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Characteristics of the Kazakh Language in the Bayan-Ölgii Region of Mongolia

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the regional variation of the Kazakh language spoken in the Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia, focusing on its lexical, phraseological, and word-formation characteristics. Drawing on data collected during a 2022 linguistic expedition, the study explores how historical, political, and educational conditions influenced the preservation and development of the Kazakh language outside Kazakhstan. The findings reveal that, despite several generations of separation, Mongolian Kazakhs have retained a high degree of linguistic identity. Their spoken and written Kazakh demonstrates distinctive features, including archaic vocabulary, synthetically derived word formations, and motivated phraseology. The study highlights the frequent use of lexical items and grammatical constructions that have either fallen out of use in Kazakhstan or evolved differently, as well as the presence of Mongolian loanwords. Special attention is paid to words created through synthetic processes, offering insight into regional creativity in lexical innovation. The research also documents sociolinguistic practices and communicative norms in the diaspora, noting more deliberate and respectful speech patterns compared to Kazakh speakers in Kazakhstan. These findings confirm the linguistic resilience of the Kazakh diaspora in Mongolia and underscore their contribution to maintaining and enriching the broader Kazakh linguistic heritage.

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This study concludes by emphasizing the need for continued monitoring and support to preserve the regional linguistic identity of Mongolian Kazakhs.

Keywords: Kazakh Language; Regional Language; Spoken Language; Vocabulary-Phraseology; Word Formation

1. Introduction

Today, since the beginning of the 20th century, the Kazakh language has been in full use, both as an oral and literary language, and has developed literary, journalistic, scientific, and business communication styles, serving in all spheres of public life. The Kazakh language, a member of the Turkic language family, is spoken by more than 14.5 million people worldwide.

Kazakhstan, which occupies 2,724,900 km² of land area and ranks 9th in the world, is one of the largest landlocked countries (kk.wikipedia.org). The distance between the west and east is 3,000 km, and the distance between the south and north is 1,600 km. The fact that, despite living in a vast area in an era without technology, where people could travel for months on horseback or camel, there was no major dialect difference between them, and that a person from the East could easily understand the language of a person from the West, still amazes the modern scientific community^[1].

Moreover, at the beginning of the 20th century, there is no significant difference between the language of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan and the language of the Kazakhs, who migrated to Mongolia, China, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan

and other countries for various historical, political, socio-economic reasons. In this regard, the main goal of conducting this study was to determine the unique nature of the Kazakh language by analyzing the lexical and phraseological features of the language of Mongolian Kazakhs, who separated from the unified Kazakh population and migrated to another country.

The migration of Kazakhs to another country had historical, political, social and economic reasons. This process went through several waves and has its own reasons for each period. See in **Tables 1** and **2**.

The migration of the Kazakh people abroad is a serious consequence of colonial oppression, social injustice, famine and political repression. These waves of historical migration led to the emergence of the Kazakh diaspora. The historical roots of millions of Kazakhs living today in China, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Turkey, Iran, Russia, and European countries are associated with that period.

The majority of Kazakh speakers live in Kazakhstan, where it is the official state language. However, significant Kazakh-speaking communities can also be found in other countries such as China, Mongolia, Russia, Uzbekistan, Iran, and Turkey^[2].

Table 1. Reasons for the migration of Kazakhs to other countries.

The Reason	The Consequence
Land policy of the tsarist government	In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Russian Empire pursued a policy of settling Russian peasants in the Kazakh steppes. As a result, the Kazakh homeland shrank.
The National Liberation Uprising of 1916	The tsarist government's decree on recruiting Kazakhs for "rear work" led to an uprising and persecution. Many Kazakhs fled to China and Mongolia.
Civil War and the establishment of Soviet power	The instability and violence following the war between the Bolsheviks and the Whites in 1917–1920 prompted Kazakhs to emigrate.
Confiscation and collectivization of the rich in 1928–1932	The Soviet government persecuted the Big Rich as an "exploiting class". Their property was confiscated and they themselves were deported or moved abroad.
The famine of 1931–1933	As a result of the mass famine, more than 1.5 million Kazakhs died, and more than 200,000 Kazakhs fled across the border to China, Iran, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Turkey.
Political persecution and repressions (1937–1938)	The pressure on Kazakh intellectuals and religious figures, who were deemed untrustworthy by the Soviet government, intensified, and their family members were forced to flee the country.

Table 2. The main directions of the migration of Kazakhs.

Destinations that Have Been Settled	The Main Directions and Features
China	They migrated to Xinjiang (Ili, Tarbagatai, Altai regions). Later they were called “Chinese Kazakhs”.
Mongolia	They migrated to the Bayan-Olgii and Kobda regions. Now there are more than 100 thousand Kazakhs there.
Afghanistan, Iran	In the 1930s, a small number of Kazakhs who retreated through China reached these countries.
Turkey	Some Kazakhs migrated to Turkey via Iran and Afghanistan, forming the diaspora of Altai Kazakhs.
Central Asian countries	Many Kazakhs also settled in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. This was due to internal migration fleeing famine and collectivization.

