Khakas

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Khakas

Abstract

This paper is devoted to the Khakas language, spoken in the Minusinsk Basin, Eastern Siberia, Russia. The number of Khakas speakers is about 40,000, and although Khakas is a state language of the Republic of Khakasia, it is endangered, especially its minor dialects. Documentation of Khakas began in the 19th century and has continued to the present day. The sample text recorded in 2015 is a dialogue between speakers of two main varieties of Khakas, the Kacha dialect and the Saghay dialect. Although the main speaker is of the older generation, there are many Russian borrowings in her speech. The paper gives an overview on the main phonetic and grammatical features of Khakas, with a particular focus on dialectal variations.

Key words: Khakas, Kacha dialect of Khakas, Saghay dialect of Khakas, Eastern Siberia, endangered language

Hakasça

Öz

Bu makale, Rusya'nın Doğu Sibirya bölgesinde bulunan Minusinsk Havzasında konuşulan Hakas dili üzerinedir. Hakasçanın konuşur sayısı yaklaşık 40.000'dir. Hakasça, Hakasya Cumhuriyeti'nin devlet dili olmasına rağmen, özellikle dilin küçük ağızları olmak üzere, yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan bir dildir. Hakasçanın günümüzde de hala devam etmekte olan belgelenme süreci 19. yüzyılda başlamıştır. 2015'te kaydedilen örnek metin, Hakasçanın iki ana değişkesi olan Kaça ve Sagay ağızları konuşurları arasındaki bir diyaloğu içerir. Eski kuşaktan olmasına rağmen ana konuşmacı çok sayıda Rusça ödünçleme kullanmaktadır. Bu yazı, özellikle ağızlar arası farklılıklara odaklanmak suretiyle, Hakasçanın temel fonetik ve gramer özellikleri üzerine genel bir tanıtım sunmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Hakasça, Hakasçanın Kaça ağzı, Hakasçanın Sagay ağzı, Doğu Sibirya, yok olma tehlikesi altındaki dil

Information about the language

The name "Khakas" is an invented term which is used for closely related Turkic tribes living in the Minusinsk Basin in Eastern Siberia, now the Republic of Khakasia, a region of Russia. Its capital is Abakan, which is situated near the confluence of the Abakan and Yenisey rivers. Khakasia borders the Krasnoyarsk region in the east and north, the Kemerovo region in the west, the Altai Republic in the southwest, and the Republic of Tuva in the southeast. The total Khakas population now is about 63,000, according to the 2010 census, representing 12% of the whole population of the Republic of Khakasia. The number of Khakas speakers is about 40,000 people.

The Khakas language is a cover term for the language varieties spoken by the Khakas tribes. In the 20th century standard Khakas was developed as an official state language. Now it is used in school education and as the second state language after Russian, for example, in official state documents, regional mass media, and as a national language in festivals and other cultural events. Standard Khakas is based on two central dialects, spoken by the Kacha and Saghay tribes. These are named the Abakan Tatars in the works of Radloff (1868) and Katanov (1897, 1907). The Saghay people mostly live in the southern part of Khakasia, centered on Askiz. Kacha speakers live in the villages near Abakan and also in the north of the republic, mainly in the Shira district. The Beltyr and the Koybal varieties, which are mentioned by Radloff and Katanov as two other Khakas idioms, are now treated as subdialects of the Saghay dialect. The Kyzyl dialect is close to the Chulym language. It is spoken by a small group of about 500 speakers in the north of Khakasia and in some nearby villages in the Krasnoyarsk region, in the basin of the Black Iyus and the White Iyus rivers. The Shor variety of Khakas is spoken in some villages in the south, in the mountain region near the border with the Kemerovo oblast, where the Shor people live. This variety was formed during the 20th century. It can be treated as a semi-Khakas and semi-Shor idiom.

Circumstances of the recording. The speaker

Fieldwork in Khakasia

Our work on the documentation of Khakas began in 2001 in an expedition of the Russian State University for the Humanities led by Nina Sumbatova. We worked with speakers of the Saghay variety in Kazanovka village in 2001, 2002 and 2007, then with speakers of the Beltyr variety in Chylany, Butrakhty, and Karagay villages in 2011. In 2007 and later the expeditions were led by Anna Dybo. During these field trips we recorded about 20 hours of Khakas speech, which were included in the spoken corpus of Khakas (http://lingconlab.ru/spoken_khakas/). In 2015 we decided to record texts and pronunciation of basic lexical items and grammatical forms in all varieties of Khakas. In 2015–2021 we visited more than a hundred villages where Khakas speakers live and made numerous recordings. This work was supported by grants from Russian foundations.

Sample text

The following text was recorded in 2015 in Troshkino village in the Shira district of Khakasia. The speaker is Galina Ignatyevna Troshkina, a former school teacher, who was born in 1937 in Shoohshil (Troshkino) village, and speaks the Kacha variety. The interviewer, Elvira Sultrekova, speaks the Saghay variety. Since both speakers are teachers, they mostly use standard Khakas forms. Therefore, dialectal differences are not well-represented in their dialogue.

