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**THE MUTATIONAL NATURE
OF THE CONTEMPORARY EURASIAN LINGUISTIC IDENTITY
OF THE RUSSIAN-KAZAKH BORDER REGION**

SUMMARY. This article deals with the processes of interpenetration of languages in the structure of modern Eurasian linguistic identity, reveals the nature of the interference, leading to the appearance of new features in the regional language of the Russian-Kazakh border areas. Russia's border areas include the south of the Tyumen region, the Kazakh border region — North Kazakhstan. The Russian population of the area consistently assimilated representatives of many peoples living in the study region (Khanty, Mansi, Komi, Kazakhs, Tatars, etc.), showing an example of a complex half-blood population Russian-dominated dominant. On the question of speech local Kazakh and Russian authors illustrate the transformation in the modern Eurasian linguistic identity of Russian-Kazakh border areas.

KEY WORDS. Modern Eurasian linguistic identity, the Russian-Kazakh border area, interference, Russian-speaking linguistic identity.

It has become obvious that, in the context of globalization and development of new independent countries in the post-Soviet area, the view of many processes and phenomena of the social, political, cultural, economic, and other spheres has been subject to a certain reappraisal.

The border-zone of present-day Russia is formed, in particular, by the Tyumen Oblast, and that of Kazakhstan is represented by Northern Kazakhstan. For the Tyumen Oblast, where Russians and Tatars rank first and second correspondingly in population among other regional ethnic groups, one may speak of either a Russian-Tatar or a Tatar-Russian bilingualism with specific ethnolinguistic differentiations. Yet, the closer the Russian-Kazakh border one gets, the more explicit the features of a Russian-Kazakh and a Kazakh-Russian bilingualism appear.

Currently, the ethnic mosaic of the Tyumen Oblast is constituted by more than 150 ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, ethnic diversity growing due to mass influx from the economically less developed nearby regions and countries, e.g. from Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Belarus, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Serbia [1]. It is no coincidence that Gennady F. Shafranov-Kutsev stresses that the ethnic landscape of the Tyumen region was formed by three major ethnic forces, those of the Finno-Ugric, Turkic, and Slavic peoples [2].

Migration is not merely a mechanical movement between places, but also a complex socio-psychological process involving various patterns of behaviour and intercourse of people, their activity, inclusion of individuals in social groups, as well as peculiarities of ethnic psychologies.

Considering the Russian language on the part of the Russian zone of the Russian-Kazakh border, it is necessary to take into account that the Russian population previously assimilated representatives of the Finno-Ugric (Khanty, Mansi, Komi), Turkic (Tatar, Kazakh), and Slavic (Ukrainian, Belorussian) peoples. Despite the negative attitude of the Orthodox Church to marriages to the un-baptized, Cossacks, merchants, peasants and people of the service class were across the board married to non-Russian local women. This resulted in the emergence of a number of Russian *sub-ethnic communities* — groups of mixed population anthropologically close to the neighbouring non-Russian peoples [3-4].

A reasonable question arises as to whether this circumstance may have affected the language capacity within those groups. What role does Turkic linguistic interference play in the Russian language and vice versa (Russian interference in the languages of the indigenous Turkic peoples) in these mixed groups? As researchers fairly remark, one can observe in the speech of local Russians some peculiarities of pronunciation transferred from the source language: *кыргызы* (kyrgyzy), *кыртма* (kyrtma), *тынгыте* (tyngyte), *кысы* (kusy), *башкыры* (bashkyry), the sound and letter 'ы' in the examples replacing the original 'и' in these words in Russian. According to M.A. Romanova, the use of 'ы' after the velar sounds 'к' and 'г' in the radical of words in Tyumen Russian dialects was borrowed from the Tatar language, where the combination of sounds 'кы'/'гы' is widespread [5; 14]. The dialects of the Uvat, Tobolsk, Nizhnyaya Tavda, Yarkovo, and Tyumen districts of the region are fairly considered the derived ones, formed in the 1600s — mid-1700s and based on northern Russian dialects (those of Vologda, Vyatka, Perm etc.).

