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In August 1999 the North Eurasia Group of SIL International and the Institute for Bible Translation held a workshop for translators from ten Turkic languages: Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Tatar, Karakalpak, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Khakas, Tuvan, Altai, and Yakut. None of the translators were trained linguists. Non-native speakers of the languages who worked with the translators also participated.

The purpose was to help the translators consider discourse-related structures relevant to translation. These included anaphora, use of pronouns, participant reference, focus and topic, word order, sentence length, background/foreground distinctions, use of conjunctions, cohesion, and the use of tense/aspect.

After each interactive lecture, participants worked in groups according to language. During these sessions, the participants applied the material that had been presented to actual texts.

The papers that developed from the workshop were published in *Comments on Discourse Structures in Ten Turkic Languages*, edited by Clifton and Clifton. Two other papers in the volume, those by Gray and by Humnick, represent work by members of the North Eurasia Group who were not able to attend the workshop. All the papers are presented as work papers. Each paper includes at least one interlinear text upon which many of the observations are based.

As much as possible, we have left the analyses as they were developed by the authors. All the interlinear texts are presented in a 3-line format consisting of the text as written, a line with morpheme breaks, and a line with glosses. We have not, however, standardized the representation of morphemes. Some authors use abstract forms, while others use the surface allomorphs.

We have standardized grammatical terminology as much as possible. For example, in a number of the languages we have made a basic distinction in the participles between *perfect* and *imperfect* rather than between *past* and *present*, and have consistently referred to aorist forms as *present/future*. We also decided not to break off derivational morphemes.

We have used *gerund*, the traditional term from Turkic linguistics, for forms which have been referred to elsewhere as converbs or serial verbs, but differentiate between various types. For example, the most neutral form is referred to as a conjunctive gerund, while other forms are simultaneous gerunds, sequential gerunds, gerunds of manner, and so on.

We trust these papers, especially the interlinear texts, will be of use to others involved in the analysis of Turkic languages.

Participant Reference in Khakas Narrative Discourse

Tatyana Borgoyakova, Ilya Topoyev and Peter Knapp

Khakas is a member of the South Siberian group of the Siberian (or Northern) branch of Turkic languages, and is spoken by approximately 64,800 people (Schönig 1998, Grimes 2000). The majority of Khakas speakers live north of the Altai Mountains in the Khakas Republic in the Russian Federation. There are four living dialects of Khakas: Sagai, Kacha, Kyzyl and Shor (Grimes 2000). Khakas was developed as a literary language in 1926 on the basis of the Sagai and Kacha dialects (Schönig 1998).

For this paper we analyzed participant reference in six Khakas narrative texts: a first person and a third person narrative as well as four folk tales. From these we arrived at the following hypotheses:

1. Participants are introduced the first time by name, noun or noun phrase.
2. Previously established participants are referred to by proper names and/or nouns
 - a. at the beginning of a new paragraph,
 - b. when there is a change of subject, or
 - c. when there is a change of topic.
3. Pronouns or zero reference are used
 - a. when the subject is identical with the subject of the preceding clause, or
 - b. when the identity of the person can be easily inferred by other means.
4. The choice between pronouns and zero reference seems syntactically motivated; the pronoun is only used where it cannot be left out.

We will examine each of these four hypotheses in turn.

1. Initial Introduction of Participants

When introducing participants of greater importance, the participant may be introduced by a noun phrase rather than a simple noun. Example (1) is the first sentence from the story *Буквалар* (Topoev 1991a).¹

¹ ABL=Ablative; ACC=Accusative; CND=Conditional; COM=Comitive; DAT=Dative; DIM=Diminutive; DIR=Directive; EQ=Equative; GCNJ=Gerund; Conjunctive; GEN=Genitive; LOC=Locative; NEG=Negative; PERF=Perfect; PHAB=Past Habitual; PL=Plural; PR=Present; PRFPTC=Perfect Participle; PRPTC=Present Participle; xnP=Pronoun; xnPs=Possessor

- 1) Кічичек Илоначак Айдыр ачазына кўннің сай
 кічичек Илона-ычак Айдыр ача-ы-на кўн-ның сай
 little Iona-DIM Aidyr brother-3PS-DAT day-GEN every

чархастыҭ пол турған.
 чархастыҭ пол тур-ган
 tiresome be stay-PERF

Little Iona has been bothering her brother, Aidyr, every day. (Буквалар 1)²

In example (1) each main character is introduced with a noun modified by an adjective or another noun.

Example (2) is an instance of a major participant being introduced in the story *Пулан* (Тороев 1991b).

