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„HOW DO THEY MAKE BREAD?” – A PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY TO A LOWER CHULYM TEXT RECORDED BY A.P. DUŁZON

Chulym Turkic is still one of less known and researched Turkic languages. The situation is a little better in the case of its Middle Chulym dialect, several studies of which have been published in the last couple of years. Since the Küärik lexical material is included in Radloff's dictionary, the poorest attested is the Lower Chulym lexical material: it still lays scattered in various works by Dułzon, which are sometimes very difficult to obtain. We reproduce here the short text which was originally published in Dułzon article from 1952 and offer its linguistic analysis and determine how correct Dułzon's translation is. The text is interesting from both the linguistic and ethnographic point of view.

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Chulym Turkic is still one of less known and researched Turkic languages. The situation is a little better in the case of its Middle Chulym dialect, several studies of which have been published in the last couple of years. Particularly noteworthy is the monograph by Yong-Sōng Li et al. (MChD¹), a description and a dictionary

1 See also Lemskaja's (2010b) review of this book and Yong-Sōng Li's reply (Li Yong-Sōng 2011).

of the Middle Chulym dialect based solely on field data and the works of Valerija Michajlovna Lemskaĵa.² Apart from the results of her own fieldwork, Lemskaĵa also publishes editions of texts, most of which have been kept in the archives in Tomsk and have been unavailable to other researchers until now (Lemskaĵa 2010a, 2012, 2013, 2015). Since the K  arik lexical material is included in Radloff's dictionary, the poorest attested is the Lower Chulym lexical material: it still lays scattered in various works by DuĴzon, which are sometimes very difficult to obtain.

Even if they are available, they have not been analyzed critically and published in an accessible form. While working on DuĴzon's recordings, one has to face various difficulties ranging from misprints and typographical errors to translations which sometimes depart from the originals quite far (for details, see Pomorska 2004: 27ff.). Another difficulty is the citation forms of the lexemes, whether nouns or verbs, which is of course due to the different phonetic changes.

We reproduce here a short text by DuĴzon which was originally published in his 1952 article entitled *  ulymskie Tatory i ich jazyk* (= The Chulym Tatars and their language), p. 175 (see   ulT), and make its linguistic analysis and determine how correct DuĴzon's translation is.

The text (cf. the facsimile in fig. 1)

- (1) *talgan-dyn* (1.1) *  zud-adi* (1.2) *kvaŝn  * (1.3) *  zud-adi* *ing  r-t  *
 flour-ABL make sour-PRE (leavened) dough make sour-PRE evening-LOC
 '[They] make sour the dough from the flour, [they] make [it] sour in the evening.'
 DuĴzon's translation: 'Из муки заводят квашню, заводят ее вечером.'

- (2) *  rt  n* *kvaŝn  * *  c-v  r-za* (2.1), *  d-  di* (2.2) *itv  k* (2.3)
 in the morning dough sour-*par*-'go' make-PRE bread
 AUX-COND

'In the morning, if/when the dough becomes sour, [they] make the bread.'
 DuĴzon's translation: 'Когда квашня к утру закиснет, стряпают хлеб.'

- (3) *kazan* *kvaŝn  * *  c-jat-sa* (3.1) *k  p-x  tti* (3.2),
 when dough sour-*jat*-'lie down' swell-*jat*-'lie down'
 AUX-COND AUX-PRE

2 For the publications of V.M. Lemskaĵa see portal.tpu.ru/SHARED/1/LEMSKAYA/publications [accessed April 04, 2016].

kōdūrl-ūp (3.3) *par-adī* *ūskārā* (3.4)
rise-CV GOAUX-PRE up

‘When the dough becomes sour, it swells, goes up.’

Duǝzŋon’s translation: ‘В то время, когда квашня киснет, она вздувается и поднимается вверх, скиснув же она спадает.’³

(4) *andyn* *āny* *pulgy-dī* (4.1) *talgan-vv̄la kojug-ala*
ol ‘that’-ABL ol ‘he’-ACC mix-PRE flour-INSTR thick-PART

‘Then, [they] mix it with flour [so that it becomes] thick.’

Duǝzŋon’s translation: ‘Тогда ее густо замешивают мукой.’

(5) *andyn* *ol tǎstā-ny kvašñā-dyn* (5.1) *āp* (5.2)
ol ‘that’-ABL that dough-ACC dough-trough-ABL al-‘take’-CV
naklad-adī (5.3) *itvāk*
put-PRE bread

‘Then [they] take that dough from the dough-trough [and] put the bread.’

Duǝzŋon’s translation: ‘Взяв тогда это тесто из квашни, накладывают хлеб.’

(6) *ulug kvašñā-dyn cyg-adī* (6.1) *pir sāgis itvāk*
big dough-trough-ABL go out-PRE one eight bread

‘From the big dough-trough, one gets [lit. comes out] eight [loaves of] bread.’

Duǝzŋon’s translation: ‘Из большой квашни выходит восемь буханок.’

