stól-dyń ûístine qoıamyn
kitap-ty stól-dyń ûíst-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 sûret salamyn
men sûret-Ø sal-a-myn
1SG.NOM picture-ACC.INDEF paint-PRES-1SG
‘I paint a picture.’

(225) men erteñ sûret salamyn
men erteñ sûret-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 kelersii—
     sen kel-er-sii
2SG.NOM come-FUT.AOR-2SG
'you will (most likely) come'

(228) sen kelseñ, men bararmyn
     sen kel-se-ñi 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 jolygar 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’, ‘ñ’, ‘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 kinoğa barmaqpyñ
     men kinoğa bar-maq-pyn
1SG.NOM cinema-DAT go-VOL.FUT-1SG
'I will (definitely) go to the cinema.'

(234) olar kinoğa barmaq
     olar kinoğa 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Kazakh Simple Present Tense with Personal Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pronouns</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
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<td>siz</td>
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<td>ol</td>
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<td>biz</td>
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<td>sender</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sizder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(235) būgin men bir jaña kitap al-dy-m
būgin men bir jaña 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** - *Burynqy 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 **CNVB**).
Table 9: Remote Past Tense Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Alý - 'take'</th>
<th>kelý - 'come'</th>
<th>sanaý - 'count'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>al-yp-pyn</td>
<td>kel-ip-pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG Inf</td>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>al-yp-syń</td>
<td>kel-ip-siń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG Form</td>
<td>Siz</td>
<td>al-yp-syz</td>
<td>kel-ip-siz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Ol</td>
<td>al-yp-ty</td>
<td>kel-ip-ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>Biz</td>
<td>al-yp-pyz</td>
<td>kel-ip-piz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL Inf</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>al-yp-syńdar</td>
<td>kel-ip-sińder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL Form</td>
<td>Sizder</td>
<td>al-yp-syzdar</td>
<td>kel-ip-sizder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Olar</td>
<td>al-yp-ty</td>
<td>kel-ip-ty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Alý - take</th>
<th>Kelý - come</th>
<th>Sanaý - count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>al-ǵan-myn</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-myn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>al-ǵan-syń</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-syń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.formal</td>
<td>siz</td>
<td>al-ǵan-syz</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-syz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>al-ǵan-Ø</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>biz</td>
<td>al-ǵan-byz</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-byz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>sender</td>
<td>al-ǵan-syńdar</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-syńdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.formal</td>
<td>sizder</td>
<td>al-ǵan-syzdar</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-syzdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>olar</td>
<td>al-ǵan-Ø</td>
<td>sana-ǵan-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(236) azattyq jolynda jalyndap janypyz
azattyq jol-y-nda jal-yn-da-p janyppyz
freedom.NOM.SG path.3.POS-LOC x-x-x x-CNVB1-2PL.AGR
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.

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 -[Dır] or -[DırTıq].
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 syn-
    aǵash syn-dy-ø
    tree.NOM break-PST-3
    ‘The tree broke.’

(243) men aǵashty syn-
    men aǵash-ty syn-dyr-dy-m
    1SG.NOM tree-ACC.DEF break-CAUS-PST-1SG
    ‘I broke the tree.’

(244) men Asan-ǵa aǵashty syn-
    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
‘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 jyldyň qaňtar aýnda AQSh-ta bolyp qaıtty
(250) Prezident Nursultan Nazarbayev 2018 jyldyň qaňtar aýnda 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 ‘-ýńyz/-ińiz’ for second person singular polite, or the suffixes ‘-ýńdar/ińder’ for second person plural familiar, or ‘-ýńyzdar/-ińizder’ for second person plural polite requests:

(251) Imperative paradigm with ‘aıt-’ (say)

- aıt - ‘say’ (2nd person singular, direct command)
- aıt-ýńyz - ‘please say’ (2nd person singular, polite command)
- aıt-ýńdar - ‘please say’ (2nd person plural, familiar)
- aıt-ýńyzdar - ‘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!’
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) jañbyr jayša, biz jumysqa barmanyz
jañbyr jay-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 úníidi satsaín, men ony satyp
eger ú-iú-di sat-sa-ı, men ony sat-yp
if house-2SG.POSS-ACC.DEF sell-COND-2SG, 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC.DEF buy-CNVBİ
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 -ény, -éni, -ényi and -éki and is subsequently followed personal possessive endings and a tensed form of the auxiliary verb *kel-*, meaning ‘to come’.

