

Modality in Kazakh spoken in China

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Introduction

The present paper will give a short overview of modal categories expressed by synthetic and analytical devices in Kazakh as spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of People's Republic of China. It will also describe some differences between Kazakh and Uyghur and mention modal elements copied from Chinese into spoken Kazakh. For general questions of modality and the specific Turkic modal categories, see Johanson 2009. On Kazakh auxiliaries, see Zhang 2003.

Kazakh belongs to the northwestern (Kipchak) branch of the Turkic language family. It is mainly spoken in Kazakhstan, the northern part of Xinjiang, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iran, and Turkey. Cyrillic alphabet is officially used in Kazakhstan and the Bayan-Ölgiy province of Mongolia. Arabic-derived alphabet is officially used in Xinjiang. Latin alphabet based on the Turkish alphabet is unofficially employed by Kazakh diaspora groups in Turkey.

Uyghur belongs to the southeastern (Karluk) branch of Turkic and is spoken primarily in Xinjiang, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. Smaller communities exist in Mongolia and Afghanistan. An Arabic-derived alphabet is officially used for Uyghur in Xinjiang, whereas a Cyrillic alphabet is used in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Mongolia.

Synthetic devices

Modal categories have a high frequency of use in spoken Kazakh and can be expressed synthetically, by suffixes, as is typical of Turkic. The categories include expressions of volition and possibility.

Voluntative

Voluntative markers express a strong wish, request, command, advice, or permission. The synthetic markers of this kind found in Kazakh are given in the following table.

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Person	Number	Forms
1	SG	$-(A^2)yPn$
	PL	$-(A^2)yP^2K, -(A^2)lP^2K, -(A^2)lP^2$
3	SG/PL	$-sPn$

Examples:

- (1) *Sa-yan kömektés-éyin!*
 you-DAT help-VOL1SG
 ‘Let me help you!’
- (2) *Üy-gé kayt-ayıq!*
 home-DAT return-VOL1PL
 ‘Let us go home!’
- (3) *Birgè kör-èlik!*
 together see-VOL1PL
 ‘Let us watch it together!’
- (4) *Bazar-ya bar-alı!*
 shop-DAT go-VOL1PL
 ‘Let us go to a shop!’
- (5) *Söylè-sin!*
 speak-VOL3SG
 ‘Let him/her speak!’
- (6) *Olar aqşa-ni kaytar-sin!*
 they money-ACC return-VOL3SG
 ‘Let them return the money.’

In example (1), the first person singular form expresses speaker’s request or advice to do something. In (2), (3) and (4), the first person plural forms express that the speaker advises someone to do something together and thus have meanings of incitement and recommendation. The suffix $-(A^2)lP^2K$ is frequent in spoken language, whereas $-(A^2)lP^2$ is more used in southern dialect of Kazakh (Geng et al. 1999: 235). In the examples (5) and (6), the speaker asks someone to inform some other person about what s/he (the speaker) wants or requests from this person. As Turkish *ol-sun*, the third person voluntative of the copula, *bol-sin*, can be used impersonally in the sense of ‘that is OK / I don’t care’.

Imperative

The Kazakh imperative is expressed with the bare stem in the second person singular and with $-(P^2)\eta dA^2r$ in the second person plural. Polite forms are $(P^2)\eta P^2z$ in the singular and $-(P^2)\eta P^2zdA^2r$ in the plural. Uyghur has an additional imperative form ending in *Gin*, used in the second person singular, e.g. *bar-yin* ‘go’. The corresponding Kazakh form *GIn* is only used in the southern dialect, maybe under the influence of Uyghur.

- (7) *Aqša-ni ma-yan bér/ bér-iŋ-dér/ bér-iŋ-iz/ bér-iŋ-iz-dér.*
 money-ACC I-DAT give.IMP give-IMP-PL(-PL)
 ‘Give me the money.’

Optative

The modal markers include an optative suffix $-GA^2y$, which takes on pronominal personal markers, and a corresponding past or irrealis form in $-GA^2y \acute{e}di$ with possessive personal markers. Both express the speaker’s strong wish, desire or hope for a future event, e.g.:

- (8) *Tilég-im-di kabilda-ŋay-siz.*
 request-POSS1SG-ACC accept-OPT-2PL
 ‘I wish you could accept my request.’
- (9) *Alla biz-di pelé-ŋaza-dan sakta-ŋay é-di.*
 Allah we-ACC disaster-ABL save-OPT COP-PAST3SG
 ‘May Allah protect us from the disaster.’
- (10) *Bar-ŋay é-di-m.*
 go-OPT COP-PAST-1SG
 ‘I wish I could go.’

