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"BURYING IN LOGS" – A PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY ON A LOWER CHULYM TEXT RECORDED BY A.P. DUĹZON

Abstract

Chulym Turkic is still one of the lesser known and researched Turkic languages. Having said that, in the case of Middle Chulym several studies have been published in the last few years. Since Küärik lexical material is included in Radloff's dictionary, the least attested is Lower Chulym: this can only be found in various works by Duĺzon, which are frequently difficult to obtain. In this discussion a short text which was originally published by Duĺzon in an article from 1952 is reproduced, after which a linguistic analysis is undertaken to determine the accuracy of Duĺzon's translation. The text is interesting from both a linguistic and ethnographic perspective: it documents e.g. the use of the past tense in -AdïgAn which is barely attested in Turkic languages. It also describes the funeral rites of Chulym Turks after their conversion to Christianity.

Lower Chulym lexical material can be found in articles by Duĺzon dating back to the 1950–1970s and also in Russian archives; needless to say, the latter is not easy to obtain for non-Russian scholars. The publications by Lemskaja from the years 2010–2021, however, give some cause for hope: her work comprises many Chulym Turkic texts kept in the archives of Tomsk State Pedagogical University, although no Lower Chulym text that has not previously been published by Duĺzon has been included. Despite this, perhaps further material might be located in the archives.

Having said that, a short text which was originally published by Duĺzon in an article from 1952 entitled *Čulymskie Tatary i ich jazyk* (= The Chulym Tatars and their

language),[1] pp. 176–177, is reproduced here, and a linguistic analysis is undertaken to determine the accuracy of Dulİzon's translation.

The text is interesting from a linguistic point of view: among many others aspects, it documents the use of the past tense in *-AdïgAn* which is barely attested in Lower Chulym lexical materials, but also rare in other Turkic languages (cf. comment 1.2 below). Dulİzon's text will also be interesting to ethnographers, since it describes the funeral rites of the Chulym Turks after their conversion to Christianity (see Dulİzon 1952: 104).

Text[2]

1.

äski-dä (1.1)	*pis-tiŋ*	*kiži*	*öl-gän*	*kiži-ni*	*köm-ädïgän* (1.2)
old-LOC	we-GEN	person	die-PTCP	person-ACC	bury-PST

oj-yv-ät-kän	*kōgur-dā* (1.3)
carve-CVB-'make'AUX-PTCP	coffin-LOC

"Before, our people used to bury the person who died in a carved coffin."
Dulİzon's translation: "Раньше наши люди хоронили умершего в выдолблен-
ной колоде."

2.

kaj-zy	*giži* (2.1)	*ämdi-dä*	*ānä*	*köm-ädi-lär*
what-3SG.POSS	person	now-too	and like this	bury-PRS-PL

"Some people bury in this manner now too."
Dulİzon's translation: "Некоторые люди и теперь еще так хоронят […]"

3.

kajzy	*giži*	*ād-ädi* (3.1)	*kōgur*	*äläm-din* (3.2),
what-3SG.POSS	person	make-PRS	coffin	plank-ABL

kag-ādi (3.3)	*pojag-vala* (3.4)
hit-PRS	nail-INS

"Some people make a coffin from planks [and] hammer (lit. hit) [its parts together] with nail(s)."
Dulİzon's translation: "[…] некоторые же[3] делают из досок гроб и заколачивают его[4] гвоздями."

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[1] For the bibliographic details see Dulİzon (1952).
[2] The transliteration employed for Chulym is the same as in my previous work, cf. Pomorska (2004: 28ff.), Pomorska (2017a: 13).
[3] There is no word for "его = him" in the original text.

4.

kōgur äd-ill-ā̆ďi (4.1)   *agac-tyn*
coffin make-PASS-PRS tree-ABL

"The coffin is made of wood."
Dulʲzon's translation: "Колоду делают из дерева."

5.

agac-ty   jyg-yp (5.1)   *tōgru-p* (5.2) *öl-gän   kiži-zi-ni*
tree-ACC overturn-CVB cut-CVB   die-PTCP person-3SG.POSS-ACC

cā̆nä-p (5.3)   *uzun-u-nu* (5.4)   *jalbāg-ъ-ny* (5.5),   *andyn*
measure-CVB long-3SG.POSS-ACC wide-3SG.POSS-ACC then

jon-aďi   agāʒ-y-ny
hew-PRS   tree-3SG.POSS-ACC

"Having felled the tree, having measured the dead person, his height and width, [and] having cut [the tree], then they hew the tree."
Dulʲzon's translation: "Дерево сваливают, отрезают по длине и ширине мертвеца и тешут; обрубок[5] дерева […]"

6.

andyn jar-aďi orta   jār-yp (6.1) *oj-aďi   cot-vala* (6.2)
then   split-PRS middle split-CVB   carve-PRS adze-INS

"Then [they] split [the tree] [through] the middle [and] having split [it], [they] carve [it] with an adze."
Dulʲzon's translation: "[…] потом раскалывают пополам и выдалбливают теслом."

7.

andyn öl-gän   kiži-ni   jun-dur-up (7.1), *tonan-dur-up* (7.2)
then   die-PTCP person-ACC wash-CAUS-CVB get dressed-CAUS-CVB

sal-aďi   kōgur-gā (7.3) *oj-da* (7.4)   *pă̆l-i-nʒä* (7.5)
put-PRS   coffin-DAT   ?depression-LOC back-3SG.POSS-DIR(PROL?)

