#### Cite as:

Borgoyakova, Tatyana, Ilya Topoyev and Peter Knapp. 2002. Khakas interlinear text with comments on discourse features. In John M. Clifton and Deborah A. Clifton (eds.), *Comments on discourse structures in ten Turkic languages*, 227-248. North Eurasia Group, SIL International: St. Petersburg, Russia.

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.

# Khakas Interlinear Text with Comments on Discourse Features

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).

The text forming the basis for study here is *Tuzip maŭuu* 'The Sky Offering' (Katanov 1996). It was originally published in 1907 by N. F. Katanov. The text was originally collected in Arykov village, at the mouth of the Kamysh River on the left bank of the Abakan River in 1889/90.

# Turip maŭuu 'The Sky Offering'

1) Тигір тайиирында хам кізі чох полчаң. тигір тайы-ар-ы-да хам кізі чох пол-чаң sky sacrifice-IMPFPTC-3PS-LOC shaman man ExNG be-PHAB

When offering to the sky, there are no shamans.

2) Пиині мÿн парбачаңнар. Пии-ны мÿн пар-ба-чаң-лар mare-ACC mount go-NEG-PHAB-3p

One does not ride on mares.

3) Хат кізі, хыс кізі андар парбачаң. хат кізі хыс кізі андар пар-ба-чаң woman man girl man there go-NEG-PHAB

Women or girls do not usually go there (to the place of the sacrifice).

Comments on Discourse Structures in Ten Turkic Languages, pp 227-248

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ABL=Ablative; ACC=Accusative; CND=Conditional; COM=Comitive; DAT=Dative; DIM=Diminutive; DIR=Directive; EQ=Equative; ExNG=Negative Existence; FDEM=Far Demonstrative; GCNJ=Gerund: Conjunctive; GEN=Genitive; GMNR=Gerund: Manner; GNEG=Gerund: Negative; GSQ=Gerund: Sequential; HAB=Habitual; IMP2P=Imperative; IMPFPTC=Imperfective Participle; LOC=Locative; NEG=Negative; PERF=Perfect; PHAB= Past Habitual; PL=Plural; PR=Present; PRFNG=Present/Future Negative; PRFTC=Perfect Participle; PRFUT=Present/Future; PROG=Progressive; PRPTC=Present Participle; xnP=Pronoun; xnPS=Possessor

4) Тайығны тағның иң ÿстÿнде, тигейінде, тайиидыр. тайығ-ны тағ-ның иң ÿстÿнде тигей-ы-да тайы-адыр sacrifice-Acc mountain-GEN most above top-3Ps-Loc sacrifice-HAB

They offer sacrifices on the very highest top of the mountains.

5) Аның ўстўнде хазың хондырчалар. ан-ның ўстўнде хазың хондыр-ча-лар 3sP-GEN above birch leave.overnight-PR-3p

They leave a birch on top of it overnight.

6) Хазыңны чирдең, чилегезін пір дее ўспин, хазың-ны чир-даң чилеге-ы-ны пір даа ўс-бин birch-Acc land-Abl root-3Ps-Acc one even cut.off-GNEG

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ходырып алчалар.
ходыр-п_ал-ча-лар
break-Perf-Pr-3p
```

Not cutting any roots, they break a birch from the land.

7) Аны ходырып, олох кÿнде парып, хондыр ан-ны ходыр-п ол-ох кÿн-да пар-п хондыр 3sP-Acc break-GCNJ FDEM-also sun-Loc go-GCNJ leave.overnight

```
салчалар.
сал-ча-лар
put-Pr-3p
```

After breaking it, they go on the same day (to the mountain top) and leave it (the birch) there over night.

8) Иртен иртенöк, пии тудып алып, саап алчалар. иртен иртен-ox пии тут-п\_ал-п сап-п ал-ча-лар in.morning in.morning-also mare hold-PERF-GCNJ milk-GCNJ take-PR-3p

Early in the morning they take a mare and milk her.

 9) Сўдін
 хыс кізі саапча.

 сўт-ы-ны
 хыс кізі сап-ча

 milk-3Ps-Acc girl
 man milk-Pr

A girl milks her.

10) Иртен иртенöк, iнек саап, сÿдiн хайнадып, иртен иртен-ох iнек сап-п сÿт-ы-ны хайнат-п in.morning in.morning-also cow milk-GCNJ milk-3Ps-Acc boil.st-GCNJ

```
пызылах пазып алчалар.
пызылах бас-п_ал-ча-лар
curd.cheese press-PERF-PR-3p
```

Early in the morning they milk a cow, boil the milk and presss curd cheese.

11) Хазан сыбап, арағазын алып алчалар. хазан сыба-п араға-ы-ны ал-п\_ал-ча-лар cauldron distill-GCNJ wine-3Ps-ACC take-PERF-PR-3p

They distill a cauldron of wine and take it.

12) Тағзар пиинің судін алып алчалар. тағ-зар пии-ы-ның сут-ы-ны ал-п\_ал-ча-лар mountain-Dır mare-3Ps-GEN milk-3Ps-ACC take-PERF-PR-3p

They take the mare's milk to the mountain.

13) Ax хураған алчалар. ax хураған ал-ча-лар white lamb take-Pr-3p

They take a white lamb

14) Ÿс полза, ÿсті, тоғыс полза, тоғысты апарчалар. ÿс пол-са ÿс-ны тоғыс пол-са тоғыс-ны апар-ча-лар three be-CND three-ACC nine be-CND nine-ACC take-PR-3p

If there are three of them they take three, if there are nine, they take nine.

15) Кізі ле полза апарбас, кööленген не кізі. кізі ла пол-са апар-бас кööлен-ган ла кізі man only be-CND take-PRFNG love-PRFPTC only man

Not every person will take one, only the one who likes to.

16) Мыннаң парарда, кічичек хазың тöзiнең ходырып мына-даң пар-ар-да кічіг-ек хазың тöс-ы-даң ходыр-п here-ABL go-IMPFPTc-LoC small-DIM birch breast-3Ps-ABL break-GCNJ

