

Relative Clauses in Modern Spoken Kazakh

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1. Introduction

There are 126 languages spoken in Kazakhstan (Suleimenova et al., 2007). Among these, Kazakh and Russian remain the two most commonly spoken languages, with approximately 74% of the population reporting spoken fluency in Kazakh and 94.4% reporting spoken fluency in Russian (Bureau of National Statistics, 2010). The coexistence of these two major varieties, however, has been characterized by an unequal division of power and prestige between them, the reasons for which lie in the colonial history of Kazakhstan during which Soviet policies promoting a single ‘Soviet Identity’ and the Russian language had been in force in the Kazakh steppe for a considerable period of time (Smagulova, 1996). As a result, Russian has been a socially dominant language in the region for nearly 200 years (Muhamedowa, 2009), and this linguistic domination of Russian has had its own implications for the mechanisms of contact between these languages.

The most commonly expected result of any situation involving contact between two or more languages (e.g., the contact between Russian and Kazakh in Kazakhstan) is the occurrence of change in certain aspects of some or all languages involved in the contact, and in such a situation, there should be at least one language that influences at least one of the other languages involved in the contact in some way (Thomason, 2001). While Russian has little been influenced by Kazakh, with this influence being limited to lexicon only (Shaibakova, 2006), Kazakh saw a greater influence from Russian, including in its syntax (Muhamedowa, 2009). For instance, Muhamedowa’s (2009) research records syntactic change in the causal clauses of spoken Kazakh due to the influence of Russian.

This paper aims to explore such evidence of syntactic change by analyzing the syntax of relative clauses in spoken Kazakh and by comparing it to the syntax of relative clauses characteristic of written Kazakh. This is because it is generally uncontested that written language changes much more slowly than spoken language (Fromkin et al., 2007, p. 332),

which is why comparing relative clauses in written Kazakh to that of spoken Kazakh can help us identify any potential innovations occurring in relative clause formation strategies that the Kazakh speakers employ in their daily conversations.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Brief Typological Profiles of Kazakh and Russian

Kazakh belongs to the Aralo-Caspian or South Kipchak sub-group of the Northwestern or Kipchak branch of the Common Turkic subfamily within a well-established Turkic language family. As such, Kazakh exhibits the most typical features characteristic of all Turkic languages, including extensive agglutination by suffixes, the Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) basic word order, the lack of grammatical gender and noun classes as well as the use of postpositions.

Russian, however, belongs the East Slavic sub-group of the Slavic branch of the larger Balto-Slavic subfamily within the well-known Indo-European language family, meaning that Russian is not genetically related to Kazakh. As such, Russian exhibits the most typical features characteristic of Slavic languages, including inflectional morphology, the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) basic word order, the presence of grammatical gender as well as the use of prepositions.

Table 1 below compares the typological profiles of these two languages.

Table 1

Comparison of the Typological Profiles of Russian and Kazakh

| Typological Parameter | Kazakh | Russian |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| Genetic affiliation | Turkic | Slavic (< Indo-European) |
| Basic word order | SOV | SVO |
| Morphology | agglutinating | inflectional |
| Grammatical gender | absent | present |
| Nominal case system | present | present |
| Type of adpositions | postpositions | prepositions |
| Order of nominal heads and their modifiers | Nominal heads are usually premodified | Nominals heads can either be postmodified and premodified |

2.2. Definition of Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a dependent unit like the part in bold square brackets of the following sentence: *Yesterday, I saw a girl [who was reading a book under the apple tree].* A more concrete definition of relative clauses that I am adopting for my research is the following definition suggested by Andrews (2017):

“A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP [noun phrase] by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC relative clause (p. 206)”.

For example, in that sentence above, the noun phrase *a girl* alone could potentially refer to any girl in the world; however, the underlined dependent or subordinate following it is making the referent of *a girl* more specific, indicating that *a girl* refers to a specific girl who was reading a book under the apple tree at a certain point in time when the speaker saw her but not any random girl to whom this situation does not apply. So, in this example, the underlined dependent clause is delimiting the referent of the noun phrase *a girl* to a specific individual under a unique situation and is, therefore, termed a ‘relative clause.’

2.3. Basic Characteristics of Relative clauses in Written Kazakh

Ótött-Kovács (2015) provides a description of relative clauses in written Kazakh in her dissertation titled ‘The syntax of non-finite clauses in Kazakh,’ with almost all the examples she used for syntactic analysis of relative clauses coming from published folktales except for two examples elicited from native speakers (p. 136-142). Ótött-Kovács’s (2015) description of Kazakh relative clauses matches the description of relative clauses outlined in Muhamedowa’s (2015) *Kazakh: A Comprehensive Grammar*, who, in contrast, combined spoken and written language data for her analysis. Muhamedowa (2015) writes: “[a]s our materials show, there is no difference in forming relative clauses between spoken and written Kazakh (p. 39)”. The

natural spoken data I am using for my analysis, I hope, will shed more light on the differences in relative clause formation strategies between spoken and written Kazakh that have very likely resulted after an intense contact with Russian.

According to Ótrott-Kovács (2015), relative clauses in written Kazakh “are formed with [-ГАН, -АмІН or -(А)P]-headed non-finite clauses (p. 135)”. I will hereinafter use the term ‘participial suffixes’ to refer to these suffixes for the rest of the paper. These relative clauses usually contain non-finite predicates and precede the head they modify according to the left-branching structure of Kazakh as shown in (1). Note that in all the following examples, the head is underlined, while relative clauses modifying the head are shown within square brackets and are highlighted in bold.

- (1) Мен **[бір шәрі-де тұр-атын]** хан-ның бала-сы еді-м.
 1SG one town-LOC live-PTCP khan-GEN child-3.POSS COP.PST-1SG
 ‘I was a child of a khan who used to live in one town.’ (Ótrott-Kovács, 2015)

According to Muhamedowa (2015), of these three participial suffixes, -АмІН and -ГАН are the two most commonly used suffixes, the uses of which are shown in examples (1) and (2), respectively, while the use of -(А)P is relatively rare and is often found in the written variety of Kazakh which is illustrated by example (3) below. The choice between these three suffixes, according to Ótrott-Kovács (2015), depends on the aspect conveyed by the predicate in the relative clause. While -ГАН signals that an action or event has already been completed, -АмІН indicates the habituality of an action or that an action will take place in the future. The use of -(А)P, however, according to Muhamedowa (2015), does not indicate a specific time, thus signaling the uncertainty of the event in terms of time.

- (2) Бұл **[шәрі-ден қу-ып]** жібер-іл-ген] қыз.
 This town-ABL drive.away-CVB send-PASS-PTCP girl
 ‘This is the girl who has been driven away from the town.’ (Ótrott-Kovács, 2015)

- (3) **[Қытай-дан кел-ер]** қонақ
 China-ABL come-PTCP guest
 ‘A guest from China who might come’ (Muhamedowa, 2015)

It is important to mention that these participle suffixes have the same form as their finite counterparts that take agreement suffixes when used in predicates of independent clauses. Table 2 below illustrates the difference between the finite and non-finite functions of these suffixes.