Special signs in the transcription

Palatalization is marked by a combining acute accent.

Annotated text with audio

LINK: Khakas_Audio

1. Interviewer

Pasta-p	*šo:χta-p*	*ṕir-iŋer*	*faḿiĺiya,*	*ad-ịŋar*
begin-B.CONV	talk-B.CONV	GIVE.AUX-IMP.PL	family.name	name-POSS2PL

i	*otčestvə.*
and	patronymic

'First, say please your name, first name and patronymic.'

2.

Troškina Gaĺina Ignaťyevna.

3. Interviewer

Xaydaɣ	*šĭl-də*	*sḭrer*	*töre:-zer?*
which	year-LOC	you.PL	be.born.POST-2PL

'What year were you born?'

4.

Min	*otḭs*	*šitḭ*	*šĭl-də*	*törä:-m.*
I	thirty	seven	year-LOC	be.born.POST-1SG

'I was born in (19)37.'

5. Interviewer

A	*χaydaɣ*	*a:l-da?*
and	which	village-LOC

'And in which village?'

6.

Mḭna	*pu*	*a:l-da,*	*Šo:χšĭl-da.*
here	this	village-LOC	Shoohshil-LOC

'Here, in this village, in Shoohshil (Troshkino).'

7.

Anaŋ	*ṕedučiĺíše-de*	*ügren-ḭb*	*al-ḭp,*	*pä:r-ök*
then	pedagogical.school-LOC	study-B.CONV	TAKE.AUX-B.CONV	here-PTCL

ḱiĺ-ge-m	*toɣon-aɣa.*
come-POST-1SG	work-INF

'Then, after studying at a pedagogical school, I returned here to work.'

8.

I	*ṕensiya:*	*sḭχ-χan-ža,*	*mḭn-da*	*la*	*toɣon-ɣa-m,*
and	retirement.DAT	come.out-POST.PN-PROL	this-LOC	only	work-POST-1SG

pḭr	*šir-de*	*le.*
one	place-LOC	only

'And until retirement, I only worked here, in one place only.'

9. Interviewer

Ügret-čị   *pol-p*   *toɣon-ɣa-zar?*
teach-DER   be(come)-B.CONV   work-POST-2PL
'Did you work as a teacher?'

10.

Ya.
yes
'Yes.'

11. Interviewer

Xaydïɣ   *ke...*   *χaydïɣ...?*
which   PTCL   which
'Which... which?'

12.

Ḳịšịg   *klas-tar-da.*
small   class-PL-LOC
'In primary classes.'

13. Interviewer

A,   *kịšịg*   *klas-tar*   *ügret-ke-zer.*
ah   small   class-PL   teach-POST-2PL
'Ah, you taught in primary classes.'

14.

Nu   *anaŋ*   *ṕensiya:*   *sïχ*   *par-ɣan-da,*   *kịzị...*
well   then   retirement.DAT   come.out   GO.AUX-POST.PN-LOC   person

pịl-ịn-žadïr-zïŋ   *no:za*   *išo*   *toɣon-ar-ïŋ*   *ḱiĺ-še.*
know-REFL-INTRA-2SG   PTCL   more   work-PN-POSS2SG   come-INTRA
'Well, then when I retired, a person ... you feel that you still want to work.'

15.

Š̌it-pe:n,   *ńime-de*   *šit-ṕiń-ža*   *išo.*
have.enough-NEG.POST   thing-DER   have.enough-NEG.CONV-INTRA   more
'Not enough, something is missing.'

16.

Anaŋ	*χ̇ïɣïrt-ïps-χan-nar,*	*išo*	*pis*	*šïl*	*toɣon-ɣa-m,*	*ruskiy*	*yazïk,*
then	call-PF-POST-PL	more	five	year	work-POST-1SG	Russian	language

líteraturu	*f*	*staršiχ*	*šïze.*
literature.ACC	in	senior	PTCL

'Then they called, I worked for another five years, Russian language and literature in senior [classes].'

17.

Pis	*šïl*	*toɣon-ïb*	*al-ɣa-m,*	*tos*	*par-ɣa-m.*
five	year	work-B.CONV	TAKE.AUX-POST-1SG	well-fed	GO.AUX-POST-1SG

'I have worked for five years and that was enough.'

18.

Paza	*kirek*	*šoχ*	*maɣa:.*
more	need	non.existing	I.DAT

'I don't need it anymore.'

19. Interviewer

Pala-lar,	*naverna,*	*pasχə-lar*	*saɣam,*	*ya?*
child-PL	perhaps	other-PL	now	yes

'Children are different now, right?'

20. Interviewer

A	*aln-ïn-da*	*χaydaɣ*	*pala-lar*	*pol-ɣan?*
and	front-POSS3-LOC	how	child-PL	be(come)-POST

'What were children like before?'

