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Kazakh in contact with Russian in modern Kazakhstan

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A visitor to Kazakhstan is struck by the dominance of Russian everywhere. A general impression is that both the official language and the first spoken language of non-Kazakhs and the majority of Kazakhs is Russian. Kazakh appears to play the role of a secondary language in all major cities and regions dominated by Russians. A specialist in Turkic languages who before visiting Kazakhstan worked with some Kazakh literary or folklore texts but does not know the real situation of language is astonished that instead of genuine Kazakh words he read in these texts he hears Russian words and phrases in almost every utterance. Naturally there also exists a high standard variety of Kazakh, free of code-mixing and code-switching, but in most cases it functions in strictly limited situations. The attempt of this paper is to show the linguistic behaviour of Kazakhs in Kazakh-Russian language contacts and to show the state of Kazakh in modern Kazakhstan. Material was collected during multiple trips to such major Kazakh cities as Almaty, Aqtaw, Aqtöbe, Astana, Atırav, Öskemen, Kökşetaw, Qızılorda, Şımkent and Taraz, as well as a few small towns and villages between 2006 and 2012. The recording was not systematic, although an attempt was made to register typical situations rather than untypical ones. It included spontaneous acts of discourse, dialogues on television as well as written inscriptions, ads, announcements and many other uses of language in most typical spheres of life.

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1. Kazakh in the past

Documentation of spoken Kazakh is late. The first Kazakh language material was published by Il'minskii (1861), Altinsarin (1879) and Radloff (1870).¹ Radloff evaluated the Kazakh language and the linguistic competence of Kazakhs very highly. He said that the Kazakhs were distinguished from all their neighbours by

¹ Sızdıq (2004: 102–104) and some other Kazakh linguists argue that the first preserved Kazakh text, Qadırğaliy's genealogy, is dated to the 16th century. However, when we look at the language of Qadırğaliy (Kadirgali), it is typical literary Eastern Turkic, though the final opinion must be formulated after a good critical edition of this work. For the first critically edited Kazakh text from the 18th century, see *Ädil Sultan* (Isin 2001); see also Äbilqasımov's study (1988).

their eloquence. He stressed that the Kazakhs were able to recite long improvisations in verse and that even their ordinary speech had a certain rhythm. Radloff did not hesitate to call the Kazakhs “Franzosen Westasiens” (Radloff 1893: 507). In the introduction to his collection of Kazakh texts, he claimed that the Kazakh language avoided the far-going impact of Islam and preserved a purely Turkic character (Radloff 1870: vii). Modern studies also stress that Kazakh is little affected by foreign languages (Menges 1959: 436).

However, the first language samples present oral and written literature or at least high style; they do not mirror spoken language in natural communication. As for the opinions formulated in modern studies, they are based on literature that was carefully prepared to purify the language from Russian borrowings. In fact, there is a great difference between written and spoken Kazakh, and it must have been so ever since the first Kazakh texts appeared, especially in the 18th–19th centuries when the Kazakhs came into close contact with the Russians. According to Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov (1968: 49), Russian loanwords started appearing in Kazakh literature in the 1860s–1870s. Evidence may be provided from Abay’s poems. Abay introduced some Russian words and expressions purposely to show the Russian influence on school children, e.g. in the poem *Интернатта оқып жүр* ‘he studies in a boarding school’, *Прошение жазуғға тиісар* ‘he tries to write a petition’, *Bul iske кім виноват* ‘who is guilty of this’ or *Bolsañız здравомыслящий* ‘if you are wise’ (Abay 2005a: 58). However, the Russian copies are also present in Abay’s other works, which demonstrates that Abay not only purposely used, but also could not avoid them. Therefore, as a symbolic creator of Kazakh written literature, Abay first authorized Russian copies and code-switching, e.g. *военный қызмет* ‘military service’ (Abay 2005a: 58) or *bäri виноват* ‘everybody is guilty’.²

However, in written correspondence the Russian loanwords are attested earlier, namely in the first Kazakh documents of this type from the 18th century. Äbilqasimov (1988: 20) gives such examples as *yanaral* ~ *janaral* ‘general’ (Rus. *генерал*), *starşina* ‘sergeant’ (Rus. *старшина*), *krepos* ‘fortress, stronghold’ (Rus. *крепость*).

Russian copies are also present in the first Kazakh newspapers, e.g. *awılнай* ‘rural’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3); *государственный дума* ‘national assembly’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3). One can also evidence Russian copies in the articles of Duwlatulı (1885–1935), especially those published before 1917, e.g. *şkol* ‘school’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 109)³ or *şkola*, e.g. *Ақмолاداғы городской şkolada* ‘in the city school of Aqmola province’ and *окружной сот* ‘the regional court’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 97; 108). Duwlatulı was a Kazakh poet, writer, intellectual, author of textbooks for schools,

2 A quotation from Abay’s *Book of Words* (Abay 2005b: 123).

3 The use of this Russian loanword is attested by Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov (1968: 89) in the 19th century beside *mektep* and *medrese*, of Arabic origin. Each of these terms denoted a different type of school, in this case a Russian school or a school of a Russian type.

and an influential representative of Kazakh enlightenment who proposed many terms used to date. As other intellectuals, he was obliged to use many Russian terms relating to Russian administration, some phonetically adapted to Kazakh, e.g. *sot* ‘court’, *nömir* ‘number’, *üyez* ‘district’, *oblus* ‘province’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 104, 109), some partially adapted, e.g. *sudebniy nalama* ‘law court’, some non-adapted, e.g. *gazeta* ‘newspaper’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 236).

Kazakh linguists are aware of Russian copies in spoken language, from which they sometimes penetrate written literature. For example, Balaqayev (1971 [2008]: 61) quotes such sentences as *Понимаеш, ol bugün kelmeydi* ‘You know, he will not come today’; *Stolda türlı tağat, vino, vodka, черт-морт tağı basqa şurım-burım boldı* ‘There were various sorts of stuff on the table: dishes, wine, liquor, devilment, different junk and rubbish’; *Men sağan звонить etip em* ‘I have rung you up’.

Although at the time of Russian dependence when the Kazakhs had no autonomy there was an inevitable need to use terms relating to Russian administration and public life, e.g. *istatiya* ‘article’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 2; from Rus. *статья*); *duma* ‘representative assembly’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3; from Rus. *дума*); *oblus* ~ *oblas* ‘province’ (from Rus. *область*), the Kazakh language had not lost some productivity in this field, see such terms as *jarnama* ‘advertisement’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 1), and the language of literary works and newspapers was in general clear and close to the spoken language, cf. such news as *Uralski qalasında on şaqtı nömir şıǵıp toqtağan, “Qazaqstan” cañıdan şıǵa bastağan* ‘After about ten issues had appeared in the city of Uralsk, the publication of *Qazaqstan* stopped, but then it started to appear again’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3); *Qazaqşa gazeta şıǵadı degen habar taralğan soñ tus-tusınan habarlar gazetağa basuw üşin sözder aǵıp kele bastadı* ‘As soon as the news that a newspaper in Kazakh would appear had spread, the materials for publications started coming from everywhere’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4); *Oñüstiktegi Qıtaylar soltüstiktegi-ermen soǵısıp jatır* ‘The Chinese in the south are fighting against the Chinese in the north’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 2).

A remarkable rise of Kazakh took place in the 1920s when the Kazakhs gained autonomy and then their own republic within the Soviet Union. In this period Kazakh intellectuals made endeavours to kazakhize the administration in the republic and cleanse the language of Russian words, terms, suffixes and other elements. However, it is important to stress that this is not exclusively related to the initial Soviet concessions to national languages,⁴ as it is frequently claimed, since this process started with political reforms in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. The attempts to create terminology on the basis of genuine Kazakh structures and vocabulary, of which we have evidence from the time of Tsarist Russia, may be illustrated by Ahmet (Aqımet) Baytursınılı, who created modern Kazakh linguistics

4 This was part of the Soviet policy called *коренизация* (Olcott 1987: 169) i.e. indigenization (Fierman 2005a: 117), in Kaz. *bayırǵılandırıw*, to which the Kazakhs apply the term *qazaqtandırıw* (Rus. *казахизация*) (Omarbekov 2003: 110).

(Baytursınof 1914).⁵ Baytursınoğlu's contribution is very different from similar works written at that time by Turks, Tatars, Crimean Tatars and Uzbeks who adhered to old literary styles of their languages. Baytursınoğlu created such terms as *buwın* 'syllable' (Baytursınof 1914: 4), *söz tulğaları* 'word forms' (Baytursınof 1914: 19), *jurnağ* 'word-forming suffix', *qosımşa* 'suffix', *tuwındı* 'derivative', *tübir* 'root' (Baytursınof 1914: 21), *sın esim* 'adjective' (Baytursınof 1914: 35), *san esim* 'numeral' (Baytursınof 1914: 36), which are used in Kazakh linguistics up to the present time. He continued his work in the 1920s when he created modern Kazakh literature theory (Baytursınoğlu 1926), also on the basis of the national language.⁶ We can show Kazakh terms created in the 1920s in nearly all domains, e.g. *otarba* 'train',⁷ *soğıs keme* 'warship', *awruwhana* 'hospital', *temir joldar* 'railways' (Duwlatulı 2003: 47, 109, 110).

The tendency for the kazakhization of loanwords and foreign proper names existed until the communist repression in the 1930s broke national movements in the Soviet Union. Stalinist persecutions led to a situation wherein any national sentiment could be interpreted as nationalism and severely punished.

A good example of kazakhization is *Jansügiruli*'s translation of Thomas Mayne Reid's novel *The Bush Boys*.⁸ In his translation, *Jansügiruli*, a Kazakh writer known at present as *Jansügirov* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 207), adapted most names and terms into Kazakh, e.g. Netherlander became *Qollandı*, Van Bloom (or Van Bloem) – *Bambulum*, Hans – *Qanış*, Jean – *Janıs*, and Hendrick – *Keñirik*; the giraffe became *jerapa* and the tse-tse fly – *sese*.⁹

The rise and the fall of kazakhization may be illustrated by changes in Kazakh surname forms. As is known, Kazakh surnames were adopted according to the Russian law and were initially written with Russian endings *-ov*, *-ev*, *-in*, etc. Initially the forms with Russian endings appeared in Russian texts and official documents, e.g. *Altın Sarı* → *Altınсарин* (*Алтынсаринъ*), but in the course of time they were adopted by the Kazakhs themselves. However, it must be stressed that Kazakh historical persons from the pre-Soviet period are frequently called by their given names, e.g. *Abay Qunanbayulı* (in Russian style *Qunanbayev*) and *Ibray* (*Ibrayim*, *Ibrahim*) *Altınсарı* (in Russian style *Altınсарин*) appear just as *Abay* and *Ibray* (e.g.

5 This book was reprinted a few times, e.g. in 1918 and 1923 in Arabic script, then in Cyrillic, the best edition in Cyrillic script being that of 2003.

6 This book appeared in Arabic script in 1926, and was reprinted in Cyrillic script a few times (e.g. 1989, 2003).

7 This term, used in Kazakh literature of the 1920s beside *temir arba* (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161, 168), is not used now. At present the Russian word *поезд*, mostly pronounced [pojiz] and sometimes also spelled *пойыз*, is used for 'train'.

8 Evidently translated from a Russian translation *В дебрях Южной Африки*.

9 Quoted from a modern edition of the original publication in 1928–1929, see Rid (1999: 4–24)

Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 87). Russian style dominated in the 1910s and at the beginning of the 1920s, while from 1924 on the surnames were converted into Kazakh style, mostly derived with the suffix *ұлы* *uli*, e.g. *Kemeluli*, *Dulatuli*, *Dosmuhambetuli* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2006: 85). This norm was retained in the period of Latin script 1928–1935,¹⁰ e.g. *Аймағыт ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 18), i.e. *Aymawituli*, at present *Аймауытов* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 18); *Әwez ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 21), i.e. *Äwezuli*, at present *Әwezов* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 98); *Майлы ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 25), i.e. *Mayluli*, at present *Майлин* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 355). In 1936, with the rise of Stalinist's repression, the surnames gradually began to shift into Russian, e.g. *Сарыбағыр* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 92), i.e. *Saribajır*, at present *Сарыбаев*. In addition, the Kazakhs were forced to adopt Russian patronymics. Today many Kazakhs are changing their surnames again according to Kazakh style and dropping the patronymics, but the Russian style is still common, though the use of patronymics among Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs has a falling tendency. Moreover, the Soviet custom of quoting Kazakh names of historical figures in Russian style, even if they were written in Kazakh style, is still very popular, e.g. *التين ساری* (Baytursinuli 1926: 36) in the 1989 edition was written *Алтынсарин* (Baytursinov 1989: 156).

The development of national languages in the Soviet Union started to fall at the end of the 1930s (Hasanuli 1992: 123) and this situation lasted until Gorbachev's reforms in the late 1980s.

2. Kazakh today

According to the constitution, Kazakh is the state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, the same constitution and the language law in Kazakhstan grant Russian the position of 'another official language'.¹¹ Analysts say this situation is ambiguous (Schlyter 2003: 170). Studies on Kazakh language planning and language policy also claim that the *de facto* official language in Kazakhstan is Russian (Schlyter 2003: 171). A detailed assessment of Kazakh language policy in the twenty years of independent Kazakhstan from 1991 to 2011 requires another study, but it may be shortly assessed as inconsistent and ineffective, although the authorities pretend to claim that language policy is a very important component of their

10 Latin script was officially used in Kazakhstan in the years 1928-1940. However, some books printed in Arabic script appeared as late as 1932; see a catalogue by Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2006: 132-151), and some books in Latin script were also printed in 1941 when Cyrillic script was introduced, see Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2007: 141-147).

