The Function of *=(w)a* in Karachay-Balkar

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Karachay-Balkar has a clitic *=(w)a*. Previous studies describe that *=(w)a* has a contradictory conjunctive usage and a request usage. This paper proposes that *=(w)a* functions as a topic shifter, and the usages described in previous studies are derived from this function. This approach allows for a unified explanation of the multiple usages of *=(w)a*.

Keywords: Karachay-Balkar, *=(w)a*, topic shifter

1. Introduction[*]

1.1. *=(w)a* in Karachay-Balkar

Karachay-Balkar is a Northwest Turkic language. It is mainly spoken in the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic and the Karachay-Cherkessia Republic in Caucasia. It is also spoken in some places in Turkey (e.g., Eskişehir, Konya) by immigrants from Caucasia and their descendants.

Karachay-Balkar has a clitic *=(w)a*. This clitic realizes as *=a* if the preceding segment is a consonant (see (1)). *=(w)a* does not alternate via vowel harmony and does not take an accent. The accent always falls into the preceding syllable (e.g., *sén=a*).

(1)   *sen=a,*   **sen=wa*
      you=WA

As we will see in the section 2, previous studies have stated that *=(w)a* has a contradictory conjunctive usage and a request usage. This paper proposes that *=(w)a* is a topic shifter, and the usages described in the previous studies are derived from this function. This approach makes it possible to provide a unified explanation of the usages of *=(w)a*.

1.2. Data sources

In addition to data obtained from previous studies, this study obtained data from elicitation research with a language consultant and from the textual sources shown in (2). The language consultant is male, and born in Eskişehir, Turkey in 1973. He is a bilingual speaker of Karachay-Balkar and Turkish, but his first language is Karachay-Balkar. He regularly speaks Karachay-Balkar in conversations with relatives and within the Karachay-Balkar community. His grandparents are native speakers of Karachay-Balkar who immigrated to Turkey from Russia.

(2)   Textual sources
      a.   *Алиса Къужур Дунианы Къыдырады*: Karachay-Balkar version of *Alice in Wonderland*, published by Evertype in 2019.
      b.   http://gazeta.zamankbr.ru/: Karachay-Balkar newspaper, and
      c.   https://live.bible.is/bible/KRCLIO/MAT/1?audio_type=audio_drama: New Testament written in Karachay-Balkar.

2. Previous studies

In this section, we examine how previous studies have described *=(w)a*. Briefly, previous studies indicate a twofold usage for *=(w)a*.

First, the Karachay-Balkar and Russian dictionary (Tenishev 2013: 694) lists *a* ('but, and'), *но* ('but'), and *однако* ('but') as translations for *=(w)a*. Tenishev (2013: 694) also provides example sentences containing *=(w)a*, showing that *=(w)a* is used when two components stand in a contrastive or contradictory conjunctive relation, and it always appears after the second component, as shown in (3) to (6) below.[1]

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[1] The language consultant commented that *=(w)a* is not obligatory in all the examples throughout this paper, that it can be added optionally, and that *=(w)a* gives the impression that the meaning of the sentence is emphasized. As discussed in section four onward, this paper argues that *=(w)a* is a topic shifter. It can be said that the emphasis that the consultant commented is an emphasis on the fact that the topic has shifted by using *=(w)a*.

(3) *men   anı   kör-dü-m   seni   =**wa**   kör-me-di-m.*
I   he/she.ACC   see-PST-1SG   you.ACC   =WA   see-NEG-PST-1SG
'I saw him/her, **but** I did not see you.'

(4) *alğın   biz   el-de   caşa-y   e-di-k,*
once   we   village-LOC   live-NPST   COP-PST-1PL
*endi   =**wa**   şahar-da=bız.*
now   =WA   city-LOC=1PL
'We used to live in the village, **but** now we live in the city.'

(5) *kat-ım-a   kel-di,*
side-1SG.POSS-DAT   come-PST
*söleş-irge =**wa**   tawkel bol-ma-dı.*
talk-NML   =WA   be encouraged-NEG-PST
'He/she came to my side, **but** he/she did not have the courage to speak to me.'

(6) *alğa   ol kes-i   kir-di,*
first   he oneself-3.POSS   enter-PST
*ız-ı   bla   =**wa**   talay   adam.*
after-3.POSS   with =WA   many   people
'He/she him/herself was the first to enter, **and after that**, a number of people
(entered).'

Other previous studies also state that *=(w)a* is used when two components are in a
contrastive or contradictory conjunctive relation, as shown in (7) to (12). Baskakov (1976:
300–303), Baskakov et al. (1966: 354–355), Aliev (1972: 230), and Sozajlany and
Sozajlany (2005: 61–64) consider *=(w)a* to be a contradictory conjunction marker
(*противительные союзы* or *къаршыычы байлам (karşıçı baylam)*), that is used when two
components or sentences are in a contrastive or contradictory conjunctive relation. This
paper refers to these usages as contradictory conjunctive usages.