(7) *ulug pāc kōj-ūp ārti-p* (7.1) *pār-za* (7.2) *kōz-u-nu* (7.3) *pir jār-gā*
big oven burn-CV burn-CV par-‘go’ coal-POS3SG- one place-DAT
AUX-COND ACC

kučala-p (7.4) *andyn pl-ājdi* (7.5) *pāc-tiŋ izig-i-ni*,
heap up-CV ol ‘that’-ABL know-PRE oven-GEN heat-POS3SG-ACC

‘When the big oven burs, [they] heap up the coal in one place, then [they] check the heat of the oven.’

Duǝzŋon’s translation: ‘Когда печка протопится, сгребают уголь кучей в одно место и узнают температуру печки: [...]’

3 The last portion of Duǝzŋon’s translation (“скиснув же она спадает” = if it is sour, it falls down) is not present in the original text.

- (8) *talgan kol-gā* (8.1) *āp* (8.2) *pāc-kā* (8.3) *ād-yv-za* (8.4) *tor* (8.5)
 flour hand-DAT al-'take'-CV oven-DAT throw-yj-'send' quickly
 AUX-COND

uz-ur-ta köj pār-za, itvāk-ti otsūzorok (8.6) *türcā* (8.7) *saklyd'i* (8.8)
 fly- burn par-'go' bread-ACC seat-PRE-NEG a little sakla-'wait'-PRE
 AOR-PAR AUX-COND

'If [one] takes the flour in the hand [and] throws [it] into the oven [and] if [it] quickly flies and burns, [they] do not put [lit. seat] the bread [and] wait a little.'

DuǎzŃon's translation: '[...] если взяв муки в руку, и бросив ее в печь, она, улетая, быстро сгорит, хлеб в печь не сажают, а немного обождут.'

- (9) *kazan talgan pāc tōžōg-ū-ngā* (9.1) *āž-yp* (9.2) *akurin* (9.3) *kōj*
 when flour oven lower part- fall-CV slowly burn
 POS3SG-DAT

pār-za, anda itvāk-ti lopat-ka⁴ sāp (9.4) *otsūzad'i* (9.5)
 par-'go' ol 'that'-LOC bread-ACC shovel-DAT sal-'put'-CV seat-PRE
 AUX-COND

'If the flour falls to the lower part of the oven [and] slowly burns, at that time [they] put the bread on the shovel and put [lit. seat] [it].'

DuǎzŃon's translation: 'Если же мука, упав на подпечки, медленно сгорит, тогда хлеб лопатой сажают в печь⁵.'

- (10) *itvāk pāc-tā pyž-ad'i* (10.1) *pir čas* (10.2)
 bread oven-LOC be baked-PRE one hour

'The bread is being baked [for] one hour.'

DuǎzŃon's translation: 'Хлеб в печке печется один час.'

- (11) *andyn itvāk-ti apcyg-ad'i pāc-tin turguz-uv-ādy* (11.1)
 ol 'that'-ABL bread-ACC take out-PRE oven-ABL put-yj-'send' AUX-PRE
vīp (11.2) *purtlad-ad'i* (11.2) *sūg-vala* (11.3)
 ?-CV ?-PRE water-INSTR

4 DuǎzŃon translates this fragment as "[they] put the bread into the oven using the shovel, Rus. хлеб лопатой сажают в печь". In fact, there is no word for 'oven' here and the suffix *-ka* in *lopatka* is the dative, not the instrumental-comitative case, so the translation should be: '[they] put the bread on a shovel'.

5 There is no word for "into the oven", DuǎzŃon's "в печь", in the original text.

‘Then [they] take the bread out of the oven, [they] put it [and] sprinkle [it] with water.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Потом хлеб вынимают из печи, ставят и обрызгивают водой, [...]’

- (12) *andyn* *jāp-sal-ad'i* (12.1) *jojguc-vāla* (12.2)
 ol ‘that’-ABL *jap*-‘cover’-(CV)- towel-INSTR
 sal-‘put’AUX-PRE

‘[then] [they] cover [it] with the towel.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] а затем накрывают полотенцем.’

- (13) *kazan itvāk suga-p pār-za,* *itvāk pol-ad'i jumžagac* (13.1)
 when bread get cold-CV *par*-‘go’AUX-COND bread be-PRE very soft

‘When the bread gets cold, the bread is very soft.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Когда хлеб остынет, он мягкий.’

- (14) *kazan kvašna (-a), M.P.) āzy-p* (14.1) *jāt-vā-zā* (14.2) *itvāk*
 when dough sour-CV be enough-NEG-COND bread
 pol-ad'i prāsnyj (14.3)
 be-PRE unleavened/tasteless

‘When the dough doesn’t sour enough, the bread is tasteless.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Если квашня недостаточно закиснет, то хлеб бывает пресный; [...]’

- (15) *kertyž-y* (15.1) *pāc-tā* *pop* (15.2) *par-ad'i* *poš* *kav* (15.3)
 crust-POS3SG oven-LOC be-CV goAUX-PRE empty container
 okšok (15.4) *kertyž-y* *požan* (15.5) *par-ad'i*
 like crust-POS3SG fall down goAUX-PRE

‘It’s crust in the oven becomes empty like a box, the crust falls down.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] его корка становится в печке пустой, как коробка, она слетает, [...]’