11 The first language law was adopted in September 1989. Although it was modelled after the laws in other republics, the situation of the titular language in Kazakhstan was less favourable than in other republics (Fierman 2005a: 119). The present language law was signed by the president in 1996 (QRTT).

policy (Hasanulı 1992: 228, Karin & Chebotarov 2002: 83).¹² Sometimes it is said that the administration of a new province of Kazakhstan shifts to Kazakh, but in reality Russian still remains the official language in most fields of public life (cf. Fierman 2005a: 120). This is because work in many sectors of central administration, including the president's office, government, army, police, prosecution, law courts, customs and other central public offices is still conducted in Russian. For example, in Hasanulı's opinion (2011: 102), only about 50%–70% of central institutions work in Kazakh, and the percentage of the institutions in public administration which carry out their duties in Russian amounts to 70%–80%.

Although at present Russian does not have the status of an interethnic language in Kazakhstan that it had in the Soviet Union, it is still taken as one. For example, one aged Tatar woman, a street cleaner in Şımkent, stressed in a conversation with me (2006) that I should speak Russian. She was fluent in both Tatar and Kazakh. When I asked why, she replied that Russian is a common language (*обуқуи*) that people speak everywhere. Moreover, the view of Russian as an interethnic language in Kazakhstan was publicly pronounced by some members of the Kazakh national assembly even a few years ago. It is very significant that people who make law in Kazakhstan do not know it.

Despite the fact that this paper focuses on colloquial and official variants of Kazakh, it is essential to shortly characterize modern literature. Literature is an important tool to maintain and develop Kazakh in its normative form, not contaminated by Russian. Unfortunately, modern Kazakh literature has only a minimal effect on spoken language, because few Kazakhs read it. There are a few reasons for this, such as the weakness of the literature, a shortage of readers and other factors.

12 The language policy (discussed by many analysts, e.g. Fierman 2005a, 2005b: 410–423, Dave 2007: 100–102) that came into effect before independence in 1989 and was confirmed in 1990 stipulated that the Kazakh language would achieve the status of state language by 2000 (Qasımbekov 1992: 3), whereas Russian would remain a language of international communication. This status of Kazakh was enacted in the first post-Soviet Constitution of 1993, but the new Constitution of 1995 granted the Russian language the status of an “official language employed equally with the Kazakh language in state and self-government organizations” (QRK, Article 7; see also QRTT, Article 12), which elevated Russian *de jure* and assured it a superior position *de facto*. Since the plans to promote Kazakh proved to be futile, the president issued a decree stipulating the elevation of Kazakh to the status of a fully-fledged state language by 2010 on 7 February 2001 (*Tilderdi qoldanuw men damıtuwdıñ 2001–2010 jıldarğa arnalğan memlekettik baǵdarlaması* ‘the state programme of the use and development of languages, 2001–2010’, for the full text see <http://abai.kz> or <http://prokuror.kz>). This also failed. As a result, on 29 June 2011, the president issued another decree with the same purpose of postponing this task for another ten years, to be achieved by 2020 (Hasanulı 2011: 103, for the full text see <http://anatili-almaty.kz>), though some requirements were modified. Dave (2007: 97) calls such language policy “symbolic”.

Modern Kazakh literature is weak in both volume and content. Some genres are almost non-existent, e.g. science fiction and detective novels. There are only a few writers who take on important, controversial, acute problems of Kazakhstan's contemporary reality, especially those who do not adulate the regime like Muhtar Mağawin, but living in Prague, he is independent from the regime and has a different perspective. There are very few attractive works for children and especially youngsters, such as those written by Maşqar Ğumar. Translations of world literature are only incidental. For this reason people who wish to read world literature buy Russian translations, and those children and youngsters who read also buy Russian books. As a result, no Kazakh publication will provide any author with a sufficient income. All authors writing in Kazakh therefore depend on government subsidies. Being dependent on the government, they cannot address real social or political problems. Therefore, the situation is paradoxical: there is no literature, because there are no readers, and there are no readers, because there is no literature that would satisfy them.

Among other factors, the most significant is the weak position of Kazakh in relation to Russian. Consequently, there are some bookstores that do not sell Kazakh books at all, and many have only one or a few Kazakh stands, while there are no bookstores that sell only Kazakh books. The books are either imported from Russia or are local products. Even in the *Atamura* bookstore network, designed to promote Kazakh culture and language, there are many Russian books.¹³

2.1. Spoken Kazakh and language contacts

Until recently, Kazakh was spoken only by those Kazakhs who knew it or wanted to use it. In all remaining communication situations Russian was preferred. Competence in the state language among Kazakhs varies, with some analysts estimating that half of the Kazakh population speak Russian and do not know Kazakh. This fact is difficult to verify and not all researchers agree with it. For example, Hasanuli (2007: 39) estimates that 99.4% of Kazakhs know their ethnic language. However, *владеет родным языком* "they know the native language", as he says, does not mean *использует родной язык* "they use the native language". Moreover, his opinion is based on census data that are not reliable in many details, for people often say what they feel they should say and not what is true. On the one hand, any educated Kazakh and other citizen of Kazakhstan should know the state language, since its instruction is compulsory also in Russian language schools. On the other hand, it is typical of the Russian-speaking population of Kazakhstan, either ethnic Kazakh or not, that they refuse any communication in Kazakh. If asked in Kazakh, they answer in Russian. However, when they reply in Russian to a question asked in Kazakh, it

¹³ In Şahanov's calculation (2007: 2) the percentage of Kazakh books published in recent years is 44.2% per title and 48% per copy.

naturally means that they at least understand it. I have made many experiments trying to speak exclusively Kazakh to a wide range of young and middle-aged people of all national groups, and there were very few cases where people really did not understand what I was saying. Moreover, I also tried to force such people to shift to Kazakh when I was talking to them, pretending that I do not understand any Russian. Interestingly, some preferred to switch to English rather than Kazakh, but some others switched to Kazakh when they felt they had no other option. Therefore, the statement that nearly half of the Kazakh population do not speak Kazakh should be modified. They do not speak Kazakh not because they do not know it, but because they do not want to speak it. Naturally, the case of aged people and ethnic Russians is different. This question requires further study.

With regard to the non-Kazakh minorities of Kazakhstan in a non-local, countrywide dimension and public relations, only recently some of them speak Kazakh to Kazakhs. This fact was exploited by Qazaqstan TV station, which employed some Russian presenters to stress their competence in the state language. Normally the interethnic language was Russian. An exception to this situation may be evidenced by the case of local, especially rural communities where non-Kazakh residents used Kazakh in contact with the titular nation if they were in a minority.

Kazakh-Russian language contacts and the question of bi- and multilingualism was the object of many studies from the 1960s on, see Hasanov (1976, 1987, 2007),¹⁴ Fierman (2005a), Muhamedova (2006) and others. According to Hasanov (1976: 156–157), the first Kazakh-Russian language contacts may be dated to the 16th century, and in the 19th century many Russians were fluent in Kazakh. Now the situation is completely different. Hasanov (1976: 155) argues that Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is predominantly subordinate and one-sided, that is the Kazakhs are typically Kazakh-Russian bilingual, while the Russians are typically Russian monolingual. It is clear when we compare the figures: in the mid-2000s, 83.9% of Russians and 25.2% of Kazakhs were monolingual (Hasanuli 2007: 286), which demonstrates that only 16.1% of Russians could use the titular language of the state in which they lived, whereas an overwhelming majority of Kazakhs could speak and use Russian.¹⁵ Hasanov (1987: 178) quotes an opinion according to which practically all Kazakhs in Kazakhstan were able to speak Russian in the 1980s. In my opinion the situation is roughly the same nowadays.

Another characteristic feature of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism among the Kazakhs is that it is a common, nationwide phenomenon, whereas the Kazakh-Russian bilingualism among the Russians has a restricted, local character. As for the other ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, we may say that one component of their bilingualism

14 Called Hasanuli.

15 If we compare the percentage of 0.66 % Russians who were able to speak Kazakh in 1979 (Jankowski 2001: 37) with that at the end of the 2000s, we see that it grew but is still very low.

must normally be Russian, and Kazakh only appears in multilingual relations, if they are at least trilingual.

It is worth showing some typical communication situations in Kazakhstan. As was mentioned above,

(a) conversation between Kazakhs and non-Kazakhs is nearly always initiated by both sides in Russian; the only exceptions are some rural and local Kazakh-Uzbek and other Turkic communities (the Uighurs, Meskhetian Turks, Tatars, etc.) where the conversation may be conducted in either Kazakh or the two respective languages, e.g. an Uzbek person speaks Uzbek, and a Kazakh person speaks Kazakh;

(b) if a Kazakh person starts the conversation in Russian with another Kazakh person, the interlocutor in most cases answers in Russian; only in rare exceptions is the interlocutor's Russian competence low, and this happens only in rural areas;

(c) if a Russian-speaking Kazakh person, including a russified youngster who comes to his village for vacations from the city, speaks Russian, his mates very often shift to Russian as well;

(d) if a Russian-speaking non-Kazakh person joins a group of Kazakhs, they all shift to Russian; if he is Kazakh, the conversation may be mixed; only recently may some young Kazakhs not allow such a shift.

As for the Kazakh language as spoken in a natural, uncontrolled way, it may be characterized by the utmost penetration of Russian elements of all kinds as well as by permanent Kazakh-Russian code-switching. The vocabulary of spoken Kazakh appears to be very limited, since most basic objects and concepts are expressed in Russian. It is striking that even some words pertaining to Turkic, local Central Asian or Kazakh culture are pronounced in a Russian way, e. g. *юрта* (Kaz. *kiyiz üy*) 'traditional Kazakh felt-house; yurt'.

When one compares Kazakh with Turkic languages deeply affected by Arabic and Persian such as Turkish or Uzbek, one will see that in spoken Kazakh many concepts for which Turkish and Uzbek have Arabic or Persian words are expressed in a Russian way, either as loanwords or other copies, e.g. *разница* (Kaz. *ayırma-şılıq*) 'difference', cf. Tur. *fark*, Uz. *farq*; *вопрос* (Kaz. *suraq, мәsele*) 'question, problem', cf. Tur. *mesele, sorun*, Uz. *muammo, masala*.¹⁶

2.1.1. Code-mixing and code-switching

Code-mixing may occur within an utterance (intrasentential) and outside an utterance (intersentential). Code-switching from Kazakh to Russian has no restraints. An interlocutor may switch from Kazakh to Russian in any situation, cf. two characteristic cases: *Suw ішемiz, birew c cuponom, birew без cupona* 'We are going to drink water, one with squash, the other without squash'; *Достар это правда?...канша*

¹⁶ In an utterance registered as *sol вопрощи biz qazir köteriyatımız* 'we are now dealing with this problem'.

адам нақты каза тапкан? 'Is that true, guys? How many people were killed, exactly?' (17.12.2011 00:13, Radio Free Europe; the original spelling retained).

The switching is not symmetrical when speaking Russian. Since some language situations allowed only Russian, switching from it to Kazakh does not normally occur. In other non-restricted situations, e.g. when two Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs converse in Kazakh, and one of them finds Russian more convenient to express his thought, he switches. However, if the topic changes so that it may be easier for him to verbalize his thought in Kazakh, he returns to it. Such a pattern may reappear many times in a conversation.

In the speech of some Kazakh speakers code-mixing and code-switching is a normal situation, whereas speaking in one code is untypical. It should be added that Russians do not normally mix codes when they speak Russian. Therefore, Kazakh-Russian code-mixing must be defined as the speech of Kazakhs and any other nationals who speak Kazakh in a natural, spontaneous way and want to copy the language behaviours of Kazakhs. For example, I noticed this practice in the speech of some Turks who do business with the Kazakhs and are not hindered by any national-linguistic ideology.

The inserted words pertain to the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, modal words, onomatopoeic words, interjections, and conjunctions. Verbs are rarely and pronouns are not normally code-mixed, and there is only one preposition evidenced so far.

The simplest case of Kazakh-Russian lexical code-mixing is when a single Russian word is inserted into the body of a Kazakh utterance or conversely. Sometimes two words may be taken as a compound, e.g. *воспаление лёгких bastalat* 'it seems to be the beginning of pneumonia' (Qazaqstan Aqtaw TV channel, recorded 29.1.2012).

These are the most frequent cases, but insertions of longer units also occur quite often, e.g. the insertion of an adverbial phrase like *в тяжёлом состоянии ketti* 'he was taken to hospital in critical condition' (KTV TV channel, recorded 26.12.2011).

Naturally code-mixing may manifest itself on the level of morphology or other grammatical forms, i.e. when a simple unit of grammar is embedded into the matrix language.

An interesting case is when a sentence begins in Kazakh and ends with a Russian verb or nominal predicate, e.g. *ікіметтегілер ажрались* 'the authorities have become too choosy' or *bugünge xşamum* 'It is enough for today'.

Kazakh-Russian code-mixing was discussed in Krippes (1994), Auer & Muhamedova (2005) and Muhamedova (2006). From the viewpoint of uniformity and development of the national language, the appearance of code-mixing among those Kazakhs who previously were Russian monolingual speakers, as one can conclude from the public statements of some politicians and activists, should be regarded as a positive tendency, though a total switch to Kazakh would be better.

