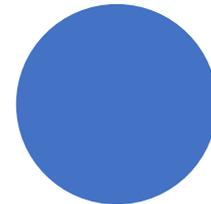


Contact induced changes in Kazakh in Urumqi

Éva Á. Csató (Uppsala University, Sweden)
& Aynur Abish (Minzu University, Beijing)

Workshop *Language diversity, contact and change*
《语言多样性、接触和变化》
University of Chicago Beijing Center, June 14-16, 2019



The talk will deal with Kazakh, the second most important Turkic minority language of China.

- Topics to address
- 1, Information about the Kazakh community in China, the number of speakers, their geographical distribution, the use of Kazakh in education and the media, the contact language, and the special sociolinguistic status of young Kazakhs in Urumchi.
- 2. The Chinese influence on the language of bilingual young Kazakh speakers in Xinjiang.
- 3. The theoretical framework applied for the description, Johanson' s Code-Copying Model.
- 4. Contact induced changes in the Kazakh of young people in Xinjiang to illustrate different types of copying.
- 5. Short review of the references.

The Kazakh language in China

- According to the most recent annual statistics published in *Xinjiang Yearbook* (XJYB 2016), based on the census of 2014, the Kazakh population in the People's Republic of China amounted to 1,598,700, making it the second largest Kazakh population in the world.
- Kazakhs in China mainly inhabit Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture (*Ile qazaq aptonomiyalı wobılısi*), Mori Kazakh Autonomous County (*Mori qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*) and Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County (*Barköl qazaq aptonomiyalı awdani*) (XJYB 2011: 352).
- The Kazakh language is spoken in different areas of Xinjiang.

- The Ili, Altay, and Tarbagatay regions, all of which belong to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture.
- Ürümqi City, the Daban City region (in Ürümqi County), and the Tongsan region belonging to Ürümqi City.
- Mori Kazakh Autonomous County and the counties Qitay, Jimsar, Manas, and Hutubi, which belong to the Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture (*Sanji xuyzu aptonomiyati wobitisi*).
- Barkol Kazakh Autonomous County of the Hami region (*Qumit aymağiniñ Barköl qazaq aptonomiyati awdanı*).
- Arasan and Jinghe Counties, which belong to the Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture (*Buratała muñyut aptonomiyati wobitisi*), as well as Bortala City.
- Outside of Xinjiang in China, Kazakh is spoken in Aksay Kazakh Autonomous County (*Aksay qazaq aptonomiyati awdanı*) in Gansu Province and in some parts of Qinghay Province as well.



Ili region

- 47 nationalities live in the Ili region, according to website of the government of Ili prefecture, among the population of Ili city, based on the census of 2013, 45.2% of the total population are Chinese, 15.9% Uyghur, 25.5% Kazakh.
- Kazakh, is a dominated language in this region.
- Contact languages: Uyghur, Chinese, Hui, Uzbek and in some counties as Qapqal, Huocheng and Gongliu Xibe, a Tungusic language.
- Few Kazakh speakers have some competence in Russian. Most of them are married to Chinese. Today only the older generations have maintained their language and culture. The Russian influence on Kazakh is limited.



Altay region

- 36 nationalities live in the Altay region. According to the website of the government of Altay, the population of Kazakh constitute 52.73%, Chinese 39.91%, and the other minorities 7.36% of the total population.
- Contact languages: Chinese, Hui, Uyghur, Mongol etc.
- Kazakh is a dominating language in Altay, so it has served as a lingua franca by the smaller minority groups (see also in Abish& Csató 2011).



Tarbagatay District

- 30 nationalities live in the Tarbagatay district. According to website of the government of Tarbagatay, in 2010, Chinese constitute 65.73% of the total population, Kazakh 19.76%, Hui 6.99%, Uyghur 3.16%, Mongol 2.5%.
- Kazakh, as we can see from the census, is not a dominant language in this region.
- Contact languages: Chinese, Hui, Uyghur, Daur, Mongol, Russian, Tatar, Xibe, Uzbek, etc.



Ürümqi City

- 13 nationalities live in Ürümqi City. According to the census of 2010, Chinese constitute 74.91% of the total population, Uyghur 12.46%, Hui 9%, Kazakh 2.19%, Mongol 0.34.
- Contact languages: Chinese, Uyghur, Hui, Mongol etc.



Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture

- More than 10 nationalities live in Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture.
- Mori Kazakh Autonomous County and the counties Qitay, Jimsar, Manas, and Hutubi are inhabited by Kazakhs.
- According to census of 2010, Chinese constitute 75.31% of the total population, Hui 9.52%, Kazakh 9.33%, Uyghur 4.45%, Mongol 0.36%. Kazakh, is a dominated language in this region.
- Contact languages: Chinese, Hui, Uyghur, Mongol etc.



Hami region

- More than 10 nationalities live in the Hami region, Kazakhs live in Hami city and Barkol Kazakh autonomous county.
- According to the census of 2010, Chinese constitute 69.35% of the total population, Uyghur 17.77%, Kazakh 8.94%, Hui 2.99%, Mongol 0.35%.
- Kazakh is not a dominant language in this region .
- Contact languages: Chinese, Uyghur, Hui, Mongol etc.
-



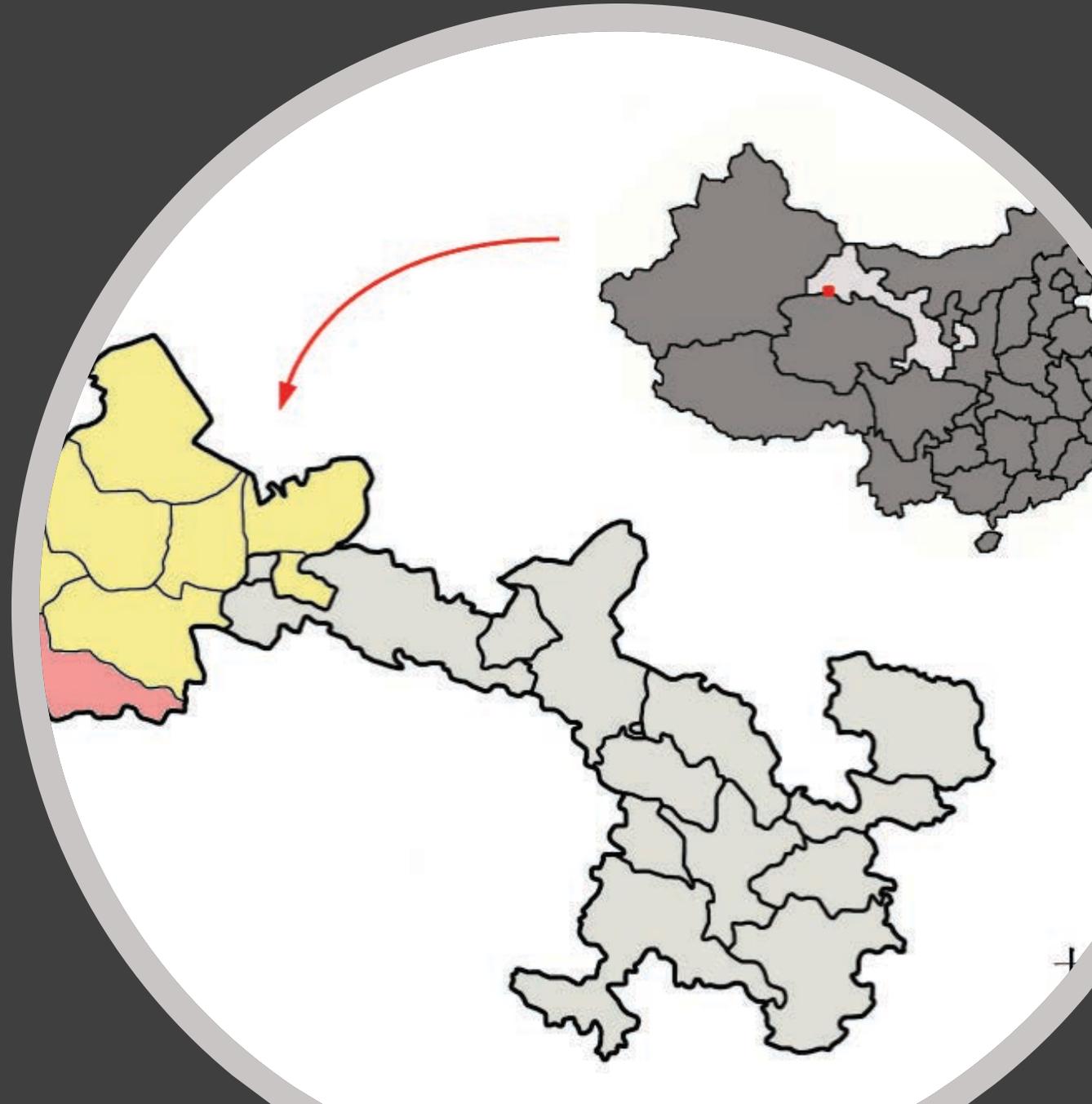
Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture

- 35 nationalities live in the prefecture.
- According to the census of 2010, Chinese constitute 64.96% of the total population, Uyghur 13.32%, Kazakh 10.01%, Mongol 5.66%, Hui 5.22, Dongxiang 0.33%.
- Kazakh is not a dominant language.
- Contact languages: Chinese, Uyghur, Mongol, Hui, and Dongxiang etc.



Aksay Kazakh Autonomous County

In Aksay, Kazakh is strongly
influenced by Chinese.



The status of Kazakh in Xinjiang

- Kazakh is one of the significant minority languages in China, playing an especially important role in the areas where Kazakh dominates (Abish 2016).
- In some regions of Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, Kazakh serves as a lingua franca (Chinese *tōngyòng yǔyán*); i.e. it is used as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different, e.g. Uyghur, Chinese, and Xibe.
- Kazakh is a language of communication among Kazakhs in the other Kazakh autonomous counties.
- In Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture the organs of the Communist Party and the government use both Kazakh and Chinese as official languages. However, the official documents issued by the authorities to the township level administrations are mostly written in Kazakh. The Congress of the Party in this prefecture employs a translation agency for Kazakh. Public signs including names of places, streets, etc., and official stamps, are both in Kazakh and Chinese. Kazakh is also used in the courts when they deal with a case concerning a Kazakh person (Li 2007: 1673–1674).
- Kazakh is a language of education, is an object of research, and it has its own print and broadcast media in China.
- Kazakh in China is written in a script that is based on Arabic.

Kazakh in education

- Recent changes in Chinese education policy in Xinjiang, introduce significant impact on the status of Kazakh.
- In 2012, the Ministry of Education and the National Language and Literature Working Committee issued the "Outline of the National Medium- and Long-Term Language and Characters Reform and Development Plan (2012-2020)" (“guójiā zhōng cháng qī yǔyán wénzì shìyè gǎigé hé fāzhǎn guīhuà gāngyào (2012-2020 nián)” which proposed that the promotion and popularization of the common language and characters of the national regions should be accelerated (Wang 2017: 9-12).

- The revision of Article 12 of the Education Law of the People's Republic of China (2015), emphasizes the implementation of bilingual education in parallel with the national common language and minority languages, and the bilingual education of the national common language and minority languages.
- The "Decision of the State Council on Accelerating the Development of Minority Education (“Guówùyuan guānyú jiākuài fāzhǎn mínzú jiàoyù de juédìng”)" (2015) pointed out that bilingual education should be implemented scientifically and steadily. The basic areas of the national language and language education should be based on the cultivation of bilingual talents.
- The National 13th Five-Year Development Plan of the National Language and Literature (Education [2016] No. 3) pointed out that it is necessary to speed up the popularization of the national language and language in minority areas, strengthen the education and teaching of the national language, and ensure that minority students basically master the country (see also in Abish & Csató 2011).

- Under the guidance of national integration laws and regulations, Xinjiang has formulated a corresponding bilingual education policy. The dual teaching can be roughly divided into three stages, namely, the bilingual teaching mode test period (1992-2003), the different bilingual teaching mode exploration period (2004-2016), and the single teaching mode start-up period (2017).
- In 2017, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region held a symposium to promote bilingual education in primary and secondary schools. On September 26, 2017, the Xinjiang Education News published a special article deciding that from the fall semester of 2017, the primary and junior high school starting grades will be fully implemented in the country. Language-based classes, minority students plus mother-tongue courses, to ensure that by 2020 minority students basically master and use the national language.

