

Xakas

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials 251

1998

LINCOM EUROPA

Published by LINCOM EUROPA 1998.

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Printed in Germany

Edited by U.J. Lüders

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Anderson, Gregory David:
Xakas / Gregory David Anderson. - München ; Newcastle : LINCOM
Europa, 1998.
(Languages of the world : Materials ; 251)
ISBN 3-89586-511-7

Printed on chlorine-free paper

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0. Introduction

Xakas is a Turkic language spoken by approximately 60,000 people in the Republic of Xakasia, one of the constituents of the modern Russian Federation. It occupies the steppe and mountain areas to the west of the Yenisei River, roughly between 51° -56° N and 88° -92° E. Xakas constitutes a conglomeration of regional and clan dialects, each exhibiting their own particularities, and each individually manifesting the complex contact dynamics that typified this part of south central Siberia. The now extinct or moribund dialects of Xakas include Xoibal (Koibal), Bel'tir, and Kamass, the speakers of which have been being linguistically and culturally assimilated to either the Sayai or Xaas (Kachin) dialects, the two numerically and socially dominant dialects, or to Russian since the 18-19th centuries; the other Xakas dialects still spoken consist of Shor (not to be confused with the Shor language) and Kyzyl (Xyzyl), the latter of which is sufficiently divergent to be considered a separate language by various Xakas linguists (e.g. O. V. Subrakova, personal communication). The name Xakas is a twentieth century invention (Koz'min 1920); (Dolgikh 1960); (Potapov 1964), ostensibly restoring an ancestral designation of the culturally related Turkic speaking peoples of Xakasia.¹ Before the Russian Revolution, there was little or no common sense of ethnolinguistic identity among the various Xakas clans; in the present day, due in part to Soviet planners, a Xakas national identity has emerged (Krivonogov 1984). In older Russian sources, the Xakas were known as the Minusinsk, Abakan, or Yenisei Tatars; in older Chinese, Arabic and Persian sources, the Turkic-speaking inhabitants of this part of Siberia were known as Xirxis, Kirkis, Tsilitsis, etc.--i.e. some kind of variation on Kiry'iz, the socio-politically dominant group (clan) of this area for centuries (Kyzlasov (ed.) 1993).

Various travellers and compilers of language compendia, etc., published word lists including various forms of Xakas dialects before the mid-19th century (e.g. (Pallas 1787-9), (Klaproth 1823)), but the systematic analysis of the language began with M. A. Castrén (1857)--the pioneer of Siberian language studies. The few recent studies on Xakas in the West are mainly limited to the brief outline (Pritsak 1959) in the *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, several studies on general Siberian Turkic (Menges 1955; 1956; 1963), and a short study of the history of the Xakas inflectional system by Anderson (1994). Xakas data has also appeared in other short studies by this latter author, e.g. (Anderson 1995a). In contrast to the West, the study of Xakas has an established history in Russia. Late nineteenth century works of note include texts and phonology by (Radloff 1866; 1882; 1899) and (Katanov 1884), the latter an ethnic Xakas whose *magnum opus* is a colossal study on Tyvan (and related languages), but who wrote a shorter unpublished study on the grammar of his native Sayai dialect. The standard Soviet sources on the grammar of Xakas are (Dyrenkova 1948), the short sketch at the end of the Xakas-Russian dictionary (Baskakov and Inkizhekova-Grekul' 1953), the brief description in the *Jazyki Narodov SSSR* series (Karpov 1966b), and Baskakov et al. (1975), the most recent grammar of Xakas. Baskakov published a number of smaller studies on Xakas as well ((Baskakov 1951; 1954; 1965; 1978). Other Soviet Turkologists and linguists have also worked on Xakas, e.g. (Babushkin 1964), (Cheremisina 1984; 1988), (Dmitriev and Isxakov 1954),

¹ The name Xakas is generally thought to be a corruption of *Khyagas* of the Chinese chronicles (Potapov 1964; (Janhunen 1994)). Note also the alleged connection of Xakas to *Xaas*, the self-designation of the Xaas (Kachin) clan. The name itself is variably assigned a positive or negative valorization by different representatives of the ethnolinguistic group, depending on the socio-historical milieu and particular culturo-political orientation of the person in question (see Kyzlasov (ed.) 1993, (Butanaev 1995), (Anderson 1997)). Many Xakas-speaking people prefer to use their self-designation *Tadar* (Butanaev 1995). This last scholar has recently promoted the adoption of yet another 'restored' ethnonym, *Xooray*, which has of yet in general received little support.

(Donidze 1955; 1956a; 1956b; 1962), (Dybo 1986), (Malov 1920), etc. The various Xakas dialects have been extensively studied as well, primarily under the auspices of the XNIIJaLI in Abakan (e.g. (Domozhakov 1948), (Inkizhekova 1948), (Patachakova 1973), (Anzhiganova 1992). Xakas-language grammars began to appear in the 1940's, used in pedagogical institutes in the training of school teachers for the Xakas-language schools throughout Xakasia, e.g. ((Domozhakov 1954; 1963), Domozhakov and Isxakov (1956), (Patachakova 1962b)). The small number of Xakas speakers who have published a range of works on their native language, predominantly written in Russian include M. I. Borgojakov (Borgojakov 1960; 1962; 1964; 1974; 1975a; 1975b; 1976a; 1976b; 1981; Borgojakova 1980; 1983; 1984), D. F. Patachakova (Patachakova 1962a; 1965a; 1965b; 1974; 1975; 1977; 1980; 1984a; 1984b), V. G. Karpov ((Karpov 1955; 1962; 1966a; 1966a; 1980a; 1980b; 1984; 1987a; 1987b)), O. P. Anzhiganova ((Anzhiganova 1973; 1977; 1980; 1983; 1984a; 1984b), O. V. Subrakova (Subrakova 1964; 1970; 1975; 1980; 1981; 1984), and others, e.g. (Burnakova 1980), (Chankov 1957; 1958; 1965; 1973; 1977), (Domozhakov 1960), or (Kunduzakova 1973). Examples for the discussion below are taken from all of the above mentioned sources.

1. Phonology

1.1 Vowels

The vocalic system of Xakas differs from those of the other Turkic languages of south central Siberia (e.g. Tyvan or Altai) in a few respects, e.g. no pharyngealized/creaky voice or nasalized vowels, etc. One of the salient features of the vocalic system of Xakas is the presence of three unrounded front vowels; in most other Turkic languages there are only two of these, differentiated by the feature [high]. Note that a nine-vowel system (for short vowels, and an 8-vowel system for long vowels) is often attributed to Common Turkic, and thus this may be considered an archaic feature of the Xakas sound system. However, the realization of this ninth vowel (a mid-high, reduced [I]) is probably not archaic.

(1) Vowel Phonemes in Xakas

i	ü	ɨ	u	ii	üü	ii	uu
I							
e	ö	a	o	ee	öö	aa	oo

Examples of phonemic vowel qualities: *is* 'possessions', *Is* 'trace, track', *is* 'smoke'; *en* 'deserted', *on* '10', *ün* 'voice', *un* 'flour'; *öñ* 'color', *añ* 'animal'. Vowel length is contrastive in Xakas; examples of phonemic vowel length contrasts include *xas* 'goose' vs. *xaas* 'strap', *kime* 'boat' vs. *kimee* 'boat.DAT', *siin* 'maral deer' vs. *sin* 'truth', *ooy* 'easily, lightly' vs. *oy* 'valley', *öös* 'thorax' vs. *ös* 'revenge', *püür* 'wolf' vs. *pür* 'leaf', *suuryan* 'took away' vs. *suryan* 'asked', *ür* 'evening' vs. *ir* 'man'. Long vowels are secondary in Xakas. In roots, they arose mostly due to the loss of some consonant in intervocalic position e.g. *aas* 'mouth' < **ayiz*, *ool* 'son' < **oγul*;² in non-root syllables, long vowels come about when vowel-final stems are added to velar-initial affixes, and when velar-final stems are added to vowel-initial affixes.

According to the rules of Xakas Back Harmony, a stem with front vowels requires affixes with front vowels and stems with back vowels require affixes with back vowels;

² There is however one ostensible example of so-called primary length in Xakas, namely the preservation of an originally long vowel in *ööt* 'bile'.

note that in Xakas the front variant of [i] in all affixes is [I] and not [i]. As a stem vowel, [i] behaves like a regular front unrounded vowel, e.g. *kil-gen* ['come'-PAST.I] 's/he came' *ipčel-ler* ['woman'-PL] 'women'. Long [ii], which in some instances is further reduced to simplex [i] in the standardized register, results from a range of morphophonemic processes, namely a) when affixes beginning in a high-vowel (or an epenthetic high-vowel) are attached to any stem ending in a voiced uvulo-velar obstruent or to polysyllabic stems ending in a voiceless back obstruent, or b) when vowel-initial affixes of any type are attached to vowel-final verbal stems. Derived [i]/[ii] found in non-initial syllables occur with stems containing either front or back vowels, that is non-initial [i(i)] is opaque to Back Harmony in Xakas. Examples include *suriγ* 'question' > *surii* 'his question', *suriinaγar* 'about his question', *slllg* 'beauty' > *sllii* 'her beauty', *sllineger* 'about her beauty', *pörIk* 'hat' > *pöriiñ* 'your hat', *pllinčem* 'I don't know', *parir* 's/he will go', *sani* 'counting'.³ Unlike many other Turkic languages, there is no Round Harmony in the standardized register and many spoken dialects of Xakas, but it is found spreading from high vowels in the Saγai dialect. The following archiphonemic vowels are used throughout this description, -V- [+high], -A- [-high], and -O- [+rnd], the last of which is necessary for only a very few suffixes/clitics (-e.g. -OK 'also' and -OlAñ, the collective numeral formant). In the inflection of certain roots, a high vowel is lost before a sonorant, usually [n], e.g. *moyin* 'neck' > *moyni* 'her neck', *purun* 'nose' *purni* 'his nose' *irln* 'lip' > *irnlm* 'my lip'.

1.2 Consonants

In standardized Xakas there are phonemic obstruents at four places of articulation, viz. labial, alveo-dental, palatal, and velar. Nasals are lacking only at the palatal point of articulation.

(2) Phonemic Inventory of Xakas

p	t, s	č	k
	d	ž	g
m	n		ŋ
	r, l	y	

From a phonetic standpoint Xakas [x] and [ɣ]--the allophones of /k/ and /g/ used with back-vowel words--are continuants and thus might be considered fricatives, as are [s] and [z], but within the morphophonological and phonotactic systems of the language, [x] patterns more with the voiceless stops (including č), while [ɣ]/[g] has more of a split distribution, functioning as the voiced counterparts of [x]/[k] in intervocalic position (and thus like voiced obstruents), but unlike [b], [d], and [ž], [-g]/[-ɣ] may also appear in word-final position, and thus pattern more like the sonorants and nasals. Orthographically,

³ Note however that in certain *govory* of the Saγai dialect, [i(i)] is not opaque to Back Harmony, but rather starts a new [-back] harmonic pattern. Thus, violations of Back Harmony can be found in the standardized register in texts written by speakers of these Saγai variants. Note that Back Harmony requirements also affect the vocalism of clitics as well, even if orthographically these are represented by separate words, e.g. *xažan daa* 'always, never' vs. *nime dee* 'everything, nothing', *xaydi daa* 'somehow, in no way' (but also Saγai *xaydi dee* id.).

{z}, {b}, {x}, and {ɣ} are also found, in addition to Russian sounds restricted to Russian words, e.g. {š} {ž}, {c}, {v}, etc.⁴

From a phonotactic standpoint, various Xakas consonants can appear geminate in medial position, including, -tt-, -nn-, -xx-, -kk-, etc. but in many instances, particularly in inflected forms of stems ending in alveolar sounds, this is not represented orthographically. Initial *r- and *l- occur very rarely, and predominantly only in recent Russian loans; voiced obstruents (*b-, *d-, *z-, *g-, *ʒ-, *ɣ-) are never found word-initially, again except in recent loans from Russian (the last two never). ɲ- is also not found word-initially. Only voiced uvulo-velar obstruents are permitted word-finally, e.g. *taɣ* 'mountain', *suriɣ* 'question', or *sllg* 'beauty'. Voiceless obstruents, on the other hand, generally become the corresponding voiced one when they come to be in intervocalic position, that is following the application of certain morphological processes (inflectional or derivational), *at* 'name' > *adim* 'my name', *pas* 'head' > *pazim* 'my head', *xap* 'bag' > *xabim* 'my bag', etc. Interestingly, voiceless back obstruents exhibit a split behavior: in monosyllabic stems, the consonants become [+voice] as the non-back consonants do, e.g. *sōök* 'bone, clan' > *sōögIɲ* 'your bone, clan' > *sōox* 'coldness' > *sōoxi* 'its coldness'; however, in polysyllabic stems, there is idiolectal variation between a voiced consonant and a long vowel, for example *azax* 'foot' but *azayim* ~ *azaam* 'my foot', *kōnek* 'bucket' > *kōnegl* ~ *kōnee* 'her bucket'; when the second vowel is high, a long [i] is the result: *odij* 'firewood' > *odii* 'its firewood'. Stem-final voiced obstruents are lost and form long vowels in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems (this includes -ɲ as well): *taɣ* 'mountain' > *taam* 'my mountain', *kōög* 'melody' > *kōöɲ* 'your melody', *ōɲ* 'color' > *ōö* 'its color'. Note that long vowels are produced not only when velar-final (polysyllabic) stems have vowel-initial affixes added to them, but also when vowel-final stems have velar-initial affixes attached to them, e.g. *il-* 'say' +GAN PAST.I > *teen* 'said', *oyna-* 'play' > *oynaan* 'played' (but *oyni(i)r* 'will play') vs. *kil-* 'come' > *kilgen* 'came', *at-* 'shoot' > *atxan* 'shot'.

In terms of consonantal assimilation processes, Xakas for the most part shows a typical system for the Turkic languages of south central Siberia, with a few minor differences. Several affix-initial consonantal archiphonemes have been proposed for the standardized register, -L-, -N-, -D-, -D₂-, -ʒ-, -G-, -B-, and -Z-. The archiphonemes -L-, -N-, -D, and -D₂ become [t] following a voiceless consonant, -ʒ becomes [ç], -Z becomes [s], -B becomes [p] and -G becomes either [k] or [x] in the same environment, following front-vowel and back-vowel stems, respectively. In other words, all of these undergo assimilation to the feature [voice]. -D and -D₂ are differentiated by their reflexes following nasal-final stems: -D₂ does not undergo assimilation to the feature [nasal] (i.e. does not become [n] in this environment), while -D does. In the same environment, -B is realized as [-m]. Following a short vowel -G is lost, replaced by a long version of the vowel following this archiphoneme (obeying Back Harmony, as usual), e.g. *tülgü-GA* > *tülgee*.

1.3 Diphthongs

There are no diphthongs per se in Xakas, although sequences such as -ay-, -ey-, etc. are found, for example in such words as *ay* 'moon'. Roots ending in these sequences, however, function as consonantal stems in Xakas.

⁴ Note that for some Xakas speakers of Xakas there is an alternation between *sas* 'hair' but *cačim* 'my hair', etc. not **sazim*. This *č* is historically older in the C₂ position in this word; the initial *č* likely constitutes a secondary distant assimilation, although one cannot be sure given the staggering number of variants of this word found among the Turkic languages.

1.4 Suprasegmentals

Stress in Xakas is partly quantity sensitive, and partly subject to various morphemic/lexical specifications. In uninflected words consisting of only short vowels, stress falls on the last syllable of the word. In uninflected words with a long vowel, stress falls on the long vowel, regardless of its location in the word, e.g. *xarindás* 'sibling', *abá* 'bear', *óolax* 'boy'. Uninflected Xakas words (excluding expressive vocabulary) generally have only one syllable with a long vowel. Certain affixes attract stress, and others reject it. The former category includes the plural [PL] suffix -Lar, and the negative [NEG] affixes -BA, and -Bin, while the latter includes the present [PRES.I] in -(p)čA and the Class-II agreement affixes: *xaraalár* 'nights', *xinmínča* 's/he doesn't love, like, want', but *xinmínčalár* 'they don't love, etc.' and *oynaaláxpín* 'I haven't played yet'. A complete ranking of all possible morpholexical combinations with regards to stress placement must await further research.

2. Morphology

2.1 Nominal Morphology

2.1.1 Noun

Xakas nouns are inflected for person/possession, number, and case. All of these are realized through a series of suffixes; inflectional prefixes are completely lacking. In general, modifiers show no agreement with the noun they modify in Xakas; possessed heads index the person and number of their (pro)nominal possessors. Appositional nouns (except proper names) may agree in number and 'possessedness' with the nouns they refer to.

2.1.1.1 Number

Singular is formally unmarked and plural formation is quite simple in Xakas: only the ubiquitous marker -LAR: [-l]-initial allomorphs are found after vowels and all voiced sounds excluding nasals, [-t]-initial ones are found after voiceless obstruents, and [-n]-initial allomorphs following stems ending in a nasal stem. The PL appears before case and possessive endings. In addition to singular and plural, dual number is encountered to a very limited degree in IMP constructions; see below.

2.1.1.2 Gender/Class

There is no gender or class marking on the formal level in Xakas. Certain animal names are inherently specified for real-world gender, as are *ir* 'man' and *ipčl* 'woman'. There is no real grammatical correlation to these categories *per se*, save the restriction of *kem* 'who' in both interrogative and relative uses can refer only to living beings, and then mostly human ones.

2.1.1.3 Definiteness/Referentiality

Xakas lacks articles to mark (in)definiteness, except for sporadic use of *plr* 'one' in indefinites, see 2.1.2.5 below. However, definite and indefinite direct objects of transitive verbs show a discernible tendency to either be marked accusative (definite) or unmarked (indefinite).

(3)

min (pu) knigani kördlm

vs. *min (stolda) kniga kördlm*

['I] ['this'] ['book'-ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
 'I saw the/ (this) book'

['I] ['table'-LOC] ['book'] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
 'I saw a book (on the table)'

2.1.1.4 Case

There are a total of nine non-NOM cases in Xakas, an unusually high number for Turkic or Western Siberian languages, but typical for languages of central and eastern Siberia, e.g. Tungus, Yeniseian, South Samoyed, Yukaghir or Chukotko-Kamchatkan. The archiphonemic representations of the Xakas case are as follows: -NVŋ for GEN, -GA for DAT, -NV for ACC, -D₂A for LOC, -DAŋ for ABL, -ZAr for ALL, -nAŋ for INS, -ʒA for P/E, and -DAŋAr for CIR. Note that following a stem ending in -g, -ɣ, or -ŋ (i.e. any voiced uvulo-velar consonant), the DAT has the allomorph -A.⁵ Both possessive and case affixes follow the plural, in that order. Modifiers never receive case in Xakas, only heads. All of the Xakas cases are polyfunctional.

(4)	tülgü	at	taɣ	ton	inek	kii
GEN	tülgünŋ	attŋ	taɣnŋ	tonnŋ	inektŋ	kiinŋ
DAT	tülgee	atxa	taɣa	tonya	inekke	kiige
ACC	tülgünI	atti	taɣni	tonni	inektI	kiinI
LOC	tülgüde	atta	taɣda	tonda	inekte	kiide
ABL	tülgüdeŋ	attañ	taɣdaŋ	tonnaŋ	inekteŋ	kiideŋ
ALL	tülgüzer	atsar	taɣzar	tonzar	inekser	kiizer
INS	tülgüneŋ	atnaŋ	taɣnaŋ	tonnaŋ	ineknaŋ	kiinaŋ
P/E	tülgüže	atča	taɣža	tonža	inekče	kiiže
CIR	tülgüdeŋer	attañar	taɣdaŋar	tonnaŋar	inekteŋer	kiideŋer
	'fox'	'horse'	'mountain'	'fur coat'	'cow'	'air'

(5)	tülgüler	attar	taɣlar	tonnar	naŋžilari
GEN	tülgülermŋ	attamŋ	taɣlamŋ	tonnamŋ	naŋžilarinŋ
DAT	tülgülerge	attarya	taɣlarya	tonnarya	naŋžilarina
ACC	tülgülermI	attami	taɣlami	tonnami	naŋžilarinI
LOC	tülgülerde	attarda	taɣlarda	tonnarda	naŋžilarinda
ABL	tülgülerdeŋ	attardaŋ	taɣlardaŋ	tonnardaŋ	naŋžilarinaŋ
ALL	tülgülerzer	attarzar	taɣlarzar	tonnarzar	naŋžilarinzar
INS	tülgülerneŋ	attamaŋ	taɣlamaŋ	tonnamaŋ	naŋžilarinaŋ
P/E	tülgülerže	attarža	taɣlarža	tonnarža	naŋžilarinža
CIR	tülgülerdeŋer	attardaŋar	taɣlardaŋar	tonnardaŋar	naŋžilarinaŋar
	'foxes'	'horses'	'mountains'	'coats'	'his friends'

⁵ An alternative solution is to consider that full assimilation takes place in these instances, as in Yakut, creating geminate *-gg-, *-ɣɣ-, and *-ŋŋ-, with a phonotactic restriction against these sequences triggering a reduction on the surface level to simplex -g-, -ɣ-, and -ŋ-.

As in most languages exhibiting dominant nominative-accusative clause alignment, the unmarked or nominative (*adalyŋ*) case serves as the form for the subject of the clause, i.e. the noun that triggers person and number agreement in the verb, controls reflexivization, and various other typical morphosyntactic properties of nominals filling this role cross-linguistically. A further function of the unmarked form is its role in certain constructions known as *izafet* in the Turkological literature, as the first of two nouns in an N-N sequence, in place of a GEN case; in constructions of this type, the second member may or may not appear in an overtly possessed form. Note that this includes various forms of nominals functioning as positional or directional postpositions known in the Russian-language Turkological literature as 'auxiliary' or *izafet* nouns. In addition, certain postpositions 'govern' the unmarked form.

- (6)
- i. *min tadarlap čooxtapčam*
 ['I] ['Xakas'-VSF-CV] ['speak'-PRES.I-1]
 'I speak Xakas' *min abani kördIm*
 ['I] ['bear'-ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
 'I saw the bear'
 - ii. *pu instituttŋ direktori min(mIn)*
 ['this'] ['institute'-GEN] ['director'-3] ['I'-(1)]
 'The director of this institute is me'
 - iii. *xakas klzI* vs. *xakas tIII*
 ['Xakas'] ['person'] vs. ['Xakas'] ['language'-3]
 'a/the Xakas person' vs. '(the) Xakas language'
 - iv. *aɣas arazinda*
 ['tree'] ['between'-3-LOC]
 'between the trees' *čir altinaŋ*
 ['land'] ['under'-3-ABL]
 'from under the ground'
 - v. *min čIli*
 ['I'] ['like']
 'like me' *aba osxas*
 ['bear'] ['like/similar to']
 'like/similar to a bear'

Finally, non-specific, unquantified, or indefinite/indefinite objects also generally appear in this uninflected form; for an example, see the discussion of ACC case below.

The Genitive [GEN] (*tartilyŋ*) case in Xakas is also polyfunctional. Nominal possessors are obligatorily marked with the GEN case, while the possessum is in a special possessed form, marked for number of the possessor (or possessum itself, but not both), and person. Pronominal possessors exhibit a slightly different pattern: Only the third person GEN form is required to be overtly present in the clause, the first and second person GEN forms being used only in cases of emphasis. In the plural on the other hand, all of the GEN forms are obligatory, but unlike the singular, the possessive affixes of the first and second persons are not obligatorily attached to the possessum; this is found in other Turkic languages of the area as well, e.g. Chulym Turkic. The GEN case is also governed by various postpositions; in some instances, pronominals governed by the postposition take the GEN while nominals governed by the same postposition are required to be in the unmarked form. Finally, the nominal or pronominal filling the role of the subject of various types of dependent clauses also appears in the GEN case.

- (7)
- i. *Lenininŋ sin partiyazi* *Moskva--čonnarnŋ xinizi*

- ['Lenin'-GEN] ['wise'] ['party'-3] ['Moscow'] ['people'-PL-GEN] ['love'-3]
'the wise party of Lenin' 'Moscow--the love of the people'
- ii. *(minlŋ) adim* (*sinlŋ) adirŋ*
[1'-GEN] ['name'-1] ['you'-GEN] ['name'-2]
'my name' 'your name'
- plstlŋ škola(bis)* *slrernlŋ kolxoz(iŋar)*
[we'-GEN] ['school'-(1PL)] [y'all'-GEN] ['kolxoz'-(2PL)]
'our school' 'your kolxoz'
- aniŋ adi* *olarniŋ ügretčlzl*
[3-GEN] ['name'-3] [they'-GEN] ['teacher'-3]
'his/her/its name' 'their teacher'
- iii. *mir üçün* *minlŋ üçün*
[peace'] ['for the sake of'] [1'-GEN] ['because of']
'for the sake of peace' 'because of me'
- iv. *tünnlŋ ayas salaazinda odırçatxanin kördlm*
[squirrel'-GEN] ['tree'] ['branch'-3-LOC] ['sit'-PRES-3.ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
'I saw as the squirrel sat on the tree branch'
- min xinminčam, aniŋ paribixanina*
[I] ['be.satisfied.w/-NEG-PRES.I-1] [3-GEN] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-3.DAT]
'I wasn't happy that he left'

The Dative [DAT] (*přilgi*) case is used in a wide variety of constructions in Xakas. One of the basic functions of the DAT case in Xakas is marking the nominal or pronominal actant filling the role of Recipient in various di-transitive clauses, i.e. the (canonically) human/animate object of verbs having the meaning 'give', 'show', 'tell', etc. Another function of the Xakas DAT case is to mark the goal of an action. It also is used to mark the age of people as well as the possessor in certain types of possessive constructions. Another function of the DAT case is marking the 'causee' of causativized transitive verbs. An overtly present agent of a verb in the passive form is usually expressed by the DAT case as well, although in some sources, the INS case is also used in this capacity; this latter most likely reflects interference from Russian. On occasion, the DAT case is also found meaning motion towards a place, although this function is generally marked by the ALL case. The DAT of the future participle functions as an infinitive in Xakas [INF]. In the 'malefactive'/adversative construction, the DAT marks the logical subject, and the affected referent (in the unmarked form) acts as the grammatical subject; as the lexical verb always appears in a causative form in these constructions (8ix).⁶ Finally, the DAT case is also governed by various postpositions, and subcategorized for by various predicates.

- (8)
- i. *ol knigani ma yaa pirdl* *čooxtap pirim sa yaa*
[he'] ['book'-ACC] [1.DAT] [speak'-CV] [BEN- IMP.1] [2.DAT]
[give'-PAST.II] 'he gave me the book' 'let me tell you'

⁶ Similar 'malefactive' or 'adversative' formations, with the verb in a CAUS form--the logical object marked as the grammatical subject, and the agent/logical subject expressed in the DAT case are found in other Siberian languages, e.g. Even (Mal'chukov 1995).

- ii. *min suya kildlm* *knigani üs salkovayya aldım*
[1] ['water'-DAT] ['come'-PAST.II-1] [book'-ACC] [3] ['ruble'-DAT]
[take'-PAST.II-1]
'I came for water' 'I bought the book for 3 rubles'
- iii. *ayaa am daa on to yis la čas* iv. *pu köklö sa yaa*
[3.DAT] [now] [EMPH] [19] [EMPH] [age] [this'] [doll'] [2.DAT]
'even now he's only 19 years old' 'this doll is yours'
- v. *pabamya sana itlrlkem*
[father'-1-DAT] [skis'] [make'-CAUS(CAUS)-PAST.I-1]
'I had my father make skis'
- portnoyya kip tkltlrgen pol yabis*
[tailor'-DAT] [coat'] [sew'-CAUS-PAST.II] [AUX-PAST.I-1PL]
'we had had the tailor sew coats (for us)'
- vi. *ayastar čilge čayxalis tur yannar*
[tree'-PL] [wind'-DAT] [rock'-PASS-RECIP] [ITER.II-PAST.I-PL]
'the trees were rocked by the wind'
- vii. *alarya* *čooxtirya* *kilerge*
[take'-INF] [speak'-INF] [come'-INF]
'to take' 'to speak' 'to come'
- viii. *min Asxisxa parčam* vs. *min Asxisar parčam*
[I] [Askiz'-DAT] [go'-PRES.I-1] [I] [Askiz'-ALL] [go'-PRES.I-1]
'I'm going to Askiz' 'I am going to Askiz'
- ix. *čilan ya saxtirip aldirŋ*
[snake'-DAT] [bite'-CAUS-CV] [PERF.IIc-PAST.II-2]
'if only you weren't bitten by the snake'
- xazir adayya tutlattirdiŋ ma*
[evil'] [dog'-DAT] [bite'-CAUS-CAUS-PAST.II-2] [Q]
'were you bitten by the evil dog?'
- maliŋni püürge čitlrlp saldirŋ*
[livestock'-2-ACC] [wolf'-DAT] [eat'-CAUS-CV] [PERF.IIa-PAST.II-2]
'if only your livestock hadn't been eaten by the wolf'
- x. *IkI časxa čitlre xi yirdim* *iirge teere to yınarbis*
[2] [hour'-DAT] [until'] [read'-PAST.II-1] [evening'-DAT] [until'] [work'-FUT-1PL]
'I read until two o' clock' 'we will work until evening'
- ma yaa tööy* *pabazina tööy*
[1.DAT] [similar.to'] [father'-3-DAT] ['like']

⁷ Note that this is reminiscent of the 'malefactive' possessor raising construction characteristic of various Papuan languages ((Anderson 1995b)).

- 'similar to me' 'like his father'
- xi. *a yaa erInstlg* *ma yaa sidlk minda*
 [3-DAT] ['bored'] [1-DAT] ['difficult'] ['here']
 'he is bored' 'it is difficult for me here'
- xii. *ol sinlŋ kilerlŋe uyaa őrlner*
 ['he'] ['you'-GEN] ['come'-FUT-2-DAT] ['alot'] ['be.happy'-FUT]
 'he'll be very happy that you're coming'
- pis'momni alip alyanina Izenčem*
 ['letter'-1-ACC] ['take'-CV] [PERF.IIc-PAST.I-3-DAT] ['hope'-PRES.I-1]
 'I hope that he got my letter'
- kižee Petya plske polizibisxan*
 ['yesterday'] ['Petya'] ['we'-DAT] ['help'-PERF-PAST.I]
 'Petya helped us yesterday'

The Accusative [ACC] (*körImgl*) case in Xakas primarily marks a definite direct object, that is the quantified, determined or previously mentioned non-directional, non-subject referent subcategorized for by basic bi-valent/transitive verbs. In Xakas, certain classes of nominals obligatorily appear in the ACC case when used with the type of bivalent, transitive verbs that govern this case; these include pronouns, proper names, etc. Other nominals also require the ACC as well, these include nouns modified by another nominal in the LOC case followed by the 'derivational clitic'-GV (i.e. -D₂AŋI, see below), and possessed nouns. One of the other basic functions of this case is to mark the SUBJ in various types of subordinate clauses, as well as the nominalized verb in various other types of subordinate clauses. Also, some postpositions generally govern the ACC case in Xakas. Note that most of these show variation, alternatively governing the ACC case or the unmarked form; in some of these instances, pronouns are obligatorily in the ACC, but nouns can be in either the uninflected form or the ACC. The patterning of ACC case governed by these postpositions is non-random: when the governed noun is possessed, it requires the ACC case, but when unpossessed, it appears in the unmarked form. From a formal standpoint, the Xakas ACC case marker reflects the so-called Kipchak variant of this affix (e.g. -NI).

- (9)
- i. *olar Ivanovti pllčeler* *pls stolda yi knigani kördbls*
 ['they'] ['Ivanov'-ACC] ['we'] ['table'-LOC-DC] ['book'-ACC]
 ['know'-PRES.I-PL] ['see'-PAST.II-1PL]
 'they know Ivanov' 'we saw the book that's on the table'
- ii. *Kanoy tuğmamni kildl tlp, sa yin parçam*
 ['Kanoy'] ['y.bro'-1-ACC] ['come'-PAST.II] [COMP] ['think'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1]
 'I thought that my younger brother Kanoy came'
- minl⁸ xaydi dee kiler tlp, ar yistarim Izenčettlr*

⁸ According to Baskakov et al (1975: 390), the ACC case is only obligatory with pronouns in these constructions, e.g. *minl* not **min*, whereas with nouns an unmarked form is possible. However, on this very same page they give two variants of this sentence, namely the one listed here and one with the form *olar* (and not *olarni*).

['I'-ACC] ['which/how'] [EMPH] ['come'-FUT] [COMP] ['comrade-PL-1]
 ['hope'-EVID.PRES]
 'my comrades (apparently) hoped that I'll come'

a no ya olarni xorixčalar tlp, sa yinčazar
 ['and'] ['why'] ['they'-ACC] ['fear'-PRES.I-PL] [COMP] ['think'-PRES.I-2PL]
 'Why do y'all think they are scared?'

- iii. *aram arax puluttar tobira čap-čarix ayniŋ sustari őrtp, a yas arazin čaritča*
 ['rare'] ['cloud'-PL] ['through'] [RD-'bright'] ['moon'-GEN] ['ray'-PL-3] ['pierce'-CV]
 ['tree'] ['between'-3-ACC] ['light'-CAUS-PRES.I]
 'the rays of the bright moon pierce through rare clouds and light up the forest'

timlr čol pütse, töreen čirInlŋ čazilarin tobira poezdter oylazar
 ['iron'] ['road'] ['build'-CONDIT] ['(be).born.-PAST.I] ['land'-3-GEN] ['steppe'-PL-3-ACC]
 ['through'] ['train'-PL] ['run'-RECIP-FUT]
 'if the railroad is built, trains will run through the steppes of (his) homeland'

olarni tobira nime körInminčetken
 ['they'-ACC] ['through'] ['thing'] ['see'-RFLXV-NEG-IMPERF]
 'nothing was visible through them'

The Locative [LOC] (*orinŋi*) case in Xakas is from a formal and functional standpoint virtually identical to the LOC case in other Turkic languages. By far the most common function is simple location in a place, further extended to temporal expressions, etc. The LOC case also appears in various possessive constructions; occasionally, under instances of emphasis, these may appear with the existential copula *par* 'there is'. In addition, certain adverbs of time and place seem to be LOC case forms of nouns, e.g. *iirde* 'in the evening, during the evening' or *minda* 'here'. Also, the LOC case may precede the 'derivational clitic' [DC] in -GV--that is, a derivational affix that attaches to an already inflected form to create a new stem, which a range of other inflectional affixes can be attached to, including markers of plurality and various case categories.