"Then, having washed and dressed the person who died, [they] put [him] into the coffin, down on his back, […]"
Dulʲzon's translation: "Умершего затем кладут в колоду на спину, помыв и одев его предварительно,[6] […]"

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4   There is no word for "же = so" in the original text.
5   There is no word for "обрубок = (tree) stump" in the original text.
6   There is no word for "предварительно = beforehand" in the original text.

8.

kol-lār⁷-y-ny   *sal-aďi*   *tŏž-ü-ngä* (8.1)
arm-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC   put-PRS   breast-3SG.POSS-DAT

"[…] [they] put his arms on his breast."
Dul̦zon's translation: "[…] руки его кладут на дно⁸ вдоль тела."⁹

9.

andyn   *köm-äďi-lär*   *pāž-y-nʒa* (9.1)   *kün*
then   bury-PRS-PL   head-3SG.POSS-DIR(PROL?)   day/sun

kon-už-u-nga (9.2)
stay for the night-DER-3SG.POSS-DAT

"Then [they] bury [the deceased] with the head towards the west, […]"
Dul̦zon's translation: "Затем хоронят, головой на запад; […]"

10.

krăz-i-ni (10.1)   *tur-guz-aďi-lar*   *ajak*   *jān-ga* (10.2)
cross-3SG.POSS-ACC   stand (up)-CAUS-PRS-PL   foot   side-DAT

"[…] they put a cross at the side of the feet."
Dul̦zon's translation: "[…] крест ставят у ног."

11.

kara-n (11.1)   *ōcka-lar* (11.2)   *ajd-aďigan-nar* (11.3)   *kōgur-nu* (11.4)
get old-PTCP   old man-PL   say-PST-PL   coffin-ACC

tămir (11.4)   *pojag-vala* *kag-arga* *jary-jok:* (11.5)
iron   nail-INS   hit-INF   fit-(AOR)-there is not

"Old people said [that] it is not good to hammer (lit. hit) [the parts of] the coffin
    using iron nails: […]"
Dul̦zon's translation: "Старые люди рассказывали, что колоду железными
    гвоздями сколачивать не следует: […]"

12.

öl-gän   *kiži-niŋ*   *kān-y* (12.1)   *āg-yv-ar-za* (12.2)
die-PTCP   person-GEN   blood-3SG.POSS   flow-CVB-*par*-ʿgo'AUX-COND

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⁷   The long *ā* is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable.
⁸   For Rus. "на дно" see comment 7.4 below.
⁹   The passage "вдоль тела = along the body" is not present in the original text.

ol   *par-gan*   *jär-i-ndä* (12.3)   *ŏz-ü-ngä* (12.4)
he/this   go-PTCP   place-3SG.POSS-LOC   self-3SG.POSS-DAT

tap-pok (12.5)   *jat-tuk* (12.6)   *jär*
find-NEG.FUT   lie-PTCP   place

"[…] if [because of this] the blood of the dead person flows, in the place where he goes, he will not find for himself the calm place (lit. the place where he will lie down)."
DuĺZon's translation: "[…] у умершего человека потечет кровь и он на том свете[10] не найдет себе спокойного места."

Comments

1.1

The adjective *äski* 'old (of things and abstract ideas)' (= Tkc. *äski*, ÈSTJa I 306ff.) is only recorded in the available sources in Küärik: *äski* 'alt, verbraucht' (R I 880). There is no attestation of *äskidä* in Küärik or Middle Chulym.

1.2

DuĺZon describes the past tense in *-AďigAn* as "habitual past" (1960: 116). It is attested also in Karaim in its Trakai variety and in Modern Uyghur (cf. Pomorska 2001b: 78). There is no attestation of it in Middle Chulym or Küärik. – compare also sentence 11.

1.3

In Lower Chulym, the word is attested as *kōgur* (with multiple occurrences in the text under consideration) and *kogur* 'log, Rus. колода' in DuĺZon's description of the burial customs among the Chulym Turks (DuĺZon 1952: 103, 106). In the text, DuĺZon generally translates *kōgur* as 'log, Rus. колода' (as in sentences 1, 4, 7 and 11), but once as 'coffin, Rus. гроб' (sent. 3). This sentence was included by O. Pritsak in his *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (1959: 627, 629), in which *kōgur* is translated as 'Holzklotz' (p. 627) and 'Baumklotz' (p. 629). Considering the context in sentences 3 and 4, the most appropriate translations of LČ *kōgur ~ kogur* should be 'coffin ← (tubular) container',[11] cf. Uzb. *kuvur* 'boru' (Eren), Tur. *kubur* 'holster; quiver; long case' (Redhouse) ~ 'boru biçiminde kap' (Eren) < Mo. (TMEN 392 and Eren 1999: 263, with further references). In Küärik it is *kogur* 'Sarg' (R II 517). The Küärik word was quoted by Räsänen (together with Čag. *kobur* 'Gefäß, Etui'[12]), who compares it with the Mongolic, namely Kalmyk (VEWT 274 after Ramstedt 1935: 220).

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[10]   There is no word for "на том свете = in that world" in the original text.
[11]   One of the meanings of the Rus. *колода* is 'stump of a log used as a container, e.g. trough, beehive etc.' (BTS).
[12]   After R II 660.