```
алчалар.
ал-ча-лар
take-PR-3p
```

When they go from here they break off a little birch at the stump and take it.

17) Паза хазың пазына палғир пір кизек арсинча таабы, паза паза хазың бас-ы-га палға-ар пір кизек арсин-ца таабы паза and birch head-3Ps-DAT tie-IMPFPTC one piece arsin-EQ taby and

one piece canvas

To the top of another birch they will tie a piece of *taby* (a kind of paper), about an *arsin* (70cm) long, and a piece of canvas.

18) Аны алғир кізі хазыңның пазына палғап алча. ан-ны алға-ар кізі хазың-ның бас-ы-га палға-п\_ал-ча 3sP-Acc bless-IMPFPtc man birch-Gen head-3Ps-DAt tie-Perf-Pr

The sacrificer ties it to the top of the birch.

19) Ол кізі сикпен кизіп алча.ол кізі сикпен кис-п\_ал-чаFDEM man cloth put.on-PERF-PR

That man has put on some cloth.

20) Хыстарның саакпазын (шапку) кизіп, алып, тигейіне хыс-лар-ның саакпа-ы-ны шапку кис-п ал-п тигей-ы-га girl-PL-GEN hat-3Ps-Acc hat put.on-GCNJ take-GCNJ top-3Ps-DAT

```
пір чарым арсинчачаламахазап алча.пір чарым арсин-ча опе halfаrsin-Eqshaman's.band fasten.with.a.pin-PERF-PR
```

Having put on a girl's hat, he pins shaman's bands about half an *arsin* (30cm) long to its top.

21) Аннаң пасха парғлир чон: олған-узах, улуғ-кічіг – аннаң басха пархла-ар чон олған-узах улуғ-кічіг then another many.go-IMPFPTC people child-grandchild big-small

```
        тоозазы
        пöріктеріне
        ідöк кічичек
        чалама

        тооза-ы
        пöрік-лар-ы-га
        ідöк кічіг-ек
        чалама

        all-3Ps
        hat-PL-3Ps-DAT
        so
        small-DIM
        shaman's.band
```

```
палғап алчадырлар, узуны тöрт-iлiгче.
палға-п_ал-чадыр-лар узун-ы тöрт-iлiг-ча
tie-Perf-PrInfr-3p long-3Ps four-finger.width-EQ
```

The other people that will go with him, children and grandchildren, large and small, all of them, will also tie small shaman's bands, about four fingerwidths long to their hats.

22) Арағазын алып алып, пызылағын алчалар. араға-ы-ны ал-п\_ал-п пызылах-ы-ны ал-ча-лар wine-3Ps-Acc take-PERF-GCNJ curd.cheese-3Ps-Acc take-PR-3p

They take the wine and the curd cheese.

 23) Итті
 мында албас.

 ит-ны
 мында ал-бас

 meat-Acc
 here
 take-PrFNG

They will not take meat from here.

24) Пайаағы пиинің судін хада апарчалар. пайағы пии-ы-ның сут-ы-ны хада апар-ча-лар that mare-3Ps-GEN milk-3Ps-ACC together.with take-PR-3p

They take it together with the mare's milk.

25) Хазан алчалар. хазан ал-ча-лар cauldron take-PR-3p

They take the cauldron.

26) Суғ тартып алчалар. суғ тарт-п\_ал-ча-лар water pull-Perf-Pr-3p

They take water.

27) Амды парғлапчалар. амды пархла-ча-лар then many.go-PR-3p

Then they all go.

28) Тайығы хазыңның хыринда от одынып алчалар. тайығ-ы хазың-ның хыринда от одын-п\_ал-ча-лар sacrifice-3Ps birch-GeN at fire kindle-Perf-Pr-3p

Close to the sacrifice birch they kindle a fire.

29) Отты хазыңның кистінең одынар. от-ны хазың-ның кисті-ы-даң одын-ар fire-ACC birch-GEN behind-3Ps-ABL kindle-PrFut

They will light the fire behind the birch.

30) От одынып алып, кічичек хазыңнар кис килчелер. от одын-п ал-п кічіг-ек хазың-лар кис кил-ча-лар fire kindle-GCNJ take-GCNJ small-DIM birch-3p cut come-PR-3p

Having started the fire they cut little birch pieces.

31) Ол хазыңнарны тооза піріктіріп, салааларынаң стол ол хазың-лар-ны тооза піріктір-п салаа-лар-ы-наң стол FDEM birch-PL-ACC all unite-GCNJ branch-PL-3Ps-Com table

```
итчелер.
ит-ча-лар
do-PR-3p
```

Uniting all these birch pieces, they make a table with the branches.

32) Стол идіп, хазыңнаң оттың аразында мыннаң стол ит-п хазың-даң от-ның ара-ы-да мына-даң table do-GCNJ birch-ABL fire-GEN interval-3Ps-Loc here-ABL