(257) Examples of the Optative

- onyén ülengisi keledi  
  onyén ülen-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’)

- menién ülen-gim keldi  
  menién ülen-gi-m kel-di-Ø  
  1SG_GEN marry-OPT-1SG.POSS come-PST-3
  ‘I wished to get married.’

- seniün ülen-giů kele me  
  seniün ülen-gi-ů kel-e-Ø me  
  2SG_GEN marry-OPT-2SG.POSS come-PRES-3 Q
  ‘Do you wish to get married?’

- senderdiün ülen-gileriů keledi.  
  sender-diů ülen-gi-leriů kel-e-di  
  2PL.FAMILAR-GEN marry-OPT-2PL.FAMILAR.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 -ény/-ení/-ényi/-ken) and the present participle [-iATIn] (having the forms -atyn/-etin/-ıatyn/-ıetin). In addition to these traditional participles, Kazakh also employs numerous ‘converb’ suffixes, the most common being [-Ip] and [ı/-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 sön-dir-il-gen- 
  television switch-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 alğan kitabym osy
baraxolka-da al-ğan kitab-yym osy
baraxolka-LOC take-PST.PTCP book-1SG.POSS this
‘This is the book that I bought at Baraxolka.’

(260) osy áŋgimeni mağan aıtqan adam Astanadan
osy áŋgime-ni mağan 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 alğan edim, istemeı jatyr
uıaly telefon al-ğan 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 - (1)AtIn** - the present participle [-\(1\)AtIn] has the forms ‘-atyn/-etin’ for verb roots endings in a consonant, and the forms -\(tatyn/-etin\) 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 áiel
jumys-qa bar-atyn áiel
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. [-\(1\)AtIn] is one of non-habitual vs. habitual action.

(263) kitap oqyp otyṛgan qyz
kitap oqy-p otyr-ğan 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.’

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1A large outdoor Bazaar in Almaty, approximately 10km north of Rozybakiieva Street.
Converbs -Ip and [-ı/-a/-e] - Converbs play a large role in Kazakh sentential 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) k´ushti kisi
kush-ti kisi
strength-DENOM person
‘strong man’
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) algýsh

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 *en* 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 repetition 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 qamatty  
Márat sút-Ø qama-t-ty-Ø  
Murat milk-ACC.INDEF boil-CAUS-PST-3  
‘Murat boiled (some) milk’ (SOV - neutral word order)

(289) Murat qamatty sútti  
Márat qama-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 qamatty Murat Sú-tti qama-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 tyshqannyný titteı uıasy soqyr tyshqan-ny´n titteı uıa-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) jabay mysyq soqyr tyshqandy jep qoıdy jabaıy mysyq soqyr tyshqan-dy jep qoı-dy-Ø wild cat blind mouse-ACC.DEF one glimpse-LOC eat-CNVBİ 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-CNVBİ take-PST-3 ‘Sársen bought a book and a pen.’ (295) Qarát pen Asqar fýtbol oımaıdy Qarát pen Asqar fýtbol-Ø oım-a-ı-dy-Ø Qarát COOR Asqar football-ACC.INDEF play-PRES-PST-3 ‘Qarát and Asqar play football.’
Verbs can be coordinated as well with jāne 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

shyğaryp ta úlgerdim
shyğar-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 asyğyspyn
     men asyğys-pyn

1SG.NOM hurried-1SG

‘I am in a hurry’

(298) sen asyğyssyñ
     sen asyğys-syñ

2SG.NOM hurried-2SG

‘you are in a hurry’

(299) ol asyğys
     ol asyğys-Ø

3SG.NOM hurried-3

‘he is in a hurry’ (only clear that it is singular based on the overt pronoun ‘oł’)

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) bügin jumysqa keshigip bardym
     bügin 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) ´ulken kisi
    ´ulken kisi
    big  person
    ‘a big person’

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

(305) senín  qasýgýn
    senín  qasýg-ýn
    2SG.GEN spoon-2SG.Poss
    ‘your spoon’

(306) bizdín  qasýgymyz
    bizdín  qasýg-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  kóilek
    sary  kóilek
    yellow dress
    ‘a yellow dress’

(308) toi  sybágasy
    toi  sybága-sy
    wedding gift-3.Poss
    ‘wedding gift’

Modifiers can also be relativized nouns.
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 ýnversıtette on sağat jumys istedi
Sáýle ýnversıtet-te on sağat jumys iste-di-Ø
Saule university-LOC ten hour work do-PRES-3
‘Saule works for ten hours at the University’

(312) kim ýnversıtette on sağat jumys istedi
kim ýnversıtet-te on sağat 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 sağat jumys istedi
Sáýle [qaı jer-de] on sağat jumys iste-di-Ø
Saule [what place-LOC] ten hour work does-PST-3
‘Where does Sayle work for 10 hours?’