Table 2

The difference between the finite and non-finite functions of -АтІн, -ГАН and -(А)р

| | | <i>-АтІн</i> | <i>-ГАН</i> | <i>-(А)р</i> |
|------------|------|---|--|--|
| finite | 1 SG | <i>Мен шәй іш-етін-мін.</i> 'I used to drink tea.' | <i>Мен шәй іш-кен-мін.</i> 'I have drunk tea.' | <i>Мен шәй іш-ер-мін.</i> 'I might drink tea.' |
| | 2 SG | <i>Сен шәй іш-етін-сің.</i> 'You used to drink tea.' | <i>Сен шәй іш-кен-сің.</i> 'You have drunk tea.' | <i>Сен шәй іш-ер-сің.</i> 'You might drink tea.' |
| | 3 SG | <i>Ол шәй іш-етін-∅.</i> 'He/she used to drink tea.' | <i>Ол шәй іш-кен-∅.</i> 'He/she has drunk tea.' | <i>Ол шәй іш-ер-∅.</i> 'He/she might drink tea.' |
| non-finite | 1SG | <i>[Мен іш-етін] шәй</i> 'The tea that I usually drink/the tea that I will drink.' | <i>[Мен іш-кен] шәй</i> 'The tea that I have drunk' | <i>[Мен іш-ер] шәй</i> 'The tea that I might drink' |
| | 2SG | <i>[Сен іш-етін] шәй</i> 'The tea that you usually drink/the tea that you will drink.' | <i>[Сен іш-кен] шәй</i> 'The tea that you have drunk' | <i>[Сен іш-ер] шәй</i> 'The tea that you might drink' |
| | 3SG | <i>[Ол іш-етін] шәй</i> 'The tea that he/she usually drinks/the tea that he/she will drink.' | <i>[Ол іш-кен] шәй</i> 'The tea that he has drunk' | <i>[Ол іш-ер] шәй</i> 'The tea that he/she might drink' |

As shown in the table above, agreement with the subject in third person is zero-marked on the predicates of independent clauses. Thus, word order becomes crucial for differentiating independent clauses from relative clause with third person subjects: *Ол шәй іш-ер* 'He/she might drink tea' versus *[Ол іш-ер] шәй* 'The tea that he/she might drink.' In independent clauses, the finite verb usually comes at the end of the clause after the noun arguments, while in relative clauses the non-finite verbform comes before the relativized noun head as part of the noun phrase argument of the matrix clause. Therefore, example (3) above is best interpreted as a noun phrase with a relative clause. However, stemming from my preliminary observation, if *қонақ* in this example gets special prosodic emphasis in discourse, it could be interpreted as

the subject of an independent clause as well. Research is needed into how prosody is used by Kazakh speakers in differentiating relative clauses from independent clauses with third-person subjects.

Kazakh also allows the formation of headless relative clauses where the head is completely omitted from the sentence, leaving only the relative clause it is modified by and signaling the head's presence only via nominal suffixes attached to the non-finite predicate of the relative clause. Example (4) illustrates such an example of a headless relative clause. Here, the presence of the implied head noun 'people' is signaled by the plural suffix *-лар* attached to the non-finite verbal predicate. Note that *-дер* in this example is an allomorph of the plural suffix *-лар*.

- (4) *[Қазақстан-ды алғаш мекенде-ген]-дер кім-дер?*
 Kazakhstan-ACC first inhabit-PTCP-PL who-PL
 'Who are those people who first inhabited Kazakhstan?' (Muhamedowa, 2015)

Muhamedowa (2015) mentions that personal pronouns acting as the heads of relative clauses is mostly used in the written variety (p. 42), as shown in example (5).

- (5) *[Қырық жыл еңбек еткен] ол кеше зейнет-ке шық-ты.*
 forty year labor do-PTCP 3SG yesterday retirement-DAT go.up-PST
 "He/she who has worked for 40 years retired yesterday."
 (modified from Muhamedowa, 2015)

According to Muhamedowa (2015), existential copulas *бар* 'there is' and *жоқ* 'there isn't' as well as modal verbs *қажет* 'need' and *керек* 'need' which express necessity do not take the participial suffixes *-ған*, *-АтІн* and *-(А)р* in relative clauses as shown in examples 6-8 below (p. 38).

- (6) *[Мүгедек бала-лар-ы бар] әйел*
 disabled child-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST woman
 'A woman who has got disabled children' (Muhamedowa, 2015)

- (7) *[Ынта-сы жоқ] оқушы*
 enthusiasm-3.POSS COP.NEG.EXST student
 'A student who lacks enthusiasm' (constructed)

(8) [*Өз-им-е* *керек эмес*] *киім-дөр*
 self-1SG.POSS-DAT need NEG cloth-PL

‘The clothes that I do not need for myself.’ (modified from Muhamedowa, 2015)

Since *-ГАН*, *-АтИн* and *-(А)р* form non-finite predicates, a question arises as to the finiteness of *бар*, *жок*, *кажет*, and *керек* when they function as predicates of relative clauses without taking these participial suffixes. When speaking of simple declarative sentences, according to Chamoreau & Estrada-Fernández (2016), in traditional morphology, finite verbs are those that express TAM and person agreement, while non-finite verbs are those that do not express these categories at all or express only one of these categories, marking only person agreement and not TAM, for example, or vice versa (p. 2). The four verbs in question, according to this definition, can then be considered non-finite because all of them express person agreement but not TAM in declarative sentences, and following from this, one can argue that they remain non-finite when used in relative clauses. However, Chamoreau & Estrada-Fernández (2016) have pointed out that “finiteness as a property must be analyzed at clause level and seen as a continuum or gradual notion: that is, distinct types of construction exhibit different degrees of finiteness (p. 4).” Conducting a comprehensive analysis of the finiteness of these four verbs by acknowledging the non-discrete nature of finiteness would be very beneficial; however, doing so is outside the scope of this paper. So, in order to acknowledge the special behavior of these four verbs, for the time being, I will not categorize them as either finite or non-finite.

According to Ótrott-Kovács (2015), the grammatical function of the head noun modified by the relative clauses is not in any way marked on the verbal predicate (whether the head is a subject, direct object, or oblique argument), a strategy termed ‘gap strategy’ by Comrie (1981, p. 147).

The tendency of a certain noun phrase to be relativized, i.e., modified by a relative clause, depends on the position of that noun phrase in the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) illustrated in Table 3. If a language can relativize one position in the hierarchy shown in the table, it will be able to relativize all the positions to the left of it but not be able to relativize the positions to the right, meaning that the least accessible element is on the right of the spectrum with the most accessible on the left (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). Based on my preliminary observation, Kazakh can relativize all the positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy except for the object of comparison position, and this is demonstrated in Table 4. Aydın (2006) claims that Kyrgyz and Turkish, which are genetically related to Kazakh, cannot relativize on the object of comparison position either, which may suggest that this specific restriction on relativization could be a common feature of Turkic languages.

Table 3

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie, 1977).

| |
|---|
| subject > direct object > indirect object > object of adposition > possessor > object of comparison |
| ← unmarked, most accessible least accessible, marked → |

Table 4¹

Relativizable positions in Kazakh relative clauses on the Accessibility Hierarchy

| | |
|-----|--|
| S | <i>[Қазақша таза сөйлейтін] қыз</i> 'a girl [who speaks perfect Kazakh]' |
| DO | <i>[Мен қазақшаға аударған] мақала</i> 'the article [which I translated into Kazakh]' |
| IDO | <i>[Мұғалім кітап берген] оқушы</i> 'the student [whom the teacher gave the book to]' |
| OAP | <i>[Ішінде дельфиндер жүзетін] бассейн</i> 'a pool [in which dolphins swim]' |

¹ A note on the abbreviations used: S = subject, DO = direct object, IDO = indirect object, OAP = object of adposition, POSS = possessor.

| | | |
|------|--|---|
| POSS | | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>[Жейдесі жыртылып қалған] бала</i> ‘a child [whose shirt got torn off]’</p> |
|------|--|---|

Note. Examples in the table are constructed.

In summary, the basic properties of relative clauses in written Kazakh against which I am going to compare the relative clauses of spoken Kazakh are the following:

- they are usually prenominal, i.e., they tend to precede the heads they modify;
- they usually do not make use of any relative pronouns, and therefore, there is a gap that otherwise could have been filled with a relative pronoun to explicitly signal the grammatical function of the relativized head;
- the predicate of the relative clause is usually non-finite, formed by the use of participle suffixes *-ГАН*, *-АтІН* or *-(А)р* the choice between which depends on the aspect conveyed by the predicate; but existential copulas *бар* and *жоқ* as well as modal verbs *керек* and *қажет* do not usually take these participle suffixes.
- the object of comparison position cannot be relativized, while subject, direct object, indirect object, object of postposition, and possessor positions can be.

Below the basic characteristics of Russian relative clauses will be summarized.

