



Oral speech peculiarities of repatriates from Mongolia¹

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ABSTRACT

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The phonetics of the Kazakh language underwent significant changes during the Soviet period, influenced by the phonological laws of the Russian language. However, these externally imposed linguistic changes disrupted the internal phonetic patterns inherent to Kazakh, a member of the Turkic language family. A key issue in this context is the principle of synharmonism, which is integral to Kazakh phonology and remains a focal point in discussions surrounding the reform of the Kazakh alphabet. Linguistic scholars argue that the phonetic divergence between native Kazakh lexemes and borrowed words threatens the preservation of the language's distinct phonological identity. Despite these influences, the phonetic integrity of Kazakh has been relatively well maintained among Mongolian Kazakhs. Ethnic Kazakhs, who lived outside of Kazakhstan and repatriated to their ancestral homeland following the country's independence in 1991 are officially called *kandas* (which means “of the same blood”). The oral traditions of these communities have played a crucial role in conserving key phonetic features such as sound interchange regularities, vowel harmony, and specific consonantal properties. To thoroughly examine this phenomenon, field research was conducted in 2023 involving Kazakh repatriates from Mongolia, aged between 22 and 70, residing in the Akmola region and Astana city. The analysis of linguistic data collected through structured interviews revealed the retention of

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phonetic attributes characteristic of traditional Kazakh speech. These include the continued use of affricates, systematic alternation of hard and soft sounds, and distinctive articulatory patterns in consonant pronunciation. Such findings highlight the resilience of Kazakh phonetic norms among repatriated communities, contrasting with phonetic shifts in Kazakhstan influenced by prolonged Russian linguistic contact.

This study underscores the significance of phonetic research in language revitalization and policymaking, emphasizing the necessity of aligning the Kazakh alphabet reform with the phonological principles intrinsic to the language. Moreover, it highlights the role of diaspora communities in preserving linguistic heritage, providing valuable insights into phonetic conservation in multilingual environments. Future research should further explore the impact of sociolinguistic factors on phonetic variation and investigate strategies to integrate historically authentic phonetic structures into contemporary Kazakh linguistic education and policy frameworks.

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Қандастар тіліндегі айтылым ерекшеліктерінің сақталуы

Аннотация. Қазақ тілінің фонетикасы ұзақ уақыт бойы орыс тілінің фонологиялық заңдарының әсерінен кеңестік кезеңде айтарлықтай өзгерістерге ұшырады. Аталған

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өзгерістер түркі тілдер отбасына жататын қазақ тіліне тән ішкі фонетикалық заңдылықтарды орасан бұзды. Бұл тұрғыдан келгенде, қазақ фонологиясының ажырамас бөлігі болып табылатын және қазақ әліпбиін реформалауға қатысты талқылауларда басты ғылыми тақырып болып қала беретін сингармонизм (дыбыс үндестігі) қағидаты маңызды аспект болып табылады. Лингвистердің пайымдауынша, қазақ лексемалары мен ауызекі сипатта айтылып жүрген негізгі сөздер арасындағы фонетикалық алшақтық тілдің бірегей фонологиялық бірегейлігін толық сақтауға қауіп төндіріп ғана қоймай тілдің бірізділігіне қолайсыздық тудыратыны сөзсіз.

Осы ықпалға қарамастан, қазақ тілінің фонетикалық тұтастығы 1991 жылы ел тәуелсіздік алғаннан кейін қандастардың тарихи отаны – Қазақстанға оралған Моңғолиядан келген этникалық қазақтар (қандастар) арасында салыстырмалы түрде жақсы сақталған.

Бұл тілдік құбылысты зерттеу үшін 2023 жылы Ақмола облысы мен Астана қаласында тұратын Моңғолиядан оралған 22 жастан 70 жасқа дейінгі қандастар қатысқан эмпирикалық зерттеу жүргізілді. Құрылымдық сұхбат барысында жиналған тілдік материалды талдау дәстүрлі қазақ тіліне тән фонетикалық сипаттамалардың сақталуын анықтады. Оларға үздіксіз қолдану жатады аффрикат, қатты және жұмсақ дыбыстардың жүйелі ауысуы, сондай-ақ дауыссыздардың тән артикуляциялық ерекшеліктері. Бұл нәтижелер орыс тілінің ұзақ әсер етуі салдарынан Қазақстанда байқалған фонетикалық өзгерістерге қарағанда, қандастар арасындағы қазақ фонетикалық нормаларының тұрақтылығын көрсетеді. Бұл өзгерістер ғылыми зерттеу аясында жинақталған ғылыми негіздегі эмпирикалық материалдарға сараптама жасау арқылы анықталды.