- (16) *ōzān-i* (16.1) *pol-ad'i jymžagac sūg* *okšok*
 flesh/pulp-POS3SG be-PRE very soft water like

‘Its pulp is very soft like the water.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] а мякоть бывает мягкой, как вода.’

Comments

1.1 The word is attested in all Chulym dialects, in all of them with the denotation ‘flour’: LČ *talgan*, cf. Küä. *talgan* ‘Mehl’ (R III 891), MČ *talgan* ‘flour’ (MChD 167) = OT *talqan* ‘поджаренная мука, толокно’ (DTS 529). It is also present in some other contemporary Turkic languages in which the denotations are ‘roasted grains of barley, Rus. талкан’ → ‘food made of them’ ~ ‘(barley or oat) flour’ → ‘roasted flour, Rus. толокно’: Tuba *talgan* ‘толокно’ (Baskakov 1966: 152) ~ *talkan* ‘id., талкан, жареная мука’ (ibid.), Kum. *talgan* ‘1. талкан; 2. ячневая мука’ (Baskakov 1972: 251) ~ *talkan* ~ *talkyn* ‘1. id.’ (ibid.), Alt. *talkan* ‘yulaf unu’ (ATS 167), Šr. *talkan* ‘id.’ (ŠorS 109), Khak. *talgan* ‘толокно; талкан’ (KhRS 215). – Ткс. *talkan* = Мо. *talx-a(n)* ‘powder; flour, meal; bread’ (Lessing 773) > Rus. dial. (Gorno-Altay) *talkán* ‘кушанье из толченого прожаренного ячменя’ (Anikin 2000: 529). Since the denotation ‘(roasted) flour or roasted grains’ is original, Chulym *talgan* may not be a loanword from Russian in which it is the name of the food only.

1.2 The verb is LČ *āzut-*, the causative of *āzu-* ~ *āzy-*, see comment 2.1 below.

1.3 LČ *kvašñä* ~ *kvašña* (cf. sentence 14) < Rus. *kvašnja* ‘1. посуда, в которой делают квас; 2. тесто, опара’ (Filin 13: 164). The word is used in Dulzon’s text with both meanings: ‘dough’ and ‘dough-trough’, cf. the comment 5.1 below.

2.1 The verb is barely attested in the sources at our disposal: we have no attestation of it for Middle Chulym, for Küärik it is only attested in Radloff’s dictionary: *azy-* ‘säuern, sauer werden, zu gären beginnen’ (R I 529), for Lower Chulym it is attested in the text discussed here in periphrastic constructions: *ācvārza* ‘if/when [the dough] becomes sour’ (the present sentence), *ācjatsa* ‘id.’ (sent. 3) and *āzyj jätvää* ‘if [the dough] doesn’t sour enough’ (sent. 14). While looking at *ācvārza* and *ācjatsa*, the stem seems to be *āc-*, which would be a good match for Sevortjan’s **āč-* (ĖSTJa I 92). However, the presence of voiced, probably bilabial fricative *-v-* < *-p-* in *ācvārza* is explicable only on the assumption that it was originally intervocalic, so *ācvārza* < **ācy(p)-pār-za*⁶ ~ **āzy(p)-pār-za* < *ācy-*⁷ ~ *āzy-*⁸ ‘to sour’ =

6 The omission of the converb suffix *-(I)p* in such constructions is quite frequent in the Chulym dialects, cf. *ācjatsa* here, see also the commentary in MChD 87. For *-ā-* in *par-* see comment 7.2 below.

7 For *-c-* see Tob., Tüm. *acy-* ‘sauer werden’ (R I 528).

Ткc. а́чы- ~ а́зы- (ĖSTJa I 92).⁹ The same explanation is also possible for *ācjatsa* < **ācy-(p)-jat-sa*. It is of course not impossible to explain *ācyp* ~ *āзyp* as **āc-yp* ~ **āз-yp*, but given the presence of final high vowel in all other Tkc. languages,¹⁰ especially in Küärik, the expected Lower Chulyum stem is *ācy-* or *āзы-*¹¹.

2.2 The verb is LĈ *āt-*, with secondary lengthening before a high vowel in the following syllable, cf. another attestation of it in the same source: LĈ *āt* ‘делай’ (ČulT 152) = MĈ *āt-* ‘to do, to make’ (MChD 123) = Küä. *āt* ‘mach!’ (RPro 694).

2.3 For Lower Chulyum, Duřzon attests this as *itvāk*, like in this text, *itv’ak*¹² (ČulT 164) and *itp’ak* (DGĈ 22). For Middle Chulyum, the word is attested many times as *itvāk* (e.g. LĈJa 78; ZS 134; MĈJa 90) and one time as *itpāk* (LĈJa 78). It is not attested in Küärik.