2.4. Basic Characteristics of Relative Clauses in Russian

According to Timberlake (2010), Russian relative clauses tend to be explicit, i.e., Russian does not have headless relative clauses. However, I disagree because headless relative clauses exist in Russian, but they are relatively rare (Andrey Filchenko, personal communication, April 11, 2022). According to Timberlake (2010), Russian makes use of relative pronouns to mark relative clauses that modify and follow the head. In addition to the strategy of using pronominal relativizers, Russian also has participial relative clauses without a relative pronoun but with a participial predicate (Andrey Filchenko, personal communication, April 11, 2022).

In each of the following examples, the second version of the first sentence or phrase contains a participial relative clause (with a non-finite predicate) equivalent to its pronominal counterpart which contains a finite predicate.

In Russian, any interrogative pronoun can feature as a relative pronoun, including *что* (*чего, чем, чему...* ‘what’), *кто* (*кого, кем, кому...*; ‘who’), *который* (*которая, которые...*; ‘which’), *чей* (*чья, чьё, чьи...*; “whose”), etc. Timberlake (2010) writes that, among these, the most commonly used relative pronoun to mark relative clauses is *котор-* as shown in (9).

- (9) *Книга, [которая изменила мою жизнь]*
Книга, [изменившая мою жизнь]
 ‘The book [which has changed my life]’ (constructed)

The interrogative pronoun *кто* can also be used but under special conditions: it is only used when the head it modifies is a demonstrative *тот* (which can be inflected for case as well), whose referent is a person and, usually, a male person, or people in general, as shown in (10) (Timberlake, 2010).

- (10) *А те, [кто стояли сзади] оказались в выгодном положении.*
А те, [стоявшие сзади] оказались в выгодном положении.
 ‘But those [who stood at the back] found themselves in an advantageous position.’ (Timberlake, 2010)

The difference between *тот, который* and *тот, кто* is that the former refers to real individuals while the latter refers to possible individuals. Since *кто* defines membership in a set of possible individuals, it requires “a concept of a set and a process of defining the membership in a set” (p. 210) which can be established by the use of quantifying adjectives such as *все* ‘all’, *никто* ‘no one’, *каждый* ‘every’, and *некоторые* ‘some’, as shown in (11) (Timberlake, 2010).

- (11) *Опишу некоторых, [кого запомнил].*
Опишу некоторых, [запомнившихся мне].
 ‘I will describe some of those [whom I remembered].’ (Timberlake, 2010)

Another relative pronoun is *чей*, which Timberlake (2010) describes as ‘bookish,’ illustrated by example 12 (p. 154). It is equivalent to the English ‘whose’ which is used to relativize possessors.

- (12) *Девушка, [чей отец утону-л], плачет.*
Девушка, [с утонувшим отцом], плачет.
 ‘The girl [whose father was drowned] is crying.’ (constructed)

Unlike in Kazakh, in Russian pronominal relative clauses the grammatical function of the head modified by the relative clause is marked via case markers on the relative pronoun, as can be seen from all the examples above. According to Polinsky (2008), Russian relativizes all the positions in the Accessibility Hierarchy, as is illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5

Relativizable Positions in Russian Relative Clauses on the Accessibility Hierarchy

| | |
|------|--|
| S | <i>девушка, [которая свободно говорит по-русски]</i> ‘the girl [who speaks Russian fluently]’ |
| DO | <i>статья, [которую я перевел на русский язык]</i> ‘the article [which I translated into Russian]’ |
| IDO | <i>студентка, [которой мы дали словарь русского языка]</i> ‘the student [whom we gave the Russian dictionary to]’ |
| OAP | <i>русский журнал, [в котором напечатана интересная статья]</i> ‘the Russian magazine’ [in which an interesting article was published] |
| POSS | <i>Мальчик, [учительница которого задала много тестов]</i> ‘the boy [whose teacher assigned a lot of tests]’ |
| OCOM | <i>Девушка, [старше которой была Сюзан], выиграла заплыв на 100 метров</i> ‘the girl [whom Suzan is older than] won a 100-meter swimming race’. |

Note. Adapted from “The Effect of Second Language Instruction on Acquisition of Relative Clauses,” V. N., Dunn, 2007, Scholar’s Archive at Brigham Young University, p. 6.

In summary, the basic properties of relative clauses attested in Russian are the following:

- they tend to be postnominal, i.e., they tend to follow the heads they modify;
- they can either be finite or non-finite; the finite relative clauses usually make use of relative pronouns that are essentially interrogative pronouns such as *который* ‘which’ and *чей* ‘whose’, which are inflected for case, thus signaling the grammatical function of the relativized head; the non-finite relative clauses usually contain non-finite predicates without a relative pronoun.
- all the positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized.

2.5. Previous Studies on Turkic-Russian Language Contact and Syntactic Change

In his book *Languages of the Soviet Union*, Comrie (1981) writes that apart from an apparent influence in the writing system used by local languages in Soviet states and their everyday lexicon, considerable influence can also be seen in their syntax of subordinate clauses. Such an influence was significant on the syntax of subordination of especially Altaic languages (a hypothetical group which includes Turkic languages), Uralic, and Northern Caucasus languages (p. 34). In most cases, it is not that these languages borrowed subordinating conjunctions from Russian, but they copied or replicated the function of such conjunctions based on how they behaved in Russian, e.g., the creation of *sada p'ome* in the Adyge language, meaning ‘because’ based on the Russian conjunction *потому что* (p. 34). Even sometimes a particular form and its function was borrowed altogether, e.g., *a* ‘but’ (p. 34), an adversative conjunction that also made its way into modern spoken Kazakh (Muhamedowa, 2015).

In her article “The use of Russian conjunctions in the speech of bilingual Kazakhs,” Muhamedowa (2015) investigates the insertion of Russian conjunction *потому что* ‘because’ and *что*, a conjunction used to introduce a complement clause like the English ‘that’. Based on her analysis of spoken language data in her corpora, one recorded in 2001 and another in

2007 in Almaty (Kazakhstan), she initially (in 2001) found 52 cases of causal clauses none of which followed the allegedly predominant non-finite subordination pattern in Kazakh causal clauses, i.e., the subordination pattern whereby the verb in the causal clause is non-finite. Of these, 20 cases included Kazakh causal clauses with Kazakh causal conjunctions *өйткені* ‘because’, *сондықтан* ‘because of that’ and *сол үшін* ‘because of that/for this’ which naturally required finite subordination (i.e., the predicate in the clause must be finite when they follow these conjunctions) as well as 13 cases with the insertion of *номому ымо* where the speakers chose to use a finite verb right after this conjunction when they could have used a non-finite verb, with the remaining 20 cases were being fully Russian causal clauses. In the 2007 corpus, this time the data again showed no Kazakh causal clauses following the allegedly predominant non-finite subordination pattern and did not even contain any instances of causal clauses formed with Kazakh causal conjunctions that would have required finite subordination. There were only 11 clauses with *номому ымо* that expectedly still followed finite subordination with the rest of the cases being fully Russian sentences. She regards this situation of the preference in spoken Kazakh to use a finite verb over a non-finite predicate in causal clauses with an inserted *номому ымо* as an instance of an ongoing syntactic change in the formation of Kazakh causal clauses. Based on the same data and the same methods of analysis, the complement clauses were analyzed, and the author concluded that the complement clauses introduced by *ымо* showed either finite and non-finite subordination patterns admissible in the language and that therefore Kazakh did not ‘lose’ its non-finite complementation strategy like the causal clauses did. For Muhamedowa (2015), the switching from non-finite subordination pattern to finite subordination after a borrowed Russian subordinating conjunction by the bilingual speakers of Kazakh counts as evidence for an ongoing syntactic change in the language. However, in my interpretation, any apparent change in the way a certain subordinate clause is formed — even the very fact of using foreign subordinating conjunctions — already evinces

syntactic change, notwithstanding a secondary change affecting the finiteness of the subordination process.