2.1.2. Russian discourse markers

The excessive use of many Russian words that function as discourse markers has not escaped the attention of specialists dealing with normative linguistics and ordinary conscious people. For example, in a letter addressed to the Kazakh weekly *Ana Tili*, a reader provided a list of such words: *даже* 'even', *уже* 'already, yet', *только* 'only', *значит* 'it means', *вот* 'well', *то есть* 'that is', *тоже* 'also, too', *но* 'but', *так* 'so, thus', *именно* 'namely', *конечно* 'certainly', *вообще* 'in general', *нормально* 'normally', *точно* 'exactly', *привет* 'hi', *пока* '1. for a while. 2. until', *наверно* 'surely', *ладно* 'all right', *мама* 'mum', *папа* 'dad', *еще* '1. yet. 2. more', *если* 'if', *часто* 'often', *срочно* 'urgently; immediately', *нет* 'no; not', *что* '1. what. 2. that', *хорошо* 'well', *пожалуйста* 'please', *может быть* 'maybe, perhaps', *ужас* 'it is awful', *просто* 'simply', *надоел* 'I am fed up', *короче* 'in short', *вдруг* 'unexpectedly' (Bekmağanbetova 2006: 6).¹⁷

Words like the above, except *привет* 'hi', *мама* 'mum', *папа* 'dad', *пожалуйста* 'please', *ужас* 'it is awful' and *надоел* 'I am fed up' are typical discourse markers. This list can be extended by many other words of this kind, i.e. *а* 'as for, but', *ничто* 'not at all', *обязательно* 'by all means; sure', *сразу* 'immediately'. Russian discourse markers are used in all types of dialogue, including telephone conversation. A telephone conversation usually starts with *да* 'yes' or *алло* 'hello' and ends with *ладно* 'well; alright', *давай* 'come on; all right, okay'.

Since discourse markers are multifunctional and one marker may be used in different functions, a detailed analysis should involve many aspects and they must be examined in various texts. The discourse markers quoted above may function as the elements of information structure, modality, cohesion, behaviour of the speaker, and speech acts. Some Russian discourse markers in Kazakh speech were studied by Muhamedova (2010: 450–452).

As parts of speech, they may be classified as adverbs, particles, modal words, conjunctions and interjections.

2.2. Copying grammar and meanings

Russian copies in modern Turkic languages were studied by Dmitriev (1962: 433–464) who called them barbarisms. More recently the problems of Turkic language contacts were discussed by Johanson (1992), who proposed a typology and presented many specific examples. Probably the most vulnerable word class in Kazakh is adjectives. As Äbilqasimov (1988: 20) observed, they are found among the first Russian loanwords in Kazakh. The Kazakhs did not translate them, but borrowed or adapted the forms like *войеннау* (*уайеннай*) 'military, war, warlike' (Rus. *военный*) and *войсковой* (*уойсковой*) 'military, army' (Rus. *войсковой*). It is

¹⁷ Meanings provided by the author of this article.

noteworthy that some early borrowed adjectives were entirely adapted and used as nouns, e.g. *pařtabay* 'mailman' (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 49, 165; from Rus. *почтовый*¹⁸) or *malay* 'servant, labourer' (from Rus. *малый*), now both being qualified as dated.¹⁹ Such words are not perceived as adjectives. As demonstrated in section 1, Russian adjectives were used in adjectival phrases characteristic of administrative terms of Russian origin.

The next step was to adopt the Russian adjectival suffixes *-ный* (sometimes also in the variant *-ной*, incidentally transformed to the form *-най*) and *-ый* into Kazakh and employ them to derive adjectives from Kazakh stems, e.g. *awıl* 'village'+ *-най* → *awılнай* 'rural'. At present this suffix and its variants, which are not recognized by normative grammars, are rarely used, since the Kazakhs prefer to borrow Russian adjectives as complete copies. For most of these terms the Kazakhs later coined their own words or replaced them with Arabic and Iranian equivalents, and the Russian constructions disappeared from official use in the 1920s. However, the Russian copies have not disappeared from spoken Kazakh and they are still employed very often.

The use of Russian adjectives includes some specific semantic fields, such as:

(1) adjectives derived from the names of countries, states and nations, e.g. *германский* 'German', *китайский* 'Chinese', *российский* 'Russian', *турецкий* 'Turkish'; these adjectives are especially often used to denote the origin of wares and goods (most products at marketplaces and popular shops are imported from Turkey, China and Russia);

(2) adjectives derived from town and city names, e.g. *актауский* 'Aqtaw', *ташкентский* (*trassa*) 'Tashkent (road)'; *алматинский* (*шерсть*) 'Almatı (wool)', *шымкентский* (*sıra*) 'Şımkent (beer)', and even *өскеменский* '(of, from) Öskemen';

(3) adjectives used to denote qualities, character and type of products and goods, used in commerce and trade, e.g. *детский* *kiyimder* 'children's dresses', *женский* *jempirler* 'women's jumpers', *светлый* *tüs* 'light colour';

(5) adjectives used to denote material of which something is made, e.g. *шерстяной* 'woolen; made from wool', *кожаный* 'made from leather; leather', see 3. 8.

Some Russian adjectives of this type are used in petrified phrases and compound names, e.g. *болгарский перец* 'Bulgarian paprika', *копчёный балық* 'smoked fish'.

18 For other Russian loanwords in which the suffix *-вый* ~ *-вой* was adapted to the form *-бай* see Hasanov (1987: 56).

19 Also present in other Turkic languages spoken in Russia, and probably borrowed into Kazakh via Tatar; for the distribution and discussion of its etymology see ЁСТЈа 7 (20–21).

Others are commonly used in Kazakh because people believe that they do not have Kazakh equivalents, such as *свежий* ‘fresh; new’, often used with *nan* ‘bread’, i.e. *свежий nan* ‘fresh bread’ (Kaz. *jaña pisirilgen nan*).

However, it seems that any other adjective may be embedded in a Kazakh utterance. Among recorded ones are the following: *любой* (*dükende*) ‘(in) any (shop)’, *основной* ‘basic, principal, fundamental’, *последний* ‘last’, *простой* (*maşına/mäşine*) ‘(an) ordinary (car)’, *самый основной* ‘most basic, most principal, most fundamental’, *умный* (*balalar*) ‘wise (kids)’.

Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 43) noticed that Russian adjectival phrases embedded into a Kazakh sentence lose their gender and number congruence with the head of the phrase. They showed this with such examples as *старый площадь-ті* ‘old square+ACC’ *транспортный милиция* ‘traffic police’, etc. Therefore, they argue that the morphological structure of the matrix language has been imposed on the structure of Russian. They show that adjectives inserted from Russian behave exactly in the same way as Kazakh adjectives, e.g. *частный bir näse-ler-ge* ‘in some private thing’ (Auer & Muhamedova 2005: 46).

Russian adverbs, especially adverbs of manner, frequency, continuity, permanency and completeness are used in Kazakh sentences as frequently as adjectives. Among frequently used ones are *вдруг* ‘unexpectedly’, *нормально* ‘normally’, *просто* ‘simply’, *сразу* ‘at once; immediately’, *срочно* ‘urgently; immediately’, *точно* ‘exactly’, *постоянно* ‘all the time’, *часто* ‘often’, *хорошо* ‘well’, e.g. *сразу екевін al* ‘buy both at once’. These loan adverbs are naturally unnecessary, for there are genuine Kazakh adverbs for all of them, e.g. *jiyi* ‘often’, *älden, derew, ile* ‘urgently; immediately’, *ilğıy, qayta-qayta, udayı, ünemi* ‘all the time’, and in addition the Kazakh verb system is very rich and able to differentiate various types of action. They are especially frequent when used as discourse markers, see section 2.1.2, but may also be used as normal adverbs.

Some modal words may also be taken for adverbs of certainty, e.g. *конечно* ‘certainly’, *наверно* ‘surely’.

In a similar way some particles that emphasize or restrain one part of a clause may be regarded as focusing adverbs, e.g. *даже* ‘even’, *именно* ‘namely’, *тоже* ‘also, too’, *только* ‘only’, *уже* ‘already, yet’.

These words are also used as discourse markers, see above, but they may be used in their primary functions as well.

Verbs are little affected by Russian, but some verb stems are taken from Russian and derived with a Kazakh word-forming suffix, as in *zvonda-* ‘to ring sb up’ ← Rus. *звонить*, e. g. *zvondadım* ‘I have made a call’ or *zaryadta-* ‘to charge’ ← Rus. *зарядить*, e. g. *zaryadtadım* ‘I have charged [e.g. a battery]’.

Another way of using Russian verbs in Kazakh sentences is by taking the form of the verbal noun and adding the auxiliary verb *et-*, e.g. *звонить et-* ‘to ring sb up’. Such borrowings were registered in Turkic languages quite early, e.g. in 16th–17th-century Armeno-Kipchak documents and Western Karaim, i.e. in languages which were strongly affected by Slavic languages.

Another case of copying Russian grammatical structures into Kazakh is the preposition *через* 'via, through, across' instead of Kazakh *арқılı*, e.g. in such sentences as *через Ақтөбе бардық* 'we drove via Aqtöbe' or *через Бишкек барасиң* 'you go via Bishkek'. In these sentences the preposition is used as in Russian, i.e. before the word it determines.²⁰ The preposition *через* is also used in relation to time, but only with a Russian head word embedded in a Kazakh utterance, e.g. *через день* 'on the other day'. Therefore, if we take the names *Ақтөбе* and *Бишкек* as not real Kazakh words, *через* must be regarded as a Russian preposition that requires a Russian head word. Naturally *через* may not follow the head as the equivalent Kazakh postposition *арқılı* 'through, via', i.e. *Ақтөбе арқılı* but **Ақтөбе через*.

There are also sentences in which the Russian construction of a main clause with the conjunction *что* 'that' is combined with a Kazakh verb used as a dependent clause. An example was given by Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 49): *Частенько получается, что (--)* aralastır-a-mız 'Quite often it occurs that we mix [the two languages]'.²¹

Another Russian grammatical copy is evident in the clauses of purpose introduced by the Russian conjunction *чтобы* 'to ...; in order to'. We may quote an example from Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 51) again: o-lar *ТОЖЕ заинтересованы чтобы* adam otır-siñ 'they are also interested that people sit down (in the bus, i.e., use public transport)'.²²

Apart from the conjunctions demonstrated above, the Russian subordinate, e.g. *пока* 'until, till', coordinate, e.g. *и* 'and', *или* 'or', contrastive *но* 'but' and conditional conjunction *если* 'if' may be copied into Kazakh from Russian. However, in many cases they do not bind clauses, but take the position of a discourse marker at the beginning of an utterance, e.g. *и то жақсы шқса* 'even if it were successful'.

An example of copying Russian word order and structure is the sentence *Ой рас* 'It's true'. This sentence reflects Rus. *Это правда*, while the proper Kaz. form should be just *Ras*.

Russian copies are encountered in idioms and expressions, e.g. in the greeting formula *jaña jılıñızben* '[I wish you a] happy New Year', from Rus. *с новым годом*, instead of the correct Kaz. *jaña jılıñız quttı bolsın*.

Many Kazakh terms are semantic copies from Russian. The Kazakhs are mostly aware of the fact that such terms as *quyma sira* 'keg beer' or *keñse tawarları* 'stationery, lit. office materials' are translations from Rus. *разливное пиво* and *канцелярские товары* ~ *канцтовары*, respectively; *дом продается* – *йү satıladı* 'house for sale; lit. house is being sold'. Semantic copying from Russian as a method of coining terminology has a long history. Many terms were created in this

20 I have noticed such a use of Rus. *через* also in other Central Asian Turkic languages and even as far as Azerbaijan.

way in the 1920s and 1930s, many of which are still in use (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161–162).

Other examples of copying Russian terms may be shown in the bilingual signs below:

Тех	байқау осмотр	‘examination of motor vehicles’
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and

Авто	жуу мойка	‘car wash’
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Russian calques are evident as soon as one arrives in Kazakhstan by air and sees such information as *tölpqıjattıq baqılaw* – *паспортный осмотр* – *passport control*. The Kazakh adjective *tölpqıjattıq* ‘passport’ is a copy from Russian *паспортный*, since the normal way of expressing this notice should be *tölpqıjat baqılaw*, i.e. by combining the noun *tölpqıjat* ‘passport’ and the verbal noun *baqılaw* ‘control; controlling’.²¹

2.3. Cyrillic script and pronunciation

Kazakh has been written in Cyrillic script since 1940. During the period when it was written in Arabic script, many loanwords and foreign names were adapted into Kazakh, e.g. *oblis* ‘province’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4; from Rus. *область*); *ıstansa* ‘station’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 2; from Rus. *станция*);²² *päter* ‘flat’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4; from Rus. *квартира*). This trend became even stronger in the period of Latin script when Kazakhstan obtained a certain degree of political and cultural autonomy. Many terms and names were written in Latin script according to their pronunciation, e.g. *telegiram* ‘telegram’, *Pransbja* ‘France’, *Gretsije* ‘Greece’, *Pinlandija* ‘Finland’ (*Satsbjaldı Qazaqstan* 218 (3019), 1934,1).

The tendency to write Russian words and names in forms adapted to Kazakh phonetics is weaker now than in the past. Phonetic adaptation may be retained in pronunciation, but the words are more frequently spelled as in Russian. However, some modern writers prefer the old forms, even if they are considered to be dated, e.g. *balşabek(tik)* ‘Bolshevik’ (Mağawin 2007: 100).

21 At some airports there are different signs, e.g. at the airport in Aqtaw the corresponding sign has the form *pasport baqılawı*.

22 Later also called *beket* (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161), now again *ıstansa*, spelled *станса* ~ *станция*.

Some words and names that once were accommodated to Kazakh are now used by many speakers in speech and writing according to Russian standards, e.g. [ras-sija] instead of *Resey* 'Russia' (Rus. *Росси́я*), [maskfa] instead of *Mäskew* 'Moscow' (Rus. *Москва́*), [kʰartira] instead of *päter* 'flat' (Rus. *кварти́ра*). This tendency may be the result of both the strong impact of Russian and the wish to use learned, high standard Russian forms.

