Kazak

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Contents

Preface

This short grammar of the Kazak language was prepared by the author on the base of ten-year fieldwork with the Kazaks of Kazakstan and other Kazak-speaking groups in neighboring countries (China, Mongolia, Russia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan). During that time the author mainly concentrated on oral literature and popular believes (Shamanism) of the Kazak nomads. A good command of the Kazak language was really needed during the fieldwork. Unfortunately no proper Kazak grammars were available at that time. Some aspects of Kazak grammar (e.g. Auxiliary verbs) are essential for understanding and translating folklore texts. The author tried to write an up-to-date grammar, which helps to understand Modern Kazak. Although the book is based on personal observations the author also used lot of Russian publications from Soviet times, grammar sketches and dictionaries.

The present monograph also gives a short introduction to the Kazak people, their history, culture and linguistic ties. Then the phonology of standard Kazak follows, with colloquial forms of pronunciation. After that the Morphology part lists all the main suffixes of the standard language. There is a separate part explaining the usage of Auxiliary verb formations.

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0. Introduction

0.1. The Kazaks and their language

The subject of this book is the *Kazak* literary language, the official language of the Republic of *Kazakstan*.

The *Kazaks* are the indigenous people of *Kazakstan* and they also live in neighboring countries. The *Kazaks* speak a Turkic language belonging to the Northern or *Kypchak* group, closely related to *Karakalpak* and *Nogai*.

Despite the fact that Kazak is spoken in a huge territory from the Altai to the Volga River and Caspian See all the Kazaks understand each other very well. There are three main Dialects:

1) Western Kazak (West Kazakstan, Turkmenistan, Karakalpakstan and Astrakhan, Orenburg provinces of Russia)

2) Southern Kazak (South Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan)

3) Eastern Kazak (East and Northeast Kazakstan, China, Mongolia and Omsk, Altai provinces of Russia)

Present Population of *Kazakstan*:

The *Kazaks* constitute about 50 percent of the whole population of the country due to migration of other minorities, mostly Russians. Out of the 16 million people of the population close to 8 million people consider themselves *Kazaks*, but it is difficult to tell how many of them actually speak the language on a daily level.

0.2. Geolinguistical situation

Besides the Kazaks of Kazakstan there are numerous *Kazak* minorities in the neighboring countries as well:

Russia: About 700 thousand *Kazaks* live by the border of Kazakstan, mainly in *Astrakhan*, *Orenburg, Omsk* provinces, in *Altai* region and the *Altai Republic* (10,000). The Russians colonized these territories between 16th and 18th centuries.

Uzbekistan: About 400 thousand *Kazaks* lived in *Karakalpakstan* but some of them moved back to *Kazakstan* in the last ten years because of the catastrophe of the *Aral Sea*. The number of *Kazaks* living in all parts of *Uzbekistan* is about 800 thousand.

China: About 1.2 million *Kazaks* live in China, mostly in the *Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region*, where they have their own Autonomous Prefectures: *Ile (Guldzha), Tarbagatai*

(Chöchek) and *Altai*, as well as two more counties *(Mori* and *Bar-Köl)* in the neighboring prefectures. Some Kazaks fled to Tibet after the failure of their uprising against the Chinese (1945-49), now a few of those still live in *Qinghai* and *Gansu* provinces, but their number is unknown. The Kazaks, who managed to get through Tibet, reached Pakistan and then migrated to Turkey (2,000). The Kazaks of China use a reformed version of the Arabic script called '*Töte žazyw*'.

Mongolia: Some of the Kazak tribes *(Kerei, Uwak, Naiman* from *Orta Žüz)*, which migrated to the *Altai* Mountains in the 18-19th centuries, now live in the Republic of Mongolia, since Outer Mongolia gained independence from China in 1921. They live in the Western province *(aimag)* of *Bayan Ölgii* and partly in *Khowd*. Thousands of Kazaks were deported to the mining center of *Nalaikh* near *Ulaan-Baatar* in the 1950s. The Kazaks of Mongolia numbered about 200 thousand, but some of the population moved to *Kazakstan* in the last ten years. The Kazaks of Mongolia also use the Cyrillic script.

Turkmenistan: The Western tribes of the *Kazaks (Adai, Tabyn*, etc. from *Kiši Žüz)* tried to escape from the communist rule and moved southward to *Afghansitan* and *Iran*, but few of them made it through as the Red Army blocked the border of Turkmenistan. These Kazaks had to remain in this neighboring republic. Part of them already returned back to their original homeland, to the provinces of *Mang-Kystaw* and *Kyzyl-Orda*. The number of *Kazaks* used to be about 100 thousand in Turkmenistan. There were small groups in *Iran* (6,000) and *Afghansitan* (8,000) as well.

There are also some Kazak communities in *Kyrgyzstan* (50,000) and *Tajikistan* (10,000).

0.3. Influences on the language

The biggest influence (about 20%) was done by Persian and Arabic. The Central Asian and Muslim culture and its words came to Kazaks from the *Kazan Tatars (Volga Bulgars)* and the Central Asian *Turki* population *(Uzbeks)*. It can be easily detected from which Turkic language they took these words, *Uzbek* or *Kazan Tatar*. The Uzbeks used a Persian-Tajik pronunciation for Arabic words, while the Kazan-Tatars had their own. Sometimes Kazaks adopted both pronunciations, e.g.

Arabic	Uzbek (Tajik)	Kazan-Tatar	Kazak	Kyrgyz	
ma'nâ	mä'nâ/mä'ni	mäynä	magyna/mäni	maani	meaning
hâl	hâl	xäl	xal(i)/äl	al	condition
'âšiq	âšiq	yašîq	gašyk	ašyk	lover

Persian loan words include words of agriculture and peasant life:

Tajik (Uzbek)	Kazak	Kyrgyz	
nân	*nan*	*nan*	bread
dehqân	*dyjkan*	*dyjkan*	peasant
dastarxân	*dastarxan*	*dastorkon*	eating cloth
xorâz	*xoraz*	*korooz*	cock

Western Mongolian dialects did the second biggest influence. According to my research the number of these words must be between 500 and 1000. They are mostly related to the following semantic groups:

1) Words concerning family relations through marriage:

Kazak	Mongol	
baža	*badža*	brother-in-law (wives are sisters)
abysyn-ažyn	*abisun-adžin*	sister-in-law (husbands are relatives)
kuda/kudagyj	*kuda/kudagui*	father and mother-in-law
törkin	*törküm*	wife's relatives (after the marriage)
böle	*böle/büle*	niece or nephew (mothers or sisters)
nagašy	*nagaču*	mother's relatives

2) Words concerning everyday nomadic life:

nokta	*nogta*	sort of bridle
šaŋyrak	*čagarag*	wooden circle on the top of the yurta
kanžyga	*kandžiga*	rope to bind something to the saddle
kunan	*gunan*	three year old fold of sheep, horse, etc.
dönen	*dönen*	four year old fold of sheep, horse, etc.

Kazak writing systems

Although Kazak language had no written form before the 19th century some of the Kazaks were literate. They learned in the *Medreses* of *Kazan, Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva* etc. These people wrote with the Arabic script and used the Turkic literary language of Central Asia: *Turki* also known as *Chagatai* in the West.

In the 19th century some Kazak writers and poets started to write in Kazak with the Arabic script. The most famous of them is *Abai (Ibrahim)* a poet and writer, who was one of the founders of Kazak literary language, based on his dialects of *Semipalatinks (Semei)*.

After the Soviet revolution in Russia the Kazak literary language was established. In twenty years they changed the alphabet three times from reformed Arabic to Cyrillic. See the different alphabets below:

Reformed Arabic

Töte žazyw 1920-30		Latin 1930-40			The Cyrillic since 1940	
ا	a	*A a*		a	А а	a
ٵ	ä	*Ä ä*		ä	Ә ә	ä
ٶ	e	*B ʙ*		b	Б б	b
ب	b	*C c*		č*	В в	v*
پ	p	*Ç ç*		ž	Г г	g
ح	x	*D d*		d	Ғ ғ	g (γ)
د	d	*E e*		e	Д д	d
ر	z	*F f*		f*	Е е	e
ژ	r	*G g*		g	Ж ж	ž
س	s	*Oɩ oj*		g (γ)	З з	z
ش	š	*H h*		h*	И и	yj/ij**
ع	g (γ)	*I i*		i	Й й	j
ق	k (q)	*Ī ī*		yj/ij	К к	k
ك	k	*J j*		j	Қ қ	k (q)
گ	g	*K k*		k	Л л	l
ڭ	ŋ	*L l*		l	М м	m
ل	l	*M m*		m	Н н	n
م	m	*N n*		n	Ң ң	ŋ
ن	n	*N n*		ŋ	О о	o
ه	h	*O o*		o	Ө ө	ö
ۋ	w/uw/yw/iw	*Θ ө*		ö	П п	p
و	o	*P p*		p	Р р	r
ۇ	ö	*Q q*		k (q)	С с	s
ۇ	u	*R r*		r	Т т	t
ۇ	ü	*S s*		s	У у	w/uw/yw/iw**
ى	j/yj/ij	*Ş ş*		š	Ұ ұ	u
س	y	*T t*		t	Ү ү	ü
ٸ	i	*U u*		u	Ф ф	f*
چ	č*	*Ū ū*		w/uw/yw/iw	Х х	x
ف	f*	*V v*		v*	Һ һ	h
		X x		x	Ц ц	c*
		Y y		ü	Ч ч	č*

Z z	z	Ш ш	š
Ъ ъ	y	Щ щ	šš (š*)
		Ы ы	y
		I i	i
		Я я	ja**
		Ю ю	juw/jyw/jiw**

* Letters used in loan words

** Letters that mean more than one sound

table 1.

0.4. Sociolinguistic data

Kazakstan saw many waves of Russian and non-Russian immigration, mostly to towns. As a result more then half of the population became Russian or Russian speaking. The Kazaks themselves had to learn Russian and the new 'Soviet' intelligentsia became quite Russian speaking in the cities, where the majority was Russian. Basically the young generation in the big cities became Russian speaking; some of them could not even communicate in Kazak at a basic level.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 *Kazakstan* gained independence from Russia, and introduced its own currency in 1994 (*Tenge*). The official language of the republic is *Kazak*, but Russian is also used widely being the official language for the non-Kazak population and for the Kazaks who cannot speak the language. The Kazaks are making efforts to reform their language, to make it suitable for all the spheres of modern life, so the language is changing. In colloquial speech the *Kazaks* use numerous Russian borrowings, which are not part of the literary language.

1. Phonology
1.1. Vowels

1.1.1. Vowel phonemes

	Illabial			Labial	
	low	mid	high	mid	high
Back	*a*		*y*	*o*	*u*
Front	*(ä)*	*e*	*i*	*ö*	*ü*

table 2.

1.1.2. Reduction of high vowels *y, i, u, ü*

These vowels are pronounced very shortly and reduced, they shift towards mid and low vowels.

Illabial	Labial
y>very short *a(ă)*	*u*>very short *o(ŏ)*
i>very short *ä(ĕ)*	*ü*>very short *ö*

1.1.3. Long Vowels

Vowels *u, y/i* with glides *w/j* sound like long vowels, but they are not real long vowels, because they act like dipthong/consonant if another vowel follows them (see there).

With glide *w*		With glide *j*	
iw	*ū*	*ij*	*ī*
uw/yw	*ū*	*yj*	*ī*

These sounds are not reduced like short close vowels. The back and front pairs are pronounced quite similar regardless of vowel harmony, e.g.

keliw	*kelū*	coming
baryw	*barū*	going
syj	*sī*	respect
bij	*bī*	*Beg*, a sort of prince

1.2. Diphthongs

aw(au)	-		*wo(uo)*
ew(öu)	-	*je(ie)*	*wö(uö)*

1.2.1. Glide *w* after open vowels *a/e* produces diphthongs: *aw>au, ew>öu*, e.g.

Written	Sounds	
taw	*tau*	mountain
küjew	*küjöu*	husband

These are not real diphthongs, because they act like dipthong/consonant if another vowel follows them (see there).

Glide *j* does not have the same effect, *aj, ej, oj, öj, uj, üj* are not pronounced as diphthongs in Kazak.

1.2.2. Kazaks pronounce glides *w* and *j* at the beginning of words if they start with *e, o, ö*, although it is not indicated in writing: *e>je, o>wo, ö>wö*, e.g.