Another study closely related to my research is that of Ulutaş (2010) who studied relative clauses in Gagauz language, a Turkic language spoken in Slavic-speaking regions such as Moldova, Bulgaria, and Ukraine as well as in Romania, Turkey, and in some parts of Central Asia. Ulutaş (2010) writes that Gagauz, like the majority of Turkic languages of the Oghuz subgroup, has two ways of forming relative clauses: prenominal non-finite constructions (Turkic type) and postnominal finite constructions (Indo-European type) (p. 111). He claims that the use of prenominal participial relative clauses is the most common strategy in the written variety of Gagauz and that “the preferred relative clause constructing strategy in Gagauz shifted to the postnominal finite type in the spoken language,” and this change is due to the influence of Russian, Bulgarian and Romanian languages (p. 112). In postnominal relative clauses, Gagauz employs its interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns, without modifying them in any way, and these include *kim* ‘who’ (Kazakh *ким*), *ne* ‘what’ (Kazakh *не*), *angisi* or *angi* ‘which’ (Kazakh *қайсы* or *қай*) and others (Ulutaş, 2010, p. 71-72). The examples below illustrate the use of *angi* ‘which’ (Kazakh equivalent of *қай*) as a relative pronoun:

- (13) *Bil-er-sin mi angi-si taa isla?*
 know-PRS-2SG Q which-3.POSS more better
 ‘Do you know which one is better?’ (modified from Ulutaş, 2010)

- (14) *Kitka o çiçek [angi-si yapiliymiş parça-dan ya kimi*
 kitka 3SG flower REL-3.POSS made.3SG.PST fabric-ABL or sometimes

kiyat-tan.]
 paper-ABL

‘Kitka, it is a flower which is made from fabric or sometimes from paper.’

Ulutaş (2010) writes: “Xakas joins Karaim and Gagauz in choosing an interrogative pronoun for employing in finite subordinate constructions. In those finite constructions the influence of Russian *kotoryi* ‘which’ is apparent” (p. 111).

In this paper, I focus on relative clauses in spoken Kazakh to examine the possible differences the spoken variety of Kazakh exhibits in its relative clause formation strategies when compared to the strategies of relative clause formation in written Kazakh. Below is a description of my hypothesis and the research questions that were addressed by me.

3. Hypothesis and Research Questions

Winford (2010) suggests the following hierarchy of borrowing by word class (note that the symbol ‘>’ indicates that elements to the right of the hierarchy are harder to borrow than the elements to the left of it): “nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions” (p. 176). This implies that subordinating conjunctions are the hardest grammatical category to borrow, but this does not mean that they are unborrowable. Matras (2009) suggests that in addition to some of the most frequently borrowed subordinating conjunctions of concessive, causal, purpose, and conditional clauses, relative pronouns are also a common borrowing, such as Russian *который* which, for example, has replaced the original form used for relativization in the Kildin Sami language (p. 196). Comrie (1998) has claimed that those languages that do not employ the relative-pronoun strategy in their relative clauses tend to borrow relative pronouns from European languages that use this strategy (p. 79). He gives an example of Ewenki, a Tungusic language, that has developed relative clauses on the model of Russian relative clauses where a native interrogative pronoun *anti* began to be used as a relative pronoun in the written variety of Ewenki which otherwise employed the gap strategy in its relative clauses (Comrie 1998, p. 79). As discussed before, Gagauz, a Turkic

language, due to the influence from its surrounding Slavic and Romance languages and on the model of their Indo-European relative clause constructions, grammaticalized its interrogative pronouns into relative pronouns (Ulutaş, 2010). However, I do not expect the same to be true for Kazakh because Gagauz was predisposed to developing these relative pronouns because it always had a complementizer *ki* ‘that’ of Persian origin used to introduce finite complement and relative clauses. According to Ulutaş (2010), *ki* ‘that’ along with *kim* ‘who’ (of Turkic origin) are used in some Turkic languages (including modern spoken Gagauz and Turkish) to introduce finite subordinate clauses that can function as either relative clause or complement clause, and this use was already observed in older periods of Turkic languages before (p. 108). Thus, due to the influence of its surrounding languages, Gagauz, like Uzbek and Karaim, “extended the inventory of its set of relators covering some interrogative pronouns” (p. 110) such as *ne* ‘what’ and *angi* ‘which’ (p. 71-72). Therefore, I instead hypothesize that the Russian relative pronouns have been borrowed as an additional means to form relative clauses in spoken Kazakh because Kazakh, like Gagauz and other languages mentioned above, did not have a predisposition to developing relative pronouns on the model of Russian by virtue of having no complementizers that would introduce subordinate finite clauses, the presence of which would have made Kazakh favor such a route of grammaticalization for its native interrogative pronouns. It is only recently that Muhamedowa (2009) found out that Russian complementizer *что* ‘that’ has been borrowed by speakers of Kazakh for this role. In this regard, the following research questions have been addressed:

- (1) What are the characteristics of relative clauses of spoken Kazakh?
- (2) How do these characteristics of relative clauses in spoken Kazakh compare to the characteristics of relative clauses in written Kazakh?

4. Data and Methods

I conducted a corpus study in order to answer these questions. The data I used for the study was retrieved from the “Multimedia Corpus of Spoken Kazakh Language” which is being built at Nazarbayev University (Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan). The data is in the form of video and audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations between two or more people on various topics and in various contexts. The total length of the recordings analyzed is 10 hours 53 minutes. Before the recordings have been included into the corpus, the participants have given their consent have been anonymized. The age range of the participants is between 18 to 49, and all of them identify themselves as bilingual speakers of Kazakh and Russian. The regions represented by the speakers are Nur-Sultan, Oskemen, Aktau, and Almaty, thus representing the major varieties of the Kazakh language.

The instances of relative clauses in the data were transcribed using Discourse-Functional Transcription, representing spoken discourse, and segmented into Intonation Units (DuBois, 1983). Although the relative clauses were transcribed in Intonation Units, for my syntactic analysis, I treated one or more Intonation Units as comprising conventionally understood clauses or sentences. For instance, example (13) from my data illustrates two intonation units which were taken to comprise a single sentence in the analysis, which is represented in example (14). Note that ‘1’ and ‘2’ are numbers assigned to each intonation unit and ZOOM025P2 refers to the anonymized name of the participant.

- (15) 1 ZOOM025P2; *Шал* *бар* *ғой*,
 shal COP.EXST EMPH
 2 ZOOM025P2; [*который* *айқайла-йтын* *анау*].
 REL.NOM.SG scream-PTCP that

‘There is that shal, you know, who screams.’

- (16) *Шал* *бар* *ғой* [*который* *айқайла-йтын* *анау*].
 shal COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM.SG scream-PTCP that
 ‘There is that shal, you know, who screams.’

After relative clauses were identified from the recording and transcribed, each relative clause in the transcripts was coded for the following categories:

- the position of the relative clause vis-à-vis the head noun, i.e., whether the clause is either prenominal or postnominal;
- the presence/absence of the overt head noun, i.e., whether the clause is headless;
- the presence/absence of an overt relative pronoun;
- the finiteness of the verbal predicate in the clause and its absence/presence, i.e., whether the clause contains a non-finite or finite verbal predicate or a fully non-verbal predicate.

After each relative clause was categorized according to these parameters, its results were used to create a list of characteristics of relative clauses in spoken Kazakh. These characteristics were then compared to those of written Kazakh and were summarized.

5. Results and Discussion

From the recorded data of 10 hours 53 minutes, a total of 132 instances of relative clauses were identified². Fully or heavily code-switched relative clauses where clausal predicates were in Russian, as in example (15), were not considered. Only relative clauses that contained a minimum amount of code-switching and which contained a Kazakh predicate were considered for detailed syntactic analysis. Note that in all the examples below starting from example (16), code-switched Russian content words were not broken down into morphemes and grammatically glossed, and since the examples represent spoken language, standard orthography and punctuation were not obeyed either.

- (17) *Клубтың президенті инженер [қоторый берет курс у Ахтара].*
 ‘The president of the club is an engineer [who takes Akhtar’s courses].’

² This information should not be used as a definitive indication of the frequency of relative clauses in spoken Kazakh. These clauses were identified preliminarily by me, in the first cycle of listening and transcribing.