Although Birjukovič also cites *kōgur* 'coffin, Rus. гроб' (1984: 19, 41), it is impossible to determine to which Chulym language it belongs.[13] There are no other certain attestation of *kōgur* in Middle Chulym.[14]

Dulⁱzon's attestation of the Locative suffix *-dā* in *kōgurdā* raises doubts about his choice. In his texts, Dulⁱzon used a colon both in its usual meaning (cf. sentence 11), and also to denote long vowels. The difficulty arises when the colon is used with words ending with vowels, as in *kōgurdā* in this sentence, for which it is not possible to decide whether it denotes a long *ā*, or the introduction to a broader context.[15] Pritsak rewrites Dulⁱzon's "*ko:gurda:*" once with a long *-ā* (Pritsak 1959: 627), and once with a short *-a* (1959: 629). The matter is further complicated by the fact that – even though it happens rarely – Dulⁱzon records the long *ā* in the LČ Locative case in other sources, cf. *jāzlytkan kižilär tajgadā ātjāďilär tīŋ* 'Hunters in the taiga shoot squirrels' (Dulⁱzon 1973: 188), *tä tajgadā pajdak ālyc i kuš* 'In this taiga, there are many animals and birds' (ibid.).

2.1

Voiced *g-* is to be explained by sandhi, cf. *kiži* (e.g. sent. 1).

3.1

The verb is LČ *ät-*, with secondary lengthening before a high vowel in the following syllable, cf. also LČ *ät* 'делай!' (Dulⁱzon 1952: 152) = MČ *ät-* 'to do, to make' (Li 2008: 123), Küä. *ät-* 'id.' (Radloff 1868: 694[16]).

3.2

The word is barely attested in the available sources: LČ *äläm* in the text under consideration and Küä. *äläm* 'Brett' (R I 813). There is no attestation of it in Middle Chulym.

3.3

The verb is *kak-*, cf. LČ *kak* 'ударь!' (Dulⁱzon 1952: 144) = MČ *kak-* in *kakkan* 'he beat' (Lemskaja 2013: 329), Küä. *kak-* 'ein-/fest-schlagen, klopfen' (R II 57) = Tkc. *kak-* (ÈSTJa V 221).

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[13]   It might well be Lower Chulym, cf. Birjukovič's explanations about the sources for her Chulym dictionary (1984: 25).

[14]   For MČ 'coffin', Birjukovič cites *kiži agāči* (!, M.P.) 'lit. tree (timber) for a person' (1984: 26) ~ *kiži ogāǯy* (!, M.P.; ibid. 41), cf. also *kiži agačy* 'колода' (Dulⁱzon 1952: 106), which, because of *-č-* and not *-c-* in *agačy* is without a doubt Middle Chulym.

[15]   There is no such doubt in the case of *kōgurgā* in sentence 7, where a colon indicates length.

[16]   Missing from Radloff's dictionary.

3.4

Within the same article, Dulᴵzon records both *pojag* (as in the text under consideration, cf. also sentence 11) and *pojoug* 'гвоздь' (1952: 142, a hapax legomenon). The presence of the diphthong alongside *-g* in the latter, indicates that the *-ag > ou* phonetic change had not yet been completed by that time, cf. LČ *požag ~ požou* 'сеть' (ibid. 142). For 'nail' Middle Chulym has *pōzug* (Li 2008: 148) and *pozuk ~ pōzuh* (Birjukovič 1979b: 139) = Sag. *pozuk* (R IV 1294) and additionally Küärik has *pojyg* (ibid. 1268); cf. also Šr. *pozyg* (ibid.), Khak. *pozyγ* (KhRS 156), Kum. *poju* (Baskakov 1972: 242) ~ *pojū* (R IV 1268).

4.1

For the geminated *-ll-* in Lower Chulym compare e.g. *ollar* 'they' (Dulᴵzon 1952: 136) ~ *olar* 'id.' (ibid. 177).

5.1

The verb is LČ *jyk-* = Küä. *jyk-* 'zu Boden werfen, nieder-/um-werfen, zertrümmern, zerstören, demolieren, besiegen' (R III 465) = Tkc. *jyk-* (ÈSTJa IV 273). It is not attested in Middle Chulym.

5.2

The verb is only attested in LČ in Dulᴵzon's text, in this form. Birjukovič has *torān* 'shredded' in *torān salam* 'измельченная солома' (1984: 64), but it is impossible to determine the Chulym language to which it belongs. It seems relatively easy to analyze LČ *tōgrup* into the stem **tōgru-* and the converb suffix *-p* but such a stem would have no counterpart in other Turkic languages (cf. ÈSTJa III 248, Clauson 472). At this stage in the research, it would be safer to suggest the stem *tōgra-*[17] 'to cut, to chop', with a further change of **tōgrap > tōgrup* for Lower Chulym.

5.3

In Lower Chulym the verb is attested as *cānä-*, as in Dulᴵzon's text, and *cänä-* in *cänän* '[он] измерил' (Dulᴵzon 1952: 176) = MČ (Tutal) *čänä-* in *čänīgä* (< **čänä-är-gä*) 'измерить' (Birjukovič 1979a: 19) ~ (Melet) *šänä-* in *žänīm*[18] (< *šänīm* < **šänä-är-im*[19]) 'я измерю' (ibid. 35), Küä. *cänä-* 'versuchen' (R IV 199) = Mo., cf. *cene-* 'to weigh' (Lessing 171), cf. also VEWT 104. The long *ā* in Lower Chulym is attested only in

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[17] < **togIra-*, with a lengthening of *ō* triggered by the high vowel in the following syllable.

[18] Birjukovič quotes this verb out of context but the initial voiced *ž-* is without a doubt due to sandhi. For the *č- ~ š-* alternation in Middle Chulym see Pomorska (2000: 255), cf. also comment 12.3 below.

[19] Compare also *sanīm* 'I will read' (Birjukovič 1981: 58) < *sana-* 'to read' (Li 2008: 159).

DuĺZon's text and, if not a misprint, may be "due to the long pronunciation of the open syllables" (Li 2011: 125).