Undoubtedly, those Russian accents were in contact with the Turkic dialects, and this led to the development of certain specific phenomena in the Russian language. One should agree with A.A. Bilyalova that 'variability appears an issue of current interest for researchers studying languages at different levels and registers; the bibliography on this matter is extensive and controversial at the same time. The review of the studies in this sphere reveals the commonly-recognized positions discovering the gist, nature, role, place and functions of variability. Thus, the main directions of research concerning variability are the change (alternation) of variants, their co-existence and competition, classification, correspondence of variants to the norm, identity of a word, the prognostic nature of variability etc.' [6; 11].

The studies of Kh. Ch. Alishina, R.A. Vafeev, I.S. Karabulatova, Z.V. Polivara, D.G. Tumasheva, N.K. Frolov and their followers concern the processes of the formation of the Russian-speaking 'language person' basing on the interaction between the state language (Russian) and local languages in terms of everyday communication of the inhabitants of the south of the Tyumen Oblast. Yet the Russian dialects of the migrants living in the Russian-Kazakh border area have been studied so far neither

by the Russian nor by the Kazakh party. Thus, there is a current need for a thorough and detailed analysis of the interaction between the Turkic and Slavic peoples on this territory. Up to this point, only the phonetic system of the dialects of the present-day western settlements of the Siberian ('Gorky') line has been considered in the studies of M.K. Kokobaev, with some focus on the phonetic and morphological phenomena [7]; the phenomenon of consonantism was studied in the works of B.Z. Akhmetova [8]. The population of this area is stable, and those who speak Russian dialects are mostly descendants of the first settlers who came there from the northern areas of Russia, such as the Vologda and Perm regions.

It is recognized that, according to the facts of the modern Kazakh language, the north-eastern dialect, as well as its other dialects, received quite a big number of borrowings from the Arabic, Persian, Russian and other languages. Each of the dialects, however, assimilated the borrowings in its own way. For instance, the Russian word *krovat'* ('bed') was firstly transformed into *keruert* in the west of Kazakhstan, *keruet* in the south, *kereuet* in the north-east. The Russian word *samovar* ('samovar') was pronounced in the west as *samauyn*, and as *samauyr* in the south and north-east; the Russian word *pech* ('oven') was pronounced *bes*h in the west and as *pesh* in the north-east.

There are certain peculiarities in adaptation of Russian words by the language of Siberian Kazakhs living in the south of the Tyumen Oblast, the Kurgan Oblast and the Novosibirsk Oblast: *turba* deriving from Russian *truba* 'a pipe; a chimney' and used in the two meanings: (i) a vertical tube (pipe) in the centre of a samovar (a chimney); (ii) a stove pipe; *sharyp* (from Russian *sharf* 'a scarf'), *kirenke* (from *krynka* 'an earthenware pot'), *kupshin* (from *kuvshin* 'a jug'), etc. There are also cases of apocopic borrowings from Russian in the language of the Western Siberian Kazakhs, e.g. *zarpylat* from *zarplata* 'a salary', *meshin* from *mashina* ('a car; a machine'), *ogylop* from *ogloblya* 'a shaft (one of two wooden bars for harnessing a horse to a vehicle)', etc.

Our observations show that the language of the Kazakhs of Western Siberia has been significantly affected, alongside the literary Russian language, by the dialects of the migrants of the later period. Thus, the Kazakh borrowings from Russian such as the above-mentioned *kirenke*, as well as *senek* (from Russian *sennik* 'a barn'), *iles* (from the Russian *list* 'a baking tray, a baking sheet'), reflect the active process of interaction of the language with the Southern dialects.

The influence of the Russian language on Kazakh speech has been so substantial that we can observe cases of replacement of native Kazakh words by Russian borrowings: *borat* from the Russian *vorota* 'gates' (instead of native *kakpa*), *istene* from the Russian *stena* 'a wall' (instead of *kabyrga*), *sedelky* from the Russian *sedyolka* 'a harness saddle' (instead of *ershik*), *kesek* from *kosyak* 'a doorpost' (instead of *zhaktau*), *rayon* from *rayon* 'an (urban) district / area' (instead of *audan*), *sentir* from *tse*tr 'a centre' (instead of *ortalyk*), *merkop* from *morkov* 'a carrot' (instead of *sebiz*), *sibekile* from *svyokla* 'a beetroot' (instead of *kyzylsha*), *arbyz* from *arbut* 'a water melon' (instead of *kyrbyz*), *gyranat* from *granat* 'a pomegranate' (instead of *anar*),