21.

Šoχ,	*pis*	*toɣon*	*tur-ɣan-da,*	*pala-lar*	*mïn-daɣ*	*pol-ba:n-nar.*
no	we	work	STAY.AUX-POST.PN-LOC	child-PL	this-SIM	be(come)-NEG.POST-PL

'No, when we worked, children were not like that.'

22.

Amdï	*χaydaɣ-ta*	*uš́-u*	*baz-ï*	*ẑoχ*	*pala-lar.*
now	which-DER	end-POSS3	head-POSS3	non.existing	child-PL

'Now children are somehow ill bred.'

23. Interviewer

Ya,	*ya.*
yes	yes

'Yes, yes.'

24.

No:.

yeah

'Yeah.'

25. Interviewer

Min	*tože*	*ǵimnaźiya*	*natsianaĺnay*	*toχn-še-m,*	*ügret-čị*
I	also	gymnasium	national	work-INTRA-1SG	teach-DER

pol-če-m.
be(come)-INTRA-1SG

'I also work in the national gymnasium. I am a teacher.'

26. Interviewer

Pala-lar	*saŋay…*
child-PL	completely

'Kids are completely…'

27.

Vot	*χaydi*	*t́eĺev́izər-daŋ*	*šo:χtidịr-lar*	*"Pala*	*am*	*ol*
PTCL	how	TV-ABL	talk.INTRA-PL	child	now	it

an-daχ-oχ	*χaydaχ*	*bol-ɣan",*	*an-day*	*ńimes.*
that-SIM-PTCL	which	be(come)-POST	that-SIM	not

'And what they say on TV: "A child is now the same as he was", it is not so.'

28.

Min	*pịĺ-ḃiń-ža-m,*	*aləy*	*raḋiṭeĺ-lär*	*am-oχ*
I	know-NEG.CONV-INTRA-1SG	or	parent-PL	now-PTCL

kš́iɣ-dəŋ	*sɣ-ar-a…*
small-ABL	come.out-CAUS-A

'I don't know, maybe parents now since childhood…'

29.

Amdï	*ši:t*	*raḋiṭeĺ-lär,*	*olar-nïŋ…*
now	young	parent-PL	they-GEN

'Now the parents are young, their…'

30.

Vošem	*pịĺ-ḃi-ža-m*	*noɣa.*
in.general	know-NEG.CONV-INTRA-1SG	why

'Really, I don't know why.'

31.

No	*χaydaχ-ta*	*pala-lar*	*safśem*	*pasχa-lar.*
but	which-DER	child-PL	completely	other-PL

'But children are something completely different.'

32. Interviewer

Nu	*pịs*	*škola-da*	*χaydaɣ*	*pol-ɣa-ps,*	*ügren-ge-ps,*
well	we	school-LOC	which	be(come)-POST-1PL	study-POST-1PL

χaydi	*uluɣla:-ps*	*ügret-čị-ler-di*	*ol*	*tus-tə.*
how	respect.POST-1PL	teach-DER-PL-ACC	this	time-LOC

'Well, when we were at school, when we studied, how we respected teachers that time!'

33. Interviewer

I	*saɣam-ɣï*	*olɣan-nar*	*χaydi?*
and	now-REL	kid-PL	how

'And how are today's kids?'

34.

Min	*škola-da*	*toɣon*	*tur-χan-da,*		*pŕamə*	*šaχsị*	*bol-ǯaŋ,*
I	school-LOC	work	STAY.AUX-POST.PN-LOC		just	good	be(come)-HAB

ülükün-ge	*šịli*	*par-ịp,*	*köp*	*par-ar-ịm*	*χịn-ǯaŋ*	*andar.*
feast-DAT	like	go-B.CONV	many	go-PN-POSS1SG	want-HAB	there

'When I worked at school, it was so good, I wanted to go there like to go to a feast.'

35.

Amdị	*ḱino-da*	*közịt-se-ler*	*ügret-či-le-nị*	*χaydi*
now	movie-LOC	show-HYP-PL	teach-DER-PL-ACC	how

ịt-le-p-šadịr-la,		*maɣa:*	*olar-nị*	*ayas-tịχ.*
push-DISTR-B.CONV-INTRA-PL		I.DAT	they-ACC	pity-ADJ

'Now when the movies show how teachers are badly treated, I feel sorry for them.'

36.

Am	*tị-p-ša-m*		*min*	*edi*	*soχ*	*tur-lar*	*ola-nị,*
now	say-B.CONV-INTRA-1SG		I	so	beat	STAY.AUX-PL	they-ACC

tep-le-p	*tur-lar,*	*χaydi tu...*
kick-DISTR-B.CONV	STAY.AUX-PL	how

"Now," I say, "they are beaten, kicked, like..."

37.