3.1 See comment 2.1 above.

3.2 The verb is LĈ *köp-*, cf. *köp* ‘опухай’ (ČulT 136) = Küä. *köp-* ‘anschwellen’ (R II 1310), MĈ *köp-* ‘пухнуть’ (MĈJa 38) = Ткc. *köp-* (ĖSTJa V 109). The long *ō* in LĈ *kōpxätti* is secondary:¹³ < **köp-(Ip)-jat-Adi* ‘to swell-(CV)-‘to lie down’AUX-PRE’. Since the same phenomenon occurs in MĈ, the long *ō* in Birjukovič’s stem *kōp-* ‘нарывать’ (LĈJa 43) is an error. According to Duřzon (ČulT 157), LĈ *j-* > *x-*¹⁴ after voiceless consonants and after *-l*, *-m*, *-r*. The auxiliary is without a doubt *jat-*¹⁵

8 Cf. *āzut-* in sentence 1 and comment 1.2 above.

9 For the etymology, see also Tekin (1994: 59), Tekin (1996: 247).

10 Except Chuvash.

11 Since some examples of the preservation of PT long vowels are found in the Chulyum dialects (Pomorska 2001: 85), we cannot exclude it here either. However, the secondary lengthening before a high vowel of the following syllable is common in Chulyum (ibid. 86), and is also possible in this case, and would once again support an original high vowel in *ācvārza* and *ācjatsa*.

12 In original spelling it is “итвяк”.

13 Cf. comment 7.2 below and 2.1 above.

14 The voiceless palatal fricative, like the German *ich-Laut* (ČulT 157).

15 Duřzon even speaks about the present tense in *-jat*: “Настоящее время данного момента на *-jat* образуется путем присоединения формы настоящего времени вспомогательного глагола *jat-* ‘лежать’ к сокращенной форме соединительного деепричастия [...]” (ĈJa 453).

with a secondary *a* > *ä* change in this tense, cf. also other examples of this change: *ädilxād'i* 'строятся' < **ät-il-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i* (ČulT 157), *turxād'ilār* 'стоят' < **tur-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i-lār* (ibid.), *undulxād'b* 'забывается' < **unIt-Il-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i* (ibid. 149).

3.3 The verb is LČ *kōdürll-*, the passive of *kōdür-* ~ *ködür-* 'to lift, to erect', cf. *kōdür* 'поднимай' (ČulT 152) ~ *ködür* 'id.' (ibid. 136), cf. also MČ *ködürlüpyškän* '(тесто) поднимается' (ZS 140).

3.4 LČ *üskärä* is a hapax, attested in this text only. It is attested neither in Middle Chulym nor in Küarik. For a possible interpretation of it as < **üst-kärä* or **uz-kärä*, see Pomorska (2004: 166 s.v. *üstün*).

4.1 LČ *pulgyd'i* < **pulgīd'i* < **pulga-Ad'i* < *pulga*¹⁶ 'to mix (up)' = MČ *pulga-* 'id.' in: *pulgapt̄r* 'крутит' (ZS 121), *pulgābylmän* 'мешаю' (MČJa 52) = Tkc. *bulga-* ~ *pulga-* (ĖSTJa II 235). Cf also the same changes in LČ *sanyd'i* '[he] is reading' (ČJa 462) < *sana-*, cf. *sana* 'считай' (ČulT 137). Cf. also comment 8.8 below.

5.1 The Rus. word *kvašnja* means both 'dough-trough' and 'dough' (cf. also comment 1.3 above). Since another word for 'dough' was used in this sentence, namely *tästä* < Rus. *téstó* [-ä], *kvašnä* itself was used for the container (cf. also sent. 6).

5.2 LČ *āp* < **ālyp* ~ **aly* < *al-* 'to take' (ČulT 146).

5.3 LČ *nakladad'i* < **naklad-* < Rus. *naklad-at'* 'класть, накладывать etc.' (Filin 19: 321).

6.1 The verb is LČ *cyk-*, cf. Küä. *cyk-* 'herauskommen etc.' (R IV 204), MČ *šyk-* 'to go out' (MChD 165) ~ *čyk-* ~ *syk-* 'id.' (ZS 5); for a *č-* ~ *š-* ~ *s-* alternation in Middle Chulym see Pomorska (2000: 255).

7.1 LČ *ärtä-* or *örtä-*¹⁷ is expected here, cf. MČ *ärtä-* 'поджигать' (MČJa 42) ~ *örtä-* 'burn' (Lemskaja 2013: 343; MČJa 85), cf. also ĖSTJa (I 551).

16 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

17 Cf. LČ *ört* 'пожар' (ČulT 140) = Küä. *ört* 'Brand, Wiesenbrand, Waldbrand' (R I 1233); the verb is not attested in Küarik.

7.2 The stem is LČ *par-*, cf. MČ *par-* (MChD 142), Kää. *par-* ‘(fort)gehen’ (R IV 1145) and a secondary long *ā* would be possible before a high vowel in the following syllable of the suffix¹⁸ – as in *pāryp* ‘gegangen, cv’ (Pr 626) – or of an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions as in *pāryvgannar* < **par-(Ip)-yj-gan-nar* ‘go-(cv)-yj-’send’AUX-PST-PL’ (ČJa 455). In the text under consideration, the verb *par-* has been attested as an auxiliary in *parād’i*, the present tense in *-Ad’i* (sentences 3, 15), and as *pārza*, the conditional (sent. 7, 8, 9, 13). The long *ā* in *pārza* is explicable only on the assumption that originally another auxiliary was present, probably *yj-*, preceded by a converb in *-(Ip)p: pārza* < **par-(Ip)-yj-za*, cf. also the same phenomenon in *pārjatsam* < **par-(Ip)-jat-sa-m*.