Зерттеу жұмысында осы кезге дейін өзінің ғылыми өзектілігін жоймай келе жатқан қазақ әліпбиін реформалауды тілге тән фонологиялық қағидаттармен үйлестіру қажеттігіне баса назар аудара отырып, тілді жаңғырту және тіл саясатын әзірлеу саласындағы фонетикалық зерттеулердің аса маңыздылығын атап көрсетеді. Сонымен қатар, ол көп тілді ортада фонетиканы сақтау туралы құнды түсініктер жиынына сараптама бере отырып, тіл мұрасын сақтаудағы қандастардың атқаратын ерекше рөлін айқын көрсетеді. Болашақта аталған социолингвистикалық факторлардың фонетикалық вариативтілікке әсерін егжей-тегжейлі зерделеп, іргелі толыққанды зерттеу жүргізіліп, тарихи түпнұсқалық фонетикалық құрылымдарды қазіргі қазақ тіл білімі мен тіл саясатына да интеграциялау стратегияларын зерттеу қажеттілігі де туындайтыны айқын.

Кілт сөздер: қандастар, Моңғолия қазақтары, дыбыстық ерекшеліктер, аффрикаттар, син-гармонизм, дауыссыз және дауысты дыбыстар, кірме дыбыстар, оралмандар, қатаң және ұяң дыбыстар, тілдік әсер.

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Сохранение особенностей произношения в речи кандасов

Аннотация. Фонетико-фонологическая система казахского языка претерпела значительные трансформации в советский период, будучи под влиянием фонологических законов русского языка, нарушив внутренние фонетические закономерности, присущие казахскому языку, который относится к тюркской языковой семье. Важным аспектом в этом контексте является сохранение основных фонетических законов, к числу которых относится закон сингармонизма, истоки которого находятся в древнетюркском языке и в других исторических тюркских языках. Закон сингармонизма наряду с другими фонетическими закономерностями является неотъемлемой частью казахской фонологии и остается центральной темой в научных дискуссиях, касающихся реформы казахского алфавита. Лингвисты утверждают, что фонетическое расхождение между исконно казахскими лексемами и заимствованными словами ставят под угрозу сохранение уникальной фонологической идентичности языка.

Однако фонетическая целостность казахского языка была относительно хорошо сохранена среди этнических казахов-кандасов, репатриантов из Монголии, вернувшихся в Казахстан после обретения страной независимости в 1991 году. Для изучения данного явления в 2023 году было проведено полевое исследование, в котором приняли участие репатрианты из Монголии в возрасте от 22 до 70 лет, проживающие в Акмолинской области и городе Астане. Анализ данного языкового материала, собранного в ходе структурированных интервью, выявил сохранение фонетических характеристик, присущих традиционной казахской устной речи. К ним относятся

употребление аффрикатов, систематическое чередование твердых и мягких звуков, а также характерные артикуляционные особенности согласных. Результаты исследования показывают на устойчивость казахских фонетических норм среди кандасов, в отличие от фонетических изменений, наблюдаемых в Казахстане вследствие длительных контактов и взаимодействия с русским языком. Этнические казахи из Монголии сохранили уникальные особенности звуковой системы, которые были выявлены в ходе проведения полевых исследований и анализа эмпирического материала, собранных в рамках научного проекта.

Данное исследование подчеркивает значимость проведения фонетических исследований, акцентируя необходимость согласования реформы казахского алфавита с фонологическими принципами, присущими языку. Необходимо отметить, что сохранение языкового наследия у кандасов имеет важное значение и предоставляет ценные сведения о фонетических, лексических, грамматических особенностях казахского языка. В дальнейшем следует более детально изучить влияние социолингвистических факторов на фонетическую вариативность и исследовать стратегии интеграции исторически аутентичных фонетических структур в современное казахское языковое образование и языковую политику.

Ключевые слова: кандасы, казахи из Монголии, фонетические/звуковые особенности, аффрикаты, сингармонизм, согласные и гласные звуки, заимствованные звуки, репатрианты, твердые и мягкие звуки, языковое влияние.