In particular, despite the fact that six or seven generations have changed over a long period of time since the settlement in Mongolia, the Kazakh diaspora in the Mongolian lands has retained its linguistic identity and has not lost its native language, and the impact on the content and quality of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan is considered a large regional language. Linguistic identity is the self-identification of a person or ethnic group with their language, and thereby their culture, history, and national identity, and the feeling of being

different from others. In other words, language is one of the main features that defines the “myself” of a person or community, when a person feels belonging to a particular linguistic community, thinks, speaks in this language and through this language recognizes himself, his culture and continues the continuity of generations, Kazakhs in the Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia have long felt and are now more responsible than Kazakhs abroad that they are the main Diaspora preserving the uniqueness of the Kazakh language^[3]. See in **Table 3**.

Table 3. The main features of linguistic identity.

The Sign	The Content
Emotional attachment to language	Love and respect for the mother tongue
Speaking practice	Using language in everyday life
Cultural connection	Mastering national literature, traditions, folklore, and Customs through language
Public identity	Associating their language with a certain ethnic group, nation, feeling like a member of their own community
Historical memory	Preserving the ancestral path, history through language.

-5]Thanks to the preservation of the essence of linguistic identity, the spoken language of the Mongolian Kazakhs, although significantly different in terms of phonetics, lexical, morphological, and vocabulary, has not deviated significantly from the unified Kazakh language. According to linguist Bazilkhan, who has extensively studied the Kazakh language of Mongolia, one of the main reasons for its preservation is that the Kazakhs arrived to Mongolia during the period of full development of the Kazakh literary language^[4].

The Kazakh people left the Soviet Union and gained independence. One of them was related to the migration process. Since 1991, the issue of attracting the Kazakh diaspora abroad to the homeland has become an important part of state policy. Among them, the return of relatives from Mongolia

to their historical homeland took a special place.

From 1991 to 2021, more than 1 million ethnic Kazakhs migrated to Kazakhstan from foreign countries, including about 100 thousand from Mongolia. Kandas (half-sibling) from Mongolia belong to the category of a community that is strong in their native language, fully mastered the Kazakh language as a language of household, educational and administrative communication. This factor had a direct impact on the expansion of the sphere of use of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstani society. See in **Table 4**.

Many studies have shown that returnees, including Kazakhs from Mongolia, have contributed to the development of the communicative potential of the Kazakh language in rural areas, especially in the southern and western regions. In addition, it is noted that they are good at preserving the

literary norms of the language, preferring literary language over dialectal elements. The special respect for the language of the immigrants strengthened the public foundation for support for the state language. They were one of the groups

demanding the use of the Kazakh language in cities, state institutions, and educational institutions. They also contributed to the formation of a positive attitude towards language policy towards the Kazakh language.

Table 4. Indicator of the use of the Kazakh language by Mongolian Kazakhs.

Indicator	Description
Learning the Kazakh language	Almost 100% (in Kazakh)
School education	Only in Kazakh
Interaction with local people	Only in Kazakh
Cultural influence	Kazakhs are loyal to their traditions.

Kazakhs from Mongolia belong to a socio-demographic group that has had a positive impact on the language policy of Kazakhstan. Their commitment to their native language, the level of preservation of Kazakh identity and language experience contributed to the wide use of the state language in public life. This process has contributed to the establishment of the Kazakh language as a means of not only symbolic, but also real communication. Therefore, there was a need to identify the main reasons why Mongolian Kazakhs, having lived in other countries for several years, preserved their language and culture, and to identify their linguistic features.

The language of the Kazakhs of Mongolia cannot be compared to that of the Kazakhs of Turkey, Russia, or Europe, due to the unique geopolitical and socioeconomic conditions of the Kazakh people in Mongolia^[5, 6]. This article examines the language spoken by the Kazakh diaspora in Mongolia, which had settled in the country and created its own cultural, social, educational, and media systems, from the perspective of lexical and phraseological units and word formation^[7].

During the Soviet era, Mongolian Kazakhs were provided with various publications and textbooks published in Kazakh from Kazakhstan. Now, Mongolian Kazakhs have no problems reading these publications. One of the main reasons for this is the use of Cyrillic graphics even in Mongolia. For example, Chinese Kazakhs use an alphabet based on Arabic graphics^[8]. Therefore, there are difficulties in perceiving the things written in them by reading. Then in the Ölgii region in the USSR, only the Kazakh information space was very extensive. This is a huge factor that influenced the preservation of their linguistic identity. Accordingly, the Kazakh language is well developed. And recently, due to the policy of Mongolia in the field of Education, Kazakh

textbooks are not taught at all in Ölgii. In addition, foreign schools have been opened. It turns out that graduates of such schools can speak several languages, many are fluent in English and try to continue their higher education abroad.

2. Materials and Methods

Data for this research were collected during the scientific expedition to the Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia from 22 to 30 August 2022. The expedition team comprised researchers from Nazarbayev University, who obtained ethical approval from the university's ethics committee. All team members completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) course, as required by the ethics committee.

The purpose of this expedition was to study the oral speech of the Kazakhs living in the Bayan-Ölgii region, and to identify the unique features of their national speech culture, vocabulary, and phraseology. The rationale for this research is the fact that there is no significant dialect difference between the western and eastern regions of Kazakhstan, despite the vast distance between them^[9]. This observation suggests that the Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to maintain their linguistic unity across large geographical distances.