(10)

- i. *pls Xakasiyada čurtapčabis*
 ['we'] ['Xakasia'-LOC] ['live'-PRES.I-1PL]
 'we live in Xakasia'
- ol yannar ulu y őrInlste školaa čüliščalar*
 ['child'-PL] ['big'] ['joy'-LOC] ['school'-DAT] ['gather'-RECIP-PRES.I-1PL]
 'children gather at school with great joy'
- ii. *min ibzer kilzem, sinlŋ plčlŋlŋ minde polar*
 ['I'] ['house'-ALL] ['come'-CONDIT-1] ['you'-GEN] ['letter'] ['I'-LOC] ['be'-FUT]
 'when I come to the house, I'll have your letter'

Xarol slerde be? čox, plste nimes
 ['Xarol'] ['y'all'-LOC] [Q] ['no'] ['we'-LOC] [NEG]
 'is Xarol at your (place)? no, not at our (place)'

- iii. *üstünderlerden*
 ['top'-3-LOC-DC-PL-ABL]
 'from those on top'
- Aybanda yidalar*
 ['Abakan'-LOC-DC-CIR]
 'about the one in Abakan'

The basic functions of the Ablative [ABL] (*sıyınçı*) case in Xakas are similar to the functions of this case throughout the Turkic language family. Its most common function is to mark motion away from an entity, as well as various other meanings associated with the English adverb 'from', e.g. source constructions, as well as materials, etc. which items are created/fashioned from. It is also the way of marking the comparandum in comparative constructions (i.e. the expression corresponding to English 'than me', etc.). The ABL case with numerals marks a distributive quantified expression, i.e. 'two each'. In addition, it can mark various kinds of time, place, and manner expressions. Finally, several postpositions and verbs govern the ABL case in Xakas as well.

- (11)
- i. *gorodtañ kilgen çonnar*
 ['city'-ABL] ['come'-PAST.I]
 ['people'-PL]
 'people who came from the city'
- ol xizinañ püün ne aylanğan*
 ['he'] ['daughter'-3-ABL] ['today']
 [EMPH] ['return'-PAST.I]
 'he returned from his daughter
 only today'
- ii. *xaziñnañ tos soyıp, tos çırçeler itklebskebls*
 ['birch'-ABL] ['bark'] ['cut'-CV] ['bark'] ['cup'-PL] ['make'-ITER-PERF-PAST.I-IPL]
 'we would cut the bark from the birch trees and would make cups'
- iii. *tonni teerdeñ tükken*
 ['fur.coat'-ACC] ['sheepskin'-ABL] ['sew'-PAST.I]
 'she sewed the coat out of sheepskin'
- iv. *axsinañ sigar sözižeeñ altinnañ aarlıy poldi ba?*
 ['mouth'-ABL] ['from'] ['word'-DIM-2] ['gold'-ABL] ['worth'] ['be'-PAST.II][Q]
 'is it really possible that a word from your mouth is worth more than gold?'
- v. *altılar tetrad'tañ üleñp al yabis*
 ['six.each'] ['notebook'-ABL] ['divide'-CV] [SBEN/PERF.IIc-PAST.I-IPL]
 'we divided the six notebooks amongst us'
- vi. *irgı Üüstı çortimnañ kiskebls*
 ['old'] ['lyus'] ['trot'-ABL] ['cut'-PAST.I-IPL] *su yadañ minda çaxsi*
 ['water'-ABL] ['this'-LOC] ['good']
 'we crossed the Chulym river at a trot' 'it's nice here because of the water'
- vii. *minneñ xorix pardı*
 ['I'-ABL] ['fear'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.II] *turabis aaldañ tastix turça*
 ['house'-IPL] ['village'-ABL]
 ['far.from'] ['stand'-PRES.I]
 'he was scared of me' 'our house is far from the village'

minneñ pasxa püürler le plledirgen çollarça apararbin
 ['I'-ABL] ['besides'] ['wolf'-PL] [EMPH] ['know'-HABIT.PRES] ['road'-PL-P/E]
 ['take'-FUT-1]
 'I will take roads, that aside from me, are known only to the wolves'

The ABL case in Xakas, like that of various other Altai-Sayan Turkic languages (e.g. Altai, Chulym Turkic, or Shor) ends in -ŋ, rather than -n as in many other Turkic languages. Also, in contrast with the other Common Turkic languages, the assimilatory morphophonology of the ABL case is different from that of the LOC. In almost every environment, they exhibit the same initial consonant: e.g. [-d-] after voiced obstruents, liquids and vowels, and [-t-] after voiceless sounds; however, following nasal-final stems, the LOC shows an initial [-d-] but in the ABL affix shows an allomorph in [-n-], e.g. *tonda* ['fur coat'-LOC] vs. *tonnañ* ['fur.coat'-ABL].⁹ Thus, we have set up two archiphonemes -D and D₂--corresponding to the initial consonant in the ABL and LOC, respectively--to account for this different behavior. The ablative in -TVn found particularly in Old Uighur sources has been preserved in various Xakas adverbs [ABL.ADV], e.g. *iraxtin* 'from afar', *IskertIn* 'from the East', *peertIn* 'from here', or *ibzertIn* 'from inside the house'.

The Allative [ALL] (*izilyı*) case in Xakas has one primary function--to mark direction towards a point. As mentioned above, sometimes the DAT case is also used in this capacity with apparently no difference in semantics (V. G. Karpov, personal communication). Certain semantically logical postpositions also govern the ALL case.

- (12)
- i. *min Asxissar parim* cf. *min Asxisxa parim*
 ['I'] ['Askiz'-ALL] ['go'-PRES.III-1] ['I'] ['Askiz'-DAT] ['go'-PRES.III-1]
 'I'm going to Askiz' 'I'm going to Askiz'
- ii. *minzer* *olarzar* *plsser* *anıgza*¹⁰
 ['I'-ALL] ['they'-ALL] ['we'-ALL] [3.GEN-ALL]
 'towards me' 'towards them' 'towards us' 'towards him, her, it'
- iii. *olarzar udur turna uçuyıp odır* *ağaa udur*
 ['they'-ALL] ['towards'] ['crane'] ['fly'-CV] [PRES.IVb] [3.DAT] ['towards']
 'a crane is flying towards them' 'towards her'

The category of ALL is an old one in Turkic, with attestations even in the very earliest runic inscriptions (the Orxon and Yenisei inscriptions). However, the old marker of the ALL -γArU has been preserved in Xakas only in certain directional adverbs (though lacking the final vowel and in a sometimes modified form), e.g. *taxsar* 'to outside', *çaxsar* 'towards spring', *Isker* 'to the East', *kider* 'to the West', *xaydar* 'to where', *peer* 'to here'. The formal opposition of a DAT and an ALL case is found in both Tyvan and Xakas, and is an areal feature of Siberian native languages, lacking only in the languages of the extreme western and northeastern peripheries (e.g. W. Siberian Turkic, NW Samoyed, W Ob-Ugrian dialects, Yakut, Chukchi, and Siberian Eskimo). Note that the ALL case attaches to the NOM stem of all nouns and pronouns, except the third singular pronoun, which appears in the GEN form before the ALL case.¹¹ In addition, some postpositions govern the ALL case; various of these also show alternative forms with the DAT.

⁹ Note that Yakut shows assimilation to [nasal] for the ABL. Thus, at least one other Turkic language has assimilation to [nasal] with the ABL affix.

¹⁰ Most speakers of Xakas use *andar* or *anzar* instead of this anyway, at least among speakers I was familiar with in Xakasia.

¹¹ The ALL marker is generally thought to be derived from *sari* 'side'. The fact that the third singular pronoun is in a GEN form before the ALL marker in Xakas may be suggestive that the initial component (or the entire affix itself) has its origin in some kind of independent word, possibly an 'auxiliary' or 'izafet' noun.

The Instrumental [INS] (*püdlrgl*) case in Xakas marks the instrument of an action. It also marks accompaniment and thus a more accurate name for the case might be instrumental-comitative. Sometimes the INS marks an overt agent in a passive construction, rather than a DAT case. In certain formations the use of the INS case in Xakas is characteristic only of the standardized register, apparently lacking in the traditional 'natural' dialects (Baskakov et al. 1975: 76); these are calqued from Russian constructions also using the INS case. One instance where standardized Xakas uses the INS case where Russian does not is in constructions translated as 'in their native language'. Finally, as with virtually all the above mentioned cases (except the LOC), a few postpositions can govern the INS case as well. Like the older forms of the ALL and ABL, the older Turkic INS in -In is found in only a few lexicalized adverbs in modern Xakas, e.g. *čayyızın* 'during the summer', *xisxızın* 'during the winter', *a yirin* 'slowly, quietly'.¹²

(13)

i. *karandaşnaŋ pasxan* [*pencil-INS*] [*write'-PAST.I*]
'(s/he) wrote with a pencil'

a yastı paltınaŋ ootxannar [*tree'-ACC*] [*'axe'-INS*] [*'split'-PAST.I-PL*]
'they split the tree with an axe'

ii. *sinneŋ čooxtaxannar* [*'you'-INS*] [*'speak'-RECIP-PAST.I-PL*]
'they spoke with you'

ulu ɣlarnaŋ to ɣınar ya [*'big'-PL-INS*] [*'work'-INF*]
'to work with the older ones'

min Kirill naŋžınaŋ ür čillar tanıspin [*'I*] [*'K.'*] [*'friend-INS*] [*'many*] [*'year-PL*] [*'be.acquainted.w/-1*]
'I have been acquainted with my friend Kirill for many years'

iii. *aalda ɣı turalar električestvo čarıyınaŋ čarıdılčalar* [*'village'-LOC-DC*] [*'house'-PL*] [*'electric(ity)'*] [*'light'-3-INS*] [*'illuminate'-PASS-PRES.I-PL*]
'the houses in the village are lit up by electric lights'

anıŋ xolınaŋ tıxtal ɣan traktorlar xažan daa ür to ɣınadırlar [*3.GEN*] [*'hand'-3-INS*] [*'fix'-PASS-PAST.II*] [*'tractor'-PL*] [*'always*] [*'many*']
'tractors fixed by his hands always work a long time'

čüreebıs örInIsneŋ tolča vs. *čüreebıske örInIs tolča* [*'heart'-1PL*] [*'joy'-INS*] [*'be.filled'-PRES.I*] [*'heart'-1PL-DAT*] [*'joy'*] [*'fill'-PRES.I*]
'our hearts are filled with joy' 'joy fills our hearts'

iv. *to ɣısnaŋ sablanar ya* [*'work'-INS*] [*'have.reputation'-INF*]
'to have a reputation for work'

örInIsneŋ udurlir ya [*'joy'-INS*] [*'meet'-INF*]
'to meet with joy'

v. *pos illIneŋ čooxtanar ya* [*'own'*] [*'language'-INS*] [*'speak'-RFLXV-INF*]
'to speak (in) one's own language'

¹²The INS is also used in Xakas to mark a temporary state--constructions usually translated by the English phrases 'works/worked as a X' or 'when so-and-so was a X'; this reflects interference from Russian, for example *traktorıstpeŋ to ɣınıča* [*'tractor.driver-INS*] [*'work'-PRES.I*] 'he works as a tractor driver' = Bel'tir-Sagai dialect.

vi. *iirzer ide, to ɣıstı tastır daa tusta kün krlzInzerIn ide čılneŋ xada naŋmir čitken* [*'evening'-ALL*] [*'do'-CV*] [*'work'-ACC*] [*'finish'-FUT*] [*EMPH*] [*'time'-LOC*] [*'west'-ALL-ABL-ADV*] [*'do'-CV*] [*'wind'-INS*] [*'with'*] [*'rain'*] [*'approach'-PAST.I*]
'towards evening, when the work was almost done, rain with a wind approached from the west'

Petya pır sllg student xısnaŋ xostı odır ɣan [*'Petya'*] [*'one'*] [*'beautiful'*] [*'student'*] [*'girl'*] [*'next.to'*] [*'sit'-PAST.I*]
'Petya sat next to a beautiful student'

There are a huge number of dialectal variants of the INS case, e.g. the form in the standardized register has an unassimilating initial [-n] (-nAŋ) while various *govory* of the Shor dialect have -BIA. There is even intra-dialectal variation in this respect: various *govory* of Sayai Xakas show -nAŋ, -DAŋ, -mAŋ, -BAŋ or even -pVI, these last variants formerly used by older male speakers in certain districts (Patachakova (ed.) 1973: 40, 76). To be sure, this category is relatively commonly found among the case systems of Siberian native languages, and thus its presence may have been motivated by some kind of areal diffusional or substratal force. However the large number of variants and the fact that the functional categories realized by the INS case in Xakas coincide with the functions of the INS case in Russian suggest that Russian itself may be partly responsible for its re-introduction into the case system of Xakas.

The Prosecutive-Equative [P/E] (*tiŋnestIrIstlg*) case in Xakas has two basic functions. It marks a prosecutive motion along an entity or an equative construction, generally translated by the English phrase 'like (an) X'. With numerals this can mean 'approximately, around'.

(14)

i. *čolža* [*'road'-P/E*]
'along the road'

ii. *ta ɣža* [*'mountain'-P/E*]
'like a mountain'

iii. *čıbrglže* [*'20'-P/E*]
'around 20'

It seems clear that the two functions of the Xakas P/E case do not in any sense form a natural class, and thus it seems likely that this is a secondary falling together of two phonologically similar or homophonous formants. Indeed, in the equative function, this affix has parallels throughout the Turkic family including in Old Turkic sources and languages as far afield from Xakas as Republican Turkish. In the prosecutive function, Xakas is paralleled to a limited degree by various Tyvan dialects and other Turkic dialects of the Altai-Sayan area, and in the standardized Tyvan dialect in a few frozen forms, e.g. *čolča* 'along the road'. Note that while unattested in Old Turkic, a prosecutive case form is an areal feature of Siberian native languages, found throughout Tungus, Samoyed, Yeniseian, etc. and thus its presence in Xakas may be attributable to diffusional, 'shift' or so-called substratal influence.

The Circumstantial-Causalis [CIR] (*sıltaɣlıy*) case in Xakas is one of the most functionally restricted of the cases of the standardized register. It is primarily used to mark what the subject matter of a book, story, song, tale, talk, etc. is. A secondary function used on predicates is to express causal constructions of various types.

(15)

i. *nımederŋer čooxtapčalar* [*'what'-CIR*] [*'speak'-PRES.I-PL*]
'what are they talking about'

pu stat'yada Mixail Kokovtiñ tvorčestvozinanar pazilča
 ['this'] ['article'-LOC] ['M.] ['K'-GEN] ['works'-3-CIR] ['write-PASS-PRES.I]
 'Mixail Kokov's works are written about in this article'

- ii. *a yastar pözlkeŋer*
 ['tree'-PL] ['tall'-CIR]
 'because the trees were tall'

a yastar iglrdeŋer xarxaada iptlg čatpaannar
 ['tree'-PL] ['crooked'-CIR] ['cart'-LOC] ['correct'] ['lie'-NEG-PAST.I-PL]
 'because the trees were crooked they did not lie on the cart well'

Historically, the Xakas CIR case seems to be the ABL case form to which an enclitic particle *-Ar* has fused.¹³

2.1.1.5 Possession

The person and number of possessors are inflectionally realized on head nouns in Xakas through the use of possessive affixes. Third person possessor is undifferentiated for number. As mentioned in the discussion of the GEN case above, each of these have their own patterns of distribution. In the singular, an affix indexing the first or second person possessor is obligatorily found on the possessum, the GEN of the pronoun appearing only in cases of emphasis. In the plural, the situation is reversed: the GEN of the pronoun is obligatory, while the possessive affix is optional. Third person possessors are always obligatorily indexed on the possessum, and when the possessor is pronominal, the GEN singular form of the pronoun is also frequently present.

The basic forms of the possessive affixes of Xakas are as follows: *-(V)m* (1st singular), *-(V)ŋ* (2nd singular), *-(V)bVs* (1st plural), *-(V)ŋAr* (2nd plural) and *-(z)V* for third person. Vowel-initial allomorphs of the possessive affixes are used with consonant-final stems and, vice versa. Velar-final stems behave in the way described in 1 above.

(16)

	tülgü	at	suŋ	soox	öŋ	slllg	suriŋ	azax
(minIn)	tülgüm	adim	suum	sooyim	ööm	sliim	suriim	azayim/ azaam
(sinIn)	tülgün	adiŋ	suuŋ	sooyiŋ	ööŋ	sliiŋ	suriŋ	azayin/ azaan
pistIn	tülgübIs	adi	suubis	sooyibis	ööbIs	sliibIs	suriibis	azayibis/ azaabis
sIremIn	tülgüŋer	adiŋar	suuŋar	sooyiŋar	ööŋer	sliiŋer	suriŋar	azayinŋar/ azaanŋar
aniŋ/ olamiŋ	tülgüzl	adi	suu	sooyi	öö	slli	suri	azay/ azaa
	'fox'	'name'	'water'	'cold'	'color'	'beauty'	'question'	'foot'

¹³ In the speech of certain Xakas speakers one can even find an occasional variant form which might represent an earlier historical stage in the development of the CIR case, coming from the ABL followed by a postposition *ara*; this then later fused for most speakers as a single affix, with vowel harmony.

In addition to marking actual possession by a possessor (i), the third person possessive form also has another frequent function in Xakas, as in Turkic languages in general. This is the so called *izafet* construction (i), consisting of an uninflected nominal followed by another nominal in the possessive form (i.e. [X X-3]). The range of forms attested, however, suggest a more complicated distribution. For example nouns using the same second component may either have or lack the possessive marking (iii). Also, one and the same preposed nominal modifier may be used with one following second noun in the possessive and another not (iv).¹⁴

(17)

- i. *Petyaniŋ knigazi* *pu klzlIernInŋ adi*
 ['Petya'-GEN] ['book'-3] ['this'] ['person'-PL] ['horse'-3]
 'Petya's book' 'these people's horse'
- ii. *xoy porčozi* *aba xadi* *tiglr xuri*
 ['sheep' 'flower'-3] ['bear' 'berry'-3] ['sky' 'belt'-3]
 'snowdrop' 'raspberry' 'rainbow'
- iii. *čir xulax* *paŋa xulayi*
 ['earth' 'ear'] ['frog' 'ear'-3]
 'bear' (in tales) 'tadpole; shell'
- iv. *xakas klzl* *xakas tlll*
 ['Xakas'] ['person'] ['Xakas' 'language'-3]
 'Xakas person' 'Xakas language'

There are also a large number of common nouns that are known in the literature as '*izafet* postpositions' or 'auxiliary nouns'--that is, nouns whose semantics are like postpositions in various other languages, but which are obligatorily the second component in an *izafet* construction. These combine with various case endings (DAT, LOC, ABL, ALL, and P/E) to form a variety of complex directional meanings. In some instances, these may be preceded by a noun in the GEN case; this is obligatory when used with pronominals, the person/number features of which are indexed on the auxiliary noun.

(18)

azaam altında xar iyirap odırčatxan
 ['foot'-1] ['under'-3-LOC] ['snow'] ['crunch'-CV] [DUR-IMPERF]
 'the snow was crunching under my feet'

klzl aŋas araziŋar six kilgen
 ['person'] ['tree'] ['between'-3-ABL] ['leave'] ['come'-PAST.I]
 'the person came out from the woods'

salaalar araziŋar körče
 ['branch'-PL] ['between'-ALL] ['see'-PRES.I]

¹⁴ Some nouns that are simply lexicalized compounds are also usually included in this category in Xakas studies, though formally these are lacking any possessive marking and thus are not really *izafet* constructions, *it purun* ['meat' 'nose'] 'dogrose', *čar xanat* ['bank' 'wing'] 'bat', *ool pala* ['son' 'child'] 'boy', *čalŋis azax čol* ['single' 'foot' 'road'] 'footpath'.

(s/he) is looking through the branches'

mininǰ ornimda xayday daa klzl min osxas polaržix
 ['I'-GEN] ['place'-1-LOC] ['any'] ['person'] ['T'] ['like'] ['be'-PAST.III]
 'in my place any person could have acted exactly like me'

gorod tastina six pari yanda...
 ['city'] ['outside'-3-DAT] ['leave'] [PERF.IIb-IMPERF.II-LOC]
 'when (he) went beyond the city...'

čoxirax, aǰ üstüne seǰIrgendegI člli, anıǰ üstüne seǰIrlblsken
 ['C.'] ['animal'] ['top'-3-DAT] ['jump'-PAST.II-LOC-DC] ['like'] [3.GEN] ['top'-3-DAT]
 ['jump'-PERF-PAST.I]
 'Choxirax jumped on him like one jumps on a wild animal'

The possessive forms of Xakas nouns exhibit the full range of case categories found in simplex nouns. First and second plural possessives show a completely regular formation, patterning like voiceless-obstruent and sonorant-final stems, respectively. In the first and second person, both singular and plural, the case forms attach directly to the possessive affix. In the third person, an *-n-* is added to the stem between the possessive affix and the case affix. Thus, all singular possessed forms for the most part behave as nasal-final stems. However, the case forms used with these possessed nouns differ in a few respects from those found with unpossessed stems: Namely, the DAT case has the allomorph *-A* for all persons, rather than a harmonically conditioned variant of *-GA*. In the third person, the resulting *[-nn-]* in the GEN and ABL forms is reduced to *[-n-]*, at least orthographically. Also, the third possessive ACC has a different form altogether, in *-Vn*, rather than ***-n-nV* as might be expected. This latter feature is an archaism, found in the Old Turkic sources, and throughout the modern Siberian Turkic languages.

(19)

	pabam	pabaǰ	pabazi	pababis	pabaǰar	čirl
GEN	pabamniǰ	pabaǰniǰ	pabaziniǰ	pababistiǰ	pabaǰariniǰ	čirlInǰ
DAT	pabama	pabaǰa	pabazina	pababiska	pabaǰarǰa	čirlne
ACC	pabamni	pabaǰni	pabazin	pababisti	pabaǰarni	čirln
LOC	pabamda	pabaǰda	pabazinda	pababista	pabaǰarda	čirlInde
ABL	pabamnaǰ	pabaǰnaǰ	pabazinaǰ	pababistaǰ	pabaǰardaǰ	čirlIneǰ
ALL	pabamzar	pabaǰzar	pabazinar	pababissar	pabaǰarzar	čirlInzer
INS	pabamnaǰ	pabaǰnaǰ	pabazinaǰ	pababisnaǰ	pabaǰarnaǰ	čirlIneǰ
P/E	pabamǰa	pabaǰǰa	pabazinǰa	pababisča	pabaǰarǰa	čirlInže
CIR	pabamnaǰar	pabaǰnaǰar	pabazinaǰar	pababistaǰar	pabaǰardaǰar	čirlIneǰer
	'my father'	'your father'	'his father'	'our father'	'yall's father'	'its land'

There is one other set of forms in Xakas which mark possessives; these are the predicative/constrastive possessives [P/CP], which exhibit the full range of cases, declining like third person possessive forms. Their function is to mark a predicative or contrastive possessive construction, similar to the English forms 'mine', 'yours', 'ours', 'hers' and 'theirs'.

(20)

	mini	sini	ani	pIsti	sIremini	olarni
GEN	mininǰ	sininǰ	aniniǰ	pIstinǰ	sIreminǰ	olarniniǰ
DAT	minine	sinine	anina	pIstine	sIreminine	olarnina
ACC	minin	sinin	anin	pIstin	sIreminin	olarnin
LOC	mininde	sininde	aninda	pIstinde	sIremininde	olarninda
ABL	minineǰ	sinineǰ	aninaǰ	pIstineǰ	sIreminineǰ	olarninaǰ
ALL	mininzer	sininzer	aninzar	pIstinzer	sIreminzer	olarninzar
INS	minineǰ	sinineǰ	aninaǰ	pIstineǰ	sIreminineǰ	olarninaǰ
P/E	mininže	sininže	aninǰa	pIstinže	sIreminže	olarninǰa
CIR	minineǰer	sinineǰer	aninaǰar	pIstineǰer	sIreminineǰer	olarninaǰar
	'mine'	'yours'	'hers'	'ours'	'y'all's'	'theirs'

pu knigalar mini, tǰIzl sini
 ['this'] ['book'-PL] ['I'-P/CP] ['that'-3] ['you'-P/CP]
 'these books are mine, those are yours'

ol at sini polar
 ['that'] ['horse'] ['you'-P/CP] ['be'-FUT]
 'that horse will be yours'

sini nimes nimelernI alinǰa sal
 ['you'-P/CP] ['not'] ['thing'-PL-ACC] ['front'-P/E] ['put']
 'put those things aside that aren't yours'

pu xoylar pIsti
 ['this'] ['sheep'-PL] ['we'-P/CP]
 'these sheep are ours'

pIstin kördler
 ['we'-P/CP-3.ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-PL]

'they saw ours'

olarninaǰ ani al yam
 ['they'-P/CP-3.ABL] [3.ACC]
 ['take'-PAST.I-1]
 'I took it from theirs'

2.1.2 Pronouns

2.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Plural pronouns decline exactly like regular nouns, while the singular pronouns and the proximal demonstrative exhibit certain particularities, e.g. the vowel change in the stem in the DAT, or the ALL form of the third person pronoun which has the case ending attached to the GEN form, while with all other personal pronouns, this attaches to the basic stem form, as with regular nouns.

(21)

	min	sin	ol	pIs	sIrer	olar
GEN	minInǰ	sinInǰ	anInǰ	pIstInǰ	sIreminInǰ	olarnInǰ
DAT	ma(ɣa)a	sa(ɣa)a	a(ɣa)a	pIske	sIrerge	olarɣa
ACC	minI	sinI	ani	pIstI	sIrerInI	olarni
LOC	minde	sinde	anda	pIste	sIerde	olarda
ABL	mineǰ	sineǰ	anaǰ	pIsteǰ	sIerdeǰ	olardaǰ
ALL	minzer	sinzer	aninzar	pIsser	sIrerzer	olarzar
INS	minneǰ	sinneǰ	annaǰ	pIsneǰ	sIremeǰ	olarnneǰ
P/E	minže	sinže	an/olǰa	pIsče	sIrerže	olarǰa

CIR minejer sinejer anarjar pIstejer sIrederjer olardanjar

2.1.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (22) in Xakas precede the noun they modify: *pu ayas* 'this tree', *tIgI kniglarim* 'those books of mine', *ol ipel* 'that woman'. *ol* also functions as the 3SG pronoun; note, however, that *pular* is sometimes used as a 3PL pronoun instead of *olar*. Qualitative modifiers are formed by attaching -DAG to the first CVC- of the oblique stem of demonstratives. These are used in a variety of adverbial and adjectival functions (23).

(22)

	pu	ol	tIgI	minday	anday	tIgdeg
GEN	minij	anij	tIgInIj	mindaynij	andaynij	tIgdegInIj
DAT	puya	a(ya)a	tIgee	mindaya	andaya	tIgdege
ACC	mini	ani	tIgInI	mindayni	andayni	tIgdegnI
LOC	minda	anda	tIgIde	mindayda	andayda	tIgdegde
ABL	minnarj	annarj	tIgIderj	mindaydarj	andaydarj	tIgdegderj
ALL-1	puzar/	anijzar/	tIgIzer	mindayzar	andayzar	tIgdegzer
ALL-2	mindar	andar				
INS	mininarj	annarj	tIgInerj	mindaynarj	andaynarj	tIgdegnerj
P/E	minža	anža/olža	tIgIže	mindayža	andayža	tIgdegže
CIR	minnarjar	annarjar	tIgIderjar	mindaydarjar	andaydarjar	tIgdegderjar

(23)

minday köp palixtiy suj körbeem
 ['such'] ['alot'] ['fish-ADJ] ['water'] ['see'-NEG-PAST.I-1]
 'I never saw such a fish-filled river'

minday nime körgem min, kindrlIlg piltlrl aalda polyanimda
 ['such'] ['thing'] ['see'-PAST.I-1] ['hemp-ADJ] ['river.mouth-3] ['village-LOC] ['be'-PAST-1-LOC]
 'I saw such a thing when I was in Ust'-Kyndyrlyla village'

In addition there are also contrastive-anaphoric demonstratives 'this one, that one (out of that aforementioned group)'; these consist of the oblique demonstrative stem to which -zV has been suffixed: *minzi*, *anzi*, and the relatively infrequent *tIgIzI*. Often the first two of these are used contrastively; they frequently occur with the adverb *tlzej* 'on the other hand'.

(24)

minzi--minIj xarindazim, anzi--anij çažazi
 ['this.one'] ['T-GEN] ['brother-1] ['that.one'] [3.GEN] ['sister-3]
 'this one's my brother, that one is her sister'

minzi čaxsi ügrenče, anzi, tlzej--čöpče
 ['this.one'] ['well'] ['study'-PRES.I] ['that.one'] ['on.the.other.hand'] ['so-so']
 'this one studies well, that one on the other hand, (only) so-so'

2.1.2.3 Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun in Xakas is a (possessed) stem /*pos-*/ (yielding *pozim*, *pozij*, *pozi*, *pozibis*, *pozijar*, and *postari*), refers to the subject, and appears in a variety of cases. Non-reflexive pronouns may optionally appear in clauses with reflexives pronouns in Xakas. Potentially ambiguous third person reference can be disambiguated through the use of reflexive or non-reflexive pronouns; this disambiguation is also characteristic of complex sentences, see 3.3.2.

(25)

(min) pozim körgem *pozij kispes polzarj*
 ['I'] ['self-1] ['see'-PAST.I-1] ['self-2] ['cross-NEG.FUT] [AUX-COND-2]
 'I myself saw (it)' 'if you're not going to cross (it) yourself...'

adayin pozinarj xada aldi
 ['dog-3.ACC] ['self-3.INS] ['with'] ['take'-PAST.II]
 'he_i took his_i dog with him_i'

poziniy čurtazinarjar ol köp xiniy nimeler čooxtažarj
 ['self-3-GEN] ['life-3-CIR] ['he'] ['many'] ['interesting'] ['thing-PL] ['say'-HABIT]
 'he would say alot of interesting things about his (own) life'

ol poziniy čurtaaninarjar plske čooxtaan
 [3] ['self-3-GEN] ['live'-PAST.II-3-CIR] ['we-DAT] ['say'-PAST.I]
 'he_i told us about how he_i lived'

vs. *ol anij čurtaaninarjar plske čooxtaan*
 [3] [3.GEN] ['live'-PAST.II-3-CIR] ['we-DAT] ['say'-PAST.I]
 'he_i told us about how he_i lived'

2.1.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogatives in Xakas are *kem* 'who', *nime* 'what', *ninže* 'how much' (dialectally also *xanža*), *noya* 'why', *xay* 'which', *xayda* 'where', *xaydi* 'how', *xayday* 'which', *xayzi* 'which', and *xažan* 'when'. Complex directional interrogatives are formed off the stem *xay-* as well: *xaydarj* 'from where', *xayya* 'to where, up to where', *xaydar* 'to where', e.g. *xaydarj kildij*, *xaydar čörzIj* ['from.where'] ['come'-PAST.II-2] ['to.where'] ['go-2] 'where did you come from (and) where are you going?' As relative pronouns, the use of which is disfavored in the standardized register, *kem*, and *xayzi* are used. When used anaphorically, *xayzi* ~*xayzilari* (with 2 markers of possessive -*zi* and *i!*), and *nInžezI* are found: *nInžezI alarziij* ['how.many-3-ACC] ['take'-FUT-2] 'how many of them are you going to take?' *olardarj nInžezI parar* ['they-ABL!'] [how.many-3] ['go'-FUT] 'how many of (lit. from) them will go?' *xayzilari narj adayni alip alayziij* ['which.of-PL-3-ABL] ['dog-ACC] ['take'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.I-2] 'which of them did you take the dog from'.

2.1.2.5 Indefinite Pronouns

Most indefinite pronouns in Xakas are formed by the clitic -D₂A attached to interrogative stems, *xayda-da* 'somewhere', *xayzi-da* 'some kind of, any kind of'. Note that *nime-de* means 'something' while *nime-le* means 'anything' in the standardized register, but the distinction isn't felt by all speakers; note similarly *kem-ne* 'someone,

anyone' vs. *kem-de* 'someone (unknown who)', e.g. *kinetIn kem-de IzIk toxladiBisxan* ['suddenly'] ['who'-EMPH] ['door'] ['knock'-PERF-PAST.I] 'suddenly someone knocked at the door'. Often the indefiniteness is marked by the use of *plr* 'one'; a similar use is found in many Turkic languages: *anda ol plr nime kör salyan* ['there'] ['he'] ['one'] ['what'] ['see'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I] 'he saw something there'. *xay plree* means 'several' and when referring to a group (anaphorically) *xay plreezl* ~ *xay plrsI* 'several of them' are used, sometimes even *xayzi*: *xayzi on siglzer*, *xayzi čiblrđl pizer čil čurtap salyannar* ['which'-3] ['18'-DIST] ['which'-3] ['25'-DIST] ['year'] ['live'-CV] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I-PL] 'some of them lived 18 years, some 25 (there)'.

2.1.2.6 Quantitative Pronouns

In Xakas the quantitative pronouns are *pray* 'all' (dialectally also *parčan* 'all') and *polyan na* 'each, every'. These appear before a modified noun: *pray ügretčeller* 'all the teachers', *polyan na ipčl* 'every woman'. In referring to members of a group anaphorically *prayzi* ~ *prayzilari* 'all of them' (also *prayziñar* 'all of you', *prayzibis* 'all of us') are used. These can be used both with and without a preceding noun in the GEN form: *ügrenžlernlđ prayzi* ['student'-PL-GEN] ['all'-3] 'all of the students', *Tanis irtken ayda sütl prayzinađ köp sayan* ['T.'] ['pass'-PAST] ['month'-LOC] ['milk'-ACC] ['all'-3-ABL] ['much'] ['milk'-PAST.I] 'Tanis last month milked the most milk of all'. In the meaning 'everyone' *praylari* is commonly used: *praylari aniđ xirinzar oylaxannar* ['all'-PL-3] [3.GEN] ['direction'-3-ALLAT] ['run'-RECIP-PAST.I-PL] 'everyone ran towards him'. Other quantitative pronouns and adverbs are formed by adding the clitic -D₂AA to the interrogative pronouns, the negative distinguished from the positive by the presence/absence of a NEG affix on the verb: *pu taxillarda xar xažan daa xayila čoyıl* ['this'] ['high.peak'-PL-LOC] ['snow'] ['when'=EMPH] ['melt'-CV] [NEG] 'on these high peaks the snow never melts' vs. *xažan daa irstiy pol* ['when'-EMPH] ['happy'] ['be'] 'always be happy'. Note however that rather than *kem dee* +NEG to express 'noone', *plr dee klzl* + NEG is used instead, e.g. *plr dee klzl kilbedl* 'noone came'.