The Chinese influence on the language of young people in Xinjiang

- The Chinese influence in Kazakh among young people in Xinjiang will be illustrated in a theoretical framework of Johanson, the Code-Copying Model (1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999e, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001, 2002). According to him, the central concept of code-copying is that linguistic elements—units and patterns—are copied from one code to another. Copies of elements from a foreign modal code are inserted into a basic code. The basic code sets the basic frame, or the structure into which copies are inserted.
- In Kazakh speaking regions, Kazakh is spoken in an asymmetrical situation strongly dominated by other languages. Bilingual young Kazakh speakers copy non-Turkic, mostly Chinese, and Uyghur Turkic elements and insert the copies into their basic code.

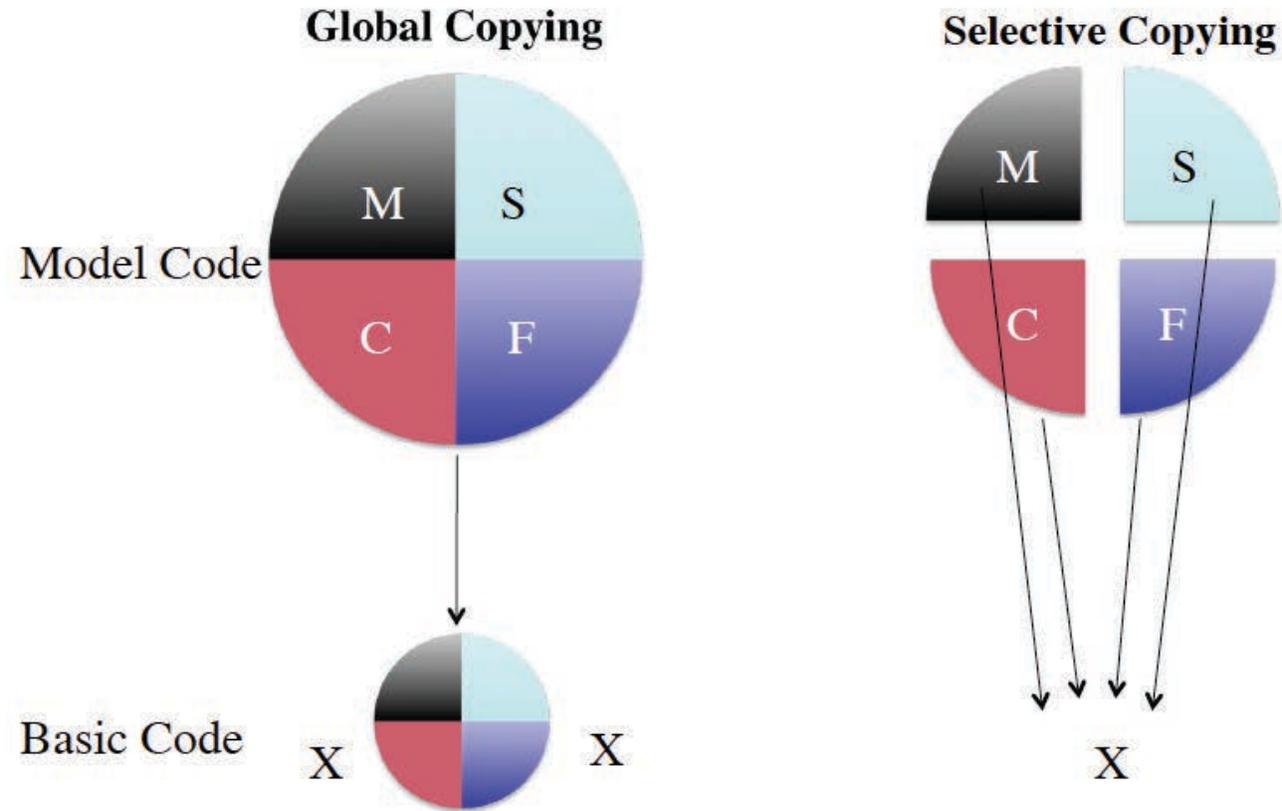
Code Copying

- The Code Copying model is intended as an integrated framework for coherent description of various kinds of linguistic contact influence traditionally referred to as borrowing, loans, replication, calquing, transfer, interference, importation, substratum influence, levelling, convergence, Sprachbund phenomena, insertional codeswitching, L1 influence on L2 acquisition, etc. The phenomena produced in contact-induced processes of these kinds are essentially similar and can be treated in one and the same paradigm.
- The creative aspects of copying is stressed. Copies are never identical with their originals, but always adapted to the recipient system and developed further there.