(314) Saýle ýnversıtette [neshe sağat] jumys istedi
Saýle ýnversıtet-te [neshe sağat] jumys iste-di-Ø
Saule university-LOC [how.many hour] work do-PST-3
‘How long does Sayle work at the University?’

(315) Sáýle ýnversıtette on sağat [ne] istedi
Sáýle ýnversıtette on sağat [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.

\[(316)\] Gülsimge siŋgli-si ama syilady, jáne
Gülsim-ge siŋgli-si ama-Ø syila-dy-Ø jáne
Gülsim-DAT younger.sister-3.POSS mirror-ACC.INDEF gift-PST-3 and
ağasy oğan taraq alyp berdi
ağa-sy oğan taraq-Ø alyp ber-di-Ø
older.brother-3.POSS 3SG.DAT comb-ACC.INDEF take-CNVBİİ give-PST-3
‘Gülsim’s younger sister gifted her a mirror, and her older brother gave her a comb.’

\[(317)\] Toı kesh bitti de, biz túngi saqat eki jarymğa
Toı kesh bit-ti-Ø de, biz túngi saqat eki jarym-ga
wedding late end-PST-3 COOR we evening hour two half-DAT
taksi shaqyrdyq
taksi-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 ormanğa bardym
tańerteń qar jaý-dy-Ø, sonda=da men orman-ğa 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 *ótkeni*. They indicate the reason for which a main action took place.

\[(319)\] biz ormanğa barmadyq sebebi óte kóp qar jaýdy
biz orman-ğa 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 ray óte tamasha biraq biz ormanğa
aýa rar-y óte tamasha biraq biz orman-ğa
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 oryndağanda,
     Roza Rymbaeva Áliya án-i-n orynda-ğan-da,
     Roza Rymbaeva Áliya song-3.POSS-ACC.DEF perform-PST.PTCP-LOC,
     tyúaýaşhylardyńi kózderi jasqa toldy
     tyúaýa-şhy-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 Áliya, 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...’), *künde* or *shaqta*.

     (323) men atqan kezde, sen tyúdamadyńý
     men aut-qan kezde sen tyúda-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, shein, kein, dein, beri, buryn.*
2. Conditional - sentences in the conditional mood also constitute a type of subordinate clause

(325) eger mende kóp qarjy bolğanda, Parijge bargán
eger men-de kóp qarjy bol-gan-da-Ø Pari-ge bar-ɡan
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 ûshin after a verb in the infinitive.

(326) jańa kıozildirik alý úshin kóz dárigerine bardym
jańa Kıozildirik-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 soň or with the suffix [-DIQtAn] attached to a past participle [-GAn].

(327) Üniversitet-ti bitirgendikten, tez arada jumysqa
Üniversitet-ti bi-tir-gen-dikten, tez ara-da jumys-qa
University-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 kölıgi bolmağandyqtan, Eset toğa bara
Astynda kölıgi bol-ma-ğan-dyqtan Eset to-ɡa bar-a
own car-3.POSS be-NEG-PST.PTCP-BECAUSE Eset party-DAT go-CNVBİ
already
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) mağan eshnärse aitpaı Jomart jaña komputer
mağan eshnärse ait-pa-ı Jomart jaña komputer-Ø
1SG.DAT nothing say-NEG-CNVB1 Jomart new computer-ACC.INDEF
satyp alyty ózine
sat-yp al-yp-ty óz-i-ne
buy-CN VBII take-CN VBII-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 kóshe-niň boỳnda turady. ol mağan
ol kisi osy kóshe-niň boı-y-nda tur-a-dy. ol mağan
that person this street-GEN part-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3. 3SG.NOM 1SG.DAT
kömektesti
kömektes-ti-Ø
help-PST-3

‘That person lives on this street. He helped me.’

(331) [mağan kömektesken]RC kisi osy kóshe-niň boỳnda turady
mağan kömektes-ken-Ø kisi osy kóshe-niň 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, kömektesti, 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 kömektesi in the dative case (mağan). How, then, would the clause change based on flipping the arguments of the verb?

(332) ol kisi osy kóshenini boỳnda turady. men oğan
ol kisi osy kóshe-niň boı-y-nda tur-a-dy. men oğan
this person this street-GEN corner-3.POSS-LOC stand-PRES-3. 1SG.NOM 3SG.DAT
kömektestem.
kömektes-ti-im
help-PST-1SG.