The researchers interviewed 20 Kazakh speakers aged 18-85 years living in the village of Nalaikh near Ulaanbaatar and in the Bayan-Ölgii region. The interviews were conducted in an unprepared format, on a variety of topics familiar to the interviewees. The researchers recorded the interviews on audio.

When selecting interviewees, we aimed to include ethnic Kazakh youth, middle-aged and elderly people living in Mongolia. That is, the main criterion for the research group

was that the interviewees were ethnic Kazakhs. However, we did not aim to select based on gender, occupation, education, etc.

The interviews were conducted by the PI and members of the research group. An information-consent letter and a list of questions for conducting the interviews were sent to the respondents in advance. The respondents were asked for permission to make an audio recording of the interview. The interviews were conducted offline in the Bayan-Olgii region of Mongolia. We conducted the interview in the editorial office of the magazine “Shugyla” and in the hotel in Ulgii. The interviews were conducted by the interviewer (interviewer PI, project RA) with the respondent. Each interviewer conducted interviews with respondents in different rooms.

The interviews were recorded on a dictaphone. After returning from the expedition, the audio recordings on the dictaphone were transcribed. During the transcription, lexical and phraseological units and their word formation in the language of the Mongolian Kazakhs that attracted the special attention of the researchers were individually selected.

During the interview, it became clear that although all of these words were understandable to us through context, all of the differences required individual analysis. Thus, we attempted to understand some of the changes in the language through linguistic units preserved in the oral and written language of ethnic Kazakhs in Mongolia. Features of the oral language were taken from the interviews of respondents, and the written language was collected from Kazakh books and newspapers and magazines published in Ölgii.

Due to the fact that the study was conducted not within Kazakhstan, but abroad, there were restrictions on the collection of respondents. The members of the research group first got acquainted with Kazakhs in the Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia through social networks, from which one teacher agreed to gather respondents as a counterparty. That’s why we were only able to interview Kazakhs who had a counterparty. And if there were words that reflected regional differences during the interview, we asked the interviewer for clarification at that moment. But there weren’t many such misunderstandings. Basically, it was clear to us.

2.1. Results and Discussion

The primary topic of discussion was the history of Kazakh resettlement in the Bayan-Ölgii district. Notably,

even when asked to change the topic, the interviewees often returned to this topic of resettlement. This suggests that it is of a great political and social significance to the Kazakh community in the Bayan-Ölgii district.

Researchers also observed that younger Kazakhs in the region also learn several foreign languages and are more likely to use elements of other languages in their vocabulary. This phenomenon was not observed in the oral speech of middle-aged and elderly Kazakhs.

From the perspective of linguistic identity theory, it has been found that ethnic Kazakhs in Mongolia use Mongolian in addition to Kazakh in their education and profession/work, as needed. This can be seen in the following excerpts from the interviews:

According to the respondents’ answers, there were no obstacles for Mongolian Kazakhs to study Kazakh magazines, books, and even some textbooks from Kazakhstan during the Soviet period. However, in recent years, due to changes in educational policy in Mongolia, it was revealed that all schools in Ölgii have switched to reading only with textbooks of Mongolian origin.

Almas Uderbayev, a Kazakh scientist who studied the language of the Mongolian Kazakhs, describes the political and social situation of the Bayan-Ölgii region as follows: “The Bayan-Ölgii region was separated from the Kobda (Khovd) region in 1940 by the decision of the Small Assembly of the People’s Republic of Mongolia and was initially named the Urangai Kazakh region. The regional centre is located 1,758 kilometers from the Mongolian capital of Ulaanbaatar. Kazakhs make up the majority of the population of the Bayan-Ölgii region. Other ethnic groups living in the region include the Urankay, Durbet, Dzakhshin, Torgaut, Ould, Mangyk, and Uyghurs. At the time of the region’s formation, there were 10 sums (administrative units smaller than districts), 71 (some sources indicate 56) bakhs (districts), and 7,063 houses. 78% or 22,788 of the region’s total population were Kazakhs. Many Kazakhs also lived outside the Bayan-Ölgii region, in Kobdo and other regional cities. According to 1990 data, 91% of the region’s population was Kazakh, and the rest belonged to the ethnic groups such as Tuva, Manzik, and Urankai, as well as Khalkha, Durbet, Dzakhshin, Torgaut, and Uld belonging to the tribes of Mongols. The Bayan-Ölgii region is located in the west of Mongolia and borders the Koshagash region of the Altai Republic of

the Russian Federation and the Republic of China to the west and the Kobdo and Ubsinsky districts of Mongolia to the east. The region has the area of 46,000 square kilometers”^[10].

Republic of Kazakhstan, published the “Regional Dictionary of the Kazakh Language” in 2005.