kokraz from *kukuruza* ‘corn’ (instead of *zhugeri*), *shylan* from *chulan* ‘a storeroom’ (instead of *as uy*), *sherner* from *sharnir* ‘a hinge’ (instead of *topsa*), etc. The intensive character of this influence becomes apparent due to speakers selecting Russian loan words over their native Kazakh synonyms.

We may say that in the areas of intensive interethnic communication there appear mutual phenomena on the part of both languages in contact that favour, under certain conditions, the evolution of a language person as well as the evolution of the language systems in general. We can't presume that we observe mere attraction of the Kazakh language spoken by the Western Siberian Kazakhs as affected by the Russian neighbourhood. The Kazakh language also has a significant impact both on the Russian speech of the Kazakhs and the Tatars and on the Russian dialects of the Russian-Kazakh border area. In other words, dialectal Russian speech forms the Russian component of the language person of a bilingual. A dialect may not only be a mere specific type of the speech culture [9], but, in particular cases, a unique example of living speech as such.

Thus, non-positional devoicing of the voiced consonants in a number of Russian dialects at the area in question has developed in Northern Kazakhstan under non-Russian impact [8]. Such devoicing has also been observed in the speech of the Kazakhs and Tatars in words borrowed from Russian. Nikolay K. Frolov cites an example of devoicing in the language of one of the indigenous peoples of Siberia, the Voguls: *p'us'ka* from Russian *bochka* ‘a barrel; a tun’ [10].

The development of this phenomenon may have been caused by the Turkic neighbourhood. As our observations show, the Tatars and the Kazakhs regularly mix voiced and voiceless consonants in phonetically unconditioned positions when speaking Russian: *sklatnoy noshik* ‘a jack-knife’ (cf. literary Russian *skladnoy nozhik*) (fixed in the village Oktyabr'skoye), *pyly* ‘(we / you / they) were’ (cf. Russian *byly*), *drukoi* ‘(an)other’ (cf. Russian *drugoi*) (villages Aidarly, Zhambyl), *nato* ‘needed’ (cf. Russian *nado*), (*v*) *gotu*, n, *Prepositional Case* ‘(in) ... year’ (cf. Russian *v godu*), *b'itnyi* ‘poor’ (cf. Russian *bednyi*) (village Koibagor), *trutna* ‘hard; difficult’ (cf. Russian *trudno*), *tva* ‘two’ (cf. Russian *dva*), *khot'at* ‘(we / you / they) go / walk’ (cf. Russian *khod'at*), *poklatu* ‘(I will) put’ (cf. Russian dialectic *pokladu*) (village Zhumagul), *atna* numeral, *feminine sing.* ‘(the) one’ (cf. Russian *odna*), *tasv'itan'ya* ‘goodbye’ (cf. Russian *do sv'idan'ya*), *kar'it* ‘(he / she / it) burns; is burning’ (cf. Russian *gor'it*), *latom* ‘smoothly’ (cf. Russian *ladom*) (village Stepnoye), *upral*, *uprali* ‘(I / you / he, *masculine only*) took away’, ‘(we / you / they) took away’ (cf. Russian *ubral*, *ubrali*), *pal'it* ‘(it) burns’ (cf. Russian *bol'it*) (village Chelgashi).

A.S. Amanzholov and V.A. Bogoroditskiy note that in the Kazakh and the Tatar language there is comparatively weak articulation of voiced plosives as opposed to the corresponding consonants in the Russian language [10-11].