The relative clause highlighted in bold inside square brackets in the example above is fully in Russian and thus contains a Russian predicate, and the most acceptable interpretation of this sentence is that the clause is a fully code-switched material from Russian.

Figure 1 below illustrates the categorization of 116 out of these 132 relative clauses that contain a minimal amount of code-switching. The remaining 17 instances are either fully or heavily code-switched relative clauses with the main element in the clause — the predicate — being fully in Russian, and therefore they do not lend themselves to the desired form of syntactic analysis.

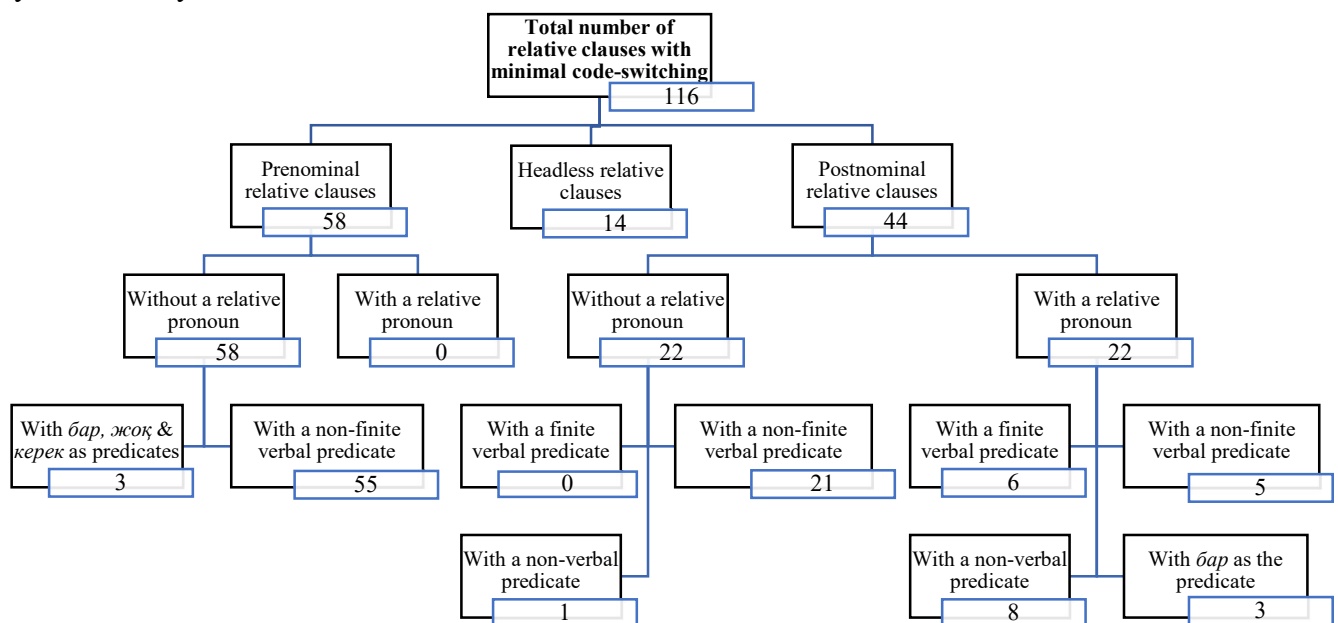


Figure 1. The categorization of relative clauses with minimal code-switching found in the data

As I have discussed above, the relative clauses in written Kazakh, according to Ótött-Kovács's (2015), have the following properties (this information is repeated for the reader's convenience):

- they tend to be prenominal;
- they usually do not make use of any relative pronouns;

- their predicate of the relative clause is usually non-finite, formed by the use of participle suffixes *-ГАН*, *-АтІн* or *-(А)р*; the existential copulas *бар* and *жоқ* as well as modal verbs *керек* and *қажет* do not take these participle suffixes.

In my data, out of 116 relative clauses, 72 exhibit these exact properties characteristic of written Kazakh: 14 of them are headless relative clauses and 58 are gapped prenominal relative clauses with non-finite verbal predicates formed by the participial suffixes *-ГАН* and *-АтІн*; there were no clauses with predicates formed by *-(А)р* which confirms Muhamedowa's (2015) claim that it is a rarely used most commonly found in the written variety of Kazakh. 3 out of these 58 prenominal relative clauses are those with *бар*, *жоқ*, and *керек* functioning as clausal predicates which do not obey the typical non-finite subordination (relativization) pattern. These three instances are examples (16), (17), and (18) below:

(18) *Мына-да [сен-ің үш о-да жоқ] карта-ң тұр.*
 3SG-LOC 2SG-GEN three 3SG-LOC COP.NEG.EXST card-2SG.POSS AUX
 'He has those three cards of yours which she does not have.'

(19) *Мен-ің мына жақ-та бар эо, [ал-ып кет-у-ім керек] зат-тар бар.*
 1SG-GEN this side-LOC COP.EXST EMPH take-CVB AUX-INF-1SG.POSS
 need thing-PL COP.EXST

'You know, there are things in here that I need to take with myself.'

(20) *[Қазір-гі бар] қала-ның сурет-і-н сал-а-т ма.*
 now-ADJ COP.EXST city-GEN picture-3.POSS-ACC draw-PST-3 EMPH
 'It is just that he draws the picture of a city that exists now.'

Apart from these prototypical examples, however, my findings also suggest that postnominal relative clauses are also a possibility in spoken Kazakh (44 out of 119 instances), an apparent difference from the written variety of Kazakh. Out of these 44, 22 used Russian relative pronouns which confirms my initial hypothesis that Russian relative pronouns have been borrowed by speakers of Kazakh as an additional means to form relative clauses.

Although according to the Russian subordination pattern the predicate of the relative clause following a relative pronoun is usually finite, this, however, is not always the case in my data. That is, when a relative pronoun is used by speakers of Kazakh, the predicate in the clause following the relative pronoun can either be finite (a total of 6 instances) or non-finite (a total of 5 instances); in a total of 3 instances, the clauses contained the existential copula *бар*, while in the remaining 8 instances, the clauses did not contain any verbal predicates. Below are some of the examples for each of these categories, but the full list of examples can be found in the appendix.

1. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a finite Kazakh predicate:

(21) *[Ерте сол-ып қал-атын] гүл-дер бар зой*
 early wither-CVB AUX-PTCP flower-PL COP.EXST EMPH

[который ұзақ-қа шыда-ма-й-ды]
 REL.NOM.SG long-DAT hold-NEG-PRS-3

‘You know there are flowers that wither too early and that do not hold for too long.’

Example (19) above is peculiar in that it contains two relative clauses that are modifying the same head, one adhering to the native non-finite subordination pattern and the other using the Russian relative pronoun *который* and a finite verb in the clause that follows the head.

(22) *Бір кино бар зой [который Тиано Рис*
 one film COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM.SG PN PN

там ит-пен жүр-е-ді зой].
 there dog-COM go-PRS-3 EMPH

‘There is one film in which Tiano Ris goes with a dog, you know.’

2. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a non-finite Kazakh predicate:

- (23) *Шал бар зой [который айғайла-йтын анау].*
 shal COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM.SG scream-PTCP that
 ‘There is that shal, you know, who screams.’

Example (24) below is peculiar in that the relative pronoun used is not *который*, but the Kazakh interrogative pronoun *кім* ‘who’, paralleling the use of Russian relative pronoun *кто* ‘who’.

- (24) *Обычно же где-то тысяча бол-а-ды выпускников [кім НУ-ға бар-атын].*
 usually EMPH around thousand be-PRS-3 alumni who NU-DAT
 go-PTCP

‘Usually the (high school) alumni who go to NU are around thousand in number.’

Such a use of an interrogative pronoun *кім* ‘who’ as a relative pronoun for human referents is found in Gagauz, as shown in examples (25) and (26) (Ulutaş, 2010, p. 72).