The “Regional Dictionary of the Kazakh Language” was published in 2005 by the Akhmet Baitursynuly Institute of Linguistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, replacing the previous 1969 “Dialectological Dictionary of the Kazakh Language”. The difference, according to Editor-in-Chief Sh. Sarybaev, “is that the recently proposed dictionary includes linguistic resources related to the Kazakh diaspora living abroad. The term “Regional Dictionary” was chosen because it acknowledges in addition to the Kazakh language, within the borders of Kazakhstan, but also the language outside this country territory, which developed its written and spoken literary norms in particular linguistic contexts and settings. The language, which is being developed abroad cannot be described as solely dependent upon speech and dialect. This justifies the designation of this language as a regional language. The language of the Kazakhs of Mongolia and China can be an example of this, as they established a standardised regional literary language based on their own writing and colloquial speech”^[11].

Consequently, the authors agree that the language of the Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii can be considered as the regional language, constituting a regional feature of the Kazakh language. Primarily, this statement is supported by linguistic materials, audio recordings collected during expeditions in Bayan-Ölgii, the administrative divisions of the region, the cohesive settlement of Kazakhs, their shared culture, independent literature, book publishing, and mass media. Almas Uderbayev^[10] further confirms: “Despite having settled in Mongolia six or seven generations ago, the Kazakh diaspora there maintains its native language. Though their spoken Kazakh differs in phonetics, vocabulary, and morphology, it has not deviated much from the unified Kazakh language. At the same time, one of the main reasons for the preservation of the Kazakh language there is the fact that the process of their migration to Mongolia coincided with the stage of the full development of our literary language. The preservation of the language over the past eighty years has also been facilitated by the strengthening of the internal development of the language’s regularities and the presence of a positive influ-

ence of Kazakh culture through spiritual culture, education, press, theatre, and others.

The influence of Kazakh culture was recognised and voiced by the majority of respondents. In libraries and educational centres, there is a substantial collection of books and school textbooks published in Kazakhstan. Additionally, national television channels from Kazakhstan are broadcasted. Given this, it may seem surprising that the language of the Kazakhs in this region still deviates a little from the language spoken by local Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. However, upon closer examination through conversation, listening, and particularly through reading written literature and press materials, distinct lexical and phraseological word-forming and national specificities in word combinations become evident.

The region-specific language usage of some words and phrases drew attention of the authors during the interviews. Some of them are listed below:

Zhyrgau – little development

Tilengki – beggar

Alastanu – going further away

Zhardemgi – help

Berimsek – generous

Zhyny ongai adam emes – strong man

Sergitu – improvement, development

Qalay de? – The answer is in the form of a question, which is used when developing a conversation in the words of the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs

Han atu – a name for the game of Hantalapai

Zhiyrmanshy – the old version of the word “twenty” in the language of the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs

Syilanu – to receive a gift

Zhaisyzdau – description of a person with a difficult character

Bobozhik – the inside of the tip of the finger

tusu – used in the sense of “going to work shift/work”

Qabattasu – being similar

Aqyrettik kiyz – the felt that wraps the corpse

Tabandap zhuru – to endure and work long and steady

Beiuaq – time of sunrise and sunset

Dan-daulet – a blessing, abundance

Maldanu – livestock farming

Ugysu – explain

Sal aidau – melt wood in the river

Dunie tapshy – used when talking about a time of short-

age, scarcity

Nesinshi zhyly – a word used when adding a decimal number to an unknown year, such as the twenties

Yel aqtau – begging

Auzy bos – description of a person who can't keep secrets, gossipmonger

Bileri zhoq – petty mind

Zhiberip bere alu – send (for example: can you send me this file?)

Atylyp turu – nimble, stubborn

Sezimi durys emes – has a mental disorder

Bir tagdyr – used in the sense that one person's life has passed

Ot pen suga tuspesin – not suffering in vain

Doi dala – 1) endless steppe, deserted place; 2) when describing a person who has nothing in common with anyone and lives on his own.

Tektau – ask the name to find out

As-su ishu – drinking tea and water

Keiundeu – being late

Kisis koru – used when talking about seeing a traditional healer for treatment

Zholshyn – passenger

Angil – English

Yem ishu – taking medicine

Emilgi – hospital, medical center

Zyr – flowing Qas isteu – conspiracy

Keshirim etu – to apologise, to beg for forgiveness

Tabyssyz – no income

Asylynda – seriously

Masele zhoq – “no problem”

Kisi zheri – strangers

Tayap zhuru – in the meaning of to “coming soon”, “approach”

Mailau – rent a house, property

Shubar soz – empty words, unnecessary words

Dayashylyq zhasau – service delivery

Ui-ish – calling the wife that way

Doqtyrkhana – hospital

Zhumystau – to work

Qalyng – a lot

- tyng ... - da – a grammatical form used to emphasise a person's age, for example, “I am reaching sixty-five”

Bizkeste – woven pattern

Mangaiy – when describing a person's age, it is used in the sense of “old”, for example, around 60.