(7) *biyağında   men   Aslan-nı   kör-dü-m*
a little while ago   I   PN-ACC   see-PST-1SG
*Osman-nı =**wa**   esle-me-di-m.*
PN-ACC   =WA   realize-NEG-PST-1SG
'A little while ago, I saw Aslan but did not realize Osman.'

[Baskakov 1966: 303]

(8) *Roza   ders-ler-i-n   et-erge   oltur-du,*
PN   lesson-PL-3.POSS-ACC   do-NML   sit down-PST
Muslimat =a   kabır-ğa   gazet-ni   caraşdır-a=dı.
PN   =WA   wall-DAT   newspaper-ACC   tape-NPST=3
'Rosa sat down to take a class, and Muslimat tapes the newspaper to the wall.'

[Baskakov 1966: 303]

(9) *Ayşat   kel-ib   kör-üb   ket-di,   Hızır   =a*
PN   come-CNV   see-CNV   leave-PST PN   =WA
alkın   kel-ib   ana-sı-n   kör-al-ma-ğan=dı.
yet   come-CNV   mother-3.POSS-ACC   see-POT-NEG-PERF=3
'Ayşat came to see and then left. Hızır has not yet been able to come and see her mother.'

[Aliev 1972: 254]

(10) *ana-sı   oltur-a=dı,*
mother-3.POSS   sit down-NPST=3
kız   =a   tohta-ma-y   işle-y=di.
daughter   =WA   stop-NEG-CNV   work-NPST=3
'Mother sits, daughter works without stopping.'

[Sozajlany and Sozajlany 2005: 61]

(11) *kün   tiy-di,   kızdır-ğan   =a   et-me-di.*
sun   rise-PST   heat up-NML   =WA   do-NEG-PST
'The sun rose, but it did not warm up.'

[Aliev 1972: 230]

(12) *men   bügün   beş   al-ğan=ma,   sen   =a?*
I   today   five   get-PERF=1SG you   =WA
'I scored five points today. How about you?'

[Sozajlany and Sozajlany 2005: 64]

In addition to the contradictory conjunctive usage, previous studies (Urusbiev 1963: 180, Baskakov 1976: 234–235, and Axmatov and Ketenchiev 2003: 19) also describe the use of *=(w)a* for requests, wherein *=(w)a* follows the conditional suffix *-sA*, and the sentence has an interrogative intonation, as shown in (13) and (14) below.

(13) *biz-ge*   *bir*   *kesek*   *boluş-sa-ğız*   *=a?*
      we-DAT   one   a little   help-CON-2PL =WA
      'Why do not you help us a little?'

<div align="right">[Axmatov and Ketenchiev 2003: 19]</div>

(14) *ala*   *=da*   *mında*   *kal-sa-la*   *=wa?*
      they   =ADD   here.LOC   stay-CON-PL   =WA
      'Would not it be nice if they also stayed here?'

<div align="right">[Axmatov and Ketenchiev 2003: 19]</div>

Thus, previous studies describe a twofold usage for *=(w)a*: 1) contradictory conjunction and 2) request. However, some data that this study obtained did not fit with these usages. The next section presents such data.

3. Other usages of *=(w)a*

3.1. Noncontradictory conjunctive usage

This section presents examples that do not co-occur with the conditional suffix *-sA*, which corresponds to (3) to (12). In (3) to (12), *=(w)a* connects two sentences that are in a contrastive relationship or a contradictory conjunctive relationship. In fact, the language consultant commented that *=(w)a* in (3) to (5) and (7) to (11) can be replaced by *amma* ('but'), representing a contradictory conjunction as shown in (15):

(15) a. *men*   *anı*   *kör-dü-m*   **amma** *seni*   *kör-me-di-m.*   cf. (3)
         I   he/she.ACC   see-PST-1SG   but   you.ACC   see-NEG-PST-1SG
         'I saw him/her, but I did not see you.'

      b. *ana-sı*   *oltur-a=dı,*   cf. (10)
         mother-3.POSS sit down-NPST=3
         amma *kız*   *tohta-ma-y*   *işle-y=di.*
         but   daughter   stop-NEG-NPST   work-NPST=3
         'Mother sits, but daughter works without stopping.'

      c. *Kün*   *tiy-di,*   **amma**   *kızdır-ğan*   *et-me-di.*   cf. (11)
         sun   rise-PST   but   heat up-NML   do-NEG-PST
         'The sun rose, but it did not warm up.'

The language consultant further added that in (6) and (12), *=(w)a* cannot be replaced by *amma*. Nevertheless, the components with *=(w)a* in these sentences are to be compared

with the antecedent parts. Therefore, these sentences can be considered to possess contrastive meaning. To determine whether a sentence has a contrastive meaning, this paper adopts Numata's (2000: 161, 2009: 49) concept of *koobunteki dooruisee* (*sentence structure similarity*), which is developed in her study on the Japanese focus particle (i.e., *Toritate-shi*).[2] In Japanese, contrastive meaning is indicated by a focus particle, and Numata (2000: 161, 2009: 49) argues that two components in a contrastive relation must satisfy all conditions shown in (16) below, which constitute the sentence structure similarity.