The present alphabet contains all Russian letters and signs irrespective of whether they are appropriate to Kazakh phonology or not. Moreover, Russian words and nearly all international proper names, terms and words are written and pronounced in a Russian way. For example, Mirzabekov (1999: 35) has calculated that in the spelling and pronunciation dictionary of Kazakh published in 1978, about 20% of entries were Russian loanwords or borrowed via Russian, written and pronounced exactly as in Russian. Therefore, it is evident that such a high proportion and the manner of pronunciation will not remain without an impact on the target language. As a result, quite paradoxically, the Kazakh pronunciation of elderly people in rural areas is often better than that of educated people, and especially school-children who excessively palatalize consonants after the vowel [e] as in Russian. For instance, the former pronounce the word written *ne* as [nʲe] 'what', while the latter pronounce it [ne]. The impact of Russian orthography on the writing of Kazakh proper names is also evident, see Hasanov's remarks on the name of a well-known Kazakh relaxation and sports complex *Medey*, used in the Russian form *Medeo* (Hasanov 1976: 172).

Since 1991 a prospective shift to Latin script has been the matter of a recurring debate in Kazakhstan. Probably the most complex work was undertaken after the President of Kazakhstan formulated the idea of an alphabet change at the 12th Session of the Assembly of Kazakhstan's Nations in 2006. A number of academic institutes, such as the Institute of Language, the Institute of Philosophy and Political Sciences, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Literature and Arts, the Institute of History and Ethnology, the Institute of Economy and the Institute of Informatics elaborated various aspects of this project. A volume devoted to these questions appeared soon after the idea was first announced (Wäli & Küderinova & Faziljanova & Jubayeva 2007). Unfortunately, the president dropped the issue in 2007, and now a change in script is no longer on the agenda.

The shift to a new script based on Latin writing is not as difficult as some claim. Firstly, all educated Kazakhs know Latin letters. Secondly, Latin letters were used in a limited way in some abbreviations during Soviet times, e.g. P.S. '*post scriptum*', № 'number', and are still in usage. Their use is spreading along with the progress in high technology; note such terms as DVD, SMS, SIM, Bluetooth, which are gaining

popularity, though some words of this type are also spelled in Cyrillic script. Thirdly, Latin letters are used on automobile number plates.²³

Although limited, Latin script is used in Kazakh, with some web portals and online newspapers offering texts in both Cyrillic and Latin script. The Romanized versions show various transliterations from the current Cyrillic script. There are some minor differences between them. Below are a few examples.

(1) Transliteration applied by *Jas Qazaq Üni*: *Bwl birinşi ret bolıp jatqan jağday emes, bwğan wqsas misaldar basqa oblastarda da bolğan* ‘This has not happened for the first time, similar cases are known from other provinces, too’ (JQÜ, 10.01.2012).²⁴

(2) Transliteration applied by BNews.kz: Astana. 13 yanvarya. – Aqordanıñ resmı say`tı juma küni keşke Memleket başsınıñ aldağı Parlament Mäjilisi men mäslıxat say`lawına bay`lanıstı Ündewin jarıyaladı ‘Astana, 13 January. Last Friday, the official website of the President’s Office published the president’s address relating to the parliamentary and municipal elections’.

(3) Transliteration applied by KazInform: *Jerorta teñizinde qayırğa turıp qalğan «Kosta Konkorda» krwızdik kemesiniñ bortında Qazaqstannıñ üş azamatu boldı* ‘There were three citizens of Kazakhstan on board the Costa Concordia cruiser that has run aground in the Mediterranean’ (Kazinform.kz, 14.01.2012).

(4) Transliteration applied by Masa.kz: *Bizdiñ birinşi kemşiligimiz 20 jılı ideologıâ, âğni ulttıq ideologıâ jasay almadiq* ‘Our first drawback is that we have not worked out any national ideology for the past twenty years’(Masa.kz, 13.01.2012).

Probably the most important deficiency of these transliteration systems is the way that foreign proper names look in them; e.g. see such awkward and odd forms as *Iasawi* (Yasawi, Turkish Yesevi), *Koreya* (Korea), *Parij yunayted* (Paris United). But the transliteration and transcription of Kazakh proper names is also a great problem. In general, the Kazakhs Romanize their names using basic Latin letters without diacritic signs, thus adopting the English alphabet. However, they render

23 However, the order of province symbols on number plates still mirrors their old Russian names. The Soviet memory is also present in the international symbols for airports, e.g. on airline tickets *Astana* is still abbreviated as *TSE* which is an abbreviation for *Tselinograd* (Целиноград), the name of this city in 1961–1992, similar to *Aqtaw* which is abbreviated *SCO*, after the former name of this city, *Shevchenko* (Шевченко). *Aqtaw* is a new city established in 1963, and its name has been changed a few times. However, the city was first named *Aqtaw* in 1963 before it was called *Шевченко* (1964-1991). The name was changed back to *Aqtaw* in 1991.

24 Quite interestingly, one occasionally encounters news in Russian transliterated into this system, e.g. *Puı', proydenıy DPK «AK JOL» za poslednie polgoda, ubeditel'no dokazıvaet vostrebovannost' ee političeskoj linii v obşestve*, which is frequently the case in Uzbekistan.

some letters differently, e.g. <e> and the combination of vowels with diphthong-like <у и>. For example, the name *Еркін* is transliterated either *Erkin* or *Yerkin*. Moreover, one can see such forms as *Erkin* (*Еркін*) and *Yeskender* (*Ескендер*); *Sergebaev* (*Сергебаев*) and *Dairabayeva* (*Дайрабаева*) side by side. We encounter such transliterations as *Abylay* or *Абылай* on street signs, e.g. in Almatı. The Kazakh letter <ө> for [ö wö] is mostly rendered by Cyrillic <у> and Latin <u> or <o>, e.g. *Өтегенов* becomes *Утегенов*, *Utegenov* or *Otegenov*, while <ү> for [ü] is transliterated in Cyrillic script <у>, in Latin as <u>. It is noteworthy that these two letters were often exactly transliterated in German texts published by the Kazakhstani Germans, e.g. *küischi* for Kazakh *күйші* (Hasanov 1976: 204) ‘instrumentalist; performer of Kazakh national music’. In general, transcription of Kazakh words in German texts by Kazakhstani Germans, although also simplified, was more exact than other transcriptions, e.g. *Kalai, bala, tonyr kalmadyn ba?*, translated into German as ‘Bist du nicht gefroren, mein Söhnchen?’ (Hasanov 1976: 205).

2.4. Perception of space

Perception of space still shows genuine Kazakh thinking, when it is not disturbed by Russian, a language of public life. The basic space categories like ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘below’, ‘at the top of sth’, ‘at the bottom of sth’, ‘near’, ‘far away’, ‘ahead’, ‘the middle part of sth/the central part of sth’, ‘left side’, ‘right side’ are expressed in Kazakh. However, sometimes the penetration of Russian is observable, e.g. *прямо* ‘straight’. Another example of a Russian way of expressing space is the spread of such expressions as *är jaqtan* ‘from everywhere’, cf. Rus. *с каждой стороны* instead of Kaz. *tus-tustan* or *tusi-tusinan* ‘id.’.

2.5. Perception of time

Some concepts relating to time are verbalized in Kazakh, some are Arabic loanwords, e.g. *zaman, waqıt* ‘time’, *mawsım* ‘season’, probably also *mezgil* ‘period’ and *merzım* ‘term’, adopted into Kazakh a long time ago.²⁵ In addition to these, spoken Kazakh expresses some notions with Russian words, such as *сутки* ‘day and night; 24 hours’ (Kaz. *täwlik*) or the names of weekdays and months. The names of the days of the week are sometimes Russian, e.g. *понедельник* ‘Monday’, *вторник* ‘Tuesday’ etc., used instead of old local words such as *düysenbi, seysenbi*, adapted from Persian and common to all Central Asian Turkic languages.²⁶ The names of months are pronounced in Russian even more frequently, e.g. *январь* ‘January’,

25 The etymology of *merzım* and *mezgil* is not quite clear.

26 Kir. *düyşembü* [düyşömbü], Uz. *dushanba* [duşämbä], Trkm. *duşenbe*, Uig. *düşenbe* (KRS 202, EU-UED 244, TrkmRS 288, URS 452) ‘Monday’.

февраль 'February' etc., though the Kazakhs have their own names which are either genuine or adapted from Persian and Arabic.²⁷

It is interesting how the Kazakhs refer to the past and the future. They mostly say *keşe*, which normally denotes 'yesterday', having in mind any event from yesterday to around one week ago, but sometimes even earlier. When they speak about the indefinite future, they say *erteñ*, which is a word for 'tomorrow'. They rarely use the words *aldıñkünü* or *aldıñğı күни* for 'day before yesterday' and *arğı күни* or *bürsigüni* for 'day after tomorrow'.

2.6. Expressing emotions

Expressing emotions in Russian is now commonplace among the Kazakhs. When praising someone, they say *malades ~ mäledes* 'attaboy; bravo; well done', from Rus. *молодец*, Kazakh equivalents are *jaraysıñ*, *jaraysıñdar*; *bärekelidi*. To express dislike, hatred, the Kazakhs say *ужас* 'it is awful' (Kaz. *sumdıq*, *qorqınıstı*). When bored, they say *надоел* 'I am fed up' or *хватум* 'enough!' (Kaz. *jeter endi*). In fact, any emotion can be expressed in Russian and frequently is.

One colleague of mine who had spent much time in Kazakhstan once told me that even staunch supporters of national values in Kazakhstan start singing Russian songs at the end of parties when everybody is open-hearted and sentimental. In a conversation with me at a ceremony to which I was invited, a great Kazakh-minded activist unexpectedly started mixing Kazakh and Russian words, especially adding Russian swear words to his Kazakh-framed monologue.

It is interesting that even Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs in big cities speak to animals in Russian. For instance, instead of Kaz. *Әйм* 'Scram!', they will drive a dog away saying *пойёл*, sometimes *кет* 'go away', which may be a Russian semantic copy of *пойёл*.

3. Some basic semantic fields related to man, his place in society and his activities

To see how deeply Kazakh is russicized, one can look at some basic semantic fields, such as the international dimension, life in urban areas, housing estates, dwellings and furniture, social relations, kinship relations, clothing and personal belongings. It is also important to see how Kazakh and Russian function in people's everyday activities such as shopping, commercial services, work and business relations, access to hi-tech, relaxation and advertising. I will also try to show the position of Kazakh in public services and the media.

²⁷ The Kazakhs in China and Mongolia, apparently influenced by Chinese and Mongolian, call the months 'first month', 'second month', 'third month', etc. However, these forms also are frequently heard in some regions of Kazakhstan.

3.1. International dimension

Globalization is a much-discussed topic in present-day Kazakhstan. More and more English ads and names with English words are seen in big cities. Some are English, others may be English-Russian or English-Kazakh. The Kazakhs have even coined their own term for globalization – *jahandanuw*. Although Kazakh is weak and the influence of English will be growing, the real danger is not globalisation, but russification. At present, the globalizing world is coming to Kazakhstan through the Russian medium. For example, international terms are used in Kazakh in Russian forms and contexts, e.g. *адреналин* ‘adrenaline’, *результат* ‘result’, *рейтинг* ‘rating’ or *сертификат* ‘certificate’. Therefore, in fact these words mirror the processes occurring in Russian and then affecting Kazakh.

The Kazakhs perceive the world through Russian. Russian is a medium through which the Kazakhs make themselves familiar with the world’s culture, literature, science, events, fashion, arts, technology, medicine, and many other domains of human activity. The main reason for this is language. Language is especially important in such fields as world literature, science and technology, since access to them is only possible via language. The Russian brand is therefore evident in the international terms and names through which the Kazakhs identify the outer world.

For instance, Alexander of Macedon is mostly referred to as *Александр Македонский*. It is only recently that some Kazakh intellectuals have tried to get rid of this Russian burden by taking recourse to the Arabo-Persian tradition and calling him *Eskendir Zulqarnayın* (*Ескендір Зұлқарнайын*).²⁸ Another example is Mağawin’s *Göte*, spelled in Cyrillic *Гөте* (2007: 20) for ‘Goethe’, normally copied from Rus. *Гёте*. It is even stranger that we encounter such transliterations as *донер кебаб* for Turkish *döner kebab* ‘doner kebab; thin slices of meat cooked on a vertical spit, served with vegetables’; the correct form should be *дөнер кебап*, which also demonstrates the impact of Russian.

Whenever I am asked my name for registration or other administrative procedures, I try to pronounce it clearly [‘henrik’], but Kazakhs nearly always identify it with Russian *Генрих*, which is the Russian form for English *Henry* and German *Heinrich*, and they say, “[g’enriχ]?” Although I repeatedly say “No, [‘henrik]”, they are unable to write it in the nearest Kazakh spelling as *Һәнрык* or *Хенрық*. Therefore, in most cases they copy its original spelling from my passport, writing *Henryk*.

28 http://kk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ескендір_Зұлқарнайын.