2.1.3 Numerals

In Xakas the numbers between 1-10 are *plr*, *kl*, *üs*, *tört*, *pis*, *aldi*, *čitl*, *sigls*, *toyis*, *on*. 20 through 90, 100, 200 and 1000 are *čiblrđl*, *otıs*, *xirix*, *illg*, *alton*, *čiton*, *siglzon*, *toyizon*, *čüs*, *kl čüs*, *muđ*. Numbers between the tens are formed by simple compounding: *on tört* '14', *čiton toyis* '79'. Higher numbers are borrowed from Russian, e.g. *milliön*, *milliárd* 'billion'.¹⁵ Numerals in Xakas are generally followed by the singular form of the noun in the unmarked case, for example *tört at* 'four horses' or *on ipčl* 'ten women'. Ordinals are formed with the affix -VnžV: *IkInžl* 'second', *aldinži* 'sixth'. When discussing a ranked or ordered referent out of a group anaphorically, the possessive suffix -zV is used, e.g. *üzInžlzIn körgem* ['three'-ORD-3-ACC] ['see'-PAST.I-1] 'I saw the third one'. Collective numerals are formed by the suffix -OlAđ: *altolađ* '6 together' or *törtöleđ* '4 together', e.g. *am pular pizöleđ čurtapčalar* ['now'] ['this'-PL] ['5'-COLL] ['live'-PRES.I-PL] 'the five of them live together now' or *Iköleđe azix čider* ['two'-COLL-DAT] ['supplies'] ['suffice'-FUT] 'the two of (us) have enough supplies'. Note that 'the two (of them)

¹⁵ Note that the Xakas word *tüben* means something like 'zillions' in colloquial English (i.e. some unknown/unspecified very large number), coming from a Mongol word *tümen* meaning '10,000' (Baskakov et al. 1975: 113).

together', etc. can also be expressed by the INS case of a possessive plural form of the number: *IklerIneđ*. Distributive numbers are formed by -(l)Ar, or (-p) converb forms of verbs derived from this, i.e. -(l)ArIAp, though forms of the latter shape can sometimes have a collective meaning as well. Examples include *čitler* 'seven each', *xiriyar* 'forty each', *pizerlep* 'five each, the five together', *altılarlap* 'six each, the six together'; doubling of forms in -(l)Ar is also common: *onar-onar* 'ten by ten, in tens, ten each' The ABL case can also be used in a distributive function with numerals, sometimes attaching to a form already marked by -(l)Ar *onnađ* ~ *onardađ* 'ten each, in tens' or *IkIdeđ* ~ *Iklerdeđ* 'two each, in twos'.

2.1.4 Adjectives

Certain nominal stems which lack inflection all together can be used modificationally (as adjectives) in Xakas, for example *xara* 'black', *sariy* 'yellow', *čoon* 'fat'. Other stems function both as nouns with inflection and as adjectives without it, e.g. *tas* 'stone' or *ayas* 'wood(en)'. The most common and productive adjectival [ADJ] formant in Xakas is -LVG, which forms adjectives meaning 'having X', with a wide range of other, extended meanings; forms with this affix include *küstlg* 'strong', *attiy* 'having a horse', *ustiy* 'sharp', *čillig* 'windy', *xarliy* 'snowy', *sixtiy* 'dry', etc. Other adjective/noun formants include -VG, -(A)đ, -čAK, -GAY, -KA, -KAK, and -Vm: *xizim* 'tight, compact', *xisxa* 'short', *killskek* 'suitable, fitting' *undučax* 'forgetful', *čilbirag* 'slippery, smooth' *Izlg* 'hot'. Another common formant is the 'derivational clitic' -GV-, which is found following adverbs and nouns/participles in the LOC case -D₂A, for example *taydayi ayastar* 'the trees on the mountain' or *püüngl gazeta* 'today's newspaper'. Morphological comparatives and superlatives are lacking *per se*; however, several different constructions are used in this function, including *xomayniđ xomayi* ['bad'-GEN] ['bad'-3] 'the worst (one)' (i.e. X-GEN X-3 for nominalizations), *otlgdeđ otlg ün* ['loud'-ABL] ['loud'] ['voice'] 'a louder than loud voice', *axtađ ax xar* ['white'-ABL] ['white'] ['snow'] 'whiter than white snow' (i.e. X-ABL X Y for adjective-noun constructions). The comparative is most often a diminutive, e.g. *uluy arax* 'a bit bigger', *uzun arax* 'a bit longer'. Superlative degree is expressed with adverbs such as *tiđ*, *uyaa* 'very, 'alot' or *iđ* 'the most', e.g. *iđ pözlk tay* 'the highest mountain'. One very restricted set of modifiers--a small number of basic color terms and *čoon* 'fat' and *čarix* 'bright, light'--have an expressive reduplicative prefix [RD] of the shape CVp-, e.g. *xapxara* 'extremely black, the blackest', *xipxizil* 'extremely red, the reddest', *čopčoon* 'extremely fat'; note that this is the only prefix in the language.

2.1.4.1 Adverbs

The words performing the function of adverbs in Xakas can consist of a small number of unanalyzable stems (sometimes identical to an 'adjective' stem), lexicalized case forms (productive and non-productive/historical ones), fused demonstrative-noun phrases, or gerundive forms of verbs. Among the first type of words are such items as *uyaa* 'very, much, alot' or *am* 'now'. Case forms include both the lexicalized archaic case forms of the ALL, ABL, and INS mentioned above (e.g. *čoyar* 'upwards', *kidertIn* 'from the west', *xiyin-čayin* 'from side to side', *ağrin* 'quietly' (of which ones in -Vn are especially common), as well as lexicalized modern case forms such as *tağda* 'tomorrow', *minda* 'here', *anda* 'there' the LOC forms of *tađ* 'dawn', *pu* 'this' and *ol* 'that', respectively, and *plrge* 'together', the DAT case of *plr* 'one'. Note also the adverbial use of particular case

forms of certain auxiliary nouns as adverbs, e.g. *soonaj* '(from) behind' or *alninda* 'ahead, in front'. Univerbated forms include *püün* 'today', *püül* 'this year', *piltir* 'last year', and *puruñul* 'the year before last, a couple years back', all of which include *pu* 'this'. Lexicalized gerundives include such forms as *orustap čooxtabinčam* 'I don't speak Russian', a -p converb form of the denominal verb *orusta-* 'to Russian' or *azindira* 'in good time, beforehand', an -A/i converb form of the verb meaning 'heighten, augment'. There is at least one semi-productive means of forming adverbs in Xakas, the affix -Li (-D₂i)--etymologically the -A/i converb forms of (denominal) verbs in -LA¹⁶: *časti* 'the whole spring', *ortimaxti* 'so-so', *taɣdadi* 'on the next day', *kižeedi* 'on the day before', *igrlri* 'crookedly, askew'. Note that the sequence -GVzVn occurs frequently in temporal adverbial expressions in Xakas, e.g. *čayyizin* 'during the summer', *iirglzln* 'during the evening', *irtenglzln* '(the) next morning', *xixizizln* 'during the winter'.¹⁷ Comparative or superlative degree is not generally expressed morphologically, but through emphatic adverbs or clitics, including diminutivizers [DIM] like *arax*, -žAK, or the intensifier-gVnA, for example *aynida arax čörIp odir* 'walk faster', *ayirinžax apar* 'take (this) without a sound' (*ayirin* 'quietly'), or *aspsayas köölžeglne pastirip odir* 'the old guy walks very slowly'. Note that while generally adverbs lack any inflection, there are exceptions, e.g. *amda* ['now'-LOC] 'right now' or *amga teere* ['now'-DAT] ['until'] 'until now'.

2.1.5 Nominal Categorizers

There are a large number of (semi-)productive and lexicalized noun formants in Xakas. Among the common denominal formants are -AK, -As, -DAs, (-V)žAK, -(ž)AGAs, -tVK, while the numerous deverbal formants include -BA, -dV, -GV/-KV, -GVn/-KVn, -GVs/-KVs, -MAK, -VG, -VK, -Vl, -Vm, -Vn, -Vs, -(V)t. An especially important and common (and near pan-Turkic) affix is -žV, which attaches to both nominal and verbal stems. Examples of these affixes include *čörlm* 'movement', *čarim* 'half', *čaradiy* 'decision', *oñnay* 'understanding', *pllls* 'knowledge, knowing', *örlnls* 'joy', *xarindas* 'younger brother', *körlns* 'mirror', *palixči* 'fisherman', *ügrečel* 'teacher', *kiskls* 'chisel', *sidamax* 'endurance', *xurut* 'dried curds', *aziral* 'feed (for livestock)' etc. With the common deverbal abstract noun formants, a given root generally prefers one or another affix, though variation on the specific combinations favored by individual speakers is attested. However, sometimes one root with different noun formants may have ostensibly different (or differing primary) meanings, e.g. *čörlm* 'movement, walk' vs. *čörls* 'walk' or *püdlrls* 'building, construction' vs. *püdlrlg* 'construction, building'.

¹⁶ The anomalous -di forms above perhaps show a separate verb forming affix *-D₂A, though (historically) in an -A/i converb form as well. These are used in narratives, referring to times relative to some other point in time, but not the day before/after the actual speech act, when *taɣda* 'tomorrow', etc. would be used.

¹⁷ On the basis of comparative Turkic data one might expect the old INS suffix -Vn to be found in these type of expressions, but -GV- is not expected, and thus the question arises to what period these formations belong; are they old frozen 3.POSS.INS forms or more recent 3.POSS. ACC formations, and why/how did the derivational clitic come into play here at all. This -Vn is also found in Xakas adverbs derived from ordinal numbers as well, e.g. *iklnžzln* 'secondarily'.

2.2 Verb Morphology

In Xakas, verbs are inflected for the person/number of the subject, as well as a range of tense, aspect, and mood categories. Participles, converbs and auxiliary verb constructions also represent important parts of the Xakas verbal system.

2.2.1 Verb

2.2.1.1 Personal Affixes

The Xakas verb agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause, for both intransitive and transitive verbs. The markers realizing these categories are traditionally divided into two paradigmatic sets, generally known as the 'possessive' and the 'predicative' inflections in the Turkological literature. However, first and second singular markers fall into three patterns, not just two (Anderson 1994). Tense/Aspect/Mood formants are found with one or another of these Classes of personal affixes.

(26)

Class-I affixes		Class-II affixes		Class-III affixes		
1 -m	1PL -BV _s	1 -BV _n	1PL -BV _s	1 -m	1PL	-BV _s
2 -ZV _ŋ	2PL -Z(V _ŋ)Ar	2 -ZV _ŋ	2PL -Z(V _ŋ)Ar	2 -ŋ	2PL	-ŋAr
3 ---	3PL -LAr	3 ---	3PL -LAr	3 ---	3PL	(-LAr)

Class-III in the first and second person is homophonous with possessive suffixes. Note that the IMP forms have a fourth set of inflectional affixes, but as even the types of referent property categories are different in the IMP, these are discussed separately in the section on Mood below. Agreement with a third plural subject is always optional, though frequently encountered in all Xakas verbal paradigms. Nominal predicates in main clauses, which may appear in a variety of cases, always use Class-II affixes. For some speakers the first singular in Class-II is not -BV_n but rather -ZVm.

2.2.1.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood Categories

2.2.1.2.1 Tense

The most unmarked affix realizing the category PRES in Xakas is -čA/-pčA, the allomorphs found with consonantal and vocalic verbal stems, respectively. This has become a general present, used in both progressive and non-progressive meanings. The PRES.I affix in Xakas utilizes Class-I personal affixes. Examples of the various functions of the Xakas PRES.I can be found in (27)

(27)

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| i. | <i>noya küllmzIrepčezIŋ</i>
['why'] ['smile'-PRES.I-2]
'why are you smiling' | <i>min plčlk xi yirčam</i>
['I'] ['letter'] ['read'-PRES.I-1]
'I'm reading a letter' |
| ii. | <i>ol čaxsi irlapča</i>
['he'] ['good'] ['sing'-PRES.I]
'he sings well' | <i>ol za minneŋ tabrax čügürče</i>
['he'] [EMPH] ['I'-ABL] ['fast'] ['run'-PRES.I]
'(even) he runs faster than me' |

- iii. *xayday tabirax alisça çurtas!*¹⁸
 ['how'] ['fast'] ['change'-PRES.I] ['life']
 'how quickly life changes!'

When appearing before markers of the conditional (optionally) and evidential (obligatorily), the PRES.I appears in the (etymologically older) allomorph *-(p)çAt-*; for examples see the relevant sections below.

A second present affix also exists in Xakas which is marked by *-(p)çAdvr-*. Instead of Class-I affixes, this extended PRES.II marker utilizes Class-II personal suffixes. Functionally, the PRES.II is more or less identical to the PRES.I., that is, it marks progressive and various other types of actions coterminous with the speech act. In the standardized register, the unmarked interpretation is a progressive meaning. In the spoken dialects, the functional/semantic extensions found in the PRES.I are also characteristic of the PRES.II.

- (28)
min sa yam plçk pasçadırbin
 ['I'] ['right.now'] ['letter'] ['write'-PRES.II-1]
 'I am writing a letter right now'

The third present affix in Xakas has a much more restricted distribution: It appears only with the two common verbs of motion *par* 'go' and *kil* 'come'. While both of these verbs may appear with the unmarked PRES.I in *-(p)çA*, they frequently appear in this special PRES.III form. Actually, there are two variants of this affix, namely *-ir* and *-i*, the former taking Class-II agreement markers, but the latter Class-İ. The shorter forms are more common. Basically, the functions of these affixes are the same as those of the PRES.I in *-(p)çA*, only restricted to these two verbs.

- (29)
- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>olar Aybanzar kililer</i>
['they'] ['Abakan'-ALL] ['come'-PRES.III-PL]
'they are coming to Abakan' | <i>xaydar pariziç?</i>
['where'-ALL] ['go'-PRES.III-2]
'where are you going?' |
| <i>tañda irten aryalıy sin üstlnzar paribis</i>
['tomorrow'] ['morning'] ['high.mtn'] ['ridge'] ['top'-3-ALL] ['go'-PRES.III-1PL]
'tomorrow morning we are going to the high mountain ridge' | |

There are three verbs in Xakas which can optionally appear in a bare stem form and express present tense alone, *tur* 'stand', *çör* 'walk', and *odir* 'sit'.¹⁹ In addition, when preceded by another lexical verb in the *-p* converb form, these can in certain instances replace the PRES.I marker and themselves become markers of this category, losing their original semantic content. However, in both of these cases, these verb stems may also

¹⁸ Note the word order in this expressive utterance--the subject appears clause-finally.

¹⁹ These three verb stems--along with *yat/çat/çat*, etc. 'be lying' (the source of the Xakas PRES.I) are found throughout the languages of the Turkic family in the function of a (progressive) present. In general, one has become the unmarked means of indexing the category, while others may appear in various other functions (e.g. a habitual or evidential present). See Anderson (1994) for a discussion on the history of PRES.I affix in Xakas and the closely related Shor language.

appear in conjunction with the PRES.I marker--thus, one may encounter double marking of the category in this latter instance.

- (30)
- i. *anıñ xirinda tit xaxpazınañ çapxan ambarax tur*
 ['3.GEN] ['near'-3-LOC] ['larch'(bark)] ['roof'-3-INS] ['cover'-PAST.I] ['barn'] ['stand']
 'a small barn with a roof of larch (bark) stands near it'
- annañ xosti Panyukıñ Goşazi odır*
 [3-INS] ['next.to] ['P'-GEN] ['G'-3] ['sit']
 'next to her is sitting Panyuk's (son) Gosha'
- ii. *olarzar udur turna uçuyıp odır*
 ['they'-ALL] ['towards'] ['crane'] ['fly'-CV] [PRES.IVb]
 'a crane is flying towards them'
- altınnañ aarlıy anıñ sini püün, küñneñ dee ötig çarıp tur iblre*
 ['gold'-ABL] ['pur. '] [3.GEN] ['truth'] ['today'] ['sun'-ABL] [EMPH] ['bright']
 ['shine'-CV] [PRES.IVa] ['around']
 'its truth is today purer than gold, shines more brightly than even the sun'
- pu ol klzi poltır, xayzin pis ürdeñ peer körglep çörbis*
 ['this'] ['that'] ['person'] ['be'-EVID.PAST] ['which'-3.ACC] ['we'] ['long.time'-ABL]
 ['for'] ['look'-ITER-CV] [PRES.IVc-1PL]
 'it seems this is the person we have been searching for for such a long time'
- iii. *xažın daa ırlap la çörçe*
 ['when'] [EMPH] ['sing'-CV] [EMPH] ['walk'-PRES]
 'he always walks and sings (while singing)'
- xayzi çirde çaxsi ölleleçe, xayzi çirler xuruy xalıp odırça*
 ['some'] ['land'-LOC] ['good'] ['wet'-VSF-PASS-PRES.I] ['some'] ['land'-PL] ['dry']
 ['remain'-CV] [PRES.IVc-PRES]
 'some land is well irrigated, but other lands stay dry'
- tügenñ tusta çılıy suya kil turça*
 ['last'] ['time'-LOC] ['herd'] ['water'-DAT] ['enter'] [PRES.IVa-PRES]
 'at the last moment, the herd comes to the water'

FUT

The basic marker of the future [FUT] tense in Xakas is *-Ar* following consonantal stems and *-ir* following vocalic stems. In the standardized register these generally take Class-II agreement markers. However, in the first person singular, there is frequently a special allomorph of the FUT lacking the *-r*, i.e. *-A/-i*, which the first person singular marker from Class-I (*-m*) is attached to. In the various dialects of Xakas, one can encounter this allomorph with all first and second person subjects, both singular and plural.

The Xakas FUT tense marker has several functions. Its primary use is to mark actions that are to take place at a time after the speech act. Also, the DAT case of the FUT (participle) functions as an infinitive [INF] in Xakas; the FUT alone may also function as an infinitive. In other instances, e.g. when describing perpetual characteristics, the Xakas FUT form translates as a PRES in many languages. This last function of the FUT is mainly found in proverbs, riddles, etc. in Xakas.

- (31)
- i. *min Ikl künneğök minda polarbin* *plr častaj obedke pararbis²⁰*
 ['I'] ['two'] ['day'-ABL-EMPH] ['one'] ['hour'-ABL] ['lunch'-DAT] ['go'-FUT-1PL]
 ['this'-LOC] ['be'-FUT-1] 'we'll go to lunch in an hour'
 'in only two days I'll be here'
- ii. *pllerge* *xastir ya* *adar ya* *küstirge*
 ['know'-INF] ['skin'-INF] ['shoot'-INF] ['force'-INF]
 'to know' 'to skin' 'to shoot' 'to force'
- iii. *min ayaa tlpčem "nime ür sayınar! Al!"*
 ['I'] [3.DAT] ['say'-PRES.I-1] ['what'] ['long'] ['think'-FUT] ['take']
 'I say to him "what is there to think about for so long! Take it!"'
nimenl pllegekte nimee ökpelener
 ['what'-ACC] ['know'-UNACCOMPL.PAST-LOC] ['what'-DAT] ['be.angry'-FUT]
 'what is there to get angry about when (you) don't know anything yet!'
- iv. *čaxsi klzI xayda daa čaxsi polar* *kem pller ani*
 ['good'] ['person'] ['everywhere'] ['good'] ['who'] ['know'-FUT] [3.ACC]
 ['be'-FUT] 'a good person is good everywhere' 'who knows him?'

PAST

There are a wide range of simplex past tense markers in Xakas. These include forms marking recent past, an unmarked/general past, an imperfect, and a so-called 'resultative/categorical'. There are also various other simplex markers for a past action combined with some kind of aspectual or modal category. These include a habitual past [HABIT.PAST], an evidential past [EVID.PAST], and an unaccomplished past [UNACCOMPL.PAST], etc.

The so-called 'indefinite' past, the unmarked past tense, is -GAN in the third person and -GA in the first and second persons. This PAST.I affix in Xakas takes Class-I agreement affixes; however, in rare instances, one may also find Class-II agreement affixes. Note that the clitic -OK 'also' can appear either before or after the agreement markers in the PAST.I.

- (32)
- i. *sayaa köre min dee nanibisxam*
 ['you'-DAT] ['because.of'] ['I'] [EMPH] ['return'-PERF-PAST.I-1]
 'because of you even I returned home'
praylari aniq xırınzar oylaxannar
 ['all'-PL-3] [3.GEN] ['side'-3-ALL] ['run'-PAST.I-PL]
 'they all ran to his side'
čayyi xazaa ya, xoy kir sal yan soonda, ibzer klr par yabin

²⁰ Note the treatment of the Russian loan *obed*, which following the conventions of Xakas orthography is put in its (transliterated) Russian spelling. The vowel of the DAT suffix is harmonic with the last stem vowel of the Russian loan. Although orthographically a -d, the sound in both Xakas and Russian is obligatorily devoiced in this environment and thus as phonetic [-t] requires a voiceless-initial allomorph of the DAT suffix (-*ke*).

['summer'] ['stockyard'-DAT] ['sheep'] ['drive'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I] ['after']
 ['house'-ALL] ['enter'] ['go'-PAST.I-1]
 'after I drove the sheep into the summer stockyard, I went into the house'

- ii. *olar körgennerök* *olar körgenöktör*
 ['they'] ['see'-PAST.I-PL-EMPH] ['they'] ['walk'-PAST.I-EMPH-PL]
 'they also walked' 'they also walked'

The second past marker of Xakas is known in the linguistic literature as the 'recent past'. This is a very old affix, found in virtually all Common Turkic languages. This takes the form of -D₂V and, unlike the other tense markers discussed above, takes Class-III agreement markers. However, in the second person plural, a special allomorph is optionally found: instead of -D₂V_ηAr, the medial -*η*- is lost and a (phonetic) long vowel is found, orthographically represented as a short vowel, i.e. -D₂Ar, for example *oynadar* ['play'-PAST.II-2PL] 'y'all played' or *ister* ['hear'-PAST.II-2PL] 'y'all heard'.

Among the primary functions of the PAST.II affix in Xakas is the expression of an action in the not too distant past, though the time frame of this is indeterminate. On occasion, this affix can appear in sentences with a second person referent without a past meaning, as a type of 'malefactive' or 'adversative' "warning against a possible but undesirable action" (Baskakov et al. 1975: 209). To express an action immediately preceding another one, the first verb is in -D₂OK (<*-D₂V-OK), and the second one is fully inflected for tense/mood/aspect and person/number. With the emphatic clitic =D₂AA, this expresses an almost completed action. The PAST.II affix can also appear with the 'delimitive' particle (-*ni*-which appears infix between the PAST affix and the agreement marker.

- (33)
- i. *gorodima soox tižirap čittl*
 ['city'-1-DAT] ['cold'] ['crack'-CV] ['reach'-PAST.II]
 'a hard frost set in upon my city'
xaydi tabirax tudin saldar?
 ['how'] ['quick'] ['hold'-RFLXV] [PERF.IIa-PAST.II-2PL]
 'how did you spend all the money so quickly?'
- ii. *pazox xožanni xaldıñ plree čirzer*
 ['again'] ['roll'-CV] [PERF.IIh-PAST.II-2] ['one/any'] ['land'-ALL]
 'watch out that you don't go rolling off anywhere'
atxa teptırdıñ anda
 ['horse'-DAT] ['kick'-CAUS-PAST.II-2] [3.LOC]
 'watch out that the horse doesn't kick (you) there'
- iii. *min, čattox, uzubisxam* vs. *min čattımox*
 ['I'] ['lay.down'-PAST.II-EMPH] ['I'] ['lay.down'-PAST.II-1-EMPH]
 ['sleep'-PERF-PAST.I-1] 'as soon as I lay down, I fell asleep' 'I also lay down'
- iv. *pu to yısti idlp, min mayix taa pardim*
 ['this'] ['work'-ACC] ['do'-CV] ['I'] ['tired'] [EMPH] [PERF.IIb-PAST.II-1]
 'doing this work I almost got tired'

'why did only I have such misfortune?!'

The third past affix in Xakas is the past in -ʒVK/-čVK. The PAST.III affix in Xakas is not that frequently encountered, but takes Class-II agreement markers. In some instances, particularly in tales, the PAST.III is used in a sequence of actions in the past; in other instances, only the last verb in a sequence appears in the PAST.III form, the rest being in the -p converb form (see 2.2.3 and 3.3.1 below).

(34)

ür parʒix, as parʒix, ax tasxilniŋ üstine saxčix
 ['long'] ['go'-PAST.III] ['little'] ['go'-PAST.III] ['white'] [mountain.pass'-GEN]
 ['top'-3-DAT] ['climb'-PAST.III]
 'he went long, he went short, he climbed to the top the of the snowy mountain pass'

<i>ib toldira čon čüŋʒix</i> ['yurt'] ['fill'-CAUS-CV] ['people'] ['gather'-PAST.III]	<i>Semyon kün tooza polisčix plske</i> ['S.']['day'] ['whole'] ['help'- PAST.III] ['we'-DAT]
'the people assembled, filling the yurt'	'Semyon helped us the whole day'

čidlp, adin altin stolbaa palyaʒix, izlgn asčix, izen pirʒlk irkIn altap
mendl pirʒlk
 ['reach'-CV] ['horse'-3.ACC] ['gold'] ['post'-DAT] ['tie'-PAST.III] ['door'-3.ACC]
 ['open'-PAST.III] ['hello'] ['give'-PAST.III] ['threshold'] ['cross'-CV] ['bow'] ['give'-
 PAST.III]
 'having reached (there), he tied his horse to the gold post, opened the door, said hello, and having crossed the threshold, bowed'

alti suɣ kizlp, alti sin uzip, ax čazaa tüsčlk
 ['6'] ['river'] ['cross'-CV] ['6'] [mountain.range] ['cross'] ['white'] ['steppe'-
 DAT] ['fall'-PAST.III]
 'he crossed six rivers, six mountain ranges, (and finally) came upon the white steppe'

A further noteworthy characteristic of this affix is that it can appear following other past tense affixes in Xakas (Baskakov et al. (1975: 221)). This can appear with the PAST.I (in -GAN) and the PAST.II (in -DV) (as well as with the EVID.PAST (in -(p)D₂Vr, see below).

(35)

adi paza pozi pray xiolap paryanʒix
 ['horse'-3] ['and'] ['self'-3] ['all'] ['hoar.frost'-VSF-CV] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-PAST.III]
 'both his horse and he himself were frosted over'

xaydi sarnadiʒixsar, pu suulaxta undup saltirbin²¹
 ['how'] ['sing'-PAST.II-PAST.III-2PL] ['this'] ['noise'-LOC] ['forget'-CV]
 [PERF.IIa-EVID.PAST-1]
 'In all this noise it seems I forgot how you sang'

Xakas also has an affix somewhat analogous to an imperfect in English. From a formal perspective, this etymologically consists of a present marker in conjunction with the

²¹ Note the dialectal form *suulax* 'noise', where *suulas* is expected.

PAST.I affix. Thus, the vast majority of verbs use the affix *-(p)čAtKAN* (i.e. what looks like a combination of the original form of the PRES.I affix and the PAST.I), while the common motion verbs *par* 'go' and *kil* 'come' use *-iɣAn* (or what etymologically consists of the PRES.III plus PAST.I).²² The Xakas IMPERF usually takes Class-I agreement markers, but occasionally one encounters Class-II markers.

The Xakas IMPERF functions much like the English imperfect, i.e. a past action on-going at some particular point in time, generally when some other action occurred. Consequently, it frequently appears in some kind of subordinate clause. Additionally it is also used in describing scenes of nature, or in various types of descriptive/circumstantial clauses.

(36)

i. *Alʒıbay čaaday aylan kilgende, turazi een turčatxan*
 ['A.']['war'-ABL] ['return'] ['come'-PAST.I-LOC] ['house'-3] ['empty']
 ['stand'-IMPERF]
 'when Alʒıbay returned from the war, his house was empty'

pabam kiʒee le klzl kirek tlp čooxtančatxan
 ['father'-1] ['yesterday'] [EMPH] ['person'] ['necessary'] [COMP] ['say'-
 RFLXV-IMPERF]
 'father was saying only yesterday that people are needed'

ii. *čiplama xaraa polyan, postıñ ködlrgen salaazi daa körInminčetken*
 ['very.dark'] ['night'] ['be'-PAST.I] ['own'-GEN] ['raise'-CAUS-PAST.I]
 ['finger'-3] [EMPH] ['see'-RFLXV-NEG-IMPERF]
 'it was a very dark night, one couldn't see even one's own raised finger'

pIs čalyıs azax čolʒa paryabis, xayzi ta ɣni iblre parčatxan
 ['we'] ['footpath'-P/E] ['go'-PAST.I-1PL] ['which'] ['mountain'-ACC] ['around']
 ['go'-IMPERF]
 'we went along the footpath which circled the mountain'

2.2.1.2.2 Mood

A wide range of modal categories are also characteristic of the Xakas verbal system. Several of these are realized by simplex affixes, while others consist of compound affixes or a lexical stem in combination with some kind of AUX verb. The modal categories realized by simplex affixes in Xakas include the imperative [IMPER], the conditional [CONDIT], the optative [OPT], the hypothetical [HYPOTH], the evidential [EVID.PRES] and [EVID.PAST], and the interrogative [INTRG]. The Xakas modal system also includes the indicative, which, as in most languages, is formally the unmarked mood, lacking any overt indicator of the category.

IMPER

²² Note, that these two verbs can also appear with the unmarked allomorph *-(p)čAtKAN* with the same meaning. However, when *par* is used as an auxiliary there is a difference in meaning between the uses of *-(p)čAtKAN* and *-iɣAn* as the affix of the IMPERF (Baskakov et al. 1975: 218): *Ar ɣamʒı üzl pariɣan* ['rope'] ['tear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-IMPERF.II] 'the rope was about to tear' vs. *Ar ɣamʒı üzl parčatxan* ['rope'] ['tear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-IMPERF] 'the rope was tearing'.

From a formal perspective, the most basic form of the Xakas root is found in the IMPER, i.e. the second person singular IMPER is the bare stem alone, lacking any inflectional affixes. The markers for the other persons and numbers are in part different than the other agreement paradigms in Xakas. In particular, the third person has an overt formal marker, rather than a zero marking as in the other paradigms. In addition, there are several different non-singular markers for first person IMPER, though opinions vary as to the exact number and the range of categories that these realize.

The underspecified/archiphonemic forms of the IMPER agreement markers, excluding the first person non-singular forms, are as follows: 1SG -im, 2SG -Ø, 3SG -ZVn, 2PL -(V)ηAr, and 3PL -ZvnnAr. The first singular marker in its present form seems to be of fairly recent origin. Based on cognates in other closely and more distantly related Turkic languages, e.g. Tyvan, Old Turkic (Orxon and Yenisei runic inscriptions), and Turkish, one would expect ****Ayn**. Indeed, this form is attested in Radloff's texts from the mid- to late-nineteenth century (cited in Borgoyakov 1981: 101): *taɣa sixsaŋ taɣaŋ polayn, suɣa kirzeŋ čölögüŋ polayn* ['mountain'-DAT] ['leave'-CONDIT-2] ['staff-2] ['be'-1.IMPER] ['water'-DAT] ['enter'-CONDIT-2] ['pier'-2] ['be'-1.IMPER] 'if you go off into the mountains, let me be your staff, if you enter the water, let me be your pier'. The sequence ***-Ay** often resulted in **-i(i)** in modern Xakas, so ****-in** might be expected; most likely some kind of spread of the unmarked first person marker in **-m** occurred replacing the more opaque component ***-n**.

The Xakas IMPER functions much like the IMPER in a wide variety of other languages. e.g. in commands, exhortations, etc. In the third person singular followed by the complementizer *tlp*, literally 'having said, saying', it functions as a type of subordinate clause of purpose.

(37)

- i. *čirlmneŋer čooxtap pirim me?*
 ['land'-1-CIR] ['speak'-CV] ['give'-1IMPER] [Q] *mayaa čooxta!*
 ['I'-DAT] ['say']
 'may I tell you about my homeland?' 'tell me!'
- če nime polza, ol polzin*
 ['but'] ['thing'] ['be'-CONDIT] *ol knigani olar ya pirlŋer*
 ['that'] ['book'-ACC] ['they'-DAT]
 ['that'] ['be'-3.IMPER] ['give'-2PL]
 'whatever might happen, let it happen!' 'give them that book!'
- ii. *xarasxi xaraa tüs kilbezln tlp, pls adibisti tabirax čörglzp odıryabıs*
 ['very.dark'] ['night'] ['fall'] [PERF.IId-NEG-3.IMPER] [COMP] ['we']
 ['horse'-1PL-ACC] ['quick'] ['walk'-CAUS-CV] [PERF.IIf-PAST.I-1PL]
 'so that we wouldn't get caught in the dark night, we rode our horse quickly'
- xirlarda as-tamax kür össlın tlp, sovxoz to yisčılari xiralarya köp udobrenie salıyannar*
 ['edge/hill'-PL-LOC] ['grain'] ['wildly'] ['grow'-3.IMPER] [COMP] ['sovkhoz']
 ['worker'-PL-3] ['field-PL-DAT] ['alot'] ['fertilizer'] ['put'-PAST.I-PL]
 'in order for the grain to grow like wildfire, the sovkhoz workers put alot of fertilizer on the fields'

In the standardized register, there are three first person non-singular markers, indexing dual [1DL] (-Aŋ), plural [1PL] (-AŋAr) and plural 'concessive' [1PLc] (-VbVs) (Baskakov et al. 1975: 189ff.). According to Menges (1963:120ff.), there are two first plural markers, marking first plural inclusive (-Aŋ) and first plural exclusive (-Al, Al(im), -Al(ik), -Al(is)). Pritsak (1959: 617ff.) also lists just two first person non-singular forms, marking dual (-

Aŋ) and plural (-A)AŋAr). In part, this confusion is due to the wide range of IMPER markers in the various regional Xakas dialects.

(38)

<i>irlaŋ</i> ['sing'-1DL] 'let us 2 sing'	<i>čöreŋ</i> ['walk'-1DL] 'let us 2 walk'	<i>adaŋ</i> ['shoot'-1DL] 'let us 2 shoot'
<i>irlibıs</i> ['sing'-1PL.CNC] 'OK, let's sing'	<i>čöribıs</i> ['walk'-1PL.CNC] 'OK, let's walk'	<i>adibıs</i> ['shoot'-1PL.CNC] 'OK, let's shoot'
<i>irlaŋar</i> ['sing'-1PL] 'let's all sing'	<i>čöreŋer</i> ['walk'-1PL] 'let's all walk'	<i>adaŋar</i> ['shoot'-1PL] 'let's all shoot'

če amdı a yirin daa polza, paraŋ
 ['but'] ['now'] ['slow'] [EMPH] ['be'-CONDIT] ['go'-1DL]
 'so now let us two go, slowly'

am gorod klzIzIn is köreŋer
 ['now'] ['city'] ['person'-3.ACC] ['listen'] [ATTEMPT-1PL]
 'now let's have a listen to the person from the city'

Menges:	<i>čoxtazaŋ</i> ['speak'-RECIP-1PLincl.] 'let us speak together'	Pritsak:	<i>čooxtazaŋ</i> ['speak'-RECIP-1DL] 'let us 2 speak (together)'
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Most IMPER forms can be softened by adding the politeness [POL] suffix **-D₂AK**.

(39)

<i>kördek</i> ['see'-POL] 'have a look please'	<i>tarınmarıdax la</i> ['be.angry'-NEG-2PL-POL] [EMPH] 'just please don't be angry'
<i>am atanıp čöreŋdek</i> ['now'] ['horse'-VSF-RFLXV-CV] ['walk'-1DL-POL] 'let us 2 please get on the horses and ride'	<i>pirzIndek</i> ['give'-3.IMPER-POL] 'please let her give (it)'

Note that other 2PL forms are attested in the various Xakas dialects, e.g. **-Vs**, **-AlAr**, etc.