(16)   Sentence structure similarity in Numata (2000: 161, 2009: 49)
        Two components in a contrastive relationship
        (i) must be the same part of speech;
        (ii) must be semantically or contextually similar;
        (iii) must have the same case marking if they are nouns; and
        (iv) must have identical, semantically, or contextually similar predicates.

In (6), *alğa* 'first' and *ız-ı bla* 'after' are adverbs and share the same predicate *kir-* 'enter' although this is omitted in the second sentence. Similarly, *men* 'I' and *sen* 'you' in (12) are nominative pronouns, and they share the predicate *al-* 'get' although it is omitted in the second sentence here too. Thus, (6) and (12) satisfy all of the conditions outlined in (16).

More precisely, as a reviewer noted out, sentence structure similarities in Numata (2000: 161, 2009: 49) do not relate not only to contrastive sentences but also to all sentences that contain the focus particle. Thus, sentence structure similarity is a sufficient condition, not a necessary condition for a contrastive meaning. As a necessary condition for contrastive meaning, we adopt Noda's (2019: 10) definition of *han-ruiji* (i.e., *anti-similarity*). Anti-similarity is a contrastive meaning that is brought about by the Japanese focus particle. Simply put, anti-similarity refers to cases of two or more elements, e.g., A, B, C, where we can say "A is X" but cannot say the same for B or C.[3]

Example (6) has an anti-similar meaning, as it implies that 'a number of people entered' can be said about *ız-ı bla* 'after' but not about *alğa* 'first.' It is somewhat difficult to establish whether example (12) has an anti-similar meaning, but at the very least, it is unclear to the speaker how many points the hearer has scored. In other words, the speaker assumes that the hearer might have had a number other than five points. Thus, we can say that example (12) has an anti-similar meaning, in that the speaker assumes that the hearer's situation may be different from the speaker's own situation.

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[2] The term "focus" in Lambrecht (1994: 206) is taken to mean new information, but the term "focus particle" here has nothing to do with that. It has the meaning of highlighting some information.
[3] More precisely, A, B, and C must be semantically or contextually in the same category, as is ensured by the sentence structure similarity.

To sum, almost all the instances of *=(w)a* in sentences found in previous studies can be replaced by *amma*, and even where this is not possible, the sentences that contain *=(w)a* have the sentence structure similarity and the meaning of anti-similarity. Thus, in these sentences, *=(w)a* functions to show a contradictory conjunctive relationship or a contrasting one.

In fact, however, Tenishev (2013) provides an example, shown in (17), which cannot be strictly regarded as conveying contradictory conjunctive relation. Moreover, I obtained textual data that contain *=(w)a* and are unlikely to have a contrastive or contradictory conjunctive meaning, as shown in (18) to (20).

(17) *Ata-m   bu   iş-ni   una-ma-y=dı,*
       father-1SG.POSS this   job-ACC   approve-NEG-NPST=3
       ata   söz-ü   =wa   maŋa   bağalı=dı.
       father word-3.POSS   =WA   I.DAT important=3
       'My father did not approve of this work, and his words are important to me.'

(18) *Allay   cumuşa-çık=dı   sırt-ı-n   sıla-rığ-ıŋ   kel-ir!*
       such   soft-DIM=3   back-3.POSS-ACC   pet-FUT-2SG.POSS   come-AOR
       Çıçhan-la-nı   =wa   neçik   tut-a=dı,   neçik   cut-a=dı!
       mouse-PL-ACC   =WA   how   catch-NPST=3 how   swallow-NPST=3
       '(Alice's female cat) is such a nice soft thing, she makes you want to pet her back! How well she catches the mice how well she swallows them!'

(19) *Zal-nı   tögereg-i-nde   eki-nçi   kere   aylan-ıb*
       corridor-GEN around-3.POSS-LOC   two-ORD   time   round-CNV
       çığ-a=dı=da,   endi-ge   deri   esle-me-y
       come out-NPST=3=CONS   now-DAT   until   realize-NEG-CNV
       tur-ğan   cabıw-nu   kör-e=di,
       stand.AUX-NML curtain-ACC   see-NPST=3
       ol   cabıw-nu   art-ı-nda   =wa   bir   gitçe   eşik-çik.
       that curtain-GEN behind-3.POSS   =WA   one   small   door-DIM
       '(Alice) goes around the hallway again and finds a low curtain that she had not noticed before. On the other side of the curtain was a small door.'