Written	Sounds	
ösek	*wösök*	gossip
esek	*jesek*	donkey
otar	*wotar*	grazing land

1.3. Consonants

1.3.1. Consonant phonemes

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	*p b*	*t d*		*k g*	*k*(q)* -
Affricatives	*(c)*		*(č dž)*		
Fricatives	*(v/f)*	*s z*	*š ž*		*x g*(γ)*
Nasals	*m*		*n*		*ŋ*
Aspirate					*h*
Lateral			*l*		
Trill			*r*		
Glides	*w*			*j*	

Table 3.

1.3.2. Not genuine Kazak sounds

x and *h* only occur in Arabic and Persian borrowings, e.g.

xalyk (A xalq)	people
xoš (P xoš)	nice, pleasant
kahar (A qahâr)	anger
gäwhar (P gawhar)	pearl

c, č, ś, v, f occur only in Russian borrowings. The Russian letter for *ś* also used for double consonant *šš* in Kazak, e.g.

aššy (ашы) sour

Southeastern dialects use *x* as allophones for *k(q)*, Western dialects *č/dž* for as allophones for *š/ž*, e.g.

Dialect	Literary form	
xarylyk	*kärilik/karylyk*	old age
čäš	*šaš*	hair
džaman	*žaman*	bad

1.3.3. Long consonants

Consonants can be doubled inside a word if they are followed by *y/i*, e.g.

katty	hard
tuššy	sweet

Other double consonants are the result of assimilation/dissimilation of the vowels of the suffixes, e.g.

at-lar>at-tar horses

1.4 Phonological rules

1.4.1. Positions of vowels in the word of Turkic/Mongolian origin

First syllable	Second
a, y, o, u	*a, y*
ä, e, i, ö, ü	*e, i*

Examples:

ata	father	*esik*	door
aryk	canal	*teke*	male goat
ošak	oven	*ösek*	gossip
orys	Russian	*örik*	apricot
ulak/lak	kid (of a goat)	*kürek*	mattress
uzyn	long	*bütin*	all
bäri	all		
äreŋ	hardly		

Words from Arabic, Persian and Russian violate this rule. e.g.

kitap (A kitâb)	book	*kämzol (P kamzûl)*	sort of blouse

kurmet (A ḫurmet)	respect	*dästür (P dastûr)*	custom, tradition
mazmun (maẕmûn)	content	*jubkä (R)*	skirt
sumkä (R)	bag	*botinkä (R)*	boots

1.4.2. Vowel harmony

As most of the Turkic languages the Kazak also subject to vowel harmony which means that a word is either consists of back or front vowels. Arabic, Persian and Russian loan words violate this rule, e.g.

Arabic		Persian	
kyzmet	service	*gäwhar*	pearl
kitap	book	*küna*	sin
Russian			
botinka	boots		
kartoška	potato		

1.4.3. Labial harmony

In literary Kazak the writing does not indicate labial harmony, but Kazak does have it. It varies from dialect to dialect, for example in Western dialects labial harmony is weaker than in Eastern dialects. It may extend only to one or two syllables of the word in the Eastern, while it holds out to the end in the Western dialect. The following sounds can be subject to labial harmony after labial sounds in the first syllable: $y>u, i>ü$ and $e>ö$, e.g.

Written	Sounds		
tobyk	*tobuk*		ankle
börik	*börük*		a sort of hat
tüje	*tüjö*		camel
Written form	Western dial.	Eastern dial.	
küledi	*küledi*	*külödü*	he laughs
tüsindi	*tüsündi*	*tüsündü*	he understood
oryndy	*orundy*	*orundu*	proper

1.4.4. Secondary lengthening

(not indicated in writing): Open vowels $a/e, o,/ö$ become long before closed vowels y/i, e.g.

written	sounds		
kasyk	*kāsăk*	spoon	
esik	*jēsĕk*	door	
orys	*wōrŏs*	Russian	
örik	*wöörök*	apricot	

1.4.5. Palatalization of *a>ä* in the first syllable:

1) It occurs regularly before *š* and *j*, but it is not indicated in writing, e.g.

Written	Sounds	
šaj	*šäj*	tea
šaš	*šäš*	hair

But these words are suffixed as back vowel words, e.g.

Written	Sounds	
šajga	*šäjga*	for tea
šaštan	*šäštan*	from hair

2) Two-syllable words can become completely high if *a* is followed by *y*, this palatalization is indicated in writing as well, e.g.

Old form	Modern form	
kary	*käri*	old
ary	*äri*	further
bary	*bäri*	all

Other cases:

araŋ	*äreŋ*	hardly
žana	*žäne*	and
atajy	*ädeji*	on purpose

3) Palatalized *ä* in loan words can occur in the second syllable but the word loses palatalization in the following syllable, e.g.

künä/küna (P *gunâh*)		sin
künäla-		to accuse

1.4.6. Dropping of vowels:

Words with (C)VCV structure and *y/i* vowels in the second syllable can lose these sounds in the second syllable, if the vowels are *j/r, w/l, r/n, r/k, j/n, r/p*, e.g.

ajyr-	*ajr-yp*	to separate
mojyn	*mojn-y*	neck
muryn	*murn-y*	nose
kyryk	*kyrk-y*	forty
kalyp (A *qalb*)	*kalp-y*	form
kalyk (A *xalq*)	*xalk-y*	people
guryp (A *'urf*)	*gurp-y*	custom
But: *balyk*	*balyg-y*	fish

1.4.7. After diphthongs and long vowels additonal glides *w/j* are pronounced, when vowels are added to the stem, e.g.

Stem		Suffixed		
Written	Sounds	Written	Sounds	
taw	*tau*	*taw-y*	*tau-w-y*	mountain
küjew	*küjöu*	*küjew-i*	*küjöu-w-i*	husband
syj-	*sī-*	*syj-ady*	*sī-j-ady*	to fit
tuw-	*tū-*	*tuw-ady*	*tū-w-ady*	to bear, to give birth

1.4.8. In words of Turkic/Mongolian origin consonants can occur in certain positions:

Beginning	Middle/Intervocal	End
b/p	*b/p*	*p*
d/t	*d*/t*	*t*
k	*k/g*	*k*
-	*j*	*j*
-	*w*	*w*
-	*l*	*l*
-	*r*	*r*
m	*m*	*m*
n*	*n*	*n*
-	*ŋ*	*ŋ*
s	*s*	*s*
-	*z*	*z*
š	*š*	*š*
ž	*ž**	-

table 6.

*In Mongolian elements only!

1.4.9. Words starting with *g* (velar *γ*) *l, r, z, j* are of Arabic or Persian origin. Words starting with *g* (palatal) are Persian, while *n* can occur in borrowing from Mongolian, Arabic and Persian. Exception is the Turkic word *ne?* 'what?' and some words that derive from it, e.g.

neme, närse (<ne erse)	something
nemese (ne emese)	or

Turkic words starting with *n/l/r* in Kazak are the result of the reduction of the first close vowels *y/i, u/ü*. Although they sound very reduced in speech, writing does not indicate them, e.g.

Sounds	Written	
ynan-	*nan-*	to believe
ylak/ulak	*lak*	kid of a goat
yryw/uryw	*ryw*	tribe

See also 1.4.12.2.

1.4.10. The velar and palatal pairs of *g* and *k*

In Turkic languages the pronunciation of *g* and *k* are quite different in words with back and front vowels:

1) Words with back vowels have velar *g* and *k* (*γ* and *q*)

2) Words with front vowels have palatal *g* and *k* (*g* and *k*)

These palatal and velar pairs are not different phonemes but allophones of *g* and *k* that change according to their positions, e.g.

käri	*k* is palatal	old
kary(qary)	*k* is velar	old (in some dialects)

In Persian and Arabic borrowings of Kazak the palatal *k, g* are always followed by front vowels, while velar *k, g* that is *q* (A/P *q, x,* A *ḥ*), *γ* (A/P *γ*, A *'ain*) are always followed by back vowels, regardless of vowel harmony, e.g.

kitap	A *kitâb*	book
gül	P *gul*	flower
kyzmet (qyzmet)	A *xidmat*	service

1.4.11. Voiced and voiceless pairs of consonants *b/p, d/t, g/k (γ/q)* can replace one an other if voiced/voiceless consonants or vowels surround them:

1) Final *p/k* becomes *b/g* if followed by a suffix starting with a vowel, e.g.

tep-	*teb-e-di*	to kick
kak-	*kag-a-dy*	to shake

2) In suffixes starting with *d/g* or *b(<m)*, these sounds become *d/k/p* if the stem ends with a voiceless consonant, e.g.

kazak+ga	*kazak-ka*	to a Kazak
at+dan	*at-tan*	from a horse
sas+ba<ma	*sas-pa*	don't worry

Exceptions:

1) Borrowings ending with *p* that originates from A/P *f*, e.g.

tarap (A *taraf*)	*tarapy*	side

2) In case of dropping vowels (see there) after *r/l*, e.g.

kalyp	*kalp-y*	form
kyryk	*kyrk-y*	forty
guryp (A *'urf*)	*gurp-y*	custom
erik	*erk-i*	right, will

3) *p* becomes *w*(<*b*) before *-(I)p* converb, e.g.

tap-yp	*taw-yp*	to find
tep-ip	*tew-ip*	to kick

1.4.12. Dissimilation/Assimilation of consonants

1) At the beginning of suffixes:

l>d/t	*n>d/t**	*m>b/p**
d after voiced	*d* after voiced	*b* after voiced
except *w, j, r*		except *w, j, r, l*
t after voiceless	*t* after voiceless	*p* after voiceless

2) If the word ends with a nasal and the suffix also ends with a nasal (*-DAn, -MIn, -NIŋ*) then *n/m* do not dissimilate and *d>n* assimilation occurs, e.g.

türikpen-min	I am a Turkmen
alaŋ-nan	from the square
kulyŋ-nyŋ	the colt's

3) Dissimilation of *l>d, n>d, m>b* happens inside words sometimes, e.g.

älde<älle (UZ *ällä*)	some
mindet<minnet (A *minnat*)	duty
kymbat<kymmat (A *qîmat*)	expensive
molda <molla (A *mullâ*)	Mulla, Muslim priest
dušpan<dušman (P *dušmän*)	enemy

But:

karyn>karn-y	belly
kyzmet (A *xidmat*)	service

1.4.13. Morphological changes that can be observed only in colloquial speech

1.4.13.1. If two vowels meet between two words the first vowel is not pronounced, e.g.

kele almajdy	*kel-almajdy*	he cannot come

1.4.13.2. Words starting with *l* and *r* are usually pronounced with very short *y/i* before them, because they are not genuine Turkic words (Arabic, Persian), e.g.

raxmet>yraxmet/yrakymet, lajyk>ylajyk, renži->irenži-

In Kazak words *u/ü* also become reduced, and they almost sound like reduced *y/i* before *l/r*. For that reason the Kazaks write these words with initial *l* and *r*, but they sound *ul/yl, ül/il* and *ur/yr, ür/ir* respectively, e.g.

Sounds	Written	
uryw/yryw	*ryw*	tribe
ulaw/ylak	*lak*	kid of a goat
ülek/ülök	*lök*	sort of male camel

1.4.13.3. Consonants assimilation not indicated in writing are the following: *š+s>šš, s+š >šš z+s>ss, ž+š>šš, n+m/b>m+m/b, n+g>ŋ+g*, e.g.

Written	Sounds	
uš-syn	*uššyn*	let it fly
žumysšy	*žumyššy*	worker
kaz-syn	*kassyn*	let him dig
kön-gen	*köŋgen*	one who agreed
ynan-ba	*ynamba*	don't believe
üš žüz	*üš šüz*	300

1.4.13.4. Consonant *k* sounds *g* at the end of a word, if it is followed by a voiced consonant or a vowel, or at the beginning of a word if preceded by a voiced consonant or a vowel, e.g.

written	pronounced	
žaksy kyz	*žaksy gyz*	good girl
kerek emes	*kereg emes*	not needed

1.4.13.5. In Auxiliary verb formations the last sound of *-(I)p* converb becomes *w* the first sound of AUX *ber-* also becomes *w* in colloquial speech. The *w* sound do not form dipthogs or long vowels with the perceding vowels, e.g.

written	pronounced	
satyp aldym	*saty-waldy* (not *satū-w-aldy*)	he bought it for himself
ajta ber	*ajta-wer* (not *ajtau-w-er*)	keep on telling

1.4.13.6. Colloquial allomorphs

There are several allomorphs used in colloquial speech, which are the result of some phonetic changes (construction, dropping of sounds, etc.), e.g.

keledi	*kelet*	he comes
baramyn	*baram*	I go
kele žatyr	*kel-atyr*	she is coming
körmespin	*körmen*	I may not see
edim	*em*	I was
ediŋ	*eŋ*	you were
edik	*ek*	we were

2. Morphology

2.1. Nominal morphology

Kazak as all Turkic languages is agglutinative, morphology is mostly done by suffixes, which are all subject to vowel harmony and other phonological rules (allomorphs).