7.3 The noun is LČ *kos*¹⁹ = Alt., Tel., Leb., Šr. *kos* ‘glühende Kohle’ (R II 621), cf. also ĖSTJa (VI 7.4). It is attested neither in Middle Chulym nor in Käärik. Lower Chulym has *-ny* for the accusative case after the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers., cf. *pāctiŋ izigini* ‘the heat of the oven’ in the same sentence (see also Pomorska 2001: 104).

7.4 The verb is LČ *kučala-* < **kuča* < Rus. *kúča* (Dał) ‘heap, pile’ – the verb is one of a few examples of a Russian loanword serving as the derivational base for a Chulym word, cf. also MČ *porlan-* ‘be a thief’ (Lemskaja 2015: 226) < *por* ‘thief’ (ibid. 225) < Rus. *vor* (Dał) ‘id.’, MČ *platälyg* ‘having/with a dress’ < **platä* < Rus. *pläte* ‘dress’ (Pomorska 2004: 70). The word is a relatively new loan in Lower Chulym, with the preserved *-č-*, instead of the expected *-c-*, cf. also comment 10.2 below.

7.5 The verb is LČ *pil-*, cf. *pil* ‘знай’ (ČulT 149) = MČ *pil-* ‘to know’ (MChD 146), Kää. *pil-* ‘wissen, erkennen, verstehen etc.’ (R IV 1335) = Tkс. *bil-* (ĖSTJa II 137). In LČ, the dropping of *-i-* in this verb is often recorded when a suffix is added to the stem, e.g. *plād’i*²⁰ ‘знает’ (ČJa 462), *plärrōm* (< **pil-är-jok-Im*, know-AOR-jok NEG-1SG) ‘не знаю’ (ČulT 142).

8.1 Dułzon and Birjukovič sometimes record a long vowel in the LČ and MČ dative suffix *-GA*, e.g. LČ *kərgā* ‘не берер’ (MDT 190), MČ *äpkā* ‘в дом’ (ibid.); in most cases however, it is a regular short *-GA*.²¹

18 Cf. footnote number 11.

19 The lengthening of *o* in *kōzunu* is probably secondary, caused by the high vowel in the following syllable.

20 Note the long *ā* instead of a diphthong.

8.2 Compare comment 5.2 above.

8.3 The word is without a doubt the loan from Russian. Since it is recorded in the dative case here, there are two possible explanations of its origin: [1] LČ *päckā* < **päckā-gā* < **päckā* < Rus. *pěčka* [-ǎ] ‘oven, stove’; [2] LČ *päckā* < *pāc-kā*²² < *pāc* < Rus. *peč* ‘oven, stove’. The latter word, contrary to **päckā*, which would be attested only here, is well attested in the text under discussion: *pāctin izigi* ‘the heat of the oven’ (sentence 7), *pāc tōžōgū* ‘the lower part of the oven’ (sent. 9), *pāctā* ‘in the oven’ (sent. 10 and 15), *pāctin* ‘from the oven’ (sent. 11), and in some other places: LČ *uluvāc*²³ ‘русская (большая) печь’ (ČulT 152) ~ *ulug pāc* (sent. 7), MČ *pāc* ‘печь’ (LČJa 54), *päckā* ‘в печку’ (MČJa 90).

8.4 The verb is LČ *at-* ‘to throw; to shoot’, cf. *atarga* ‘1. стрелять’ (ČulT 137) = MČ *at-* ‘id.’ (MChD 111), *atkan* ‘брошенный’ (ZS 116), Küä. *at-* ‘1. werfen; schleudern; 2. schießen’ (R I 445) = Tkс. *at-* (ĖSTJa I 199). For LČ *ādyvza* we have to assume a composition with an auxiliary: LČ *ādyvza* < **at-(Ip)-yj-za* ‘throw-(cv)-yj-’send’AUX-COND’, compare also such forms like e.g. LČ *pāryvgam* ‘I went’ (ČJa 455) < **par-(Ip)-yj-gan-ym* ‘go-(cv)-yj-’send’AUX-PST-1SG’.²⁴

8.5 There are a few attestations of this word in the sources at our disposal: the LČ attestations are *tor*, as in the text under consideration, *tor* ‘легко, хорошо’ (MDT 193) and *tōr* ‘скопо’ (ČJa 460). The MČ attestations are *togur* ‘fast; soon’ (MChD 170) ~ *tōgur* ‘быстро’ (LČJa 64) ~ ‘скопо’ (ZS 119),²⁵ so LČ *tor* < *tōr* < **togur*.