```
апарған нимелерні пызылах ўстўне салчалар.
апар-ган ниме-лар-ны пызылах ўстў-ы-га сал-ча-лар
take-PRFPTC what-PL-ACC curd.cheese top-3Ps-DAT put-PR-3p
```

Having made the table, they put the things that they took from here and put them between the birch and the fire on top of the curd cheese.

33) Арағазынаң. араға-ы-наң wine-3Ps-Сом

With the wine.

34) Отха салып, чаламаларын аластапчадырлар. от-га сал-п чалама-лар-ы-ны аласта-чадыр-лар fire-DAT put-GCNJ shaman's.band-PL-3Ps-Acc fumigate-PR-3p

Having put (all) theses things on the fire, they fumigate the shaman's bands.

35) Аластап алып, пайаағы хазыңның салаазына палғап аласта-п\_ал-п пайағы хазың-ның салаа-ы-га палға-п fumigate-Perf-GCNJ that birch-GEN branch-3PS-DAT tie-GCNJ

```
сўдін стол хырина турғысчалар, ўстў саринаң.
сўт-ы-ны стол хыри-ы-га турғыс-ча-лар ўстў сары-ы-даң
milk-3Ps-Acc table side-3Ps-Dat stand-PR-3p top side-3Ps-Abl
```

Having fumigated them, they tie them to the branches of that birch, and put the milk to the side of the table, on the south side.

36) Пöрiктерiндегi чаламаларын, алғир кiзiдең пöрiк-лар-ы-дагы чалама-лар-ы-ны алға-ар кiзi-даң hat-PL-3Ps-located.in shaman's.band-PL-3Ps-Acc bless-IMPFPTc man-Abl

пасхазы, тооза пöриинең систіп алып, ирбен чул басха-ы тооза пöрік-ы-наң сист-п\_ал-п ирбен чул another-3Ps all hat-3Ps-Com untie.st-Perf-GCNJ *irben* pull.out

кил-чадыр-лар сал-чадыр-лар соme-PR-3p рut-PR-3p

All the others, except for the sacrificer, untie the shaman's bands from the hats and go to pick *irben* (species of healing herb).

37) Анаң, хазыңның тозын сойып, айах, самнах анаң хазың-ның тос-ы-ны сой-п айах самнах then birch-GEN birch.bark-3Ps-ACC tear.off-GCNJ bowl spoon

итчедірлер. ит-чадыр-лар do-Pr-3p

Then, tearing off birch bark, they make a bowl and a spoon (each).

38) Ол айахха пызылах тоғырапчадырлар, анаң араға ол айах-га пызылах тоғыра-чадыр-лар анаң араға FDEM bowl-DAT curd.cheese cut.into.small.pieces-PR-3p then wine

```
урыбысчалар, пии сÿдін.
ур-ыбыс-ча-лар пии сÿт-ы-ны
pour-PerF-Pr-3p mare milk-3Ps-Acc
```

They cut the curd cheese onto the bowls, and pour the wine and mare's milk.

39) Тайыға салчаң хурағанның ээлері пўрліг салаа тайығ-га сал-чаң хураған-ның ээлар-ы пўрлығ салаа sacrifice-DAT put-HABPTC lamb-GEN master-PL-3Ps leafy branch

```
сындырып алчадырлар.
сындыр-п_ал-чадыр-лар
break-Perf-Pr-3p
```

The owners of the sacrificial lamb(s), break off a branch with leaves.

40) Хурағанның алын оң азағын пÿге тудып алып, ÿс хураған-ның алын оң азах-ы-ны пÿк-а тут-п\_ал-п ÿс lamb-GEN front right foot-3Ps-Acc bend-GMNR hold-PERF-GCNJ three

азағын чирге пастырып, хазыңны кун чолынча азах-ы-ны чир-га пастыр-п хазың-ны кун чол-ы-ча foot-3Ps-Acc land-DAT make.press-GCNJ birch-Acc sun road-3Ps-EQ

ибірчелер тоозалары, хазыңа пазыр чöрчелер. ибір-ча-лар тооза-лар-ы хазың-га пазыр чöр-ча-лар go.around-PR-3p all-PL-3Ps birch-DAT pray walk-PR-3p

Holding the lamb's right front foot bent up, and making it step with (the other) three feet on the ground, they go clockwise around the birch, all of them, praying to the birch.

41) Арағаны пір кізі, айахха урған арағаны, хазыңзары араға-ны пір кізі айах-га ур-ган араға-ны хазың-зар-ы wine-Acc one man bowl-Dat pour-Preptic wine-Acc birch-Dir-3Ps

наныпчадыр, тос самнахпынаң сузып алып. наны-чадыр тос самнах-ы-наң сус-п\_ал-п give.drink.offering-PR birch.bark spoon-3Ps-Com scoop-Perf-GCNJ

One man sprinkles wine, from the wine poured onto the bowl, as a drink offering toward the birch, scooping it with the birch bark spoon.

42) Пызылах тутхан кізі хазыңнох ибірчедір. пызылах тут-ган кізі хазың-ны-ох ибір-чадыр curd.cheese hold-PRFPTC man birch-ACC-also go.around-PR

The man holding the curd cheese also goes around the birch.

43) Наниркізіпасхох.наны-аркізібасха-охgive.drink.offering-IMPFPTCmananother-also

The man giving drink offerings will also go.

44) Иң пастағызын алғапчатхан кізі парчадыр. иң пастағы-ы-ны алға-чатхан кізі пар-чадыр most first-3Ps-ACC bless-PRPTC man go-PR

The sacrificer goes as the very first man.

45) Аның соонча айахпынаң сут тутхан кізі, аннаң ан-ның соо-ы-ча айах-ы-наң сут тут-ган кізі ан-наң 3sP-Gen end-3Ps-Eq bowl-3Ps-Com milk hold-PrfPtc man 3sP-Com