‘That person lives on this street. I helped him.’
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.

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.

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.
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] converbial 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 olarga bärin tüsindirip
dsiz olarg’a bär-i-n tús-in-dir-ip
2SG.PL.NOM 3PL.DAT all-3.POSS-ACC.DEF understand-PASS-CAUS-CNVBII
berdińiz be
ber-di-niz be
give-PST-2SG.POL Q
‘Did you make everything understood for them?’

(340) siz suraqtar-dy 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 ‘algı’, 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 tayyp aldym
men dala-dan aqsha-Ø tay-yıp al-dy-m
1SG.NOM field-ABL money-ACC.INDEF find-CNVBII take-PST-1SG
‘I found some money outside (for myself – implication: I took and kept the money).’

(342) sen qazaqsha jaqsy söile alasyń
sen qazaqsha jaqsy söile-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, ‘köryğ’ (to see) is used with the [-I]p converb to indicate that the subject is attempting the action. ‘köryğ’ may be used with the [-a/e/-ı] converb as well, but only in the negative, to warn or forbid an action.
I will try to find time for you.'

‘Don’t you dare tell me a lie.’

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

‘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.

‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>English Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coordinating conjunctions</td>
<td>jáné men/pen/de/ta/te</td>
<td>and, as well as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yñ ǵalastyq jalǵaylyq)</td>
<td>alma jáné almurt</td>
<td>‘apple and pear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qasym melkepke de, jumysqa da barady</td>
<td>‘Qasym goes to school as well as to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qasym mektepe, de, jumysqa da barady</td>
<td>‘Qasym goes to school as well as to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposite conjunctions</td>
<td>alaıda átse de átipse</td>
<td>Nevertheless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shynardyñ saǵaty toqtaq qaǵan, alaıda ol sabaqqa keshikpei keldi</td>
<td>‘Shynar’s clock stopped, nevertheless she was not late to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions of Reason</td>
<td>örtkeni, sebebi, sol sebepten, sondyqtan</td>
<td>because, the reason why, that’s why, because of that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men jangq satyp almady, sebebi ol été qymbat eken</td>
<td>‘I didn’t by nuts, because they were very expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunctive Conjunctions</td>
<td>ne, nemese, birese, átipse, sonda da, átkmenmen</td>
<td>either, or, otherwise, even then, but still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maǵan telefon soq, átipse ol meniń esimde qalmanady</td>
<td>‘Give me a call, otherwise I will forget about it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative Conjunctions</td>
<td>sondyqtan, sol úshim sondyqtan</td>
<td>as a result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ol araqty kop ishken, sondyqtan mas bolyp qaǵan</td>
<td>for that reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘He had too much vodka, as a result he got drunk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional Conjunctions</td>
<td>olı bolsa onda eger</td>
<td>if so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>if</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eger sen qaǵa keşeri men seni teatrğa aparamyn</td>
<td>‘If you come to the city, I will take you to the theatre’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Almaty-ǵa 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) aẗqan saıyn
     aẗ-qan-Ø saıyn
     say-PST.PTCP-NOM every
‘Everytime someone says ...’ or ‘Whenever someone says ...’

Table 12: Kazakh Postpositions

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

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) temekí shekken úshin ákesi balasyn jazalady
temekí 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.’

síyaqti / sekildi - ’look like’ or ’seem’

(353) alma síyaqti
apple seem
‘It looks like an apple.’
This one seems to write.

This one seems to be well educated.

via the bridge

by means of talking, by having a conversation

by means of interrogation, by having interrogated

By invitation of the United States of America.

In accordance with tradition, Kazakh people present their in-laws with nine sets of gifts.

in the span of one week
on  jyl  boyna
ten year during.LOC
‘over the course of ten years’

jóninde - ‘about’

aýa  ray  jóninde sólesý
aýa  rai-y  jóninde sólé-s-y
weather state-3.POSS about  speak-RECIP-INF
‘to converse about the weather’

qarsy - back at, against, in opposition to

ákesine  qarsy  sóilemeidi
áke-si-ne  qarsy  sóile-me-i-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’)

kóktemge  qaraı  gül  egemiz
kóktem-ge  qaraı  gül-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

úge  qatýydan  basqa  alamaly  qalmady
ú-ge  qatýy-dan  basqa  alamaly-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

eki  myńı  törtinshi  jyl-dan  beri
two thousand four-ORD year-ABL since
‘Since 2004 (lit ‘since the two-thousand-and-fourth year’).’

5 References