8.6 In this text, Dulzon records two forms of one and the same LČ verb, which is not attested in other sources available to us at the moment: *otsūzorok* ‘they do not put/seal’ and *otsūzad’i* in *sāp otsūzad’i* ‘[they] put/seal down’ (sent. 9). Assuming

21 Birjukovič says: “Иногда алломорфы -га/-гā, -ка/-kā произносятся с долгими гласными [...]” (MČJa 32).

22 With the presumption, that the dative suffix has the long -ā, cf. comment 8.1 above.

23 < *ulug pāc*.

24 While discussing Dulzon’s examples like *pāryvgam* quoted here, Birjukovič cites the stem of the verb ‘send’ as *yv-*, which of course is not correct: “В сфере прошедшего времени на -ган А.П. Дульзоном выделена форма прошедшего совершенного, структурно представленная деепричастием на -п + вспомогательный глагол *ыс* (ср.чул.), *ыв* (н.чул.) ‘посылать’ + -ган.” (MČJa 62, the original spelling retained).

25 The word is not attested in Küärik.

a present tense suffix *-Adi* in the latter, and negation in *-Vrok* < **-Vrrok* < **-Vrjok* (cf. ČJa 453; ČTG 109) in the former, we get the “stem” **otsūz-* or **otsūs-* ‘to put, to seat’. The Turkic verb *o(l)tur-* ‘to seat (down)’ has the following attestations in the Chulyum Turkic dialects: MČ *olur-* (MChD 138) ~ *ōlur-* (ZS 119), Küä. *odur-* (RPro 698) and LČ *ot-* ~ *ofi-* in *ot* ~ *oti* ‘сидись’ (ČulT 164, cf. also Pr 626), *otigam* ‘сидел’ (ibid.). There is also the form *oltuj-* attested in the Chibinskiy sub-dialect of Lower Chulyum²⁶ (DGĈ 22), *oltuj-* attested in the Total sub-dialect of Middle Chulyum by S.E. Malov²⁷ (ČulT 164) and *oltuj-* ‘sitzen, sich setzen’ in Küärik (R I 1090) – all of them probably go back to **oltyr-* ~ **oltur-*. The attested causatives are: MČ *ōlurt-* (LČJa 50; ZS 140) and Küä. *oltus-* ‘hinsetzen’ (R I 1092). There is no other causative in Lower Chulyum; it would only be attested in the form discussed here. Comparing it with Küä. *oltus-*, it could be **ot(I)s-* but there arises the question about the syllable *-ūz*. It is of course possible to interpret LČ **otsūz-* as a composition of **ot(I)z-* and an auxiliary but we have no LČ auxiliary which would be identical with *-uz* or *-us*.²⁸ At the moment, the problem will remain unsolved.

8.7 LČ *türcä* = MČ *türčä* ‘немного’²⁹ (ZS 111) < **tür* = Tuv. *tür* ‘vorübergehend; flüchtig, zeitweilig, vorläufig’ (Ölmez 2007: 280) < Mo. *tür* ‘temporary, provisional; temporarily, provisionally, for a short time’ (Lessing 854; Rassadin 1980: 49), cf. also Yak. *türk*, *türgän* ‘schnell, hurtig’ (Kalużyński 1995: 46).

8.8 LČ *saklydi* < **saktidi* < **sakla-Adi* < *sakla*³⁰ ‘to wait’ = Küä. *sakta-* ‘warten’ (RPro 700), cf. Khak. *saxta-* ‘ждать’ (KhRS 184), Alt. *sakta-* ‘1. beklemek; 2. kormak, saklamak’ (ATS 148), Tuba *sakta-* ‘ждать, ожидать, дожидаться; спрятаться’

26 Dulzon carried out his fieldwork there in 1950 and his informant was born in 1895 (DGĈ 22); for the sub-dialects of LČ see DGĈ (17).

27 Malov’s article was not available to us. According to Dulzon (DGĈ 23), Malov carried out his fieldwork on Middle Chulyum in 1908 and he published the lexical materials only of the Total sub-dialect.

28 We would have to assume a LČ **ys-* < PT **yδ-* form which is regular for MČ. Although Radloff records Küä. *ys-* in *Proben...*, e.g. *sōlōb-ysty* ‘[er] sprach’ (RPro 691), *jūktāb-yza pārdilār* ‘[sie] luden [sie] auf’ (ibid. 693) and *i-* [= *ij-*, M.P.] in *Wörterbuch...* (R I 1409) but in the light of other differences between “Küärik” in *Proben...* and “Küärik” in *Wörterbuch...*, we have to think about two different Küärik sub-dialects.

29 Cf. also Tel., Sag. *türčä* ‘sogleich, bald’ (VEWT 506).

30 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

(Baskakov 1966: 146). The cluster *-kt-* is expected in LĈ and MĈ instead of *-kl-*. Cf. also comment 4.1 above.

9.1 LĈ *tözögüngä*³¹ < *tözök* < **töže-*.³² For LĈ *tözök*, the sources record the meaning '1. bed, bedding, Rus. постель' (ĈulT 140)³³ and, in this example, also 'bottom, the lower part of sth (not necessarily 'the foot of the mountain')', cf. ÈSTJa (III 335).