Min	*sraz-oχ*	*nan-ịbz-a-šịχ-pịn.*
I	at.once-PTCL	come.back-PF-AOR-PTCL-1SG

'I would have left immediately.'

38.

A	*olar*	*ńet,*	*yešo*	*toɣon-aɣoχ.*
and	they	no	still	work-INF.PTCL

'And they have not, they still (go to) work.'

39.

Nu	*kažḍịy*	*kịze:*	*ṕensiya*	*toɣịn-aɣa*	*kirek.*
well	each	person.DAT	retirement	work-INF	need

'Well, everyone needs to earn a pension.'

40. Interviewer

Ya,   χalas   kirek   pray-zï̇n-a.
yes   bread   need   all-POSS3-DAT
'Yes, everyone needs his bread.'

41.

Nuː.
yeah
'Yeah.'

42. Interviewer

Miṇïŋ   an-daɣ   ügren-ǯ̌i-ler   pol-ɣan   klas-ta,   χïz-ï̇ž̌aχ-tar
I.GEN   that-SIM   study-DER-PL   be(come)-POST   class-LOC   girl-DER-PL

toɣïz-ï̇nǯ̌ï   klas-ta.
nine-ORD   class-LOC
'I had such students in the class, girls in the ninth grade.'

43. Interviewer

Tï̇rɣaχ-tar-ï̇n   pï̇di   öskï̇r-ib   al-š̌a-ler   pï̇di,   pray   yeš̌o
nail-PL-POSS3.ACC   so   grow-B.CONV   TAKE.AUX-INTRA-PL   so   all   more

id-ip   al-ï̇p,   anaŋ…   urok   toːz-a   pïĺ-ï̇-neŋ…
do-B.CONV   TAKE.AUX-B.CONV   then   lesson   finish-A.CONV   back-POSS3-ABL
'They grow their nails like that, and all the other things do [like that], then the whole lesson with their backs…'

44. Interviewer

Soːn-zar   par-ï̇p   ï̇k-eĺe   udur-ï̇b   al-š̌a-ler,
after.POSS3-DIR   go-B.CONV   two-COLL   sit-B.CONV   TAKE.AUX-INTRA-PL

pïĺ-deŋ   pray   klas-χa,   i   sï̇rle-n-če-ler.
back-ABL   all   class-DAT   and   paint-REFL-INTRA-PL
'By the end they both sit down, with their backs to the whole class, and do make-up.'

45.

Ya,   ügret-č̌ï̇-nï̇   pï̇r   deː   ńimeː   sal-b́in-ž̌adï̇r-lar.
yes   teach-DER-ACC   one   even   thing.DAT   put-NEG.CONV-INTRA-PL
'Yes, they don't give a damn about the teacher.'

46. Interviewer

Nu,	*ńinže*	*χati*	*zavuč-taŋ*	*χada,*	*ńinže*
yeah	how.many	time	head.teacher-ABL	together	how.many

χati	*d́iŕektər-ɣa…*
time	director-DAT

'Yes, how many times with the head teacher, how many times to the director…'

47. Interviewer

Miniŋ	*le*	*urok-tar-ïm-da*	*ńimes,*	*pasχa*	*ügret-ś́i-ler-nïŋ*
I.GEN	only	lesson-PL-POSS1SG-LOC	not	other	teach-DER-PL-GEN

tože,	*anaŋ*	*olar-dï*	*χïɣïrt-ïp,*	*toɣïs*	*klas*	*so:naŋ*	*ïz-ïbs-χan-nar,*
also	then	they-ACC	call-B.CONV	nine	class	after	send-PF-POST-PL

śadap-śudap	*la*	*to:s-tïr-ïb*	*al-ïp.*
barely	only	finish-CAUS-B.CONV	TAKE.AUX-B.CONV

'Not only in my lessons, but also with other teachers, they then were called, after the ninth grade they were sent, barely letting them finish.'

48.

Nu:.

yeah

'Yeah.'

49.

Toĺko	*ịdi*	*le*	*ola-nị.*
only	so	only	they-ACC

'Just such a way with them.'

50. Interviewer

Am	*uže*	*pala-lïɣ-lar*	*olar*	*uže,*	*ir-ge*	*par-la-bs-χan-nar.*
now	already	child-ADJ-PL	they	already	man-DAT	go-DISTR-T-POST-PL

'Now they are already married, they have children.'

51.

Sidịk	*saɣam-ɣï*	*tus-ta.*
difficult	now-REL	time-LOC

'It's difficult now.'

52.

Anaŋ	*prä:*	*χažan*	*ol*	*la*	*ńime*	*pos-tar-ịnoχ*	*aylan-ar.*
then	some	when	this	only	thing	self-PL-POSS3.DAT-PTCL	turn-AOR

'Then someday the same will come back to them.'

53.

Xaydaχ	*orïs-tar*	*buḿerank*	*tidịr-ler.*
which	Russian-PL	boomerang	say.INTRA-PL

'As Russians say "boomerang".'