Introduction

Based on research of the phonetic system of the Kazakh language dating back to the 19th century, researcher A. Zhunusbek divided the development of Kazakh phonetics into 4 stages. For the first time Russian researchers paid attention to the rules of syllabic harmony of the Kazakh language and recorded words by listening. In the first half of the 20th century, Kazakh researchers created the fundamental sound system of the Kazakh language, promoted the formation of morphemic and syllabic types, as well as consonantal writing. During this period, the phonetic regularities of the Kazakh language were revealed, a distinctive writing system emerged, and the science of phonetics began. From the 1950s and 1960s onward, researchers, influenced by Eurocentric approaches to phonetic studies, largely disregarded one of the fundamental principles of Kazakh phonology – the law of vowel harmony. As a result of the totalitarian system's directive ‘words borrowed from the Russian language should be pronounced and written without changes’, input letters (sounds) were introduced into the Kazakh alphabet, which led to the violation of spelling rules in writing (Akhanov, 1965: 8).

The problem of linguistic detriment caused by the direct adoption of alien words was analysed by Kazakh educators such as A. Baitursynov (Baitursynuly, 2006), Kh. Dosmukhameduly (Dosmukhameduly, 1998), (Torekulov, 2007) and others. The problem of incompatibility of sounds alien to the Kazakh language with Kazakh words is mentioned in the works of ethnic Kazakh from Mongolia, a scholar with a broad scope of linguistic interests, scientists-terminologists B. Bazytkhan (Bazytkhan, 1991). In the period from the 1970s to 1990s, renewed interest in Kazakh phonetics led to a resurgence of research on the law of consonance (syngarmonism), which became central to linguistic studies and facilitated the reintroduction of related scientific terminology.

Compliance with the laws of sounding of the Kazakh language also raises the question of revising the Kazakh alphabet. According to the scholar A. Zhunusbek (Zhunusbek, 2018: 192), who advocated reforming the phonetics of the Kazakh language, it is necessary to switch to writing that preserves the natural melodiousness of Kazakh speech, since the violation of the natural line of the previously formed order of sounding, thin pronunciation of thick melodic words, non-compliance with the tonality of the lips cause great damage to the language, due to the sounding specificity, the danger of loss is also not a concern.

In more than 30 years since Kazakhstan's independence, Kazakh has become the state language and its functions had expanded. However, in the modern information age, other languages still have an impact on the Kazakh language through the media, social networks. One such negative impact is the failure to observe the norms of spoken and written forms of the Kazakh language, namely, disregarding the difference between a word's spelling and pronunciation. In some mass media words are pronounced as they appear in the written form, reflecting the influence of contemporary youth language. For example, there is a pronunciation of words spelled *шаш* [шэш] - hair, *жайлау* [жэйләу] – nearly “summer camp”, *құбылыс* [құбұлұс] – phenomenon, etc. Of course, this does not mean that everyone speaks this way, however, this issue is a cause for concern among domestic linguistic researchers.

Nowadays, the importance of considering the peculiarities of the sound of *kandas* (Kazakh people who returned to their ancestral land after gaining Independence of Kazakhstan in 1991), contributing to the revival of the laws of Kazakh phonetics, has increased (Baigazh, 2024: 159-174).

In this article we will consider the current preservation of sound peculiarities of the language of compatriots who emigrated from Mongolia. The overwhelming majority of Kazakhs in Mongolia (77.7%) live in the Bayan-Olgii region (Aueskhan, 2022). Foreign researchers (Holly, Cynthia, 2011: 209-228) note in their works that Mongolian Kazakhs have preserved their religion and language and have become the dominant language in the Bayan-Olgii region. The basic law of consonance of Kazakh phonetics affects not only the understanding of several dialects (Southern, Northern, Western, Eastern) of each other, but also the rapid adaptation to communication of our compatriots who returned to their historical homeland. The peculiarities of sounding in the Mongolian Kazakh language did not hinder understanding with local Kazakhs, as the regularity of sounding of the Kazakh language was preserved in the regions with the predominance of Kazakh ethnicity and in places with a small influence of the Russian language. At the same time, we pay attention to the peculiarities of the exchange of sounds preserved in the language of *kandas* people, consonance of vowels and consonants, consonance of lips and others.