Main distinctions

- The Code-Copying Model allows the study of global copying and selective copying, two well-defined types of copying.
- In cases of global copying, a unit of a Model Code is copied as a whole into a Basic Code. The units, morphemes (free or bound) or morpheme sequences are global blocks of material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties.
- Selective copying only concerns individual selected structural properties of such blocks: material, semantic, combinational or frequential properties.
- In cases of take-over copying (adoption), speakers of a sociolinguistically dominated code copy elements from a dominant code.
- In cases of carry-over copying (imposition), speakers of a dominated code copy elements from this code into their own variety of the dominant code.

The relation between global copying and selective copying may be illustrated in the Figure below. On the left side, we find a whole 'globe' of properties, i.e. of material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties. On the right side, we only find loose parts of a corresponding 'globe', i.e. selected material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties.



Legend: M = material properties (substance); S = semantic properties (also including pragmatic meanings); C = combinational properties (in syntax and word structure); F = frequential properties; x = elements of a Basic Code.

Some further comments on code copying

- Code copying covers various kinds of linguistic contact-induced influence, normal developmental processes observed in natural languages. These are part of the competence of speakers of natural languages to accommodate to communicative situations. Linguistic codes are open to influence from each other at all structural levels.
- Code interaction is used as a cover term for code copying and code alternation (“code-switching”).
- These notions are construed in a wide scope to allow us to account for what happens and does not happen to a linguistic system as a result of contact.
- They form a classificatory system that should enable us to treat closely related phenomena under one umbrella, also as a basis for typological comparison. It brings together several phenomena that are usually considered separately. It is an invitation to rethink and partly redefine some basic concepts of contact linguistics.
- The terminology is simple and easy to apply to various cases of contact.

Important points

- The model distinguishes between momentary, habitualized and conventionalized copies.
- If a copy is conventionalized, it is immediately subject to the normal grammaticalization processes of the Basic Code, which may lead to further differences.
- Copies may replace those already present in the Basic Code or remain with synonymous or altered functions.
- Copying does not lead to fusion of the contact codes.
- The Basic Code provides the clausal frame for insertion of copies. It contains morphosyntactic relational elements that link the constituents together and mark their functions: ordering (combinational) patterns, relational units (function markers, relators) and prosodic features.
- Copies are inserted on the basis of the speaker's subjective assessment of which elements of the model code and the basic code are equivalent.

Important points

- The framework deals with observable structures of linguistic codes, not with social or mental structures.
- Codes can change due to their internal dynamics, through contact or through combinations of both.
- Copies are never identical with the originals. They are always adapted to the recipient system and developed further there. The creative aspects of copying are important.
-
- Between the original and the copy there are specific similarities and differences, which should be described.

Types of copying

- **Global Copying**
- Global copies are most probably primary to all other types. The inserted elements are copies of stretches of speech of the model code, morphological-lexical-phraseological units of various kinds. They may be morphemically simple or complex, bound or free, comprise one or more words, and belong to different morpheme categories, word classes and phrase types, including idiomatic expressions. They constitute blocks of different properties: material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties.

- Global copies are inserted as a whole into clauses of the basic code. To be able to function there, they are classified into morphosyntactic categories filling the specific slots that their “equivalents” in the basic code would fill. An individual equivalence slot is an insertion point. The classification is based on the speaker’s subjective assessment of equivalence. Insertion can thus occur despite lack of real typological equivalence. Surface structures common to both codes provide more equivalence slots and may thus favour copying.
- Lexical copying is the kind of copying that is well-known and also most noticeable to the code users. In the dimension of the conventionalisation, its products range from insertional codeswitches to loanwords. All kinds of lexical units are in principle copiable, also core vocabulary.

Global copying of lexemes such as *yào diàn* ‘drugstore’ , *huǒ chē zhàn* ‘railway station’ , *diàn nǎo* ‘computer’ , *chē zhàn* ‘bus-stop’ , *shǒu jī* ‘cell-phone’ , *yóu jú* ‘post office’ , *zì dòng* ‘automatic’ , *xìn xī* ‘information’ , *guǎng gào* ‘advertisement’ are preferred to the Kazakh terms in everyday language. These copies are inserted into the frame of the copying language, i.e. Kazakh.