```
хада наныпчатхан кізі парчадыр.
хада нан-чатхан кізі пар-чадыр
together.with go.home-PRPTC man go-Pr
```

Behind him walks the man holding the milk in a bowl, and with him the man giving the drink offerings.

46) Оларның соонаң, хурағанны пір азаан пўге олар-ның соо-ы-даң хураған-ны пір азах-ы-ны пўк-а 3pP-GEN end-3Ps-ABL lamb-ACC one foot-3Ps-ACC bend-GMNR

```
тудып, ээзі парчадыр.
тут-п ээ-ы пар-чадыр
hold-GCNJ master-3Ps go-Pr
```

After them, goes the owner of the lamb holding its one foot bend up.

47) Пасхалары, хурағаннох тудып, парчалар. басха-лар-ы хураған-ны-ох тут-п пар-ча-лар another-PL-3Ps lamb-Acc-also hold-GCNJ go-PR-3p

The others, also holding the lamb follow.

48) Сооларынаң пасха улус парча, хости-хости пазып. соо-лар-ы-даң басха улус пар-ча хости-хости бас-п end-PL-3Ps-ABL another people go-PR nearby-nearby step-GCNJ

After them, the other people go, very very closely to each other.

49) Хазыңны ўс хати ибір киліп, тохтапчалар. хазың-ны ўс хати ибір кил-п тохта-ча-лар birch-ACC three times go.around come-GCNJ stop-PR-3p

After they went around the birch three times, they stop.

50) Пайаағы нанаан сут халза, пірер тос пайағы наны-ган сут хал-са пірер тос that give.drink.offering-PRFPTC milk stay-CND each.one birch.bark

самнахнаң сузып, пастап хураған ээзіне самнах-наң сус-п пастап хураған ээ-ы-га spoon-Com scoop-GCNJ at.first lamb master-3Ps-DAT

ізірчедір алғачаң кізі. ізір-чадыр алға-чаң кізі make.drink-PR bless-HABPTC man

If there is milk from the drink offering left, the sacrificer will give each one to drink, by scooping it with the spoon, beginning with the owner of the lamb.

51) Аннаңарны алғаан кізі, айағын тутхан кізі ан-наң-лар-ны алға-ган кізі айах-ы-ны тут-ган кізі 3sP-ABL-PL-ACC bless-PRFPTC man bowl-3Ps-ACC hold-PRFPTC man

ізібöкчедірлер, нанаан кізі ізібöкче, ізі-ба-ох-чадыр-лар наны-ган кізі ізі-ба-ох-ча heat-NEG-also-PR-3p give.drink.offering-PRFPTC man heat-NEG-also-PR

анаң – тоозалары. анаң тооза-лар-ы then all-PL-3Ps

The sacrificer [gives a drink to] the ones following him; the man holding the bowl will drink, then the man giving the drink offerings will drink as well, and then the others.

52) Анаң апарған хурағанның азаан сöö ойда тартып, анаң апар-ган хураған-ның азах-ы-ны сöö ойда тарт-п then take-PrfPtc lamb-GEN foot-3Ps-Acc stretch on.back pull-GCNJ

майлатпасха ахсын чаба тудып, пір кізі майлат-басха аас-ы-ны чаба тут-п пір кізі do.meow-INFTVNG mouth-3Ps-Acc close.to.body hold-GCNJ one man

істін чара кизібізебес, öзеп істі-ы-ны чар-а кис-ыбыс-абас öс-а-п insides-3Ps-Acc divide-GMnr cross-Perf-GSQ grow-GMnr-GCnJ

öдірчедір. öдір-чадыр kill-Pr

Then, they pull the lamb they had taken by the feet on its back, holding its mouth shut so it won't bleat, and one man will kill it by cutting its insides open.

53) Теерізін сойып, идін оохтап, хайзын теері-ы-ны сой-п ит-ы-ны оохла-п ?-ы-ны skin-3Ps-Acc tear.off-GCNJ meat-3Ps-Acc mince-GCNJ ?-3Ps-Acc

(хазызын) сістепчедірлер. хазы-ы-ны сісте-чадыр-лар abdominal.fat-3Ps-Acc heat-PR-3p

They tear off the skin, they cut the meat into small pieces, and heat the fat.

54) Паарын, холын, тöзiн, хайзын паар-ы-ны хол-ы-ны тöс-ы-ны ?-ы-ны liver-3Ps-Acc hand-3Ps-Acc breast-3Ps-Acc ?-3Ps-Acc

(хазызын),хазантігіподырабас,ағааоххазы-ы-ныхазантік-подыр-абасан-га-охabdominal.fat-3Ps-Acccauldroncook-GCNJsit-GSQ3sP-DAT-also

суғып, хайнатчалар. сух-п хайнат-ча-лар put.in-GCNJ boil.sт-Pr-3p

Bringing the cauldron to a boil, they add to it the liver, the front feet, the chest and the fat.

55) Пызырып алып, ол сістеен ит тооза пысса, пайаағы пызыр-п\_ал-п ол сісте-ган ит тооза пыс-са пайағы prepare-Perf-GCNJ FDEM heat-PrfPTC meat all get.ready-CND that

тос айахха, кизіп, тоғырапчалар. тос айах-га кис-п тоғыра-ча-лар birch.bark bowl-DAT put.on-GCNJ cut.into.small.pieces-PR-3p

Having prepared it, when that heated meat gets done, they cut it into small pieces onto that/those birch bark bowl(s).

56) Пызылахтарын хадох тоғырапчалар. пызылах-лар-ы-ны хада-ох тоғыра-ча-лар curd.cheese-PL-3PS-ACC together.with-also cut.into.small.pieces-PR-3p

They chop the curd cheese together with it.

57) Сўт арағазын ўстўне урыбысчалар. cўт араға-ы-ны ўстў-ы-га ур-ыбыс-ча-лар milk wine-3Ps-Acc top-3Ps-Dat pour-Perf-Pr-3p

They pour milk wine on top.

58) Хазыңны пазох ўс хати ибірчелер, пазох, пайаағох чіли, хазың-ны пазох ўс хати ибір-ча-лар пазох пайағы-ох чіли birch-ACC again three times go.around-PR-3p again that-also like

наныпчалар хазыңзар. наны-ча-лар хазың-зар give.drink.offering-PR-3p birch-DIR

Again, they go around the birch three times, and again, like before, they sprinkle drink offerings toward the birch.

59) Ээлері, ол нимені чіп алып, артханын ээ-лар-ы ол ниме-ны чі-п\_ал-п артхан-ы-ны master-PL-3Ps FDEM what-Acc eat-PERF-GCNJ remaining-3Ps-Acc