Materials and research methods

The article analyses the phonetic features of the Kazakh language as spoken in Mongolia by comparing them to the standard Kazakh literary language. It presents findings from interviews conducted to study the preservation of these features in the modern style of speech among compatriots who moved to Kazakhstan and their adaptation to the local Kazakh pronunciation.

This study takes a comprehensive approach to analyze the phonetic features of the Kazakh language spoken by *kandas* from Mongolia, comparing these features with both the standard Kazakh literary language and the phonological patterns observed among native Kazakh speakers in Kazakhstan. The research methods utilized include:

1. Literature review: a comprehensive review of existing research on the phonetic characteristics of the Kazakh language was undertaken. This review incorporated both foundational theories and recent advancements pertinent to the sound systems under investigation.

2. Field research: Structured interviews were conducted with Mongolian compatriots residing in both Mongolia and Kazakhstan, audio-video recordings were made. Participants were selected to represent diverse demographic groups, encompassing variations in age, gender and regional backgrounds. This approach allows for a better understanding of how phonetic features are maintained or altered in the context of migration.

3. Audio-visual data collection and analysis: audio-video recordings were obtained during the interviews to capture participants' natural speech patterns. These recordings were subjected to acoustic analysis using specialized software, such as Praat, enabling precise measurement of phonetic features, including vowel duration, intonation and consonant articulation. This quantitative data supports detailed comparative analyses.

4. Comparative phonological analysis: the acoustic data derived from the interviews were compared with the standardised phonological features of the Kazakh literary language. This comparative analysis aims to identify specific phonetic shifts or adaptations among speakers who have migrated to Kazakhstan, thereby elucidating the influence of regional phonetic norms.

5. Statistical analysis: to ensure the validity of our findings, statistical methods are conducted to assess the significance of observed phonetic variations.

6. Ethical considerations: all research activities adhered to ethical principles to ensure informed consent of participants and confidentiality of their responses. Prior to data collection, the study received approval from the relevant ethics committee. Both specific verbal and written consents were secured for the publication of interviewers' responses and audio-video material.

By integrating these methods, the research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the phonetic features of the kandas language returned from Mongolia and to examine the influence of the Kazakh literary language on native speakers in Kazakhstan.

Research background

The Republic of Kazakhstan became an independent state, separating from the USSR with the collapse of the totalitarian system of the time, which coincided with 1991. However, the pedestal of independence was secured by the December 1986 uprising in Almaty, and in 1991 the Kazakh people achieved the sovereignty they had craved for centuries. The country recognised its freedom and officially recognised the autonomy of the state by the Republic of Turkiye, the United States of America, Peoples' Republic of China, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Republic of Mongolia, French Republic, Japan, Republic of Korea, the Islamic Republic of Iran (Karigulova, 2016).

Following the declaration of Independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan underwent profound transformations across its political, cultural, and social spheres. These developments also prompted changes, renewal, replenishment of the population. The first President of the Republic of Kazakhstan extended an invitation to ethnic Kazakhs worldwide to return to their Atameken (Motherland) and the Kazakh land. This call of the first President was disseminated through various media, particularly in countries with significant Kazakh populations, such as Mongolia and China, thereby reaching Kazakhs residing abroad (Nazarbayev, 1992).

Thus, the demographic structure of Kazakhstan has undergone significant quantitative and qualitative changes. Such changes were mainly considered in the subject of research by sociologists (G. Shanbayeva), historians (Zh. Artykbayev, H. Abzhanov, A. Kalysh, D. Kassymova, K. Nurymbetova), and political researchers (G. Abdigaliyeva, A. Kamaldinova), but comprehensive studies on the integration of the kandas people from Mongolia and China remain limited, particularly from socio-cultural and linguo-ecological perspectives.

Addressing this gap, the present study aims to examine the migration experiences and integration processes of kandas within Kazakhstani society. It explores adaptation strategies, associated risks and challenges, linguistic environments, and ongoing socio-cultural integration. The purpose of the research is to assess the stages and levels of these processes, facilitating the development of effective ways of adaptation, integration of kandas into life in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Ultimately, the research seeks to enhance understanding of societal tolerance, dismantle integration barriers, and promote the full inclusion of kandas as active members of Kazakh society.