- (25) *Kim bu kiya-dy oku-d-u?*
 who this book-ACC read-PST-3
 ‘Who read this book?’ (modified from Ulutaş 2010)

- (26) *Ani insan da [kim gel-er ba-na bura-da kütüphane-dä] konuş-êr-lar Gagauzça, Türkçe.*
 and person too REL come-PRS 1SG-DAT here-LOC
 library-LOC speak-PRS-PL Gagauz Turkish

‘And people who come to visit me here in the library speak Gagauz, Turkish.’
 (modified from Ulutaş, 2010)

3. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a Kazakh existential copula *бар*:

Note that examples (23) and (24) below comprise one sentence. It has been interpreted that the sentence contains three clausal predicates introduced by *который*, and one of them have not been highlighted in bold and put inside square brackets due to not containing a Kazakh predicate and thus being considered a code-switched material.

- (27) *Түсін-б-и-м* *адам-дар-ды* ***көторые*** *квартира-да*
 understand-NEG-PRS-1SG person-PL-ACC REL.NOM.PL apartment-LOC
- живут,* ***[кредит-тар-ы*** ***бар]***...
 live loan-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST

‘I do not understand people who live in apartments, have loans to pay...’

- (28) ***[... бәлембәй*** ***бала-лар-ы*** ***бар]***.
 ... a.lot.of child-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST
 and have a lot of children.’

Example (29) below is also peculiar because *который* is clause-final, coming after the clausal predicate, not before it as is usually the case.

- (29) *Бесконечность и Финал-ды=да=ма* ***[Танос-ы бар*** ***көторый]***.
 infinity and final-ACC=also=Q PN-3.POSS COP.EXST REL.NOM.SG
 ‘(Did you watch) also the Infinity and the Final in which there is Thanos?’³

4. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a non-verbal predicate:

- (30) *FBA деген курс* *бар* *е-д-і* *зөй* ***[көторый*** ***үш*** ***жүз***
 PN called course COP.EXST AUX-PST-3 EMPH REL.NOM.SG three hundred
- елу*** ***мың-дық]***.
 fifty thousand-ADJ

‘You know there was a course called FBA which costs 350 thousand.’

³ The Infinity and the Final refer to the names of two popular episodes within a well-known movie series. The speaker is asking the addressee whether she has *also* seen these movies, apart from the ones the addressee mentioned before during the conversation.

- (31) Арай Айша [которые НУ-да].
 PN PN REL.NOM.PL NU-LOC
 ‘Aray and Aisha who are at NU.’

In example 31 above, the relative pronoun is marked for plural; this is not common in the data with only 6 instances of *которые* (out of 22) in total.

In all of these 22 examples above, *который* is used in 15 instances, while *которые* is used 6 times, with a use of *ким* which parallels the use *кто* ‘who’ occurring only once (see example 24). Therefore, *который* seems to be *the* relative pronoun borrowed by the speakers of modern Kazakh, used along with its plural form *которые*. While in Russian this pronoun is inflected for case thus signaling the grammatical function of the head, it is, however, not marked for case in Kazakh — it is invariant in form. This means that the gap strategy is not yet eliminated by the borrowing of this conjunction even though it is theoretically possible to mark the pronoun for Kazakh cases, creating forms like *который-за* ‘to whom, to which’, *который-дың* ‘whose, which-GEN’, *который-ды* ‘whom, which-ACC’ etc.

The use of *который* in Russian requires a finite verbal predicate, while in spoken Kazakh, as my data demonstrates, either finite or non-finite verbal predicates can come after *который*. The data also shows that relative clauses without an overt verbal predicate after *который* are also a possibility in spoken Kazakh.

One of the most untypical findings of my analysis was the occurrence of postnominal relative clauses without any Russian relative pronouns in the natural spoken data. Examples below (32) and (33) are such postnominal relative clauses that contain a non-finite verbal predicate, an only possibility as the data has shown (i.e., finite verbal predicates cannot occur in postnominal clauses lacking a relative pronoun). The full list of examples belonging to this category can be found in the appendix.

- (32) *Проф бар зой [сен риторика-ны ал-зан].*
 professor COP.EXST EMPH 2SG rhetoric-ACC take-PTCP
 ‘You know there is a professor from whom you took the course on rhetoric.’
- (33) *Осы жер зой [көб-і-сі инстаграм-га сал-атын].*
 this place EMPH many-3.POSS-3.POSS Instagram-DAT post-PTCP
 ‘It is this place which many people post on Instagram.’

Examples (28) and (29) are interpreted as each containing a relative clause because from the context of the conversation, it is evident that the information in square brackets are delimiting the noun head that comes before them to a more specific individual or object. Looking at the forms of the predicates in each, in example (28), the unit in square brackets is not an independent clause because it is clear that the predicate is non-finite, lacking an agreement suffix; had it been a finite predicate otherwise, it would have taken the second-person agreement suffix *-сИң*. The portion in square brackets in example (29) is ambiguous in that it can either be interpreted as either an independent clause or a relative clause when it is written as text. This is because subject agreement is zero-marked for third person in the predicates of independent clauses with *-АтИн*, while the subject agreement marking is, by definition, also absent in non-finite participial verbforms of relative clauses, thus resulting in ambiguity. However, even though I cannot definitively verify my following claims by any source, from my observation, this ambiguity is resolved by stressing the appropriate part of the suffix: when the last syllable of *-атын* (the allomorph of *-АтИн*) is stressed in *салатын*, the predicate *салатын* is interpreted as a non-finite verbform; when the first syllable of *-атын* is stressed, the predicate seems to be interpreted as a finite one whose subject agreement is zero-marked. In this particular case, it is evident from the recording that it is the last syllable of *-атын* that is stressed, meaning that the predicate *салатын*, in this case, should be interpreted as a non-finite verbform of a relative clause. Research is needed on how prosody affects the interpretation of such ambiguous predicates with third-person subjects to verify these claims.

As can be noticed from many of the examples in the appendix, postnominal clauses tend to follow emphatic markers (EMPH) such as Kazakh *зоӱ* and *қоӱ* but not always. What exact role, if any, these emphatic markers play in the formation of postnominal clauses could be a potential research topic for the future.

In summary, Table 6 below compares the characteristics of relative clauses in written Kazakh as discussed by Eszter Ótött-Kovács (2015) to the characteristics of relative clauses in spoken Kazakh that I have discussed so far.

Table 6

Comparing the characteristics of relative clauses of spoken Kazakh to that of written Kazakh

| Parameter | In written Kazakh | In spoken Kazakh |
|--|--|---|
| Position of the relative clause vis-à-vis the head | usually prenominal | can be both prenominal and postnominal |
| Relative pronoun and the role of the head in the embedded clause | no relative pronoun is used (gap strategy) | A borrowed Russian relative pronoun <i>который</i> is used in postnominal relative clauses, and it tends to be invariant in form. Gap strategy is therefore still preserved. |
| Predicates and their finiteness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> verbal predicates tend to be non-finite and are formed by the use of participial suffixes <i>-ГАН</i>, <i>-АтІн</i> or <i>-(А)р</i> <i>бар</i>, <i>жоқ</i>, <i>керек</i>, and <i>қажет</i> do not take these participle suffixes when they function as predicates in the clause | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> verbal predicates are usually non-finite in prenominal clauses except when <i>бар</i>, <i>жоқ</i>, <i>керек</i>, and <i>қажет</i> function as predicates in the data, only <i>-ГАН</i> and <i>-АтІн</i> are used participle suffixes; the use of <i>-(А)р</i> is not found in the data. verbal predicates can either be finite or non-finite in postnominal clauses introduced by the Russian relative pronoun <i>который</i> verbal predicates tend to be non-finite in postnominal relative clauses that do not contain a Russian relative pronoun non-verbal predicates without an overt verb are also a possibility |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Presence or absence of the head in the matrix clause | the head is usually present unless the relative clause is chosen to be headless | the head is usually present unless the relative clause is chosen to be headless; in only few instances, sentences did not contain an overt head because of speakers referring to them implicitly in discourse |
|--|---|---|