5.4

LČ *uzun* is first of all an adjective 'long, Rus. длинный' (DuĺZon 1952: 148) = MČ *uzun ~ ūzun* 'long; length' (Li 2008: 176), Küä. *uzun* 'lang' (Radloff 1868: 699).

5.5

The word is LČ *jalbak* 'широкий' (DuĺZon 1952: 149) = MČ *čalbak* 'width, breath; wide, broad' (Li 2008: 113) = Tkc. *jalpak* (ÈSTJa IV 100). It is not attested in Küärik. The long *ā* in LČ *jālbagъny* is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable.

6.1

The long *ā* in *jāryp* is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable, cf. also the form *jaraďi < jar-*[20] in the same sentence.

6.2

Based on the available sources, the word has only been attested in Lower Chulym: *cot* 'тесло' (DuĺZon 1952: 104, 155). However, it is also on occasions attested in other Turkic languages, cf. Crim.Kar. *čot* 'carpenter's hammer' (CKE 126, KRPS 631), Kirg. *čot* 'чёт (топорик с лезвием насаженным поперек топорища)' (KRS 370), Kzk. *šot* '1. мотыга; вид кетменя, предназначенный для рытья арыков; 2. топорик в виде мотыги с лезвием для плотницких работ' (KzkR).

7.1

Within the Chulym Turkic languages the word is attested as: LČ *jun-* in *juntxăm*[21] 'I wash, Rus. я мою, стираю' (DuĺZon 1952: 171), although in Pritsak's translation it is 'I wash myself'[22] (Pritsak 1959: 625) = Küä. *jun-* 'waschen' (R III 544), MČ *čun-* 'мыть, стирать'[23] (Birjukovič 1984: 9), *čŭn-* (ū!, M.P.) 'мыться' (1981: 29) ~ 'купаться' (1979: 121) = Tkc. *jun-* (ÈSTJa IV 239, Clauson 942). Furthermore, Birjukovič records

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[20] = MČ *čar-* 'рубить' (Birjukovič 1981: 31) ~ 'колоть' (1984: 71), Küä. *jar-* 'zerspalten, zerteilen, auseinanderbringen' (R III 102).

[21] The sign *x* is used for the voiceless palatal fricative consonant as in the Germ. *ich* /-ç/ (cf. DuĺZon 1952: 157).

[22] Germ. 'Ich wasche mich'.

[23] Compare also MČ *čunnukmän oglannarnyŋ künägin* 'Буду стирать рубашки детей.' (Birjukovič 1981: 61); Yong-Sŏng Li also lists MČ *čun-* 'to wash oneself' in his vocabulary (2008: 119), but in the sentence *mäŋ ižäm šübüräk čunuptur* 'My mother is washing clothes (lit. a rag),' (ibid.), the verb *čun-* is not reflexive.

MČ *ču-* 'мыть' (1984: 14, a hapax legomenon). The Lower Chulym causative *jundur-* is attested only in the text under discussion, but cf. MČ *čundur-* 'заставить мыть' (Birjukovič 1981: 31, 1984: 74).

7.2

LČ *tonandur-* 'to dress (sb.)' < **tonan-*[24] has been attested only in the text under consideration, cf. also Šr. *tonandyr-* 'donatmak, giydirmek' (ŞorS 116). No attestation of it is found in Middle Chulym or Küärik.

7.3

Compare the commentary in Pomorska (2017a: 533) and in 1.3 above.

7.4

Within Lower Chulym the word has been attested in this text alone. The Küä. form is *oj* 'Niederung' in *ojnyŋ kuškaӡaɣyn ojɣa tüžür adarym* 'Die Vögelchen der Niederung will ich zur Niederung hinabschießen.' (Radloff 1868: 694).[25] Birjukovič cites *oj* 'ложбина' (1984: 49) ~ 'яма' (ibid. 14), but it is not possible to determine the Chulym language to which it belongs. LČ *ojda* used in this text means approximately 'at the bottom, downwards'; it is probably Dul̇zon's 'на дно' used incorrectly in his translation of the next part of this sentence (see sentence number 8 in this article).

7.5

In all the Chulym languages, *päl* (the long vowel in *pǟlinӡä* in Dul̇zon's text is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable) has the meaning 'back': LČ 'спина' (Dul̇zon 1952: 149), Küä. 'Rücken' (Radloff 1868: 693, 696), MČ 'спина' (Birjukovič 1979b: 12, 81, 96; 1984: 53), cf. also MČ *päli* 'his/her back' (Li 2008: 145). Birjukovič 1984: 14, 17 records Čul. *päl* in the meaning 'loin; small of the back, Rus. поясница' but it is impossible to determine the language to which it belongs. The Prolative suffix *-ČA ~ -CA* is quite rare but recorded in Middle Chulym too:[26] *čolča* 'по дороге',[27] cf. also *čolӡǟ* (!, M.P.) 'по дороге' (Dul̇zon 1973: 194), *tagča* 'вдоль горы', *tajgača* 'через тайгу', *sugča* 'через воду', *ǖsčä* 'через Чулым'. LČ *pǟlinӡä*

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[24] Unattested in any Chulym Turkic language, cf. Khak. *tonan-* 'одеться, надеть (шубу, платье, бельё)' (KhRS 231), Šr. *tonan-* 'donanmak, giyinmek' (ŞorS 115), cf. also ÈSTJa III 264. In Radloff's text, Küä. *tonlan-* 'sich ankleiden' (1868: 690, a hapax legomenon) [< *ton* 'das obere Kleid, Kleid' (R III 1176)] can be found, with an irregular cluster *-nl-*, instead of *-nn-*.