CONDIT

The CONDIT is formed by the affix **-ZA**, to which Class-III affixes are attached. Note that usually, as with the PAST.II in **-DV-**, the 2PL form is reduced to simply **-ZAr** (with a long vowel phonetically, but short orthographically), e.g. *atsar* 'if/when y'all shoot', *kılzer* 'if/when you come'.

The Xakas CONDIT is used in a range of constructions, almost all of which are the first component in a complex sentence. One of its primary functions is marking conditions. In these type of sentences, the word *sinap* 'if' can optionally appear. The CONDIT affix is also used as one of the means of expressing a temporal/conditional subordinate clause

or a type of softened IMPER in the second singular without the suffix -DAK. Used with various clitics, particles or emphatics, the CONDIT affix in Xakas, can express an action which is to follow immediately after the completion of some other action (with -OK), various hortatory meanings (with *či*), exclamatory constructions analogous to English 'if only' (with -D₂AA). Concessive constructions with the Xakas CONDIT are also found. Some subordinate clauses of purpose also are found in a CONDIT form. Finally, a CONDIT form is sometimes used in certain directional subordinate clauses as well. In some instances, the present tense meaning can be overtly marked with the PRES.I allomorph in -čAt- preceding the CONDIT affix (-čAtsA). Some uses of the CONDIT in modern Xakas have shifted to a simple present meaning without any of the modal nuances; this is generally, though not exclusively, true of the expanded -čAtsA form. All non-present uses of the CONDIT, including counterfactual conditions, are formed with the AUX verb *pol* 'be' (i.e. *polza*); see 2.2.4 below.

(40)

- i. *sinap iürzer naqmır toxtap parza, pls kino ya pararbıs*
 ['if'] ['evening'-ALL] ['rain'] ['stop'-CV] [PERF.IIb-CONDIT] ['we'] ['movies'-DAT]
 ['go'-FUT-IPL]
 'if the rain stops towards evening, we'll go to the movies'
- abadan xoriısan, tayaa daa par polbassın*
 ['bear'-ABL] ['fear'-CONDIT-2] ['taiga'-DAT] [EMPH] ['go'] [CAPAB-NEG.FUT-2]
 'if you're scared of bears, you won't be able to go to the taiga'
- üs künneñ aylan polbazañ Ala Xusxu ineylınlın pazın kize saap, sıyara tastabızam*
 ['three'] ['day'-ABL] ['return'] [CAPAB-NEG-CONDIT-2] ['A.'] ['X.'] ['old.woman'-
 2-GEN] ['head'-3.ACC] ['cut'-CV] ['hit'-CV] ['away'] ['throw'-PERF-FUT-1]
 'if you can't return in three days, I'll chop off the head of that old woman of
 yours Ala Xusxu and throw it away'
- ii. *Sarıçax tasxar sixsa, xapxarasxi*
 ['S.'] ['to.outside'] ['leave'-CONDIT] ['completely.dark']
 'when Sarıçax went outside, it was already completely dark'
- xağan xar tıs parza, pls sanalıy çılarbıs*
 ['when'] ['snow'] ['fall'] [PERF.IIb-CONDIT] ['we'] ['ski'-ADJ] ['ride.upon'-
 FUT-IPL]
 'when it snows, we'll go skiing'
- iii. *anañ ogorodtañ plree sira suwııp alzañ, apsax*
 ['then'] ['kitchen.garden'-ABL] ['one'] ['stake'] ['pull.out'-CV] [PERF.IIc-
 CONDIT-2] ['old.man']
 'then (I wish/request that) you pull one stake out from the kitchen-garden
 (fence), old man'
- iv. *sin pu nimenl alzañ*
 ['you'] ['this'] ['thing'-ACC] ['take'-CONDIT-2]
 'please take this thing'
- v. *türçe le tünep alar ya çatsox, anıñ alında Galya turıbısça*
 ['at.the.very.moment'] ['lay.down.for.night'-CV] [PERF.IIc-INF] ['lie.down'-
 CONDIT-EMPH]. [3.GEN] ['front'-3-LOC] ['G.'] ['stand'-PERF-PRES.I]

'at the very moment he lay down for the night, Galya is standing in front
 of him'

- vi. *uzır ya sa yınıp, xaraan çapsa daa no ya-da klrbkter çara la oylas turıyannar*
 ['sleep'-INF] ['think'-RFLXV-CV] ['eye'-3.ACC] ['close'-CONDIT] [EMPH]
 ['somehow'] ['eye.l.sh'-PL] ['apart'] [EMPH] ['run'-RECIP] [AUX-PAST.I-PL]
 'thinking about sleep, if only to close his eyes, yet somehow the eyelashes
 kept running apart from each other'
- vii. *ılzeler či, alay mini polar ya xinminçaziñ ma?*
 ['say'-CONDIT-PL] ['well'] ['or'] ['mine'] ['be'-INF] ['want'-NEG-PRES.I-2] [Q]
 'well let them say (what they want), or you don't want to be mine?'
- viii. *çöptıg dee polzalar, çıtıl paşa u yaa xortıxtar köp nimenl plıbinçeler*
 ['amicable'] [EMPH] ['be'-CONDIT-PL] ['seven'] ['brother-in-law'] ['very'] ['coward']
 ['alot'] ['not'] ['know'-NEG-PRES.I-PL]
 'although amicable, the seven brothers-in-law were very cowardly, and
 didn't know very much'
- ix. *sin klubsar parbazañ, min ibde ox xalam*
 ['you'] ['club'-ALL] ['go'-NEG-CONDIT-2] ['I'] ['house'-LOC] ['too'] ['stay'-FUT-1]
 'since you're not going to the club, I'm going to stay home too'
- x. *xızıçax xaydar daa çügürze, adayax andarox çügürgen*
 ['girl'] ['to.where'] [EMPH] ['run'-CONDIT] ['dog'-DIM] ['to.there'-EMPH] ['run'-
 PAST.I]
 'wherever the girl would run, the dog would run there too'
- xi. *körçetsem xoyında toldıra knıgalar*
 ['see'-PRES-CONDIT-1] ['bosom'-3-LOC] ['full'] ['book'-PL]
 'I see (that) his arms are full of books'
- ıstıpçetse: ibzerılın ün ıstılçe*
 ['hear'-PRES-CONDIT] ['house'-ALL-ABL.ADV] ['voice'] ['hear'-PASS-PRES.I]
 'he hears (that) from the house a voice is audible'
- abis idi odırçatsa, plr xara piıllg kresen çalañ pastırıp odır*
 ['priest'] ['thus'] ['sit'-PRES.I-CONDIT] ['one'] ['black'] ['mare'-ADJ] ['Christian']
 ['on.horseback'] ['drive.by'-CV] [PRES]
 'the priest is sitting thus, (while) a Christian atop a jet black mare drives by'

EVID

The EVID mood is formed with the affix -D₂Vr. Both PRES and PAST forms are attested in the EVID mood, though the former seems to be historically derived from the latter. To form the EVID.PRES, the affix attaches to the PRES.I allomorph in -(p)čAt yielding -(p)čAtVr. In the past -D₂Vr attaches to the -p converb form of vocalic stems, with a zero allomorph used with consonantal stems (like the PRES.I). Both of these take Class-II agreement affixes. The EVID generally marks an action inferred by the speaker on the basis of some stimulus other than direct witnessing of the action. In the PRES, this EVID meaning is rather straightforwardly added to the meaning of the basic PRES. In the PAST, the EVID is used in several basic situations. It is frequently encountered in tales dealing with the distant or mythical past which the speaker can have no possible personal

PAST, the EVID is used in several basic situations. It is frequently encountered in tales dealing with the distant or mythical past which the speaker can have no possible personal knowledge of. It is also used when the speaker infers an action based on its result that directly attests to its accomplishment, or some other condition/state that indirectly attests to this.

(41)

i. *slrer pu kirektl čaxsi pličettlrzer*
 ['y'all'] ['this'] ['act'-ACC] ['good'] ['know'-EVID.PRES-2PL]
 'it seems you know this well'

pūūn ol to yīsxa parčattir
 ['today'] ['he'] ['work'-DAT] ['go'-EVID.PRES]
 'apparently he is going to work today'

ii. *pI r aalda Ikl xarindas čurtaptirlar*
 ['one'] ['village'] ['two'] ['brother'] ['live'-EVID.PAST]
 '(once upon a time) two brothers lived in one village'

usxuna čačirap parzam, čider čirIbIske čit kiltIrbIs
 ['wake.up'-CV] ['rise'-CV] [PERF.IIb-CONDIT-1] ['reach'-FUT] ['land'-1PL-DAT]
 ['reach'] ['come'-EVID.PAST-1PL]
 'when I woke up, it seems we had reached our destination'

čiltistar oņdayinaņ kōrze, orti xaraa tuzi xiyizibistir
 ['star'-PL] ['manner'-3-ABL] ['see'-CONDIT] ['middle'] ['night'] ['time'-3]
 ['cut.across'-PERF-EVID.PAST]
 'based on the stars, it seems it must be past midnight'

Note that with the verb *pol-* 'be', the EVID.PAST can have a present meaning as well. Conversely, in some instances the EVID.PRES used with various verb stems seems to have a past meaning instead.

(42)

i. *Xaltar, sln uęaa uluy sayistię kizi poltirziņ*
 ['X.'] ['you'] ['very'] ['big'] ['thought'-ADJ] ['person'] ['be'-EVID.PAST]
 'Xaltar, it seems you are a very smart man'

kIzIler polbindir--xara xustar
 ['people'-PL] ['be'-NEG-EVID.PAST] ['eagle'-PL]
 'it seems these are not people, but rather eagles'

ii. *kięee ol gorodsar parbinčattir*
 ['yesterday'] ['he'] ['city'-ALL] ['go'-NEG-EVID.PRES]
 'it seems he didn't go to the city yesterday'

Also, as mentioned above, the PAST.III affix in \check{Z} VK can sometimes appear with the EVID.PAST.

(43)

olar aalya iirde čittlrękter

HYPOTH

Another modal form in Xakas is the HYPOTH mood in -GAdAG.²³ The HYPOTH mood in Xakas takes Class-II agreement affixes. In many respects the HYPOTH mood in Xakas expresses a meaning similar to the EVID; while the EVID in Xakas is used for statements of actions inferred from various sources (e.g. the result of the action without having personally witnessed it), the HYPOTH is generally used in conjectural statements, corresponding to the use of such hedging phrases as 'seemingly' 'it seems likely', 'it seems as though', 'it might', 'perhaps', etc.

(44)

sin par, min paza par polbaadaębin
 ['you'] ['go'] ['I'] ['and'] ['go'] [CAPAB-NEG-HYPOTH-1]
 'you go on, it seems likely that I can't go any further'

oris saęin turza, pular miniņ tonin xaydi daa suur yadaęlar
 ['O.'] ['think'] [PRES.IIIa-CONDIT] ['this'-PL] ['this'-GEN] ['fur.coat'-3.ACC]
 ['somehow'] ['take.off'-HYPOTH-PL]
 'Oris thinks that they will likely somehow take her coat off'

parar čirim irax čir, paza aylanip kilbeedeg(bIn)
 ['go'-FUT] ['land'-1] ['far'] ['land'] ['and'] ['return'-CV] ['come'-NEG-HYPOTH-1]
 'the land I'm going to is far away, and it seems unlikely I will return'

OPT

The OPT affix in Xakas is -GAY, an affix attested in the oldest Yenisei runic inscriptions ((Batmanov I. A. et al. 1962: 148). The Xakas OPT takes Class-II agreement affixes. The OPT expresses two basic functions: a hope, wish, desire, etc. to perform an action, or an agreement on the part of the speaker. In its first function it is frequently followed by the emphatic clitic +ZA. In the second function, one often encounters the particle *če* clause initially.

(45)

i. *čobal čöręen Mansa ool čurtina čitkey, čaa toozilza*
 ['torment'] [EPISOD-PAST.I] ['M.'] ['boy'] ['home'-3-DAT] ['reach'-OPT] ['war']
 ['end'-PASS-CONDIT]
 'Would that the tormented boy Mansa will return home when the war ends'

xizil tigeęlig pōriūmnl, xirbix tūzIrbIn, kiskeybIn
 ['red'] ['top'-ADJ] ['hat'-1-ACC] ['light.snow'] ['lose'-NEG] ['wear'-OPT-1]
 'I'd like to wear my red-topped hat which hasn't lost its snowy-soft fur'

ii. *če, čarir, sin dee itkeyzIę* *pIs tee polisxaybis*
 ['well'] ['OK'] ['you'] [EMPH] ['do'-OPT-2] ['we'] [EMPH] ['help'-OPT-1PL]
 'well, OK, do it!' '(all right), we'll help'

če kilgeębIn
 ['well'] ['come'-OPT-1]
 'all right, I'll come'

²³ There is apparently variation on the vowel of the final syllable in this affix: in Pritsak (1959) the 'future potential' forms are in -VG not -AG.

INTRG

The Interrogative [INTRG] represents the last of the Xakas simplex modal forms; this is realized by the multifunctional affix $-ʒAŋ$, whose more usual finite function is expressing a habitual past. As discussed below, it also has another function in the participle system. All finite functions of the affix $-ʒAŋ$ take Class-I or Class-II agreement affixes. In the first instance, the first and second singular and plural forms take a special allomorph of the affix lacking the final nasal (cf. the PAST.I in -GAN). Note that with stems ending in a voiceless obstruent, the orthographically identical first person singular forms of INTRG/HABIT.PAST and the PRES.I are differentiated in certain people's speech: the former is pronounced with the vowel [æ] or [e] with both front and back stems, e.g. *atčam* [atčæm] 'did I shoot' ('I usually shot') *kisčem* [kisčæm] 'did I cut' ('I usually cut') vs. *atčam* [atčam] 'I am shooting', *kisčem* [kisčem] 'I am cutting'. This is not represented orthographically.

The INTRG is generally used with question words like *noya* 'why', *xaydi* 'how', *xaydar* 'to where', etc. in semi-rhetorical utterances like 'how is it possible that...?', when the speaker believes what they are questioning to in fact not be possible or appropriate. Used with the interrogative clitic BA, these forms imply that the speaker is making an offer or suggestion to the listener to do something; sometimes these latter forms appear with question words as well. In INTRG + BA constructions, the verb always agrees with a third singular (i.e. lacks agreement), regardless of the person/number involved.

(46)

- i. *xazix klzi kurortxa no ya čöržeŋ*
['healthy'] ['person'] ['spa'-DAT] ['why'] ['walk'-INTRG]
'why did a healthy person go to the spa?'

anža uluy klzi xaydi minday aar to yis toyiŋžaŋ
[3.P/E] ['big'] ['person'] ['how'] ['such'] ['difficult'] ['work'] ['work'-INTRG]
'how is it possible that an old a man as him did such difficult work?'

xiyiryan čirzer xaydi parbažaŋ
['invite'-PAST] ['place'-ALL] ['how'] ['go'-NEG-INTRG]
'how is it possible not to go where one was invited?'

kületes, par körbežeŋ me kölzer
['go.for.stroll'-RECIP] ['go'] [ATTEMPT-NEG-INTRG] [Q] ['lake'-ALL]
'to have a stroll, why don't we try to go down to the lake?'

Modal forms marked by complex affixes

There are two other, formally and functionally related modal affixes in Xakas that etymologically consist of a combination of two different affixes. The first of these is marked by -A/irʒVK and the second by -GAYʒVK. Etymologically, the former consists of the FUT affix in -A/ir followed by the PAST.III in -ʒVK, while the latter resulted from the combination of the PAST.III with the OPT affix in -GAY. Like the PAST.III, both of these take Class-II agreement markers. These two affixes have a similar function in standardized Xakas: They appear in the main clause in an irrealis conditional sentence, the first clause having a verb in the CONDIT mood in the past tense. Pritsak (1959) calls the first form the potential and the second form the irrealis. Baskakov et al. (1975) call the more common -ArʒVK form the subjunctive, but do not discuss the -GAYʒVK form, which is not that

frequently encountered anyway. In addition to appearing in main clauses following CONDIT subordinate clauses, the IRR.I and IRR.II forms can be found in clauses expressing a wish for oneself to do something, or a wish for/suggestion to someone else to perform some action. In these latter instances, the sense is something like clauses introduced by 'if only...' in English.

(47)

- i. *ax taxil čox polyan polza, ayin suy xaydaŋ kileržik*
['snow-covered.mountain.top'] ['not'] ['be'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT] ['rushing']
['water'] ['where'-ABL] ['come'-IRR.I]
'if there weren't any snow covered mountain ridges, where would the rushing river come from?'

amdi İleksey ibde polyan polza, a yaa polizar oŋday xaydi daa tabaržix
['now'] ['Aleksy'] ['house'-LOC] ['be'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT] [3.DAT] ['help'-FUT] ['means'] ['how'] [EMPH] ['find'-IRR.I]
'if Aleksey were home now, he would definitely have found a way to help her'

- ii. *arsa, Paskir minda daa plree nime čooxtiržix*
['only'] ['P.'] ['here'] [EMPH] ['one'] ['thing'] ['say'-IRR.I]
'if only Paskir would say anything here!'

püün dee tis odinaržixsar
['today'] [EMPH] ['calm'] ['sit'-IRR.I-2PL]
'if only y'all would sit quietly today!'

(48)

anda xalyan polzaŋ, ireelenp čörgeyžikslŋ
[3.LOC] ['stay'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT-2] ['suffer'-CV] [PERF.IIe-IRR.II-2]
'if you had stayed there, you would have suffered'

par yazyžixpin
['go'-IRR.II-1]
'well, I could go'

In addition, the irrealis can be found in various other tenses; in these instances, the affix -ArʒVK is found on the AUX verb *pol-* preceded by the lexical stem in some particular tense form (e.g. PAST.I, IMPERF, etc.).

2.2.1.2.3 Aspect

The simplex aspectual categories realized in the Xakas verb fall into two categories. The first category are formally and functionally similar to the tense and mood forms discussed above. This category includes the habitual ([HABIT.PAST] and [HABIT.PRES]) and unaccomplished ([UNACCOMPL.PAST]). The second category of aspect suffixes are in certain respects more similar to derivational affixes than inflectional, in that they create new stems, to which may be added a variety of the tense affixes discussed above. These include the iterative/distributive [ITER] and the simplex formant of the perfect(ive) [PERF].

HABIT

The habitual aspect in Xakas is subdivided into the HABIT.PRES and HABIT.PAST. However, unlike the EVID with formant common to the two, the HABIT.PRES and HABIT.PAST share no such common affix. The HABIT.PRES is formed with the affix -AdVr-/idVr used with consonantal and vocalic stems, respectively; historically this consists of the -A/i converb and the auxiliary verb *tur*. The HABIT.PRES takes Class-II agreement affixes.

The basic function of the HABIT.PRES in Xakas is to express a continual, repeated, or customary action in the present. On occasion, one finds constructions using the HABIT.PRES that seem better translated with a progressive. Also, the PRES meaning of the HABIT.PRES is sometimes augmented by the addition of the PRES.I allomorph in -(p)čAt-, and thus a doubly-marked form is encountered. A past meaning sometimes may be implied when the HABIT.PRES is used rather than the HABIT.PAST; in these instances, however, a present reading is also generally possible.

(49)

- i. *aniñ xolınañ tixtalıyan traktorlar xaşın daa ür to yınadırlar*
[3.GEN] ['hand'-3-INS] ['fix'-PAST] ['tractor'-PL] ['always'] ['long'] ['work'-HABIT.PRES-PL]
'tractors fixed by his hands always run a long time'
- kemneper čooxtanzañ, ol klredlr*
['who'-CIR] ['speak'-RFXLV-CONDIT-2] ['he'] ['enter'-HABIT.PRES]
'whoever you might be talking about, he always shows up'
- ii. *attij axsin toxtada tartip, arxi sarin xarap turadır*
['horse'] ['mouth'-3.ACC] ['stop'-CAUS-CV] ['pull'-CV] ['cross.beam'] ['side'-3.ACC]
['took.at'-CV] ['stand'-HABIT.PRES]
'pulling the mouth of the horse to stop it, he stands looking out across to the other side (of the ridge)'
- iii. *ot otaxtiñ tüblne klrlp čadıpčadadır xis pala*
['grass'] ['hut'-GEN] ['bottom'-3-DAT] ['enter'-CV] ['lie'-PRES.I-HABIT.PRES] ['girl'] ['child']
'entering the bottom of the grass hut, there was a girl lying down'
- iv. *xaniy tustar pls törelekk irt parıannar tidrlbls*
['interesting'] ['time'-PL] ['we'] ['born'-UNACCOMPL.PAST-DAT] ['pass'] [PERF.IIB-PAST.I-PL] ['say'-HABIT.PRES-IPL]
'we always said that there were interesting times before we were born'

According to Baskakov et al. (1975), the HABIT.PRES and the PRES.I in a non-progressive function contrast in the following manner: the former expresses a habitual, customary present that may have exceptions, while the latter expresses an action that is exceptionless and always true. Compare for example these two sets of sentences:

(50)

ol plste xonadır vs. *ol plste xonča*
['he'] ['we'-LOC] ['spend.night'-HABIT.PRES] ['he'] ['we'-LOC] ['spend.night'-PRES.I]
'he usually spends the night at our place' 'he always spends the night at our place'

min kino ya iirde čöredlrbln vs. *min kino ya iirde čörčem*

['T'] ['movies'-DAT] ['evening'-LOC] ['T'] ['movies'-DAT] ['evening'-LOC] ['go'-PRES.I-1]
['walk'-HABIT.PRES-1] 'I usually go to the movies in the evening' 'I always go to the movies in the evening'

The HABIT.PAST is marked by the affix -čAñ. As was mentioned above, this also marks the INTRG mood; however, this affix is far more frequent in the function of the HABIT.PAST in Xakas. This affix either takes Class-I or Class-II agreement markers. Sometimes a present rather than past action is expressed with this affix. Interestingly, there are also forms clearly HABIT.PAST in meaning that have not only the HABIT.PAST -čAñ but the PRES.I allomorph -(p)čAt- preceding it.

(51)

- i. *Kolya čaxsi ügrenžer, soxtanmažan, u yaa amir oolax polyan*
['K.']['good'] ['study'-HABIT.PAST] ['be.naughty'-NEG-HABIT.PAST] ['very'] ['quiet'] ['boy'] ['be'-PAST.I]
'Kolya studied well, wasn't naughty, and was a very quiet boy'
- amir xaraalarda otaxta čatčadıp Ax suyniñ xorlapčatxanin tiñnap ala*
uzubisčarımın
['quiet'] ['night'-PL-LOC] ['hut'-LOC] ['lie.down'-PRES.I-CV] ['A.']['S'-GEN]
['turbulent.boom'-VSF-IMPERF-3.ACC] ['listen.to-CV] ['while'] ['sleep'-PERF-HABIT.PAST-1]
'on quiet nights lying down in the hut, I would fall asleep listening to the turbulent (sound) of the Ax Suñ (river)'
- ...aniñ üčün pls ayaa plr dee nime čooxtabažarımıs*
[3.GEN] ['for'] ['we'] ['3.DAT] ['one'] [EMPH] ['thing'] ['say'-NEG-HABIT.PAST-IPL]
'...therefore we never said a thing to him'
- ii. *...čiiit tusta polžan anzi*
['young'] ['time'] ['be'-HABIT.PAST] ['that']
'that happens in youth'
- "če ayilzin, körerbls, xayda y oollari polžan"--teen Adelya*
['well'] ['bring'-3.IMPER] ['see'-FUT-IPL] ['how'] ['son'-PL-3] ['be'-HABIT.PAST] ['say'-PAST.I] ['A.']['']
'well let her bring (them), we'll see what her boys are like"--said Adelya'
- iii. *oynap, mal xadarip, İköleñ ne čörčetčeñmıs*
['play'-CV] ['livestock'] ['tend'] ['two.together'] [EMPH] ['walk'-PRES.I-HABIT.PAST-IPL]
'whether playing or tending livestock, the two of us always went together'
- andada min, klčlg pala čili, i yarpčatčarımın*
['at.that.time'] ['T'] ['little'] ['child'] ['like'] ['cry'-PRES.I-HABIT.PAST-1]
'at those times I would cry like a little child'

UNACCOMPL.PAST

An unaccomplished past action [UNACCOMPL.PAST] in Xakas is marked by the affix -GAIAK. This takes Class-II agreement markers. Due to its semantics--

unaccomplished action--it is incompatible with both affixal and auxiliary markers of perfectivity (PERF) and negation (NEG).

(52)

sinIneŋ čooxtazar tus čitkelek
 ['you'-INS] ['speak'-RECIP-FUT] ['time'] ['reach'-UNACCOMPL.PAST]
 'the time for talking with you hasn't come yet'

čox--nandiryŋan Alžibay--am daa to yinyalaxpın
 ['no'] ['answer'-PAST.I] ['A.'] ['now'] [EMPH] ['work'-UNACCOMPL.PAST-I]
 'no, answered Alžibay, as of now I haven't started to work yet'

Simplex 'Quasi-Derivational' Aspectual Categories

The other simplex aspectual forms consist of the ITER and the PERF, the markers of which always appear in conjunction with some tense/mood/aspect marker (including zero for imperatives), occupying a position between the stem and the tense/mood/aspect and person/number markers ([Verb.stem-ITER/PERF-T/M/A-P+N]). Thus, in this sense these are probably more accurately to be considered derivational categories rather than inflectional. However, they can appear after a NEG affix and thus seem more like the inflectional affixes discussed above. Sometimes, combinations of one of these aspectual affixes with a particular affix indexing a given tense category result in not simply a mechanical combining of the semantics of the two, but instead carry a somewhat unexpected or idiosyncratic meaning. Such is the case, for example, with the combination of the PERF marker *-VbVs* with the PRES.I in *-(p)čA-*, yielding a repetitive present.

ITER

The first of these 'quasi-derivational' aspectual suffixes under discussion is the ITER. This is marked by the affix *-GIA-*. The ITER affix can appear with a wide range of tense suffixes, and even in combination with the PERF aspectual affix as well. The ITER aspect expresses (especially in the PRES.I) either an action performed over and over by a single subject, or an action carried out by a number of individual subjects simultaneously.²⁴ Thus, it might more properly be called the iterative/distributive affix. With the HABIT.PRES and the EVID.PRES, both meanings are ostensibly also found, though the former (an iterative action performed by a single subject) is far more frequently encountered than the latter. The ITER affix is also attested with various PAST affixes as well in Xakas, and in auxiliary verb constructions.

(53)

<i>oynaŋlapčalar</i>	<i>odirŋlapčattirlar</i>
['play'-ITER-PRES.I-PL]	['sit'-ITER-EVID.PRES-PL]
'they are all playing together'	'it seems they were sitting all together'

...če tüzlp parıbispas ide azaxtarın aŋaxsa čapsıra pal yaŋlap salžarŋar
 ['but'] ['fall'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PERF-NEG] ['thus'] ['leg'-PL-3.ACC] ['tree'-DAT]
 ['attach'-CV] ['tie'-ITER-CV] [PERF.IIa-HABIT.PAST-PL]
 '...but so that they don't fall, they often tied their legs to a tree'

oynaŋp čörčeten ol ɣannar ari ɣzar parŋlapčalar
 ['play'-CV] [PRES.IVc-PRES] ['child'-PL] ['forest'-ALL] ['go'-ITER-PRES.I-PL]
 'the playing children go over and over to the forest'

²⁴ Note that this function may also be marked by the RECIP voice affix with certain roots.

PERF

The second 'quasi-derivational' aspectual affix is the PERF in *-VbVs*, whose historical origin is generally considered to be a fused AUX construction, resulting from the univerbation of the lexical stem in the *-(V)p* converb form and the verb *is* 'send'; a cognate formation is found in Tyvan. Like the ITER, the PERF in *-VbVs* can appear with a variety of tense affixes. When appearing with the PRES.I or IMPERF, a repetitive present meaning is found, implying that each repetition was successfully completed.

(54)

i. *xažan min oris tiline ileede ügrenlp al ɣanda, traktorist oolnaŋ to ɣazar ɣa*
čaltanminibixxam
 ['when'] ['I'] ['Russian'] ['language'-3-DAT] ['much'] ['learn'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.I-LOC]
 ['tractor.driver'] ['boy'-INS] ['meet'-RECIP-INF] ['be.fearful'-NEG-PERF-PAST.I-1]
 'when I learned Russian better, I stopped being fearful when I meet the young tractor driver'

xoŋlarni xaxaa tastina si ɣar kilgennerIndök, xaxaa čabii tüs čörlblstlr
 ['sheep'-PL-ACC] ['livestock.shed'] ['outside'-3-DAT] ['drive.out'] [PERF.IId-PAST.I-PL-3-LOC-EMPH]
 ['livestock.shed'] ['roof'-3] ['fall'] [PERF.IIc-PERF-EVID.PAST]
 'as soon as they drove the sheep out of the livestock shed, the roof of it caved in'

amir xaraalarda otaxta čatčadip Ax su ɣniŋ xorlapčaxnanın tiŋnap ala
uzubisčarŋmın
 ['quiet'] ['night'-PL-LOC] ['hut'-LOC] ['lie.down'-PRES.I-CV] ['A.'] ['S.-GEN]
 ['turbulent.boom'-IMPERF-3.ACC] ['listen.to-CV] ['while'] ['sleep'-PERF-HABIT.PAST-1]
 'on quiet nights lying down in the hut, I would fall asleep listening to the turbulent (sound) of the Ax Suy (river)'

ii. *samolyottar körInzök, pls čadibisčatvabis*
 ['plane'-PL] ['see'-RFLXV-CONDIT-EMPH] ['we'] ['lay.down'-PERF-IMPERF-IPL]
 'as soon as the planes were visible, (every time) we lay down'

irten, turbiinaŋ ot odinibisčam
 ['morning'] ['stand'-CV] ['fire'] ['light'-PERF-PRES.I-1]
 'in the morning, I get up and light the fire'

2.2.1.3 Negation [NEG]

The category of negation [NEG] in Xakas is expressed in a variety of ways. This includes affixally, based on *-BA* (*-BA*, *-Bin*, and *-BAs*), or lexically with *nimes*, *čox* or *čoyıl*.

2.2.1.3.1 *-BA*

The NEG affix *-BA* is the unmarked formant realizing this category in verbal constructions. A large number of forms mark negation with this suffix, including the

IMPER, PAST, PAST.II, PAST.III, HABIT.PAST, UNACCOMPL.PAST, OPT, HYPOTH, etc. Note that affixes beginning with -G have long vowel-initial allomorphs with this NEG affix, sometimes altering the form rather dramatically, e.g. *körbeem* ['see'-NEG-PAST.I-1] 'I didn't see', where the PAST.I suffix in -GAN is realized simply as -e-.

(55)

stol ya praylari odirbaanža, sin aziranarin pastabin tur
 ['table'-DAT] ['all'-PL-3] ['sit'-NEG-PAST-P/E] ['you'] ['feed'-RFLXV-FUT-3.ACC]
 ['begin'-NEG] [PERF.III]
 'don't start eating until everyone sits at the table'

tarinmajardax la
 [be.angry'-NEG-2PL-'please'] [EMPH]
 'just please don't be angry'

xaraxi xaraa tüs kilbezn tlp, pls adibisti tabıax čörglzp odıryabis
 ['very.dark'] ['night'] ['fall'] [PERF.IId-NEG-3.IMPER] [COMP] ['we'] ['horse'-1PL-ACC] ['quick'] ['walk'-CAUS-CV] [PERF.IIf-PAST.I-1PL]
 'so that we wouldn't get caught in the dark night, we rode our horse(s) quickly'

sinap tarıda soox polbaza, sanaliy čilar ya pararbistar²⁵
 ['if'] ['tomorrow'] ['cold'] ['be'-NEG-CONDIT] ['ski'-ADJ] ['ride.upon'-INF] ['go'-FUT-1PL-PL]
 'if tomorrow isn't cold, we'll all go skiing'

abam(ni) kilgen tlzem, am daa kilbeendır
 ['father'-1-(ACC)] ['come'-PAST.I] ['say'-CONDIT-1] ['now'] [EMPH] ['come'-NEG-EVID.PAST]
 'if I said my father had come, it seems he hasn't yet come'

sin par, min paza par polbaada ybin
 ['you'] ['go'] ['I'] ['and'] ['go'] [CAPAB-NEG-HYPOTH-1]
 'you go on, it seems likely that I can't go any further'

xi yıryan čırzer xaydı parbažan
 ['invite'-PAST] ['place'-ALL] ['how'] ['go'-NEG.INTRG]
 'how is it possible not to go where invited?'

...če ol daa poziniy čobaan klzee čooxtabažan
 ['but'] ['he'] [EMPH] ['self'-3-GEN] ['misfortune'3.ACC] ['person'-DAT] ['say'-NEG-HABIT.PAST]
 'but he never told people about his misfortunes'

"toyni minda iderzer"--ispeečik polip, amir čooxtan yan Ižezl
 ['wedding'-ACC] ['this'-LOC] ['do'-FUT-2PL] ['hear'-NEG-PRETEND] [AUX-CV]
 ['quiet'] ['say'-PAST.I] ['mother'-3]

"you will have the wedding here" mother quietly said pretending not hear'

²⁵ Note the doubly marked PL in this form, with the regular 1PL marker and the general PL marker, which can optionally appear in Xakas (and Tyvan as well, where one frequently encounters the pronoun *bister* 'we (all)').

kemneñ pls čooxtas sal yabis, ol kirbedl
 ['who'-INS] ['we'] ['speak'-RECIP] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I-1PL] ['he'] ['enter'-NEG-PAST.II]
 'the one we agreed with didn't come by'

2.2.1.3.2 -BAs

The NEG.FUT in Xakas is formed by the affix -BAs. It takes Class-II agreement affixes when used in finite main clauses, and Class-III agreement affixes in subordinate clauses. This is also the NEG.FUT participle as well.

(56)

abadan xorixsan, tay yaa daa par polbassin
 ['bear'-ABL] ['fear'-CONDIT-2] ['taiga'-DAT] [EMPH] ['go'] [CAPAB-NEG.FUT-2]
 'if you're scared of bears, you won't be able to go to the taiga'

...če tüzlp paribišpas ide azaxtarin a yasxa čapsira pal ya ylap salžanar
 ['but'] ['fall'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PERF-NEG] ['thus'] ['leg'-PL-3.ACC] ['tree'-DAT] ['attach'CV] ['tie'-ITER-CV] [PERF.IIa-HABIT.PAST-PL]
 '...but so that they don't fall, they often tied their legs to a tree'

stıremnı aal ya čöreeči klzıler püün par polbastar
 ['y'all'-GEN] ['village'-DAT] ['move'-CUSTOM] ['people'-PL] ['today'] ['go'] [CAPAB-NEG.FUT-PL]
 'the people who usually go to your village can't today'

2.2.1.3.3 -Bin

The negative converb in -Bin, historically < *-Bayn, is the negative counterpart of both the converb in (-p) and the converb in -A/i. In addition to converb usage in complex sentences and AUX constructions, it also is found with the finite verb forms that historically contain a converb (except the HABIT.PRES, see below), e.g. the PRES.I, IMPERF, or EVID.PAST.