54. Interviewer

Mm-hm.

'Yes.'

55.

Xaydaɣ	*pala*	*öskịr-le-p*	*sal-ər-lar,*	*anaŋ*	*kirị-ze-ler,*	*ana…*
which	child	grow-DISTR-B.CONV	PUT.AUX-AOR-PL	then	get.old-HYP-PL	then

'What kind of children they will grow up, and when they get old, then…'

56. Interviewer

Kör-ör-ler.
see-AOR-PL

'… they will see.'

57.

Pos-tar-ịn-oχ	*šid-er*	*ol*	*ńime.*
self-PL-POSS3.ACC-PTCL	reach-AOR	that	thing

'… this will return to themselves.'

58. Interviewer

Nu	*saɣïs*	*an-da-da*	*moš*	*kịr-er.*
well	thought	at that time	maybe	enter-AOR

'Well, maybe they will grow wiser then.'

59.

Ḳịr-er	*ńime*	*ḳịr-er,*	*ḳịr-bes*	*ńime*	*ḳịr-bes.*
enter-PN	thing	enter-AOR	enter-NEG.PN	thing	enter-NEG.AOR

'If it comes, it will come, if it doesn't, it won't.'

60.

Ịdi	*tidịr-lär*	*nịze.*
so	say.INTRA-PL	PTCL

'That's what they say.'

Specific characteristics of the variety illustrated mainly by examples from the text

Sound system

Vowels

A special Khakas feature is the presence of near-high lax vowels: *ị* and *ị̈*. The front high vowel *i* is used in initial syllables corresponding to *e* in other Turkic languages, e.g. S4: *šịtị* 'seven', S50: *ir-ge* 'to a man'. In non-initial syllables *i* appears when vowels of two morphemes merge, e.g. S46: *χati* '(one more) time' < *χata-(y)a* ⟨repeat-A.CONV⟩. Moreover, it is used in Russian borrowings, e.g. S39: *pensiya* 'retirement'.

Other vowels are: *a, (ä), e, o, ö, u, ü*. The vowel *ä* in Kacha and Kyzyl is a realization of long *e*. Each vowel has a long variant except for *ị*. The near-high vowels *ị* and *ị̈* are shorter than the low ones and are often reduced in speech, e.g. S9: *pol-p < pol-ịp* 'being', S52: *prä: < pịre:* 'some'. The vowel *a* is often realized as a centralized lax vowel word-finally, especially in the Saghay dialect, e.g. S32: *tus-tə* 'at time', S28: *aləy < alay* 'or'.

In standard Khakas there is only palatal harmony, e.g. S4: *Törä:-m* 'I was born', S13: *Ügret-ke-zer* 'You taught', S47: *urok-tar-ịm-da* 'at my lessons'. In dialects, labial harmony of high vowels is also present, e.g. S22: *uš́-u* 'it's end'.

Consonants

Weak consonants, such as *b, g,* and *d*, do not occur initially in native words in Khakas, e.g. S6: *pu* 'this', S18: *kirek* 'need', S36: *Tị-p-ša-m* 'I say'. They are not used in auslaut position either, except for *g, ɣ*, e.g. S3: *χaydïɣ* 'which', S12: *kịšịg* 'small'. Observe also the weak consonants influenced by a vowel in sandhi, e.g. S22: *uš́-u baz-ị žoχ* 'without the head and the end', S17: *Toɣon-ịb al-ɣa-m* 'I have worked'.

Initial consonants in suffixes usually have a weak and a strong variant. Compare the examples showing variants of the postterminal marker, e.g. S8: *sïχ-χan-ža* 'after coming out', S7: *Ḱil-ge-m* 'I have come', and of the locative suffix, e.g. S32: *tus-tə* 'in time', S34: *škola-da* 'in school'. In some suffixes the initial consonant assimilates also in nasality, as in the marker of plurality, e.g. S20: *pala-lar* 'children', S57: *orïs-tar* 'Russians', S43: *olɣan-nar* 'children'. {G} and *ŋ* are usually dropped between vowels, e.g. S3: *Töre:-zer < törị-ge(n)-zer* 'You were born', S44: *so:n-zar < soŋ-ịn-zar* 'to the end'.

East Old Turkic *š* and *č* correspond to *s* in standard Khakas, e.g. S14: *Sïχ!* compare to East Old Turkic *Čïḳ!* 'Come out!', S17: *pis* compare to East Old Turkic *beš* 'five'. East Old Turkic *y* corresponds to *č*, realized as *ǰ* in some positions. In the central Khakas varieties it became a spirant *š́* or *ž* in vocalic environments, e.g. S17: *šil* 'year', compare to East Old Turkic *jil*, S22 *žoχ* 'no', compare to East Old Turkic *jok.* The Kacha variety has maintained *č* in some contexts, for instance, in intervocalic posi-

tion in northern subdialects. In central subdialects *ś* is used instead of *č*. For more details see Dybo & Maltseva (2021). Here we have only one example, the possessive form in S22: *uś-u* 'it's end' < *us* 'end', compare to East Old Turkic *uč* 'ibid.'.