(20) *Şeşa-çık-nı   boyun-u-na   bir   kağıt-çık   baylan-ıb=dı,*
       bottle-DIM-GEN   neck-3.POSS-DAT one   paper-DIM   tied-CNV=3
       ol   kağıt-çık-da   =wa   omak   harf-la   bla
       that paper-DIM-LOC   =WA   beautiful letter-PL with

> *çaz-ıl-ıb=dı:*   *«MENİ   İÇ».*
> write-PASS-CNV=3   I.ACC   drink.IMP
> 'Round the neck of the bottle was a paper label, with the words "DRINK ME"
> beautifully printed on it in beautiful letters.'

According to the language consultant, *=(w)a* in (17) to (20), cannot be replaced by *amma*. Furthermore, the sentences in (17) to (20) lack the sentence structure similarity. First, if *=(w)a* in (17) conveys a contrastive relation, then the component with *=(w)a* (i.e., *ata söz-ü* 'father's word') would be compared to the antecedent component, and these components would have the sentence structure similarity. However, such antecedents cannot be found. It is possible that *ata-m* 'my father' that is the same nominative noun as *ata söz-ü* 'father's word', is the antecedent component, but this does not satisfy the condition for the sentence structure similarity because it is hard to believe that these components have identical or semantically similar predicates; The predicate for *ata-m* 'my father' is the father's action (i.e., *una-ma-* 'not to approve') while the predicate of *ata söz-ü* 'father's word' is an adjective that expresses the speaker's evaluation (i.e., *bağal* 'important'). Similarly, in (18) and (19), it is possible that *sırt-ı-n* 'her back (ACC)' and *zal-nı tögereg-i-nde* 'around the hallway' are the antecedent components because they are the same accusative and locative nouns as *çıçhan-la-nı* 'the mice (ACC)' and *ol cabıw-nu art-ı-nda* 'on the other side of the curtain'. However, it is hard to believe that these components have identical or semantically similar predicates. In (18), the predicate for *sırt-ı-n* 'her back (ACC)' is the hearer's action (i.e., *sıla-* 'to pet') while the predicate for *çıçhan-la-nı* 'the mice (ACC)' is the cat's action (i.e., *tut-* 'to catch', *cut-* 'to swallow'). In (19), the predicate for *zal-nı tögereg-i-nde* 'around the hallway' is Alice's action (e.g., *çığ-* 'to come out', *kör-* 'to see'), while the predicate for *ol cabıw-nu art-ı-nda* 'on the other side of the curtain' is omitted in this sentence but is something that indicates the presence of a door (e.g., *bar* 'exist'). Finally, the locative noun phrase *ol kağıt-çık-da =wa* 'on the paper' in (20) does not have a locative noun phrase in common with the preceding context. That is, it lacks any counterpart for a contrastive relationship. Of course, it is difficult to determine whether the given predicates are semantically similar, due to the gradient nature of the similarity. However, we can at least say that sentences (17) to (20) lack contrastive meaning when they are compared to the following sentences.

(21)   a. (Compare to (17))

      ana   *söz-ü*   *bağalı*   *tüyül=dü*
      mother   word-3.POSS   important   NEG=3

      amma   *ata*   *söz-ü*   *=wa*   *bağalı=dı.*
      but   father   word-3.POSS   =WA   important=3

'My mother's words are not important, but my fathers are.'

b. (Compare to (18))

kamjak-la-nı   tut-ma-y=dı,
bug-PL-ACC   catch-NEG-NPST=3

amma   çıçhan-la-nı   =wa   tut-a=dı.
but   mouse-PL-ACC   =WA   catch-NPST=3

'(This cat) does not catch the bugs; but catches the mice.'

c. (Compare to (19))

bu   kağıt-çık-da   cuk   cok=du,
this   paper-DIM-LOC   nothing   absent=3

amma   ol   kağıt-çık-da   =wa   X   bar=dı.
but   that paper-DIM-LOC   =WA   X   exist=3

'There is nothing on this paper, but there is an X on that paper.'

d. (Compare to (20))

bu   cabıw-nı   art-ı-nda   eşik   cok=du,
this   curtain-GEN   behind-3.POSS-LOC   door   absent=3

amma   ol   cabıw-nı   art-ı-nda   =wa   bar=dı.
but   that curtain-GEN   behind-3.POSS-LOC   =WA   exist=3

'There was no door behind this curtain, but there was one behind that curtain.'

3.2. Nonrequest usage

This section presents examples that co-occurring with the conditional suffix *-sA*. As shown in (13) and (14), in the literature, the *-sA=(w)a* construction is accompanied by an interrogative intonation, and the utterance functions as a request. However, in the following sentence, *=(w)a* is not accompanied by an interrogative intonation and the utterance does not request any action from others. Here, *=(w)a* is simply attached to the conditional clause of the hypothetical sentence.