A similar meaning can be expressed by the compound form $-GI^a$ + possessive personal markers + *kél-*.

- (11) *Sen-i kör-ŋü-m kél-di.*
 you-ACC see-GI-POSS1SG come-PAST3SG
 ‘I would like to see you.’

Hypothetic

The hypothetic mood is expressed by the conditional suffix $-sA^2$ + possessive personal markers, indicating desire, wish or hope. A suffix $\acute{s}I^2$ can be added to this form, in the sense of ‘what if it were the case?’, or with a connotation of regret or repentance. The clause can be introduced by the conjunction *égér* ‘if’. Examples:

- (12) *Kél-sé.*
 come-HYP3SG
 ‘If s/he would come. / If s/he only would come.’
- (13) *Kél-sé-ši.*
 come-HYP3SG-ŠI
 ‘I hope s/he would come. / What if s/he came? / It would be nice if s/he would come.’
- (14) *Égér bar-sa ƙanday ƙaksı.*
 if go-HYP3SG so good
 ‘It would be so good if s/he could go.’

Hypothetical meaning can also be expressed with compound forms of the type $sA^2 + igi + \acute{e}di$, e.g.

- (15) *Bitir-sé* *igi* *é-di-m*.
 finish-HYP good COP-PAST-1SG
 'It would be good for me to finish it.'

Possibility

Forms expressing possibility and ability are constructed with the converb marker $A^2//y + al-$ or + *bil-*, negated $A^2//y + al-ma-$ or + *bil-mé-* (expressing impossibility). The form $A^2//y + bil-$ is less frequently used today.

- (16) *ǰaz-a* *al-a-mîn*.
 write-CONV AUX.AL-PRES-1SG
 'I am able to write. / I can write.'
- (17) *ǰaz-a* *bil-é-min*.
 write-CONV AUX.BIL-PRES-1SG
 'I am able to write.'

In these two examples, the former one (16) can indicate both ability and possibility, while the latter one (17) just expresses ability. In the spoken language, the converb suffix may disappear in contracted forms, e.g. *ǰaz-al-may-di* 'is not able to write, cannot write'.

Epistemic modality in the sense of probability, tendency, etc., may be expressed with the aorist suffix $-(A^3)r$, which takes pronominal personal markers.

- (18) *Bar-ar*.
 go-AOR3SG
 'S/he may / will go.'

This example means that, according to the speaker, the person talked about may go or probably goes. A past copula *édi* can be added to express a counterfactual meaning, e.g.

- (18') *Bar-ar* *é-di*.
 go-AOR3SG COP-PAST3SG
 'S/he would go.'

Analytical devices

Volition, necessity and possibility can also be expressed in analytical ways with more specific meaning.

Volition

Volition can be expressed analytically with the verb *kala-* ‘to want, to wish’. The lexical verb in the form of an infinitive stands in the accusative, e.g.

- (19) *Bul jër-gë kël-üw-i-n kala-y-min.*
 this place-DAT come-VN-POSS3SG-ACC want-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want her/him to come here.’

Verbs used in similar constructions include *tilë-* ‘to wish, to desire’ and *ümüt ët-* ‘to hope’; Kazakh of Kazakhstan *γmim em-*.

Necessity

Necessity may be expressed analytically in Kazakh by complex forms based on *kažët, kërëk, tiyis* ‘needed, necessary’ or *šart* ‘essential’ with a preceding nominal form of the lexical verb. It can also be indicated by *abzal* ‘right, correct, admissible’, *jön* ‘right, correct, suitable’ with the *GA²n* form of the lexical verb.

- (20) *Bul mindët-ti way-ïn-da bitir-üw kažët/kërëk/tiyis/šart.*
 this task-ACC time-POSS3SG-LOC finish-VN necessary
 ‘One should complete this task in time. / It is necessary to complete this task in time.’
- (21) *O-yan bar-ïp ayt-kan abzal/jön.*
 (s)he-DAT go-CONV say-GAN.PART right
 ‘One should go and tell her/him. / It is necessary to go and tell her/him.’

Both (20) and (21) are impersonal constructions (on impersonals see Siewierska 2009). If a person is expressed, as in (20’) and (21’) below, it stands in the nominative or the genitive. The lexical verb is an infinitive or participle with a possessive personal marker.