6. Conclusion

In this study, I have attempted to compare the strategies of relative clause formation in the spoken variety of Kazakh to that of written variety. As a result, I have found that relative clauses in spoken Kazakh share some of the characteristics of relative clauses in written Kazakh while considerably differing from them at the same time. The relative clauses in written Kazakh tend to be prenominal with non-finite verbal predicates formed by the use of participial suffixes *-ГАН*, *-АтІн* or *-(А)р*, and these exact properties can also be observed in the relative clauses of spoken Kazakh, except for the fact that the suffix *-(А)р* cannot be found in the spoken language data. The key difference between the two varieties is in the possibility of forming postnominal relative clauses in spoken Kazakh which is otherwise not found in the written variety. First, this difference is, as my data shows, due to the borrowing of Russian relative pronoun *который*, as hypothesized, which naturally requires the position of relative clauses to shift from prenominal to postnominal. The predicate in the relative clause that follows *который* can either be finite or non-finite in spoken Kazakh in contrast to Russian where the predicate that follows the relative pronoun in the relative clause is usually finite. Furthermore, another feature of spoken Kazakh is the use of postnominal relative clauses that contain no Russian pronoun whatsoever, a pattern previously thought to be unattested in the syntax of Kazakh. Consequently, my data from spoken Kazakh sheds light on the linguistic strategies modern speakers of Kazakh use to form relative clauses in their everyday conversations that previously were not recorded and accounted for. Although a long period of language contact

between Russian and Kazakh is the most valid explanation for the occurrence of postnominal relative clauses with the relative pronoun *который* in the spoken variety, a further study is needed to provide explanation for the occurrence of those postnominal relative clauses that are not introduced by any relative pronoun, the reasons for which can be linked to cognitive factors as well as discourse factors such as the use emphatic markers *эоӱ* and *қоӱ* as mentioned before.

It has also been hypothesized that Kazakh speakers do not use native Kazakh interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns like Gagauz speakers do (Ulutaş, 2010) for reasons discussed before. The data confirmed this hypothesis even though there was only one instance of *ким* ‘who’ being used, in my interpretation, as a relative pronoun. This single minor instance is marginal and cannot be used to claim any ongoing grammaticalization of interrogative pronouns into relative pronouns in spoken Kazakh.

The list of glossing abbreviations used

| | | | |
|------|--------------|------|-----------------|
| ABL | ablative | NEG | negation marker |
| ADJ | adjectival | NOM | nominative |
| AUX | auxiliary | POSS | possessive |
| ACC | accusative | POL | polite |
| AUG | augmentative | PN | proper name |
| CMP | comparative | PL | plural |
| COLL | collective | PTCP | participle |
| COP | copula | PST | past |
| CVB | converb | PRF | perfective |
| DAT | dative | PASS | passive |
| EXST | existential | Q | interrogative |
| EMPH | emphatic | RECP | reciprocal |
| EVID | evidential | REFL | reflexive |
| GEN | genitive | REL | relativizer |
| HAB | habitual | SPR | superlative |
| HORT | hortative | SG | singular |
| INT | intentional | 1 | first person |
| INST | instrumental | 2 | second person |
| ING | infinitive | 3 | third person |
| LOC | locative | | |

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Appendix

Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian relative pronoun found in the data.

1. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a finite Kazakh predicate:

(1) [*Ерте сол-ып қал-атын*] *гүл-дер бар зой*
 early wither-CVB AUX-PTCP flower-PL COP.EXST EMPH

[который ұзақ-қа шыда-ма-й-ды]
 REL.NOM.SG long-DAT hold-NEG-PRS-3

‘You know there are flowers that wither too early and that do not hold for too long.’

(2) *Бір кино бар зой [который Тиано Рис*
 one film COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM.SG PN PN

там ит-пен жүр-е-ді зой].
 there dog-COM go-PRS-3 EMPH

‘There is one film in which Tiano Ris goes with a dog, you know.’

(3) *Біз-ге автоматом не закрыли кейбір курс-тар-ды [который*
 1PL-DAT automatically not closed some course-PL-ACC REL.NOM.SG

біз о-дан кейін қайтадан оқы-дық қой со-ның
 1PL 3SG-ABL after again study-1PL EMPH that-GEN

бәрі-н тина].
 all-ACC like.

‘They did not automatically count the courses which we kind of had to take all over again.’

(4) *Ана бір түр-лі аш-ыл-а-ды зой [который*
 that one kind-ADJ open-PASS-PRS-3 EMPH REL.NOM.SG

ашыл-ып құла-п қал-а-ды].
 open-CVB fall-CVB AUX-PRS-3

‘That thing opens in weird way...the thing which falls right after it opens, you know.’

- (5) *Үлкен* *анай-лар* *бар* *зоы* *[қоторые]*
big woman-PL COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM.PL

қорық-на-й-ды *ештеңе-ден].*
fear-NEG-PRS-3 nothing-ABL

‘You know there are old women who do not fear anything.’

- (6) *А* *неме-ні* *көр-ді-ң=бе* *самый* *бірінші*
but what-ACC watch-PST-2SG=Q most first

Мститель-ді *[қоторый* *иш-і-нде* *Локи* *кел-е-ді].*
avengers-ACC REL.NOM.SG inside-3.POSS-LOC Loki come-PRS-3

‘But did you watch that... the very first Avengers movie in which Loki comes?’

2. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a non-finite Kazakh predicate:

- (7) *Біз* *осындай* *адам-дар* *емес* *[қоторый* *отыр-ып сөйле-с-етін].*
1PL like.this people-PL NEG REL.NOM.SG sit-CVB speak-RECP-PTCP
‘We are not that kind of people who just sit and talk.’

- (8) *Она* *такой* *человек* *[қоторый* *ек-е-міз-дің*
she such person REL.NOM.SG two-COLL-1PL.POSS-GEN

вкус-ымыз *әртүрлі* *бол-атын].*
taste-1PL.POSS different be-PTCP

‘She is such a person about whom our tastes differ.’

- (9) *Ну* *таких* *да* *много* *[қоторые* *дым* *істе-ме-йтін].*
well like.those yes many REL.NOM.PL nothing do-NEG-PTCP
‘Well, yes, there are many people like those who do nothing.’

- (10) *Обычно* *же* *где-то* *тысяча* *бол-а-ды* *выпускников* *[кім*
usually EMPH around thousand be-PRS-3 alumni who

НУ-ға *бар-атын].*
NU-DAT go-PTCP

‘Usually the (high school) alumni who go to NU are around thousand in number.’

- (11) *Шал бар зой [который айгайла-йтын анау].*
 shal COP.EXST EMPH REL.NOM scream-PTCP that
 ‘There is that shal, you know, who screams.’

3. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a Kazakh existential copula *бар*:

- (12) *Түсін-б-и-м адам-дар-ды которые квартира-да*
 understand-NEG-PRS-1SG person-PL-ACC REL.NOM.PL apartment-LOC
живут, [кредит-тар-ы бар]...
 live loan-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST

‘I do not understand people who live in apartments, have loans to pay...’

- (13) *[... бәлембәй бала-лар-ы бар].*
 ... a.lot.of child-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST
 and have a lot of children.’

- (14) *Бесконечность и Финал-ды=да=ма [Танос-ы бар*
 infinity and final-ACC=also=Q PN-3.POSS COP.EXST
который].
 REL.NOM.SG

‘(Did you watch) also the Infinity and the Final in which there is Thanos?’⁴

4. Postnominal relative clauses with a Russian pronoun and a non-verbal predicate:

- (15) *ҒБА деген курс бар е-д-і зой [который үш*
 PN called course COP.EXST AUX-PST-3 EMPH REL.NOM.SG three
жүз елу мың-дық].
 hundred fifty thousand-ADJ

‘You know there was a course called FBA which costs 350 thousand.’

⁴ The Infinity and the Final refer to the names of two popular episodes within a well-known movie series. The speaker is asking the addressee whether she has *also* seen these movies, apart from the ones the addressee mentioned before during the conversation.

- (16) *Жоқ* *просто сен маған лақтыр-а-сың* *ғой*
 COP.NEG.EXST just 2PL 1SG.DAT throw-PRS-2SG EMPH

[которые біз-ге *жизненно].*
 REL.NOM.PL 1PL-DAT relatable

‘No, you know that you send me [videos] that are relatable for us.’