```
олох чонға ізірчелер.
ол-ох чон-га ізыр-ча-лар
FDEM-also people-DAT make.drink-PR-3p
```

The owners, having eaten, will also give those people what is left.

60) Хазандағы иттерні прай столға сығарчадырлар, хазан-дагы ит-лар-ны прай стол-га сығар-чадыр-лар cauldron-located.in meat-PL-ACC every table-DAT get.out-PR-3p

```
тос айахха пазох тоғырапчадырлар,
тос айах-га пазох тоғыра-чадыр-лар
birch.bark bowl-DAT again cut.into.small.pieces-PR-3p
```

```
пызылағын хадох.
пызылах-ы-ны хада-ох
curd.cheese-3Ps-Acc together.with-also
```

They take out all the meat pieces from the cauldron onto the table, and chop it again with the curd cheese onto the bark bowl(s).

 61) Тоғырап алып,
 столны
 ээлері –
 тöрт кізі –

 тоғыра-п\_ал-п
 стол-ны
 ээ-лар-ы
 тöрт кізі –

 cut.into.small.pieces-Perf-GCNJ
 table-ACC
 master-PL-3Ps
 four
 man

```
кöдiрiп, пазох ибірчедірлер хазыңны.
кöдiр-п пазох ибір-чадыр-лар хазың-ны
lift-GCNJ again go.around-PR-3p birch-Acc
```

Having chopped it up, the masters of the table, four men, lift it and go again around the birch.

62) Стол тутхан улус алнында чöрiп одыр. стол тут-ган улус алнында чöр-п\_одыр table hold-PrfPtc people in.front walk-Prog

The people holding the table walk in front of the people.

63) Аның соонаң наныпчатхан улус парча, ан-ның соо-ы-даң наны-чатхан улус пар-ча 3sP-GEN end-3Ps-ABL give.drink.offering-PRPTC people go-PR

```
алғапчатхан кізі хости парчадыр.
алға-чатхан кізі хости пар-чадыр
bless-PRPTC man nearby go-PR
```

After them, come the people sprinkling drink offerings, the sacrificer walks close to them.

64) Алғап, хазыңзары пазырып, ўс хати ибірчедірлер. алға-п хазың-зар-ы пазыр-п ўс хати ибір-чадыр-лар bless-GCNJ birch-DIR-3Ps pray-GCNJ three times go.around-PR-3p

Giving thanks, praying to the birch, they walk around three times.

65) Анаң тоғыраан иттерін ідöк, пайаағох чіли, анаң тоғыра-ган ит-лар-ы-ны ідöк пайағы-ох чіли then cut.into.small.pieces-PRFPTC meat-PL-3Ps-Acc so that-also like

```
кізілерге чідіртчелер.
кізі-лар-га чідірт-ча-лар
man-PL-DAT make.eat-PR-3p
```

Then, they give the meat that was cut into pieces to the people to eat, like they did with the previous.

66) Аның соонда хазың столдағы иттерін ан-ның соо-ы-да хазың стол-дагы ит-лар-ы-ны 3sP-GEN end-3Ps-Loc birch table-located.in meat-PL-3Ps-Acc

```
кисклепчедірлер.
кисхла-чадыр-лар
cut.repeatedly-PR-3p
```

Then they cut the meat on the birch table.

67) Кисклеп, ÿлестіре ал-алынча салчадырлар, кисхла-п ÿлестір-а ал-алынча сал-чадыр-лар cut.repeatedly-GCNJ divide.ST-GMNR ?-separately put-PR-3p

```
тари пасха салып, чіпчедірлер.
тара-а басха сал-п чі-чадыр-лар
spread-GMNR another put-GCNJ eat-PR-3p
```

Having cut it, they divide it and put it separately, and spreading it, they eat it.

68) Арағазын хазанға урып алып, чірчебінең öлепчелер араға-ы-ны хазан-га ур-п\_ал-п чірче-бын-аң öле-ча-лар wine-3Ps-Acc cauldron-Dat pour-Perf-GCNJ cup-1s-IMp1d soak-Pr-3p