Analysis

1 Phonetic features in the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia

The phonetic system of a language undergoes changes more slowly than other sections of Linguistics. As mentioned above, the phonetic features of the Kazakh language in Mongolia often correspond to the eastern dialect of Kazakhstan (Uderbayev, 2002: 35; 125)¹. For example, hard pronunciation of a soft vowel (*pīsu-pīsw*). A. Zhunisbekov focuses on the pronunciation of **i** – [i̇y, i̇y], **w** – [u̇w, u̇w] in Kazakh phonetics (Zhunisbek, 2018: 49). B. Bazylkhan notes that in the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia these two sounds are diphthongs (Bazylkhan, 1991: 19). One of the differences in pronunciation is that in the language of the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan the sounds **e**, **o**, **ö** are pronounced as a diphthong [ye, uo, üö], and in the language of Bayan-Olgii Kazakhs these sounds have the form of a monophthong [e, o, ö] (Bazylkhan, 1991: 20).

1.1 Vowel Alternation

Vowel alternation is a phonetic feature of the Kazakh language. In the language of Bayan-Olgii Kazakhs there are all types of vowel alternations that occur in the eastern dialects of the Kazakh language, and these alternations do not affect the semantics. Vowel alternation includes the alternation of hard and soft vowels (**a**→**ä**, **ä**→**a**, **a**→**e**, **e**→**a**, **i**→**ï**, **ï**→**i**, **u**→**ü**, **o**→**ö**); alternation of open and closed vowels (**a**→**ï**, **ï**→**a**, **e**→**ï**, **ï**→**e**); alternation of labial and unlabialized vowels (**u**→**ï**, **ï**→**u**, **i**→**ü**, **ü**→**i**, **a**→**o**, **e**→**ö**, **e**→**ü**, **ä**→**ü**, **ö**→**ü**, **ü**→**ö**) and of labial vowel harmony.

The alternation of hard and soft vowels is also used in the eastern and northern regions of Kazakhstan. A. Uderbayev stresses that the alternation of these sounds is a historical relic of hard-sounding words that occur in the Kazakh language. He explains the alternation of some vowels (**ï**→**u**: *ṭīman-tūman*, *ṭīmaw-tūmaw*) by the principle of economy (Uderbayev, 2002: 126).

H. Karimov determines from the etymology of words that the use of the hard sound **a** in the words *äžim-azim*, *arı-ari*, where the vowels **a** and **ä** alternate, existed in the Altai era (Karimov, 1986: 40). In the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia, as in the Kazakh literary language, labial vowel harmony is well preserved in oral speech, but is not expressed in orthography.

¹ Uderbayev A.Zh., 2002. Mongolijadagy kazak diasporasynyn tilindegi fonetikalyk areal kubylystardy salyстыrmaly zertteu [A comparative study of phonetic areal phenomena in the language of the Kazakh diaspora in Mongolia] [Text]: cand. diss. of phil. sciences: 10.02.02 – Kazak tili. Almaty. 159 p. [in Kazakh].

1.2 Alternation of consonants

According to scholars studying the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia, the alternation of some consonants is a sound feature typical for the Old Turkic language (Bazylkhan, 1991, 128). The alternation of consonants includes **b**→**m**, **ž**→**d**, **d**→**t**, **t**→**d**, **s**→**z**, **s**→**š**, **š**→**s**, **π**→**m**, **l**→**d**, **ž**→**ǰ**; instability of the consonants **g**, **γ**, **k**, **ķ**; the use of affricates **č**, **ǰ**: **š**→**č** (at the beginning of a word), **š**→**č** (in the middle of a word), and **ž**→**ǰ**. Academician N. Sauranbayev believes that the sound **č** is a phonetic phenomenon found in the southeastern dialects between Altai and the Syrdarya region, isolated from other groups of dialects (Sauranbayev, 1955: 47). Likewise, as a result of linguistic and geographical studies, it was established that the affricate, **ǰ** is a common phenomenon for the Zhetysu and Shu groups of dialects in the south (Nakysbekov, 1982: 6). The affricates **č**, **ǰ** in the dialects of modern Kazakh and the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia are of ancient Altai origin, preserved in modern Turkic and Mongolian languages (Uderbayev, 2002: 58). At present, the majority of phonetic features characteristic of the spoken language of Kazakhs in Mongolia include, first of all, the sound of the affricates **č**, **ǰ** often found at the beginning and in the middle of words. A. Uderbayev comes to the conclusion that the use of the affricate **ǰ** in the middle of a word is very widespread (Uderbayev, 2002: 128). Secondly, the use of the consonant **d** instead of the voiced consonant **l** (*siñili-siñdi*, *korlık-kordük*, *tawlar-tawdar*), which occurs most often in endings. Thirdly, the use of only the voiceless form of the consonant **l**. In modern Kazakh there are two forms of the sound **l** hard [**ɮ**] and soft [**ɮʲ**] depending on the vowel sound next to it (*taq-legen*, *kaŋw-kelw*). The peculiarity of the use of the hard form of the sound [**ɮ**] by the Kazakhs in Mongolia is also observed in the language of the Kazakhs in China.