3.2. Life in urban areas in Kazakhstan in the past and present

It is argued that Kazakh culture has predominantly nomadic roots. In 1897, according to the first census in Russia, only 1.1% of Kazakhs lived in towns.²⁹ Despite a steady growth of Kazakh urban population, Russians composed the majority in most cities in Kazakhstan in 1989, and the share of Kazakh urban population was only 27.1% (Fierman 2006: 100). In the pre-Russian period, i.e. prior to 1731, the sedentary population inhabited mainly medieval and ancient cities, towns and villages in the south. These regions basically included the banks of the Syr Darya and the Seven Rivers region south of Lake Balkhash. Many winter quarters, i.e. temporary sedentary dwellings, were also located in the western part of the country. The Russians who set out to conquer Central Asia moved up along the Syr Darya, the Ishym (Kaz. *Esim*) and the Irtysh (Kaz. *Ertis*) rivers and built military checkpoints and strongholds which came to be present cities, e.g. Semipalatinsk (Kaz. *Semey*) – 1718, Ust'-Kamenogorsk (Kaz. *Öskemen*) – 1719,³⁰ Petropavlovsk (first called Koryakovskii, Kaz. *Kereküw*, now *Petropavl*) – 1720, Orenburg³¹ (Kaz. *Orınbor*) – 1743 (Bregel 2003: 59). Then the Russians established so-called external districts in North Kazakhstan with such towns as Akmolinsk³² and Kökşetaw in 1824 (Bregel 2003: 63), Aktiubinsk (Kaz. *Aqtöbe*) in 1869 and Kustanai (Kaz. *Qostanay*) in 1879 (Bregel 2003: 65).³³ Although most Kazakh towns now have Kazakh or adapted names, sometimes the Kazakhs use old Russian names, especially when speaking Russian, e.g. *Актюбинск* for *Aqtöbe*. This is particularly valid for newly adopted names such as *Oral* for *Уралск* and *Aral* for *Аралск*, even in the Kazakh language context.

The Russians built the towns in the Russian style. In Soviet times most of the existing medieval and older dwelling places were redesigned in the style of typical south Russian villages and towns, with some characteristic Central Asian components such as Kazakh national ornaments on concrete panels, typical shapes of window frames in block houses and yurt-like sheds in the parks.

At this point it must be stressed that the earliest town-building terms in Kazakh are of Arabic, Iranian or unknown origin. They were borrowed from the local sedentary culture, predate Russian times and are quite old, e.g. *qala* 'city; town' (←

29 Although this statement is generally correct, the question is more complicated than it appears; see below. It is unknown whether this census took into consideration the sedentary Kazakh population in the south or considered them non-Kazakh.

30 According to Olcott (1987: 30) in 1720.

31 The first capital city of Soviet Kazakhstan, a city with a significant Tatar population, now in Russia.

32 Kaz. *Aqmola*; in 1961 renamed *Tselinograd*, after 1991 *Aqmola* again, and from 1997 on *Astana*, the capital city of Kazakhstan.

33 The present *Oral* (Rus. *Uralsk*) and *Atiraw* (Rus. *Guriev*) cities on the Ural River were established earlier, the former by the Cossacks in 1620, the latter by Russian traders in 1645 (Olcott 1987: 29).

Ar.), *köşe* 'street' (← Ir.), *tam* '(permanent) house built of stone, mud or mud brick' (origin unknown). Then the Kazakhs coined many important urban topography terms, e.g. *alañ* 'square', *awdan* 'region, district', *dañğıl* 'road (in a city); boulevard' (equivalent to Rus. *проспект*).

Names of the districts, regions and quarters in these Soviet cities were naturally Russian, with the addition of some local components, e.g. streets named after Kazakh poets, artists, scholars and local communist activists. Every town had a Lenin road, street, square or roundabout as well as streets commemorating the names of Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Tsetkin, Thälmann, Kirov, and Furmanov. There were also streets, roads and squares with characteristic communist and Soviet names such as *Комсомолская* 'Komsomol', *Коммунистическая* 'Communist', *Победы* 'Victory', *Дружбы* 'Friendship' in every town and city. The Russian world was represented by Pushkin, Gertsen, Gorkiy, Gogol, Gagarin, Panfilov and others.

After independence, the authorities tried to give the major cities a national, Kazakh character, but they only succeeded in applying some external make-up. In fact all major urban areas not only preserved but even enhanced their Russian character. We see this in the old metropolis Almatı, in northern cities with substantial Russian population such as Oral or Öskemen, in southern cities with predominantly Kazakh populations like Şımkent and Qızılorda, and in newly built or entirely redesigned cities such as Astana, Atyraw and Aqtaw.

It is worth outlining some basic trends observable in the changing of street, road and square names and signs, which have occurred since independence. In Soviet times, street signs on the sides of streets with even numbered houses were usually in Kazakh, and on the sides with odd numbered houses, were Russian. However, in many Russian areas and districts inhabited by Russians, many street signs were exclusively in Russian. This is still the case where the old street signs have not been removed or replaced with new ones. For instance, in Pavlodar, a city with a significant Russian population, most street names are still Russian, e.g. *Ленина*, *Кутузова*, *Суворова*, *Р. Люксембург*, *Российская*, *Украинская*, *Парковая*, *1 Мая*, *М. Горького*. A blogger complained in 2010 that all street names but *Estay* and *Qayırbayev* are Russian.³⁴

Sometimes the Russian name of a street is left in a Russian morphological form and only the generic Kazakh name is added, e.g. *Украинская көжесі*. Naturally, such an odd name is never used and people refer to it in Russian.

In the mid-1990s, there was a tendency to place only Kazakh street signs; then in the 2000s municipalities in some cities placed signs with Kazakh names and their Romanized forms.³⁵ In Astana some street signs were posted with the generic word in three languages and the name of the street in the Kazakh alphabet only, e.g. *Kene-*

34 <http://www.kazakh.ru/talk/mmess.phtml?id=5181>, checked 8. 01. 2012.

35 As there is no standard transliteration of Cyrillic Kazakh into Latin script, see 2.3, these forms were not uniform.

sarı köşesi–*улица*–*street*. The town of Türkistan is exceptional in Kazakhstan. The street signs are either in Kazakh or, especially downtown, in Kazakh and Turkish, e.g. *Байбурт көшесі*–*Bayburt cad.*³⁶ In 2011 the municipality of Almatı started replacing old street signs with monolingual Kazakh ones in the official alphabet only. However, this will be a long process, and for the moment only the streets signs of the principal streets and roads in the city centre have been changed.

At present many Russian street names have been renamed, but the old names are still used, mainly by Russians but also by many Kazakhs. For example, *Dostıq dañǵılı*, one of the major, central roads in Almatı is still quite often called *проспект Ленина*, similar to *Abılay han*, sometimes called *проспект Коммунистический*; in Şımkent people still call a street *улица Фурманова*, although it was renamed *Elşibek Batur köşesi* a few years ago. It must be stressed that in many cities and towns dominated by Russians or having strong Russian influence the process of the kazakhization is limited to central districts and major transit roads. Many districts in the outskirts have preserved their Russian names almost untouched, with such street names as *Высоковольтная* ‘High voltage’ in Almatı.

The situation is similar with other common urban objects. Many landmarks had Russian names such as *ЦУМ (Центральный универмаг* ‘central department store’), *Зелёный базар* ‘Vegetable and fruit bazaar’, *Горсовет (Городской совет* ‘municipality’), *Больница* ‘Hospital’, etc. Some of these names were translated into Kazakh and double names are sometimes still in use, e.g. on the schedules of buses and minibuses (e.g. *Ashana – Столовая* ‘Canteen’, *Köl – Озеро* ‘Lake’, *Joǵarı Bazar – Верхний базар* ‘Upper Bazaar’, *Kök Bazar – Зелёный базар* ‘Vegetable and fruit bazaar’, *ÄSO (Ämbebar Sawda Ortalıǵı) – ЦУМ*³⁷ ‘central department store’. However, normally only the Russian names were used, even informally, and often this is still so.

When looking at such cultural institutions in Öskemen-Ust'-Kamenogorsk as *Восточно-Казахстанская областная библиотека им. А. С. Пушкина* ‘East Kazakhstani Regional Pushkin Library’, which in addition is integrated with the Russian WebIRBIS library system and features the website in Russian only, one will have the impression of visiting Russia, not Kazakhstan.

Most notices and directions in public places are written in Russian, e.g. *Не курить* ‘No smoking’, *Не сорить* ‘Do not litter’, *Въезд только для служебных автомашин* ‘Access only for authorized cars’ or *Вход свободный. Режим работы: пн-пт 9:00–18:00* ‘Access for everybody. Open: Mon-Fri 9:00–18:00’. Even if some basic signs are in Kazakh or in Kazakh and Russian, general information is given in Kazakh only in order to comply with the law, all the addi-

36 Aqtaw is also exceptional, for this is the only city in Kazakhstan that does not have street names and signs at all, even in the main roads in the city centre. The city is divided into districts and quarters and the buildings have quarter numbers.

37 Now more frequently called *торговый комплекс – Sawda keşeni* or *супермакет*.

tional information being typically provided only in Russian. The same applies to announcements broadcast over loudspeakers in public places.

The pride of the Kazakh authorities, Astana, designed to be a magnificent capital city with ultramodern buildings and features, has a predominantly Russian character. For example, one of the main roads, *Jeñis*, is commonly referred to by its old Russian name *Победы*. One remarkable indication of the great failure in language policy in Kazakhstan is the nickname *зажигалка* 'lighter' given to one of Astana's characteristic skyscrapers in a new, representative district, constructed a few years ago.

Moreover, even some natural topographic terms like *речка* 'rivulet', if they are found in russified town and cities or around them, are encountered in Russian forms, e.g. in the Qarasay valley near Almaty.

The shift from Russian names and topographical terms to Kazakh ones is hindered by such names that have the same forms in Russian and Kazakh, e.g. *Автовокзал* 'Bus station'. Although there is a new word, *Avtobus beketi*,³⁸ it is rarely used.

Many inhabitants of towns and cities in Kazakhstan were either ethnic Russians or Russian-speaking Soviet minorities with a few exceptions such as Germans, Koreans and especially other Turkic minorities such as the Uighurs in Almaty province, the Kirgiz in Southern Kazakhstani province, and especially the Uzbeks in southern villages and towns like Sayram or Türkistan, who preserved their ethnic language fairly well. It is quite interesting that in such environments the Kazakhs also maintained their language much better than elsewhere.³⁹ Another characteristic feature of the local Uzbek-Kazakh contacts is that the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs understand each other and do not use Russian as a contact language, something that is not the case in other regions. Moreover, there are many Uzbek loanwords in the speech of Kazakhs who live in close proximity to the Uzbeks, e.g. *cüde* 'many; much', *bädireñ* 'cucumber', *közäyneк* 'glasses', *pul* 'money', *sim* 'trousers', *hanım* 'kind of meal' (Kaz. *orama*), and the Kazakh pronunciation of proper names is affected by Uzbek, e.g. *Çimkent* (Kaz. *Şimkent*). The same is true of the Uighur-Kazakh contacts (Hasanov 1976: 171, 190–192).

The cities in Kazakhstan always played an important role in the language shift. In Soviet times it was impossible to live and work in a city without knowledge of Russian. Russian was a more prestigious language and was the language used in all public spheres, such as education, work, transportation, shopping, public administration, politics, relaxation and the arts. Kazakh was only a language spoken with

38 The second component is also of Russian origin, but it is adapted to Kazakh pronunciation.

39 The same is true of Osh and Jalal Abad in Kyrgyzstan where Uzbek-Kirghiz contacts had similar features and where the maintenance of Kirghiz is much better than in the north of the country, including the capital city Bishkek.

family and friends. Therefore, mastering Russian was and still is a must for the Kazakhs who migrate from villages to cities. Otherwise they are contemptuously called *Mambet* or *Mambetka*.⁴⁰ The Kazakhs are aware of the fact that urban culture in Kazakhstan was created by the Russians and accept this as a reality that has not yet changed.

The attempts to create Kazakh equivalents to denote urban topography and urban life have so far been unsuccessful and Kazakh has been unable to challenge the predominance of Russian or replace it. The intellectuals only tried to maintain their national language as a second language after Russian.

This situation started changing a few years ago, and at present more and more Kazakh intellectuals struggle for their national language. However, they are still very few and their impact is almost non-existent. As a result, the shift from Kazakh to Russian is still ongoing, especially in the two biggest and most important cities, Almaty and Astana, where whole districts are completely russified. Concluding this point, we may say that Kazakh as reflected in traditional culture is quite different from modern culture in the urban areas. Dave (2007: 97) is right when she says that “Language politics in Kazakhstan have largely been played out on the symbolic plane, including the state-regulated media and public domain, rather than in the street, marketplace, schools or inter-personal domain”.

3.3. Housing estates

All that is present outside a flat in an apartment block is Russian, e.g. *этаж* ‘storey, floor’ (Kaz. *qabat*), *подъезд* ‘entrance (to an apartment block)’ (Kaz. *kireberis*), *корпус* ‘apartment block’ (Kaz. *üy, ğyumarat*). All notices in the stairwells, such as those relating to emergency exits, electric, gas and other installations are Russian. Advertisements for services, sale, purchase, rent and hire placed on notice boards in housing estates are also Russian, e.g. *куплю квартиру* ‘I will buy a flat’ (Kaz. *päter alatin*), *сниму квартиру* ‘I will rent a house’ (Kaz. *päter jalğa alatin*), *ремонт бытовой техники* ‘repair of household appliances’ (Kaz. *turmıstıq qural-jabdıqtar jöndew*), *ремонт компьютеров* ‘computer repair’ (Kaz. *kompyuter jöndew*), *сантехник* ‘plumber’, *требуется...* ‘... needed’ (Kaz. ... *kerek, ... izdelip jatır*), *срочно* ‘immediately’ (Kaz. *jedel*), *работа* ‘job’ (Kaz. *jumis*), *сборка, разборка мебели* ‘assembling and dismantling furniture’ (Kaz. *jihaz qurastıruw jäne bölsektendirüw*).

3.4. Dwellings and furniture

The name for a flat, *квартира* ‘flat’ (Kaz. *päter*), as well as the names for all other parts of it and things belonging to it are copied from Russian, e.g. *комната* ‘room’ (Kaz. *bölme*), *кухня* ‘kitchen’ (Kaz. *asıy*), *ванная* ‘bathroom’ (Kaz. *juwatın bölme*),

40 Conversely, the russified Kazakhs are pejoratively called *mängürt* or *şala Qazaq*.

коридор 'hallway, corridor' (Kaz. *däliz*), *подвал* 'cellar' (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent). Some other parts of a room, such as a 'door' (*esik*), 'wall' (*qabırğa*) and 'window' (*tereze*) are Kazakh, but others are borrowed from Russian, e.g. *пол* 'floor' (Kaz. *eden*).