1) The vowels of suffixes change according to vowel harmony. In case of borrowings the last syllable is taken into consideration.

2) The first consonants of the suffixes are also subject to assimilation/dissimilation and unvocing rules (see phonological rules 1.4.10. and 1.4.11.)

3) The stem never changes except by the rules of dropping vowels and the voicing of last *p/k*, e.g.

muryn>murn-y	his nose
kap>kab-y	his sack
žük>žügi	his baggage

There is only two prefixes, which originate from Persian: *bej-/bij-* "without, -less" and *na-* "not, un/in-", e.g.

| *bej-tanys* | unknown |
| *na-tuwra* | not right, incorrect |

4) Order of extension: STEM-PL-PPS-CASE, e.g.

üj-ler-imiz-de   in our houses
[house-PL-PPS.3-LOC]

Note: Categorizer *-GI* can be added to LOC and GEN case suffixes (see there).

2.1.1. Noun
2.1.1.1. Number

Kazak only has two numbers, singular and plural (SIN/PL). The suffix of the plural (PL) is -*LAr* and it has allomorphs after consonants:

Voiced	Glides	Trill	Unvoiced
z, m, n, ŋ, l	*w,j*	*r*	*p, t, k, š, s, x*
-dAr	*-lAr**	*-lAr**	*-tAr*

2.1.1.2. Gender

There is no grammatical Gender in Turkic languages. In some Russian borrowings there is difference between male or female form morphologically, e.g.

| *akt'or* | actor |
| *aktrissa* | actress |

2.1.1.3. Cases

There are six cases in Kazak, as in most other Turkic languages:

Case	Suffixes
NOM	*-0*
ACC	*-NI*
GEN	*-NIŋ*
DAT/ALL	*-GA*
LOC	*-DA*
ABL	*-DAn*

Table 7.

2.1.1.3.1. Case suffixes have allomorphs after the following vowels:

	Voiced	Nasals	Unvoiced
Case	*w,j,r,l,z*	*m, n, ŋ*	*p, t, k, s, š, x*
ACC	*-dI*	*-dI*	*-tI*
GEN	*-dIŋ*	*-nIŋ**	*-tIŋ*
DAT/ALL	*-gA*	*-gA*	*-kA*
LOC	*-dA*	*-dA*	*-tA*
ABL	*-dAn*	*-nAn**	*-tAn*

Table 8.

2.1.1.3.2. Uses of the Cases

2.1.1.3.2.1. The object of the sentence or the indefinite subject is in NOM, e.g.

suw agady	water flows
suw išemin	I drink water

2.1.1.3.2.2. The ACC marks the definite object of a verb. e.g.

bul üjdi körgen žokpyn	I have not seen this house

But with reporting speech *(de-)* the object of the subordinated part is also in ACC, e.g.

Meni keledi dep ojlajdy	They think that I will come

2.1.1.3.2.3. The DAT/ALL answers the question to whom, to what and to where *(kimge, nege, kajda)*, e.g.

Üjge baramyn	I go home
Bul kisige ber	Give it to this person
Taska uksajdy	It resembles to a stone

In passive sentences it marks the person or thing by which the action is taken. The passive voice is expressed by causative verb form, not by passive in that case. If we leave out the person or thing by which the action is taken, then the passive verb form can be used, e.g.

atymdy urylarga urlatkam	My horses were stolen by the thieves
	I let the thieves steel my horse
Üj salyndy	The house was build (NOM)
Üjdi žumysšylarga saldyrttym	The house was build by the workers
	I made the workers built the house

2.1.1.3.2.4. The LOC answers to questions "in/on/at what/whom, where, when" *(nede/kimde/kajda/kašan)*, e.g.

mende akša žok	I don't have money on me
men üjde otyrmyn	I sit at home
sagat beste	at five o'clock
žazda	Summer, during summer

2.1.1.3.2.5. The ABL answers questions "from where, from whom/what *(kajdan/kimnen/neden)*, e.g.

kimnen aldyŋ	Whom did you take it from
kajdan keldiŋ	Where did you come from

It also expresses LOC in motion, e.g.

köpirden öttim	I crossed the bridge

Or simply locative of an action that can be dynamic, e.g.

seni bul žerden kütem	I will wait for you here

Comparison of nouns also uses ABL, e.g.

ol at bul attan žaksy	that horse is better than this horse

2.1.1.4. Possession

2.1.1.4.1. Possessive Personal Suffixes (PPS) are added to the stem and indicate the person of the possessor:

SIN	
1	*-(I)m*
2	*-(I)ŋ/-(I)ŋIz**
3	*-[s]I*
PL	
1	*-(I)mIz*
2	*-LAr-Iŋ/-LAr-IŋIz**
3	*-LAr-I/-[s]I*

table 9.

*Polite form

Note: Sounds in [] brackets are used after vowels, sounds in () brackets are used after consonants.

2.1.1.4.2. Voicing of the last consonant of the stem: *b/p*, *g/k*, e.g.

| *kap/kab-y* | sack |
| *üjrek/üjreg-i* | duck |

2.1.1.4.3. Case endings after SIN PPS

	1/2	*-(I)m* and *-(I)ŋ*	3	*-[s]I-*
ACC		*-dI*		*-n-*
GEN		*-nIŋ*		*-n-Iŋ (<-n-nIŋ)*
DAT		*-A!*		*-n-A*
LOC		*-dA*		*-n-dA*
ABL		*-nAn*		*-n-An (<-n-nAn)*

Table 10.

Observations: *-GA* becomes *-A* after SIN PPS, while an additional *-n-* appears before the case-endings in 3rd SIN.

2.1.1.4.4. The Izafet group

Izafet is used to join two nouns together. It is used with place names, time periods, nationalities etc., e.g.

Almaty kalasy	the city of Almaty
Kazakstan respublikasy	The Republic of Kazakhstan
žuma küni	Friday
Kazak kyzy	Kazak girl

2.1.1.4.5. The third person suffix has substantivizing and defining force e.g.

onysy	something that belongs to him
žaksysy	the better/best of it/them
kejiŋgisi	the latter one

2.1.1.4.6. Possessive suffix *-Ni-ki/-NI-ki* (OT *-nIŋ-kI*) marks the possessor, if the possessed thing is ommited from the sentence. This is the only suffix in Kazak that is not governed by vowel harmony, e.g.

| NOM | *atam-diki/atam-dyki* | my father's |

Case endings after *-Niki* act like after 3rd SIN PPS *-[s]I*, e.g.

ACC	*atam-di-ki-n*	my father's
GEN	*atam-di-ki-n-iŋ*	of my father's
DAT/ALL	*atam-di-ki-n-e*	to/for my father's
LOC	*atam-di-ki-n-de*	in my fathers
ABL	*atam-di-ki-n-en*	from my father's

2.1.1.4.7. *bar/žok* are two nouns/adjectives that mean existing and non-existing, e.g.

akšam bar	my money is existing/I have money
akšam žok	my money is not existing/I do not have money
baryn-žogyn bilmedim	I did not know its existence or non-existence

2.1.1.5. Nouns used as postpositions (Auxiliary Nouns)

These pseudo-postpositions are created from nouns suffixed by possessive personal suffixes (PPS) and case suffixes, which can change according to the usage of the postposition. The word that precede the postposition is in GEN case, e.g.

orta	middle	NOM	*onyŋ ortasy*	the middle of that
		ACC	*onyŋ ortasy*	the middle of that
		DAT	*onyŋ ortasyna*	to the middle of that
		LOC	*onyŋ ortasynda*	in the middle of that
		ABL	*onyŋ ortasynan*	from the middle of that

Most common Auxiliary Nouns:

| *ald- (alyn*)* | front | | *ald-ynda* | in front |
| *al-ga* | forward | | | |

Note: The last *d* can disappear when followed by a suffix starting with a vowel, e.g.

ast	bottom, lower part	*ast-ynda*	beneath, below
ara	interval	*olardyŋ arasynda*	between them
arka	back	*onyŋ arkasynda*	behind him/with the help of him
art	rear	*art-ynda*	behind, at the rear of
		art-ynan	from behind, or later
bas	head, top, beginning	*bas-ynda*	at the top, at the beginning
iš	inner part, stomach	*iš-inde*	inside
		olardyŋ iš-inde	among them
		eki kün išinde	in two days
žan	side	*žan-ynda*	beside, next to
karsy	against	*karsy-synda*	in front of
kas	eyebrow, side	*kasynda*	beside

Note: In Kazak it usually replaces *žan*, e.g.

orta	middle		
syrt	external side	*syrtynda*	outside
tys	external side		

Note: It is usually replaced by *syrt* in Kazak

| *tarap* | side | *tarapynda* | on his side |

Note: the *p* does not become voiced (A *taraf*)

| *üst* | top, upper part | *üstinde* | over, at the top |

Some Auxilary Nouns can be used without GEN, e.g.

žön	direction, orientation	*žöninde*	about
boj	stature, side	*bojynda*	by the side
		özen bojynda	by the side of the river
		kitap bojynša	according to book
		kün bojy	all day

2.1.2 Pronouns
2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

SING	1st	2nd	3rd
Nom	*men*	*sen/siz**	*ol*
ACC	*meni*	*seni/sizdi**	*ony*
GEN	*menin*	*senin/sizdin**	*onyn*
DAT/ALL	*magan!*	*sagan!/sizge**	*ogan!*
LOC	*mende*	*sende/sizde**	*onda*
ABL	*menen*	*senen/sizden**	*odan/onan*
PL			
NOM	*biz*	*sender/sizder**	*olar*
ACC	*bizdi*	*senderdi/sizderdi**	*olardy*
GEN	*bizdin*	*senderdin/sizderdin**	*olardyn*
DAT/ALL	*bizge*	*senderge/sizderge**	*olarga*
LOC	*bizde*	*senderde/sizderde**	*olarda*
ABL	*bizden*	*senderden/sizderden**	*olardan*

Table 11.
*Polite form

2.1.2.1.1. Use of the personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in NOM/GEN case can be omitted in a sentence, if the person of the possessor or the predicate is expressed by personal suffixes or suffixed personal pronouns, e.g.

| *men baramyn/ baramyn* | I go |
| *menin üjim/ üjim* | my house |

1st PL in GEN case has three possibilities, e.g.

| *bizdin üj/ bizdin üjimiz/üjimiz* | our house |

2.1.2.1.2. Suffixed personal pronouns (Personal Suffixes of the Predicative)

	SING	PL
1	*(men>)-MIn/-M*	*(biz>)-MIz*
2	*(sen>)-sIŋ/(siz>)-sIz**	*(sender>)-sIŋdAr/(sizder>)-sIzdAr**

table 12.

*Polite form

Allomorphs of *-MIn* and *-MIz* after vowels:

Dental	Nasals	Glides	Lateral/Trill	Unvoiced
z	*m, n, ŋ*	*w,j*	*l,r*	*k, p, t, s, š, x*
-bIn	*-mIn**	*-mIn*	*-mIn*	*-pIn*
-bIz	*-bIz*	*-mIz*	*-mIz*	*-pIz*

Suffixed personal pronouns are used after nouns/adjectives, numerals, pronouns, participles/verbal nouns and converbs. They indicate the person of the predicate, replacing the verb "to be", e.g.

Men kazak-pyn   I am Kazak

2.1.2.2. Demonstratives:

bul	this
osy	this right here
sol	that over there
ol	that (also used as "he/she/it")

2.1.2.2.1. Demonstratives used mostly in colloquial language:

myna/mynaw	this
ana/anaw	that
tuw	that one far away

2.1.2.2.2. Personal suffixes expressing place

munda	here
osynda	right here
onda	there
sonda	over there
bul žerde/bujerde	at this place
osy žerde/osyjerde	at this place right here
ol žerde/ojerde	that place
sol žerde/sojerde	that place over there
myna žerde	at this place
ana žerde	at that place
mine/minekij	here

äne/änekij		there

2.1.2.2.3. Compound "verbal" pronouns with verb *et-* "to do":

büj-t- (bylaj et-)	do this way
söj-t- (solaj et-)	do this way
öj-t- (olaj et-)	do that way
ös-t- (osylaj et-)	do that way

2.1.2.2.4. Personal Pronouns with different nominal suffixes (*-šA, -DAj, -LAj*)

munša	this much	*mundaj*	like this	*bylaj*	this way
osynša	this much	*osyndaj*	like this	*osylaj*	this way
onša	that much	*ondaj*	like that	*olaj*	that way
sonša	that much	*sondaj*	like that	*solaj*	that way

2.1.2.3. Reflexives

2.1.2.3.1. Emphatic or reflexive pronoun *öz*, the original meaning of the word was „the main vein inside the body", as an adjective it means 'own', e.g.