[25] This is the only attestation of Küä. *oj*; the word is missing from Radloff's dictionary.

[26] It is not attested in Küärik.

[27] All Middle Chulym forms, if not stated otherwise, are quoted after Birjukovič (1979b: 59). The suffix is not attested in Li (2008).

obviously denotes the medium of transaction; compare also *pāžynʒa* in sentence number 9 (see also comment 9.1 below).

8.1

The long *ȫ* in *tȫžüngä* is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable, cf. LČ *töš* 'грудь' (Dulĺzon 1952: 140, 153) = MČ *töš* 'id.' (Birjukovič 1979b: 101),[28] Küä. *töš* 'Brust' (R III 1268) = Tkc. *töš ~ döš* (ÈSTJa III 286).

9.1

The word is *paš*, with secondary lengthening before a high vowel in the following syllable, cf. LČ *paš* 'голова' (Dulĺzon 1952: 163, 172) = MČ (Tutal) *paš* 'id.' (Li 2008: 142)[29] ~ MČ (Melet) *pas* 'id.' (Birjukovič 1984: 24), Küä. *paš* 'id.' (R IV 1198). LČ *pāžynʒa* has the prolative meaning, cf. *pālinʒä* (see comment 7.5 above).

9.2

LČ *konuš < kon-* 'to stay for the night', cf. *kon* 'ночуй!' (Dulĺzon 1952: 133) = MČ *kon-* 'id.' (Li 2008: 157), Küä. *kon-* 'id.' (R II 531). The sources available also record LČ *kün konnužunga* (-*nn-*!, M.P.) 'на запад' (Dulĺzon 1966: 466), *kün konužu* 'запад (заход солнца)' (ibid. 464). Compare also LČ *kün cygyžy* 'восток (выход солнца)' (ibid.). For Middle Chulym nouns in -*(I)š* see Pomorska (2004: 118ff.).

10.1

LČ *krãzini < kräs <* Rus. *krest* (Dalĺ) 'cross' (cf. Pomorska 2017b: 82).

10.2

As regards Lower Chulym, the long *ā* in *jan* 'side' is attested only in oblique cases, cf. *jānda* (Dulĺzon 1966: 466). Dulĺzon has LČ *jan* 'бок, сторона' (Dulĺzon 1952: 156) with short *a* in the Nominative. In Middle Chulym both a long and a short vowel is attested: *čān* 'side' (Li 2008: 113), *čān ~ čan* 'id.' (Birjukovič 1979b: 38). In Küärik only *jan* 'Seite' (R III 78) is found; the word is lacking in Radloff (1868). For postposition *jānga* 'sidewards' (= *jāŋa*) see Li (2004: 541ff.).

11.1

The adjective 'old (of human beings and animals)' is: MČ *kãr* (frequently attested, e.g. Li 2008: 128; Birjukovič 1984: 40, 1979: 30) ~ *kär* (rarely, Li 2008: 128; Lemskaja

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[28] But *tȫžüŋ* 'твоя грудь' (ibid. 122).

[29] But *pāžy* 'his head' (ibid.). For the -*š ~ -s* alternation in Middle Chulym see Pomorska (2001a: 157).

2010: 278) ~ *kar* in *kar ōčka* 'медведь (taboo, lit. old man)'[30] (Dulzon 1973: 20) ~ *kǟrä* (Birjukovič 1981: 11), Küä. *kǟri* (Radloff 1868: 692, 696, 694). In Lower Chulym, only the participle *karan* < **karān* < **karI-*[31] is attested in the sources; note that LČ *karan* may apply not only to animals and human beings: *karan agac* 'старое дерево' (Dulzon 1952: 161).

11.2

LČ *ōcka* 'старик' (also in Birjukovič 1979a: 36, 41) ~ *ōckъ* 'id.' (Dulzon 1966: 456) ~ *ōchъ* 'муж (старик)' (1952: 155) ~ *ocka* 'старик' (ibid. 136) = MČ *očka* 'id.' (Birjukovič 1979b: 31, 1984: 78; Lemskaja 2010: 304), *ōčka* (cf. *kar ōčka* in 11.1 above), **oška* in *oškačak* 'старичок' (ibid. 278). Küärik has *aucka* 'Alter, Greis', attested only in R I 81, and *abyška*, attested only in Radloff (1868) in the meanings: '1. Alter, Greis' (699, 701, 703); '2. Gatte' (703); '3. Vater' (694); cf. also Li (1999: 225f).

11.3

The verb is *ajt-*, cf. LČ *ajt* 'скажи!' (Dulzon 1952: 141) = MČ *ajt-* 'to call, to tell' (Li 2008: 111), Küä. *ajt-* 'sagen, reden, sprechen etc.' (R I 43). For the past tense in *-AdïgAn* see sentence number 1 and commentary 1.2 above.

11.4

LČ *tämir* 'iron' (Dulzon 1952: 144, 172) ~ *tämir* (ibid. 166) = MČ *tämir* (with multiple occurrences in the sources, e.g. Birjukovič 1979b: 20, 48; 1979a: 40; Li 2008: 169; Lemskaja 2012: 213, 224) ~ *tämir* 'id.' (rare: Lemskaja 2010: 266, 286), in Küärik it is *tämir* 'id.' (R III 1133; Radloff 1868: 689), cf. also the comments in ÈSTJa III 188.