These are some noteworthy words and phrases frequently recurring in the language of the Kazakhs of Mongolia and commonly encountered by interviewers and in various public places. Essentially, all of these are motivated word usages – words that those familiar with the Kazakh language can understand even if they hear them for the first time. Their meaning can be grasped by modelling and associating. The meaning of these words is common to the members of the same historical and cultural community and with the same genetic code. Besides, in the language of the Kazakhs of Mongolia, alongside local peculiarities, some indigenous words from past times, which have become obsolete and fallen out of usage in the modern Kazakh language, are still in use. This aligns with the observations made by A. Uderbayev regarding the distinctive feature of the spoken language among speakers residing in foreign countries (the preservation of antiquity in phonetics, vocabulary, and linguistic originality)^[10]. For example, in Kazakhstan, while the word “baran” is read and understood in historical texts, it is not used today in everyday life. Its meaning as a horse coat colour “dark brown, dark-haired” (dark bay), as indicated in the “Dictionary of the Kazakh Literary Language”^[12], may also be not known, because horsemanship has shifted away from traditional practices, and contemporary Kazakhs may not be able to identify, name, or distinguish horse coat colours (93). However, in the language of the Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii, this is one of the primary horse coat colours and a frequently used term for describing the colour. It is also used in a figurative sense. For example, in this sentence *They are the nation who do not “baran” in terms of the wealth belonging to one person, the amount of money in storage*, it is used to mean “not showing off oneself in public” or “not flaunting one's wealth” (11).

And in the ten-volume “Dictionary of the Kazakh Literary Language” published in Kazakhstan, we, the compilers, misinterpreted the meaning of this word. The first homonymous meaning of the word “baran” is “property, wealth, possessions”^[12]. The dictionary misinterpreted the correctly used statement by Ybyray Altynsarin, who said, “By exchanging excess grain for livestock with neighbours, their *baran* increased, and they became richer”. In this example, Altynsarin used this word in the sense of “increase in live-

stock”^[13]. The Mongolia’s Kazakhs also use this word in this sense, for example, *you’ve probably read in the media that “a 36-year-old T from the fashion industry suddenly made it onto Forbes’ Billionaires List”. The word “suddenly” is also just another **baran** thing that caught the media’s attention. No matter how much you may be amused, it’s better to move away from this if the ultimate consequences will be gloomy **baran**. But little did I know back then that this was just a “prelude” to the even **baran** darker part of my life. As soon as we got off the carriage, we were greeted by the **baran** gray world*^[14]. Thus, old words in the Kazakh literary language, meanings of which have become obsolete and unclear nowadays, are actively used in the language of the Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii.

Similarly, there is the verb “uikushiktenu,” meaning to be locked inside one’s home. For example, *Now, he is one of those who “uikushiktenip,” has no job and nothing else to do but criticise light TV shows*^[14].

Such regional linguistic characteristics can be categorised as words related to tradition, words related to socio-domestic situations, words associated with family, rural, and village communication, grammatical forms absent in the literary language, regional communicative units, and phrases, formation of which influenced by the Mongolian language, as well as words created through synthetic means.

The latter, namely words created through synthetic means, present a primary interest. This is because it has been concluded that concepts and names of movements created in the Kazakh literary language through synthetic means are a linguistic characteristic of the Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia. For example, the word *arenda* (lease, from Latin “arrenda, arrendare” - “to return”) has entered modern Kazakh through the Russian language and is often used in this form in the everyday life. It is also expressed in Kazakh through phrases such as *zhalga беру* (I rent out) or *zhalga алу* (I rent). However, it is frequently used to mean “take for rent” or “offer for rent”. The word *zhaldau* (to rent or to lease) was also created synthetically, but when said *ui zhaldau*, it’s unclear who is referred to, the provider or the tenant. Therefore, it is necessary to specify whether it is meant “I will rent” or “I will rent out”. Kazakhs of Mongolia use *mailau* instead. *Ui mailau* is understood as both the “landlord” and the “house”, and the context provides the meaning. The root of the word *mailau* is the Kazakh word *mai* (oil/butter/fat), and “-la” is a

verb-forming suffix. However, in the Kazakh language spoken in Kazakhstan, the word *mailau* has different meanings, including “to apply oil to soften”, “to whitewash inside and outside the house or floor”, and “to pay for silence/bribe”. None of these meanings has anything in common with renting or leasing. Only in the old traditional economy, there was a practice of taking someone else’s horse on loan and paying off so-called “horse fat” after having used the horse. According to the interviewees, they use in this case not the phrase “horse fat”, but “horse sweat”. *Хөдөлмөрийн* means “payment for labour”, “sweat from hard work”; for someone who rents out the house *байишин хөлслөх*, “the house sweat” is used to. This suggests calculating the lease payment using the horse and horse fat as measures is a common concept for Mongols and Kazakhs or Turkic peoples.

Similarly, the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs use *tekteu* instead of the Kazakh expression *tegin surau*, *anyqtau* (ask about, determine the origin), *maldanu* instead of *maldy bolu* (to get livestock), *syilanu* instead of *syi-syiapatka ie bolu* (become respected, get respect). Additionally, the word *tiletiru* is used instead of *qazhet etu* (need, wish) also in the written literary language. For example, *just as a solution soaked in blood cannot absorb substances further, a bleeding heart does not need (tillettirmeidi) any victory or success*^[14].