öz üjim	my own house

It can be used by PPS in GEN case, e.g.

özimdiŋ üjim	my own house

2.1.2.3.2. Reflexive pronouns with PPS are used alone replacing personal pronouns:

öz-im	myself or I
öz-iŋ	yourself or you
öz-i	himself/herself/itself or he/she/it
öz-imiz	ourselves or we
öz-deriŋ	yourselves or you
öz-deri	themselves or they

Sometimes it is used as simple Personal pronoun, e.g.

özi kim?	who is he?

2.1.2.3.3. Emphasizing form: *öz-özi*, e.g.

özi-özin öltirdi	he killed himself

2.1.2.3.4. Collective form: *bir-biri* "one another", e.g.

bir-birin süjedi	they love each other

2.1.2.4. Interrogative pronouns

kim	who?
ne	what?
kaj/kaj-sy<kajy-sy	which?

Note: *kaj* is used before nouns, *kajsy* is used separate.

2.1.2.4.1. Case endings are the same as for nouns and adjectives, e.g.

neni	what?
neniŋ	of what?
nege	to what, for what or why?
nede	in what?
neden	from what or sometimes why?

2.1.2.4.2. Other forms deriving from *ne* and *kaj* are:

neše/nešew	how many?

Note: *neše* is used before nouns, *nešew* is used separate.

nešik	how? (in some dialects)
nendej	what kind? (in some dialects)
kanša	how much?
kašan	when?
kandaj	what kind of?
kalaj	how?

2.1.2.4.3. Interrogative Pronouns expressing space:

kajda	where in/to ALL/LOC
kajdan	where from ABL
kaj žerde/kajerde	at what place
kaj žakta/kajakta	at what place
käne/känekij	where is it?

2.1.2.4.4. Compound "verbal" interrogative pronoun.:

kaj-t- (kalaj et-)	what to do, how to do?

2.1.2.5. Indefinite pronouns

bir neše	some/few
birdeŋe<bir neme	something
birew	someone (original meaning one piece)
bir kisi	someone
baska, özge	other
närse<ne erse	something
eš (P heč)	no
eš kim	no one
eš kašan	never
eš kajda	nowhere
ešteŋe<eš neme	nothing
kej (P gâh)	some
kejde	sometimes

kej bir	some/few
kej birew(i)	someone
älde (UZ *ällä*)	some
älde kašan	sometimes, long ago

2.1.2.6. Quantitative pronouns

är (P *har*)	all, every
är kim	everybody
ärdeme	everything
är üjde	in every house, in all the houses
bär-i (<*bar-y*)	everything, everyone
bärin biledi	he knows everything
bäri keldi	everyone came

Note: The last -*i* is a 3rd PPS and acts like one! *bäri* can be replaced by *barlygy* (pronounced *bärlygy*).

bar	all
bar älem	all the World
barlyk	every, all
barlyk jerde	everywhere
barša	all
bütin	all
bükil	all
tügel	all
köp	much, many
az	few, little

2.1.3. Numerals
2.1.3.1. Cardinals

1	*bir*	10	*on*	100	*žüz*
2	*eki*	20	*žyjyrma*	1000	*myŋ*
3	*üš*	30	*otyz*		
4	*tört*	40	*kyryk (kyrk-y)*		
5	*bes*	50	*eliw*		
6	*alty*	60	*alpys*		
7	*žeti*	70	*žetpis*		
8	*segiz*	80	*seksen*		
9	*togyz*	90	*toksan*		

2.1.3.2. Ordinals

The suffix -*(I)nšI* is added to cardinals to express ordinals

Notes: The cardinal form of "20" *žyjyrma* is *žyjyrma-s-ynšy*. "1ˢᵗ" *birinši* can be replaced by *algaš*. The word *ekinši* "2ⁿᵈ" can also mean "other" or "again".

2.1.3.3. Collectives

-*Aw* can be used until seven. If the cardinal ends with -*I*, that last vowel disappears, e.g.

bir-ew	one piece	*alt-aw*	six pieces
ek-ew	two pieces	*žet-ew*	seven pieces

-*Aw*+PPS expresses collectives out of a group, e.g.

birew-i	one of them
ekew-imiz	two of us

It can be used as conjunction replacing 'and', e.g.

Axmet, men ekewimiz	Akhmed and I

2.1.3.4. Distributives -*Ar*

bir-er	by one

This suffix is rarely used in Kazak and usually replaced by ABL -*DAn*, e.g.

bir-den	by one
eki-den	by two

2.1.4. Adjectives

Adjectives morphologically do not differ from nouns, except that if they are in qualifying position they precede the qualified noun without the Izafet chain (see there), e.g.

kazak kyzy	Kazak girl
sulyw kyz	beautiful girl

2.1.4.1 Comparison

The comparative degree is expressed by putting the second member of the comparison in ABL case, e.g.

ol budan žaksy	that is better than this

Superlative is expressed by the intensifying word „*eŋ*", e.g.

eŋ žaksy	the best

ABL case of words like *bäri* "all" can also mean superlative, e.g.

Bärinen žaksy	the best of all

2.1.4.2. Adjectival Categorizers

-*GI* suffix derives adjectives from nouns of time and space, e.g.

žaz	summer (noun)

žaz-gy	summer (adjective)
tömen	low, down
tömeŋ-gi	lower

It can also be used after LOC *-DA-gI*, e.g.

kala-dagy	the one in the city

Categorizers from Arabic and Persian: *-yj/ij (A -î)*, *-Man (P -mand)*

sajasat (A sajāsat)	politics
sajasyj (A sajāsī)	political
köš	moving of nomad households
köšpen	nomad

2.1.5. Adverbs

All adjectives can be used as adverbs without any morphological changes depending on their role in the sentence, e.g.

ol žaksy adam	he is a good man
ol žaksy biledi	he knows it well

There are some adverbs that can be used only as such, but most of them are derived from verbs or nouns/adjectives, e.g.

žajaw	'pedestrian' or 'on foot'

Some suffixes used for adverbs:

-(I)n and *-I* (Old Turkic INS) used only in a few cases, e.g.

teg-in	for free
bir küni	one day
osy žyly	this year

-GArI (Old Turkic LAT) survives also in some adverbs, e.g.

il-geri	long ago
žo-gary	upward
tys-kary	outside

2.1.5.1. Spatial

žogary	upwards
tömen	down
keri	back
kejin	back
beri	towards, since
äri	away
karsy	against

2.1.5.2. Temporal

bügin<bul kün	today
keše	yesterday
erteŋ	tomorrow
bir küni	one day
aldyŋgy küni	day before yesterday
bürsigini<birisi küni	day after tomorrow
ertesi küni	next day
byltyr	last year
byjyl<bu žyl	this year
kelesi žyly	next year
taŋ-erteŋ	in the morning (*taŋ* means dawn)
tün, tüni men	at night
kündiz	daytime
keške	in the evening
keške karaj/taman	in the evening
tüske taman	at noon
tüste	at noon
sosyn	then
(son-syn<sonan soŋ)	
erte	early
keš	late
žiji-žiji	frequently
buryn	before
endi	now

Note: It is usually replaced by *kazir (A ḥāḍir)*, while *endi* is used it in certain expressions, usually in the meaning of "well", e.g.

endi ne istejmiz?	Well, what shall we do now?
äli (A ḥâlâ/ḥâlî)	yet, used with negative e.g.
äli kelgen žok	he has not arrived yet
kazir (A ḥâḍir)	now
tagy	again
kajta, kajtadan	again, repeatedly
žyl sajyn	every year

2.1.5.3. Degree adverbs

öte	very
äbden (P âbâdan)	very
asa, tym	very

tipti	at all
mülde, müldem	at all
äsiri-ese	especially

2.1.5.4. Other Adverbs

birge	together
boska	in vain
ädeji	on purpose
tegin	for free
beker (P be-kâr)	in vain

2.1.6. Nominal categorizers

2.1.6.1. Nominalizers

2.1.6.1.1. Denominal

-*šA* suffix has the following meanings:

1) It expresses that somebody speak in a language, e.g.

| *kazak-ša* | in Kazak (language), in the Kazak way |

2) It also means 'in a way' or 'according to', e.g.

ajtyw-y-n-ša	according to what he says
menimše	in my opinion
bojy-n-ša	according to
baskaša	in a different way

-*DAj* (<OT *deg*) means "like", "as", e.g.

| *tawdaj bol* | be like a mountain |

-*šA* and -*DAj* act like case suffixes, which means that after 3rd PPS sound -*n*- appears before suffixes -*šA* and -*DAj*, e.g.

| *onyŋ ajktanyn-daj boldy* | It happened as he said it would |
| *onyŋ ajtywyn-ša* | according to what he says |

-*šI* expresses profession, e.g.

| *žylky* | horse |
| *žylkyšy* | horseman |

-*LI* expresses that a word possesses a thing or a quality, e.g.

| *tuzdy* | salted, something that has salt in it |
| *akyldy* | witted, someone who has wits (clever) |

-*LI-/-LI* joins two things that belong to each other, e.g.

| *erli-zajypty* | spouses, husband and wife |
| *apaly-siŋili* | sisters, older and younCV |

-*sIz* means that something/somebody lacks a thing or a quality (-less), e.g.

| *magynasyz* | meaningless, has no meaning |

-LIk creates a general noun from nouns and adjectives (-ness), e.g.

žas	young
žastyk	youth
dajyn	ready
dajyndyk	readiness

It also means that something comes from a place, e.g.

| *Almatylyk* | someone from Almaty |

-LAs means that a word belongs to a group, e.g.

| *žoldas* | companion (on a trip) or comrade |

-šIl means that someone likes something, e.g.

| *šynšyl* | one who likes the truth, truthful |

-LAk used for places, e.g.

| *tastak* | a place full of stones |

-(I)ldIrIk used after certain nouns, e.g.

| *köz-ildirik* | eye-glasses |
| *uw-yldyryk* | caviar (from *uw* poison) |

3.1.6.1.2.　Deverbal Nominizers

-(I)w, e.g. *oky-w*	learning
-(I)wšI, e.g. *oky-wšy*	pupil, student
-(I)s, e.g. *tala-s*	quarell
-MIs, e.g. *tur-mys*	life
-MA, e.g. *tart-pa*	drawer
-MAn, e.g. *oky-r-man*	reader
-(I)k, e.g. *böl-ik*	part
-I, e.g. *tol-y*	full
-GI, e.g. *šal-gy*	schyte
-(In)Iš, e.g. *kuwan-yš*	happiness
kork-ynyš	fear
-Ak, e.g. *žat-ak*	accommodation
-šAk, e.g. *umyt-šak*	absent-minded
-GIn, e.g. *sür-gin*	exile
-Im, e.g. *söjle-m*	sentence
-In, e.g. *eg-in*	cereals
-GIš, e.g. *kys-kyš*	brace
-GIr, e.g. *al-gyr*	adoptive
-WIš, e.g. *basta-wyš*	beginner

2.1.6.2. Augmentatives

-(I)rAk is used to intensify the meaning of an adjective, but sometimes can be translated as comperative (COM) too, e.g.

| *erte-rek* | quite early, earlier |

Intensive adjectives can be produced by duplicating the first syllable of the adjective plus -*p* between the adjective and the doubled part, e.g.

| *kap-kara* | very black, pitch dark |

-*LAw*, -*LAp* are used to express "quite, very", e.g.

| *awyrlaw* | quite heavy |
| *žaksylap söjle!* | speak very well! |

2.1.6.3. Diminutives

Diminutives of personal names are created from the first two sounds of them plus adding -*eke*, regardless of vowel harmony, e.g.

| *Salamat (A Salāmat)* | *Sa-ke* |
| *Däwit (A Dāwūd)* | *Dä-ke* |

-*eke* can be used after the names of the relatives, e.g.

| *šeše-ke* | mother |

-*taj* (not subject to vowel harmony!!)