11.5

Negation of the present tense is expressed in Lower Chulym by the participle in *-Ar*, with some phonetic changes in the stems ending with vowels, and *jok* 'there is not' (see Dulzon 1960: 107), e.g. *oglan syktyj*[32] *jok* 'ребенок не плачет' (Birjukovič 1979a: 14), *män plärroum*[33] 'я не знаю' (Dulzon 1952: 170). The stem of LČ *jaryjok* is *jara-*,[34] cf. Küä. *jara-* 'passend sein, tauglich sein, gefallen' (R III 104), MČ *čara-* 'to fit' (Li 2008: 114)[35] = Tkc. *jara-* (ÈSTJa IV 137).

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[30] This is the only attestation of *kar* in the available sources.

[31] The only attestation of this verb is LČ *karōm* < **karV-gok-Im* 'буду стареть' (Dulzon 1966: 459), which is fails to assist in determining the stem; taking *kary-* in other Turkic languages into account (cf. ÈSTJa V 311), it is probably *kary-* in Lower Chulym too.

[32] < **syktïjok* < **sykta-ar jok* < *sykta-* 'to cry', cf. *ol syktaptï* 'он плакал' (Dulzon 1952: 136).

[33] < **pil-är jok-um* < *pil-* 'to know'.

[34] **jara-ar jok* > **jarïjok* > *jaryjok*.

[35] Lemskaja (2013: 310) postulates the stem *čär-* for MČ *čärik* (in *äpčilǟri čärik didä* 'Their wives said (*We) agree.') which unfortunately is not correct.

12.1

This is the only attestation of the Lower Chulym word for 'blood' in the available sources. The word is well attested in Middle Chulym, and – except *kān* 'blood' (Li 2008: 152) – it has a short vowel, e.g. *kan* 'кровь' (Lemskaja 2012: 207, 209), *kannӯry* 'their blood' (ibid. 207) = Küä. *kan* 'Blut' (R II 101; Radloff 1868: 695). The Lower Chulym long *ā* in *kāny* could well result from secondary lengthening before the high *y* in the following syllable.

12.2

The long *ā-* in *āgyvarza* is secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable, so the stem is *ak-*. The verb with a low *a* is attested in Lower Chulym only in the text under discussion, otherwise it is *yk-* 'to float (boat, wood)' (e.g. Dulʹzon 1973: 189, 194, 195). In Küärik it is also *ak-* 'fließen, strömen' (R I 86; Radloff 1868: 700, 702) as well as *yk-* 'stromabwärts schwimmen, fahren' (R I 1353). Middle Chulym only has *ak-* 'to flow' (Li 2008: 110). Birjukovič also records *ak-* 'течь' (1984: 13) ~ *āk-* (!, M.P.) 'id.' (ibid. 28), but it is impossible to determine the Chulym language to which these forms belong.

12.3

The long *-ā-* in LČ *jārindä* is undoubtedly secondary due to the high vowel in the following syllable, cf. also *jär* in this sentence = MČ (Tutal) *čär* 'earth, soil, place' (Li 2008: 116) ~ (Melet) *šär*[36] 'земля' (Birjukovič 1984: 23), Küä. *jär* 'Land, Erde; Ort, Platz, Stelle' (R III 334[37]).

12.4

The word is *ös*, cf. also *österiŋnärniŋ*[38] (Dulʹzon 1952: 143) = MČ *ös* 'self, own' (Li 2008: 140), Küä. *ös* e.g. in *ös kižilärgä* 'zu den ihrigen (lit. to [her] own people)' (Radloff 1868: 701), *säniŋ özǖŋ adyŋ* 'dein eigenes Pferd' (ibid. 697).[39]

12.5

LČ *tappok* < **tappōk* < **tap-pa-gok* < *tap-*, cf. *tap* 'найди!' (Dulʹzon 1952: 144, 150) = MČ *tap-* 'to find' (Li 2008: 167), Küä. *tap-* 'finden, erhalten, erwerben' (R III 947). Pritsak quotes the sentence in question in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (1959: 628) and explains both *tappok* and *jattuk*, which follow immediately, as the future tense in

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[36] For the *č-* ~ *š-* alternation in Middle Chulym see Pomorska (2000: 255), cf. also comment 5.3 above.

[37] Küä. *jär* is also very well attested in Radloff (1868), e.g. 699, 700.

[38] *ös-ter-iŋ-när-niŋ* (self-PL-2SG.POSS-PL-GEN).

[39] Küä. *ös* is not found in Radloff's dictionary.

"-(ᵒr)luq-": "*tappoq* (< *tap-ur-luq*)" and "*yattuk* (< *yaturluq*)". Apart from the doubtful suggestion that the Aorist suffix *-ur-* is necessary in both forms, as well as the clear omission of the negative suffix in *tappok*, it would not be easy to explain the change of the labial vowel: *tap-pa-luk > *tappok*. According to Dul̕zon (1960: 127), the negation of the future tense in Lower Chulym is expressed with *-gok*.[40] It should be noted at this point that the Lower Chulym[41] future suffix *-Gok* has its counterpart in Yak. *-ya(x)* (see Stachowski 1994, with a discussion of the etymology of the suffix; cf. also Pomorska 2001b: 78).

12.6

LČ *jattuk jär* 'place where one will lie'[42] < *jat-luk < LČ *jat-* 'to lie (down)' = MČ *čat-* 'id.' (Li 2008: 115), Küä. *jat-* 'liegen, sich befinden, sich legen etc.' (R III 192). The Lower and Middle Chulym suffix *-LIk*[43] has its counterpart in Karachay-Balkar (cf. Pritsak 1959: 628; Berta 1998: 311; Li 2008: 79; Pomorska 2001b: 78).