(57)

püür, köksln öltre attırıp, aza yın daa tartpin par yan
 ['wolf'] ['chest'-3-ACC] ['through'] ['strike'-CV] ['foot'-3-ACC] [EMPH] ['pull'-NEG.CV] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I]
 'the wolf, struck through the chest, did not move even its paw'

olarnı tobira nime körInminčetken
 ['they'-ACC] ['through'] ['thing'] ['see'-RFLXV-NEG-IMPERF]
 'nothing was visible through them'

xazıxta klzl xayday daa to yıstı iderge sidıkslnminče
 ['health'-LOC] ['person'] ['any'] ['work'-ACC] ['do'-FUT-DAT] ['be.difficult'-NEG-PRES.I]
 'when healthy (in health), it's not hard for a person to do any kind of work'

kižee ol gorodsar parbinčattır
 ['yesterday'] ['he'] ['city'-ALL] ['go'-NEG-EVID.PRES]

'it seems he didn't go to the city yesterday'

kızlar polbindir--xara xustar

['people'-PL] ['be'-NEG-EVID.PAST] ['eagle'-PL]
'it seems these are not people, but rather eagles'

xažan min oris tiline ileede ügrenip al yanda, traktorist oolnaŋ to yazar ya

čaltanminibixam

['when'] ['I'] ['Russian'] ['language'-3-DAT] ['much'] ['learn'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.1-LOC]
['tractor.driver'] ['boy'-INS] ['meet'-RECIP-INF] ['be.fearful'-NEG-PERF-PAST.1-1]
'when I learn Russian better, I'll stop being fearful when I meet the young tractor driver'

olar to yăstarin toospin, nime sa yinča polžanar

['they'] ['work'-PL-3.ACC] ['finish'-NEG.CV] ['what'] ['think'-PRES.1] [AUX-INTRG-PL]
'what are they thinking about, not finishing their work?'

ir kzl töretpinče polza

['male'] ['person'] ['give.birth'-NEG-PRES.1] [AUX-CONDIT]
'if a man doesn't give birth'

xomay, aniŋ Inek saap polbinčaxani

['bad'] [3.GEN] ['cow'] ['milk'-CV] [CAPAB-NEG-PRES-3]
'it's bad she doesn't know how to milk a cow'

ol yannarniŋ amya teere aylanminčaxannarina sa yisrapčan

['child'-PL-GEN] ['now'-DAT] ['until'] ['return'-NEG-PRES-PL-3-DAT] ['worry'-PRES.1-1]
'I'm worried that the children haven't returned before now'

2.2.1.3.4 čoyil

There are three basic functions of *čoyil* as a marker of negation in Xakas. The first is the negative existential copula, corresponding to positive *par*. Used with a possessed form of a participle, *čoyil* can form a negative finite construction. When preceded by a verbal stem in the -Aŋ converb form, *čoyil* marks the NEG. HABIT.PRES. Class-II agreement markers attach directly to *čoyil*.²⁶

(58)

- i. *minda tit par, xuzux čoyil*
['here'] ['larch'] ['there.is'] ['cedar'] ['not']
'there's larch here, (but) there's no cedar'

pu tayyada tiin par, albiya čoyil

²⁶ Note that this probably historically resulted from a fusing of *čox* and *ol* the third person pronoun; cf. similar forms in Tyvan. This may itself have been a secondary development in the pre-history of Xakas however, innovated to fill the gap left by the lack of any tense/mood/aspect marker in the present, corresponding to the use of *čox polyan*, etc. in non-present forms.

['this'] ['forest'-LOC] ['squirrel'] ['there.is'] ['sable'] ['not']
'in this forest there's squirrel but there's no sable'

- ii. *pa yanıŋ aylan yani čoyil*
['frog'-GEN] ['return'-PAST.1-3] ['not']
'the frogs haven't returned'

- iii. *sura y-sabi y čox klzee at pire čoyilbin min*
['request'] ['no'] ['person'-DAT] ['horse'] ['give'-CV] ['not'-1] ['I']
'I don't give horses to one who doesn't ask'

Ax Xan plr tabis tapsi čoyil, plr dee čoo yin čooxti čoyil, as-tama yin na čip odırčadadır

['A.'] ['X.'] ['one'] ['sound'] ['pronounce'-CV] ['not'] ['one'] [EMPH] ['saying'-3.ACC]
['say'-CV] ['not'] ['food'-3.ACC] [EMPH] ['eat'-CV] ['sit'-PRES-HABIT.PRES]
'Ax Xan doesn't make a single sound, doesn't speak a word, he just sits and eats his food'

2.2.1.3.5 čox

The first two types of constructions using *čoyil* in the present correspond to forms with *čox* followed by the appropriately inflected form the AUX verb *pol-* in non-present uses. With a nominal in the possessive form, *čox* means 'not have sthg.'. In this latter meaning phrases with *čox* can be used modificationally, e.g. *xarayi čox apsax* ['eye'-3] ['not'] ['old.man'] 'the blind old man'.

(59)

- i. *školada sport zali čox polžan*
['school'-LOC] ['sport'] ['hall'-3] ['not'] ['be'-HABIT.PAST]
'in the school there was no gymnasium'

min par yanım, slrerniŋ ibde kzl čox polyan

['I'] ['go'-PAST-1] ['y'all'-GEN] ['house'-LOC] ['person'] ['no'] ['BE'-PAST.1]
'when I went to your house, noone was there'

- ii. *če Arkastiŋ aylan yani čox polyan*
['but'] ['A'-GEN] ['return'-PAST-3] ['no'] ['be'-PAST.1]
'but Arkas didn't return'

- iii. *uluy xarındastari pay kzl poltir, ožizi plr dee nimezl čox, xizilip čutaptir*
['big'] ['brother'-PL-3] ['rich'] ['person'] ['be'-EVID.PAST] ['young'-3] ['one'] [EMPH] ['thing'-3] ['not'] ['be.in.need'-CV] ['live'-EVID.PAST]
'the older of the brothers was rich, the younger had not even a single thing, and lived in poverty'

2.2.1.3.6 nimes

Nominal predicates in the present with a non-existential copular construction are marked by *nimes*. Phrases with *nimes* can also be used as modifiers.

(60)

Xarol slrerde be? čox, plste nimes
 ['Xarol'] ['y'all'-LOC] [Q] ['no'] ['we'-LOC] [NEG]
 'is Xarol at your (place)? no, not at ours'

par, annaŋ čooxtas kör, ol kize(e) küleečl nimes
 ['go'] [3.INS] ['converse'] [ATTEMPT] ['he'] ['person'-DAT] ['laugh'-CUSTOM] ['not']
 'go, try to talk with him, he isn't someone who laughs at people'

<i>püün soox nimes</i>	<i>Asxis irax nimes</i>
['today'] ['cold'] ['not']	['A.'] ['far'] ['not']
'it's not cold today'	'Askis is not far'

sini nimes nimelernl alinža sal
 ['you'-P/CP] ['not'] ['thing'-PL-ACC] ['front'-P/E] ['put.aside']
 'put those things aside that aren't yours'

2.2.2 Verbal Categorizers

The main means of forming denominal verb stems in Xakas is with the productive affix-LA [VSF]. The semantics of the resulting verb show a wide range of associative meanings, e.g. *örtekte*- 'hunt for ducks', *aŋna*- 'hunt', *asta*- 'get hungry', *ödele*- 'rise up, grow', *oŋna*- 'understand', *orista*- 'speak Russian', *miskele*- 'gather mushrooms', *pičaxta*- 'knife s.o.', *irla*- 'sing', *palıyta*- 'wound', *ariyta*- 'clean', *munzuruxta*- 'hit with fist', *xulaxta*- 'box s.o.'s ears', *nomerle*- 'number', *külette*- 'stroll', etc. Other common verbs stem formants include -V, -VK, -ZA, -Ar, -ZV(n), -rA, etc. Examples include *payi*- 'get rich', *pozi*- 'get free, be freed', *xixxara*- 'shorten, be shortened', *köger*- 'turn blue, turn green', *kireksl(n)*- 'be wanting, be lacking for sthg.', *suxsa*- 'be thirsty, want to drink', *xirix*- 'shear'. Voice categories for the most part are marked derivationally in Xakas. There are four affixally realized voice categories in Xakas: causative [CAUS] (marked by -t, -D₂Vr, -KVr, -Vr, or -GVs, depending on the phonological shape (-t after V-final stems) or lexical specification of the root (-D₂Vr is the most productive affix)), passive [PASS] in -VI, reciprocal [RECIP] in -Vs, and reflexive [RFLXV] in -Vn. The semantics of verbs marked with voice suffixes include causatives, permissives, adversatives, (and even passives on occasion) with the CAUS affixes, reflexive or general detransitivized meanings with the RFLXV, reciprocal action, distributive action, comitative action, or assistive action with the RECIP, and passive for the PASS. For example, *timnen*- 'ready self', *xirin*- 'shave self', *čooxtas*- 'converse', *suulas*- 'make noise together', *osxanis*- 'kiss e.o.', *aparis*- 'help bring (there)', *pazil*- 'be written', *istll*- 'be heard', *turçis*- 'stand sthg. up', *aldir*- 'make take', *oyırlat*- 'make rob, allow to steal', *tulattir*- 'get bitten by'. Thus, in some instances, related roots can be differentiated by these voice suffixes, but in other instances, there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms, e.g. *ödele-lödelen*- 'rise up, grow' vs. *ödelet*- 'raise up, make grow', *ödrlr*- 'kill' (< *ödrlr, lit. 'make die') vs. *ödrlrt*- 'make kill', *örtekte*- 'hunt ducks with someone' vs. *örtektet*- 'make hunt ducks', *körgls*- 'show, make look at' vs. *kördrlr*- 'make see, look at, show'.

2.2.3 Verbal Modifiers (Participles and Converbs)

Participial and converb formations are an integral part of Xakas morphosyntax. They are the predominant means of creating complex sentences. The distinction between the two can be formally defined as permitting subject indexing (participles) or not

(converbs). This definition is implicit in the traditional division of participles and converbs in Turkological studies, though not rigorously upheld. For example, the 'future limited' affix -GAnčA--which historically is the P/E case form of the PAST participle--is considered a converb in most descriptions of Xakas. Although predominantly appearing with no person marker, one may encounter forms with the person/number of the subject indexed; see 3.3.2 below for examples.

2.2.3.1 Participles

In Xakas there are nine participles, namely PAST, FUT, NEG.FUT, PRES, UNACCOMPL, HYPOTH, HABIT.PRES, necessitive future [NECESS.FUT] (also the HABIT.PAST) and customary [CUSTOM]. All the participles forms have two basic functions, one as a nominal and the other as the predicate of subordinate clauses. In the nominal function, these correspond to relative clauses in English or Russian. In the PAST and NEG.FUT, subordinate clause predicates are distinguished from corresponding finite main verbs by their inflectional class (III vs. I/II), while the tense marker itself differs between finite main clauses and subordinate clauses in the PRES. Participles also form the basis of most compound tense/mood/aspect forms using the common AUX verb *pol-* in Xakas.

FUT

The FUT participle is formed by the affix -Ar following consonantal stems and -ir following vocalic stems. Although the affix is identical to the main verb/ finite uses of the FUT in Xakas, the inflectional class is different: Class-III affixes are found to index person, rather than Class-II (or Class-I). Often, the FUT participle is used in a wide variety of complex deverbal noun formations, as the second member of an *izafet* construction.

(61)

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| i. | <i>tazar suç</i>
['flood'-FUT] ['water']
'a river which will flood' | <i>uzir palalar</i>
['sleep'-FUT] ['child'-PL]
'children who will sleep' |
| ii. | <i>kižee minlŋ plžem püün iirdi pabamniŋ A ybannaŋ kilerIn čooxtadi</i>
['yesterday'] ['I'-GEN] ['old.sister'-1] ['today'] ['evening'] ['father'-GEN] ['Abakan'-ABL] ['come'-FUT-3-ACC] ['say'-PAST.II]
'yesterday my sister said that my father was coming from Abakan tonight' | |
| iii. | <i>tura püdlrerl</i>
['house'] ['build'-CAUS-FUT-3]
'the building of the house' | <i>som ya suurari</i>
['form'-DAT] ['take.off'-FUT-3]
'photography' |

As mentioned above, the NEG.FUT participle is in -BAs. It corresponds to the first two uses of the FUT. In subordinate clauses it takes Class-III, not Class-II, agreement markers.

PAST

The PAST participle in Xakas is in -GAn. Note, however, that as a participle, it takes Class-III agreement markers, rather than Class-I (or -II) agreement markers, e.g. *kilgeziŋ* ['come'-PAST.I-2] 'you came' vs. *kilgeniŋ* ['come'-PAST-2] 'your coming, that you came'. While the nominal head of the participle is usually the subject of the action, it is not obligatorily so.

(62)

- i. *atxan aŋŋi* *sayan Inek*
 ['shoot'-PAST] ['hunter'] ['milk'-PAST] ['cow']
 'the hunter who shot' 'the cow that was milked'

to yinyannar ya aziral ayilyannar
 ['work'-PAST-PL-DAT] ['food'] ['bring'-PAST.I-PL]
 'they brought food to the ones who worked'

Abakannaŋ kilgen ügretçi
 ['Abakan'-ABL] ['come'-PAST] ['teacher']
 'the teacher who came from Abakan'

minİŋ töreen ösken çirİm tiŋ irax
 ['I'.GEN] ['be.born'-PAST] ['grow'-PAST] ['land'-1] ['very'] ['far']
 'the land I was born and raised in is very far'

- ii. *min xinminçam, aniŋ paribisxanina*
 ['I'] ['be.satisfied.w/-NEG-PRES.I-1] [3-GEN] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-3.DAT]
 'I wasn't happy that he left'

pis'momni alip alyanina İzençem
 ['letter'-1-ACC] ['take'-CV] [SBEN-PAST-3-DAT] ['hope'-PRES.I-1]
 'I hope he got my letter'

PRES

One of the noteworthy aspects of the PRES participle formations in Xakas is that while several different constructions are found, all of them include the PAST marker -GAN. The unmarked PRES participle marker is -(p)çAtKAN, i.e. a combination of the full form of the PRES.I affix combined with the PAST participle. Note that this is basically identical to the IMPERF tense marker, although, as with the PAST participle marker mentioned above, the subordinate clause uses of the PRES take Class-III markers, rather than Class-II (or Class-II) markers as do main clause uses of the IMPERF affix.

- (63)
- i. *Abakan ya xinçatxan çurta yŋilar* *xi yirçatxan oolax*
 ['Abakan'-DAT] ['love'-PRES] ['resident'-PL] ['read'-PRES] ['boy']
 'the residents who love Abakan' 'the boy who is reading'
- Abakanda çurtapçatxan tu yannar* *paziçatxan plçik*
 ['Abakan'-LOC] ['live'-PRES] ['relative'-PL] ['write'-PASS-PRES] ['letter']
 'the relatives who live in Abakan' 'the letter that is being written'
- to yinçatxannar tinanarlar*
 ['work'-PRES-PL] ['rest'-FUT-PL]
 'the ones who are working will rest'
- ii. *tiinnİŋ a yas salaazinda odirçatxanin kördİm*
 ['squirrel'-GEN] ['tree'] ['branch'-3-LOC] ['sit'-PRES-3.ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
 'I saw as the squirrel sat on the tree branch'
- ol yannarniŋ am ya teere aylanminçatxannarina sa yisirapçam*

['child'-PL-GEN] ['now'-DAT] ['until'] ['return'-NEG-PRES-PL-3-DAT] ['worry'-PRES.I-1]
 'I'm worried that the children haven't returned before now'

The common motion verbs *par* 'go' and *kil* 'come' have a special form of the PRES participle in -iGAN, corresponding to their special IMPERF marker of an identical shape.

- (64)
- İgl kiligen avtomobil'ge kördek*
 ['this'] ['come'-PRES] ['car'-DAT] ['look.at'-POL]
 'have a look at this car coming (here)'

tayyazar pariyan aŋŋılarnaŋ min türçe çooxtazip tur yam
 ['taiga'-ALL] ['go'-PRES] ['hunter'-PL-INS] ['I'] ['a.little'] ['converse'-CV] [ITER.II-PAST.I-1]
 'I talked a little with the hunters who were setting off for the taiga'

Verbs with an unmarked PRES (*çör, odır, tur, (çat)*) also can be found in participle forms of the PRES. These usually have the PAST participle marker directly attached to the stem, just as agreement markers attach directly to the stem in main clause uses of these. Thus, there is no formal difference between the PAST and PRES participles of these verbs.

- (65)
- xosti tur yan traktor*
 ['next'] ['stand'-PRES!] ['tractor']
 'the tractor which is standing alongside'

a yasta odır yan xustar *su yda çatxan tastar*
 ['tree'-LOC] ['sit'-PRES!] ['bird'-PL] ['water'-LOC] ['lie'-PRES!] ['rock'-PL]
 'the birds sitting in the tree' 'the rocks lying in the water'

HABIT.PRES -AdVrGAn/-idVrGAn

Corresponding to the formation of PRES participles from general present tense forms via the suffixation of the PAST participle marker, a participle marking a HABIT.PRES is also formed this way, i.e. the PAST participle -GAN is added to the HABIT.PRES form in -AdVr/-idVr. Like all participles, it uses Class-III agreement markers in subordinate clause uses.

- (66)
- to padır yan köl* *ir lidır yan sarinnar*
 ['freeze'-HABIT.PRES] ['lake'] ['sing'-HABIT.PRES] ['song'-PL]
 'a lake that usually freezes' 'songs that are generally sung'
- kizedİrgen ton*
 ['wear'-HABIT.PRES] ['coat']
 'a coat which is usually worn'

UNACCOMPL -GAI AK

The UNACCOMPL participle in Xakas has a form and function identical to the main verb uses of the UNACCOMPL.PAST suffix. Here the only real difference is in the use of Class-III affixes rather than Class-II ones.

- (67)
- aaldaŋ sixxalax avtobus*

['village'-ABL] ['leave'-UNACCOMPL] ['bus']
'the bus which hasn't left the village yet'

xira kizerge çörgelek kombayn sayam turça
['field'] ['cut'-INF] ['move'-UNACCOMPL] ['combine'] ['now'] ['stand'-PRES.I]
'the combine which hasn't yet left to cut the field is standing now'

-ՅԱՊ

The multifunctional Xakas affix -ՅԱՊ which in main verbs usually marks a HABIT.PAST, and in questions, an INTRG, in participial constructions expresses either a habitual or a necessitive future. In the NECESS.FUT, it expresses an action that must occur in the future; on occasion a simple future is also expressed. The HABIT expresses a quality of the referent; optionally, these forms may appear with a zero-head in a nominal function as well. In substantivized forms with the existential copulae, a capability meaning is sometimes found.

(68)

- i. *to yın̄ʒaŋ attar* *tiinneʒeŋ çir*
['work'-NECESS.FUT/HABIT] ['horse'-PL] ['squirrel'-VSF-HABIT] ['place']
'horses which (have to) work' 'a place for hunting squirrel'

üğrenʒeŋ školani naağılap püdlr sal yannar
['study'-HABIT] ['school'-ACC] ['new'-DC-VSF-CV] ['build'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I-PL]
'they renovated the school that is for studying'

ol polinminča, uzuʒaŋ komnatada
['he'] ['get.better'-NEG-PRES.I] ['sleep'-HABIT] ['room'-LOC]
'he isn't getting better, he's in the bedroom (=room for sleeping)'

- ii. *anaŋ olar to yın̄ʒaŋ çirzer par yannar*
['then'] ['they'] ['work'-HABIT] ['place'-ALL] ['go'-PAST.I-PL]
'then they went to the place they will (have to) work in'

Moskvazar par ʒaŋ klzI
['Moscow'-ALL] ['go'-NECESS.FUT] ['person']
'the person who must go to Moscow'

plsser kilʒeŋ aalʒi *tay yada armaʒaŋ aŋʒılar*
['we'-ALL] ['come'-NECESS.FUT] ['guest'] ['taiga'-LOC] ['hunt'-HABIT] ['hunter'-PL]
'the guest who will have to come to us' 'the hunters who hunt in the taiga'

tayda ot sapčəŋ kolxozniktar (sic.) kul'tsatnda xončalar
['tomorrow'] ['grass'] ['cut'-NECESS.FUT] [kolxoz.worker-PL] ['cultural.station'-LOC] ['overnight'-PRES.I-PL]
'the kolxoz workers who have to cut grass tomorrow are spending the night at the cultural station'

- iii. *Inek sayʒımar* *uzanʒaŋ*
['cow'] ['milk'-HABIT -PL] ['do.smithery'-HABIT]
'milk-maids' 'forge, smithy'

- iv. *pirʒeem par* *körʒeŋ çoyı*
['give'-NECESS.FUT-1] ['there.is'] ['see'-NECESS.FUT-2] ['there.is.not']
'I have to give' 'there is no way for you to see'

CUSTOM -AAƏV

The customary [CUSTOM] participle in Xakas is used to express general characteristics or customary actions. It has no corresponding finite/main verb form; this function is generally expressed in main clauses by the HABIT.PRES.

(69)

İrernlŋ aal ya çöreeçi klzler püün par polbatar
['y'all'-GEN] ['village'-DAT] ['move'-CUSTOM] ['people'-PL] ['today'] ['go']
[CAPAB-NEG.FUT-PL]
'the people who usually go to your village can't today'

par, annaŋ çooxtas kör, ol kize(e) küleeçI nimes
['go'] [3.INS] ['converse'] [ATTEMPT] ['he'] ['person'-DAT] ['laugh'-CUSTOM]
['not']
'go, try to talk with him, he isn't someone who laughs at people'

HYPOTH

The HYPOTH (or potential) participle in Xakas is formed either by the affix -GADVG or -GADAG. It is generally thought to historically derive from an Old Turkic (FUT) participle in -GI to which the postposition/clitic -täg 'like' has fused (Baskakov et al. (1975: 198)). As its name would imply, this participle is used to mark a proposed or hypothetical action/state, or something that has the potential of occurring in the future. Note that not infrequently, the HYPOTH is used in combination with the AUX fomant *polar* 'perhaps'.

(70)

ton ya çitkedlŋ teer aldim
['fur.coat'-DAT] ['suffice'-HYPOTH] ['pelt'] ['take'-PAST.II-1]
'I bought a pelt that perhaps will be sufficient for a coat'

ol kirektI pllgedlŋ klzI pol yan
['he'] ['deed'-ACC] ['know'-HYPOTH] ['person'] ['be'-PAST.I]
'he was indeed a person who would have known about this thing'

2.2.3.2 Converbs

Aside from participles and forms such as the CONDIT, the other major way of combining parts of a complex sentence is through the use of converbs or gerunds. These are extremely common in Turkic sentences, and form the basis for many simplex tense forms historically, and synchronically constitute the basis for most of the auxiliary constructions in Xakas. They differ from participles in not allowing the person of a referent to be indexed within the verbal form. Several different converbs are found in Xakas. The most common of these by far is the so-called 'connective' or 'past' converb in -p. Another important converb is the 'present' or 'joint' converb in -A/i.

-P

The converb in -p is found in all Common Turkic languages except Yakut, and forms an integral part of the verbal system in them all. From a formal standpoint in Xakas,

-p appears obligatorily following vowel-final verb stems, and optionally following consonant-final stems; most commonly this appears in an overt form with consonant-final stems when followed by a vowel-initial auxiliary verb, though this is not a strictly phonologically governed phenomenon. In non-auxiliary verb constructions, the converb usually appears overtly even with consonant-final stems. The -p converb in Xakas performs a wide variety of functions. It may mark an action which precedes another action or an action more or less simultaneous with the main action.

(71)

tiin plsteŋ tizlp oylapča
 ['squirrel'] ['we'-ABL] ['escape'-CV] ['run'-PRES.I]
 'having escaped from us the squirrel is running'

prayzi, minl üdezlp, taxsar sixxannar
 ['all'-3] ['I'-ACC] ['see.off'] ['outside'] ['leave'-PAST.I-PL]
 'everyone went outside to see me off (seing me off)'

<i>olar čistektep parčalar</i> ['they'] ['berry'-VSF-CV] ['go'-PRES.I-PL]	<i>apsax tam yi tartip odırča</i> ['old.man'] ['tobacco'] ['pull'-CV] ['sit'-PRES.I]
'they are going to pick berries'	'the old man is sitting and smoking tobacco'

milčaa parip, čuundim
 ['bathhouse'-DAT] ['go'-CV] ['wash'-RFLXV-PAST.II-1]
 'I went to the bathhouse and washed myself'

xažan daa irlap la čörče
 ['when'] [EMPH] ['sing'-CV] [EMPH] ['walk'-PRES]
 'he always walks and sings (while singing)'

The -p converb form may also appear following the PRES.I formant in its expanded allomorph. According to Pritsak (1959) this adds a 'durative' connotation to the lexical stem.

(72)

min tayyada čörčedlp, köp čistek teerlp alyam
 ['I'] ['taiga'-LOC] ['walk'-PRES.I-CV] ['alot'] ['berry'] ['gather'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.I-1]
 'I gathered alot of berries walking in the taiga'

pls čolža kilčedlp, čazida attar körgebis
 ['we'] ['road'-P/E] ['come'-PRES.I-CV] ['steppe'-LOC] ['horse'-PL] ['see'-PAST.I-1PL]
 'when we were coming along the road we saw horses on the steppe'

Corresponding to their special present forms, the important and common motion verbs *par-* 'go' and *kil-* 'come' can appear in a special form of the -p converb, namely -irVp. Auxiliary and main verb functions of these are both attested in this manner. This functions exactly like the above form.

(73)

idi paririp, kör kili ze, čol xazında xara yi čox apsax odırča

['thus'] ['go'-PRES.III-CV] ['see'] [PERF.IId-PRES.III] [EMPH] ['road'] ['egde'-3-LOC] ['eye'-3] ['no'] ['old.man'] ['sit'-PRES.I]
 'having gone thus, he has a look (and notices that) a blind old man is sitting on the edge of the road'

aylan kilirIp, šofyoribis klubxa klrblstlr
 ['return'] [CLOC-PRES.III-CV] ['chauffeur'-1PL] ['club'-DAT] ['enter'-PERF-EVID.PAST]
 'returning, it seems our chauffeur had gone into the club'

A variety of adverbs and other words corresponding to English conjunctions are historically of the -p converb form. These include a little used form corresponding to 'if' and various common constructions expressing 'in X language', etc. The former of these appears clause-initially by rule, while the latter generally appears as a modifier of a verb of speaking and thus is found in immediately pre-verbal position.

(74)

- i. *sinap naymir čaybaza, tarđa ot tırbirin toos salarbis*
 ['if'] ['rain'] ['precipitate'-NEG-CONDIT] ['tomorrow'] ['grass'] ['rake'-FUT-3.ACC] ['stop'] [PERF.IIa-FUT-1PL]
 'if it doesn't rain tomorrow we'll finish gathering the hay'
- ii. *slrer xakastap čooxtapčazar ba?*
 ['y'all'] ['Xakas'-VSF-CV] ['speak'-PRES.I-2PL] [Q]
 'do you speak Xakas?'

One of the most common functions of the -p converb in Xakas, as in all other Turkic languages with this affix, is its role in complex sentences with coordinated action. For examples of this function, see 3.3.1 below.

-A/i

The converb in -A/i is much less frequently encountered than the -p converb. Dyrenkova (1948) called this the 'joint' or 'united' converb and this has become standard in the linguistic literature; sometimes, this is called 'present' in contrast to the supposedly 'past' gerund in -p. This converb does not overly frequently appear by itself in the modern language. Also, like the -p converb, it is historically part of various tense/mood/ aspect affixes of non-subordinate clauses, e.g. the HABIT.PRES in -AdVr. Also, it appears on the lexical stem when used with various auxiliary verbs, e.g. *tis, xal*, or certain uses of *pir* or *par-*, see below. A large number of postpositons are also historically verbs in the -A/i converb form. The basic function of the -A/i converb is action simultaneous to the action of the main verb.²⁷

(75)

oolax, čabal tonižayın sözlre, oylap sixxan
 ['boy'] ['bad'] ['coat'-DIM-3.ACC] ['drag'-CV] ['run'-CV] [INCH-PAST.I]
 'the boy set off running, dragging his old coat'

²⁷ Certain -A/i converb forms of verbs in an immediately pre-verbal position have apparently begun to be used in a manner corresponding to certain Russian verbal prefixes. This is an areal feature of south Siberian Turkic languages (Rassadin 1981). Examples include *üze* (< 'tearing, ripping' corresponding to Russian *ot-* '(away) from, off' (or *pere-* 're-'), *siğara* 'out of, from' (<< 'leaving') corresponding to Russian *vy-*), and *kire* 'in(to)' (<< 'entering') corresponding to Russian *v-*).

aylana çaçıraan
['turn'-CV] ['fly.off'-PAST.I]
'sharply turned (back)'

ol odıra uzaan
['he'] ['sit'-CV] ['sleep'-PAST.I]
'he slept sitting'

sax andox, milti-yin tudina, siden tastınzar oylaan
['exactly'] ['then'-EPMH] ['rifle'-3.ACC] ['hold'-RFLXV-CV] ['fence'] ['outside'-3-ALL] ['run'-PAST.I]
'at that exact moment, he ran past the fence holding his rifle'

Not infrequently the -A/i converb appears in a doubled construction. Here it most often expresses a protracted durative action leading to the completion of the main clause action, something like English 'they Xed and Xed and finally Yed'.

(76)

para-para kilgende, Uluγ Kim ye čitkenner
['go'-CV] ['go'-CV] ['come'-PAST-LOC] ['big'] ['Yenisei'-DAT] ['reach'-PAST.I-PL]
'they went and went and finally reached the Great Yenisei'

to yına-to yına mayıx pardibis
['work'-CV] ['work'-CV] ['tired'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.II-1PL]
'we worked and worked and at last became tired'

In Xakas grammars, a further converb is included, -AIA/iA, which is the -A/i converb with the EMPH clitic =IA. It expresses an action immediately preceding another one.²⁸

(77)

čiliy ibge kIrip, čadala uzubisxam
['warm'] ['house'-DAT] ['enter'-CV] ['lie'-CV] [EMPH] ['sleep'-PERF-PAST.I-1]
'entering the warm house, I fell asleep as soon as I lay down'

sinl körele, toxtabixam
['you'-ACC] ['see'-CV] ['stop'-PERF-PAST.I-1]
'as soon as I saw you I stopped'

at turala, pastira xalyan
['horse'] ['stand'-CV] ['step.forward'-CV] [PERF.IIh-PAST.I]
'as soon as the horse stood up, it set off'

²⁸ There are two other converb forms that are usually only used in certain spoken dialects but that one may encounter in texts. Their function is similar to that of the -p converb. These converb forms are in -AbAAs and -BinAγ (Babushkin 1964: 25); examples include *xarax čaltanistiγ ot saγıla tüzebees, kügürt, tazili xalγanda, turγan xoylar İki čariliza tüskenner* ['eye'] ['fearful'] ['fire'] ['sparkle'-CV] [UNEXP-CV] ['thunder'] ['boom/clap'-CV] [PERF.IIh-PAST-LOC] ['stand'-PRES!] ['sheep'-PL] ['two'] ['split'-PASS-RECIP-CV] [UNEXP-PAST.I-PL] 'when the blinding fire sparkled and the thunder boomed, the sheep standing (there) were split in two' and *Kerkim apsax, xaņaadaγ tüspineγ, sidennİpčadap altı xoy xazaazınzar kİr paryam* [K] ['old.man'] ['cart'-ABL] ['fall'-CV] ['fence.in'-PRES.I-CV] ['6'] ['sheep'] ['livestock.yard'-3-ALL] ['enter'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I] 'old man Kerkim, having fallen from the cart, entered the fenced in yard for the (six) sheep'. Note the marked dialectal features of this last form (e.g. *sidennİpčadap* instead of the expected ***sidennepčedİp*).

2.2.4 Auxiliary verb [AUX] Formations

In addition to the various affixes described above, auxiliary [AUX] verbs are also used quite frequently in Xakas as well to mark a wide array of additional temporal, modal and aspectual categories. They are also used with borrowed lexical (nominal and verbal) stems to form inflectable verbs. From a formal standpoint, Xakas auxiliary verbs fall into four basic groups, distinguished by the form of the lexical stem preceding the inflected auxiliary verb. In the first group, words borrowed from Russian--in the nominative singular of nouns or the infinitive of verbs--are followed by an AUX verb; the second and third groups have the lexical stem in a participial or inflected (tensed, etc, but personless) form, respectively, while the fourth group has the lexical stem in a converb form (-p or -A/i); in all instances, the lexical stem is followed by the AUX verb marked for person and tense/mood/aspect.

2.2.4.1 uninflected stems + AUX formations

The unmarked auxiliary for inflecting borrowed verbs in Xakas is *pol-* 'be'. This is used with verbs of all types, e.g. *demobilizovat'sya polarya* 'to be demobilized' or *zavedovat' polarya* 'manage'; for more examples see Baskakov and Inkižekova-Grekul' (1953). This is completely productive, and in practice, essentially any Russian verb can fill the slot in this construction, as befits the discourse. Other auxiliary verbs are also used with particular borrowed stems in Xakas, in a lexically restricted manner. Most common of these is *ir-* 'do, make', with all others being very restricted; examples include *utverždat' iderge* [approve] [AUX-INF] 'to approve', *grex iderge* [sin] [AUX-INF] 'to sin', *amputaciya iderge* [amputation] [AUX-INF] 'to amputate', *garantiya pir-* 'to guarantee', and *pleset' salarya* 'to dance'.

2.2.4.2 Inflected Lexical Stem + pol-constructions

There are a wide range of compound forms marked by an inflected (TMA-marked but personless) lexical stem followed by a fully inflected form the auxiliary verb *pol-* in Xakas. In auxiliary formations, person and number agreement is always realized on the AUX component, the particular Class of markers used being the one appropriate to the given tense/aspect/mood-marker.