- (17) *Ну алтыс бес мың* *это* *[который аккаунт*
 well sixty five thousand it REL.NOM.SG account

төрт бес *адам-ға].*
 four five person-DAT

‘Well, the one that costs sixty-five thousand... it is the one which is an account for four-five people.’

- (18) *Кофейня бар емес=не* *HP* *кофейня*
 coffeeshop COP.EXST NEG=Q HP coffeeshop

[который эскалатор-дан кейін].
 REL.NOM.SG escalator-ABL after

‘Don’t you know there is a coffeeshop... HP coffeeshop.. which is located after the escalator?’

- (19) A: *Literary studies* *ал-ған* *жоқ-сың=ба?*
 literary studies take-PST.PRF COP.NEG.EXST-2SG=Q
 ‘Did you not take Literary Studies?’

B: *[Который жүз он]=ба?*
 REL.NOM.SG hundred ten=Q
 ‘The one which is 110?’

- (20) *Біл-е-сің=бе* *Айым-ды* *президент* *[который*
 know-PRS-2SG=Q PN-ACC president REL.NOM.SG

Жанет-та *еще* *хореограф].*
 Zhanet-LOC also choreographer.

‘Do you know Aiym, the president, who is also a choreographer at Zhanet?’

- (21) *Арай Айша [қоторые НУ-да].*
 PN PN REL.NOM.PL NU-LOC
 ‘Aray and Aisha who are at NU.’
- (22) *И черный солдат [қоторый қол-ы (MAKES MOVEMENTS)]⁵*
 and black soldier REL.NOM.SG arm-3.POSS
 ‘And the black soldier whose arms are (MAKES MOVEMENTS)’

Postnominal relative clauses without a Russian relative pronoun found in the data:

- (1) *Сен-ің қол-ың-да ештеңе жоқ=па [қой-атын]?*
 2SG-GEN hand-2SG.POSS-LOC nothing COP.NEG.EXST=Q put-PTCP
 ‘Isn’t there anything on your hands which needs to be put away?’
- (2) *Меруерт қой [жүр-етін].*
 PN EMPH go-PTCP
 ‘It is Meruert who makes a move.’⁶
- (3) *Ана шкаф-тың іш-і-нде емес=пе ана [мен жина-ған-да-ғы]?*
 that locker-GEN inside-3.POSS-LOC NEG=Q that 1SG clean-PTCP-LOC-ADJ?
 ‘Isn’t it inside that locker...in the one that I cleaned?’
- (4) *Сека-ның өз-і-нің зат-тар-ы бар шығар [сал-атын].*
 PN-GEN self-3.POSS-GEN stuff-PL-3.POSS COP.EXST maybe put-PTCP
 ‘Maybe there are Seka’s own stuff which he will pack/which he needs to pack.’
- (5) *Дос-ы=ма [өл-ген]?*⁷
 friend-3.POSS=Q die-PTCP
 ‘Wasn’t she his friend who died?’
- (6) *Снайпер бар [көз-ді қыс-ып өлтір-етін].*⁸
 sniper COP.EXST eye-ACC blink-CVB kill-PTCP
 ‘There is a game called sniper in which one kills by blinking.’
- (7) *Проф бар зой [сен риторика-ны ал-ған].*
 professor COP.EXST EMPH 2SG rhetoric-ACC take-PTCP
 ‘You know there is a professor from whom you took the course on rhetoric.’

⁵ The speaker makes movements at the end of the utterance, imitating the movement of the soldier’s arms.

⁶ Context: the players are playing cards, and the player named Meruert needs to make a move.

⁷ Context: the speaker is asking whether the person they are talking about is a friend of their common friend.

⁸ Context: sniper refers to a game in which a player who is chosen to be a sniper can ‘kill’ others by blinking.

(8) *Андай _____ крокодил ойна-йық [жест-пен түсіндір-етін].⁹*
 like.that crocodile play-1PL.HOR gesture-INST explain-PTCP
 ‘Let’s play something like the crocodile game in which you explain with gestures.’

(9) *Сосын қай _____ қала [университет Назарбаев=тікі=ме*
 other which city university PN=POSS=Q

алде _____ школа-сы _____ ашыл-атын]?
 or school-3.POSS open-PTCP.

‘Which is the other city in which the university of Nazarbayev or his school is going to open?’

(10) *Сондай _____ кісі=дә [именно со-ны басқар-атын].*
 such person=EMPH specifically 3SG-ACC manage-PTCP.
 ‘(He is) such a person, you know, who manages specifically that.’

(11) *Мынжақ-та какбудто _____ мен _____ жалғыз _____ қал-ып*
 here-LOC as.if 1SG alone stay-CVB

қал-ған секілді-мін бар _____ зой [со-ның бәрі-н ойлан-атын].
 AUX-PTCP like-1SG COP.EXST EMPH that-GEN all-ACC think-PTCP

‘You know, it is as if I was left alone here as someone who needs to think about all that.’

(12) *Осы _____ жер _____ зой [көб-і-сі _____ инстаграм-ға сал-атын].*
 this place EMPH many-3.POSS-3.POSS instagram-DAT post-PTCP
 ‘It is this place which many people post on Instagram.’

(13) *Акустик найт сондай _____ такой _____ күйші ивент [в основном адам*
 acoustic night such such cool event in general person

_____ такой большой көп _____ жинал-атын].
 such big many gather-PTCP

‘Acoustic night is such a cool event in which usually a lot of people gather.’

(14) *Я _____ была _____ круглой _____ отличницей=да _____ еще _____ прям _____ ответственно*
 1SG was straight a.student=EMPH also very responsible

⁹ Context: crocodile also refers to a group game.

самая такая есть=же [каждый тренировка-га бар-атын там].
 most such there.is=EMPH every training-DAT go-PTCP there

‘I was a straight-A student, you know, and also the most responsible student who would go to every training there.’

- (15) *Как эт называется кино зой [Оскар ал-ган].*
 how that called movie EMPH Oscars win-PTCP
 ‘How is that called...the movie, you know, which won Oscars?’

- (16) *Студент-тер-ди көрсет-е-ди зой [ЕНТ-ны тапсыр-ып*
 university.student-PL-ACC show-PRS-3 EMPH UNT-ACC take-CVB

шығ-ып-атқан].

come.out-CVB-PTCP

‘You know they show these students who are coming out (from exam centers) after taking the UNT (Unified National Testing).’

- (17) *Каблук ки-ин бір видео сал-ып е-д-и зой*
 heel wear-CVB one video post-CVB AUX-PST-3 EMPH

[бил-еп жат-қан].

dance-CVB AUX-PTCP.

‘He posted a video in heels in which he was dancing.’

- (18) *Стекло обычный [үст-і-нде тұр-ған].*
 Glass ordinary surface-3.POSS-LOC attach-PTCP
 ‘(It is) just glass that is attached onto its surface.’

- (19) *Бол-а-ды зой интернет друзья [сен өмір-ің-де бір*
 be-PRS-3 EMPH internet friends 2SG life-2SG.POSS-LOC one

бір-ің-нің дауыс-ың-ды біл-ме-йтін] уә.
 one-2SG.POSS-GEN voice-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PTCP yes

‘You know there are internet friends which are those people who do know/recognize each other’s voices in real life’.

- (20) *Мұнайшы-дан битін тіке жол бар зой [ары қаратай*
 Munayshi-ABL like.this straight road COP.EXST farther towards

өткет-етін].

lead-PTCP

‘You know there is a straight road which leads farther from the Munayshi street.’

- (21) *Сен-ің жан-ың-да-ғы бір қыз бар ед-і зой да*
 2SG-GEN side-2.POSS-LOC-ADJ one girl COP.EXST COP.EXST-3 EMPH yes

[тоже студия-ны бірге аш-қан].

also studio-ACC together open-PTCP

‘You know there was a girl with you who also opened the studio together with you, yes?’

- (22) *Там есть сондай мамандық-тар бар зой [бизнес-қа жақын].*
 there exist such major-PL COP.EXST EMPH business-DAT close
 ‘There are such majors which are close to business.’