```
ээлері.
ээ-лар-ы
master-PL-3Ps
```

Having poured the wine into the cauldron, the owners scoop it out with a cup.

69) Арағаны ізіп тооза чіп алып. одырғанда, итті тооза чі-п ал-п араға-ны іс-п одыр-ган-да ит-ны wine-ACC drink-GCNJ PRG-PRFPTC-LOC meat-ACC all eat-PERF-GCNJ

сööктерін, артхан салдап алып, хазың столға сööк-лар-ы-ны салда-п\_ал-п артхан хазын стол-га remaining bone-PL-3PS-ACC gnaw-PERF-GCNJ birch table-DAT салчалар.

сал-ча-лар put-PR-3p

When they are drinking the wine, they finish off the meat, gnaw on the remaining bones, and put it on the birch table.

70) Олғаннарны ызыбысчалар: ағыл киліңер!» «Наа одың олған-лар-ны ыс-ыбыс-ча-лар наа одың ағыл кил-ыңар child-PL-ACC send-PERF-PR-3p new piece.of.firewood bring come-IMP2p

They send the boys: "Bring new fire wood!"

71) Аны тооза отха салыбысчалар. сал-ыбыс-ча-лар ан-ны тооза от-га 3sP-Acc all fire-DAT put-PERF-PR-3p

All of that, they set it on fire.

72) Otxa салыбызып, пайаағы хазың столны сööгiнең сал-ыбыс-п пайағы хазың стол-ны сööк-ы-наң от-га fire-DAT put-PERF-GCNJ that birch table-ACC bone-3Ps-COM

> салыбысчалар: хада отха нінін-нимезін, сал-ыбыс-ча-лар нін-ы-н-ниме-ы-ны хала от-га together.with fire-DAT put-PERF-PR-3p gut-3Ps-Acc-thing-3Ps-Acc

öртебісчелер. андарох куреп, отсарох андар-ох кўре-п от-зар-ох öрте-ыбыс-ча-лар there-also rake.up-GCNJ fire-DIR-also burn-PERF-PR-3p

Having set that on fire, they put the birch table together with the bones into the fire, rake all the guts and remains there as well, and burn it in the fire, also.

73) Нанарда, пайаағы хурағаннарның теерізін ээзі нан-ар-да пайағы хураған-лар-ның теері-ы-ны ээ-ы go.home-IMPFPTC-LOC that lamb-PL-GEN skin-3Ps-ACC master-3Ps

```
хурағанының теерізін
позынын
                                        алчадыр, пастап
            хураған-ы-ның теері-ы-ны ал-чадыр пастап
пос-ы-ның
RFLX-3Ps-GEN lamb-3Ps-GEN
                            skin-3Ps-Acc take-PR
                                                 at.first
       анаң пасхазын
                            алғаан
                                       кізее
                                               пирчедір
                                       кізі-га
пір-ны анаң басха-ы-ны
                           алға-ган
                                               пир-чадыр
one-Acc then another-3Ps-Acc bless-PRFPTc man-DAT give-PR
прай.
прай
every
```

Going home, the owner of the lambs takes his own lamb's skin and then gives to the sacrificer first one and then the others.

74) Андох сурағласчалар, кем соң чылда хураған анда-ох сурағлас-ча-лар кем соң чыл-да хураған there-also ask.one.other.many.times-PR-3p who next year-Loc lamb сығарар. сығар-ар get.out-PRFUT

Then they ask each other, who will give a lamb next year.

75) Хураған сығарар кізі хол пирчедір: хураған сығар-ар кізі хол пир-чадыр lamb get.out-IMPFPTC man hand give-PR

The man who will give the lamb, gives his hand:

- 76) «Мин сығарарбын!» тіп. мин сығар-ар-бын ті-п 1sP get.out-PrFuт-1s say-GCnJ
  - "I will give it!" he says.
- 77) Аның соонда иблеріне нанчалар. ан-ның соо-ы-да иб-лар-ы-га нан-ча-лар 3sP-GEN end-3Ps-Loc house-PL-3Ps-DAT go.home-PR-3p

After that they go to their homes.

78) Ибде киліп, пайаағы «соң мин сығарам» теен иб-да кил-п пайағы соң мин сығар-ам ті-ган house-Loc come-GCNJ that next 1sP get.out-PERFUT1s say-PRFPTC

```
кізі-га хазыңа палғап алған улуғ сабытты пирчелер.
кізі-га хазың-га палға-п_ал-ган улуғ сабыт-ны пир-ча-лар
man-DAT birch-DAT tie-PERF-PRFPTC big rag-ACC give-PR-3p
```

Coming home, they will give a large rag tied to a birch to the man who said, "I will give the next lamb."

79) Алғаан кізі кискен сикпенні ағааох пирче. алға-ган кізі кис-ган сикпен-ны ан-га-ох пир-ча bless-PRFPтс man put.on-PRFPтс cloth-Acc 3sP-DAT-also give-PR

The sacrificer gives him also the cloth he was wearing.

80) Саакпазын, чаламазын олох кізее пирчедір. саакпа-ы-ны чалама-ы-ны ол-ох кізі-га пир-чадыр hat-3Ps-Acc shaman's.band-3Ps-Acc FDEM-also man-DAT give-PR

The hat and the shaman's bands they will give to that man as well.

81) Сыхчадыр тигір тайиирға Петров алнында, ай ах сых-чадыр тигір тайығ-арға Петров алнында ай ах go.out-Pr sky sacrifice-INF Peter's in.front moon white

```
толында.
тол-ы-да
fill-3Ps-Loc
```

They go out to do the sky sacrifice before Peter's day, at a full moon.

82) Алғаанда, пызылах, сÿдiн нанирда, алға-ган-да пызылах сÿт-ы-ны наны-ар-да bless-PRFPTC-Loc curd.cheese milk-3Ps-Acc give.drink.offering-IMPFPTC-Loc