| *kiši>kišken** | younger | *kiškentaj* | small |
| *kulyn* | colt | *kulyntaj* | little colt |

-*šA* can be used after many nouns, e.g.

| *kitapša* | small book, booklet |
| *ženeše* | sister-in-law |

-*kAn*

| *uly>ül-ken* | big |
| *bota-kan* | little camel |

2.1.7. Other word categories

2.1.7.1. Postpositions

2.1.7.1.1. Postpositions with NOM case

2.1.7.1.1.1. *Men/Menen* (<*birlen/bilen*) 'with'

Kazak grammars consider this word as INS/SOC case suffix. It is not a case suffix but a suffixed postposition. Formerly it was used with GEN, especially after pronouns, but in Kazak Personal/Demonstrative Pronouns *men, sen, ol, bul, sol* preserved a contracted form of GEN (-*NIŋ>-NI*), while *osy* itakes NOM, e.g.

| *ony men<onyŋ men* | with him |

meni men<meniŋ men			with me	
osy men (not *osyny men*)			with this	

Allomorph after vowels:

Dental	Nasals	Glides	Lateral/Trill	Voiceless
z	*m, n, ŋ*	*w, j*	*l, r*	*p, t, k, š, s, x*
ben	*men*	*men*	*men*	*pen*

Examples:

kyz ben	with the girl
at pen	with horse, on horseback
aty men	with his horse
atam men	with my father
pojyz ben	by train (R *pojezd*)

It can also express the meaning 'through/across', e.g.

taw men keldik	we came through the mountains

Between two words it is used as a conjunction, e.g.

kazak pen kyrgyz	Kazak and Kyrgyz

It is often used with adverb *birge* 'together', e.g.

dosym men birge	together with my friend

2.1.7.1.2. Other postpositions with NOM:

Postposition:		Examples:	
üšin	for	*sol üšin*	for this, for that reason
		kelgeniŋ üšin raxmet	thanks for coming
tuwraly, žajly	about, concerning	*bul söz tuwraly*	about this word

Note: It is usually replaced by Auxiliary noun *žöninde*.

syjakty "like, similar", e.g.		*sol syjakty*	like that

Note: Two Arabic loan words can replace this postposition

sekildi (A *šakl*), *tärizdi* (A *tarz*)

žakka	towards	*üj žakka baramyn*	I go home (towards my house)

Note: DAT *žak* "side"

arkyly	via, through	*Almaty arkyly keldim*	I came via Almaty
šakty	about, around	*on šakty adam*	about five people
sajyn	every, by	*žyl sajyn*	every year, year by year
bojdan	in the state	*eski bojdan kaldy*	it remained in the old state

Note: ABL *boj* "stature"

2.1.7.1.3. DAT/ALL case

karsy	against	*žawga karsy*	against the enemy
dejin, šejin	until	*tüske dejin*	till noon

Some postpositions by the verb *kara-* to look:

kara-maj	regardless of	*ogan karamaj*	in spite of that
kara-mastan	in spite of		
karaj	towards, around	*tawga karaj*	towards the mountain
		keške karaj	around the evening
taman	towards, around	*tüske taman*	around noon
ora-j	concerning	*ökiniške oraj*	unfortunately

2.1.7.1.4. ABL case

buryn	ago	*eki žyl buryn*	two years ago
soŋ	after	*sodan soŋ*	after that

Note: It is rarely used and usually replaced by *kejin*.

kejin	after	*üš künnen kejin*	after three days
beri	since	*tört ajdan beri*	since four months
äri	further (rare)	*budan äri*	further this
baska	except	*žylkydan baska žok*	there is nothing except horses

Sometimes it can be repaleced by the following words:

özge/tys	except, apart from		
bylaj	after (rarely used)	*budan bylaj*	after this
göri(<kör-e)	compared to	*tawdan göri*	compared to the mountain
		odan göri	rather
astam (as-)	more	*eki žüzden astam*	more than 200

2.1.7.1.5. Postpositions/AUX nouns can be used after Participles *-GAn, -(A)r, -MAs* and Verbal Noun *-(I)w* as well, e.g.

kelgen syjkaty	it seems that he arrived
kelgen soŋ	after he came
kelgen bojdan	as soon as he arrived
kelgen sajyn	every time he came
keler aldynda	before he comes
kelmes buryn	before he came
keliw/keliwi kerek	he must come
keliwi mümkin (A mumkin)	he might come

Postpositions *kerek/mümkin* can used with PPS, e.g.

keliw-im kerek	I must come
keliw-im mümkin	I may come
keliwge tijisti	he ought to come

2.1.7.2. Conjunctions

žäne	and
men	and
ne..ne.. plus NEG	neither...nor... (P *na...na...*)
ne at žok ne esek	there is neither horse nor donkey
bolmasyn	no matter
ja/jä (bolmasa)	or (P *jâ*)
älde, žok älde	or (UZ *ällä*)
nemese (<ne emese)	or
bir-ak	but
sebebi (A sabab)	because
öj-t-keni	because
nege deseŋ	because
de-mek	well, it means
ajt-pakšy	well, as a matter of fact
ne bolsa da	whatever
kaj-tken men	whatever
bolgan men	even though
bolsa da	even though

2.1.7.3. Particles

2.1.7.3.1. Excluding particle *Gana* "only", e.g.

men gana bilem	I know it only

Note: It can be used by the modal word *tek* only, e.g.

tek kana sen	only you

2.1.7.3.2. Including particle *tügil, turgaj* "not only, but", e.g.

ol kelgen tügil,	he not only came but
köp närse äkeldi	brought a lot of things

2.1.7.3.3. Emphasizing particle *Goj* and *-ak*, e.g.

solaj goj	like that in deed
solaj-ak	just like that

2.1.7.3.4. Interrogative particle is *-MA*

Allomorphs after vowels:

Dental	Nasals	Lateral/Trill	Glides	Voiceless
z	m, n, ŋ	l, r	w, j	p, t, k, s, š, x
-bA	-bA	-mA	-mA	-pA

It stands always at the end of the sentence and used if there is no interrogative pronoun in the sentence, e.g.

ol kele-me?	But *kašan kele-di?*

Interrogative particle *-MI-* is used between words and suffixed personal pronouns, e.g.

žaksy-my-syŋ	are you well?

2.1.7.3.5. *-DI* enclitic particle is only used after CV in standard language, e.g.

kele-di	comes
kelip-ti	has come (apparently)

It disappears before the interrogative particle *-MA*, e.g.

kele-me?	is he coming?
kelip-pe?	has he come, I wonder?

2.1.7.3.6. *DA* particle expresses "too, as well, also", e.g.

ol da biledi	He know it as well

2.1.7.3.7. *-šI* Politeness particle, e.g.

ajtsaŋšy	would you say it, please
kelši	please come
ajtajynšy	please, let me say it

In 2nd SIN *-sAj-šI* is also used, e.g.

otyrsajšy	please, sit down

2.1.7.3.8. *še* means "and what about?", e.g.

sen še?	and what about you?

2.2. Verbal morphology

2.2.1. Verb

The stem of the Kazak verbs usually remain the same, it never changes. Exceptions:

1) Voicing of the last *p* and *k* : *p>b* before consonants, *p>w* before adverb *-(I)p*, *k>g* before consonants, e.g.

kak-> kagyp	to shake
tap-> tabyw/tawyp	to find

2) the dropping of *-I-* in the second syllable of the stem, e.g.

ajyr> ajr-yl-yp	to be torn

The stem itself means IMP 2 SIN, e.g.

kel	come (you SIN)

3) Order of extension

STEM-CAT: CAUS/PASS/REC/REF-NEG-MOD: PAR/CON/TSMS-PS, e.g.

kel-tir-me-p-ti   he has not made him to come

[come-CAUS-NEG-CON/EVID.PAST-PART]

2.2.1.1. Personal suffixes (PS)

2.2.1.1.1. Class I

The *-DI* recent past tense and *-sA* conditional mood suffixes take Class I personal suffixes, which are almost like PPS. They only differ in 1st PL: *k** (unknown origin).

	SING	PL
1	*-m*	*-k**
2	*-ŋ /ŋIz**	*-ŋdAr/ŋIzdAr**
3	-	-

table 12.

2.2.1.1.2. Class II

Imperative Mood (IMP) suffixes take Class II personal suffixes, which are quite similar to Class I personal suffixes:

	Mood suffix	Personal suffixes	
		SIN	PL
1st	*-(A)j-*	*-In(<-Im)*	*-Ik*
2nd	*-0-*	*-0(<(I)ŋ)/ -(I)ŋIz**	*-(I)ŋ-dAr/-(I)ŋIz-dAr**
	-GIn	*-0*	*-0*
3rd	*-sIn*	*-0*	*-0*

table 13.

*Polite form

2.2.1.1.3. Comparison of personal suffixes:

SIN	PPS	After *-DI* and *-sA*	IMP mood: *-(A)j, -0, -sIn*
1st	*-(I)m*	*-m*	*-In<Im*
2nd	*-(I)ŋ/-(I)ŋIz**	*-ŋ/-ŋIz**	*-0(<Iŋ)/ -(I)ŋIz**
3rd	*-(s)I*	*-0*	*-0*
PL			
1st	*-(I)mIz*	*-k*	*-Ik*
2nd	*-LAr-Iŋ/-LAr-InIz**	*-ŋ-dAr/-ŋIz-dAr**	*-(I)ŋ-dAr/-(I)ŋIz-dAr* *

Table 14.

*Polite form

2.2.1.1.4. Class III

There are other TAM suffixes that can be used as non-finite forms as well: verbal nouns, participles and converbs. They take suffixed personal pronouns, just like other nouns and adjectives:

	SIN	PL
1	*-MIn*	*-MIz*
2	*-sIŋ/sIz**	*-sIŋdAr/sIzdAr**
3	*(-DI)*	*-(DI)*

table 15.

* polite form

Note: suffixed particle *-DI* (see there) only used after CVunds in standard language, e.g.

2.2.1.2. Basic tense-aspect-mood (TAM) categories can be expressed by the following verbal forms:

1) Finite verbal suffixes: PAST-*DI*, COND *-sA* and IMP *-(A)j/-0/-sIn*

2) Verbal noun and Participles

3) Converbs

4) Compound verbal forms (consisting of a main verb and one or more auxiliary verbs) TAM categories expressed by AUX verbs can be found under paragraph 2.3.

2.2.1.2.1. Tense categories

Kazak has only two tenses: Present-Future (P/F) and PAST

2.2.1.2.1.1. Present-Future (P/F) is formed by converb *-A/j*. It expresses and action that takes place usually or will take place in the future, e.g.

kel-e-di   'he comes (usually)' or 'he will come'

2.2.1.2.1.2. PAST

1) *-DI* recent past expresses an action that took place not long ago and still has relation with the present, e.g.

keldi   he arrive, he has arrived

It can also expresses present that will take place soon, e.g.

kettim   I am leaving (right now), I am off

2) General past with participle *-GAn* expresses an action that took place long ago and has been finished already, e.g.

kelgen   he arrived (but he is gone now)

2.2.1.2.2. Aspectual suffixes

2.2.1.2.2.1. Continuous (CONT)

P/F.CONT can be expressed by *-Ir>0*. This form is only used with *tur-/žat-/otyr-/žür-* and it disappears after *tur-, otyr-, žür-*:

žat-yr   he is lying

tur-yr>tur   he is standing

otyr-yr>otyr   he is sitting

žür-ir>žür he is walking

These words have no other Continuous forms. Other verbs are used with these AUX (see there) to express Present Continuous and other Continuous forms.

Another continuous form is *-(I)w-dA* (verbal noun *-(I)w*+LOC) tense, that expresses an action that is under way. It is used in written language, e.g.

bul üj salynywda this house is under construction

2.2.1.2.2.2. Habitual past (HAB.PAST) is expressed by converb *-A/j+tIn* (*<tugyn<turgan*) suffixed particle. Probably the original form was used by *edi* (past tens of the verb 'to be'). In some dialects still the old form *-A/j tugyn* is used, e.g.

kele-tin he used to come

kele tugyn he used to come (in some dialects)

2.2.1.2.3. Mood suffixes

2.2.1.2.3.1. Conditional (COND)

In the first part (protasis) of the conditional sentence, which contains the condition (if) the verb takes *-sA* conditional suffix, e.g.

kelse if he comes, when he comes

There are other compound forms as well (see there).