A wide range of past tense forms can appear in the slot preceding the auxiliary *polyan* to form various types of pluperfects [PLUPERF]. These mark past actions that occurred prior to the occurrence of some other past action. This series of pluperfect forms include the basic PLUPERF in -GAn *polyan*, the PLUPERF.IMPERF in -(p)čAtKAN *polyan*, the PLUPERF.UNACCOMPL in -GAIAK *polyan*, and the PLUPERF.HABIT in -žAγ *polyan* which also may be used as an obligative past, this latter category being a second function of -A/i *polyan* as well. The other function of -A/i *polyan* is its use as a type of intentional or desiderative, cf. Pritsak (1959: 619). -GAdAG *polyan* functions as a HYPOTH.PAST. Examples may be found in (78)

(78)

- i. *Griša klubsar kIrgende, lekciya pastalibixan polyan*
['G.'] ['club'-ALL] ['enter'-PAST.I-LOC] ['lecture'] ['begin'-PASS-PERF-PAST.I]
[AUX-PAST.I]
'When Grisha entered the club, the lecture had already begun'

Anja ani tarixtirarya xinγan polyan

['A.] [3.ACC] ['anger'-INF] ['want'-PAST.I] [AUX-PAST.I]
'Anja had wanted to make him upset'

- ii. *ol tusta xistar ibzer nannapčaxan pol yannar*²⁹
['that'] ['time'-LOC] ['house'-ALL] ['return'-IMPERF] [AUX-PAST.I-PL]
'at that time the girls had been/ were returning home'
- iii. *Xarool sanın kižee pökkelek pol yan*
['X.'] ['number'-3.ACC] ['yesterday'] ['solve'-UNACCOMPL.PAST] [AUX-PAST.I]
'yesterday Xarool hadn't solved his problem yet'
- iv. *par žaŋ pol ya m* *par žaŋ pol ya m*
['go'-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-PAST.I-1] ['go'-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-PAST.I-1]
'sometimes I had usually gone' 'I had had to go'
- v. *sin plske plčlk pazar pol yazi ŋ*
['you'] ['we'-DAT] ['letter'] ['write'-FUT] [AUX-PAST.I-2]
'you wanted to/promised to write us a letter'
- kemnl üzürer pol yabis, ol čılıya kilbeen*
['who'-ACC] ['discuss'-FUT] [AUX-PAST.I-1PL] ['he'] ['meeting'-DAT] ['come'-NEG-PAST.I]
'the one we had to discuss didn't come to the meeting'
- vi. *to yin yada y pol ya m*
['work'-HYPOTH] [AUX-PAST.I-1]
'it was likely that I (could have) worked then'

In addition to the range of pluperfect formations using *pol yan*, there are also a wide variety of pluperfect forms in the EVID mood in Xakas using the auxiliary verb *pol tir*, the EVID.PAST form of *pol-*. Like all EVID.PAST forms, these take Class-II agreement markers. Most of the same PLUPERF categories found in the indicative mood are also found in the evidential mood.

(79)

- i. *ana ŋ tipsl degl itternl körer pol za, pulan-siin itterl pizir yan pol tir lar*
['then'] ['hollow.wooden.meat.storehouse-LOC-DC] ['meat'-PL-ACC] ['see'-FUT] [AUX-CONDIT] ['elk'-'maral.deer'] ['meat'-PL-3] ['cook'-PAST.I] [AUX-EVID.PAST-PL]
'then when he would look at the meat in the hollow wooden storehouse, it (had) turned out that they had cooked meat (there) of elk and maral deer'
- ii. *ol čaxsi ŋ lapčaxan pol tir*
['he'] ['good'] ['sing'-IMPERF] [AUX-EVID.PAST]
'it seems he sings well'

²⁹ The lexical verb in this example is in an unexpected form: 'return' is *nan-* and thus ***nančaxan* would be expected. The stem *nanna-* (giving *nannapčaxan*) should mean something like 'mow' or 'squint', neither of which make sense in this context. It is quite probable that this is really from ***nan ylapčaxan*, with loss of the γ and nasal assimilation of ***-ln- > -nn-*, yielding the attested form; these kinds of assimilations are common in rapid speech in Xakas.

olar gorodsar tayda par čaxan pol tir lar
['they'] ['city'-ALL] ['tomorrow'] ['go'-IMPERF] [AUX-EVID.PAST-PL]
'it seems they are going to the city tomorrow'

- iii. *par yalax pol tir*
['go'-UNACCOMPL.PAST] [AUX-EVID.PAST]
'it seems she had not yet gone'
- iv. *par žaŋ pol tir bin*
['go'-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-EVID.PAST-1]
'it seems I usually had gone' or 'it seems I had had to go'

olarni ŋ mali ax čazaa toldira čayil žaŋ pol tir
['they'-GEN] ['cattle'-3] ['white'] ['steppe'-DAT] ['full'] ['spread.out'-PASS-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-EVID.PAST]
'it seems their livestock had usually fully spread out among the white steppe'

Special compound INTRG forms are also found using the AUX verb *pol-*. These include the INTRG.PRES, the INTRG.PAST, and the INTRG.PAST.II. The INTRG.PRES in Xakas is formed by a combination of a lexical stem in either the PRES participle or PRES.I form followed by *pol žaŋ*, the INTRG form of the AUX verb *pol-* (i.e. $X-(p)čAtKAN pol žaŋ$ or $X-(p)čA pol žaŋ$). Its function is like that of the INTRG, only expressing a rhetorical-type question in the present rather than the past. The INTRG.PAST.I is formed by a combination of the lexical stem in the PAST.I form with the INTRG form of the AUX verb *pol-* ($X-GAN pol žaŋ$). In addition to expressing a type of emphatically rhetorical interrogative past notion, this form may also have the added sense of a probabalitive or capabilative past. The INTRG.PAST.II form in Xakas differs from the above mentioned complex forms using the AUX verb *pol-* in that although consisting of a lexical verb in a particular inflected form followed by an inflected form of *pol-*, there is variation as to which of the components has the PAST.II suffix in $-D_2V$ and which has the INTRG suffix in $-žAŋ$. In some sentences, the lexical verb stem appears in the PAST.II form and the AUX in the INTRG form (i.e. $X-D_2V pol žaŋ$), while in other sentences the order is reversed and one finds $X-žAŋ pol di$. Note that in the last instance with almost all of the attested forms the auxiliary verb is augmented by the clitic (+)ni, which appears between the PAST.II suffix and any person/number agreement affix. There is apparently no difference in the semantics of the two variants of the INTRG.PAST.II (V. G. Karpov, personal communication). Due to the polyfunctionality of the affix $-žAŋ$ in Xakas, the latter variant sometimes may be optionally translated with a HABIT.PAST sense as well.

(80)

- i. *pu klžller nime it četken pol žaŋ*
['this'] ['person'-PL] ['what'] ['do'-IMPERF] [AUX-INTRG]
'what are these people doing?'

olar to yistarın toospi n, nime sa yin ča pol žaŋ nar
['they'] ['work'-PL-3.ACC] ['finish'-NEG.CV] ['what'] ['think'-PRES.I] [AUX-INTRG-PL]
'what are they thinking about, not finishing their work?'

- ii. *brigadirbls xaydar paribisti polžan*
 ['brigadier'-1PL] ['to.where'] ['go'-PERF-PAST.II] [AUX-INTRG]
 'where (ever) did our brigadier go?'

no ya la pllbežen poldinin pasxa klzl klzl polčatxanin
 ['why'] [EMPH] ['know'-NEG-INTRG] [AUX-PAST.II-ni-1] ['other'] ['person']
 ['person'] ['be'-PRES-3.ACC]
 'how is it that I didn't know that other people are (also) people?'

- iii. *xaydar par yan polžan*
 ['to.where'] ['go'-PAST.I] AUX-INTRG.PAST]
 'where did he go?' or 'where could've he gone?'³⁰

pu kimenl kem itken polžan
 ['this'] ['boat'-ACC] ['who'] ['do'-PAST.I] [AUX-INTRG.PAST]
 'who did make this boat?' or 'who could've made this boat?'

Another function of the AUX verb *pol-*, this time appearing in the FUT form *polar*, is to express a probabilitive action. This can appear as the second component following a tense-marked stem. Like other FUT forms in -Ar, the PROBAB forms take Class-II agreement markers. The PROBAB.PRES is formed in Xakas by the combination of a lexical stem in either the PRES.I form or the PRES participle followed by *polar* (X-čA *polar* or X-čAtKAN *polar*). The PROBAB.PAST is formed by a combination of the lexical stem in the PAST.I form followed by *polar* (X-GAN *polar*). To express a PROBAB.FUT notion, the participle -žAŋ may be used instead of the FUT in -A/ir (X-žAŋ *polar*). The combination of a lexical stem in this latter form followed by *polar* (X-A/ir *polar*) has been given a variety of analyses by different researchers of Xakas. Thus Pritsak (1959) calls this the potential future, akin to our PROBAB.FUT. Menges (1963) on the other hand calls this either a possibilitive present or a desiderative present, but not a probabilitive or potential, nor a future. There also exists in Xakas a form that might be called an assertive probabilitive present. This is formed by the affix of the HYPOTH mood in combination with the PROBAB form in *polar* (X-GAdAG (-GAdVG) *polar*). This expresses a notion in the present that is both probabilitive and assertive, but is rarely encountered.

(81)

- i. *min nimee čobalčatxanimni slrer pliče polarzar*
 ['I'] ['what'-DAT] ['be.sad'-PRES-1-ACC] ['y'all'] ['know'-PRES.I] [PROBAB-2PL]
 'you probably know what I'm sad about'

slrer, xinza, ani pličetken dee polarzar
 ['y'all'] ['wish'-CONDIT] [3.ACC] ['know'-IMPERF] [EMPH] [PROBAB-2PL]
 'you probably also know him'
- ii. *sin itken polarziŋ* *püün čaxsı oyin pol yan polar*
 ['you'] ['do'-PAST] [PROBAB-2] ['today'] ['good'] ['game'] ['be'-PAST] [PROBAB]
 'you probably did (it)' 'today there was probably a good game'

³⁰ Note that the CAPAB function of *pol-* is generally only found with a lexical stem in the (-p) converb form. On occasion, however, it seems to have spread to other uses of the AUX verb *pol-* preceded by lexical stems in forms other than this converb.

- iii. *ol itčen polar*
 ['she'] ['do'-NECESS.FUT] [PROBAB]
 'she will probably do (it)'
- iv. *kiler polar*
 ['come'-FUT] [PROBAB]
 '(he) is surely coming' or '(he) wants to come' or '(he) is able to come'
- v. *čaris polžan čir minnaŋ klge kilometr pol yađıy polar*
 ['race'] ['be'-NECESS.FUT] ['place'] ['this'-ABL] ['two'-DAT] ['kilometer'] ['be'-HYPOTH] [PROBAB]
 'from here to the racing place is probably indeed a good 2 kilometers'

A large range of compound CONDIT forms are also created using the AUX verb *pol-*. Many different tense/mood/aspect forms are attested consisting of tense-marked or participial forms of lexical stems followed by the CONDIT form of *pol-* (*polza*) with the appropriate person/number agreement affix. Like the simplex CONDIT, the compound CONDIT forms take Class-III agreement markers, and is sometimes used when a temporally subordinate clause is meant.

There are two different forms in Xakas expressing a conditional form in the present other than -ZA and -čAtsA discussed above. Like several of the other AUX constructions marking a PRES action discussed in this section, the CONDIT.PRES is alternatively formed by either the PRES.I or PRES participle form of the lexical stem followed by the appropriate form of *polza* (X-čA *polza* or X-čAtKAN *polza*). The CONDIT.FUT form is marked by a combination of the lexical stem in the FUT followed by *polza* (X-Ar *polza*). The CONDIT.PAST or irrealis/counterfactual conditional in Xakas is formed by a combination of the lexical stem in the PAST.I form followed by *polza* (X-GAN *polza*). An UNACCOMPL.PAST action in the CONDIT mood is formed by a combination of the lexical stem in the UNACCOMPL.PAST followed by *polza* (X-GAIK *polza*). A HYPOTH form can also be combined with a CONDIT as well in Xakas (X-GAdAG *polza*). Finally, the HABIT.PAST in -žAŋ can also be marked in the CONDIT mood in Xakas; thus, we find X-žAŋ *polza*. However, in addition to expressing a CONDIT.HABIT.PAST action, the compound formation in X-žAŋ *polza* can also mark a type of OPT (Pritsak (1959)).

(82)

- i. *ir klzl töretpinče polza*
 ['male'] ['person'] ['give.birth'-NEG-PRES.I] [AUX-CONDIT]
 'if a man doesn't give birth'

<i>uzupčatxan polza</i> ['sleep'-PRES] [AUX-CONDIT] 'if she's sleeping'	<i>somčatxan polza</i> ['swim'-PRES] [AUX-CONDIT] 'if he goes swimming'
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ii. *aalzar parar polzan, platti lžeme apar pir*
 ['village'-ALL] ['go'-FUT] [AUX-CONDIT-2] ['shawl'] ['mother'-1-DAT] ['bring'] [BEN]
 'if you are going to go to the village, bring the shawl to my mother'

anaŋ tipsıdegl itternl körer polza, pulan-siin itterl pizir yan poltırlar

['then'] ['hollow.wooden.meat.storehouse-LOC-DC] ['meat'-PL-ACC] ['see'-FUT] [AUX-CONDIT] ['elk'] ['maral.deer'] ['meat'-PL-3] ['cook'-PAST.I] [AUX-EVID.PAST-PL]

'then when he would look at the meat in the hollow wooden storehouse, it turned out that they had cooked meat of elk and maral deer'

- iii. *xin yan polzam* *sin körgen polzaŋ, čooxta*
 ['love'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT-1] ['you'] ['see'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT-2] ['say']
 'if I loved' 'when you have seen (it), tell (me)'

kižee čaxsi kün polyan polza, min su ya somar ya parar žixpin
 ['yesterday'] ['good'] ['day'] ['be'-PAST.I] [AUX-CONDIT] ['I'] ['water'-DAT] ['swim'-INF] ['go'-SBJNCTV-1]
 'if yesterday had been a nice day, I would have gone swimming in the river'

- iv. *toosxalax polza*
 ['finish'-UNACCOMPL.PAST] [AUX-CONDIT]
 'if he has not yet finished'

- v. *xon yaday polza*
 ['spend.night'-HYPOTH] [AUX-CONDIT]
 'if it is likely/seems like he will spend the night'

- vi. *oraylatpažan polzabis*
 ['be.late'-NEG-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-CONDIT-IPL]
 'if were weren't usually late'

min pu to yisti amox toos salžan polzam
 ['I'] ['this'] ['work'-ACC] ['right.now'] ['finish'] [AUX-HABIT.PAST] [AUX-CONDIT-1]
 'if only I could finish this work right now'

2.2.4.2.1 X-p pol (Lexical Stem-converb + pol) > CAPAB

Another common function of the AUX verb *pol-* is to form a capabilitive mood [CAPAB]. This is marked by a combination of a lexical stem in the (-p) converb form followed by the AUX verb *pol-* inflected for the full range of person, number, and tense, etc. features. Most frequently the CAPAB is in a negative form. In addition to *pol-*, the AUX verb *al-* can also have a CAPAB function in Xakas, particularly for Xaas (Kachin) dialect speakers.

- (83) *ol pu to yisti it polar* *taynap polčam*
 ['he'] ['this'] ['work'-ACC] ['do'] [CAPAB-FUT] ['chew'-CV] [CAPAB-PRES.I-1]
 'he will be able to do this work' 'I can chew'

üs künnen aylan polbazan Ala Xusxu ineylının pazin kize saap, si yara
tastabizam
 ['three'] ['day'-ABL] ['return'] [CAPAB-NEG-CONDIT-2] ['A.'] ['X.'] ['old.woman'-2-GEN] ['head'-3.ACC] ['cut'-CV] [AUX-CV] ['from'] ['throw'-PERF-FUT-1]
 'if you can't return in three days, I'll cut off that old woman of yours Ala Xusxu's head and throw it away'

2.2.4.2.2 Other functions of pol-

Another basic additional function of *pol-* is to form non-present existential formations using the existential copulae *par* 'there is' and *čox* '(there is) not'. Various formations are found with these, both simplex and complex ones, but most frequently one finds the PAST.I and the EVID.PAST, e.g. *parlčox polyan* and *parlčox poltir*, etc.

- (84) *xažan daa to yassa, aniŋ uluŋ nimes kimezInde palix par la polžan*
 ['when'] [EMPH] ['meet'-RECIP-CONDIT] [3.GEN] ['big'] ['not'] ['boat'-3-LOC]
 ['fish'] ['there.is'] [EMPH] [AUX-HABIT.PAST]
 'whenever one would meet him, he would almost always have fish in his little boat'

Finally, there exists in Xakas an unusual formation consisting of a lexical stem in the otherwise non-occurring form -AčVK followed by an inflected form of *pol-* (Baskakov et al. 1975). This expresses an action that the subject pretends not to do or acts as if they cannot or don't do. This pretentive [PRETEND] form is found in a variety of tenses, etc., although most commonly in the PAST.I.

- (85) *Ninani plzem dee, no ya-da tanibaačix polyam*
 ['Nina'-ACC] ['know'-CONDIT-1] [EMPH] ['why'-EMPH] ['know.someone'-NEG-
 PRETEND] [AUX-PAST.I-1]
 'although I know Nina, for some reason I acted like I don't'
 "toyń minda iderzer"-ispeečik polip, amir čooxtan yan lžezl
 ['wedding'-ACC] ['this'-LOC] ['do'-FUT-2PL] ['hear'-NEG-PRETEND] [AUX-CV]
 ['quiet'] ['say'-PAST.I] ['mother'-3]
 "'you will have the wedding here" mother quietly said pretending not hear'

...pazox talačix polibixan
 ['and'-EMPH] ['faint'-PRETEND] [AUX-PERF-PAST.I]
 '...again (she) pretended to faint'

2.2.4.3 Other AUX verbs

Besides the ubiquitous *pol-*, there are a large number of other commonly used AUX verbs in Xakas. In contrast with most of the uses of *pol-* adduced above, these generally appear following a lexical stem in one of two different converb forms, the (-p) converb or the -A/i converb. The range of meanings expressed by these constructions include various temporal, modal, aspectual, and even voice categories. In all of these, the AUX verb has completely lost its original lexical meaning and has become fully grammaticalized in these combinations. In general, a given AUX may require a particular converb form to precede it (e.g. (-p) *kör* or -A/i *xon*), while others may show variation in this respect ((-p) *tüs*, *xal* or -A/i *tüs*, *xal*), while for other AUX verbs, the form of the immediately preceding lexical stem has significant consequences on the meaning of the construction, e.g. -A/i *pir* [INCH] but (-p) *pir* [PERF.Ilg, BEN] or -A/i *par* [INCH] but (-p) *par* [PERF.Ilb, TLOC].

2.2.4.3.1 Aspectual auxiliary formations

Aspectual categories of various types are also commonly marked by auxiliary verb constructions in Xakas. Almost every auxiliary verb has some kind of aspectual function in

the language, some more than one. The most salient of these categories marked in this manner are perfective (PERF), inchoative (INCH), unexpected or sudden action (UNEXP), and iterative action (ITER). PERF, INCH, and UNEXP all may be marked by several different auxiliaries, with no fewer than nine separate auxiliary verbs (at least one of whose functions is) to mark a PERF action. Episodic or periodic [EPISOD] action may also be expressed with an AUX construction in Xakas (Baskakov and Inkizhekova-Grekul' 1953: 322). Among the auxiliaries commonly found in these aspectual formations are *al*, *kil*, *par*³¹, *pir*, *sal*,³² *six*³³, *tüs*, *xal*, and *xon*.

(86)

i. *ninže-de xaalay itkenlme, aba mayaa čidlp alyan*
 ['how.many'-INDEF] ['step'] ['do'-PAST-I-LOC] ['bear'] ['I'-DAT] ['reach'-CV]
 [PERF.IIc-PAST.I]
 'when I had taken but a few steps, the bear caught me'

kizler čüilis kilgenner *usxun kilerge*
 ['person'-PL] ['gather'-RECIP] [PERF.IId-PAST.I-PL] ['wake.up'] [PERF.IId-INF]
 'the people gathered together' 'to wake up'

pls Inek saap kildlbls
 ['we'] ['cow'] ['milk'-CV] [PERF.IId-PAST.II-IPL]
 'we milked the cow'

xizixaxxa si yara südlrgen tarax xatabox ogorodsar klr partir
 ['girl'-DAT] ['from'] ['drive.out'-CAUS] ['chicken'] ['again'-EMPH] ['kitchen.garden'-ALL] ['enter'] [PERF.IIb-EVID.PAST]
 'it seems the chicken driven out by the girl came back into the kitchen garden again'

pls kilzebls magazin čabil parar
 ['we'] ['come'-CONDIT-IPL] ['store'] ['close'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-FUT]
 'when we get there the store will be closed'

aal arazinda plreede adaylarniq ürgend istll parča, plreede petux tapsaani istll parča
 ['village'] ['between'-3-LOC] ['sometimes'] ['dog'-PL-GEN] ['bark'-PAST-3] ['hear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-PRES.I] ['sometimes'] ['rooster'] ['make.noise'-PAST-3] ['hear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-PRES.I]

³¹ A difference in the unmarked AUX for the PERF in passive and non-passive verb sets is commonly found, c.f. *pazil par-* 'be written' vs. *pas sal-* 'write', *idll par-* 'be done' vs. *it sal-* 'do', *xoostal par-* 'be drawn' vs. *xoostap sal-* 'draw', this is not an absolute restriction, and *sal-* does appear with passive forms on occasion. Note that Baskakov et al. (1975) also report an ostensible difference between the IMPERF and IMPERF.II when *par-* is used as an AUX verb: *ar yamži üzll parčatxan* ['rope'] ['tear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-IMPERF] 'the rope was tearing' vs. *ar yamži üzll pariyan* ['rope'] ['tear'-PASS] [PERF.IIb-IMPERF.II] 'the rope was about to tear'.

³² *sal-* is the unmarked AUX for the PERF; with a quantified object or a temporal expression, the use of *sal-* is *de rigeur* (Baskakov et al. 1975: 184).

³³ Though *six-* is common in texts in INCH constructions, in the spoken language, the verb stem *pasta-* 'begin' is increasingly common, probably due to influence from Russian.

'from time to time the barking of dogs (or) the crowing of a rooster can be heard around the village'

ažam to yistada ar yistari kil pariyan
 ['older.brother'-1] ['work'-LOC-LOC] ['comrade'-PL-3] ['come'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I]
 'when my brother was at work, his comrades dropped by'

ool yim ügrenerge par yannañ ala plr čil irtlp pardi
 ['son'-1] ['study'-INF] ['go'-PAST.I-ABL] ['since'] ['one'] ['year'] ['pass'-CV]
 [PERF.IIb-PAST.II]
 'one year has passed since my son left to study'

sinap iürzer narqmir toxtap parza, pls kino ya parabis
 ['if'] ['evening'-ALL] ['rain'] ['stop'-CV] [PERF.IIb-CONDIT], ['we'] ['movies'-DAT]
 ['go'-FUT-IPL]
 'if it stops raining towards evening we'll go to the movies'

Roman pulemyodin sözlrlp parčatxanda
 ['R.'] ['machine.gun'-3.ACC] ['pull.out'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PRES-LOC]
 'when Roman pulls out his machine gun.'

"sinni minday Izlg čayyi la atip, idln xaydar iderlñ tarđox čistan parar"
čooxtap pirgenner oollar a yaa
 ['maral'-ACC] ['such'] ['hot'] ['summer'-LOC] ['shoot'-CV] ['meat'-3.ACC] ['to.where'] ['do'-FUT-2] ['tomorrow'-EMPH] ['smell'-RFLXV] [AUX-FUT] ['say'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-PL] ['boy'-PL] [3.DAT]
 "'having shot a maral deer in such a hot summer, where will you store its meat, tomorrow it will (start to) stink" the boys said to him'

xaydi sarnadižixsar, pu suulaxta undup saltirbin
 ['how'] ['sing'-PAST.II-PAST.III-2PL] ['this'] ['noise'-LOC] ['forget'-CV] [PERF.IIa-EVID.PAST-1]
 'it seems in all this noise I forgot how you sang'

čirññ üstünde noo nime par, ol ani pray pll salyan
 ['earth'-GEN] ['on'-3-LOC] ['indeed'] ['thing'] ['there.is'] ['he'] [3.ACC] ['know'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I]
 'he knew all that was on the earth'

mayaa ol ileede pis'mo is saldi
 ['I'-DAT] ['he'] ['many'] ['letter'] ['send'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I]
 'he has sent me many letters already'

zavodta Ikl čil to yim salyan
 ['factory'-LOC] ['two'] ['year'] ['work'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I]
 '(she) has worked at the factory for two years'

ol tar'in yaninañ il yap salibixsan
 ['he'] ['be.angry'-PAST-3-ABL] ['cry'-CV] [PERF.IIa-PERF-PAST.I]
 'he cried out of rage'

min pllbin xalyam

min ani kör xalyam

['I] ['know'-NEG] [PERF.IIh-PAST.I-1] ['I] [3.ACC] ['see'] [PERF.IIh-PAST.I-1]
 'I did not succeed in understanding' 'I ended up seeing him'

- ii. *xisxira pardî* *üüp çada par yan*
 ['shout'-CV] [INCH.III-PAST.II] ['pile.up'-CV] ['lie'-CV] [INCH.III-PAST.I]
 '(s/he) began to shout' 'began to gather into a pile'

oyni pirdî
 ['play'-CV] [INCH.II-PAST.II]
 '(he) began to play'

kızlar çörlp pastirinan, çolda İster xaraylap sixançix
 ['person'-PL] ['walk'-CV] ['begin'-FUT-3-ABL] ['track'-PL] ['grow.dark'-CV]
 [INCH.I-PAST.I-PAST.III]
 'as soon as the people began to walk, on the road the tracks began to grow dark'

naçmir plrde toxtap parça, plrde tzeş pazox çaap sixça
 ['rain'] ['sometimes'] ['stop'] [PERF.IIb-PRES.I] ['sometimes'] ['and, but'] ['and'-EMPH] ['precipitate'-CV] [INCH.I-PRES.I]
 'the rain would stop and start up again'

Alžibay turazin tixtap sixxan
 ['A.'] ['house'-3-ACC] ['fix'-CV] [INCH.I-PAST.I]
 'Alžibay began to fix up his house'

- iii. *ol küline tüşken* *naçmir çaap tüşken*
 ['she'] ['smile'-CV] [UNEXP-PAST.I] ['rain'] ['precipitate'-CV] [UNEXP-PAST.I]
 'she suddenly smiled' 'it suddenly began raining'

xaraamni töbln tutçam, Izlg çastap sırlze tüşpezlınner tlp
 ['eye'-1-ACC] ['down'] ['hold'-PRES.I-1] ['hot'] ['tear'-VSF-CV] ['trickle.out'-RECIP-CV] [UNEXP-NEG-3.IMPER-PL] ['say'-CV]
 'I lower my eyes, so that hot tears wouldn't suddenly trickle out'

ibdeş siyara para xonyan
 ['house'-ABL] ['from'] ['go'-CV] [UNEXP.II-PAST.I-1]
 'all of a sudden I left the house'

kinetIn xis pala tura xonyan
 ['unexpectedly, suddenly'] ['girl'] ['child'] ['stand'-CV] [UNEXP.II-PAST.I]
 'the girl suddenly stood up'

çide sal *klre sal* *siya sal*
 ['reach'] [UNEXP.III] ['enter'] [UNEXP.III] ['leave'] [UNEXP.III]
 'suddenly appear' 'suddenly enter' 'suddenly leave'

The AUX verbs *çör*, *odir*, and *tur*, stand apart from the rest of the auxiliary verbs in several ways. For example, they can appear with agreement affixes directly, with no intervening tense affixes; in fact, these can be used to mark a PRES action themselves (see

2.2.1.2 above). In addition, they seem to be used to convey a variety of non-perfective aspectual nuances, e.g. iterative, repetitive, episodic, etc.;³⁴ however, note that all three also function to mark PERF aspect as well.

(87)

- i. *a yastar çilge çayxalis tur yannar*
 ['tree'-PL] ['wind'-DAT] ['shake'-PASS-RECIP] [ITER.II-PAST.I-PL]
 'the trees were shaking in the wind'

künnlñ ne say çör turzan, ügreder klzI tabilar
 ['day'-GEN] [EMPH] ['every'] ['walk'] [ITER.II-CONDIT-2] ['teach'-FUT] ['person']
 ['find'-PASS-FUT]
 'if you go every day, a person to teach (you) will be found'

olar İdi suulazip odir yanda, oolaxtari tırnap alyan
 ['they'] ['thus'] ['talk.loudly'-RECIP-CV] [DUR-PAST-LOC] ['boy'-PL-3]
 ['pay.attention'-CV] [PERF.IIc-PAST]
 'when they would talk loudly like that, their boys paid attention'

sin suulaba kireçni idlp odir
 ['you'] ['make.noise'-NEG] ['task'-2-ACC] ['do'-CV] [DUR]
 'don't you make noise, keep on doing your task'

oynap odir
 ['play'-CV] [DUR]
 'he is constantly playing'

klr çör *pas çör*
 ['enter'] [EPISOD] ['write'] [EPISOD]
 'drop by for a while' 'write now and then'

- ii. *xoylarni xazaa tastina siyar kilgenner İndök, xazaa çabii tüş çörlblstlr*
 ['sheep'-PL-ACC] ['livestock.shed'] ['outside'-3-DAT] ['drive.out'] [PERF.IId-PAST.I-PL-3-LOC-EMPH] ['livestock.shed'] ['roof'-3] ['fall'] [PERF.IIc-PERF-EVID.PAST]
 'as soon as they drove the sheep out of the livestock shed, (it seems) the roof of it caved in'

annaçar İžem xazıxtan pararına İzenlp odiryam
 ['therefore'] ['mother'-1] ['be.healthy'-RFLXV] [PERF.IIb-FUT-3.DAT] ['hope'-CV]
 [PERF.IIIf-PAST.I-1]
 'for that reason I hoped that Mama will get healthy'

ol annaçarox poziniñ çolin çörlp odir yan
 ['he'] ['therefore'-EMPH] ['self'-GEN] ['road'-3.ACC] ['move'-CV] [PERF.IIIf-PAST.I]
 'therefore, he continued on his own journey'

su yni tıreñ tlp, pls kizerge xorix tur yabis

³⁴ Note also the following multiple auxiliary forms from Baskakov et al. (1975) *pas sal* 'write down' vs. *pas sal tur* 'write down every time and *surip al tur* 'ask over and over', with *tur-* in its ITER.II function. Etymologically, a wide range of verbal affixes in Xakas are descended from *tur-*, notably the EVID mood marker *-D₂Vr*.

['water'-ACC] ['deep'] ['say'-CV] ['we'] ['cut'-INF] ['fear'] [PERF.III-PAST.I-IPL]
'knowing that the river was deep, we feared crossing it'

2.2.4.3.2 Modal auxiliary formations

Modal categories are also well represented by auxiliary verb constructions in Xakas. These include intentionals, attemptives, capabilities, possibilitives and even an auxiliary used to mark the evidential mood. The most common modal auxiliaries include, *al*,³⁵ *čör*,³⁶ *it*, *kör*, and *odir*.³⁷

(88)

i. *ol il yirya čördl*
['he'] ['cry'-INF] [INTENT.I-PAST.II]
'he intended to cry'

ya, pls alizar ya itčebls
['yes'] ['we'] ['take'-RECIP-INF] [INTENT.II-PRES.I-IPL]
'yes, we intend to get married'

ii. *am gorod klzln is köreper*
['now'] ['city'] ['person'-3.ACC] ['hear'] [ATTEMPT-IPL.IMPER]
'now let's try to listen to the guy from the city'

ol pözlč čirdeŋ töbln tüzlp sinap körgen
['he'] ['high'] ['place'-ABL] ['down'] ['lower.self-CV] ['try'-CV] [ATTEMPT-PAST.I]
'he tried to get down from the high place'

iii. *ol ügren alča*
['he'] ['study'] [CAPAB.II-PRES.I]
'he can study'

iv. *anda yda sin minl sürče odırziŋ*
['thus'-EMPH] ['you'] ['I'-ACC]
['pursue'-PRES.I] [EVID.II-2]
'so, it seems you are pursuing me'

polizar klz par odır
['help'-FUT][person']
['there.is'] [EVID.II]
'it seems there is a person
who will help'

2.2.4.3.3 Voice functions of auxiliary verbs

Certain Xakas auxiliaries function to mark voice categories unavailable in the derivational stem morphology of the language. These are formed with the use of *al* 'take' in the function of a self-benefactive [SBEN], i.e. action done for or benefitting the actor/subject, and *pir* 'give' in the function of a benefactive [BEN], i.e. action done for or benefitting someone other than the actor/subject. Use of a root with the etymological

³⁵ In combination with a regular -(p) converb (i.e. with a zero allomorph with consonant final stems), *al*- POSSIB/CAPAB is basically a Xaas (Kachin) dialect feature.

³⁶ In the INTENT function *čör*- was originally a Xaas (Kachin) dialect form, while *it*- was originally a Sayai dialect form, but both are found in the standardized register.

³⁷ Note that when the AUX verb *odir* is used in an EVID.PRES function, it follows a tense marked lexical stem, with the person marking directly on the AUX verb. See examples below.

meaning 'give' in a BEN function is common in numerous languages from around the world (Anderson 1995).

(89)

i. *ol čaxsi to yinčadiŋ köp axča to yinip aldi*
['he'] ['good'] ['work'-PRES-CV] ['alot'] ['money'] ['work'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.II]
'he has worked well and has earned alot of money (for himself)'

pls köp aŋnar atip al yanda, köp axča al yabis
['we'] ['alot'] ['animal'-PL] ['shoot'-CV] [SBEN-PAST-LOC] ['alot'] ['money'] ['take'-
PAST.I-IPL]
'when we shot ourselves alot of animals, we got a lot of money'

ii. *plree klz aydari parzox, pasxalari a yaa turar ya polis pirčetkenner*
['some'] ['person'] ['fall'] [AUX-CONDIT-EMPH] ['other'-PL-3] [3.DAT] ['stand'-
INF] ['help'] [BEN-IMPERF-PL]
'when someone fell down, others helped him stand up'

Note that the NEG form of both the -p and -Aŋ converbs is -Bin, which appears in the same position as the positive converbs, i.e. on the lexical stem (preceding the auxiliary verb, if present).

Participles with AUX verbs

As mentioned above, the few verbs that can appear without a present tense marker can also be used as auxiliaries with the -(p) converb form of a lexical stem to mark the present themselves. In this function, these can be found in PRES participle formations as well, where they may also take the usual PRES participle marker in (-p)ƏATKAN.

(90)

oy nap čörčetken ol yannar ari yzar par ylapčalar
['play'-CV] [AUX.PRES-PRES] ['child'-PL] ['forest'-ALL] ['go'-ITER-PRES.I-PL]
'the playing children go over and over to the forest'

Other auxiliary verbs also may be found in a participle construction, for example various verbs marking PERF aspect, or any of the other AUX-formed aspect, mood, and compound tense constructions discussed above.

(91)

xıyır salyan knigamni ar yizima pir sal yam
['read'] [PERF.IIa-PAST] ['book'-1-ACC] ['comrade'-1-DAT] ['give']
[PERF.IIa-PAST.I-1]
'I gave the book which I read to my comrade'

čiił paryan ol yannar noo-da nime deŋer čooxtasčatxannar
['gather'] [PERF.IIb-PAST] ['child'-PL] ['what.a'-INDEF] ['thing'-CIR] ['converse'-
IMPERF-PL]
'the children who gathered were talking about something'

Converb formations with AUX verbs

In addition to appearing on the first (lexical) stem in an AUX construction, the AUX stem itself may also appear in the -p converb form as well.