```
«Тэ-эр!» тіпчелер.
тэ-эр ті-ча-лар
teer say-PR-3р
```

When they do the offering, when they (give) curd cheese and sprinkle the milk for a drink offering, they say: "Teer!"

### Notes on the Text and its Translation

In a few places the text is hard to understand, even for native speakers. This is because it contains lexical items that are not commonly used. For example, the measuring unit used in sentence 17 is no longer commonly used. Neither is *maaδы*, a kind of paper mentioned in the same sentence, in current use. In two places the editor of the text gave an explanation in parenthesis; once it seems he gives the standard form for a dialectal variant, and once he gives the Russian gloss for an unfamiliar word.

Similarly, the text occassionally uses nonstandard suffixes. For example, we find the suffix for third person possesive comitative beginning with a n (-nыn4n4n4) in sentence 41 and elsewhere. This is a dialectal variant.

In a few places the text uses an accusative suffix where a genitive seems to be the correct form.

In translating the text, we decided to translate the phrase  $aneaan \kappa i 3i$ , literally 'the man who blesses' (i.e. the man who is in charge of the sacrifice), as 'the sacrificer'.

In places where there was implicit information that was clearly understood by the native speaker, but is not clear from the English translation, we added the implied information in square brackets.

#### Comments on discourse features

In this section, we will point out certain discourse features related to word order that may be observed in the text. The text is very interesting in terms of the constituent structure of the sentences. Given that the normal structure of a Khakas sentence (that is, positive unfocused statements) is SOV, we examined cases where this order was not followed. We further assume that it is quite normal that old information is at the beginning of the sentence and new information is found immediately before the verb. This pattern may sometimes result in an OSV order when the object is known and the subject is new information.

Of special interest to us are the cases where the sentences have a post-verbal element. Below we will look at each of the clauses containing a post-verbal element. The examples in this text may help to determine the discourse function of this position. For lack of a better term, in this paper this phenomenon will be called 'backing'.

Before examining word order, we give a brief summary of the text and a list of the paragraphs as they appear in the printed version of the text. This is a descriptive text, about the old custom of annual sacrificing of lambs. Since it describes an event one may well expect that it shares some of the features typically found in narrative text.

The text was printed with paragraph breaks as follows:

Paragraph 1 (sentences 1-11): Preparations on the day before and on the morning of the sacrifice

Paragraph 2 (sentences 12-27): List of objects that are being taken to the top of the mountain

Paragraph 3 (sentences 28-35): Preparations at the site of the sacrifice: camp fire and table

Paragraph 4 (sentence 36): Making of shaman's bands

Paragraph 5 (sentences 37-38): Making of bowls and spoons of birch bark

Paragraph 6 (sentences 39-43): The people walk around the birch, give drink offerings to the spirits

Paragraph 7 (sentences 44-49): Description of the order in which they walk around the birch

Paragraph 8 (sentences 50-51): Leftover milk is drunk in a certain order

Paragraph 9 (sentences 52-57): Slaughter of the lamb, cooking of the meat and other foods

Paragraph 10 (sentences 58-65): The people walk around the birch again, before they eat the food

Paragraph 11 (sentences 66-72): Food is finished off, a new fire built and all scraps burnt

Paragraph 12 (sentences 73-76): Before going home: dividing lambs skins, determining who will give next year's lambs

Paragraph 13 (sentences 77-80): Back home: important implements are given to the person providing next year's lambs

Paragraph 14 (sentences 81-82): Two afterthoughts: the time of the year when the sacrifice is to take place; and what is said when the people give the drink offerings

#### Post-verbal elements

In this section all the instances of backing in this text will be discussed. They are grouped according to their discourse function, so that the same types will be examined together (rather than following the order of the text).

During the workshop, it was suggested that in Turkish one of the functions of the post-verbal position is defocusing. This function can also be seen in this Khakas text. The first occurrence of a post-verbal element is found in sentence 17.

17) Паза хазың пазына палғир пір кизек арсинча таабы, паза паза хазың бас-ы-га палға-ар пір кизек арсин-ча таабы паза and birch head-3Ps-DAT tie-IMPFPTC one piece arsin-EQ taby and

```
пір кизек холыс.
пір кизек холыс
one piece canvas
```

To the top of another birch they will tie a piece of *taby* (a kind of paper), about an *arsin* (70cm) long, and a piece of canvas.

Here the object, consisting of two coordinated noun phrases, is backed. Both of these elements are mentioned only here in the discourse. This is probably why they are defocused. The author of the text wants to draw attention away from these new elements and signal to the reader that these two elements are of little importance in the text.

Two other examples from this text are of this type: In sentence 21 and sentence 35, respectively, we find the adverbial phrases 'about four finger widths long' and 'to the south side'. Again, these details do not have any further significance in the text, which is why they would be defocused. Another explanation for these two instances is that these may be interpreted as an afterthought, which adds a detail to the sentence after the sentence has already finished. This is probably universal to all languages, and is more typically observed in oral texts rather than written discourse.

The next group of cases of backing have a postverbal serial verb clause. Typically, a subordinate clauses with a serial verb would be expected before the main verb (usually between the subject and direct object of the main clause). This type of backing is found in sentence 41 ('One man sprinkles wine, from the wine poured onto the bowl, as a drink offering toward the birch, scooping it with the birch bark spoon.'), sentence 48 ('After them, the other people go, walking very very closely to each other.') These two examples are more difficult to explain in terms of defocusing. In each case, the backed elements are mentioned later in the text. Furthermore, the birch bark spoon mentioned in the postverbal position of sentence 41 is not even a new element. A better explanation for these two examples may be they are afterthoughts. The information in these two clauses is certainly not crucial to the text and may thus be seen as parallel to the instances of backing discussed above in sentences 21 and 35. All four of these examples provide the reader with some characteristic detail of the ritual which is, however, only of limited importance for the text as a whole.

It may be important to mention that this type of backing occurs only in paragraphs that are before the peak. In paragraphs where the flow of action is tighter, this type is not found. We needs to check whether this can be observed in other texts as well.

Another type of backing is seen in sentences 38, 51 and 60. This may best be analyzed as ellipsis. In all three of these, the backed element is not an integral part of the preceding sentence, but offers a disjointed parallel element of one or two constituents. Sentence 38 illustrates this type.