2.2.1.2.3.2. Optative (OPT) *-GAj* expresses an action that is wished by the speaker, e.g.

ol kelgej I wish that he came

saparyng žaksy bolgaj May your trip be good

2.2.1.2.3.3. Evidential (EVID)

2.2.1.2.3.3.1. EVID.FUT is expressed by FUT Participle *-(A)r*. It expresses an action that will probably take place in the future, e.g.

keler he might come

This form is often used in proverbs as general present, e.g.

söjlej-söjlej šešen bolar by speaking he will become a rhetoric

2.2.1.2.3.3.2. *-(I)p* EVID.PAST expresses an action that in not certain. The speaker did not see it, just heard about it, e.g.

kel-ip-ti apparently he has arrived

It also has the meaning that something seems to be the case to the speaker, e.g.

awryp kalypsyŋ I suppose that you are sick

2.2.1.2.3.4. Imperative Mood (IMP) has different suffixes for different persons:

1st	2nd	3rd
-(A)j	-0 or -GIn	-sIn.

These suffixes take Class II PS (see there).

2.2.1.2.3.5. Desirative is expressed by -MAk/MAk-šI, where -MAk is a shortened form of -MAkšI, e.g.

ol kelmekši	he wants to come

2.2.1.3. Negation

2.2.1.3.1. In Turkic languages the verb is usually negated by adding -MA suffix to the stem. It has allomorphs after vowels:

dental	nasals	glides	trills	voiceless
z	m, n, ŋ	w, j	l. r	p, t, k, s, š
-bA	-bA	-mA	-mA	-pA

The only case when the NEG is irregular is with -(A)r participle when it becomes -MA-s, e.g.

kelmes	he is not coming

The NEG of converb -(I)p, the -MA-p form is only used in EVID.PAST, while as a converb the NEG of converb -A/j , the -MA-j form is used, e.g.

kel-me-j-di	he is not coming
kel-me-p-ti	he might have not come
ketip kaldy	he left
ket-pe-j kaldy	he did not left

The NEG of -GAn is -MA-gAn, but other forms with žok/emes (see below) also can be used, e.g.

kel-me-gen	he did not arrived at that time

The NEG of -DI is -MA-dI but often replaced other forms (see below), e.g.

kelmedi	did not come

The NEG of -A/j-tIn is -MA-j-tIn, but other forms exist (see below), e.g.

kelmejtin	he did not come regularly

Other NEG froms -MA-sA, -MA-wšI edi, -MA-gAj, etc.

kelmese	if he does not come
kelmewši edi	he did not come at all
kelmegej	I wish he did not came

2.2.1.3.2. Some verbal forms can be negated by noun/adjective žok 'non-existent' or the negative of the verb 'to be' emes (see there), e.g.

kel-gen žok	he did/has not arrived

kel-gen emes		he did not arrived at all
kel-mekši emes		does not want to come
keletin emes		someone, who is not willing to come

2.2.2. Verbal categorizers

2.2.2.1. Voice categorizers

2.2.2.1.1. Reflexive verb: *-(I)n-*, e.g.

| *žuw-* | to wash | *žuwyn-* | to wash himself |

2.2.1.1.2. The passive verb: *-(I)l-*, e.g.

| *basta-* | to start | *bastal-* | to be started |

Exceptions:

1) After *-l-* it becomes *-In-*, e.g.

| *al-* | to take | *al-yn-* | to be taken |

2) After verbalizer *-LA-* it becomes *-n-*, e.g.

| *baj-la-* | to bind | *baj-lan-* | to be bound |

3) Other exceptions:

| *de-* | to say | *de-lin-* | to be said |
| *kör-* | to see | *kör-in-* | to be seen |

2.2.1.1.3. The reciprocal or co-operative verb takes *-(I)s-* suffix. It has different functions:

1) It can express that action is mutual or reciprocal between two sides, e.g.

| *ol söjlesti* | | he spoke to him |

2) Co-operative, which means that one did something together with others, e.g.

| *ol sabakka katysty* | | he attended the class (together with others) |

3) In some dialects it can express an action that was taken by a group of people together, thus meaning plurality, e.g.

| *olar barysty* | | they went (together) |

2.2.2.2. Verbalizers

-LA-, e.g. *bas, basta-*	to start
-A-, e.g. *bos, bosa-*	to empty
-Aj-, e.g. *az-aj-*	to become less
köb-ej-	to become more
kart-aj-	to grow older (people)
-(A)r-, e.g. *eski-r-*	to become old (things)
žas-ar-	to become young
kög-er-	to become blue
-sIrA-, e.g. *kül-im-sire-*	to smile
žetim-sire-* *(Ar. yatîm)*	to feel lonely

-sIn-, e.g. *žüreksin-*	to be afraid
-IldA-, e.g. *gürilde-*	to roar
-GAr-, e.g. *at-kar-*	to fulfill
bas-kar-	to lead
es-ker-	to remind

2.2.2.3. Causativizers

In Kazak the causative has two meanings:

1) to make somebody do something

2) to let someone do something

After vowels it takes *-t-* suffix, e.g.

oky-t-	to teach, to make s. study

After consonants it can take *-DIr-, -DAr-, -Ir, -Ar-, -GIz-, -Iz-* suffixes, e.g.

kön-dir-	to convince, to make him accept
kaz-dyr-	to make him dig
kal-dyr-	to make him stay
kel-tir-	to make him come
öl-tir-	to make him die, to kill
šap-tyr-	to make it gallop, to gallop
kes-tir-	to make him cut
kir-giz-	to make him enter
kij-giz-	to dress him/her up
aš-yr-	to make him open
šyg-ar-	to make him go out, to take out, lead out
ag-yz-	to make it flow

Exceptions:

kör-se-t-	to make him see, to show
kork-yt-	make him afraid, frighten
aw-dar-	to make him turn around, to translate

For the use of the causative see DAT case.

2.2.2.4. Other categorizers

2.2.2.4.1. The repetitive verb: *-is-tir-*, e.g.

sura-	to ask	*surastyr-*	to ask around

2.2.2.4.2. Iterative: *-(I)ŋkIrA-, -GI-lA-*, e.g.

tepkile-	to kick a coulpe of times
žabyŋkyra-	to close it well, to close it better again

2.2.3. Verbal modifiers

2.2.3.1. Verbal nouns/Participles

2.2.3.1.1. Participles

2.2.3.1.1.1. Present/Future (P/F) participle is *-A/j* plus *-tIn* or *tugyn* (originally from compound verb form: *-A/j tur-gan*), e.g.

kele-tin/kele tugyn   the one who will come

2.2.3.1.1.2. Future forms *-AsI**, *-AšAk**are not productive, they are only used *kel-* and *bol-*, e.g.

kelesi   next, forthcoming

kelešek   future

bolašak   future

kelešek urpak   the future generation

2.2.3.1.1.3. EVID.P/F participle *-(A)r* is used generally, e.g.

keler   the one who may come/the one who usually comes

-(A)r-lIk suffix creates adjectives despite the *-LIk* nominal suffix, e.g.

ajtarlyk söz   word that is worth to say

2.2.3.1.1.4. PAST participle *-GAn*

kelgen kisi   the person who came

2.2.3.1.1.5. Other participles with *-šI* are *-MAk-šI** and *-(I)w-šI**, e.g.

kelmekši   one who wants to come

keliwši   the one who usually came

2.2.3.1.2. Verbal nouns

The main difference between verbal nouns and participles is that verbal nouns cannot be used as adjectives.

2.2.3.1.2.1. *-(I)w* is the main verbal noun suffix in Kazak. It is sometimes considered infinitive, which do not exist in Turkic languages, e.g.

keliw   coming, to come

One will find the verbs in that form in dictionaries, which makes it difficult to know the actual stem, if the verb ends with *-I-*, e.g.

sasy-	to stink	*sasy-w*	stinking
sas-	to be nervous	*sas-yw*	being nervous

2.2.3.1.2.2. *-GAn-dIk*. If we add the nominal suffix *-LIk* to participle *-GAn* it will become a verbal noun, but sometimes can be replaced by *-GAn*. It is often used with ABL to express reason, e.g.

ol kelgendikten   Because he came

2.2.3.1.2.3. Other verbal nouns

-(I)s* form which is common in *Turkistani* languages and Kyrgyz, but it is only used in Kazak with postposition *men* plus particle *-ak*, e.g.

kelisi men-ak   as soon as he arrived

-MAk* is rarely used in Kazak as verbal noun, it occurs in poetry. It is usually used as verb of intention (see there), e.g.

kelmegin bilemiz   We know, that he comes

-GI* form is taken from the *Turkistani* languages (*Uzbek, Uigur*), suffix *-GU* probably has the same origin as Kazak *-(I)w (<-(I)gU)*, e.g.

Uig *jazguči*, Kaz *žazywšy*   writer

It is used only with PPS and the AUX verb *kel-* (see there) or with *bar/žok*, e.g.

bar-gy-sy bar   he wants to go

2.2.3.2. Converbs (CV)

Converbs are very common in Turkic languages and the easiest way to join verbs together is to use converbs. They have very important role in AUX verbal formations where the second AUX verb often loses its meaning.

2.2.3.2.1. Imperfect (IM) converb used if the two actions occur at the same time (IMP). It takes *-A/j* suffix, e.g.

žügire šykty   he came out running

2.2.3.2.2. Perfect (PR) converb is used if the first action precedes the second, while the first verb takes suffix *-(I)p*, e.g.

ajtyp ketti   said and left

2.2.3.2.3. Other converbs

'Since' is expressed by converb *-GA-lI*, e.g.

ol kelgeli üš kün boldy   3 days passed since he came

'Until' is express by *-GAnšA (<GI-šA/GIn-šA)*, e.g.

ol kelgenše   until he comes

Comparison also expressed by *-GAnšA*, e.g.

muny alganša ony al   take that rather than this

It should not be confused *-GAn-In-šA*, which is participle *-GAn* with PPS plus suffix *-šA*, e.g.

ajt-kan-y-n-ša   according to what he said

Note: It is usually replaced by *ajtywynša* form.

"Without" is expressed by *-MAs-tAn* (NEG participle *-(A)r* plus ABL), e.g.

ajtpastan barma   do not go without telling

"Although/but" is expresses by *-GAn men* or *-sA dA*, e.g.

kelgen men/kelgen bolsa da   although he came I did not see him

"After/because" can be expressed sometimes by *-GA-sIn<GAn soŋ**. It is a colloquial form, which is used as adverb *-GAch* in Volga-Ural or South-Siberian languages, e.g.

men kelgesin ony kördim	I saw him after he came
ol kelgesin men kalmajm	I will not stay because he came

Converb *-(I)w-lI* expresses continuity, e.g.

žazywly	It is written (all the time)

Doubled forms:

-A/j -A/j double converb expresses a repeated or continuous action, e.g.

bara-bara	by going continuously gradually

"Just as" can be expressed by participle *-(A)r -MAs-tA*, e.g.

kün šygar-šykpasta	Just as the sun was setting

2.3. Auxiliary verb formations (AUX)

2.3.1. Uninflected stems of nouns/adjectives plus AUX formations with *et-, kyl-, bol-*, e.g.

(u)ruksat et-	to give permission, to permit
pajda bol-	to appear
žok kyl-	to destroy

2.3.2. Inflected Lexical Stem of Verbs plus AUX formations

2.3.2.1. The forms of the verb "to be" *(e-< OT er-)*. It has only a few forms preserved in modern Kazak, which can be used for TAM formations: *edi/eken* and NEG *emes* (see there).

2.3.2.1.1. Tense formations

Pluperfect (PLU) is express by adding *edi* to some of the Tense suffixes, e.g.

EVID.PAST.PLU *-(I)p edi*, e.g.

baryp edi	I think he had gone

PAST.PLU *-GAn edi*, e.g.

bargan edi	He had gone

HAB.PAST.PLU *-(I)wšI edi*, e.g.

barywšy edi	he used to go

2.3.2.1.2. Modal formations

SUBJ mood: *-(A)r* or *-A/j-tIn* plus *edi*. In Conditional sentences the second part (apodosis) takes the subjunctive according to the type of the condition:

1) Remote condition: the verb of the protasis is in conditional mood; the verb of the apodosis takes future participle *-(A)r* plus *edi*, e.g.

Kelseŋ žaksy bolar edi	It would be good if you came

2) Unfilled condition: the verb of the protasis is in conditional mood, the verb of the apodosis takes participle *-A/j-tyn* plus *edi* or in some dialects *-(I)wšI edi* e.g.