It is also noteworthy that the variants of consonant phonemes according to voicelessness / sonority in phonetically unconditioned positions were primarily revealed in the Russian dialects of those settlements where there has been a long interaction between the Kazakh, the Tatar and the Russian population (i.e. villages Koibagor, Chelgashi, Karamyrza, Suiguensay, Uyskoye, Aydarly, Tselinnoye,

Kozubay): *latom meti / neskladno poluchaetsya u tebe*, cf. literary Russian *ladom* 'here: thoroughly', *neskladno* here 'awkwardly' (Sweep better / awkward your way is) // *sdesya fse nasiyi vmes'ti drushno*, cf. literary Russian *druzhno* 'in a friendly way' (All our folks are together here, so united, so friendly). Here are some more examples: // *a cho nama delit' // pyvalo peshim pomoch susetu // oy karit tam ved' shto-to / palit pochyom srya // usyu razom ubral // odesha u ikh krasiva...* (There's nothing we tussle for / We would often hurry to help our neighbor // Oh, something's burning over there / Burning heavily // He took it away immediately // They've got nice clothes) (A.S. Zakiyeva, aged 69, Tselinnoye); *prosil na pol i ushyol / raspitaya fsya sizhu // trutno bez sveta // atna zhivu // drukoi rukoi byaru*, cf. literary *brosil* 'threw (Past for *brosat*)', *razb'itaya* here 'exhausted, jaded', *trudno* 'hard; difficult', *odna* here 'alone; single', *drugoi* here 'another' (He threw it on the ground and left / I'm all exhausted // It's hard to live without (electric) light // I live alone // I take it with another hand) (K.G. Kapkayeva, aged 72, Kozubay village).

In a number of accents, voiced consonants, mostly plosive, may be reduced in an intervocalic position: *d* — *narou* (instead of *narod* 'people; population'), *bu'ut* (instead of *budut* '(they) will (be)') (Zarachenka, Annovka villages, 7 respondents), *d'* — *dyainka* (instead of *dyad'en'ka* 'uncle, governor (colloquial)') (Nosovka, Ksenyevka villages, 9 respondents), *khoit'* (instead of *khod'it* '(he/she) walks; goes' (Tselinnoye village, 6 respondents); *g* — *n'e b'eay* (instead of *n'e b'egay* 'don't run (around)') (Marshanovka, Poltavka villages, 13 respondents); *b* — *baushka* (instead of *babushka* 'granny', commonly).

Also, the palatalization of velar consonants caused by preceding soft consonants is featured in many Russian dialects in the Kazakh part of the Russian-Kazakh border: *mal'en'k'o* (cf. literary *mal'en'ko* 'a little') (Beloglinka village, 3 respondents), *gor'k'a* (cf. literary *gor'ko* 'bitter') (Ornekskiy village, 6 respondents), *Vit'k'a*, *Pas'k'a* (personal diminutives *Vit'ka* 'Viktor', *Pashka* 'Pavel') (Peshkovskoye village, 10 respondents), *koik'u* (literary *koiku* — Accusative form of *koika* 'a cot, a bed'), *boik'a* (literary *boika*, *boikaya*, fem. 'brisk; lively; smart') (village Pobeda, 9 respondents). We believe that this phenomenon is preserved in the Russian dialects due to the proximity to the Tatar language. For instance, cases of assimilative palatalization have been observed mainly in the dialects of the Kostanay oblast where the impact of the Tatar language is supposed to have been long-term.

In their Russian speech, the Tatars are inclined to soften the 'k' sound in words with either a preceding soft consonant or a preceding front zone vowel: *vad'ishk'a* (cf. literary *vad'ichka* diminutive for 'water') (Pobeda village, 9 respondents), *stul'ik'a* (cf. literary *stulika* Acc. of *stulik* diminutive for *stul* 'a chair', *khalot'n'in'k'a* (cf. literary *kholod'n'inko* 'slightly cold; chilly' (Samany village, 13 respondents). Cf. also Tatar borrowings from Russian cited by V.A. Bogoroditskiy: *char'k'a* from Russian *chashka* 'a cup; a bowl' [12; 165].

The geographical neighbourhood of the Russians and Kazakhs, their economic and cultural relations as well as close everyday communication have inevitably favoured the linguo-ethnic assimilation.