```
38) Ол айахха пызылах тоғырапчадырлар, анаң араға ол айах-га пызылах тоғыра-чадыр-лар анаң араға FDEм bowl-DAT curd.cheese cut.into.small.pieces-PR-3p then wine урыбысчалар, пии сÿдін. ур-ыбыс-ча-лар пии сÿт-ы-ны
```

pour-Perf-Pr-3p mare milk-3Ps-Acc

They cut the curd cheese onto the bowls, and pour the wine and mare's milk.

Here the mare's milk is an accusative object, parallel to wine. It is understood that the subject and verb are supplied from the main clause. This shows that there are really two separate clauses, the second of which is elliptic. Thus, this type of backing is really different from the others, since the others do not have a parallel element in the clause before the main verb.

Ellipsis plays a major role in this text. It seems that in order to avoid wordiness, the author leaves out whatever else can be inferred from the preceding context. The presence of the elliptic sentences 33 and 43, where a separate sentence consists of a single constituent may give a clue towards understanding these backed elements. The difference between an elliptic sentence and a backed element is only the strength of the break between the preceding clause and the elliptic element.

In an attempt to account for the conditions under which such ellipsis may occur, one may point to the fact that all but one instances of ellipsis, including the elliptic sentences, occur at the end of a paragraph (sentences 38, 43, and 51) or toward the end of a paragraph (33). The only exception is sentence 60. Since it is not unusual to digress from the main topic toward the end of a paragraph, it may well be generally true that ellipses typically occur at the end of paragraphs. Of course this generalization needs to be tested with other texts.

All but one of the remaining instances of backing in the text can be accounted for in terms of refocusing. Examples of refocusing are found in sentences 58, 62, 69, and 73. In all four examples the backed elements are syntactically a constituent of the main clause. In addition, from a discourse perspective the backed elements are major participants (where participants include objects as well as actors) in the text. Sentence 58 may serve as an example.

58) Хазыңны пазох ўс хати ибірчелер, пазох, пайаағох чіли, хазың-ны пазох ўс хати ибір-ча-лар пазох пайағы-ох чіли birch-Acc again three times go.around-PR-3p again that-also like

наныпчалар хазыңзар. наны-ча-лар хазың-зар give.drink.offering-PR-3p birch-DIR

Again, they go around the birch three times, and again, like before, they sprinkle drink offerings toward the birch.

This is an instance of refocusing. While the birch was last mentioned in sentence 42, then it was not mentioned for two paragraphs, it is a crucial topic in this paragraph. It is mentioned twice in this sentence, once in refocus postion. After digressions to other topics, the birch reappears in sentence 61 of the same paragraph, again in refocus position. The birch is the implied object in sentences 62 and 63, then it is again mentioned explicitly in sentence 64. (Explicit mention is necessary here because it has a different grammatical function, i.e. directional adverbial). The author chooses to put the birch in the refocus position in order to

bring it back into the foreground after it has not been mentioned for some time, and to raise its importance above other participants in the text.

The two examples of backing in this paragraph (in sentences 58 and 61) are good illustrations of refocusing. Admittedly, the two other examples (in sentences 68 and 73) are not as clear, but they do have in common that they back a well-established participant, apparently to give it more weight.

An objection to this analysis could be that the same position cannot be used for opposite functions: defocusing and refocusing. In spoken discourse, however, the two functions are differentiated by stress and intonation. Even in written discourse the two functions do not overlap. Defocusing is used only with new participants that are immediately reduced in their importance. Refocusing, on the other hand is only used with well-established participants.

The only example of backing that has not been explained is in sentence 81. This sentence is especially interesting since it backs not just one element but two: an infinitive object clause, and two parallel time adverbials. Alternatively, one may speak of a fronted verb in this case. It is interesting that the sentence structure is completely reversed. One would usually expect a constituant order of: Time Adverbial – Infinitve Object Clause – Main Verb; instead we find: Main Verb – Infinitve Object Clause – Time Adverbial.

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81) Сыхчадыр тигір тайиирға Петров алнында, ай ах сых-чадыр тигір тайығ-арға Петров алнында ай ах go.out-PR sky sacrifice-Inf Peter's in.front moon white толында.

тол-ы-да fill-3Ps-Loc
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They go out to do the sky sacrifice before Peter's day, at a full moon.

Both time phrases in this sentence are new information that are of no further relevance for the discourse. Therefore, the backing of the temporal phrases may be seen as defocusing, or perhaps as an afterthought. This does not, however, explain why the infinitive clause is backed. Perhaps this could be explained as refocusing, with the infinitive clause giving the topic of the discourse as a whole. It does seem strange, however to see both opposed functions in one sentence.

Another possible explanation is that this whole two-sentence paragraph is like an afterthought to the discourse. The description of the ritual has already finished and now the author supplies two more details characteristic of the ritual. These two details have no great significance to the discourse as a whole, in other words they do not help in understanding any other part of the text. Perhaps the verb-first sentence marks the beginning of this afterthought paragraph.

#### Conclusion

This text gives a good number of illustrative examples for the study of discourse functions of the constituent order in Khakas sentences. Types of defocusing, afterthought, ellipsis and refocusing were observed in the text. An attempt was made at making generalizations where it seemed appropriate. It is understood, of course, that any and all generalization in this paper have a preliminary character and may be confirmed or rejected by further research.

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