Abbreviations

Čag. = Chagatay; **Crim.Kar.** = Crimean Karaim; **Čul.** = Chulym Turkic; **Germ.** = German; **Khak.** = Khakas; **Kirg.** = Kirghiz; **Küä.** = Küärik; **Kum.** = Kumandin; **Kzk.** = Kazakh; **LČ** = Lower Chulym; **MČ** = Middle Chulym; **Mo.** = Mongolic; **Rus.** = Russian; **Sag.** = Sagay; **Šr.** = Shor; **Tkc.** = Turkic; **Tur.** = Turkish; **Uzb.** = Uzbek; **Yak.** = Yakut

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[40] "В отрицательной форме аффиксу времени -лык соответствует -гок".

[41] The suffix seems to be recorded only in Lower Chulym. According to Dul̕zon, it is also present in Middle Chulym: "Аналогическая форма времени встречается также в среднечулымском диалекте, но здесь аффикс имеет другую огласовку, а именно **у** вместо **о**, т.е. *-гук* […]" (1960: 131). To confirm his thesis, Dul̕zon quotes a single example, namely *tuŋnīkum* 'я буду слушать' (< *tuŋna-* 'to listen' Li 2008: 169). Because of the changes at the morphological boundary in this word, the example quoted by Dul̕zon is of little help in this instance. Birjukovič (1981: 61f.) does not agree with Dul̕zon and interprets forms such as *tuŋnīkum* as a future tense in *-lyk*. Also Li 2008 does not record the suffix *-Gok* in Middle Chulym, nor is it attested in Küärik.

[42] This is one of the rare attestations of a participial use of *-lyk* in Lower Chulym.

[43] For MČ *-LIk* see e.g. Li (2008: 79f.), Birjukovič (1981: 59ff.). The suffix is not attested in Küärik.

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44 Misprinted for "Monguš".   ☞

Index[45]

adze → *cot* (6)

also → *da* (2)

and → *i* (Rus.) (1.3)

animal → *ālyc* (1.3)

arm → *kol* (8)

back → *päl* (7), MČ, Küä. *päl* (7.4)

bear (taboo) → MČ *kar ōčka* (11.1)

before → *äskidä* (1)

bird → *kuš* (1.3); **little bird** Küä. *kuškaзak* (7.3)

blood → *kan* (12), MČ *kān, kan*, Küä. *kan* (12.1)

bottom: at the bottom → *ojda* (7)

breast → *töš* (8), MČ, Küä. *töš* (8.1)

bury → *köm-* (1, 2, 9)

call → MČ, Küä. *ajt-* (11.3)

carve → *oj-* (1, 6)

child → *oglan* (11.5), MČ *oglan* (7.1, fn. 23)

Chulym (river) → MČ *ūs* (7.4)

clothes → Küä. *ton* (7.4, fn. 24)

coffin → *kōgur* (1, 3, 4, 7, 11), *kogur* (1.3), Küä. *kogur* (1.3), MČ *kiži agāči, kiži ogāǯy, kiži agačy* (1.3, fn. 14)

cross → *kräs* (10)

crumbled → MČ *torān* (5.2)

cry → *sykta-* (11.5, fn. 32)

cut → *tōgra-* (5)

day → *kün* (9)

depression → Čul., Küä. *oj* (7.3)

die → *öl-* (1, 5, 7, 12)

downwards → *ojda* (7)

dress → *tonandur-* (7), Küä. *tonlan-* (7.2, fn. 24); **get dressed** → *tonan-* (7)

earth → MČ *čär, šär*, Küä. *jär* (12.3)

east: the east → *kün cygyžy* (9.2)

exit → *cygyš* (9.2)

fall: cause to fall → Küä. *tüžür-* (7.3)

father → Küä. *abyška* (11.2)

find → *tap-* (12), MČ, Küä. *tap-* (12.5)

fit → *jara-* (11), Küä. *jara-*, MČ *čara-* (11.5)

float (boat, wood) → *yk-* (12.2)

flow → *ak-* (12), MČ *ak-*, Küä. *ak-, yk-*, Čul. *āk-* (12.2)

foot → *ajak* (10)

go → *par-* (12)

he → *ol* (12)

head → *paš* (9), MČ *paš, pas*, Küä. *paš* (9.1)

hew → *jon-* (5)

hit → *kak-* (3, 11), MČ, Küä. *kak-* (3.3)

horse → Küä. *at* (12.4)

hunter → *jāzlytkan kiži* (1.3)

husband → LČ *ōchъ*, Küä. *aucka, abyška* (11.2)

I → *män* (11.5)

iron → *tămir* (11), *tämir* (11.4), MČ *tămir, tämir*, Küä. *tämir* (11.4)

know → *pil-* (11.5)

length → *uzun* (5), MČ *uzun, ūzun* (5.4)

lie (down) → *jat-* (12), MČ *čat-*, Küä. *jat-* (12.6)

listen → MČ *tyŋna-* (12.5, fn. 41)

like this → *ănä* (2)

loin → Čul. *päl* (7.4)

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measure → *căna-* (5), *cänä-* (5.3), MČ *cänä-, šänä-*, Küä. *cänä-* (5.3)

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mother → MČ *ižä* (7.1, fn. 23)

mountain → MČ *tag* (7.4)

my → MČ *măŋ* (7.1, fn. 23)

nail → *pojag* (3, 11), MČ *pōzug, pōzuh, pozuh*, Küä. *pojyg* (3.4)

net → *požag, požou* (3.4)

non-existent → *jok* (11)

now → *ämdi* (2)

old → **(of things and abstract ideas)** Küä. *äski* (1.1); **(of human beings, animals and trees)** → *karan* (11), MČ *kăr, kär, kar, kărä*, Küä. *kări* (11.1); **get old** → *kary-* (11.1, fn. 31)

old man → *ōcka* (11), *ōckъ, ōchъ, ocka*, MČ *ōčka, očka, oškačak*, Küä. *aucka, abyška* (11.2)

our → *pistiŋ* (1)

overturn → *jyk-* (5), Küä. *jyk-* (5.1)