(22) *Buğa-nı   Mazan korat-ma-y,   başha adam korat-han=e-se   =wa*
     cow-ACC   PN   steel-NEG-CNV   other person steel-PERF=COP-CON =WA

de-gen   sağış-la   et-il-e.
say-NML   idea-PL   do-PASS-NPST

'The idea that if not Mazan but others had stolen the cows is raised.'

(23) *Seni   karındaş-ıŋ   saŋa   kacaw   günyah   et-se   =wa,*
    you.GEN   brother-2SG.POSS you.DAT   against   sin   do-CON   =WA

    bar-ıb   aŋa   açık et.
    go-CNV   he.DAT   make clear.IMP
    'If your brother sins against you, go and tell him (his fault).'

In addition, the presence of an interrogative intonation, as shown in (24), does not necessarily indicate that it is a request to others. (24) is a hypothetical question in a soliloquy.

(24) (Alice thinks as she sees 'Drink me' written on the bottle.)
    öl-ür   ot=e-se   =wa?
    die-AOR   plant=COP-CON   =WA
    'What if it was a poisonous plant?'

Thus, *=(w)a* can be broadly attached to conditional clauses, and the *-sA=(w)a* construction does not necessarily represent a request.

4. A new interpretation of the function of *=(w)a*

As seen in previous sections, *=(w)a* is not simply an element that is used to represent a contradictory conjunctive relation or used in sentences that express a request. Therefore, the function of *=(w)a* is reconsidered here.

First, let us consider (19) and (20). In these, a new information is provided for the elements appearing in the previous sentence (i.e., *cabıw* 'curtain' and *kağıt-çık* 'paper'). This means that the topics in these sentences are *cabıw* 'curtain' and *kağıt-çık* 'paper', with *=(w)a* attached to them. Here, a topic is defined as follows, drawing on Lambrecht (1994: 117–171): something identifiable by the discourse participants, for which new information is added by the predicate. Lambrecht (1994: 165–167) also states that the elements that have already appeared in the discourse are identifiable and can become topics, and even if they have not appeared in the discourse, they can become topics if they are identifiable through remembering, inference, or other cognitive tasks.[4]

cabıw 'curtain' and *kağıt-çık* 'paper' in (19) and (20) are identifiable because each appears in a previous sentence, and they are topics because the new information concerning each are added by the predicate. From this point of view, *=(w)a* can be considered to attach to topics. As a fact that supports the idea that *=(w)a* is attached to topics, the language

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[4] Lambrecht (1994: 165–167) refers to elements that have already appeared in the discourse as "active" and divides elements that have not appeared in the discourse but are identifiable through cognitive tasks into two groups: "accessible" and "unused," based on the degree of cognitive effort required for identification.

consultant commented that*=(w)a* does not co-occur with wh-words (i.e., unidentifiable elements) and cannot be used for things that are being noted for the first time at the time of utterance (see (25) and (26) below).[5]

(25) **kim   =**wa**   kel-di?*
       who   =WA   come-PST
       'Who did come?'

(26) **Aa,   şamsiye   =**wa**   blay-da=dı!*
       ah   umbrella   =WA   here-LOC=3
       'Ah, here's the umbrella I was looking for.'

We can thus say that *=(w)a* is attached to identifiable elements, that is, to topics. However, the language consultant also noted that *=(w)a* is not used to start a conversation on a topic or to continue one about a previously established topic as shown below.

(27) At the beginning of a conversation with a neighbor.
       *#bukün   =**a**   hawa   igi=di.*
       today   =WA   whether   good=3
       'Nice weather today.'

(28) *men   otuz   cıl-da=ma   men   (*=**a**) Ankara-lı=ma.*
       I   30   year-LOC=1SG   I   =WA   PN-with=1SG
       'I am 30 years old and I am from Ankara.'

From this, we can say that *=(w)a* can be attached to a new topic as the topic of the discourse shifts from one to another. In fact, in (19) and (20), the topic has shifted to *cabıw* 'curtain' and *kağıt-çık* 'paper' which appeared in the previous sentence. Thus, *=(w)a* can be thought of as a marker topic shift, and in this paper, we call such markers "topic shifters."

As mentioned above, Lambrecht (1994: 165-167) assumes that various elements can be topic as long as they are identifiable from discourse or cognitive tasks. Drawing on this and on the fact that *=(w)a* is considered to be a topic shifter, we can say that topic shifting occurs not only in (19) and (20) but also in (17), (18) and examples in the previous studies as shown in (29) and (30) below. Note that in (29), and thereafter, I consider that the old

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[5] A reviewer noted that the possibility should be eliminated that *=(w)a* is a mirativity marker and that *=(w)a* is a definite marker. We can say that *=(w)a* is not a mirativity marker because it is not used for things being noticed for the first time at the time of utterance, as shown in   (26). Furthermore, if *=(w)a* is a definite marker, it can be expected that the definite element will always have *=(w)a*, but this is not the case, *=(w)a* is not a definite marker.

topic is something identifiable by the discourse participants, and new information for it is added from the predicate, based on the previous definition. In many cases, the subject of the sentence falls under such a definition, but there are some exceptions here, such as seen in (29b) and (29c). In (29b), *sırt-ı-n sıla-rığ-ıŋ* 'that you pet the cat on the back' is the syntactic subject, but I interpret that the back of a cat is the topic here, as this sentence semantically describes the back of a cat. In (29c), the subject of the previous sentence (i.e., *kağıt-çık* 'paper'), is new information here, so it cannot be said to be the topic; therefore, I interpret that the adjunct part (i.e., *şeşa-çık-nı boyun-u-na* 'round the neck of the bottle') is the topic here.