9.2 The verb is LĈ *aš-*, cf. LĈ *aššuk* 'он падает' (ĈulT 131), *ol āš pargan agactyn* 'он упал с дерева' (MĈJa 46) = Küä. *aš-* 'über etwas hinübersteigen, einen Berg-rücken passieren' (R I 586)³⁴ = Ткс. *aš-* (ÈSTJa I 212).

9.3 LĈ *akurin*³⁵ = Küä. *agrīn* 'langsam' (RPro 702) ~ *agryn* 'leise' (ibid. 699), Khak. *ayrīn* 'медленно, тихо; постепенно' (KhRS 16), Alt., Tel. *akkyryn* 'langsamer' (R I 109), Šr. *ayyrin* 'id.' (ibid. 159), Sag. *ayyrīn* 'id.' (ibid.), see also ÈSTJa (I 123f).

9.4 LĈ *sāp* < **sal-yp* < *sal-*, cf. *salarga* 'положить' (ĈulT 137).

9.5 Compare comment 8.6 above.

10.1 The verb is LĈ *pyš-*, cf. LĈ *pyššyk* 'поспеет, сварится' (ĈJa 458) = MĈ *pyš-* '1. созреть';³⁶ '2. вариться' (ZS 101) ~ 'варить' (ibid. 56, MĈJa 31).

10.2 Since we would expect *c-* instead of *č-* in Lower Chulym, this is either quite a recent Russian loanword or simply a Russian word used in the Lower Chulym sentence, cf. also comment 7.4 above.

11.1 The verb is LĈ *turgus*³⁷ = MĈ *turgus-* 'поставить' (ZS 124), Küä. *turgus-* 'stellen' (RPro 703). For *-uv-* see comment 8.4 above.

31 For the long *-ā* see the commentary 8.1 above.

32 See Pomorska (2004: 109); the verb *töže-* is not attested in LĈ.

33 Cf. also MĈ *tözäk* 'bedding; feather-bed' (Pomorska 2004: 109), Küä. *tözök* 'Lager; Matratze' (ibid.).

34 The verb is not attested in MĈ in the sources available to us at the moment.

35 Within LĈ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

36 Cf. MĈ *pyš pagan* 'поспела (ягода)' (MĈJa 38).

37 Within LĈ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

11.2 It follows from Duřzon’s translation that this passage is used for “[they] sprinkle”. The verbs, however, require further study. Can *purtlat-*, or rather **purlat-* (we cannot exclude Duřzon’s error here), the causative of **purla-* be compared with K . *purla-* ‘quellen’ [in: *karaktan t d n purlap jadyr* ‘aus seinen Augen quoll Rauch’ (RPro 703)] = Sag., Koib. *purla-* ‘sich winden, auseinanderfliegen, umherfliegen, aufwirbeln’ (R IV 1369)?

11.3 In one and the same article, Duřzon records both *s g* (as in the text under study), and *sug* ( ulT 160), cf. M  *sug* ‘вода’ (M Ja 56) ~ *s g* ‘дождь’ (ZS 143) ~ *s * ‘water; river, rain’ (MChD 163), K . *s * ‘Wasser’ (RPro 700), *su* ‘id., Fluss, Bach’ (R IV 743).

12.1 L  *j psal-* < **j pypsal-* < *j p-*, cf. L  *j pkan* ‘[он] запер’ ( Ja 455) = M  * ap- ap-* ‘закрой’ (ZS 142) = K . *j p turd * ‘er bedeckte’ (RPro 699)³⁸ = Tkс. *j p-* ( STJa IV 127). Since the long * * in this verb is recorded only in periphrastic constructions both in Lower Chulym, and in Middle Chulym, cf. *s ppagan* ‘покрывает’ (M Ja 54), *  psagan* ‘он укр лся’ (ZS 30), it is without a doubt secondary. Therefore, we regard Birjukovi ’s notation of M  *  p-* ~ *  p-* ‘закр ть’ (L Ja 24) as an error.

12.2 L  *jojguc* < **joj-*³⁹ = OT *ju-* ‘wash’ (Clauson 870a; cf. also  STJa IV 238), M  ** oj-* > M  * ojguc* ‘рукомойник’ (ZS 118f.); for the nouns in *-guc* see Pomorska (2004: 100f). In the case of M  * ojguc*, the semantics of the derivative is clear: ‘wash’ → the nomen instrumenti ‘washbasin’. For L  however, we should accept the semantic development: ‘wash’ → ‘tool or something else used while washing’ → ‘towel’. For ‘washbasin’ L  has *junduk* ( ulT 156, a hapax).

13.1 L  *jum zagac* < *jum zak* ‘мягкий’ ( ulT 133) ~ *jym zak* ‘id.’ (ibid. 148) = M  * ym zak* ‘soft’ (MChD 117) = K . *jym zak* ‘weich’ (R III 501). For diminutive adjectives in *-(A) * see Pomorska (2004: 42).

14.1 See comment 2.1 above.

38 Within K . it is a hapax, attested in RPro only; it is lacking in the dictionary.

39 The verb is not attested in L  or K . Birjukovi  records M  * un-* ‘мыть’ (L Ja 14) but it seems to be an error. Otherwise, the M  verb is attested as * un-* ‘id.; стирать’ (ibid. 9, 74) ~ * un-* ‘to wash oneself’ (MChD 119) = L  *jun-* ‘id.’ (Pr 625) ~ ‘мыть, стирать’ ( ulT 171) = K . *jun-* ‘waschen’ (R III 544).