Most furniture, e.g. *кресло* 'armchair' (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent), *шкаф* 'wardrobe' (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent), *стол* (Kaz. *üstel*, an old adapted version of this word), kitchen appliances and utensils, e.g. *холодильник* 'refrigerator' (Kaz. *toñizatqıś*), *кружка* 'mug' (Kaz. *saptı ayaq*), *вилка* 'fork' (Kaz. *şanısqı*), *тарелка* 'plate, dish' (Kaz. *idis, tärelke*, also an adapted version of the Russian word), bathroom utensils, such as *тазик* 'bowl, basin' (Kaz. *ilegen, şılapşın*), *порошок* 'washing powder' (Kaz. *untaq*), and even such words as *одеяло* 'quilt, blanket' (Kaz. *körpe*) are commonly copied from Russian.

3.5. Social relations

The Kazakhs often refer to their friends, acquaintances and even more often to unknown people using Russian words and address them so, e.g. *подруга* 'female friend, girlfriend' (*(birewdiñ) qız dos(i)*), *подружка* 'female friend, girlfriend' (id., a diminutive form), *брат* (from Rus. *брат*) 'brother' (a common form of address to a young peer); *девушка* 'young woman', *женщина* 'woman', *мужчина* 'man', *молодой человек* 'young man', *сестра* 'sister; nurse'.⁴¹ Needless to say, all languages have their own words for these notions. The Kazakhs very often start a conversation with unacquainted people in Russian, greeting them *здравствуйте* 'good morning, good afternoon' etc. and say farewell *счастливого* or *до свидания* 'goodbye'. Similarly, when people wish to be polite they are expected to use Russian expressions of politeness, e.g. *пожалуйста* 'please' (Kaz. *minekeyñiz*) or *извините* 'sorry, excuse me' (Kaz. *keşiriñiz, aybetmeñiz*).

However, this situation is currently changing. In the past Kazakh politeness was rarely heard. I never heard a Kazakh ask another Kazakh 'May I pass by?' in a public place. They either said it in Russian or just grasped somebody's arm or pushed them saying nothing. This was because Kazakh was not considered a language of public communication in Kazakh cities or outside close local communities. Now one hears such expressions also in public transportation, e.g. *ötıp keteyiñsi* or *Meni ötkiziñsi* 'Let me pass by'.

Social life is full of Russian calques wherever Kazakh appears as a language of social relations, e.g. *грамота* 'certificate of merit' (Kaz. *taqtaw qağaz*), *награда* 'prize' (Kaz. *jülde*), *подарка* 'gift, present' (from Rus. *подарок*, Kaz. *sıylıq*).

Kazakh personal names are still an important component of Kazakh ethnic identity. There are many genuine Kazakh names, some shared with Karakalpaks, Kirghiz

41 As a term for 'sister; nurse' the word *сестра* was offered by Musabayev & Süleyменова (1961: 122).

and Uzbeks, as well as many names that are compounds of Persian and Arabic words, common to other Turkic and non-Turkic Muslim peoples of the ex-Soviet Union. However, many personal names take Russian suffixes, especially in forms of address, e.g. *Gulnara* instead of *Гүлнар*. If somebody is known by the name, e.g. *Jüsip Aydarov*, *Muqan*'s son, he is addressed *Jüseke* in Kazakh style (formally *Jüsip murza*), while in Russian style *Jusup Mukanovich*. The same applies for women, e.g. *Toti Aydarova*, *Muqan*'s daughter will be *Töke* (formally *Toti hanım*) in the Kazakh style, whereas the Russian style is *Toti Mukanovna*.

Interethnic relations in Kazakhstan are generally very good. The relationships of Kazakhs with Russians, both those in Russia and in Kazakhstan, are friendly. The Kazakhs do not blame the Russians for the communist persecutions; they regard the repression as the atrocities done by a regime, not by the Russian nation and used to say that the Russians were also victims. The reverse relationship is generally also good, though the Russians consider themselves culturally and socially more sophisticated and sometimes treat the Kazakhs with disdain, especially those who are not russified. Some behaviours of Russians towards Kazakhs are unthinkable from the point of view of European standards. For example, a notice such as the following, posted in a public place in the centre of Almatı in 2011, exhibits Russian racial discrimination, *Сниму. Семья европейцев* 'I am looking for a flat to rent from a European family'. In 2006, I noticed another ad of this type on Qazaqstan Şimkent TV channel: *Требуются официанты европейской национальности* 'Waiters of European nationality needed' (31. 08. 2006, 8:50 am). When I asked my Kazakh friends for their opinion about it, they responded, 'Oh, it's quite common'.

3.6. Kinship relations

The Kazakhs refer to even their closest relatives using Russian kinship terms, e.g. *мама* 'mum', *мамашка* 'mummy', *папа* 'dad', *бабушка* 'grandmother, grandma', *племянник* 'nephew'. Especially the words *тата* and *пapa* have replaced their Kazakh equivalents, such as *apaş+PS*, *apatay*, *apeke* and *äketay*, *köke*, respectively. The Kazakh word *apaş* with a possessive suffix, e.g. *apaşım* 'my mum' is mostly heard in foreign TV films dubbed into Kazakh.

3.7. Clothing and personal belongings

Parts of the human body are referred to in Kazakh, but the terminology of personal hygiene, fashion, clothing and personal belongings is predominantly Russian. This is not strange, for fashion is international and words frequently come along with the objects they denote. Therefore, in the speech of many Kazakhs such generic words as *kiyim* 'clothes; dress', *ayaq kiyim* 'shoe' are Kazakh, but nearly all specific words relating to this semantic field are Russian or borrowed through Russian. For instance, one may hear such names of different types of clothes and shoes as *kalgotke* (from Rus. *колготки*), 'tights', *кофта* 'woman's blouse, woman's knitted jacket' *футболка* 'undershirt', *naski* 'socks' (from Rus. *носки*; cf. Kaz. *şulıq* ← Rus. *чулок*

← Trk.), *туфли* ‘open-toe; slippers’. Some words denoting clothing and shoes are phonetically adapted and in some dictionaries they are glossed accordingly, e.g. *bäteñke* ‘boots, booties’ (from Rus. *ботинки*), *жемпір* ‘jumper, sweater, cardigan’ (from Rus. *джермпер*), *тәрішке* ‘slippers’ (from Rus. *тапочки*).

Among personal belongings that we use every day and carry with us are objects for which the Kazakhs use Russian names such as *кошелоқ* ‘wallet’ (Kaz. *ämiyan*), *ақкі* ‘glasses’ (from Rus. *очки*, Kaz. *közildirik*) and the phonetically adapted *sömke* ‘bag’ (Rus. *сумка*).

3.8. Shopping

Shopping is a kind of activity in the course of which a buyer is especially exposed to aggressive advertising of goods, new collections, sale and promotion. The language of advertisements is full of Russian words and slogans, e.g. *скидка* ‘sales promotion, price reduction’ (Kaz. *жеңілдік*), *распродажа* ‘sale’ (no generally accepted Kaz. equivalent), *новая коллекция* ‘new collection’ (Kaz. *jaña kolleksiya*), *мы открылись* ‘we have opened’, copied into Kaz. as *біз ашылдық*. Even the word for ‘shop, store’ (Kaz. *düken*) is mostly Russian *магазин*, or *супермаркет* ‘supermarket’, if it is large or pretends to be large.

Most instructions, directions, announcements and notices encountered in stores, especially written ones, are Russian, e.g. *внимание закрывайте пожалуйста двери* ‘shut the door, please’. The names of many basic goods and products are also Russian: *пиво* ‘beer’ (Kaz. *sıra*), *вино* ‘wine’ (Kaz. *şarap*), *напиток* ‘beverage, drink’ (Kaz. *işimdik*), *мороженое* ‘ice cream’ (Kaz. *balmuzdaq*), *малина* ‘raspberry’ (Kaz. *tañqıraq*), *картошка* ‘potatoes’ (Kaz. *kartop* ← Rus.), *patidor* ‘tomato’ (from Rus. *помидор*, Kaz. *qızanaq*), *чеснок* ‘garlic’ (Kaz. *sarımsaq*), *сыр* ‘cheese’ (Kaz. *irimşik*). If a shopkeeper or attendant gives change to a client, he will certainly say *сдача* (Kaz. *qalğan aqşa, artıq aqşa*).

One must be aware that even Kazakh names and advertisements in Kazakh displayed in shop do not reassure a client that service will be provided in Kazakh.

In contrast to the shops and supermarkets, especially luxurious ones in the city centres of Astana and Almatı, a marketplace offers more Kazakh, since it is visited by lower class Kazakhs and its sellers are also from the lower social classes. However, even if people speak Kazakh, their language is full of Russian words, expressions and terms relating to shopping, e.g. *цвет* ‘colour’ (Kaz. *tüs*), also *qanday цвет?* ‘what colour’, *последний* ‘last (pair of shoes)’. The same is seen in written notices, e.g. *Ауақкіуім; отдельно продается* ‘Shoes; retail outlet’.

The word for ‘size’ is always Russian *размер* (Kaz. *ölsem*). The Kazakhs are unable to express in Kazakh the words for basic materials and fabrics, e.g. ‘silk’ is *шёлк* (Kaz. *jibek*), ‘wool’ is *шерсть* (Kaz. *jün*), ‘leather, hide’ is *кожа* (Kaz. *teri*). The respective adjectives are also Russian, i.e. *шёлковый* ‘from silk; silk’, *шерстяной* ‘woolen; from wool’, *кожанный* ‘from leather; leather’. I have conducted much of my fieldwork at different bazaars in Kazakhstan and have never

heard any of these words in Kazakh.⁴² The only Kazakh word of this kind commonly used was *maqta* ‘cotton’.

Moreover, many bazaar dealers are Russians, Koreans, Tatars and other nationals who serve the clients in Russian. If a Kazakh buyer is served in Russian, he normally shifts to this language.

However, at present at least some bazaars may be totally different. For example, I was astonished when in 2012 I visited two bazaars in Aqtaw. In one called *Sarı Bazar* almost all signs were in Russian and the spoken language was also predominantly Russian, while the other one, called *Äsem-Bereket Arzan bazarı*, located not far away on the same road was exclusively Kazakh, with the majority of signs such as *aşıq* ‘open’, *matalar* ‘fabrics’ only in Kazakh, some bilingual, but no Russian monolingual ones. I asked some sellers about this, but the only explanation they gave was ‘because we are Kazakhs’.

3.9. Commercial services

Most commercial services are provided in Russian. For example, in copy shops we see such words as *ксерокопия* ‘photocopy’, *переплёт* ‘binding’, *ламинация* ‘lamination’, *сканер* ‘scanning’, *фото (за 5 мин.)* ‘photographs (in 5 minutes)’, the Kazakh equivalents only sporadically being provided, i.e. (*ksero*)*köşirme* ‘photocopy’, *laminattaw* ‘laminating’, *tüptew* ‘binding’.

The servicing of technological devices, such as computers or mobile telephones is also predominantly in Russian, i.e. *ремонт сотовых* ‘repair of mobile telephones’, *ремонт компьютеров* ‘computer repair’.

Not only hi-tech terminology, but also the terminology of other branches of technology is for the most part Russian. For example, if one drives a car, one must know such Russian terms as *руль* ‘(steering) wheel’ or *кузов* ‘bodywork’. Beyond the unspecific auto parts such as a wheel, a door or a window, almost all specific parts and components are Russian loanwords. Naturally any car service will also be offered in Russian. Even if a car mechanic knows Kazakh, he will normally be unable to speak it or will at least mix the two languages because of the terms, e.g. *баллон авустирuw* ‘tyre change’. Automobile documentation is also in Russian, e.g. *право* ‘driving licence’ or *технопаспорт* ‘registration certificate’.

42 However, in this case the use of Russian words may be explained by semantic difficulties. When I studied this problem in detail, it turned out that Kazakh does not have generic words for some concepts and objects which would be equivalent to Russian. For instance, what the Russians call *кожаный* ‘from leather; leather’ for wallets, bags, handbags, shoes, gloves, the Kazakhs may call *bilğari*, *teri* or *jarğaq*, according to the article; what the Russians call *шерстяной* ‘woolen; from wool’, the Kazakhs will call *jün* for sheep’s wool, but *tübüt* for goat’s or camel’s wool, and *jün* is also used to denote ‘feathers; plumage’.

At a petrol station one will hear such common Russian words as *заправка* ‘filling-up’ or *полный* ‘full (tank)’.

3.10. Work and business relations

Many jobs force young Kazakhs educated in Kazakh schools to employ Russian in their daily work routine. This is because most directors, managers, leaders, especially those appointed by central and local administration, are Russian speaking. As for the names of professions, they are also typically Russian, e.g. *агроном* ‘agronomist’, *бухгалтер* ‘bookkeeper’, but surprisingly even such simple words as ‘workman’ are often said in Russian. I have registered this word with the Kaz. plural suffix *-LAR*: *рабочийлер* ‘workmen’. A similar example was provided by Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 43): *заведующий+лар* ‘directors’.

Another strange thing is that some basic terms used by farmers are also copied from Russian, e.g. *агарот* ← *огород* ‘garden’, *поля* ← *поле* ‘field’.