2 Pronunciation of borrowed words

Another way to preserve the phonetic features of the Kazakh language is to ensure that foreign words conform to its pronunciation rules of the Kazakh language. Many words borrowed from Arabic and Russian were adapted to the Kazakh language (*bötelke*, *poŋiz*, *türme*) and since the beginning of the XX century have been used in accordance with the pronunciation rules of the Kazakh language. As a result of the introduction of foreign sounds into the Kazakh alphabet from another languages, foreign letters (sounds) were added that led to a violation of the spelling rules in writing. The introduction of Russian letters **ı**, **w**, **ya**, **yw**, **sh**, **ch** changed the system of morphemes, syllables and hyphenation of the Kazakh language. According to K. Akhanov, foreign sound combinations that emerged under such influence violated the rules of epenthesis laws of epihesis, that is the process of inserting a vowel in the middle of or after consonants (*litr-letir*, *tank-tankı*) and prostheses, i.e. adding a vowel to a word beginning with a consonant (*layık-ılayık*) in the Kazakh language (Akhanov, 1965: 364). At the end of the last century, the pronunciation of foreign words was used according to the law of the Kazakh language mostly by older people or in a purely Kazakh-speaking environment. It was considered a sign of illiteracy to pronounce bicycle as *belesebet*, and collective farm as *kaŋkoz*.

The consonants **v**, **h**, **f**, **ts**, **ch** in the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia are changed to **v**→**w**, **h**→**ķ**, **f**→**p**, **ts**→**s**, **ch**→**č** according to their colloquial speech (*zavod* – *zawat*, *fabrika* – *pabriká*, *tsentner* – *sentñner*) (Bazylkhan, 2006: 32). In the first half of the XX century, documents translated from Mongolian greatly influenced the incorporation of Mongolian words into the language of Kazakhs living in Mongolia. However, since the 1950s the influence of the Kazakh literary language has increased. Since Mongolian is the official language, the Kazakh people often used Mongolian words in the following areas: *administrative organization, law, position, profession, science and culture, construction, livestock, trade, household items, transport,*

military and sports (Sagidoldakzyzy, 2003: 167). Another feature of the language of the Kazakhs in Mongolia is the Kazakh suffixes added to the Mongolian root words. For example, the word *elžilew* (*put in turn*) was appeared when adding the verb-forming suffix *-lew* to the Mongolian word *elži* (*eelž*) (Sagidoldakzyzy, 2003: 173). However, the Turkic and Mongolian language researchers express common opinion that some words considered to come from the Mongolian language are also common to Turkic languages. Scholars N. Bazykhan (2006) and G. Sagidoldakzyzy (2003) studied the similarities and common features of the Kazakh and Mongolian languages. According to the scholars point of view, Turkic and Mongolian languages among the Altai languages have many common similarities. Etymological analysis reveals that nearly half of these words are Turkic loanwords in Mongolian languages, while the remaining half are Mongolian loanwords in Turkic languages (Rassadin, 2008: 61-62).

Results

Since 1991, when Kazakhstan gained independence, ethnic Kazakh people who remained in the land of another state or moved to another country due to historical events began to settle in their historical homeland. Kazakhstanian scholars have conducted various studies of the process of adaptation of the Kazakh repatriates in the linguistic and cultural environment. In this regard, it is important to analyze some differences in the pronunciation of the Kazakhs from Mongolia with the local Kazakh language from the point of mutual understanding. Taking into account the dialects in all regions of Kazakhstan, we can say that there are no problems of language communication with kandas. We focused on the problem of the diminished synharmonic pronunciation in contemporary Kazakh, preserved in the language of the kandas from Mongolia, who lived separately from their ancestral homeland for many years.