(92)

*Annažax, Inek saarin toozip, sağan südüln prayzinañ purnada pir salip,
nanip odir yanda, oray polibisxan*
 ['Anna'-DIM] ['cow'] ['milk'-FUT-3.ACC] ['stop'-CV] ['milk'-PAST] ['milk'-3.ACC]
 ['all'-3-ABL] ['earlier'] ['give'] [PERF.IIa-CV] [PERF.IIa-CV] [IMPERF.IIIa-PAST-
 LOC] ['late'] ['become'-PERF-PAST.I]
 'when little Anna, having finished milking the cows, and having given her
 milk earlier than the rest, was returning home, it was (already) getting dark'

The -A/i converb also appears with AUX verbs of various types. In addition to the simple AUX constructions discussed above, there are also complex AUX constructions involving one of the special AUX verbs *tur-*, *çat-*, *odir-*, and *çör-* in the -A/i converb followed by *par-*. These form inchoative distributives, inchoative duratives, etc.

- (93)
- tasta ylap tura par yan*
 ['throw'-ITER-CV] [ITER.II-CV] [INCH.III-PAST.I]
 '(s/he) began to scatter (standing)'
- irlap odira par žix*
 ['see'-CV] ['sit'-CV] [INCH-PAST.III]
 '(s/he) began to sing'

There are at least two other formations traditionally considered 'converbs' in the literature on Xakas. The converb form -GAl*i* forms subordinate clauses of the 'since' type in Xakas. It has been called the 'past gerund' in traditional Xakas school grammars (e.g. Domozhakov and Chankova 1963). An infrequent converb in -GAs may also be found in Xakas. This expresses a purposive clause with the meaning 'in order to X'.

- (94)
- i. *Iney Porçodañ xonyali, sigls palani kömdlbls*
 ['I'] ['P'-ABL!] ['spend.night'-CV] ['8'] ['child'-ACC] ['bury'-PAST.II-1PL]
 'since we've been living with the old woman Porcho we've buried eight children'
- ii. *aallaas Toğır çulzar çör kildlbls*
 ['be.guest'-CV] ['T.'] ['ç.-ALL] ['move'] [CLOC-PAST.II-1PL]
 'we went to Toğir Chul (village) to be guests'
- çistek körgeş çörgebls ol özenzer*
 ['berry'] ['see'-CV] ['move'-PAST.I-1PL] ['that'] ['broad.gully'-ALL]
 'we went into that large gully to see if there were berries there'
- kületees, par körbežej me kölzer*
 ['swim'-CV] ['go'] [ATTEMPT-NEG-INTRG] [Q] ['lake'-ALL]
 'in order to have a swim let's try to go down by the lake'

2.2.4.3.4 Cislocative and Translocative

In addition to their functions as markers of the PERF, the common motion verbs *kil-* 'come' and *par-* 'go' also function as cislocative [CLOC] and translocative [TLOC] directional auxiliary verbs, respectively. These follow various verbs and add the

connotation of action directed toward or away from the speaker, speech act, or focal point. *kil-* is probably more common in this function than as a simple marker of PERF, and in this latter function a CLOC-type connotation is also generally possible. The AUX verb *par-* on the other hand is quite common in its function as a PERF marker (PERF.IIb), being the unmarked AUX for formally and functionally passive verbs.

- (95)
- i. *olar minl süzIrlp kililer*
 ['they'] ['I'-ACC] ['chase'-CV] [CLOC-PRES.III-PL] *uçux kilgen*
 ['fly'] [CLOC-PAST.I]
 'they are chasing me (here/in this direction)' 'he flew here'
- kızllar çiiñlis kilgenner*
 ['person'-PL] ['gather'-RECIP] [CLOC-PAST.I-PL] *six kilgen*
 ['leave'] [CLOC-PAST.I]
 'the people gathered' '(she) came (here)'
- ii. *aṭnap parim*
 ['hunt'-CV] [TLOC-PRES.III-1] 'I'm going out hunting (in that direction/there)'
- (ol) six par yan* *(xus) uçux par yan*
 ['he'] ['leave'] [TLOC-PAST.I] ['bird'] ['fly'] [TLOC-PAST.I]
 '(he) went away' '(the bird) flew away'

3. Syntax

3.1 Sentence Types

Both copular and verbal sentences are found in Xakas. In positive equational and locational sentences and nominal predicate formations in the present tense, the copula is zero, the person and number of the subject indexed by Class-II suffixes on the element functioning as the predicate. In third person subject forms, this is usually zero, though the assertive affix -D₂Vr may also be used in this function, e.g. *ol ügretçil(dır)* 'he is a teacher', *ol ügretçil polyan* 'he was a teacher', *pu instituttıñ direktori minmln* 'I am the director of this institute'. In existential constructions, the positive copula is *par* and the negative *çox* (~ *çoyıl* in the present). In non-present copular formations, the AUX verb *pol-* 'be' is used, marking the relevant TMA and person/number categories. Examples include *anda köp ayaş par* ['there'] ['many'] ['tree'] ['there.is'] 'there are a lot of trees there', *anda köp ayaş çoyıl* ['there'] ['many'] ['tree'] ['not'] 'there are not a lot of trees there', *anda köp ayaş par poltır* ['there'] ['many'] ['tree'] ['there.is'] [AUX-EVID.PAST] 'it seems there were a lot of trees there', *anda köp ayaş çox polyan* ['there'] ['many'] ['tree'] ['not'] [AUX-PAST.I] 'there were not a lot of trees there'. Verbal sentences on the other hand fall into two formal types, i) those with only an inflected lexical stem, indexing the relevant TMA and person/number categories, and ii) those where these are indexed on an auxiliary verb.

3.2 Simple sentences

Typologically, Xakas exhibits dominant nominative-accusative alignment. The basic constituent order of sentences in Xakas is SOV. The distribution of temporal and locative adverbials is relatively free. While the verb or predicate element is generally clause-final, there are exceptions to this, particularly in the spoken language, where influence from Russian is strong. Subordinate clauses generally precede main clauses, but again this is not

rigidly followed at all times. Both noun phrases and verb phrases are preferably head-final; the head of the phrase is where the person/number and TMA categories are indexed. Within noun phrase constituents, the order is: Demonstrative Possessor Adjectival-type modifier Noun. Only the head of the noun phrase (i.e. the noun itself) is marked for case, number, etc.; thus agreement/concord of the type found in Russian is lacking in Xakas. Semantically conjoined noun phrases or elements within a single NP are conjoined by *paza*, 'and' or by the enclitic -D₂AA, or, in the case of conjoined animate actants, by the first element in the INS case and the second one in the appropriate, structurally (or lexically) determined form. Within the verb phrase constituent, the indirect object or oblique argument/adjunct (if present) may either precede or follow the direct object; in unmarked discourse contexts an indefinite (non-ACC marked) direct object generally appears in immediately pre-verbal position. The formal subject of a Xakas clause is the element that triggers person/number agreement in the predicate.³⁸ Examples of Xakas simple sentences include those in (96):

(96)

pIs Xakasiada čurttapčabis
 ['we'] ['X.-LOC] ['live'-PRES.I-1PL]
 'we live in Xakasia'

min taŋda pabazina pu knigani pirem
 ['I'] ['tomorrow'] ['father'-3-DAT] ['this'] ['book'-ACC] ['give'-FUT-1]
 'tomorrow I will give this book to his father'

anda uzupča ol minInj čoon adayim
 ['there'] ['sleep'-PRES.I] ['that'] ['I'-GEN] ['fat'] ['dog'-1]
 'that fat dog of mine is sleeping there'

3.3 Complex S

3.3.1 Coordination

As mentioned in 2.2.3.2 above, a very common way of marking coordinated action in Xakas is through the use of the -p converb, which appears on the first of two (or more) conjoined verbs, with all of the grammatical suffixes found on the last of these to be understood as being semantically present on the p-marked forms as well. The second verb in these constructions can be either a finite/main verb or another non-finite/subordinate verb. In folkloric texts, sequences of actions may also be marked by the PAST.III in -žVK. It is also possible to simply juxtapose two finite clause together when a coordinated construction is implied semantically, e.g. *xaydaŋ kildin, xaydar čörzInj* ['from.where'] ['come'-PAST.II-2] ['to.where'] ['go'-2] 'where did you come from (and) where are you going?'. Relatively infrequently in the standardized register, but more commonly in the spoken language *paza* 'and' may be used. For disjunctive formations, *alay (ba)* 'or' is used, probably originally a loan from Russian.

³⁸ In certain constructions, the logical subject is not the surface subject, for example it is the DAT-marked element in the 'malefactive'/'adversative' construction discussed in 2.1.1.4 above (the verb agreeing with the affected grammatical subject) or ACC-marked element in complement clauses with *tp* (the predicate obligatorily in the third singular (or unmarked) form), as discussed in 3.3.2 below. In main clauses the subject is generally in the unmarked/basic (NOM) case form, while in subordinate clauses of various types, this may appear in the unmarked form or the GEN case.

(97)

xaraa yizin mal xadarip, kömes le uzaannaŋar, pazi tiistalčatxan
 ['whole.night'] ['livestock'] ['tend'-CV] ['little'] [EMPH] ['sleep'-PAST-CIR] ['head'-3]
 ['pull.out'-IMPERF]
 'because he tended the livestock the whole night and slept very little, his head was aching'

xayakti xazan ya urup, pişxidaŋ pul ya žarpmis
 ['butter'-ACC] ['kettle'-DAT] ['pour'-CV] ['stirring.stick'-INS] ['stir'-HABIT-1PL]
 'we put butter in the kettle and stirred with the stirring stick'

Aŋžilar, irax paribizip, köp tiinge učurap parip, ür čörgenner
 ['hunter'-PL] ['far'] ['go'-PERF-CV] ['alot'] ['squirrel'-DAT] [] ['PERF.IIB-CV]
 ['long.time'] ['walk'-PAST.I-PL]
 'the hunters went far, encountered many squirrels, walked a long time'

xan tuzinda, sadiyžilar, xakas Istenži čonnarni mikelep, arayanaŋ izrltp,
par-čox nimelerIn tikke alip alžarmar
 ['tsar'/khan'] ['time'-3-LOC] ['merchant-PL] ['Xakas'] ['working'] ['people'-PL-ACC]
 ['cheat'-CV] ['vodka'-INS] ['drink'-CAUS-CV] ['all'] ['thing'-PL-3.ACC] ['for.nothing']
 ['take'-CV] [SBEN-HABIT.PAST-PL]
 'In the Tsarist period, the merchants cheated the Xakas working people, got them drunk on vodka, and took everything for nothing'

3.3.2 Subordination

Apart from forming a relative-type clause modifying a referent for which numerous examples are provided in 2.2.3 above, participle constructions in Xakas are also used to form a wide range of subordinate clauses. These include temporally and causally subordinate expressions as well as basic nominalized sentences functioning as the subject or object nominal complement of a higher sentence. In these functions, participles are found in a variety of case forms. Case can be determined either by the functional type of subordinate clause in question, or by the subcategorization restrictions of the governing verb in the higher clause. Only Class-III agreement suffixes are used to index the person of the subject of the subordinate clause in contrast with main verbs where markers from any of the three (morphologically determined) agreement classes may be found, as discussed in 2.2.1.2 above. With third person subjects, same-subject subordinate clauses use (the 3.GEN form of) the reflexive pronoun (usually), while different-subject clauses use the general third person pronoun.

(98)

i. *ol poziniŋ čurtaaninaŋar plske čooxtaan*
 [3] ['self'-3-GEN] ['live'-PAST-3-CIR] ['we'-DAT] ['say'-PAST.I]
 'he, told us about how he, lived'

ol aniŋ čurtaaninaŋar plske čooxtaan
 [3] [3.GEN] ['live'-PAST-3-CIR] ['we'-DAT] ['say'-PAST.I]
 'he, told us about how he, lived'

tiinnInj a yaş salaazinda odırčatxanin kördIm

['squirrel'-GEN] ['tree'] ['branch'-3-LOC] ['sit'-PRES-3.ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
'I saw as the squirrel sat on the tree branch'

min xinminčam, aniñ paribisxanina
[I] ['be.satisfied.w/-NEG-PRES.I-1] [3-GEN] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-3.DAT]
'I wasn't happy that he left'

- ii. *min Ižem a yir čatxan üčün klubsar parbaspin*
[I] ['mother'-1] ['be.ill'-PRES] ['for'] ['club'-ALL] ['go'-NEG.FUT-1]
'because my mother is sick I'm not going to the club'

min kilerge pes odin sal
[I] ['come'-FUT-DAT] ['stove'] ['firewood'] ['put']
'put wood on the stove before I come'

pls köp arnar atip alğanda, köp axça alğabis
[we] ['alot'] ['animal'-PL] ['shoot'-CV] [SBEN-PAST-LOC] ['alot'] ['money'] ['take'-
PAST.I-1PL]
'because we shot ourselves alot of animals, we made alot of money'

The participial predicate of a subordinate clause can appear in the unmarked form when used with certain postpositions governing the unmarked (NOM) case. These include *soonda* 'after' (which can also appear with the *-p* converb) and *üčün* 'for', which form sub-types of temporally and causally subordinate clauses, respectively.

- (99) *čayyi xazağa xoy kir salğan soonda, ibzer klr par yabin*
[summer] ['shed'-DAT] ['sheep'] ['drive'] [PERF.IIa-PAST.I] ['after'] ['house'-ALL]
[enter] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1]
'after driving the sheep to the summer shed, he entered the house'

sin minl idl bskn üčün ardaril par yam
[you] [I-ACC] ['push'-PERF-PAST] ['for'] ['fall'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1]
'I fell because you pushed me'

Afrikazar parar üčün korabl' kirek nooza
['Africa'-ALL] ['go'-FUT] ['for'] ['boat'] ['necessary'] ['indeed']
'in order to go to Africa you indeed need a boat'

When appearing in a NOM form of the possessive declension, the clause generally functions as the subject of the higher S, thus in its role as subject, the unmarked/NOM case form is required. The subject within the subordinate clause itself is marked by the GEN or the NOM case.

- (100) *xažan Izlk azip par yanda, olarni kem-de xi yir čatxani istlle tişken*
[when] ['door'] ['open'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PAST-LOC] ['they'-ACC] ['someone'] ['call'-
PRES-1] ['hear'-PASS-CV] [UNEXP-PAST.I]
'when the door opened, it was heard that someone was calling them'

xomay, aniñ Inek saap polbinčatxani
[bad] [3.GEN] ['cow'] ['milk'-CV] [CAPAB-NEG-PRES-3]

'it's bad she doesn't know how to milk a cow'

paribisxaniñ xomay, tiñ xomay
[go'-PERF-PAST-2] ['bad'] ['very'] ['bad']
'it is bad that you left, very bad'

če Arkastiñ aylan yani čox pol yan
[but] [A'-GEN] [return'-PAST-3] [no(it)] [be'-PAST.I]
'but Arkas didn't return'

pağanıñ aylan yani čoyıl
[frog'-GEN] [return'-PAST-3] [not]
'the frog isn't returning'

There is also another function of a possessed form of a participle in Xakas; in these formations, a temporally subordinate clause of the 'when'-type is expressed. This function is most commonly expressed by a possessed or unpossessed form of the LOC case of the participle, see below.

- (101) *min par yanim, slrerniñ ibde klzl čox pol yan*
[I] [go'-PAST-1] [y'all'-GEN] [house'-LOC] [person] [no] [BE'-PAST.I]
'when I went to your house, noone was there'

klrgenlñ, ibde klzl par pol yan ma?
[enter'-PAST-2] [house'-LOC] [person] [there.is] [be'-PAST.I] [Q]
'when you entered, was anyone home?'

kilgen bbs, ol plske učuraan
[come'-PRES-IPL] [he] [we'-DAT] [meet'-PAST.I]
'when we were coming home, he met us'

pari yanim, uluy ačxta at tur čatxan
[go'-PRES-1] [big] [open.space'-LOC] [horse] [stand'-IMPERF]
'when I was going a horse was standing in a large open field'

The ACC case form of a participle functions as the object of a transitive verb taking a sentential complement; these are obligatorily in the possessive form. Most commonly this construction is found with certain verbs, such as *kör-* 'see', *pl-* 'know', etc. Overtly expressed subjects of these subordinate clauses can be either in the GEN or unmarked case. Animates favor GEN marking, but the distinction is not rigidly carried out.

- (102) *tiinnlñ a yas salaazinda odir čatxanin kördlm*
[squirrel'-GEN] ['tree'] ['branch'-3-LOC] ['sit'-PRES-3.ACC] ['see'-PAST.II-1]
'I saw a squirrel siting on a tree branch'

sinap xistarniñ pldi to yin čatxannarin püdlrlgnlñ desyatniğl... kör gen polza
[if] [girl'-PL-GEN] [thus] [work'-PRES-PL-3.ACC] [construction'-GEN]
[foreman'-3] [see'-PAST.I] [be'-CONDIT]
'If the construction foreman had seen how the girls work'

xažan ...xar čayarin xazir poraannar tolgirin azinada pličebls
 ['when'] ['snow'] ['precipitate'-FUT-3.ACC] ['fierce'] ['storm'-PL] ['tum'-FUT-3.ACC]
 ['earlier'] ['know'-PRES.I-1PL]
 'we know in advance when the snow will fall and fierce storms will blow'

čiiit tusta pozirj Idi sarnažaaŋni undup salgaziŋ
 ['young'] ['time'-LOC] ['self'-2] ['thus'] ['sing'-HABIT.PAST-2-ACC] ['forget'-CV]
 [PERF.IIa-PAST.I-2]
 'you forgot that you yourself used to sing like that in your youth'

xažan aniŋ peer kilerIn plibinčem
 ['when'] [3.GEN] ['to.here'] ['come'-FUT-3.ACC] ['know'-NEG-PRES.I-1]
 'I don't know when he's coming'

am na plllp aldım Ay xaydı ölčetkenIn
 ['now'] [EMPH] ['know'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.II-1] ['moon'] ['how'] ['die'-PRES-3.ACC]
 'I only now found out for myself how the Moon dies'

aniŋ pu xoosti xoostapčatxanin sa yisxa klr kilgem
 [3.GEN] ['this'] ['picture'] ['draw'-PRES-3.ACC] ['memory'-DAT] ['enter'] [CLOC-PAST.I-1]
 'I remembered that he drew this picture'

no ya la sizInmežeŋ poldinim sinŋ pldi polčatxaniŋni
 ['why'] [EMPH] ['notice'-NEG-INTRG] [AUX-PAST.II-ni-1] ['you'-GEN]
 ['thus'] ['be'-PRES-2-ACC]
 'why did only I not notice how you behaved'

Ižezi azirapčatxanin pllgen poltir
 ['mother'-3] ['feed'-PRES-3.ACC] ['know'-PAST.I] [AUX-EVID.PAST]
 'he apparently knew that his mother feeds (him)'

The ACC case also can be used with ACC-governing verbs in indirect or reported speech as an option to the construction using *tip* discussed below. Note that as in this example, 'whether'-type subordinate clauses in Xakas usually appear in a formation with positive and negative participles of a particular tense.

(103) *Petya Ninadaŋ kiže ari yda klzllerni körgeIn-körbeenIn suryan*
 ['P.'] ['N'-ABL] ['yesterday'] ['forest'-LOC] ['person'-PL-ACC] ['see'-PAST-3.ACC] ['see'-
 NEG-PAST-3.ACC] ['ask'-PAST.I]
 'Petya asked Nina whether she had seen the people in the forest yesterday'

Use of the DAT case with participles in Xakas performs two basic functions. The first function is to express an action that was completed/is to be completed before the main verb action. In this function, one generally encounters the DAT case of the UNACCOMPL participle (i.e. -GAIAKKA) or much less frequently the DAT of the FUT participle.

(104) i. *xinni y tustar pls töreeleкке irt par yannar*
 ['interesting'] ['time'-PL] ['we'] ['be.born'-UNACCOMPL-DAT] ['pass'] [PERF.IIb-
 PAST.I-PL]
 'there were interesting times before we were born'

adi tur yalaxxax, oŋ aza yin izer xamayinaŋ azira tastap, tüzIre seŋIrlblsken
 ['horse'-3] ['stand'-UNACCOMPL-DAT-EMPH] ['right'] ['leg'-3.ACC] ['saddle']
 ['front.part'-3-ABL] ['through'] ['throw'-CV] ['lower'-CV] ['jump'-PERF-PAST.I]
 'long before his horse stopped, he threw his right leg from the front part of
 the saddle and jumped down'

ii. *min kilerge pes odin sal*
 ['I'] ['come'-FUT-DAT] ['stove'] ['firewood'] ['put']
 'put wood on the stove before I come'

Also, a participle functioning as the complement of a verb in the main clause receives the DAT case if the verb requires nominal objects in the DAT. Usually this is in the possessive form of the DAT, but on occasion one may encounter participle forms in the non-possessive DAT in such constructions.

(105) i. *ol sinŋ kilerIŋe u yaa örlner*
 ['he'] ['you'-GEN] ['come'-FUT-2-DAT] ['very'] ['be.happy'-FUT]
 'he'll be very happy that you are coming'

min xinminčam, aniŋ paribisxanina
 ['I'] ['like'-NEG-PRES.I-1] [3.GEN] ['go'-PERF-PAST-3-DAT]
 'I don't like that he left'

pis'momni alip al yanina Izenčem
 ['letter'-1-ACC] ['take'-CV] [SBEN-PAST-3-DAT] ['hope'-PRES.I-1]
 'I hope he got my letter'

ol yannarniŋ am ya teere aylanminčatxannarina sa yisirapčam
 ['child'-PL-GEN] ['now'-DAT] ['until'] ['return'-NEG-PRES-PL-3-DAT] ['worry'-
 PRES.I-1]
 'I'm worried that the children haven't returned before now'

ii. *sin kilgenge, pls örlnčebls*
 ['you'] ['come'-PAST-DAT] ['we'] ['be.happy'-PRES.I-1PL]
 'we're happy you came'

ot to yizi čaxsi parčatxan ya, sovxoz to yinžulari tiŋ örlngenner
 ['grass'] ['work'-3] ['good'] ['go'-PRES-DAT] ['sovxoz'] ['worker'-PL-3] ['very']
 ['be.happy'-PAST.I-PL]
 'the sovxoz workers were very happy that the gathering of the hay went so well'

The LOC case of a participle in Xakas often expresses a temporally subordinate clause. As usual, Class-III inflections index the person of the SUBJ in such LOC participial constructions. The exact nature of the temporal relation of the action of the subordinate clause with respect to the action of the main verb is primarily determined by the semantics of the participle affix itself, e.g. in the FUT and the UNACCOMPL, the function is more or less identical to the DAT case discussed above (i.e. 'before'-clauses), in the various PAST or PRES forms on the other hand, it corresponds to 'when' clauses. The use of a LOC case form of a participle is a widespread feature of Turkic, found in many different modern and older Turkic languages, and other Siberian languages as well (see

Cheremisina 1984). Note that in this function, the LOC can attach not only to participial forms, but to nominal forms of various types as well, including forms already in the LOC case, e.g. *ol Asxistada* ['he'] ['Askiz'-LOC-LOC] 'when he is/was in Askiz'.

(106)

sala ča yinnaanda, siray-čüzl körInblsken
 ['a.little'] ['get.near'-PAST-LOC] ['face']-['face'-3] ['see'-RFLXV-PERF-PAST.I]
 'when he got a little closer, his face became visible'

xažan payda to yinžanda, plrdee minda y polbažanzij
 ['when'] ['rich'-LOC] ['work'-HABIT-(2)-LOC] ['never'] ['thus'] ['be'-NEG-HABIT.PAST-2]

'when you worked at the rich man's (house), you were never that way'

klrleste tur yan, xažan oris sem'yazi čaydapčatxanda
 ['porch'-LOC] ['stand'-PAST.I] ['when'] ['Russian'] ['family'-3] ['approach'-PRES-LOC]
 '(he) stood on the porch when the Russian family was approaching'

Lyuda ürgeŋ pörIk prayzina čitpeedegde, pasxa xizižaxtar porčo üzerge čügürIskleenner
 ['L.'] ['plait'-PAST] ['cap'] ['all'-3-DAT] ['suffice'-NEG-HYPOTH-LOC] ['other'] ['girl'-PL] ['flower'] ['pick'-INF] ['run'-RECIP-ITER-PAST.I-PL]
 'when there weren't enough of the hats that Lyuda plaited for everyone, some other girls ran off to pick flowers'

irge parip ür dee čurtaalaxta, čaa pastalibisxan
 ['man'-DAT] ['go'-CV] ['long.time'] [EMPH] ['live'-UNACCOMPL-LOC] ['war'] ['begin'-PASS-PERF-PAST.I]
 'before (I) had been married a long time, the war began'

čiliy pastirda minl sür sixxannar
 ['meeting'] ['begin'-FUT-LOC] ['I'-ACC] ['drive.away'] [INCH-PAST.I-PL]
 'before the meeting began, they drove me away'

Another function of the LOC of the (PAST) participle is to express a causally subordinate clause. This is not as frequently used as the above temporal use of the LOC in subordinate clauses.

(107)

nařmir čaap sixxanda min kil polbaam
 ['rain'] ['precipitate'-CV] [INCH-PAST.I] ['I'] ['come'] [CAPAB-NEG-PAST.I-1]
 'because it started to rain I couldn't come'

par tlp čooxtaanda, paribisxam
 ['go'] ['say'-CV] ['speak'-PAST-LOC] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-1]
 'I went because you said go'

The P/E case form of the PAST participle forms a special type of temporal clause, corresponding to clauses introduced by 'until' in English. In traditional descriptions of Xakas (e.g. Dyrenkova 1948, Baskakov and Inkizheikova-Grekul' 1953, Domožhakov and

Chankova 1963, Karpov 1966, Baskakov et al. 1975), the combination -GANŽA is not considered to be a case form of a participle, but rather a special kind of gerund, the so-called 'future' or 'future limited' gerund. However, based strictly on a formal division of these two constructions, i.e. participles allow formal indexing of the sentence's subject while gerunds do not, one must consider this to be a P/E case form of the PAST participle.

(108)

min anda özl p-teenlp al yanža pol yabin
 ['I'] ['there'] ['grow'-CV] ['open'-CV] [PERF.II-PAST-P/E] ['be'-PAST.I-1]
 'I was there until it grew and opened'

min ariy arazinda klr par yanža, čooxtabassiŋ, kör
 ['I'] ['forest'] ['between'-3-LOC] ['enter'] [PERF.IIb-PAST-P/E] ['speak'-NEG.FUT-2] ['look']
 'look, don't talk until I've entered the forest'

InekterIŋ min dee saam aylan yaniŋža
 ['cow'-PL-2] ['I'] [EMPH] ['milk'-PAST.I-1] ['return'-PAST-2-P/E]
 'I milked your cows until you returned'

Aside from expressing performance of an action until the performance of the action of the main clause, the P/E form of the PAST participle may also express an action performed simultaneous to another one, i.e. 'while Xing'.

(109)

peer čitkenImže, ügrem soop parča
 ['to.here'] ['reach'-PAST-1-P/E] ['soup'-1] ['cool.down'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PRES.I]
 'my soup was cooling while getting here'

inženernl sa yaanža
 ['engineer'-ACC] ['wait'-PAST.I-P/E]
 'while waiting for the engineer'

slrer to yis toosxaniğarža, min aylan kilerbln
 ['y'all'] ['work'] ['finish'-PAST-2PL-P/E] ['I'] ['return'] [CLOC-FUT-1]
 'while y'all finish up working I'm going to go home'

ibge čitkenblsče, uluy čil pol kilgen
 ['house'-DAT] ['reach'-PAST-1PL-P/E] ['big'] ['wind'] ['become'] [PERF.IId-PAST.I]
 'while we were reaching the house a great wind whipped up'

The CIR case form of the participle also has a role in Xakas complex sentences. The primary function of this case form is to form clauses that express a causally subordinate clause.

(110)

püün nařmirli y kün pol yannarar, pls paléxtir ya parbaabis
 ['today'] ['rain'-ADJ] ['day'] ['be'-PAST-CIR] ['we'] ['fish'-INF] ['go'-NEG-PAST.I-1PL]
 'because today was rainy we didn't go fishing'

to yinar ya arđayi čaxsi polčatxannarar

['work'-INF] ['condition'3] ['good'] ['be'-PRES-CIR]
'because the working conditions are good'

minlŋ sputniŋlm čolni čaxsi pllgennepər
['my'] ['fellow.traveler'-1] ['road'-ACC] ['good'] ['know'-PAST.I-CIR]
'because my fellow traveler knew the way well'

Like the DAT (and ACC), verbs that require a nominal complement in the CIR case also require participles to be in this case when used in sentences with sentential complements.

(111)

ol maŋat to yinčatxannaŋar, pls gazetada xi yŋr yabis
['he'] ['very.well'] ['work'-PRES-CIR] ['we'] ['newspaper'-LOC] ['read'-PAST.I-IPL]
'we read about how well he works in the newspaper'

ol poziniŋ čurtaaninaŋar plske čooxtaan
[3] ['self'-3-GEN] ['live'-PAST.II-3-CIR] ['we'-DAT] ['say'-PAST.I]
'he told us about how he lived'

Unlike most of the other cases discussed above, the (non-possessive) ABL form of participles is mostly found with postpositions that govern the ABL case. These are predominantly temporally subordinate clauses. On occasion, these can be found without any postposition, and thus the ABL case alone marks the relation.

(112)

i. *ool yim ügrenerge par yannaŋ ala, plr čil irtlp pardi*
['son'-1] ['study'-INF] ['go'-PAST-ABL] ['since'] ['one'] ['year'] ['pass'-CV] [PERF.IIb-PAST.II]
'one year has passed since my son went off to study'

timlr čol püdlrlgennepər, gorod özlblsken
['railroad'] ['build'-PASS-PAST-ABL] ['since'] ['city'] ['grow'-PERF-PAST.I]
'after the railroad was built the city began to grow'

ii. *postari par yannaŋ, ax malin ya püür teen aŋ klrbeendlr*
['self'-PL-3] ['go'-PAST-ABL] ['white'] ['livestock'-3-DAT] ['wolf'] ['enter'-NEG-PAST.I-EMPH]
'since they left wolves haven't attacked their first-rate livestock'

In addition, verbs which govern the ABL case of nominals, also require the ABL case of sentential complements expressed by a participle (which like the DAT, always appears in the possessed form).

(113)

ool yim ayiribizarinaŋ xorixčam
['son'-1] ['be.sick'-FUT-3-ABL] ['fear'-PRES.I-1]
'I'm scared my son will be sick'

mallar xira ya klr pararinaŋ xorixčam
['livestock'-PL] ['plowed.field'-DAT] ['enter'] [TLOC-FUT-3-ABL] ['fear'-PRES.I-1]
'I'm scared that the livestock will go into the plowed field'

The INS case of a participle also plays a role in forming subordinate clauses in Xakas. Possessed forms of the FUT participle in the INS case expresses an action which immediately precedes the action of the main verb (Donidze 1955). Note, however, that in the possessive declension (and for various Sayai Xakas speakers generally) the ABL and INS are homophonous.³⁹ Either one of these case forms could semantically underlie this specialized usage so this issue cannot be resolved on the basis of case semantics. INS forms of participles are also found when various INS-governing postpositions appear with sentential objects rather than simplex nominal ones. No restrictions of participle type are noted in these indisputable uses of the INS case forms of participles, although the possessive declension is again the norm here.

(114)

i. *naŋmir toxtirinaŋ ol yannaŋ čul xazinŋar paribixannaŋ*
['rain'] ['stop'-FUT-3-INS] ['child'-PL] ['river'] ['bank'-3-ALL] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-PL]
'as soon as the rain stopped the children went to the river bank'

direktor klrerIneŋ, ol tur kilgen
['director'] ['enter'-FUT-3-INS] ['he'] ['stand'] [PERF.IId-PAST.I]
as soon as the director came in, he stood up'

ibge kilerlbsteŋ, suya somar ya par yabis⁴⁰
['house'-DAT] ['come'-1PL-INS] ['water'-DAT] ['swim'-INF] ['go'-PAST.I-1PL]
'as soon as we came home, we went swimming'

ii. *at tuy ya yi tazilaaninaŋ xada*
['horse'] ['hoof'-3] ['pound'-PAST-3-INS] ['with']
'together with the pounding of the horse's hooves'

Note that in complex sentences with a series of dependent predicates, a non-ACC case generally appears on only the last of the sequence of subordinate predicates, the other predicates, if not in a converb form, appear in the 3.ACC form.

(115)

apsaxtiŋ čoo yin ispeečlk polip, xam xayda y töleg al yanin, xayda y as-tamaxtaŋ siylatxanin paza ani xayda y aarlasnaŋ udurlaannarinaŋar čooxtap sixxan
['old.man'-GEN] ['speech'-3.ACC] ['hear'-NEG-PRETEND] ['be'-CV] ['shaman'] ['payment'] ['take'-PAST-3.ACC] ['which'] ['grain'-ABL] ['treat'-PAST-3.ACC] ['and'] [3.ACC] ['which'] ['respect'-INS] ['meet'-PAST-PL-3-CIR] ['speak'-CV] [INCH-PAST.I]
'pretending like he didn't here what the old said, the shaman began to speak about what kind of payment he took, which foods they treated him to, and how respectfully they met him'

³⁹ Except that since they are identical in every context, it is probably more accurate to say that these speakers of Sayai have no such ABL/INS distinction, and thus which case to assign this function to is irrelevant in this dialect.

⁴⁰ Note the ending -teŋ not *-neŋ as might be expected if this is indeed a construction in the INS and not the ABL case.

Another means of forming subordinate clauses is through the use of a lexical stem in the (-p) converb form followed by the adverbial particle *ala* 'while', perhaps etymologically an -A/i converb form of the verb *al-*. This generally expresses performing an action simultaneous to another action. Note also the quite similar use of the -A/i converb followed by the EMPH particle =IA discussed above, which complicates the question on the historical origin of this formation.

(116)

*amir xaraalarda otaxta čatčadip, Ax su yniñ xorlapčatxanin tiñnap ala
uzubisčarmin*
['gurgle'-PRES-3.ACC] ['listen'-CV] ['while'] ['sleep'-PERF-HABIT.PAST-1]
'during peaceful nights lying in the hut I would fall asleep listening to the
gurgling of the White river'

Ani, xatxirip ala, oylabisxan
['A.'] ['laugh'-CV] ['while'] ['ran'-PERF-PAST.I]
'Ani ran off laughing'

Complement clauses (including *tlp* clauses)

Complement clauses, like all subordinate structures in Xakas, generally precede main clauses, though this is not rigidly upheld. According to Subrakova (1980: 36) *tlp* - marked subordinate clauses may follow rather than precede the main verb when the subordinate clause is under 'logical stress'. For some main verb predicates, the complement clause appears in a participial form, case marked according to the subcategorization frame of the main clause verb. A further type of complement clause is found in Xakas with a tense-marked subordinate predicate (with main-verb tense affixes, not participial ones), followed by the complementizer *tlp*, literally 'having said, saying'. This is generally used when the clause is subordinated to a verb with the meaning 'say', 'ask', 'think', 'imagine', etc. One of the characteristic features of this type of construction in Xakas is that the logical subject may appear in the ACC case, with the predicate obligatorily third person singular; other formations can also be used with an ACC-marked logical subject lacking the complementizer *tlp*. Another function of *tlp* is to mark a preceding subordinate clause of purpose, whose predicate is neither in a participial or a TMA-marked form, but rather in the third person imperative form.