(29)   Topic shift in the examples in this section

    a. (17) *ata söz-ü=**wa***

         Old topic: Father
         New topic: Father's word

    b. (18) *Çıçhan-la-nı=**wa***

         Old topic: the back of a cat
         New topic: mice

    c. (19) *ol kağıt-çık-da=**wa***

         Old topic: Round the neck of the bottle
         New topic: On the paper label

    d. (20) *ol cabıw-nu art-ı-nda=**wa***

         Old topic: Alice
         New topic: Behind the curtain

(30)   Topic shift in the examples in the previous section

    a. (3) *seni=**wa***

         Old topic: he/she
         New topic: you

    b. (4) *endi=**wa***

         Old topic: then
         New topic: now

c. (5) *söleş-irge=wa*
      Old topic: he/she
      New topic: his/her speaking

d. (6) *ız-ı bla=wa*
      Old topic: first
      New topic: after

e. (7) *Osman-nı=wa*
      Old topic: Aslan
      New topic: Osman

f. (8) *Muslimat=a*
      Old topic: Roza
      New topic: Muslimat

g. (9) *Hızır=a*
      Old topic: Ayşat
      New topic: Hızır

h. (10) *kız=a*
      Old topic: mother
      New topic: daughter

i. (11) *kızdır-ğan=a*
      Old topic: the sun
      New topic: being the sun's warming of the temperature

j. (12) *sen=a?*
      Old topic: I
      New topic: you

The situations in which it is desirable to indicate topic shifting are those in which the shifted topic is still identifiable but difficult to evoke, so that to help the hearer to understand discourse by indicating that the topic has shifted to such one. A typical contrastive sentence has two topics (e.g., topic A and B). It first describes topic A, then turns to another topic B, to show that B has opposite or different properties from A. Due to this sudden change in topic, we can say that the latter topic B is difficult for the hearer to evoke. Thus, it is

appropriate to indicate that the topic has shifted, and it have caused *=(w)a* to be used more frequently in contrastive sentences (see (31a)). We can say that contradictory conjunctive sentences are very similar to contrastive sentence, in that it discusses the opposite matter to what could be predicted from the preceding sentence (see (31b)). Due to this similarity to the contrastive sentence, we can say that *=(w)a* is also used more frequently in contradictory conjunctive sentences.

(31) a. Structure of typical contrastive sentences
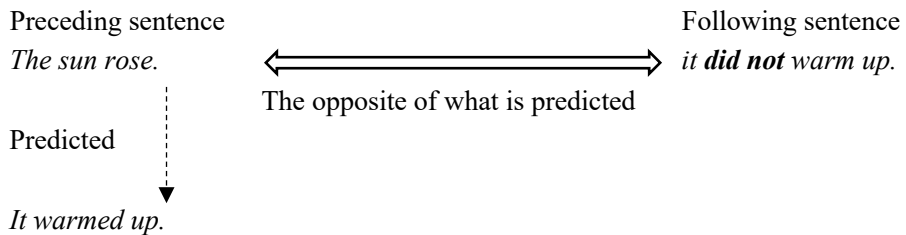   e.g., *men anı kör-dü-m seni=**wa** kör-me-di-m.* cf. (3)
     'I saw him/her, but I did not see you.'

Preceding sentence   Following sentence
*I **saw** him/her.* ⟸===========⟹ *I **did not see** you.*
      The opposite predicates
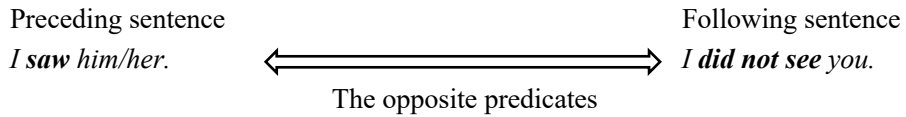
  b. Structure of contradictory conjunctive sentences
    e.g., *Kün tiy-di, kızdır-ğan=**a** et-me-di.* cf. (11)
     'The sun rose, but it did not warm up.'

Preceding sentence   Following sentence
The sun rose. ⟸===========⟹ *it **did not** warm up.*
      The opposite of what is predicted

Predicted

It warmed up.