The linguistic peculiarities of the local Turkic dialects could not but favour the long-term preservation of such phonetically unconditioned consonant alternations as *f/h, f/p*. In fact, the consonant system of the Tatar dialect in the Tyumen region is marked by the total absence of the ‘*f*’ phoneme. This peculiarity of the dialects was approached in detail in the works of D.G. Tumasheva [13], Kh. Ch. Alishina [14]. The authors suggest that the Tyumen and Tobolsk dialects of the Tatar language saw the replacement of the original *f* by *p* in the words borrowed from the Arabic and Persian languages as well as from Russian, e.g. *perma* from *ferma* ‘farm’, *pakir* ‘a pauper’ from *fakir*, *pederatsiya* from *federatsiya* ‘a federation’, *prukty* from *frukty* ‘fruits’ etc. In their turn, such variants as *patograpy* (cf. Russian literary *fotografy* ‘photographers’) or *panery* (cf. Russian literary *fanery* ‘plywood planks’) as observed in some accents of native Russian old-timers might have resulted from the impact of the Tatar pronunciation of such words. It is noteworthy that the intonational system of the Tatar dialect of the Tyumen region corresponds to that of the local Russian accents [5].

Besides, linguistic geography distinguishes ‘island’ dialects or accents. Thus, the accent of the village Zadonka, Ishim Oblast, may be considered as an ‘island’, or an ‘enclave’, of South Russian (or, to be more precise, Ukrainian) speech surrounded by the dialects of the North Russian old-timer environment [3]. This may also serve as a sample of the interaction and mutual impact of languages, but in this case within a one-language genetic system. This problem was studied in detail by Z.V. Polivara [15].

Linguistic geography also highlights insular dialects, sub-dialects. For example, the dialect of the village of Zadonka in the Ishim District is an ‘island’ of the South Russian dialect, or, to be more precise, even the Ukrainian, in the Northern Russian long-standing surroundings [3]. This is also an excellent example of cooperation and mutual influence of languages of the same family, but Z.V. Polivara has already described this aspect in detail [15].

In addition, special attention should be paid to the Russian speech of Turkic-speaking residents in the south of the Tyumen Region, which is characterized by a mixture of Russian and Kazakh, Russian and Tatar. For example: *соображай жок* (*soobrazhai zhok*) — “slow-witted”; *прикол гой* (*prikol goy*) — “a joke” (where *goy* is a particle-intensifier from Kazakh); *жандыргалка* (*zhandyrgalka*) — “a lighter” (*zhandyru* “burn” + *zazhigalka* “lighter”), *токтановись* (*toktanovis*) — “stop” (*tokta* “stop” + *ostanovis* “stop”), etc. [16, 19]. This phenomenon is not a recent innovation, but it may also illustrate the nature of the earlier enrichment of Russian dialects of the Tyumen Region with the borrowings from Turkic: *наятский* (*nayatsky*) – “beautiful” [17, 33], *куянистый* (*kuyanisty*) — “cowardly”, “like a rabbit” [18, 72-86].

These and other facts support our hypothesis that we are dealing with invariants of the Turkic linguistic identity and Slavic linguistic identity, which are formed by a direct and/or indirect participation of languages-contactees. In the area of the Russia-Kazakhstan border region, the Turkic linguistic identity of the holders of the Tatar and Kazakh languages feels a strong influence of the Russian language at all levels.

At the same time language-speakers can themselves be unaware of the degree of the impact of the Russian language on their native language. Similarly, the Russian-speaking linguistic identity of the Russia-Kazakhstan border region includes a huge amount of borrowings from Turkic languages, that can also be seen at all levels of language. Herewith, the division into Russian and Russian-speaking linguistic identity is preconditioned by the following aspects: the Russian linguistic identity of the Russia-Kazakhstan border region is understood as ethnic Russian speakers living on both sides of the border; the Russian-speaking linguistic identity is understood as a bilingual population, speaking Russian, but having a more or less good command of their mother-tongue. The mutational character of the evolutionary development of languages-contactees provides a smooth transition from the Turkic linguistic identity to the Russian linguistic identity where the mediator is the Russian-speaking linguistic identity, which provides understanding and intercultural communication between such distantly related languages as Tartar // Russian and Kazakh // Russian. The result of such an effective evolutionary development of different types of national linguistic identities is the Eurasian linguistic identity, inside which there is a constant peaceful dialogue between the cultures of the East and the West.

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