In standard Khakas the consonants *f, v, š, ž, ts* occur only in Russian loanwords, e.g. S31: *safśem* 'completely', S19: *naʹvernə* 'perhaps', S34: *škola-da* 'in school', S50: *uže* 'already', S25: *natsianalʹnay* 'national'.

Consonants are usually palatalized before *i*, and *l, n* can be palatalized after *i*, e.g. S7: *Ḱilʹ-ge-m* 'I have come', S15: *šit-ṕinʹ-ža* 'not enough'. In Russian borrowings palatalized consonants can also be found in other environments, e.g. S19: *naʹvernə* 'perhaps', S25: *natsianalʹnay* 'national'.

Central Khakas varieties also use the palatalized spirants *ś* and *ź* instead of the affricates *č* and *ǰ* in corresponding word forms, e.g. S3: *śil-də* 'in year', S8: *sïχ-χan-źa* 'before coming out'. This phoneme is realized as *č* after the dental consonants, e.g. S9: *ügret-či̦* 'teacher'.

Morphology

The plural suffix is {-LAr}, as in most Turkic languages, e.g. S50: *pala-lïɣ-lar* 'having children', S16: *Xïɣïrt-ïps-χan-nar* 'They have called', S42: *χïz-ïžaχ-tar* 'girls'. The initial consonant is *n* after nasals, *t* after voiceless consonants and *l* in other contexts. The final *r* can be dropped in the Kacha variety, e.g. S35: *ügret-či̦-le-ni̦* 'teachers'.

Examples of possessive suffixes for the first and second person are S34: *par-ar-ï̦m* 'my going', S47: *urok-tar-ï̦m-da* 'in my lessons', S1: *ad-ï̦ŋar* 'your name'. The plural form, *-ï̦ŋar < -ï̦ŋ-lar*, is used as a polite form when referring to old people. The second singular possessive is {-(I)ŋ}, and the first plural is {-(I)BI̦s}. The third person possessive suffix is {-(z)I̦(n)}, e.g. S22: *uś-u baz-ï̦* 'its end and head'. The initial consonant is *z-* after vowels and in pronouns, e.g. S40: *pray-zï̦n-a* 'to everyone'. In S44: *so:n-zar* 'to the end', the possessive suffix has merged with *-ŋ*, i.e. *so:n-zar < soŋ-ï̦n-zar*.

Khakas case suffixes include the accusative, e.g. S45: *ügret-či̦-ni̦* 'a teacher' (after the third person possessive suffix only *-n*, e.g. S43: *tï̦rɣaχ-tar-ï̦-n* 'their nails'), the dative, e.g. S44: *klas-χa* 'to the class', S50: *ir-ge* 'to a man', the genitive, e.g. S42: *mini̦ŋ* 'my', the locative, e.g. S3: *śil-də* 'in year'. After glides, the initial consonant of the genitive and accusative cases is *n* in Kacha and standard Khakas, e.g. S29: *olar-nï̦ŋ* 'their', S35: *olar-nï̦* 'them', while in the Saghay variety it changes to *d*, e.g. S47: *olar-dï̦* 'them'. The dative suffix is contracted after vowel stems, resulting in a long vowel, e.g. S39: *ki̦ze: < ki̦zi̦-ge* 'to a person'. The dative is represented by only a vowel after possessive forms, e.g. S40: *pray-zïn-a* 'to everyone'. The instrumental in central Khakas varieties has merged with the ablative, so we use one gloss for both, e.g. S27: *ʹtelʹevizər-daŋ* 'from TV', S46: *zavuč-taŋ* 'with the head teacher'. Further cases are the directive, e.g. S44: *so:n-zar* 'to the end', the equative, e.g. S8: *sïχ-χan-źa* 'after coming out', and the obsolete similative, which is now only used with pronouns, e.g. S21: *mï̦n-daɣ* 'like this'.

Personal pronouns are S4: *min* 'I', S32: *pi̦s* 'we', *sin* 'you (SG)', S3: *si̦rer* 'you (PL)'. The reflexive pronoun is *pos*, e.g. S57: *pos-tar-ï̦n-oχ* 'themselves'. Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogative ones with the help of the marker {+TA} or the modal adjective *pre:* 'some', e.g. S15: *ńime-de* 'something', S52: *prä: χažan* 'some time'. Negative pronouns are constructed by the combination of the numeral *pi̦r* 'one' and the particle *de:*, e.g. S45: *pi̦r de: ńime:* 'to nothing' < *ńime* 'thing'.