3.11. Access to hi-tech

If we read an operating manual of an appliance or just look at the entry ‘computer’ on a website with Kazakh terminology, we find nearly everything translated to Kazakh or coined in Kazakh. However, the producers and distributors of appliances, just like advertisers and public officials, know numerous tricks to eliminate Kazakh as much as possible. For example, the Kazakh cellular telephone operator Activ sends all written messages only in Russian, though operating manuals are bilingual. Another operator, Beeline, sells computer USB modems with bilingual operating manuals, but the installation and setting software is in Russian and English. Moreover, little of Kazakh hi-tech terminology is used and people normally have recourse to such common Russian words as *флешка* ‘pen-drive’, *мышка* (Kaz. *tintüwir*) ‘mouse’, *собачка* (Kaz. *ауқалақ*) ‘@ sign’, *сотка* ‘mobile’ (Kaz. *уяли*).

The situation is similar with other electronic devices, e.g. such domestic appliances as irons, washing machines, refrigerators, microwave ovens, etc. Many of them are sold with exclusively Russian instructions and inscriptions, sometimes also English, Chinese or Turkish, depending on the producer.

3.12. Relaxation

Besides their traditional forms of relaxation such as singing Kazakh songs and playing Kazakh music, the Kazakhs love Russian music, songs and entertainment. Modern restaurants and hotels in big cities are operated according to Western or Russian style. However, even simple cafeterias, restaurants and hotels have strange signs such as *Встреча dämhanası* ‘Café Meeting’, *Ласточка қонақ үйі* ‘Swallow Hotel’, *Блинная Kafesi Абая, 21* ‘Pancake Café, Abay [street] 21’. Many signs display notices in Russian or in mixed Russian-English, as this one: *Cream Café – Завтраки|Breakfast с 7.30 до 12.00 – Грилл меню|Grill menu – Система Take away*.

Sometimes signs and billboards written in double language forms have generic words wrongly positioned, e.g. a café in Qızılorda had the following sign: *кафесі Восток кафе* 'Café Orient', the correct layout being *кафе Восток кафесі*, since this is the normal word order in Russian (*кафе Восток*) and in Kazakh (*Восток кафесі*).

Even when speaking Kazakh, one is expected to say *заказ бер-* 'to order'. A menu is naturally only in Russian, with such words as *первое блюдо* 'first dish', *второе блюдо* 'second dish'. Even typical Central Asian dishes are given in Russian forms, e.g. *плов* 'dish made of rice, meat, garlic, carrot etc.' (Kaz. *palaw*). There are some dish names borrowed by Russian from Turkic languages together with the products on the menu, e.g. *samsa* 'kind of shepherd's pie', *mantı* 'meat dumplings', but many Kazakhs do not understand such Kazakh words as *қуытақ* 'pancake', a dish which is exclusively ordered by its Russian name *блин(ы)*. The Kazakhs do not use Kazakh words for meals. 'Lunch' or 'dinner' is *abet* (from. Rus. *обед*, Kaz. *tüski as*) and the other meals are just *şay* 'tea', which means that there will be tea and something else.

3.13. Advertisements

Advertisements on TV are either in Kazakh or Russian. Russian advertisements are the only non-Kazakh components of the monolingual Kazakh channel Qazaqstan. The proportion is changing in favour of Kazakh when we compare 2006 with 2011. The situation is similar in radio broadcasting, in Kazakh newspapers and magazines, as well as online advertising. However, it is not symmetrical, since there are no Kazakh ads in the Russian media and websites. As for street advertisements, banners, billboards and wall charts, they are mostly bilingual, for the language law requires advertising in two languages, and since this type of advertising is more durable, most advertisers adhere to the regulations. However, the advertisers know many tricks to emphasize Russian. A commonly applied trick is to position a double-language ad on two sides of a board so that the Russian part is seen on the right hand side of a street from a car, whereas the Kazakh part, placed overleaf is not normally seen. Other tricks include applying a larger size font for Russian, a more visible colour or displaying the Russian text in a more visible part of a banner or billboard.

4. Kazakh in public services

The official language of the Soviet Socialist Kazakh Republic was Russian. Russian was also a language of interethnic communication. Although Kazakh had the status of the official national language, it was not used in this role in reality. Its role was limited to Kazakh literature, some newspapers and journals, national cultural events, a few theatre plays and films, some programmes on radio and television, and some subjects in schools.

The official status of Russian imposed the use of Russian in all domains of public life, even in contacts among native Kazakhs who had good command of their

native language except among family, friends and close acquaintances. Therefore, if two acquaintances met at an official or public place they normally spoke in Russian. Russian was also preferred among Kazakhs at larger meetings. When a non-Kazakh, but especially a man or woman whose appearance indicated that he or she may be Russian joined a group of Kazakhs, they immediately switched to Russian. This pattern included all social and age groups, beginning with small children playing outdoors. All these strategies and behaviours were underlined by a general acceptance of Russian as the dominant language.

4.1. President, government and administration

Anyone familiar with Kazakh reality knows that all important decisions including language policy are in the hands of the president. The president's relation to the Kazakh and Russian languages is ambiguous. On the one hand he often stresses that the Kazakhs and all Kazakhstani citizens should speak Kazakh and use it in the public sphere, but in practice he does not support Kazakh at all. It is typical of his speeches that he starts in Kazakh, but after a few sentences switches to Russian and continues in this language. Only some inconvenient issues such as the tragic events in Jañaözen in 2011 are discussed in Kazakh. When the president met with people in Aqtaw and Jañaözen, he spoke Kazakh, probably in order not to irritate people and not to publicize these events to non-Kazakhs.

According to *Jas Alaş*, Radio Free Europe has calculated the proportion of Kazakh and Russian words in the president's addresses to the people in the years 2006–2011 (*Jas Alaş*, 22.02.2011):

Year	Number of Kazakh words	Number of Russian words	Kazakh in %	Russian in %
2006	6323	6395	49.7	50.3
2007	570	11164	4.6	95.4
2008	1000	3660	21.4	78.6
2009	460	3118	12.9	87.1
2010	852	4533	15.8	84.2
2011	611	3278	15.7	84.3

Table 1. The share of Kazakh and Russian words in the president's addresses

Needless to say, this attitude of the first man in Kazakhstan serves as a model to other people and many members of government, central administration and public institutions, ambassadors and other high-ranking representatives of the state. On the one hand, the president's attitude is a sign of tolerance for the non-Kazakh citizens and Russian-speaking population of the state, but on the other hand it is an expres-

sion of his Russian and Soviet sentiments as well a concession made to Russian-speaking Kazakhstanis who are his basic political supporters.

It is commonly known that most officers in public administration do not use the Kazakh language. In Hasanuli's opinion (2007: 163) only 34.8 % of them have a good command of Kazakh, but according to Şahanov (2007: 4), only 5–10% of them employ it. In his later work, Hasanuli (2011: 102) claims that administrative procedures in public institutions carried out in Kazakh do not exceed 70%–80%. There are many representatives of the highest authorities who are unable to use the Kazakh language, e.g. the President of the Kazakh National Bank Grigorii Marchenko, the Chairman of the Constitutional Council Igor Rogov, or the Minister of Emergency Vladimir Bozhko.

A similar situation exists in such sectors as the military forces, police and prosecutors. For example, the current Attorney General in Kazakhstan, Ashat Dawilbayev always speaks Russian in public.

This situation is mirrored in language. Many Russian terms relating to administration like *посольство* 'embassy', *министерство* 'ministry', *консульство* 'consulate' are used in Kazakh speech.⁴³ Note that the term *ministrlik* for 'ministry' was used by Duwlatuly (2003: 29) as early as 1907, and the Kazakh terms for 'embassy' and 'consulate' are *elşilik* (Musabayev & Süleymenova 1961: 102) and *konsuldiq* or *konsuldiq bölim* 'consular department', respectively. When we read online such a sentence as *кеше генпрокуратура предупредить етті* 'Yesterday the Prosecutor General's office warned [sb]', it suggests that they did it in Russian, since the sentence is clearly modelled on Russian.

The Russian character of the government is visible in such sentences with mixed codes as *Министерство культуры и связи qoldaydı meni* 'The Ministry of Culture and Communication [in fact, it should be 'information'] supports me' (KTV TV channel, recorded 27.12.2011). One may risk a thesis to say that it is unlikely that a citizen would refer to a ministry in Russian if its procedures were conducted in the state language. Naturally it does not mean that all ministers and their officials are completely russified or indifferent to the language issue. In this particular case, the current Minister of Culture and Information, Darhan Miñbay is an outspoken supporter of the Kazakh language. However, the government as a whole and the prime minister must take responsibility for this state of affairs.

Many bureaucratic procedures are inherited from the time of the Soviet Union and they still function in Kazakhstan. Although they are translated into Kazakh, they are mostly used exactly as earlier in Russian. For example, if one needs a visa to Kazakhstan, one should submit an invitation and in some cases get formal visa sup-

43 It is noteworthy to stress that even many official governmental websites provide their addresses abbreviated in a Russian or mixed way, e.g. www.mz.gov.kz, in which "mz" stands for *Министерство здравоохранения* 'Ministry of Health'. Naturally, when we click on it, it will open its Russian version, set as the default one.

port from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is called in Russian *визовая поддержка* and the Kazakh equivalent is a word-for-word translation *vizalıq goldaw*.

At the outset of Kazakh independence, there were attempts to create socio-political and administrative terminology and to revive the existing terms. A selection of these terms with Russian equivalents was provided by Qasimbekov (1992: 148–155, 156–160, 284–285). In fact, the Russian language and terminology as well as Russian administrative procedures could have been helpful, for Russia and the Soviet Union possessed a long tradition of administration, though highly bureaucratic. There were also Kazakh-Russian bilingual manuals for administration (e.g. Qasimbekov 1992). It is only recently that manuals for administration appear in Kazakh as monolingual guides (e.g. Hasanulı 2011, though with Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh term lists).

Although some basic terms are recommended in all terminological dictionaries and administration guides, their Russian equivalents are still predominantly used, e.g. *удостоверение* ‘certificate’ for what is *küälik* in Kazakh (see Musabayev & Süleymenova 1961: 141, Qasimbekov 1992: 154, Hasanulı 2011: 257).

4.2. Courts and law

Most judges conduct lawsuits in Russian; see a verdict published by Radio Free Europe,⁴⁴ and this is the case with both the Supreme Court and regional courts. For this reason, most judicial services offered by lawyers are provided in Russian. Also notaries prefer preparing legal documents in Russian, though some of them are prepared to do it in Kazakh. For example, at a notary’s office in Almatı in 2011, a clerk was unable to understand Kazakh and offered me another, bilingual notary. In 2006, I interviewed a notary at her office in Şımkent with my friend. They spoke in Kazakh, though using Russian words for such legal terms as *доверенность* ‘letter of attorney’ (Kaz. *senimhat*), but when it came to writing the document, the notary composed it in Russian, not asking what language the client wanted. Therefore, I asked if she automatically issues a document in Russian if a client does not request otherwise. The notary denied this. My last question was how many clients requested documents in Kazakh. She replied that she did not know exactly, but that there were very few.⁴⁵

44 http://www.azattyq.org/content/kazakhstan_agyzbek_tolegenov_supreme_court_verdict/24387056.html.

45 It must be noted that Şımkent is the centre of the South Kazakhstan province with a dense Kazakh population which is said to be a stronghold of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan. This province is one of those that declared it had switched its administrative procedures from Russian to Kazakh. However, practice shows that this is not true and Russian is still the basic language in many public sectors, especially paperwork. In other provinces, which nominally switched to Kazakh, the situation is even worse.

4.3. Health service

Most Kazakhs use the Russian words for such key medical terms as ‘physician, doctor’ (*врач*), ‘nurse’ (*медсестра*) and ‘pharmacy’ (*аптека*), although they all have Kazakh equivalents, i.e. *däriger*, *medbiyke* (a term modelled on Russian) and *därihana*, respectively. Doctors start their conversations with the patients in Russian. The terms for illnesses and diseases are normally Russian adaptations of Greek names, e.g. *гастрит* ‘gastritis’. The most typical medical procedures such as measuring blood pressure are also normally referred to in Russian, e.g. *давление*, even *давление ölçe-* ‘to take blood pressure’ or *укол sal-* ‘to give an injection’.

4.4. Public transportation

Kazakh airlines, both international and domestic, as well the airports respect the Kazakh language better than the railways do. Although there are still non-Kazakh ethnic employees at the airports who do not speak Kazakh, the Kazakh personnel is in most cases well trained to serve passengers in the titular language of Kazakhstan. When I flew on Air Astana to Öskemen-Ust'-Kamenogorsk on 28 August 2011, some notices such as *Выход – Exit* were in Russian and English, but others were in English and Kazakh, e.g. *kürsiñizdiñ astında* ‘under your seat’. This new term for ‘seat’⁴⁶ was in use on the Kazakh aircraft, while the Lufthansa aircraft flying to Almatı on 19 August 2011 used the Rus. word ‘*кресло*’.

The whole Kazakh railway network is deeply rooted in the Soviet system. Timetables, information desks and notices at railway stations and on trains are in Russian. Even new carriages imported from Spain have Russian signs, such as *Построено в Испании завод Talgo* ‘Made in Spain, Talgo factory’ and *Мест до сидения 25* ‘25 seats’ (registered in 2006).

Intercity bus and coach lines and public transportation in towns are diversified. On most buses signs are in Kazakh, on some in Kazakh and Russian. Service is predominantly offered in Kazakh. In the past in all minibuses, even if the driver, conductor and all passengers were Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, formal verbal communication was in Russian. In such situations most passengers asked conductors to let them out in Russian, e.g. *Остановитесь на остановке; на остановке*,⁴⁷ while informal conversation between two individual passengers and between the driver and the conductor was in Kazakh. Now this is changing, and on many minibuses and city buses the conductors speak Kazakh or mixed languages even in Almatı and As-

46 *Kürsi* is an old ‘learned’ term of Arabic origin, used in Turkish, Chaghatai and Tatar to denote ‘chair’ etc.