In the example, e.g. a Kazakh case suffix is added to the copied item *šudiyen* ‘bookshop’ .

<i>Šudiyen-nan</i>	<i>kitäp-tär</i>	<i>al-di-m.</i>
bookshop-ABL	book-PL	buy-PAST-1SG

‘I have bought books from the bookstore.’

In the example, the copied noun *ǰehünǰəŋ* ‘marriage certificate’ constitutes the first component in Kazakh compound constructed with the possessive suffix on the second element *barlıq* ‘all’ .

<i>ǰehünǰəŋ</i>	<i>barlıǰ-ı</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ǰoy!?</i>
marriage certificate	all of them-POSS3	existing	GOY.PART

‘(We) have the marriage certificate and so on, right?’

Chinese verbs are globally copied. In the following example, *pipàn* is a verb copied from Chinese *pī pàn*. In order to accommodate it to the grammar of Kazakh, a derivational suffix $-L^3A^2$ is added.

Meni *pipàn-dä-dï.*
I-POSS3 criticize-DER-DI.PAST3

‘X criticized me.’

The next example illustrates an adjective *hónghóng de* which is globally copied into Kazakh.

Beṭ-iŋ

face-POSS2SG

nege

why

huŋhuŋdi?

red

‘Why your face is red?’

An example of global copying of function words is the use of a copy of the Chinese particle *a*, which is similar to the Kazakh particle *á* both in function and form. The Kazakh interjection *á* is used in a response to a call. It confirms that the addressee has heard the call. Thus, the copying has been facilitated by the fact that the Chinese interjection is very similar to the Kazakh particle

A: *Áy* *ķiz!*

Á Y.INTERJEC girl

‘Hey, girl!’

B: *Á!*

Á .INTERJEC

‘Yes!’

Instead of the Kazakh particle *á*, many bilinguals today use a copy of the Chinese particle *a* with rising tone, i.e. interrogative intonation. In the following example, this particle is used as an echo question indicating that the respondent is ready to continue the dialogue. The interjection may also be used to ask the addresser to repeat an utterance.

A: *Áy* *kız!*
 À Y.INTERJEC girl
 ‘Hey, girl!’

B: *A!?* (with rising intonation)
 A.INTERJEC
 ‘I beg your pardon?’

Selective copying

Selective copying concerns selected properties of a globe, i.e. material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties. Properties typical of units of the model code are copied onto equivalent units of the basic code. They owe their existence to foreign patterns, though they are not part of global copies.

Selective material copying

- One type of selective copying is exclusively material, manifesting itself as ‘loan phonology’. Global copies may, as long as they are less adapted, affect the phonological system of the basic code. Sounds typical of the model code are copied onto units of the basic code. The influence may lead to allophonic shift or emergence of new phonemes.
- We give here an example of copying phonological features of Chinese question particles onto the Kazakh question particle $-M^3A^2$. In Kazakh, the question particle is cliticized to the questioned constituent and is not accentuable, the accent, i.e. the high pitch, falls on *bar* ‘existing’ in this example. In the speech of bilingual young Kazakhs the particle is pronounced with raising intonation as in Chinese questions.

Kazakh

Bar *ma?*

existing Q.PART

‘Is there?’

Kazakh of bilingual speakers

Bar *ma?*

existing Q.PART

‘Is there?’

Chinese

Yǒu ma?

‘Is there?’

Thus, the material, i.e. phonological properties of the Chinese model have been copied on the Kazakh item.

Selective semantic copying

- Semantic copying means that the semantics of units of a model code is copied onto equivalent units of the basic code. Again, there is no identity between originals and copies. There are differences at the denotative or connotative level due to adaptation to the semantic system of the basic code.
- Look at the semantic copies of Chinese scientific and technical terms onto Kazakh lexical items.



- No Chinese item has been copied as a whole. Only the meaning of the expressions has been selectively copied on Kazakh lexical items.