Finite intraterminals include {-ADIr//-(Ø)iDIr}, coming from an A-converb and the auxiliary verb *tur-* 'to stand', e.g. S60: *Tidi̦r-ler* 'They say'. Focal intraterminals are based on a B-converb and the auxiliary verb *šat-* 'to lie'. The suffix has two variants, {-(p)šA} and {-(p)šAdI̦r}. The latter is used mainly in the Kacha variety, where both forms are non-harmonic, e.g. S35: *It-le-p-šadi̦r-la* 'They do', S36 *Ti̦-p-ša-m* 'I say'. The marker of the B-converb is omitted between consonants, e.g. S14: *Ṕil-i̦n-žadi̦r* 'X knows', *Ḱilʹ-še* 'X comes'. In the negated intraterminal form, the B-converb marker is replaced by the negative converb {-Bin}, e.g. S15: *Šit-ṕinʹ-že*, literally 'It doesn't reach', S45: *Sal-ḃin-žadi̦r-lar* 'They don't put'. In this combination *n* is optional for some subdialects, though it can't be omitted in other contexts, e.g. S30: *Ṕi̦lʹ-ḃi-ža-m* 'I don't know'.

The terminal form in {-DÏ} is rarely used. The postterminal in {-GA(n)} is employed as the usual past tense form. The final *-n* is omitted before personal markers, e.g. S7: *Ḱiĺ-ge-m* 'I came', S32: *Ügren-ge-ps* 'We studied'. The initial {G} is omitted in intervocalic positions including negative forms, e.g. S21: *Pol-baːn-nar* (< *pol-ba-ɣan-nar*) 'They were not'. Habitual past is rendered by a special form, e.g. S34: *Xïn-žaŋ* 'X wanted', *Bol-žaŋ* 'X was'.

The aorist is {-A(r)//-(Ø)i(r)}, its negated form being {-BAs}, e.g. S59: *Ḳïr-er* 'X will enter', *Ḳïr-bes* 'X won't enter'. The aorist is used with the modal particle *šik*, the meaning of the whole form is subjunctive, e.g. S37: *Nan-ïbz-ašïχ-pïn* 'I would not return'. The *r* is optional in spoken language.

The personal markers are {-(I)m} and {-BḮn} for the first singular, {-SḮŋ} and *-ŋ* for the second singular, {-BḮs}, often reduced to *-ps*, for the first plural, {-SAr} and {-ŋAr} for the second plural; see the examples above. The third person does not have any marker. The two suffixes *-ŋ* and {-ŋAr} for the second person occur in the terminal and the conditional forms.

The imperative is a bare stem. The polite form is the same as the plural form, e.g. S1: *šoːχta-p pir-ïŋer!* 'Please say!'. The conditional mood is marked by {-SA}, e.g. S35: *közit-se-ler* 'if they show'.

Non-finite verb forms are the infinitive, e.g. S7: *toɣon-aɣa* 'to work', verbal nouns, e.g. S34: *par-ar-ïm* 'my going', S59: *ḳïr-bes ńime* 'thing which will not enter', the frequently used B-converb, e.g. S7: *ügren-ïb al-ïp* 'having studied' and converbs based on case forms of verbal nouns, e.g. S8: *sïχ-χan-ža* 'until coming out', S21: *toɣon tur-ɣan-da* 'when (we) worked'.

The distributive suffix {+(G)lA} is used quite often, e.g. S36: *Tep-le-p tur-lar* 'They kick', separately, S50: *Ir-ge par-la-bs-χan-nar* 'They have already married'.

Perfective actional modification is usually expressed by the suffix {+(I)ps}, coming from the B-converb and the auxiliary *ïs-* 'to send', e.g. S16: *Xïɣïrt-ïps-χan-nar* 'They have called'. This marker combines with all verb stems, as opposed to the constructions with other auxiliary verbs. We gloss it as PF.

The modal endoclitic *oχ* is written inside the word because it often absorbs the final vowel, e.g. S37: *sraz-oχ < srazu-oχ* 'and at once', S38: *toɣon-aɣ-oχ < toɣon-aɣa-oχ* 'even to work', S52: *pos-tar-ïn-oχ < pos-tar-ïna-oχ* 'to themselves'. In the Kacha variety it can be harmonized, e.g. S7: *päːr-ök* 'right here'.

Syntactic features

Khakas syntax is typically for Turkic. The basic word order is SOV, which can in spoken language often vary for pragmatic reasons. Left-branching verb-final sentences are the rule, e.g. S4: *Min otïs šitï šïl-de töräː-m* 'I was born in (19)37', S52: *Ol la ńime pos-tar-ïn-oχ aylan-ar* 'the same will come back to them'. Arguments can take a postpredicate position, e.g. S40: *Xalas kirek pray-zïn-a* 'Bread is needed by everyone', S57: *Pos-tar-ïn-oχ šid-er ol ńime* 'This will return to themselves', S36: *Edi soχ tur-lar ola-nï* 'So they beat them'.