Kelse žaksy bolatyn edi   It would have been good if he had come
(bolywšy edi)

EVID mood expressed by participle *-GAn*, converb *-A/j-(DI)* plus PAST participle *e-ken (<er-gen)*, e.g.

kyz algan eken   he apparently got married
barady eken   he is likely to go

2.3.2.2. The word "to be" (*e-*) is often replaced by *bol-* "to become", because the PAST form *edi* means SUBJ, while its P/F form does not exist at all, e.g.

žaksy (-)	it is good	*žaksy bolad*	it will be good
žaksy edi	it would be good	*žaksy bolgan*	it was good
žalksy eken		*žaksy bolgan eken*	it seems/seemed good
žaksy ekenin bilem	I know that it is good	*žaksy bolganyn bilem*	I know that it was good
-		*žaksy bolganda*	when it is/was good

The verb *bol-* too can be replaced with the verbs expressing DUR: *žat-, žür-, tur-*, e.g.
üjde žatkan   it was in the house
kaltamda žürdi   it was in my pocket
bul žerde turady   it is here

2.3.2.2.1. Auxiliary formations by *bol-*
2.3.2.2.1.1. Modal formations

Probabative (POB) *-GAn bol-ar, -A/j-tIn bol-ar*, e.g.
kelgen bolar   he might have arrived
bara-tyn bolar   he may go

Intentive/Desirative (INT/DES) *-A/j-tIn, -MAk(šI), -(I)w-šI* plus *bol-*, e.g.
Almatyga bara-tyn boldy   he intends to go to Almaty
öltirmek boldy   he decided to kill him
ötirik ajtywšy bolma   Don't ever tell a lie

Pretendetive (PRET) *-GAn-dAj* or *-GAn bol-*, e.g.
uktagandaj boldy   he seemed like sleeping
žylagan boldy   he pretended crying

2.3.2.2.1.2. Aspectual formations

Capability (CAP) *-(I)w-GA* or COND *-sA* plus *bol-*, e.g.
išiwge bola-ma?   is it possible to drink?
kelse bolady   he can come

Conditional (COND) *-A/j tIn, -(A)r, -GAn* plus *bolsa*, e.g.
Keletin bolsa baramyn   if he wants to come, I will go
Kelgen bolsa baramyn   if he is here I will go

2.3.2.3. Auxiliary functions of the verb of quoting *de-*

2.3.2.3.1. Not real AUX formations: Turkic languages do not use reporting speech they simply quote the sentence that somebody said, e.g.

men kelem dedi	He said that he would come

If the objects of the two sentences are not the same, the object of the quoted sentence is in ACC case, e.g.

meni kelem dedi	He said that I would come

2.3.2.3.2. Real AUX formations with *de-*

Desirative mood can be expressed by IMP *(A)j-yn* plus *de-*, e.g.

barajyn dep tur/edi	He wants to come/would like to come
žaŋbyr žawajyn dep tur	It is about to rain
osyny ajtajyn dep keldim	I came to say that

2.3.3. AUX formations with other verbs

2.3.3.1 Aspectual AUX formations

2.3.3.1.1. Capability (CA): *-A/j* plus *al-, bil-*

kele alasyŋ-ba?	can you come
durys žaza bil!	be careful, write properly

2.3.3.1.2. Continuous (CONT)

This aspect can be expressed by Perfect CV *-(I)p* plus *tur-, žür-, žat-, otyr-*.

The P/F.CONT uses shortened forms: *tur, žür, žatyr, otyr*, e.g.

xat žazyp tur	he is writing a letter or usually writes:
at minip žür	he is riding a horse or usually rides
okyp otyr	he is learning now
ujyktap žatyr	he is sleeping now

Verbs expressing direction *kel-* and *bar-* take *-A/j* Imperfect Converb plus *žat-yr*, e.g.

kele žatyr	he is approaching
bara žatyr	he is going away

Converb *-(I)p* is rarely used and expresses not present continuous but simply repeated action, one comes or goes after the other, e.g.

kelip žat-yr	they come one after another
baryp žat-yr	they go repeatedly

2.3.3.1.3. Continuous (CONT): *-A/j* plus *ber-*, e.g.

söjlej berdi	he kept on talking
žüre berdi	he went on

It sometimes expresses that the action is developing, e.g.

žakyndaj berdik	we already got close

2.3.3.1.4. Habitual (HAB): *-(I)p* plus *tur-* and *žür-*, e.g.

än ajtyp žürdi	he sang often
üjrenip turady	he keeps on learning

Verbs *kel-*, *bar-* also can take converb *-(I)p* or *-A/j*, e.g.

bizge kelip tur!	come to us often
kinoga baryp žürdim	I used to go to the movies often

HAB can be expressed by CV *-A/j* plus *tur-*, e.g.

bile tursa da	even though he knew about generally

2.3.3.1.5. Completive (COMP) and Perfective (PERF) can be expressed by CV *-(I)p* plus *kal-/koj-/sal-/ket-/šyk-/žiber-/tasta-/öt-/bol-*, e.g.

ölip kaldy	he died
awryp kaldy	he got sick
kelip kaldy	he arrived (and stayed)
ajtyp kojdy	he told about it
bilip kojdy	he found out about it
mas bolyp ketti	he became drunk (but now he is sober)
ujkym kelip ketti	I felt sleepy (but I am still)
ajtyp sal	say it quickly
šygaryp saldym	I saw him off
okyp šyktym	I have read it
uryp žiberdi	suddenly he hit him
žylap žiberdi	suddenly started to cry
urysyp tastadym	I criticized him and left
öltirip tastady	he killed him and went away
attaryn ajtyp ötejin	let me tell their names
išip boldym	I have drunk it, I am finished

2.3.3.1.6. Inchoative (INCH) *-(I)p* plus *kel-*, *bar-*, e.g.

bala söjlep keledi	the child started to speak
žazylyp barady	he is getting well

-(I)p plus *kel-* can also express an action that started a long time ago and has not finished yet, e.g.

köpten beri okyp keledi	He has been studyilng for a long time
saktap kelgen salt	preserved tradition

Actions that takes place gradually and continually take *-(I)p bara* or *kele žatyr*, e.g.

žaksy bolyp bara žatyr	gradually it becomes better
tüsip kele žatyr	it is falling towards us slowly

2.3.3.1.7. Accidental (ACCD) *-(I)p kete/kala/koja žazda-*, e.g.

ölip kala žazdady	he almost died

Note: -A/j žazda- (<žaz-) formation is only used with other AUX in Kazak.
Another form of ACCD is CV -(I)p baryp kal-, e.g.

kulap baryp kaldy   he almost fell down

2.3.3.1.8. Unexpected (UNXP) action: -A/j plus ket-, tüs-, kal-, sal-, e.g.

otyra ketti   he suddenly sat down
tabyla ketti   suddenly it was found
ogan unaj tüsti   it immediately pleased him
kele kaldy   he suddenly arrived
tura salyp/sala   as soon as he stood up

2.3.3.2. Modal functions of AUX

2.3.3.2.1. Attemptive (ATT) mood: -(I)p kör-, kara-, e.g.

išip körši   try and drink some
at minip körgen   I tried to ride a horse
okyp karadym   I read it al little

2.3.3.2.2. Polite (POL) mood with IMP -A/j kör-, koj-, ber-, sal-, tur-, e.g.

Kudaj, saktaj kör   My God, save me!
kire ber!   come in, please!
ajta ber!   come on, say it!
ajta koj   come on, say it!
ajta sal   say it, don't worry!
tura tur!   wait a little!
žazyp ala tur   write it down and wait!
kelgenše ketip kala tur   go away and wait until he comes!

Another form is converb -(I)p plus žiber-, e.g.

žazyp žiberši   write it down please

2.3.3.2.3. Desiderative/Intentive (DES/INT) mood:

-GA-II plus žat-/tur-/žür-/otyr- means "to be about to do", e.g.

bargaly žatty   he is about to go
kelgeli žatyr   he is about to come

Another form is Verbal noun -GI plus kel-, where verbal noun –GI takes PPS, e.g.

bargy-m keledi   I want to go
körgim kelgen žok   I do not want to go

Intention with direction: -A/j plus kel-, bar-, e.g.

kuda tüse keldi   He came to get married

2.3.3.2.4. Evidential/ Probabative (EVID/PROB) mood

-GAn körinedi means "it seems", e.g.

kelgen körinedi   It seems that he arrived

-GAn or *-A/j-tIn šygar*

keletin šygar	he might come

2.3.3.3. Voice function of auxiliary verbs

2.3.3.3.1. Self-Benefictive (SBEN) is CV-*(I)p al-*, Benefictive (BEN) is CV-*(I)p ber-*, e.g.

satyp aldym	I bought it
žuwynyp aldym	I washed myself
okyp berdim	I read it to him
ajtyp ber	tell it to me

2.3.3.3.2. Cislocative (CLOC) and Translocative (TLOC): *-(I)p bar-/ket-*, *kel-*, e.g.

šawyp keldi	he galloped here
šawyp ketti	he galloped away from here
šawyp bardy	he galloped to that place
baryp keldi	he went there, but came back
surap kel	ask him and come back
kelip ketti	he came but left
ölen ajtyp ket	sing a song and then you can go

Constructed forms with *alyp>ap*:

alyp bar->apar-	to take somewhere
alyp kel->äkel-	to bring here
alyp ket->äket-	to take from here
alyp ber->äper-	to take it for somebody (beneficial)

Other verbs that express direction is CV *-(I)p šyk-*, *kajt-*, *tüs-*, e.g.

žügirip šykty	he ran out
tawga örlep šykty	he climbed up the hill
baryp kajtty	went there and returned back
duwaldan sekirip tüsti	jumped down from the wall
kelip tüsti	arrived and sat down

Verbs of direction *bar-*, *kel-*, *ket-* can also take *-A/j*, e.g.

ajta bar	go and tell it
ala kel	come and bring it with you
ala ket	go and take it away

2.3.4. Negation (NEG)

The negation of AUX formation is quite complicated, because either the main verb or the AUX verb can be negated, sometimes both.

2.3.4.1. Negative Participle of the verb to be *e-me-s* usually simple means "not", e.g.

žaksy emes	it is not good

emes with participles *-GAn*, *-A/j-tIn* expresses impossible action, e.g.

| *bolgan emes* | It has never had |
| *bolatyn emes* | It will never be |

2.3.4.2. AUX formation where the main verb is negated:

CON/DUR: *-MA-j žatyr*, e.g.

| *kelmej žatyr* | he is not coming |

PERF: *-MA-j koj-/kal-*, e.g.

| *könbej kojdy* | he did not agree |
| *barmaj kaldy* | he has not gone |

POL *-MA-j-ak koj!*, e.g.

| *barmaj-ak koj!* | You shouldn't go |

EVID.PAST.PLU *-MA-p edi*, e.g.

| *barmap edi* | I think he had not gone |

2.3.4.3. NEG AUX formation when the AUX verb is negated:

CAP: *-A/j alma-*, e.g.

| *žaza almajdy* | he cannot write |

HAB: *-(I)p žürme-*, *-(I)wšI bolma-*, e.g.

| *ajtyp žürmesin* | he should not say that |
| *barywšy bolma* | don't ever go there |

Probabative (PROB) *-A/j berme-/kojma-*, e.g.

| *bola bermes* | it will not happen always, it might not happen |
| *berile kojmas* | this might not be given again |

CAP: *-(I)p bol-ma-*

| *sözin tüsinip bolmady* | It was impossible to understand his word |

2.3.4.4. Double NEG expresses certainty: *-MAj kojma-*, e.g.

| *ajtpaj kojmajdy* | he will definitely say it |

3. Sample texts

Er-Töstük is a popular folk tale among Inner Asian people, it was first mentioned by W. Radloff. This text was collected by the author, 1994, South Kazakstan.