- 2) Уғаа сіліг паза ниик чўгўр парчатхан аң чўс
 уғаа сіліг паза ниик чўгўр пар-чатхан аң чўс
 very beautiful and lightly run go-PrPTC wild.animal hundred

метрче ырахта.
 метр-ча ырах-да
 meter-EQ far-LOC

There was a very beautiful animal running easily about 100 meters away. (Пулан 29)

The moose was previously referred to indirectly in direct speech: The father was pointing to the animal, but didn't say what it was. Now the son sees it for the first time, but is still not sure what it is. At this point in the story, where it enters the stage as an active participant, it is introduced by a rather long noun phrase.

Secondary participants are typically introduced by simple nouns or proper names rather than noun phrases. The following example from the story *Пайнаң чох-чоос кизи* (Kadyshev 1986) illustrates this.

- 3) Чарғычы пайдаң сурча: — Хайди полғазар?
 чарғычы пай-даң сур-ча хайди пол-ган-зар
 judge rich-ABL ask-Pr how be-PERF-2p

The judge asked the rich man: "What has happened to you?" (Пайнаң чох-чоос кизи 45)

In this example the judge is mentioned for the first time in the text (although one may argue that he has been implicitly referred to, as there was frequent mention of going to court before this sentence).

² The name of the source text and the sentence number are given in parentheses.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that secondary participants are never introduced by a noun phrase. In example (4), taken from the first person narrative *Пулан*, the dog White Throat is clearly a minor participant, as he is mentioned only this once in the text.

- 4) Пістің Мойнах, тілін салбахтадып, хаңаа соонча
 піс-ның Мойнах тіл-ын салбахтад-п хаңаа соо-ын-ча
 we-GEN White.Throat tongue-3Ps swing.ST-GCNI cart end-3Ps-EQ
 көѳ чох соплатхан.
 көѳ_чох соплат-ган
 unhappy trot-PERF

Our [dog] White Throat trotted sullenly behind the cart, his tongue hanging out. (*Пулан* 14)

In example (4) the dog is referred to with a noun phrase consisting of a possessive pronoun and a proper name, even though he is clearly a minor participant.

2. Reference to Previously Established Participants by Nouns

Participants that are already established are usually referred to by zero reference or by pronouns. The situations in which proper names and/or nouns are used to refer to established participants are limited. One such situation is at the beginning of a new paragraph. This is not surprising, since a noun or proper name is used to positively identify a participant who will then be referred to by a pronoun. In example (5), Aidyr has already been established as a main participant, but is now identified again by giving the proper name at the beginning of the paragraph.

- 5) Айдыр, артынған сумказын иңнінең тўзіріп,
 Айдыр артын-ған сумка-ын иңін-ы-наң тўзір-п
 Aidyr throw.across.self-PRPTC bag-3Ps shoulder-3Ps-ABL drop-GCNI
 кнйгаларын улуг көѳлліг сығарча.
 кнйга-лар-ы-н улуг көѳлліг сығар-ча
 book-PL-3Ps-ACC big affectionate get.out-Pr

Aidyr dropped the bag he was carrying from his shoulder and pulled out his books very affectionately. (*Буквалар* 7)

A previously established participant is referred to by a proper name or noun in the course of a paragraph to mark the point where the subject changes. Ilona was the subject of the sentence immediately preceding example (6). Since Aidyr is the subject of this sentence, he is referred to by name.

- 6) Маң тустарда Айдыр ағаа нымахтар хығыр пир турчаң.
 маң тус-лар-да Айдыр ан-га нымах-лар хығыр пир тур-чаң
 free time-PL-LOC Aidyr 3sP-DAT tale-PL read give stay-PHAB

When Aidyr has some free time he reads folk tales to her. (Буквалар 13)

Finally, proper names or nouns are used to refer to previously established participants when there is a change of topic. This situation is similar to the one above, and one may argue that the change of subject is only a subcase of change of topic, since subject is the typical grammaticalization of topic. We are including it here to present a more complete picture.

Example (7) is taken from the first paragraph of a first person narrative. This paragraph contains mostly background information with the majority of clauses describing states and processes rather than actions. Here the stage is set for the story to start. While the (grammatical) subject changes frequently (almost every clause has a different subject), the paragraph can be divided into two parts. The first part is about the story teller (that is, the author), and the second part describes his father. Both the author and his father are main participants of the story. Example (7) occurs at the point where the topic switches.

- 7) Пабамзар көрп, хайхаам: хайди ол ізіге
 паба-ым-зар көр-п хайха-ган-м хайди ол ізі-га
 father-1sPs-DIR see-GCNI be.surprised-PERF-1s how 3sP heat-DAT
 пыспинча.
 пыс-бин-ча
 ripen-NEG-PR

I looked at my father and wondered: how can he stand this heat (lit. how does he not cook in the heat)? (Пулан 6)

Notice the use of the noun (with possessive suffix) *пабам* “my father”. This positively identifies both participants and establishes the father as the topic of the second part of the paragraph.