In the course of the study of changes in the modern pronunciation style of Kazakh people who immigrated to Kazakhstan in the first years of independence, and adaptation to the pronunciation of local Kazakhs, we analyzed the results of interviews (2023) conducted with the kandas aged 22-70 years old, immigrated from Mongolia, working in various fields of the Akmola region and Astana city. Most of the 18 people who took part in the interview are from the Bayan-Ulgii district. 95% of kandas are bilinguals. They are fluent in Kazakh and Mongolian languages. During the interview we observed the use of the affricate *č* at the beginning and middle of a word (78%), the replacement of hard and soft vowels *a-ä* (45%), the use of only the hard form of the consonant *l* (100%), and the use of the sound *d* instead of the consonant *l* (28%) in their pronunciation style (Table 1).

Table 1. The indicator of pronunciation features preserved in the language of the kandas from Mongolia

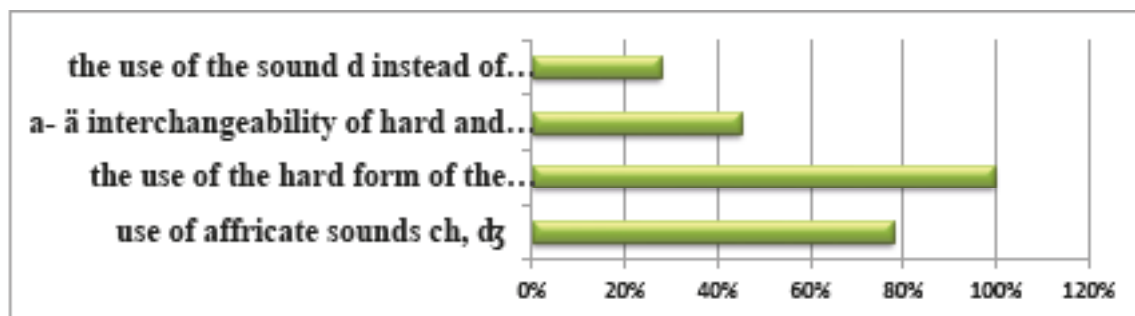


Table 2. The use of affricate sounds č, ĵ at the beginning and middle of the words (14):

Standard Kazakh language	Kazakh as spoken in Mongolia
<i>шешем</i> [šešem]	<i>чешем</i> [češem]
<i>төменшіктеу</i> [tömenšiktew]	<i>төменчиктеу</i> [tömen čiktew]
<i>келісімшарт</i> [kelісімšart]	<i>келісімчарт</i> [kelісім čart]
<i>бір жерде</i> [bır žerde]	<i>бір джерде</i> [bır ĵerde]
<i>жалпы</i> [žatpı]	<i>джалпы</i> [ĵatpı]
<i>екі жүз</i> [ekı žüz]	<i>екі джүз</i> [ekı ĵüz]

Чешем қарапайым жұмысшы болды / češem qarapayım žumışşı boldı

Балалық чағымда үш тілді қатар қолдандық / balañıq čağımда üš tıldı qatar qoldandıq

Әке-дәжешемізбен қазақ тілінде сөйлестік / Äke- ĵešemizben qazaq tılinde söyltestik

Орыс тілі қосымча тіл болып енгізілді / orıs tılı qosımča tıl boldı

Әке-дәжешем маңғолча білді / Äke-ĵešem mañğolča bıldı

It was observed among the interviewees that teachers and community workers holding positions in schools in Kazakhstan did not use or very rarely used affricates č, ĵ in oral speech.

Table 3. -a-ä interchangeability of hard and soft vowel sounds (8):

Standard Kazakh	Kazakh as spoken in Mongolia
<i>жаңағы</i> [žañayı]	<i>жәңәгі</i> [žañegi]
<i>тек қана</i> [tek қана]	<i>тек кәне</i> [tek қәне]
<i>ғана болды</i> [ғана boldı]	<i>гәне болды</i> [gәne boldı]

Бірге оқыған жәңәгі достарым да бар / birge oқığan žañegi dostarım da bar.

Маңғол тілі қосымча сабағы гәне болды / Mañğol tılı qosımja sabağı gәne boldı.