The phrases *zhumys isteu* (to work) or *zhumys zhasau* as used by Kazakhs Mangystau and Atyrau (western regions of Kazakhstan) are only used as *zhumystau* by the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs. For example, *Thus, by the time he reached 36, he established his own legal firm, he works (zhumystatyp), has become a highly respected citizen, owns a mansion with four bedrooms in Beverly Hills, where he lives with his beautiful wife and four well-behaved children*^[15]. All the respondents used only *zhumystatu*, *zhumystany*, *zhumystau* derived from the root *zhumysta*. It has entered written literature in this form. This word formation unit is an established method of normal word formation in the Kazakh language.

The word *tizimdetu* (to list) in modern Kazakh literary language is expressed through phrases like *tizim jasay* (to list, to make a list). For example, *Will you study? If you want, I will inform the school principal and include you in the list* (*tizimdetuin*). In the authors’ view, instead of expanding the word by adding more words, synthetic means of word formation by shortening is more appropriate. In the language of the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs, the word *kerek-*

telinu (needed) is used in both spoken and written language instead of phrases like *kerek boly*, *qazhet boly* (to be necessary, to be needed), *goldanu*, *qazhetine zharatu* (to use, to use as needed). For example, The number of words in the today's most famous books: 'One Hundred Years of Solitude' (Gabriel Garcia Marquez) – 144,523, 'The Hunger Games' (Suzanne Collins) – 99,750, 'Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets' (J.K. Rowling) – 76,944, 'The Fault in Our Stars' (John Green) – 67,203, 'Animal Farm' (George Orwell) – 29,996, while the novel 'Abai's Path' written by the renowned Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auezov, needed (*kerektenilgen*) only over 18,000 unique words; Israelis search for and use the necessary (*kerektenetin*) measures to save water; Then, to combat depression, they start needing (*kerektene*) a lot of antidepressants, vodka, and drugs^[13].

The word *sapalanu* is similarly used by the Kazakhstani Kazakhs exclusively in the meaning of "to have quality, to be of quality". Additionally, some sensitive fibers and connective vessels in the outer vortex region of the brain are considered to have quality (*sapalangan*)^[13]. The authors believe, this is a method of expression formed through economy of phrasing.

"Not to mention the Kazakhs in the inner regions, the majority of Kazakhs in the Bayan-Ölgii region are well-versed in the Mongolian language. Kazakhs, while speaking their native language, often use Mongolian words and loan words that come from the Mongolian language. However, bilingualism among them is not widespread. Most of those who speak the Mongolian language are highly educated, scientific, administrative workers, teachers, etc. Since Mongolian is taught in schools, students can understand and communicate in it, too"^[10].

Thus, the authors observed that the language of the Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii also contains loan words and phrases, which were directly translated from the Mongolian words and phrases. For example, *kem zhoq* – *min zhoq* (there is no fault), *ugusu* – *tusinu* (understand), *qauyn* – *qarbyz* (watermelon), *bar ma?* – means "Hallo" as on the phone, *qalai-qalai?* – used in the sense "approximately", *zhalgau* – contacting by phone, *mungyl* – *mongol* (Mongol), *ai* – used to count the 12 months, for example, January is called as "1-ai", *qasha* – *qora-zhai* (barn), *yurt*, *yard*; *zhaz ui* – *korzhyn ui* (hut), *kelinai* – iron can over the samovar, *tuzge otyru* – *daret syndyru* (defecate), *zha!* - this phrase is used in the

beginning of the conversation or as invitation to transition to its main part or purpose of the conversation, or to conclude the conversation.

The phrase *kem zhoq* mentioned above seems to be influenced by the Mongolian language. In Mongolian, *зем* (pronounced as "ghem") means "fault" or "blame" and *үгүй* (pronounced as "ugui") means "no" or "not." It appears that these two words have been combined and modified to create the phrase *земгүй* (pronounced as "ghemgui") in Mongolian, which conveys the idea of "without fault" or "without blame." This phrase has been adopted into the Kazakh language, with the sound "ү" dropped, resulting in "kemzhoq". For example, this sentence in Mongolian *Шалгалтаас земгүй эсэн мэнд гарлаа* means *We came out of the test safely without problems*. The Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii use *kemzhoq* and pronounce it in one word, whereas the Kazakhs in the Ak-tobe region, the western region in Kazakhstan, use the phrase *kemi zhoq* in the meaning of "excellent," "perfect," or "flawless". Therefore, the authors think the origin of *kem zhoq* as being derived from the Mongolian language is still open for discussion.

There are as well new words in the language spoken by only the Mongolian Kazakhs. The examples from the book "Sharyktagandar" by Omaruly Khapsattar, published in Ulaanbaatar in 2021, are often cited as reference to printed press and the literary language of Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii. For instance, *quramdastar* (ingredient): *Today, many researchers, when writing about ingredients (quramdastar) necessary for success, mention thousands of compounds* (21). In Kazakh literary language, this word corresponds to the meaning of "composition".

Qanymdalu (provide): *It's remarkable that Israelis may not solve complex equations in childhood, but as they grow up, they discover software (qanymdalu) and digital innovations that solve the most intricate mathematical problems* (22). *Perhaps our bad habits could have a purpose, such as forgetting unpleasant memories, recording grievances, not recalling the past, fulfilling (qanymdau) wishes, and a sense of nostalgia* (43). *A Jewish mother provides (qanymdaidy) an eight-year-old boy with school supplies and notebooks. He eats, or if he delays eating and the food gets cold, he sees the consequences and eats cold food* (87). Here, the word *qanymdau* is used in the sense of "provide", "satisfy", "fulfill".