(117)

i. *paribisxaniñ xomay, tiñ xomay*
['go'-PERF-PAST-2] ['bad'] ['very'] ['bad']
'it is bad that you left, very bad'

min xinminčam, aniñ paribisxanina
['I'] ['be.satisfied.w/-NEG-PRES.I-1] [3-GEN] ['go'-PERF-PAST.I-3.DAT]
'I wasn't happy that he left'

mallar xirağa klr pararınañ xorixčam
['cattle'-PL] ['field'-DAT] ['enter'] [TLOC-FUT-3.ABL] ['fear'-PRES.I-1]
'I'm scared that the cattle will get over into the field'

ii. *naa čaban, noğa ol oolni čazirča ni tlp, sa yin salyan*
['new'] ['shepherd'] ['why'] ['that'] ['boy'-ACC] ['hide'-PRES.I] [ni] [COMP] ['think']
[PERF.IIa-PAST.I]
'the new shepherd thought why is that boy hiding'

su yni tireñ tlp, pls kizerge xorix tur yabis
['water'-ACC] ['deep'] [COMP] ['we'] ['cross'-INF] ['fear'] [ITER.II-PAST.I-1PL]
'(thinking) the water was deep we were scared to cross it'

Kanoy tuğmamni kıldl tlp, sa yin par yam
['Kanoy'] ['y.bro'-1-ACC] ['come'-PAST.II] [COMP] ['think'] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1]
'I thought that my younger brother Kanoy came'

minl⁴¹ xaydi dee kiler tlp, ar yistarim Izenčettlr
['I'-ACC] ['which/how'] [EMPH] ['come'-FUT] [COMP] ['comrade-PL-1] ['hope'-
EVID.PRES]
'my comrades (apparently) hoped that I'll come'

iii. *xaraamni töbln tutčam, Izlg častar srleze tüspezinner tlp*
['eye'-1-ACC] ['down'] ['hold'-PRES.I-1] ['hot'] ['tear-PL] ['shake'-RECIP-CV]
[UNEXP-NEG-3.IMPER-PL] [COMP]
'I lower my eyes so that the hot tears wouldn't flood forth'

pozina pfree nime alip alzin tlp, kömes axča pirdlm
['self-3-DAT] ['some'] ['thing'] ['take'-CV] [SBEN-3.IMPER] [COMP] ['little']
['money'] ['give'-PAST.II-1]
'I gave (him) a little money so he could buy himself something'

iv. *min a yamnañ ninže častıy polarziñ tlp suribisxam*
['I'] ['grandfather'-1-ABL] ['how.many'] [age-ADJ] ['be'-FUT-2] [COMP] ['ask'-
PERF-PAST.I-1]
'I asked my grandfather how old he was'

čistek teererge tlp, könek tudinip aldım
['berry'] ['gather'-INF] [COMP] ['bucket'] ['carry'-CV] [SBEN-PAST.II-1]
'I took a bucket to gather berries'

kızler ol pomni pal yir ya tlp timnepčeler
['people'] ['that'] ['sheaf'-ACC] ['tie'-INF] [COMP] ['prepare'-PRES.I-PL]
'the people are preparing to tie those sheaves'

v. *abamni kilgen tfzem, am daa kilbeendr*
['father'-1-(ACC)] ['come'-PAST.I] ['say'-CONDIT-1] ['now'] [EMPH] ['come'-NEG-
EVID.PAST]
'if I said my father had come, it seems he hasn't yet come'

Non-participial Relative Clauses

Under the influence of Russian, Xakas has innovated the use of a relative pronoun with a finite verb in constructions where participial forms might be expected. As in Russian, the relative pronoun appears initially in the relative clause in the structurally-appropriate case following the clause containing the noun it modifies. Examples (Baskakov et al. 1975: 400, 403; Anzhiganova 1980: 61-2) include those found in (118). Other presumably calqued

⁴¹ According to Baskakov et al (1975: 390), the ACC case is only obligatory with pronouns in these constructions, e.g. *minl* not **min*, whereas with nouns a form in the NOM is possible. However, on this very same page they give two variants of a sentence one with the form *olar* and one with *olarni*.

constructions (Baskakov et al. 1975: 401) with different relative pronouns are also found (119).

(118)

pu ol kızı poltir, xayzin pls ürdeñ peer körglep çörbls
 ['this'] ['that'] ['person'] ['be'-EVID.PAST] ['which'-3.ACC] ['long.time'-ABL] ['since']
 ['see'-ITER-CV] [PRES.IVb-1PL]
 'it seems this was the person we've been looking for for so long'

pls çalyş azax çolça par yabis, xayzi ta yni iblre parçatxan
 ['we'] ['footpath'-P/E] ['go'-PAST.I-1PL] ['which'-3] ['mountain'-ACC] ['around'] ['go'-
 IMPERF]
 'we took the footpath that went around the mountain'

*İki kün irtkende, Xapçul aaldañ redaksiyazar pis'mo kilgen, xayzında sovxoz
 upravlyayuş ayınar pastir*
 ['two'] ['day'] ['pass'-PAST-LOC] ['X.'] ['village'-ABL] ['editorial.office'-ALL] ['letter']
 ['come'-PAST.II] ['which'-3-LOC] ['sovxoz'] ['manager'-3-CIR] ['write'-EVID.PAST]
 'when two days had passed, a letter from Xapçul village came to the editorial office, in
 which the sovxoz manager was (apparently) written about'

*mindä önetin ştab töstelgen, xayzınan stancıyanın pastı yınıñ orinži Radişevsky ar yis
 ustapça*
 ['here'] ['special'] ['staff'] ['organize'-PASS-PAST.II] ['which'-3-INS] ['station'-GEN]
 ['chief'-3-GEN] ['deputy'-3] ['R.'] ['comrade'] ['lead'-PRES.I]
 'a special staff was organized here, which the station's deputy chief, comrade
 Radishevsky is heading up'

*çon deputattarı arazında as nimes kızıler, xayzilari, postarınıñ öön to yistarında çaxsi
 İstenip*
 ['people'] ['deputy'-PL-3] ['among'] ['few'] ['not'] ['person'-PL] ['which'-PL-3] ['self'-PL-
 3-GEN] ['native'] ['work'-PL-3-LOC] ['well'] ['perform'-PRES.I]
 'there are among the peoples' deputies not a few who perform well at their own affairs'

(119)

püün klubta anday çaxsi koncert pol yan, xayda yni min am daa körgeem
 ['today'] ['club'-LOC] ['such.a'] ['good'] ['concert'] ['which'-ACC] ['I'] ['now'=EMPH]
 ['see'-PAST.I-1]
 'today there was such a good concert, the likes of which I've never seen'

ol tayyada, xaydar pls taıda pararbıs, añ daa xuzux taa köp
 ['that'] ['taiga'-LOC] ['to.where'] ['we'] ['tomorrow'] ['go'-FUT-1PL] ['animal' EMPH]
 ['nut' EMPH] ['alot']
 'there are alot of animals and nuts in the taiga we're going to tomorrow'

3.4 Particles and Clitics

There are a range of particles and clitics commonly encountered in Xakas, whose functions range from emphasis and contrast to marking an utterance as a question. From a formal standpoint, these fall into several subgroups, based on their distribution and assimilatory phonology. These subgroups include a) clitics/particles which are always of a particular shape, b) those with vowel harmony but with defective or incomplete consonant

harmony with the host word, and c) those which behave like affixes, with full vowel and consonant assimilation properties. The first group includes the particle (-)ni, which may optionally appear word internally, while group (b) includes =zA, group and =l/nA, and group (c) the common 'emphatic' clitic -D₂AA, the interrogative clitic -BA, and -OK 'also'. In interlinear glosses, most of these are listed as simply [EMPH] for 'emphatic', except -BA which is listed as [Q] for 'question clitic'. Examples of the various uses of these may be found in (120).

(120)

-D₂AA

ayaa am daa on to yis la ças
 [3.DAT] ['now'] [EMPH] ['19'] [EMPH] ['age']
 'even now he's only 19 years old'

pu to yisti idip, min mayix taa pardim
 ['this'] ['work'-ACC] ['do'-CV] ['I'] ['tired'] [EMPH] [PERF.IIb-PAST.II-1]
 'doing this work I almost got tired'

çe amdi ayırın daa polza, parañ
 ['but'] ['now'] ['slow'] [EMPH] ['be'-CONDIT] ['go'-1DL]
 'so now let us two go, slowly'

çe, çarır, sin dee itkeyziñ *pls tee polisxaybis*
 ['well'] ['OK'] ['you'] [EMPH] ['do'-OPT-2] ['we'] [EMPH] ['help'-OPT-1PL]
 'well, OK, you do it!' 'all right, we'll help'

Ninani plzem dee, no ya-da tanibaaçix polyan
 ['Nina'-ACC] ['know'-CONDIT-1] [EMPH] ['why'-EMPH] ['know.someone'-NEG-
 PRETEND] [AUX-PAST.I-1]
 'although I know Nina, for some reason I acted like I don't'

=zA

ol za minneñ tabrax çügürçe
 ['he'] [EMPH] ['I'-ABL] ['fast'] ['run'-PRES.I]
 '(even) he runs faster than me'

idi paririp, kör kili ze, çol xazında xarayı çox aspax odırça⁴²
 ['thus'] ['go'-PRES.III-CV] ['see'] [CLOC-PRES.III] [EMPH] ['road'] ['egde'-3-LOC]
 ['eye'-3] ['no'] ['old.man'] ['sit'-PRES.I]
 'having gone thus, he has a look (and notices that) a blind old man is sitting
 on the edge of the road'

=l/nA

minneñ pasxa püürler le plledirgen çollarça apararbin
 ['I'-ABL] ['besides'] ['wolf'-PL] [EMPH] ['know'-HABIT.PRES] ['road'-PL-P/E]
 ['take'-FUT-1]
 'I will take roads, that aside from me, are known only to the wolves'

⁴²Note the metathesis in the work for 'old man' *aspax* instead of *apsax* that is characteristic of the speech of certain (especially Sayai) Xakas speakers.

no ya la anday xiyal itlnim

['why'] [EMPH] ['such'] ['misfortune'] ['do'-PAST.II-ni-1]
'why did only I have such misfortune?'

no ya la sizlnmežer poldinim sinlŋ pldi polčaxaniğni

['why'] [EMPH] ['notice'-NEG-INTRG] [AUX-PAST.II-ni-1] ['you'-GEN]
['thus'] ['be'-PRES-2-ACC]
'why did only I not notice how you behaved'

tarinmarğardax la

[be.angry'-NEG-2PL-POL] [EMPH]
'just please don't be angry'

noo la tapsadim, sim na polbažar ma

['what.a'] [EMPH] ['make.sound'-PAST.II-1] ['quiet'] [EMPH] ['be'-NEG-INTRG] [Q]
'how is it that (only) I made a sound and didn't (sit and) be quiet?'

oynap, mal xadarip, iköleŋ ne čörčetčermls

['play'-CV] ['livestock'] ['tend'] ['2'-coll.#] [EMPH] ['walk'-PRES.I-HABIT.PAST-IPL]
'whether playing or tending livestock, the two of us always went together'

xažan daa to yassa, aniğ ulu y nimes kimezInde palix par la polžar

['when'] [EMPH] ['meet'-RECIP-CONDIT] [3.GEN] ['big'] ['not'] ['boat'-3-LOC]
['fish'] ['there.is'] [EMPH] [AUX-HABIT.PAST]
'whenever one would meet him, he would almost always have fish in his little boat'

künnlŋ ne say čör turzar, ügreder klzl tabilar

['day'-GEN] [EMPH] ['every'] ['walk'] [ITER.II-CONDIT-2] ['teach'-FUT] ['person']
['find'-PASS-FUT]
'if you go every day, a person to teach (you) will be found'

(-)ni

no ya la anday xiyal itlnim

['why'] [EMPH] ['such'] ['misfortune'] ['do'-PAST.II-ni-EMPH-1]
'why did only I have such misfortune?'

no ya la plbežer poldinim pasxa klzl klzl polčaxanin

['why'] [EMPH] ['know'-NEG-INTRG] [AUX-PAST.II-ni -1] ['other'] ['person']
['person'] ['be'-PRES-3-ACC]
'how is it that I didn't know that other people are (also) people?'

xaydi ol klzl anday čirde xorixpažar poldini

['how'] ['that'] ['person'] ['such.a'] ['place'-LOC] ['fear'-NEG-INTRG] [AUX-PAST.II-ni]
'how was that person not scared in such a place'

naa čaban, no ya ol oolni čazirča ni tlp, sayin salyan

['new'] ['shepherd'] ['why'] ['that'] ['boy'-ACC] ['hide'-PRES.I] [ni] ['say'-CV] ['think']
[PERF.IIa-PAST.I]
'the new shepherd thought why is that boy hiding'

-OK

min Ikl künnegök minda polarbin

['I'] ['two'] ['day'-ABL-EMPH] ['this'-LOC] ['be'-FUT-1]
'in only two days I'll be here'

olar körgennerök

['they'] ['see'-PAST.I-PL-EMPH]
'they also walked'

olar körgenöktar

['they'] ['walk'-PAST.I-EMPH-PL]
'they also walked'

türče le tünep alaryä çatsox, aniğ alında Galya turibisča

['at.the.moment'] [EMPH] ['lay.down.for.night'-CV] [PERF.IIc-INF] ['lie.down'-CONDIT-EMPH]. [3.GEN] ['front'-3-LOC] ['G.'] ['stand'-PERF-PRES.I]
'at the very moment he lay down for the night, Galya is standing in front of him'

sin klubsar parbazağ, min ibde ox xalam

['you'] ['club'-ALL] ['go'-NEG-CONDIT-2] ['I'] ['house'-LOC] ['too'] ['stay'-FUT-1]
'since you're not going to the club, I'm going to stay home too'

-BA

sIrer xakastap čooxtapčazar ba?

['y.all'] ['Xakas'-VSF-CV] ['speak'-PRES.I-2PL] [Q]
'do you speak Xakas?'

Ikl be, üs pe kün pazinağ Panyuk klr čör

['two'] [Q] ['three'] [Q] ['head'-3-ABL] ['P'] ['enter'] [PRES.IVc]
'after two or three days Panyuk enters'

čirImnerer čooxtap pirim me?

['land'-1-CIR] ['speak'-CV] ['give'-1-IMPER] [Q]
'may I tell you about my homeland?'

noo la tapsadim, sim na polbažar ma

['what.a'] [EMPH] ['make.sound'-PAST.II-1] ['quiet'] [EMPH] ['be'-NEG-INTRG] [Q]
'how is it that (only) I made a sound and didn't (sit and) be quiet?'

kületees, par körbežer me kölzer

['go.for.stroll'-CV] ['go'] [ATTEMPT-NEG-INTRG] [Q] ['lake'-ALL]
'to go for a stroll, why don't we try to go down to the lake?'

4. Sample text (with interlinear glosses)

4.1 Preliminary Remarks

This text was recorded in December, 1997 in Abakan, Xakasia. The informant was a forty five year old sketch artist who contacted me through a Xakas-language advertisement I had placed. His speech has several interesting characteristics well known in Xakas dialectology literature (Patachakova, r.d. (1973), Anzhiganova et al., eds. (1992)), including the loss of syllable final -r in certain grammatical affixes, e.g. the PL, the ALL and the INF, the occasional use of *i* for *a* (*pabim* 'my father', *klasliŋ* 'from the class'), etc. Also, the text

exhibits various rapid speech phenomena, for example the near complete lack of the syllable -Vb- in the PERF affix, loss of unstressed I, etc., as well as various idiosyncratic forms, e.g. the infixation-like use of case inflection on the first of a lexicalized two-part nominal compound (the INS form of 'twin'), unexpected stem forms (*čayiγi* 'summer' or *čörü-* 'move, walk'), the use of [i] for [I] in certain forms, or the use of a 1PL possessive with first singular possessed nouns in sentence 5. Note the use of *nime(zl)* as a hesitation particle [HES] 'um'/uh', that is characteristic of the spoken vernacular Xakas of Abakan.

4.2 Text

Life story, 45 year old man, Abakan, Xakasia:

- 1) *min töreem Uybit čazida Toomičik aalda, xažanax polyan x(i)rinde T(I)rey aal.*
[I] ['be.bom'-PAST.I-1] ['Uybat'] ['steppe'-LOC] ['Toomichik'] ['village'-LOC]
['former'] ['near'] ['Tirey'] ['village']
- 2) *Tlrey aalda min pidi čurtaam. čurtaabis.*
[Tirey] ['village'-LOC] [I] ['thus'] ['live'-PAST.I-1] ['live'-PAST.I-1PL]
- 3) *ižem-pabam čurtaanna(r) Tirey aalda, a pozim Toomičik aalda.*
[mother'-1] [father'-1] [live'-PAST.I-PL] [Tirey] ['village'-LOC] ['but'] ['self'-1]
[Toomichik] ['village'-LOC]
- 4) *pistlŋ semyabis uluγ polyan.*
[we'-GEN] ['family-1PL] ['big'] ['be'-PAST.I]
- 5) *plstlŋ ižem-pabam, alti pali polyan(r) plstŋ xada.*
[we'-GEN] [mother'-1] [father'-1] [6] ['child'] ['be'-PAST.I-PL] [we'-INS] ['with']
- 6) *min töreem... Ikl(s)žeketŋ-xara öskeem Tlrey aalda.*
[I] ['be.bom'-PAST.I-1] [twin'..-INS..'twin'] ['grow.up'-PAST.I-1] [Tirey] ['village'-LOC]
- 7) *pabim to yin yan xoy xadarap, ižem minneŋ ide odirip, (I)k(I)žeketŋ-xara min čörügem pabima poliza(r)ya xoy xadara(r)ya.*
[father'-1] [work'-PAST.I] [sheep] ['tend'-CV] [mother'-1] [I-INS] [thus] ['sit'-CV]
[twin'..-INS..'twin'] [I] [move'-PAST.I-1][father'-1-DAT] ['help'-INF] [sheep] ['tend'-INF]
- 8) *čörgebls..nimezl..taγza(r) čörgebls*
[move'-PAST.I-1PL] [HES] ['mountain'-ALL] [move'-PAST.I-1PL]
- 9) *čayiγida xisxida Uybat čazida xoy xadarap turγabis.*
[summer'-LOC] [winter'-LOC] ['Uybat'] ['steppe'-LOC] [sheep] ['tend'-CV]
[ITER.II-PAST.I-1PL]
- 10) *anaŋ..nime.kömes..pls..parip...min...nimezl..parγam.*
[then] [HES] ['a.little'] [we] ['go'-CV] [I] [HES] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1]
- 11) *išxanna(r) minl, ižem-pabam, Aγbanza(r), natsional'niy školaza(r).*
[send'-PAST.I-PL] [I-ACC] [parents'-1] ['Abakan'-ALL] ['national'] ['school'-ALL]
- 12) *natsionaliy školada ügrenlp, pis klasstŋ pastaam.*

- [national] ['school'-LOC] ['study'-CV] ['five'] ['class'-ABL!] ['begin'-PAST.I-1]
- 13) *anaŋ sigls klassta minl sa(γ)arit(ib)išxanna(r), tlp xomay ügrenčl pola(r)--*
[then] [8] ['grade'-LOC] [me] ['worry.about'-PERF-PAST.I-PL] [say'-CV] ['bad']
[student] ['be'-FUT]
- 14) *he-he plr dee aalix..nime..xoy xadarlar ya küs.*
(laughs) [one'-EMPH] ['bumpkin'] [HES] [sheep] ['herd'-PL-DAT] ['strength']
- 15) *anaŋ..nimezl..raykov školaa parγam.*
[then] [HES] ['regional'] ['school'-DAT] [go'-PAST.I-1]
- 16) *raykov školada ügrenlp anda toosxam on klass.*
[regional] ['school'-LOC] ['study'-CV] [there] ['finish'-PAST.I-1] [ten] ['grade']
- 17) *toozip alip, par(ib)išxam armiyazar.*
[finish'-CV] [PERF.IIc-CV] [go'-PERF-PAST.I-1] [army'-ALL]
- 18) *armiyada služit' polip, kilgem, ..kilgem min armiyaa...*
[army'-LOC] [serve] [AUX-CV] [come'-PAST.I-1] [come'-PAST.I-1] [I] [army'-DAT]
- 19) *Chitadaŋ... Chitinskiy... Chitada služit' polγam, xudožnik polip, xooš xoostasčl.*
[Chita'-ABL] [Chitinsky] [Chita'-LOC] [serve] [AUX-PAST.I-1] [artist] [be'-CV]
[drawing] [sketcher]
- 20) *anaŋ killp armiyaniŋ soonu parγam ügrene(r)ge, Chernogorskiy učiliš'eze(r).*
[then] [come'-CV] [army'-GEN] [end'-3] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1] [study'-INF]
[Chernogorsky] [college'-ALL]
- 21) *anaŋ toozip minl išxanna(r) Taymirze(r).*
[then] [finish'-CV] [I-ACC] [send'-PAST.I-PL] [Taymir'-ALL]
- 22) *Xatanga poselok. uγaa sook člr.*
[Xatanga] ['settlement'] [very] ['cold'] ['land']
- 23) *to yin γam tört čil.*
[work'-PAST.I-1] [four] [year]
- 24) *xayda daa pasxa čonnar; anda daa dolγannar, nenecter, nganasannar čurttapčalar, kizižek čonnar.*
[everywhere] [other] [people'-PL][there] [EMPH] [Dolgan'-PL] [Nenets'-PL]
[Nnganasan'-PL] [live'-PRES.I-PL] [small] [people'-PL]
- 25) *piske kömes tööyler, kižižekte(r).*
[we'-DAT] [a.little] [similar'-PL] [small'-PL]
- 26) *anaŋ severdeŋ killp...nimezl...parγam, Angarada to yinγam.*
[then] [north'-ABL] [come'-CV] [HES] [PERF.IIb-PAST.I-1] [Angara-LOC]
[work'-PAST.I-1]
- 27) *anaŋ Angara soonuŋ kilgem nandira Aγbanza(r).*

- [‘then’] [‘Angara’] [‘after’] [‘come’-PAST.I-1] [‘back’] [‘Abakan’-ALL]
- 28) *A ybanda kömes çurtap alip Pribaltikaza(r) par(ib)ixsam.*
[Abakan-LOC] [‘a.little’] [‘live’-CV] [SBEN-CV] [‘Pribaltika-ALL] [‘go’-PERF-PAST.I-1]
- 29) *Pribaltikada, Estoniyada, çurtaam kömes, plr çil.*
[‘Pribaltika’-LOC] [‘Estonia’-LOC] [‘live’-PAST.I-1] [‘a.little’] [‘one’] [‘year’]
- 30) *Anaḡ nandira kilgem.*
[‘then’] [‘back’] [‘come’-PAST.I-1]
- 31) *amda min çurtapçam, to yinçam min.*
[‘now’] [‘I’] [‘live’-PRES.I-1] [‘work’-PRES.I-1] [‘I’]
- 32) *xoos xoostip to yinçam, pos pozima.*
[‘drawing’] [‘draw’-CV] [‘work’-PRES.I-1] [‘self’] [‘self-I-DAT’]

Translation:

I was born on the Uybat steppe in the village of Toomichik, in the past near Tirey village. I lived..we lived like this in Tirey village. My parents lived in Tirey village, while I lived in Toomichik village. Our family was big. There were our parents and six of us children. I was born and raised with my twin in Tirey village. My father worked tending sheep, my mother sitting (at home) with me, and then I went with my twin to help my father tend sheep. We went..um..we went to the mountains. In the summer and winter we tended sheep on the Uybat steppe. Then, um, a little (later)..we, (no) I left. They sent me, my parents, to Abakan, to the national school. I studied in the national school, starting in the fifth grade. In the 8th grade they worried about me, saying I’d (always) be a bad student, you know, some kind of bumpkin, um, someone only good for tending sheep. Then, uh, I went to the regional school. I studied in the regional school, finishing the tenth grade. Having finished school, I went into the army. I went into the army..I came..I came into the army. From Chita..um.. Chitinsky..uh, I served in Chita as an artist, a sketch artist. Then at the end of my time in the army I came (back) to study at Chernogorsk college. When I finished, I was sent to Taymir. The town of Xatanga--it’s a really cold place! I worked there for four years. Everywhere there are different peoples; the Dolgan, Nenets, and the Nganasan live *there*, they small peoples. They are a little like us, the small ones. Then I came..um...(back) from the North and I worked in Angara. Then after Angara I came back. I lived in Abakan a little and moved to the Baltic area. I lived there in the Baltic area, in Estonia for a little while, one year. Then I came back. Now I’m living (here) and working. I’m working for myself, doing sketches.

Appendix: Xakas Paradigms

PRES.I

	oyna-	at-	klr-	tile-	çurta-	çügür-
1	oynapçam	atçam	klrçem	tilepçem	çurtapçadirbin	çügürçedIrbIn
2	oynapçazıñ	atçazıñ	klrçezIñ	tilepçezıñ	çurtapçadirziñ	çügürçedIrzIñ
3	oynapça	atça	klrçe	tilepçe	çurtapçadır	çügürçedIr
1PL	oynapçabis	atçabis	klrçebİs	tilepçebİs	çurtapçadirbis	çügürçedIrbİs
2PL	oynapçazar	atçazar	klrçezzer	tilepçezzer	çurtapçadirzar	çügürçedIrzer

PRES.II

3PL	oynapçalar	atçalar	klrçeler	tilepçeler	çurtapçadırlar	çügürçedIrler
	‘play’	‘throw’	‘enter’	‘search’	‘live’	‘run’

PRES.III

1	parirbin	kilirbIn	parim	kilim
2	parirziñ	kilirziñ	pariziñ	kliziñ
3	parir	klir	pari	kili
1PL	parirbis	kilirbİs	paribis	kilibİs
2PL	parirzar	klirzer	parizar	klirzer
3PL	parirlar	klirler	parilar	kliler
	‘go’	‘come’	‘go’	‘come’

FUT

1	xastirbin	pIlerbIn	xastim	pIlem
2	xastirziñ	pIlerziñ	xastiziñ	pIlezIñ
3	xastir	pIler		
1PL	xastirbis	pIlerbİs	xastibis	pIlebİs
2PL	xastirzar	pIlerzer	xastizar	pIlezer
3PL	xastirlar	pIlerler		
	‘skin’	‘know’	‘skin’	‘know’

PAST.I

1	pIlgem	pasxam	pastaam	paryam	toḡam	çitken	külImzIreem
2	pIlgeziñ	pasxaziñ	pastaaziñ	paryaziñ	toḡaziñ	çitkeziñ	külImzIreeziñ
3	pIlgem	pasxan	pastaan	paryan	toḡan	çitken	külImzIreen
1PL	pIlgelbis	pasxabis	pastaabis	paryabis	toḡabis	çitkebis	külImzIreebis
2PL	pIlgazer	pasxazar	pastaazar	paryazar	toḡazar	çitkezer	külImzIreezer
3PL	pIlgenner	pasxannar	pastaannar	paryannar	toḡannar	çitkenner	külImzIreenener
	‘know’	‘write’	‘begin’	‘go’	‘freeze’	‘reach’	‘smile’

PAST.II

1	oynadim	istIm	tastaḡixpin	itçIkpIn
2	oynadiñ	istIñ	tastaḡixsiñ	itçIksIñ
3	oynadi	istI	tastaḡix	itçIk
1PL	oynadibis	istIbİs	tastaḡixpis	itçIkpİs
2PL	oynadar	ister	tastaḡixsar	itçIkser
2PLb	oynadiñar	istIñer	--	--
3PL	oynadilar	istIler	tastaḡixtar	itçIkter

PAST.III

IMPERF

1b	uzupçatxabin	kisçetkebin
1	uzupçatxam	kisçetkem
	uzupçatxaziñ	kisçetkeziñ
	uzupçatxan	kisçetken
	uzupçatxabis	kisçetkebis
	uzupçatxazar	kisçetkezer
	--	--
	uzupçatxannar	kisçetkenner

'play' 'hear' 'throw' 'do/make' 'sleep' 'cut'

UNACCOMPL.PAST

1	oynaalaxpin	tkkelekpIn	tojalaxpin	paryalaxpin	kilgelekpIn	pasxalaxpin
2	oynaalaxsinj	tkkeleksInj	tojalaxsinj	paryalaxsinj	kilgeleksInj	pasxalaxpinj
3	oynaalax	tkkelek	tojalax	paryalax	kilgelek	pasxalaxpin
1PL	oynaalaxpis	tkkelekpIs	tojalaxpis	paryalaxpis	kilgelekpIs	pasxalaxpis
2PL	oynaalaxsar	tkkelekser	tojalaxsar	paryalaxsar	kilgelekser	pasxalaxsar
3PL	oynaalaxtar	tkkelekter	tojalaxtar	paryalaxtar	kilgelekter	pasxalaxtar

'play' 'sew' 'freeze' 'go' 'come' 'write'

IMPER

1	irlim	çörim	adim
2	irla	çör	at
3	irlazin	çörzIn	atsin
12	irlaŋ	çöreŋ	adaŋ
1PL	irlaanjar	çöreŋer	adaŋar
1Plc	irlibis	çörlbIs	adibis
2PL	irlaŋar	çörlŋer	adiŋar
3PL	irlazinnar	çörzInner	atsinnar

'sing' 'walk' 'shoot'

EVID.PRES

1	oynapçattirbin	kilçettIrbIn
2	oynapçattirzinj	kilçettIrzInj
3	oynapçattir	kilçettIr
1PL	oynapçattirbis	kilçettIrbIs
2PL	oynapçattirzar	kilçettIrzer
3PL	oynapçattirlar	kilçettIrlar

'play' 'come'

HYPOTH

1	parıadaıbin	kilgedegbIn	oynaadaıbin	atxadaıbin	itkedegbIn	küsteedegbIn
2	parıadaızinj	kilgedegzInj	oynaadaızinj	atxadaızinj	itkedegzInj	küsteedegzInj
3	parıadaı	kilgedeg	oynaadaı	atxadaı	itkedeg	küsteedeg
1PL	parıadaıbis	kilgedegbIs	oynaadaıbis	atxadaıbis	itkedegbIs	küsteedegbIs
2PL	parıadaızar	kilgedegzer	oynaadaızar	atxadaızar	itkedegzer	küsteedegzer
3PL	parıadaılar	kilgedegler	oynaadaılar	atxadaılar	itkedegler	küsteedegler

'go' 'come' 'play' 'shoot' 'do' 'spend.autumt'

CONDIT

1	atsam	kilzem
2	atsaŋ	kilzeŋ
3	atsa	kilze
--	--	--
1PL	atsabis	kilzebIs
2PLb	atsaŋar	kilzeŋer
2PL	atsar	kilzer
3PL	atsalar	kilzeler

'shoot' 'come'

EVID.PAST

1	aŋnapırbın	kördIrbIn
2	aŋnapırzınj	kördIrzInj
3	aŋnapırbın	kördIr
1PL	aŋnapırbıs	kördIrbIs
2PL	aŋnapırbın	kördIrbIs
3PL	aŋnapırbın	kördIrbIs

'hunt' 'see'

OPT

parıaybın	kilgeybIn	atxaybın	oynaaybın	çitkeybIn	kıleeybIn
parıayzinj	kilgeyzInj	atxayzinj	oynaayzinj	çitkeyzInj	kıleeyzInj
parıay	kilgey	atxay	oynaay	çitkey	kıleey
parıaybis	kilgeybIs	atxaybis	oynaaybis	çitkeybIs	kıleeybIs
parıayzar	kilgeyzer	atxayzar	oynaayzar	çitkeyzer	kıleeyzer
parıaylar	kilgeyler	atxaylar	oynaaylar	çitkeyler	kıleeyler
'go'	'come'	'shoot'	'play'	'reach'	'search'

HABIT.PAST

1	atçam	kilžem	oynažam	kisçem	atçanmin
2	atçazinj	kilžezInj	oynažazinj	kisçezInj	atçanzin
3	atçan	kilžen	oynažan	kisçen	atçan
1PL	atçabis	kilžebIs	oynažabis	kisçebIs	atçanmis
2PL	atçazar	kilžezer	oynažazar	kisçezer	atçanzar
3PL	atçanjar	kilženjar	oynažanjar	kisçenjar	atçanjar
	'shoot'	'come'	'play'	'cut'	'shoot'

IRREALIS.I

1	pararžixpin	kileržIkpIn
2	pararžixsinj	kileržIksInj
3	pararžix	kileržIk
1PL	pararžixpis	kileržIkpIs
2PL	pararžixpsar	kileržIkser
3PL	pararžixtar	kileržIkter
	'go'	'come'

IRREALIS.II

parıayžixpin	çörgeyžIkpIn
parıayžixsinj	çörgeyžIksInj
parıayžix	çörgeyžIk
parıayžixpis	çörgeyžIkpIs
parıayžixsar	çörgeyžIkser
parıayžixtar	çörgeyžIkter
'go'	'walk'

IMPERF

1b	uzupçatxabin	kisçetkebIn
1	uzupçatxam	kisçetkem
2	uzupçatxazinj	kisçetkezInj
3	uzupçatxan	kisçetken
1PL	uzupçatxabis	kisçetkebIs
2PL	uzupçatxazar	kisçetkezer
3PL	uzupçatxannar	kisçetkenner
	'sleep'	'cut'

HABIT.PRES

1	oynidirbin	kiledIrbIn
2	oynidirzinj	kiledIrzInj
3	oynidir	kiledIr
1PL	oynidirbis	kiledIrbIs
2PL	oynidirzar	kiledIrbIs
3PL	oynidirlar	kiledIrlar
	'play'	'come'

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Abbreviations Used:

ABL	Ablative	ACC	Accusative	ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb(ial)	ALL	Allative	ATTEMPT	Attemptive
AUX	Auxiliary verb	BEN	Benefactive	CAPAB	Capabilitive
CAUS	Causative	CIR	Circumstantial	CUSTOM	Customary
CLOC	Cislocative	COMP	Complementizer	CONDIT	Conditional
CNC	Concessive	CV	Converb		
DAT	Dative	DC	Derivational Clitic	DIM	Diminutive
DL	Dual	DUR	Durative	EMPH	Emphatic
EPISOD	Episodic	EVID	Evidential	FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive	HABIT	Habitual	HYPOTH	Hypothetical
IMPERF	Imperfect	INDEF	Indefinite	INCH	Inchoative
INF	Infinitive	INS	Instrumental	INTRG	Interrogative
ITER	Iterative	LOC	Locative	NEG	Negative

PASS	Passive	PAST	Past	PERF	Perfect(ive)
P/CP	Predicative-Contrastive			POSS	Possessive
	Possessive				
PL	Plural	POL	Polite	PRES	Present
PRETEND	Pretendative	P/E	Prosecutive/Equative	Q	Question
RD	Reduplication	RECIP	Reciprocal	RFLXV	Reflexive
SBEN	Self-Benefactive			TLOC	Translocative
UNACCOMPL	Unaccomplished	VSF	Verb-Stem Formant		

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