Table 4. Using only the unvoiced consonant l in the whole part of the word [ɬ] (18):

Standard Kazakh	Kazakh as spoken in Mongolia
<i>бөлме</i> [bölme]	<i>бөлмө</i> [bölmö]
<i>тілді</i> [tıldi]	<i>тілди</i> [tıldi]

Table 5. Using the d [d] sound instead of the consonant l [ɬ] (5):

Standard Kazakh	Kazakh as spoken in Mongolia
<i>оларға</i> [oɬarğa]	<i>одарға</i> [odarğa]
<i>балалар</i> [baɬalar]	<i>баладар</i> [badadar]

Со жерде баладарымызды оқыттық / so žerde baɬadarımızdı oқıttıq

Қатар тұрсақ одармен сөйлесеміз / қатар тұрсақ odarmen söylesemiz.

The importance of family, kinship relations of Mongolian Kazakhs in everyday life is noted by foreign scholars (Finke, 2004: 16). The process of returning to Atazhurt (Motherland) also focused on moving with relatives. During the interviews, the similarities in the sound features in the language of the kandas who moved together and settled in the same place were noticed. In the kandas language there are characteristic epenthesis and prothesis of the Kazakh language sound: *мемлекет-мемілекет, резинка-ірезинка* (memleket-memileket, rezinka-irezinka). Nowadays, the term, which entered the Russian language in the works of Kazakh terminologists, denoted a contraction of the sound a at the end of a word *теорема-теорем* (теорема-теорем) (ТМ, 2006: 30)

A. Dossanova, who conducted research on the problems of the kandas integration into Kazakh society, draws attention to the issue of otherness as it relates to the specific speech features of kandas youth, considering it one of the language barriers in the society and an important factor in the integration process (Dossanova, 2016). In this regard, we consider it necessary to pay attention to the peculiarities of the sounds, which have been preserved in the language of the kandas, and have become extinct in the language of local youth. Another peculiarity noted during the interviews is that the kandas living in Mongolia, who speak two languages, currently speak Kazakh without using Mongolian loan words.

One of the important principles that the Kazakh people adhered during a difficult period in the country's history was an unwavering commitment to preserving their language, religion, and traditions. This integrity not only preserves the cultural heritage of the Kazakh people, but also plays a key role in shaping the national identity of future generations. In particular, preserving the Kazakh language, especially its melodiousness and rich vocabulary, is essential for maintaining the indigenous expression of the modern Kazakh literary language.

Conclusion

The rule of sounding of language is one of the values, that, together with the national language preserves its character and melodic quality. Since the middle of the twentieth century, Kazakh phonetics adopted a “eurocentrism” approach that paid little attention to the law of consonance. During this period, as a result of the introduction of rules of sounding and writing the words and terms that entered the Russian language, the problem of loss of the specificity of sounding in the modern Kazakh language arose. It is noted that the violation of the laws of sounding leads to incomprehensible speech, artificiality that hinders auditory comprehension in both the language of today’s youth and the language of mass media.

We draw attention to the preserved and now disappearing sound features in the language of Kazakhs who have returned to their historical homeland since Kazakhstan's independence period, including the kandas from Mongolia. The results of video interviews with the kandas aged 22 to 70 years old were analysed in order to study the changes in the manner of speech, adaptation of local Kazakh to the sound of compatriots who emigrated to Kazakhstan from Mongolia. As a result, we observed the preservation of such features of the kandas language as the use of affricates č, ž, the use of only the hard form of the consonant l, the interchangeability of hard and soft vowels a- ä, the use of the sound d instead of the consonant l.

We have seen that in difficult period in the country's history, the most important principle of Kazakhs who had to move out of the country was to preserve their language, religion, traditions and the formation of Kazakhs throughout the future generation. Among the Turkic

languages, preserving the melodious sound of the Kazakh language, along with its lexical vocabulary, is of great importance for its future development and continued use.

The melodious sound of the Kazakh language is not only an aesthetic quality; it also reflects the cultural peculiarities and emotional colouring of the Kazakh people. Its unique phonetic characteristics contribute significantly to the uniqueness and continuity of the community, serving as an important link between the past and the future. As the language evolves, ensuring the preservation of these melodious elements is also crucial to maintaining the specificity of the language of the kandas.

In addition, the preservation of the Kazakh language contributes to increasing its use, promoting effective communication and cultural expression in various fields such as education, the arts and public debate. By preserving the melodious sound of the language and expanding its lexical richness, the Kazakh language can ensure that it remains alive and relevant in a global context. Ultimately, language preservation not only honours the heritage of the Kazakh people, but also empowers future generations to confidently carry forward that legacy.

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