Timtimdeu (little by little): *Thus, the Jewish engineer carefully inspects and adjusts each part of aircraft construction from the very beginning, transitioning little by little (timtimdep) from one to another* (26). Being a phonetic variant of the word *tam-tumdap* in the Kazakh language, the word has emerged with a change in meaning.

In the same way, new words were created through different use of grammatical forms in this region. For example, the word *lepiris* (under influence): *How wonderful would be, if we take decisions based on reason, not under the influence of emotions* (32). *Damys* (development): *280 out of 500 innovators who have made significant discoveries in science and technology, such as airplanes, space technology, new technical equipment for medical science, who have given a great impetus to the development (damysyna) of humanity, are Jewish* (12). *Oilam* (thinking): *\$60,000 was transferred from the airplane production company to the account the next day. That's the Jewish way of thinking (oilam)* (27). *If you take the definition of a music specialist, then Sofia is a girl who is not particularly gifted in music by nature, her way of thinking (oilamy) is not very inspiring, she has a normal level of education, basically she is an average girl* (44). In the word formation of the Kazakh literary language, instead “-y” (-u) at the end of the verb is used to name the action: *lepiru, damu, oilau*. This happened in the history of the Kazakh literary language in the past century. The word formation, such as in *lepiris, damys, oilam* is now forgotten by the Kazakhstani Kazakhs, but has been preserved in the Bayan-Ölgii region as an ancient method.

Additionally, the word formation through “-gy”, “-ki”, as in *aldyngy, artqy, songy* (front, back, last), is still used by the Kazakhs of Bayan-Ölgii. For example, *kop retki* (of many/multiple times): *I am sorry Sir, I was observing your multiple (kop retki) unsuccessful attempts to climb the stairs of success* (15). *Achieving success is never a onetime (bir retki) success* (25). Instead of this suffix “-ki” (“-ki”, also can be in the form of “-gy” as above in line with the harmony), in the Kazakh literary language, the meaning is conveyed through verbs – *kop ret zhasau* (to do multiple times), *bir ret zhasau* (to do one time).

Furthermore, the authors believe that the word formation with the suffix “-das”, “-des”, “-tas”, “-tes”, as in *zhataqtas*, is new. This is because in traditional Kazakh life, there was no concept of *zhataqtas* (roommate), it likely emerged

as a result of social changes. For example, *Thus, you “strict” educators, it is only required to find a way of living peacefully with your selfish, pretentious roommate (zhataqtasynmen)* (82).

Moreover, new words, such as *qarygan tauyq eti* (fried chicken meat), *sandyq temeki* (digital cigarettes), *ulaspaly kino* (television series), have emerged. For instance, traditionally, the baked bread was called as *qarma nan*. The Mongolian Kazakhs used this word for describing the meat cooked in a pan, too – *qarygan et*. Kazakhs in Kazakhstan use the word *qurylgy* (fried) for that. This refers to frying in oil, whereas *qarygan et* is the meat cooked in its own fat. Therefore, this new word in Mongolian Kazakh language is motivated. The word and concept of television series, multi-part television film has firmly entered the Kazakh literary language. This word entered the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan from the Russian language and is used in the same way as *teleserial*. In the language of Mongolian Kazakhs, this word is translated into Kazakh and is called *ulaspaly kino*. This word has a motive, meaning one-episode transitions to another, and in the next episode, is watched the continuation of the previous one. Examples: *one of the goals of the world's largest producers of chips, hamburgers, fried chicken (qarygan tauyq eti), and pizza has become your practice* (36); *Many doctors Facebook as a bad habit and call it “a digital cigarette” (sandyq temeki)* (39); *They aim to keep you hooked in one and the next part of the television series (ulaspaly kino)* (36).

In Kazakhstan, the word *tun* means “night” or “one day and one night”. For example, if one stayed overnight and returned. However, in the language of the Bayan-Ölgii Kazakhs, this is called *qonaq* (guest) and is derived from the root “qonu” or “to stay overnight”. Currently, in Kazakhstan, there is the word *qonaqasy*, which means “food provided to a person staying overnight”. There is also a phrase *qonaqqa baru* or “to go to someone's house”. The word in Kazakhstan *tun* is only used as an antonym for the words *kun, kundiz* (day). Mongolian Kazakhs use the word *qonaq* or “guest” instead of *tun*. For example: *“If we consider that the average person sleeps for 8 hours a day, it means that we spend 19 days (qonagyn) (from morning to night) just watching TV and social networks”* (36). *“I was carried away and wanted to scream to the whole world that ‘the war is over, we are saved’. But for two days (qonaq) I did not drink water, my*

throat dried up, and I could not make a sound” (65).

In addition, when interviewing Mongolian Kazakhs,

the following word order features were observed, which are in contrast to the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan:

Table 5. Features of the vocabulary culture of the Mongolian Kazakhs and the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan.