Chinese	Kazakh
diànjù	<i>tök ara</i> ⟨electricity saw⟩ ‘sawing machine’
diàn xū dāo	^y <i>elektirli saqal alyış</i> ⟨electric beard remover⟩ ‘electric shaver’
bànchéngpǐn	<i>šala öñdelgen buyum</i> ⟨half treat-PASS-GAN.PTCP product⟩ ‘semi-finished product’
bìlù diànshì	<i>tuyik televiziya</i> ⟨closed television⟩ ‘closed circuit television’

- Another example of selective semantic copying is observable in the use of the Kazakh particle *ˈwözi* ‘itself’ .
- The Chinese expression is *zhè shì* ‘this is’ (Zhang 2003: 213, 2004: 597). This Chinese form is also grammaticalized as a particle in postpredicate position. A corresponding usage in the following examples of the particle *ˈwözi* might be influenced by Chinese.
- The meaning of the Chinese expression *zhèshì* ‘this is’ in (4) is rendered by the particle *ˈwözi* in the corresponding Kazakh translation; (see all these also in Abish 2016: 95).

-

Chinese

Context: My mother is not behaving as usual.

<i>Wǒ</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>zěnmé</i>	<i>le,</i>	<i>zhè</i>	<i>shì?</i>
I	mother	how	PAST	this	is

‘What is wrong with my mother?’

Kazakh

<i>Češe-m-e</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>bol-yan</i>	<i>wözi?</i>
mother-POSS 1SG-DAT	what	BOL.COP-GAN.POSTT3	ÖZI.PART

‘What is wrong with my mother?’

In certain cases, spoken Uyghur, like Chinese, uses the demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’ or *mawu* ‘this one’ in this sense.

Uyghur

Bu nimä qil-yin-iŋ, bu?

this what do-GAN.PTCP-POSS2SG this

‘What have you done?’

Selective combinational copying

- Combinational copying means that combinational properties of units of the model code are copied onto units of the basic code. It may create new phonotactic patterns, placement patterns (word-order and word-internal morphemic patterns), phrase structure rules, valency patterns, etc. The internal combinational pattern of a complex of the model code may be copied onto equivalent units of the basic code.
- Combinational copying may support tendencies towards analyticity. For example:
- *kıtap kör-* ‘to watch book’ \Leftarrow Chinese *kàn shū* instead of *kıtap* ^w*okı-* (^w*okı-* ‘to read’),
- *malakay tak-* ‘to put on the hat’ \Leftarrow Chinese *dài màozi* instead of *malakay kiy-* (*kiy-* ‘to wear’).

Selective frequential copying

- The last type of selective copying is frequential copying. It causes changes in frequency patterns. The frequency of an element of a model code is copied onto equivalent elements of the basic code. The influence manifests itself in increase or decrease in frequency of occurrence.
- The frequency of analytic light verbal constructions has decreased the use of the synthetic derivational suffix $-L^3A^2$ in Kazakh. This is due to the contact-induced change. For example:
- *Tazalıq iste* - 'to do cleaning' \Leftarrow Chinese *zuò wèishēng* instead of *tazala-* 'to clean'
- *urliq iste*- 'to do the theft' instead of *urla-* 'to steal' ; *kurmet yet-* 'to do respect/to respect' instead of *kurmette-* 'to respect'

References

- Abish, Aynur & Csató, Éva Á. 2015. Language attitudes and linguistic habits of young Kazaks in Xinjiang. In: Muhamedowa, Raihangul (ed.) *Kazakh in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Proceedings of the international Symposium on Kazakh, November 30–December 2, 2011, Giessen*. (Turcologica 102.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 159–175.
- Abish, Aynur 2016. *Modality in Kazakh as spoken in China*. (Turcologica 107.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Csató, Éva Á. & Aynur Abish 2011. Recent developments in Kazak as spoken in the People's Republic of China. *Turkic Languages* 15, 275–290.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. Structural factors in Turkic language contacts. Richmond: Curzon. In Chinese: *Tūjué yǔyán jiēchù zhōng de jiégòu yīnsù*. Beijing: Minzu University of China Press. In print.
- Wang yuanxin 2007–2017. *Language field work memoire 1–13*. Beijing: Minzu University of China Press.

For more literature contact us:

eva.csato@lingfil.uu.se

aynurabish@qq.com

Thank you for
your attention!

eva.csato@lingfil.uu.se

aynurabish@qq.com