Furthermore, by considering *=(w)a* as a topic shifter, we can explain why *=(w)a* can appear broadly in conditional clauses as exemplified in (22) to (24). Haiman (1978) argues that a conditional clause is a part of the knowledge shared between the speaker and hearer and constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse (i.e., to define what the discourse is about): on that point, conditional clauses are topics. In other words, the topic of a sentence can be taken as an element described by the predicate, and the premise expressed in a conditional clause can also be understood as a topic described by the subsequent main clause, in the form of 'As for this premise, we can say. . .' (see (32)).[6]

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[6] According to Kamei et al. (2019: 126), a conditional clause can also be considered a topic based on the functional sentence perspective, a grammatical theory that divides a sentence into two parts: 1) topic and 2) comment.

(32)   a. Topic and predicate: <u>John _{TOPIC}</u> is a student. _{COMMENT}

                                              Comment

   b.   Conditional clause and main clause:

            <u>If it does not rain _{CONDITIONAL}</u>, <u>we will play the match.</u> _{MAIN}

                                                                    Comment

            <u>If it rains _{CONDITIONAL}</u>, <u>the match is cancelled.</u> _{MAIN}

                                                           Comment

   Simply put, the premise expressed in the conditional clause is a kind of topic for a sentence. Therefore, *=(w)a*, which follows a new topic easily follows a conditional clause, as shown in (33). Note that, as shown in (33b), the old premise (i.e., old topic) may not be uttered and may exist only in context.

(33)   a. (22) *Buğa-nı Mazan korat-ma-y, başha adam korat-han=e-se=**wa***
                Old topic (premise): Mazan stole a cow.
                New topic (premise): the other person stole a cow.

   b. (24) *öl-ür ot=e-se=**wa***?
                Old topic (premise): e.g., it is not a poisonous plant. (From the fact that the
                                drink is made to look like a safe drink with a note
                                that says 'Drink me.')
                New topic (premise): it is a poisonous plant.

   The -*sA=wa* construction in the previous studies was considered to express requests. All the sentences that in the previous study have interrogative intonation (see (13) and (14)). Interrogative intonation is used to request a response from the hearer (cf. Kori 2020: 142). The request usage in the previous studies is thought to be caused by indicating a new premise (although able to come up with and identifiable) to the hearer, accompanied by an interrogative intonation, thereby prompting the hearer to react on that premise.[7]

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[7] This section demonstrated that the topic shifter *=(w)a* can be used in a contradictory conjunction sentence and that conditional clauses can be regarded as a topic. This close relationship among topic, contradictory conjunction, and conditional clause is also noted in other languages. For example, Japanese uses a contradictory conjunction marker (including, *shikashi* 'but' and *=kedo*) to express topic shifting (see (i) and (ii) below). Furthermore, conditional clauses are used to denote topics in Japanese (see (iii) below).

   (i)   ***shikashi*** *atsu-i=des-u=ne*
          but   hot-NPST=COP-NPST=SFP
          '**By the way**, today is a hot day.'   [*Digital Kojien* (Japanese dictionary) *7th edition*]

(34)[8] a. (13) *biz-ge bir kesek boluş-sa-ğız=a?*

Old topic (premise): e.g., the hearer does not have to help. (From the fact that the hearer is standing as if he/she does not have to do anything.)

New topic (premise): you help us.

b. (14) *ala=da mında kal-sa-la=wa?*

Old topic (premise): e.g., they leave here. (From the fact that the other people said, 'they leave here.')

New topic (premise): they stay here.

5. The difference between *=(w)a* and *=e-se*

The previous section demonstrated that *=(w)a* in Karachay-Balkar is a topic shifter. However, in other Turkic languages, we can see that the conditional suffix *-sA* functions as a topic shifter. For example, Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 111, 401) call the Turkish *=(y)-sA /=i-se* (i.e., copula + conditional suffix) a "topic shifter (used for contrast)" and describe its topic-shifting and contrastive functions as shown in (35) below.[9]

(35)   *=(y)-sA /=i-se* in Turkish
   a. *Ahmet=**i-se***
      PN=COP-CON
      'As for Ahmet'
   b. *Zehra-yı=**y-sa***
      PN-ACC=COP-CON
      'As for Zehra (accusative)'

[Data from Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 111)]

(ii) *sakki*   *hanashi-ta*   *ken=des-u=**kedo***   *naimitsu=ni*   *site*   *kudasai=ne*
a little while ago   talk-PST   thing=COP-NPST=**but**   secret=DAT   do.CNV   please=SFP
'**As for what I told you a little while ago**, please keep it a secret.'   [Iori et. al. (2000: 235)]

(iii) *konpyuutaa=**nara*** *Akihabara=ga*   *yasu-i=yo*
computer=**CON**   PN=NOM   inexpensive-NPST=SFP
'**As for computer**, you can buy inexpensive one in Akihabara.' [Iori et. al. (2001: 335)]

[8] The old topics in these examples are based on comments by the language consultant on the question of the circumstances under which these are uttered.
[9] Hayasi (2019) provides a similar description.

c. *Dede-m   çok   zengin=miş, fakat ben=**i-se**   çok*
   Grandfather-1SG.POSS very   rich=EV.COP but   I=COP-CON   very
   fakir=im.
   poor=1SG
   'They say my grandfather was very rich, but as for me, I am very poor.'