1. Töstik bir kün-i awyl-dyŋ ara-sy-n-da otyr-gan targak-ty sadak pen tart-yp kal-a-dy.
[Töstük] [one] [day-ADV.CAT] [yurtas of the nomadic camp-GEN] [distance- PPS 3-LOC] [sit-PAST.PAR] [targak-ACC] [bow] [with] [draw-CV.PR] [AUX.PERF:stay-CV.IM-MOD]

2. sadak targak-tyŋ kanat-y-n üz-ip ket-e-di
[bow] [targak-GEN] [wing-PPS 3-ACC] [tear-CV.IM] [AUX.PERF: leave-CV.IM-MOD]

3. targak žyg-yl-ma-j bir kanat-y-n sabala-p kaš-a ber-e-di

[targak] [bring down-PAST-NEG-CV.IM] [one] [wing-PPS 3-ACC] [flop-CV.PR] [flee-CV.IM] [AUX.CONT: give-CV.IM-MOD]

Töstik us-ta-j-myn dep kuw-yp žügir-e-di

[Töstük][grab-CV.IM-SPP 1][AUX: say-CV.PR][chase-CV.PR][run-CV.IM-MOD]

4. Söj-t-ip žür-gen-de targak bir kempir-diŋ ör-meg-i-n-iŋ üst-i-n-en kargy-p öt-e-di

[like that-make-CV.PR] [AUX.DUR: walk-PAST.PART-LOC] [targak] [one] [old women-GEN] [braid-ing-PPS 3-GEN] [AUX: top-PPS 3-ABL] [jump-CV.PR] [AUX.PERF: pass-CV.PR-MOD]

5. kuw-yp kel-e žat-kan Töstik te örmek-ten sekir-e-di

[chase-CV.PR] [AUX.CLOC:come-CV.IM] [AUX: lie-PAST.PART] [Töstik][MOD: too][braiding-ABL][jump-CV.IM-MOD]

söj-t-ken-de Töstik-tiŋ bir bakaj-y örmek-to il-ip ket-e-di

[like that-do-PAST.PART-LOC][Töstük-GEN] [one] [ankle-PPS 3] [braiding-ACC] [hang-CV.PR] [AUX.PERF: leave-CV.IM-PRT]

6. örmek-tiŋ bir-sypyra žib-i üz-il-ip kal-a-dy

[braiding-GEN] [completely] [thread-PPS 3][tear-PASS-CV.IM] [AUX.PERF:stay-CV.IM-PRT]

7. örmek toky-p otyr-gan kempir:

[braiding] [wove-CV.IM] [AUX.DUR:PAST.PART] [old woman]

8. örmeg-im-di üz-ip ket-ti-ŋ aw!

[braiding-PPS 1-ACC][tear-CV.PR] [AUX.PERF: leave-PAST-PPS 2] [PRT]

9. erte-den Kara keš-ke büj-t-ip žar kuw-ala-p torgaj at-kanša

[morning-ABL][black][evening-DAT/ALL]

[like this-do-CV.IM][cliff][follow][lark][shoot-CV.COM]

tentire-p žür-gen segiz aga-ŋ-dy taw-yp alsaŋ bol-ma-j-ma?

[wander-CV.PR][AUX.DUR:walk-PAST.PART][eight][elder brother-PPS 2-ACC][find-CV.PR][AUX.BEN:take-COND-PPS 2][AUX.CAP: become-NEG-CV.IM-INT.PART]

de-p karga-p sile-j-di

[say-CV.PR][curse-CV.PR][throw-CV.IM-PRT]

10. Töstik kempir-ge žawap ber-e al-ma-j o-n-yŋ söz-i-n-e katty kor-la-n-a-dy

[Töstük][old woman-DAT][answer][give-CV.IM][AUX.CAP:take-NEG-CV.IM][she-GEN][word-PPS 3-DAT][hard][humiliate-PAS-CV.IM-PRT]

11. äsiri-ese tentire-p ket-ken segiz aga-ŋ de-gen söz o-gan katty tij-e-di

[especially][wander-CV.PR] [AUX.TLOC:leave-PAST.PART] [eight] [brother-PPS 2][say-PAST.PART] [word][he-DAT][hard][touch-CV.IM-PRT]

12. Töstik buryn aga-lar-y bar-y-n esti-gen žok eken

[Töstük][before][brother-PL-PPS 3][existence-PPS 3-ACC][hear-PAST.PART][NEG:non-existent][AUX.EVID: be-PAST.PART]

13. äke šeše-si ony Töstikke ajt-pa-j-dy eken

[father][mother-PPS 3][that-ACC][Töstük-DAT][say-NEG.CV.IM-PRT][AUX.EVID:to be]

14. kempir-ge söz kajyr-a al-ma-j Töstik žügir-gen bet-i men üj-ge kel-e-di

[old woman-DAT][word][turn back-CV.IM][AUX.CAP:take-NEG-CV.IM][Töstük][run-PAST.PART][face>state-PPS 3][with][house-DAT/ALL][come-CV.IM-PRT]

15. at-yp ä-kel-gen kus-tar-y-n ulak-tyr-yp tasta-p otyr-a ket-e-di

[shoot-CV.PR][take/come:bring-PAST.PART][bird-PL-PPS 1-ACC] [jump-ACC-CV.PR][AUX.PERF: throw-CV.PR] [sit-CV.IM][AUX.UNXP: leave-CV.IM-PRT]

16. Töstik-tiŋ ašy-w-ly tür-in kör-ip šeše-si

[Töstük-GEN][become sour-NOM>anCV-ADJ.CAT][outlook-PPS 1-ACC][see-CV.PR][mother-PPS 3]

17. Sa-gan ne bol-dy, kim men žanžal-da-s-ty-ŋ? dep sura-j-dy

[you-DAT][what][become-PAST][who][with][quarrel-V.CAT-SOC-PAST-PS 2][AUX.QUO:to say-CV.PR][ask-CV.IM-PAR]

18. Töstik kempir-diŋ söz-i-n tügel-i men šeše-si-n-e ajt-a-dy:

[Töstük][old woman-GEN][word-PPS-ACC][all-PPS 3][with][mother-PPS 3-DAT][say-CV.IM-PRT]

19. aga-lar-ym kaj-da, ne-ge kel-me-j-di?

[brother-PL-PPS 1][which-LOC>where][what-DAT>why][come-NEG-CV.IM-PRT]

20. iz-de-p taw-yp ä-kel-e-min! de-j-di

[track-V.CAT-CV.PR][find-CV.PR]take-come-CV.IM-SPP 1][AUX.QUO-say-CV.IM-PAR]

21. šeše-si: kak-bas kempir ötirik ajt-a-dy

[mother-PPS 3][stupid][old woman][lie][say-CV.IM-PRT]

22. Sen-iŋ aga-lar-yŋ bol-gan žok

[you-GEN][brother-PL-PPS 2][become-PAST.PART][NEG:non-existent]

23. o-n-yŋ söz-i-n-e ynan-ba! de-j-di

[he-GEN][word-PPS 3-DAT][believe-NEG][AUX.QUO:say-CV.IM-PRT]

24. söj-t-ip Töstikti ynan-dyr-yp koj-a-dy

[like that-do-CV.PR][Töstük-ACC][believe-CAS-CV.PR][AUX.PERF: put-CV.IM-PRT]

25. tagy bir kün-i Töstik asyk ojn-a-p žür-ip

[again][one][day-PPS 3][Töstük][ankle bone][game-V.CAT-CV.PR][AUX.DUR: walk-CV.PR]

äl-gi kempir-diŋ žalgyz bala-sy-n žudyryg-y men koj-yp žiber-se bala öl-ip kal-a-dy

[now-ADJ.CAT][old woman-GEN][only][child-PPS 3-ACC][fist-PPS 3][with][put-CV.PR][AUX.PERF:let-CON][child][die-CV.PR][AUX.PERF: stay-CV.IM-PRT]

26. kempir Töstik-ti buryn-gy-dan da žaman karga-p sile-j-di

[old woman][Töstik-CAS][before-ADJ.CAT-ABL][too][bad][curse-CV.PR][throw-CV.IM-PRT]

27. Men-iŋ žalgyz bala-m-a äl-iŋ žet-kenše

[I-GEN][only][child-PPS 1-DAT][power-PPS.2][reach-CV.COM]

aj-dala-da tentire-p öl-gen segiz aga-ŋ-nyŋ kuwra-gan süjeg-i-n taw-yp al-sa-ŋ bol-ma-j-ma? de-j-di

[wasteland-LOC][wander-CV.PR][die-PAST.PART][eight][brother-PPS.2][dry-PAST.PART][bone-PPS 3-ACC][find-CV.PR][AUX.SBEN:take-CON-PS.2][AUX.CAP:become-NEG-CV.IM-INT.P][say-CV.IM-PRT]

28. kempir söz-i Töstik-ke oj sal-a-dy

[old man][word-PPS 3][Töstik-DAT][thought][put-CV.IM-PRT]

29. šeše-si-n-en aga-lar-y-n sura-j-dy

[mother-PPS 3-ABL][brother-PL-PPS 3-ACC][ask-CV.IM-PRT]

30. Šeše-si ajt-a-dy: segiz aga-ŋ-nyŋ bar-y yras e-di

[mother-PPS 3][say-CV.IM-PRT][eight][brother-PPS.2-GEN][existence-PPS 1][true][be-PAST]

31. žut žyl-y ket-ip edi, so-dan kajt-kan žok

[death   of   livestock][year][leave-CV.PR][AUX.EVID:be-PAST][that-ABL][return-PAST.PART][NEG:non-existent]

32. kaj-da žür-gen-i-n bil-me-j-miz de-j-di

[where][walk-PAST.PART-PPS   3-ACC][know-NEG-CV.IM-PPS.1.PL][AUX.QUO:say-CV.IM-PRT]

33. Töstik aga-lar-y-n iz-de-w kam-y-na kir-is-e-di

[Töstük][brother-PL-PPS 3-ACC][track-VE.CAT-NOM][trouble][enter-COLL-CV.IM-PRT]

Translation

One day Töstük shot with a bow a targak (sort of lark ed.), which was sitting between the yurtas. The (arrow of the) bow tore one wing of the targak apart. The targak was not knocked down, fled away flopping one of its wings. Töstük wants to grab it so he ran chasing after. While he was doing that way the targak jumped through the braiding of an old woman. Töstük, who was approaching chasing it, jumps over the braiding, while doing so Töstük's ankle hung up on the braiding. The thread of the braiding tore apart completely. The old woman who was wowing the braiding:
- You have tore my braiding apart! Instead of running by the cliff from morning till evening chasing larks why don't you find your brothers, who got lost. -cursed him.

Töstük could not give an answer to the old woman, he suffered a lot form her word. Especially the words about his lost brothers hurt him. He has not heard before that he had brothers. His father and mother has not told him. Without being able to say a word to the old woman he came to his yurta running all the way. He threw away the birds he shot and sat down. His mother who saw his angry face:

- What happened to you? Whom did you quarrel with?- she asked.

Töstük told his mother everything what the old woman said.

- Where are my brothers? Why are they not coming? I search for them and bring them back! - he says

His Mother:

- That stupid old lady is lying. You had no brothers, do not believe his words. - she says and doing so makes Töstik believe her.

Once again on another day while Töstük was playing with the anklebones of the sheep, he hit the only child of that old woman with his fist and the boy died. The old woman cursed Töstük more than before:

- Instead of showing your power on my only boy, why don't you find the dried bones of your dead brothers who got lost? - she says

The old woman's word puts thoughts to (the head of)Töstük . He asks about his brothers from his mother. His mother says:

It is true that you had eight brothers. In a year when the livestock died they da left, after that they did not return, we do not know where they are. she says.

Töstük started to prepare for the search of his brothers.

Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
A	Arabic
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjectival
ADV	Adverbal
ALL	Allative
AUX	Auxiliary
BEN	Beneficive
C	Consonant
CAP	Capabilitive
CAT	Categorizer
CAUS	Causative
CLOS	Cislocative
COLL	Collective
COM	Comperative
CON	Conditional
CONT	Continuous
CV	Converb
CV.IM	Imperfect Converb
CV.PR	Perfect Converb
DAT	Dative
DES	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive
EMPH	Emphatic
EVID	Evidential
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IM	Imperfect
IMP	Imperative
INCH	Inchoative
INS	Instrumental
INT	Intentional
ITER	Iterative

KAZ	Kazak
LOC	Locative
M	Mongolian
NEG	Negative
OT	Old Turkic
P	Persian
P/F	Present-Future
PAR	Particle
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PLU	Pluperfect
POSS	Possessive
PPS	Possessive Personal Suffix
PR	Perfect
PROB	Probabative
PRT	Particle
PS	Personal Suffix
R	Russian
RFL	Reflexive
RSL	Resultative
QUO	quoting
SBEN	Self-Benefictive
SBJ	Subjunctive
SOC	Sociative
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
TLOC	Translocative
UIG	Uigur
UZ	Uzbek
V	Vowel

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About suffix particle *-DI (<-Dur<turur)*

It is not a suffixed personal pronoun but a shortened form of the verb *tur-*. It is only used after verbal forms of CVunds and sometimes in songs or poetry.

bara-dy	he is going
kel-mep-ti	It seems he has not arrived

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