- (20’) *(Aynur) bul mindët-ti way-ï-nda*
 (Aynur) this task-ACC time-POSS3SG-LOC
bitir-iw-(i) kažët/kërëk/tiyis/šart.
 finish-VN-(POSS3SG) necessary
 ‘Aynur should complete this task in time. / It is necessary for Aynur to complete this task in time.’
- (21’) *(Aynur-dij) o-yan bar-ïp ayt-kan(i) abzal/jön.*
 Aynur-GEN s/he-DAT go-CONV say-GAN.PART(-POSS3SG) right
 ‘Aynur should go and tell her/him. It is necessary for Aynur to go and tell her/him.’

Constructions with *bol-dï* can express events that were necessary in the past.

- (22) *Olar-di üy-gé šaqir-uw-ïm kerek/kaĵet bol-di.*
 they-ACC home-DAT invite-INF-POSS1SG necessary be-PAST3SG
 ‘It was necessary for me to invite them home.’

If the past copula *edi* is attached, the meaning is counterfactual:

- (23) *Ol ĵiyin-ĵa katnas-uw-ïm kaĵet/kerek e-di.*
 that meeting-DAT attend-INF-POSS1SG necessary COP-PAST3SG
 ‘I should have attended that meeting’

Corresponding forms are common in Uyghur. Necessity may here be expressed by the adjectives *lazim*, *kerek*, *zörür* ‘necessary’ and *šert* ‘essential’ plus infinitives in (*P*)š or *mA*²*K* of the main verb.

Uyghur

- (24) *Yol-da mañ-yan-da kattik diĵket ĵil-maĵ*
 road-LOC walk-GAN.PART-LOC much attention do-INF
lazim/kerek/zörür/šert.
 necessary
 ‘One should be very careful when walking on the road. / It is necessary to be very careful when walking on the road.’
- (25) *Waĵit-ka emel ĵil-iš lazim/kerek/zörür/šert.*
 time-DAT obey do-VN necessary
 ‘One should respect the time. / It is necessary to respect the time.’

Another impersonal construction in Uyghur is expressed by means of *GU*²*IU*²*K*.

Uyghur

- (26) *Bir iš-ni sora-p yür-mey tüget-külük.*
 a task-ACC ask-CONV AUX.YÜR-NEG.CONV finish-NEC
 ‘Instead of asking (how to do it), one should complete it.’

Possibility

Possibility can be expressed in Kazakh by *boladi*, *ĵol ĵoyadi* and *ĵol ĵoyiladi* ‘is allowed’. The lexical verb may be expressed by an infinitive in the dative. The element *boladi* can also occur with a *hypothetic* (conditional) form of the lexical verb. Prohibition can be expressed with the negation suffix *mA*².

- (27) *Kir-üw-gé bol-a-di.*
 enter-INF-DAT be-PRES-COP3SG
 ‘One can / may enter.’
- (28) *Kir-üw-gé ĵol ĵoyil-ma-y-di.*
 enter-INF-DAT allowed-NEG-PRES-COP3SG
 ‘One cannot enter. / It is not allowed to enter.’

Modal elements copied from Chinese

Some modal elements have been globally copied from Chinese into the spoken language (on copying modal categories in Turkic, see Csató in print). For example, *bì xū* or *yí dìng* ‘definitely, necessarily, surely’ can be used in constructions with Kazakh modal adjectives conveying necessitative meanings. They can also be used in imperative sentences. They do not replace the Kazakh modal elements, but are just added to signal reinforcement.

- (29) *Sen bì xū / yí dìng бүгүн бар-uw-ің қажет.*
 you definitely/surely today go-INF-POSS2SG necessary
 ‘You must definitely/surely go today.’

Notations

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

$K = k, ḳ$	$I^2 = i, ī$
$G = g, γ, k, ḳ$	$I^3 = u, ü, i$
$A^2 = a, é$	$U^2 = u, ü$
$A^3 = a, é, ö$	$U^4 = i, ī, u, ü$
$A^2//y = a, é, y$	

The bracketed suffix vowels (*A*) and (*I*) are omitted after stems ending in vowels. On other principles of notation, see Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NEC	necessity
3	third person	NEG	negation
ABL	ablative	OPT	optative
ACC	accusative	PART	participle
AOR	aorist	PAST	past tense
AUX	auxiliary verb	PL	plural
CONV	converb	POSS	possessive
COP	copula	PRES	present tense
DAT	dative	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	VN	verbal noun
HYP	hypothetic	VOL	voluntative
INF	infinitive		

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