The Vocabulary Culture of the Mongolian Kazakhs	The Vocabulary Culture of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan
don't rush to answer, pause, think	answer in a hurry, without thinking
don't respond hastily	responding inappropriately
don't speak too quickly, keep the pace of words smoothly slow	very fast, hasty speech
clearly answer or try to answer a given question	not answering a question directly or evading it
to not deviate or to try not to deviate from the question being asked or the issue being discussed	to change the subject, switch to another topic
to maintain a culture of not changing the subject by saying something else if there is no answer to the question	change the subject in other words if there is no answer to the question
to apologize for an unfamiliar question	not admitting that they don't know, even if they don't know
speak less	talk a lot
clear speech	unclear speech
Always keep in mind not to talk too much and become boring.	keep talking for a long time without thinking about the listener
the superiority of the male role	the role of a woman and a man is equal or the female role is dominant
a wife's silence when her husband is sitting	even if the husband sits, the wife speaks freely
not interrupting her husband	interrupting her husband

In the lexical culture of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan, of course, this difference is not a universal feature, although in many cases this picture is observed.

This small experience, during the interview, will make us happy that the Kazakh diaspora, which is now living in a foreign country with 100,000 people, is not only losing its domain, but is also living in a more favorable linguistic atmosphere than in its homeland, and we will be proud of the preservation of the linguistic genetic code of our nation. And we expressed our satisfaction with the fact that Mongolia has also created conditions for social and political development so far. The Kazakh language is widely used in Mongolia in the functional sphere (domain), the social sphere of the language has been strengthened, and it has found exemplary use in education, science, public administration, mass media, religious and family relations.

However, since the 2020s, changes have begun to occur in the language policy in Mongolia. The current linguistic situation of the Kazakhs is experiencing complex and mul-

tifaceted processes aimed, on the one hand, at preserving the linguistic identity as an ethnic community, and, on the other, education in official institutions and Public Schools is obliged to be in Mongolian^[16, 17].

According to 2020 data, Kazakhs in Mongolia make up 3.8% of the population, the majority of whom live in the Bayan-Olgii region (76.5%) (ikon.mn). There are approximately 120,000 ethnic Kazakhs in the republic^[18]. In Bayan-Olgii, some schools teach all subjects in Kazakh or bilingually; in other regions, Kazakh classes are limited. As is evident in the global language process, Kazakh youth in Mongolia are increasingly speaking and writing in Mongolian, and are not opposed to receiving services in Mongolian.

Thus, taking into account the fact that today the use of the Kazakh language in Mongolia is not particularly dangerous, the younger generation does not fully master the language, the communicative function of the Kazakh language in this country is limited, and the passing of the “elders”, “seniors” generation, who know their native language well, we

can say that our word collection expedition in 2022 achieved its goal, it was a trip that gave some information about the quality and quantitative indicators of the language. However, this study could be extended to longitudinal studies, that is, to monitor the language of Kazakh youth currently studying in secondary school in Mongolia, and the generation that has graduated from universities and is working, over several years or decades.

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, the language of the Kazakhs of Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia is recognised as a regional variant of the Kazakh language. In this article, the linguistic characteristics of this region were analysed in terms of vocabulary, phraseology, and word-formation. Furthermore, factors influencing the formation of these linguistic characteristics were examined. Specifically, historical, cultural, socio-political, and educational factors that have influenced the formation of these linguistic characteristics have been discussed.

During the Soviet Union, Kazakh schools in the Ölgii region of Mongolia were free to use Kazakh textbooks, but after the 1990s, everything changed. Mongolia no longer teaches textbooks from other countries. Although Kazakh language lessons are taught, everything is written and printed in Mongolia. According to respondents, textbook texts also provide only information related to Mongolia. In this regard, we believe that organizing professional development programs for teachers from schools in the Ölgii region of Mongolia and conducting courses in Kazakhstan would contribute to preserving linguistic identity.

Moreover, during interviews with Kazakhs of Bayan-Ölgii region of Mongolia, the following speaking style observed, they:

- Take their time to answer, pause and think;
- Avoid rushing with their response;
- Speak slowly and maintain a steady pace of speech;
- Strive to provide an accurate response to the given question;
- Stay on topic and avoid deviating from the question or the issue at hand.

As for the phrases in the linguistic system, it was concluded that they are all motivated uses. This is due to the fact

that all people who speak Kazakh can understand these words even though they might be hearing it for the first time. As for the findings with regards to the analysis on word formation level, meanings and verbs that are created analytically in Kazakh literary language and used, are created synthetically and used freely by Mongolian Kazakhs.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, K.K. and Z.B.; methodology, Z.B.; software, Z.B.; validation, K.K., Z.B. and I.B.; formal analysis, I.B.; investigation, Z.B.; resources, M.S.; data curation, A.B.; writing—original draft preparation, K.K.; writing—review and editing, Z.B.; visualization, Z.B.; supervision, K.K.; project administration, Z.B.; funding acquisition, K.K. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.”

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Institutional Review Board Statement

The study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, and approved by the Nazarbayev University Institutional Research Ethics Committee (534_11032022).

Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

Data Availability Statement

No new data were created or analyzed in this study. All supporting evidence is derived from existing scholarly sources cited throughout the article and listed in the refer-

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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