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own → LČ, MČ, Küä. *ös* (12.4)

person → *kiži* (1, 1.3, 2, 3, 5, 7, 12), MČ *kiži* (1.3, fn. 13), Küä. *kiži* (12.4)

pit → Čul. *oj* (7.3)

place → *jär* (12), MČ *čär, šär*, Küä. *jär* (12.3)

plank → *äläm* (3), Küä. *äläm* (3.2)

put → *sal-* (7, 8); *turgus-* (10)

put on → *tonan-* (7)

rag → MČ *šübüräk* (7.1, fn. 23)

read → MČ *sana-* (5.3, fn. 19)

say → *ajt-* (11), MČ, Küä. *ajt-* (11.3), MČ *di-* (11.5, fn. 35)

self → *ös* (12), MČ, Küä. *ös* (12.4)

shirt → MČ *künäk* (7.1, fn. 23)

shoot → *at-* (1.3), Küä. *at-* (7.3)

side → *jan* (10), MČ *čan, čān*, Küä. *jan* (10.2)

sidewards → *jānga* (10.2)

some → *kajzy* (2, 3)

split → *jar-* (6), MČ *čar-*, Küä. *jar-* (6.1, fn. 20)

squirrel → *tīŋ* (1.3)

stand (up) → *tur-* (10), caus. *turgus-* (10)

stay for the night → *kon-* (9), MČ, Küä. *kon-* (9.2); **staying for the night** → *konuš* (9, 9.2)

straw → MČ *salam* (5.2)

sun → *kün* (9, 9.2)

sunrise → *kün cygyžy* (9.2)

sunset → *kün konužu* (9), *kün konnužu* (9.2)

taiga → *tajga* (1.3), MČ *tajga* (7.4)

that → *ol* (12)

then → *andyn* (5, 6, 7, 9)

there is not → *jok* (11, 11.5)

they → *olar, ollar* (4.1)

this → *tä* (1.3)

tree → *agac* (4, 5, 11.1), MČ *agač, ogač* (1.3, fn. 14)

wash (oneself) → *jun-, jundur-* (7), MČ *čun-, čūn-, ču-*, Küä. *jun-* (7.1), caus. LČ *jundur-* (7), MČ *čundur-* (7.1)

water → MČ *sug* (7.4)

way → MČ *čol* (7.4)

what → *kaj* (2,3)

west: the west → *kün konužu* (9.2)

wide → *jalbak* (5), MČ *čalbak* (5.5)

width → *jalbak* (5), MČ *čalbak* (5.5)

wife → MČ *äpči* (11.5, fn. 35)

your → Küä. *säniŋ* (12.4)

3. Погребение в колодах

äски ˈдä пистинг ки ˈжи ölгäн кижи ˈни кö ˈмед'игäн о ˈјывäт-
кäн ко:ˈɣурдɑ· кайзы ги ˈжи эм ˈдиде ä:нä кö ˈмед'илäр, кайзы
ги ˈжи э:ˈдед'и ко:ˈɣур элäм ˈдин, ка ˈɣɑ:д'и по ˈјɑɣвɑлɑ.

ко:ˈɣур э:ˈдиллä:д'и аɣɑцтын аɣɑцты јы ˈɣып то:ˈɣ ˈруп ölген ки-
жизи ˈни це:нäп узунуну јалба:ˈɣъны, андын јонɑд'и аɣɑ:дзыны.
андын јa ˈрɑд'и ортɑ. јa:рып о ˈјɑд'и ˈцотвɑлɑ. андын ölгäн кижи-
ни ˌјунду ˈруп, тонанду ˈруп са ˈлад'и ко:ˈɣур ˈɣɑ· ой ˈдɑ пе:ˈлиндзä.
ˈколлa:рыны са ˈлад'и тö:жüн ˈгä. андын кöмед'илäр па:жын ˈдзɑ
кüн конужун ˈɣɑ. Кре:зи ˈни турɣу ˈзад'илар ajak јa:нɣɑ. каран
о:цкалар ай ˈдад'иɣаннɑр ко:ˈɣурну те:мир по ˈјɑɣвɑлɑ ˌкаɣɑрɣɑ
јa ˈрыјок: ölгäн кижининг ка:ˈны а:ɣывɑрзɑ ол парɣан јä:риндä
ö:зüн ˈгä ˈтаппок јат ˈтук јäр.

3. Раньше наши люди хоронили умершего в выдолбленной
колоде. Некоторые люди и теперь еще так хоронят, некоторые
же делают из досок гроб и заколачивают его гвоздями. Колоду
делают из дерева. Дерево сваливают, отрезают по длине и ши-
рине мертвеца и тешут; обрубок дерева потом раскалывают по-
полам и выдалбливают теслом. Умершего затем кладут в колоду
на спину, помыв и одев его предварительно, руки его кладут на
дно вдоль тела. Затем хоронят, головой на запад; крест ставят
у ног.

Старые люди рассказывали, что колоду железными гвоздями
сколачивать не следует: у умершего человека потечет кровь и
он на том свете не найдет себе спокойного места.

Figure 1. Facsimile of the text (Dulzon 1952: 176–177)