When used as the subject, the first person pronoun may be considered on the same level as nouns for other participants. There is no semantic need for the pronoun since a first person subject is unambiguously identified by the verbal suffix. While a third person singular pronoun could refer to multiple participants, the first person singular pronoun can only refer to the narrator. This means the use of the first person pronoun is parallel to that of nominal references to third person participants. (As in other languages, it is unusual to use a name or noun when speaking about oneself.)

3. Reference to Previously Established Participants by Pronouns or Zero

Previously established participants are most commonly referred to by pronouns or zero reference. (Zero reference includes instances where the only reference to the participant is the subject agreement suffix attached to the verb.)

Pronouns or zero reference are used when the subject is identical with the subject of the preceding clause. The following example is taken from a paragraph in which the main actor has already been established in preceding clauses.

- 8) Ибзер киліп, кнйгалар хығырып, саннар пөгип,
 иб-зар кил-п кнйга-лар хығыр-п сан-лар пөгк-п
 house-DIR come-GCNI book-PL read-GCNI sum-PL solve-GCNI
 чоо сйренче.
 чоо сйрен-ча
 very.much strive-PR

He comes home, reads books, does his math problems, and tries very hard.
 (Буквалар 10)

The only overt mention of the subject in example (8) is that the verb takes the third singular agreement suffix (which happens to be a zero morpheme). The subject, Aidyr, can be identified through the preceding sentence in which Aidyr is also the subject.

Pronouns or zero reference are also used when the identity of the person is easily inferred by other means. This usage may sometimes surprise the non-native reader, since it appears that the Khakas language makes little use of pronouns or full nouns.

- 9) Пйр нымағасты хығырыбыссох хысхырча. – Пазох пйрее
 пйр нымах-ас-ны хығыр-ыбыс-са-ох хысхыр-ча пазох пйрее
 one tale-DIM-ACC read-PERF-CND-also cry-PR again some
 нымах!
 нымах
 tale

When he has finished reading one tale, she cries: “Another fairy tale!”
 (Буквалар 17)

There is nothing in example (9) that points to the brother being the subject of the verb *хығыр* ‘to read’, or that it is the sister who calls for another tale to be read. If we assume that the subject of *хығыр* ‘to read’ is the same as the subject of the preceding clause, we will incorrectly deduce that it is the girl who both reads and calls out. Only from the wider context does the reader know that only the boy can read and the girl likes to listen. The identity of the participants is supplied by this knowledge.

4. Syntactic Motivation for Pronominal Reference

In section 3 we indicated that previously established participants are most commonly referred to by pronouns or zero reference. The choice between these two options seems syntactically motivated. The default choice is zero reference; the pronoun is only included where it cannot be left out. One type of syntactic motivation involves instances where the participant would be in a case other than nominative (and perhaps the genitive). Pronouns are less likely to be omitted in these instances since there is no other way to mark the grammatical function of the participant.

A second type of syntactic motivation is to ‘bind’ serial verbs (that is, series of verbs in which all but the last are what are traditionally called gerunds). The following example from *Хымысханың* (Kil’chichakov 1986) illustrates this.

- 10) Пірсінде ол, Пағаны аалчы идіп, өң-пазы ас-тамахнаң
 пірсінде ол паға-ты аалчы ит-п өң_пазы ас_тамах-наң
 once 3sP frog-ACC guest do-GCnJ different food-COM

сыйлап-ча.

сыйла-ча

give-PR

Once he had the frog for a guest and gave different foods as a gift.
 (Хымысханың 3)

In example (10) the ant has previously been established as a participant, and if the verb was a simple verb rather than a serial verb it is likely the pronoun would have been omitted. The pronoun is inserted to make clear that the subject of the serial verb *идіп* ‘do’ is the ant. (Even though the pronoun *ол* is traditionally considered part of the main clause since it is followed by a comma, its presence is necessary in order to positively identify the subject of the serial verb.)

A third type of syntactic motivation is when the referent is in focus. Naturally, when special emphasis put on a participant the reference cannot be omitted. In example (11) the subject is moved from the sentence initial position to the post-verbal position to give it special weight.

- 11) Хынығ хығырчаң ол!
 хынығ хығыр-чаң ол
 interesting read-PHAB 3sP

How well he always read! (Буквалар 14)

5. Conclusion

The findings presented in this paper seem to confirm what was noted about other Turkic languages during the workshop, especially with regard to Kumyk.

Using nouns or proper names to refer to participants is motivated by discourse considerations. Nouns or proper names are used when a participant is first introduced; in the beginning of a new paragraph; and when there is a change of subject or topic. Furthermore, the use of pronouns as opposed to zero reference is syntactically motivated. As these findings are not based on a large amount of data, these results need to be checked for their validity on a larger corpus.

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