47 I evidenced identical orientation terms in Bukhara and Tashkent in Uzbekistan in 2009, the difference being that in Bukhara people normally communicated in Tajik, in Tashkent either in Russian or Uzbek.

tana. This is probably because these employees belong to lower social classes and have migrated to the cities from Kazakh-speaking rural areas.

Such new phenomena as ‘traffic jam’, practically unknown in Kazakhstan before independence, are also copied from Russian, i.e. *пробка*, the Kazakh equivalent being *keptelis*. The terminology relating to traffic, street and road networks is also full of Russian loanwords, e.g. *мост* ‘bridge’, *разъезд* ‘passing track; crossing’, *поворот* ‘turn’.

4.5. Education

Russification starts with pre-school education. The figures are alarming. According to Hasanuli (2007: 151) in 2005 only 39.9% of children in towns went to Kazakh-language kindergartens, while 59.9% went to Russian ones. The word for ‘kindergarten’ is a Russian loanword *садик*, also *детсад* and *детский сад*, and the Kazakh equivalents *balabaqşa* or *balalar baqşası* are rarely employed. Not the Russian term, of course, but the Russian system of pre-school education has a fatal effect on children.

The percentage is better for schools, but it is still low.⁴⁸ In 2005/2006 only 45.6% of Kazakh pupils studied in Kazakh-medium language schools (Hasanuli 2007: 150). However, in vocational schools the proportion is even lower, with 32% for Kazakh language and 68% for Russian language instruction (Hasanuli 2007: 159). Fierman (2006: 102–103) sees a final barrier to the promotion of Kazakh language in mixed schools, since much or all communication outside the classroom there takes place in Russian.

Even those Kazakh children who speak Kazakh at home shift to Russian as soon as they go to mixed groups in kindergartens. The number of Russian kindergartens is still very high. Some parents send their kids to Russian kindergartens or groups by choice, but some do so only because they do not have another option. Namely, it is often the case that there is no Kazakh kindergarten in a district. Naturally the situation is much better in predominantly Kazakh-speaking regions.

High schools and universities offer more possibilities for Kazakh-medium instruction, though several courses are taught in both Kazakh and Russian and some only in Russian. Administration and paperwork is carried out in Russian at nearly all universities I visited except at Türkistan, though some institutes do it in Kazakh or

48 Independent Kazakhstan inherited a fatal state of national education from the time of the Soviet Union. In 1954 only one Kazakh-medium school was left in Almaty and 700 such schools were closed in the northern provinces, while 100 remaining ones were transformed into mixed schools (Kärimuli 2012: 5). Harsh measures against Kazakh resulted in even such Soviet-minded intellectuals as Särsen Amanjолоv, renowned Kazakh linguist and one of the principal supporters of the shift from Latin script to Cyrillic in the 1930s, being threatened (see Amanjолоv’s letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1954, published in Amanjолоv 2005: 155–158).

mixed. I also observed admission procedures at two universities (Shymkent College of International Kazakh-Turkish Ahmet Yasawi University in 2006 and Shokan Walihanov University in Kökshetaw in 2009). Both the oral and written communication surrounding registration were in Russian.

5. Media

The Kazakh media cover events in three basic geographical areas. The most important is naturally the local Kazakhstan scene, followed by coverage of Russia and Central Asia. The remaining is the global dimension featuring Europe, the US, the Middle East and other countries.

5.1. Television

Until 2011, there was no TV station in Kazakhstan to transmit all programmes in Kazakh. All channels were mixed, Russian-Kazakh and Kazakh-Russian, some only Russian, and some also provided short programmes for language minorities. At present the most popular TV channels registered in Kazakhstan are *31 Telearna*, *Almati*, *Astana*, *Balapan* (for children), *Elarna*, *Habar*, *Jetinshi Arna*, *KTK*, *Mädeniyet* and *Qazaqstan*.⁴⁹

The first monolingual Kazakh channel was set up in 2010; it was *Balapan* for children. The next was *Qazaqstan*, which switched to Kazakh completely in 2011. Both are part of the *Qazaqstan TV* station. Mixed channels still transmit either Russian-speaking films with Kazakh subtitles, sometimes conversely, Kazakh-speaking ones with Russian subtitles. It is quite indicative that even some Turkish serials, very popular in Kazakhstan, are broadcast in Russian. The foreign films on *Qazaqstan TV* channel are dubbed into Kazakh with Russian subtitles.

A common practice is for Kazakhs interviewed in Russian language programmes to be asked questions in Russian and to reply in Russian. I have never seen anyone answer in Kazakh on such programmes. This is also because all channels are state-controlled and do not interview representatives of the opposition or people who could refuse to act slavishly. In Kazakh-language programmes the answers or statements of people speaking in Russian are translated into Kazakh. Since according to the law each public servant should know Kazakh, some try to speak this language, sometimes with great difficulty. For example, in a programme broadcast by *Habar TV* channel a rescuer reporting on an accident could not tell the story in Kazakh and shifted between the two languages several times, using such Russian copies in Kazakh sentences as *водитель* 'driver' (Kaz. *jürgizüwşi*), *сменам командиры* 'the commanding officer of my shift' (Kaz. *kezekşiliktiñ qolbaşısı*; *Habar* 21.08.2006, 22:10).

⁴⁹ *Caspionet*, the only satellite channel, is designated for abroad and is rarely watched in Kazakhstan.

5.2. Radio

There is only one nationwide radio station that broadcasts news in Kazakh, *Şalqar*, which belongs to *Qazaq Radiosı* state broadcasting agency. Most programmes broadcast by *Qazaq* are in Kazakh, but feature news and advertisements also in Russian. The radio *Habar* which belongs to the Habar Agency, as it states on its website, broadcasts 53% of its programmes in Kazakh and 47% in Russian (<http://khabar.kz/kaz/radio/>, accessed 14.01.2012). Most commercial radios like *Love Radio*, *Energy FM*, *Retro FM*, *Tengri FM*, *NS Radio*, *Mir*, *Delovaya Volna* are in Russian, some with Kazakh components.

5.3. Newspapers and periodicals

The problem of the low number of both titles and printed copies of Kazakh press has been touched upon many times by Kazakh intellectuals, e. g. Hasanuli (2007: 157, 224–226) and Şahanov (2007:2). For example in Şahanov's calculation based on official data, the number of periodicals in Kazakh was 453 (half of them in the South Kazakhstan province), while there were 2,303 periodicals in Russian, the proportion being 19.7% to 80.3%. However, if we add as many as 5,248 Russian periodicals imported from Russia (according to official data 2,728), the share of Kazakh press is only 6% (Şahanov 2007:2). When we compare these data with the latest figures provided by Kärimuly, we see that despite a steadily growing number of Kazakh titles, nothing has changed, and the proportion is shocking and alarming: it is not growing, but diminishing. Namely, in Kärimuly's opinion 90% of the 4,115 periodicals registered and distributed in Kazakhstan are in Russian, 6% in other languages, and only 4% in Kazakh (Kärimuly 2012: 5).

There is only one Kazakh newspaper that appears daily in Kazakhstan, *Alaş Aynası*. Among the newspapers of nationwide character, there is *Egemen Qazaqstan* (the official newspaper of the Kazakh government, published five times a week), which boasts the highest number of copies, but this is because it is bought by public institutions and read for the official government announcements published there. It has an online version. Quite interestingly, although the online version is only in Kazakh, some folders, e.g. *Memlekettik satıp aluw* 'Governmental purchase' feature all announcements in Russian (e.g. documents dated 27.10.2010–3.01.2012), which shows that trade is still a domain of the Russian language. All other newspapers are in fact weekly periodicals or come out from two to four times a week, e.g. *Almati Aqşamı* (with the Russian version *Вечерний Алматы*, which is not the same and has its own editorial board), *Ana Tili*, *Ayqın*, *Dala men Qala*, *Jas Qazaq Üni*, *Qazaq Ādebiyeti*, *Qazaq Eli*, *Türkistan*, *Zaň Gazeti* (with its Russian version *Юридическая газета*). Many local newspapers are still mixed, with some articles in Kazakh and some in Russian, e.g. *Aqtaw Aqparatı*.

There is only one opposition newspaper, *Jas Alaş*, which also has an online version. The access to it is difficult in some regions, but the same is also true of many other newspapers.

There are a few colourful, attractive journals, such as *Āliya*, but only the pulp magazine *Juldızdar Otbası* is sold at many newspaper sellers. Among other magazines, worth mentioning are such titles as *Alaş Ordası*, *Aqıyqat*, *Aruwjan*, *Dos*, *Densawlıq*, *Jalın*, *Juldız*, *Juldızben Sırlasuw*, *Möldir Bulaq*, *Önege*, *Parasat*, *Stars.Kz* and *Ürker*. There are also some popular and pulp magazines belonging to *Zamana* group such as *Awırmañız*, *Kälima*, *Qısır Āñgime*, *Qızıq Gazet*, *Säwegey*, *Şartarap*, *Tılsım Düniye*, *Tünjarım*, *Zañnama*, and many others targeting women, family and popular readerships, mostly published in Şımkent but distributed countrywide, like *Āyel Qupıyası*, which are mostly sold in the bazaars.

Almost all Kazakh press is sold at limited places, and there is no clear key to their distribution. In addition, many journals are printed in low numbers of copies, often not exceeding 200 or so. In short, it is not easy to purchase a good Kazakh newspaper or magazine, especially in some regions and districts.

5.4. Websites

Probably the best linguistic situation is online. There is a constantly growing number of websites that offer Kazakh language news, e.g. *Abai.kz*, *BAQ.kz*, *Dastan-studio.kz* (only in Kazakh) and some others with Kazakh, Russian and sometimes English versions, e.g. *BNEWS.kz* (Kazakh version in Cyrillic and Latin scripts and Russian version), *Didar.kz* (Kazakh, Russian), *KazInform.kz* (Kazakh version in Cyrillic, Russian and Arabic scripts, as well as Russian and English versions), and *Stan.kz* (Kazakh and Russian).

One should add international websites such as Radio Free Europe's Kazakh section to those mentioned above. There are a few social networking services such as *Mässağan* (i.e. *Mäccazan*, <http://www.massagan.com/>). The Committee for Language at the Ministry of Culture runs a website *Memlekettik Til Portalı* 'State language website' (til.gov.kz) which contains many materials on the language law and language issues, as well as some online dictionaries, which however do not work properly.

6. Conclusion

There is no doubt that the position of Kazakh and the correlation between Kazakh and Russian is politically dependent. Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian post-Soviet independent state where a great number of ethnic citizens do not speak their native language and whose president, prime minister and public servants of the highest rank openly and publicly make statements in Russian. It is the single Central Asian post-Soviet state in which leaders of highest institutions, ambassadors and consuls at embassies abroad are unable to speak the state's titular language. Kazakhstan is the only post-Soviet country that has Russian inscriptions on its national

banknotes.⁵⁰ After all, we may say that language is only one aspect of the strong relations unifying Kazakhstan with Russia. For instance, Kazakhstan is the only post-Soviet country that has not introduced its own country code for telephone communication and shares the code with Russia; and beside Belarus, Kazakhstan was the first to re-establish close relations with Russia.

It is evident that the ongoing integration with Russia in culture, politics, trade, industry, law and customs union will further favour the dominant position of Russian. Although the Kazakhs are very tolerant towards Russian, the language issue has become a political factor, though few open language conflicts can be reported.⁵¹ For example, representatives of many non-governmental organizations and opposition parties in an open letter addressed to the authorities and published in *Jas Alaş* (22.02.2011) demanded that the issue of the state language be solved within a short period of time, preferably three years. However, the regime is not eager to engage in any dialogue with the opposition nor make any concessions. Therefore, the struggle for the national language is one of the common demands of the political opposition.

It is indisputable that the situation of Kazakh has changed positively since 1989, but the changes are very slow and limited to only some areas of Kazakhstan's reality. As for the future, there are hardly any perspectives for a spectacular strengthening of the state language as long as the present authorities remain in power, e.g. as long as the president publicly speaks to the prime minister in Russian. Enhancing the state language requires a range of changes, such as legislative (change in the constitution and language law), political (shift to Latin script, changes in the education system) and practical (obeying the rules and the law, favouring changes in people's attitudes towards language). Therefore, these are the tasks for both language planning and language policy. Needless to say, all this will be a long process, lasting at least one generation, once it really starts. It must be added that some analysts see more perspectives for Kazakh. For example, Fierman points out the factor of independence, demographic processes leading to a growing number of Kazakhs, migration within Kazakhstan, the good economic situation of the country which may finance the costs of reversing the language shift (Fierman 2005a: 120–121). However, in another paper he says that President Nazarbayev "has overseen and often

50 The Kazakh currency, *tenge*, was issued in 1993 to replace the Russian ruble. All the inscriptions on banknotes were in Kazakh. Amid the ardent protests of many Kazakh intellectuals, the National Bank of Kazakhstan—whose president is an ethnic Russian unable to produce a single Kazakh sentence—issued a new banknote design with double Kazakh and Russian language inscriptions. It should be noted that the Tajikistani *somoni* has English inscriptions on the reverse side, similar to Georgian *lari*.

51 Any problem relating to language receives a great interest and popularity in Kazakhstan. For example, Düräli Düysenbay's thoughts 'Some reflections on language' on *Mässağan* website was visited 4,088 times over a short period of time (Дүрәлі Дүйсебай *Тіл төңірегіндегі толғамдар*, checked 28.07.2008).

orchestrated a system in which there have been almost constant changes in law, personnel, and even administrative borders.” (Fierman 2005b: 412). All Kazakhs agree that the situation may radically and quickly change if the president will want it to, but the history of independent Kazakhstan and the president’s policy over more than twenty years would indicate that there is no chance of this.

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