[Data from Katsuda (2001: 83)]

Karachay-Balkar has *=e-se* corresponding to *=i-se* in Turkish. While detailed observations have not been made at this stage, we briefly discuss the differences between *=(w)a* and *=e-se* here.

In the obtained data, the following example clearly shows the difference between *=(w)a* and *=e-se*.

(36)   Conversation between brothers. The younger brother (YB) has homework
       on various subjects and asks his elder brother (EB) to help him.

   a. YB: *maŋa   matematik   kögüz-ür=mü=se?*
          I.DAT   mathematics   teach-AOR=Q=2SG
          'Can you teach me mathematics?'
      EB: *fizik   {=a   / *=e-se}   kögüz-al-ır=ma.*
          physics   =WA   / =COP-CON   teach-POT-AOR=1SG
          'If it's physics, I can teach it.'

   b. YB: *ödev-im-e   kara-r=mı=sa?*
          homework-1SG.POSS-DAT   see-AOR=Q=2SG
          'Can you help me with my homework?'
      EB: *fizik   {*=a   / =e-se}   kara-yal-ır =ma.*
          physics   =WA   / =COP-CON   see-POT-AOR=1SG
          'If it's physics, I can teach it.'

In both (36a) and (36b), individual subjects (e.g., mathematics, physics, social studies, history, etc.) may be the topic of conversation. In (36a), YB mentions mathematics from a range of subjects, which makes mathematics a topic. In response, EB shifts the topic from mathematics to physics. In such a case, *=(w)a* can be used, but *=e-se* cannot. On the other hand, in (36b), YB does not mention specific subject names, and EB mentions physics as a topic from among a range of subjects. In such a case, *=e-se* can be used, but *=(w)a* cannot.

These examples show that =(w)a is used when a topic already exists, and a speaker want to shift from that topic to another (see (37a)), while =e-se is used to select one of several potential topics in a conversation (see (37b)).

(37)   a.   Where =(w)a can be used, but =e-se cannot.   cf. (36a)
            Potential topics: [mathematics _OLD TOPIC_, **physics** _NEW TOPIC_, social studies, history. . .]
                    Topic shift
       b.   Where =e-se can be used, but =(w)a cannot.   cf. (36b)
            Potential topics: [**mathematics** _TOPIC_, physics, social studies, history. . .]
                    Topic selection ⇧

6. Concluding remarks

This paper proposes that in Karachay-Balkar =(w)a functions as a topic shifter and shows that usages denoted in the literature—contradictory conjunctions and requests—are derived from this function. Furthermore, this paper clarifies the difference between =(w)a and =e-se. However, there are still many unknowns in the usage of =(w)a; for example, the language consultant commented that =(w)a can be used to denote the meaning of 'at least' as shown in (38) below. This usage was not described in the literature.

(38)   *Bu*   *iş-ni*   *et-erge*   *tört*   *kişi*   *=wa*   *kerek=di.*
       this   work-ACC do-NML   four   people   =WA   need=3
       'We need at least four people for this job.'

The reason that =(w)a can be used in (38) may be that this sentence has scalar implications and implies an opposite matter and premise, that is, 'If there were three people, we could not do this job, but if there were (at least) four people, we could do it,' as shown in (39) below:

(39)   Structure of sentences using =(w)a in the sense of 'at least'
       e.g.,   *Bu iş-ni et-erge tört kişi=wa kerek=di.*   cf. (38)
               'We need at least four people for this job.'
       Preceding sentence (implied)   Following sentence
       If (topic): three people   If (topic): four people
       Then: we **could not** do this job. ⟺ Then: we **could** do this job
                           Opposite predicates

However, a detailed investigation is yet to be conducted. Furthermore, this paper used the sentence structure similarity and anti-similarity to determine if a sentence is contrastive. Because these concepts were initially proposed in a study of Japanese, their applicability to other languages, including Karachay-Balkar, remains in question. Further research is needed on these points.

Abbreviations

-	suffix boundary		IMP	imperative
=	clitic boundary		LOC	locative
1	first person		NEG	negative
2	second person		NML	nominalizer
3	third person		NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative		NPST	nonpast
ADD	additive		ORD	ordinal
AOR	aorist		PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary		PERF	perfect
CNV	converb		PL	plural
CON	conditional		PN	proper noun
CONS	consessive		POSS	possessive
COP	copula		POT	potential
DAT	dative		PST	past
DIM	dimunitive		Q	question marker
EV	evidential marker		SFP	sentence final particle
FUT	future		SG	singular
GEN	genitive		WA	*=(w)a*

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