Examples of postpositions are S43: *urok toːz-a* 'the whole lesson', S47: *toɣïs klas soːnaŋ* 'after the ninth class', S34: *ülükün-ge šïli* 'like to the party'. The construction with *šïli* is only one possible comparative strategy, see Sultrekova (2017) for description of the other.

Nominal predicates are represented in the text mostly by adjectives, e.g. S9: *Amdï šiːt raďiťeĺ-lär* 'Now the parents are young', S51: *Sidïk saɣam-ɣï tus-ta* 'It's difficult now', S31: *Pala-lar safśem pasχa-lar* 'Children are completely different', also by nouns including the derivational suffix {+LḮG}, e.g. S35: *Maɣaː olar-nï ayas-tïχ* 'I feel sorry for them', S50: *Am uže pala-lïɣ-lar olar* 'Now they have children'. Necessity is expressed by *kirek*, e.g. S40: *Xalas kirek pray-zïn-a* 'Everyone needs his bread'. An example of a negated nominal predicate is S27: *an-daɣ ńimes* 'it is not so'. The word *šoχ* 'not existing' is used in negated existential clauses, e.g. S18: *Paza kirek šoχ maɣaː* 'I don't need it anymore', S22: *Amdï χaydaɣ-ta uš-u baz-ï žoχ pala-lar* 'Now children are somehow ill-bred.'

Constructions with the A-converb are rare and do not occur in our text. Constructions with B-converbs are frequent. They are used in postverbial constructions, e.g. S55: *Öskịr-le-p sal-ər-lar* 'They will have grown them up', S14: *sïχ par-ɣan-da* 'when I came out', S36: *Soχ tur-lar ola-nị* 'They beat them permanently', S17: *Toɣon-ịb al-ɣa-m* 'I have worked (for myself)', S1: *šo:χta-p ṕir-ịŋer!* 'Please say it (for me)!'.

Wishes are expressed by verbal noun and the auxiliary *ḱiĺ-* 'to come' in the Saghay variety, e.g. S14: *Toɣon-ar-ịŋ ḱiĺ-še* 'You want to work'. In the Kacha variety the auxiliary *χïn-* 'to love' is used, e.g. S34: *Köp par-ar-ịm χïn-źaŋ andar* 'I wanted to go there very much'.

Converbs are the most frequently used clause-combining strategy, e.g. S7: *Ṕedučiĺiše-de ügren-ịb al-ịp, pä:r-oχ ḱiĺ-ge-m* 'After studying at a pedagogical school I came here again', S8: *Ṕensiya: sïχ-χan-źa, mịn-da la toɣon-ɣa-m* 'Until I retired, I only worked here'. But sometimes copied right-branching strategies are used with interrogative pronouns as subjunctors, e.g. S35: *közit-se-ler χaydi it-le-p-šadịr-la* 'when they show how they treat (teachers)', S30: *Piĺ-bi-ža-m noɣa* 'I don't know why', S27: *an-daχ-oχ χaydaχ pol-ɣan* 'the same as it was'.

For coordination the copied conjunctor *i* or juxtaposition is used, e.g. S1: *faḿiĺiya, ad-ịŋar i otčestvə* 'name', 'first name', and 'patronymic', S17: *Pis šịl toɣon-ịb al-ɣa-m, to:s par-ɣa-m* 'I have worked for five years and left'.

The main speaker in our text uses many Russian lexical elements, sometimes with globally copied Russian morphosyntax, e.g. S38: *A olar ńet, yešo toɣon-aɣ-oχ* 'And they do not (leave), they still work'. Here the Russian negation *ńet* and the particle *yešo* 'more' are used. There is one switch to Russian in her speech in S16: *ruskiy yazịk, ĺiteraturu f staršịχ* 'Russian language and literature in senior classes'.

Lexicon

In modern Khakas there are many copies from Russian, mostly nouns, e.g. S1: *faḿiĺiya* 'family name', S7: *ṕedučiĺiše* 'pedagogical school', S8: *ṕensiya* 'retirement', S27: *teĺeṽizər* 'TV'. A number of function and modal words are also copied, e.g. S14: *išo,* S38: *yešo* 'more', S19: *naṽernə* 'perhaps', S25: *tože* 'also', S30: *vošem* 'in general' ⟸ Russian *v obšem*, S41 *nu:* 'yes', informal assertive answer ⟸ Russian discourse particle *nu*. All conjunctions have been copied from Russian, e.g. S31: *no* 'but', S8, S33: *i* 'and', S38: *a* 'and/but'.

Earlier Russian copies have been accommodated to Khakas phonetics, e.g. S40: *χalas* 'bread' ⟸ Russian *kalač* 'sweet bread', S53: *orịs* 'Russian' ⟸ Russian *ruś*.

Mongolic copies occur in the following word forms: S1: *šo:χta-p* 'talking', S4: *törä:-m* 'I was born', S47: *to:s-tịr-ịb* 'letting finish', and S43 *to:z-a* 'the whole (time)'.

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