14.2 Since the expected negative suffix after a voiceless *-p* is *-pa-*, we would rather see in LĈ *jätvāzā* a compound form with an auxiliary: *jätvāzā* < *jät-(lp)-yj-bā-zā* < *jät-*, cf. LĈ *jät* ‘догоняй’ (ĈulT 156), *jādip* ‘дойдя’ (ĈJa 466) = MĈ *čāt-* ‘1. хватать (быть достаточным); 2. достигать’ (LĈJa 73) = Küä. *jät-* ‘1. bis wohin kommen, hinkommen, erreichen etc.’ (R III 358) = Tkc. *jät-* (ĚSTJa III 193). Taking the sentence under discussion into account, we can determine the denotation of LĈ *jät-* as ‘to be enough’.

14.3 *präsnyj* = Rus. *présnyj* (Dal) ‘fresh, sweet (of water); unleavened (of bread); tasteless (of food)’.

15.1 LĈ *kərtyžy* < *kərtyš* = Tkc. *kyrtyš* (ĚSTJa VI 241). The word is attested in Lower Chulym only in the above quoted meaning = Bšk. *kyrtyš* ‘корка хлеба’ (RBškS 318), cf. MĈ *kərtyš* ‘обложка’ (ZS 101). It is not attested in Küä.

15.2 LĈ *pop* < *pōp*⁴⁰ < **pollp* < *pol-* ‘to be’.

15.3 The word is LĈ *kap*, with secondary voicing and labialization of *p* between the vowels, cf. *kaptyn* ‘из мешка’ (ĈulT 169), *kap* ‘коробка’ (ibid. 133, 150) = MĈ *kap* ‘мешок’ (ZS 86) = Küä. *kap* ‘Sack, Beutel, Tasche’ (R II 400) = Tkc. *kap* (ĚSTJa V 266).

15.4 LĈ *okšok* < **okšo-* ~ **okša-*⁴¹ = Uig. *okšak* ‘das Ähnliche’ (R I 1003), cf. also Clauson (96b). The word is non attested in Middle Chulym. In Küärik it is *okšös* in e.g. *aj okšös* ‘wie der Mond’ (RPro 702) < **okšö-*. This derivative is more common in Tkc. languages than the derivative in *-k*, cf. e.g. Kirg. *okšoš* ‘похожий; одинаковый’ (Sevortjan 1966: 142), Alt. *oškoš* ‘benzer, benzeyen, аыи, gibi’ (ATS 141), Khak. *oshas* ‘1. похожий, подобный; 2. подобно, как, как будто’ (KhRS 131) ~ Khak.dial. *ohsas* ‘id.’ (ibid. 133).

15.5 The verb is LĈ *požan-*,⁴² the reflexive of **poža-*⁴³ > *požat-*, cf. *požadyvgan* ‘он пустил’ < **požat-(lp)-yj-gan* ‘to drop-(cv)-yj- ‘to send’ AUX-PST’ (ĈulT 176).

16.1 Cf. LĈ *ōzān* ‘мякоть (хлеба)’ (ĈulT 140)⁴⁴ = Khak. *ōzān* ‘1. сердцевина; 2. стержень’ (KhRS 134), Šr., Sag. *ōzān* ‘Mark (eines Baumes)’ (R I 1301), Koib., Kač. *ōzōn* ‘das Innere eines Dinges etc.’ (ibid. 1302).

40 Cf. LĈ *pōptur* in *aš jigä pōptur* ‘[he] wants to eat’ (ĈJa 453).

41 The verb is not attested in LĈ, cf. Uig., Tar., Kom. *okša-* ‘ähnlich sein, gleich sein’ (R I 1002).

42 The verb is not attested in MĈ and in Küä.

43 = Küä. *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich frei machen’ (R IV 1296), cf. also ĚSTJa (II 205).

Abbreviations

Alt. = Altay (= Ojrot); Bšk = Bashkir; Kač. = Kacha; Khak. = Khakas; Kirg. = Kirghiz; Koib. = Koybal; Kom. = Koman; Kum. = Kumandin; Küä. = Küärik; Leb. = Lebed; LČ = Lower Chulyum; MČ = Middle Chulyum; Mo. = Mongolic; OT = Old Turkic; PT = Proto-Turkic; Rus. = Russian; Sag. = Sagay; Šr. = Shor; Tar. = Taranchi; Tel. = Teleut; Tkc. = Turkic; Tob. = Tobol; Tuv. = Tuvinian; Tüm. = Tümen; Uig. = Uyghur; Yak. = Yakut

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44 The word is attested in the quoted source only. There is no attestation of it in either Middle Chulyum or Küärik.

45 Misprinted for “Monguš”.

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Vocabulary⁴⁶

bag LĈ, MĈ, Küä. *kap* (15.3)

bake: be baked *pyš-* (10), MĈ *pyš-* (10.1)

be *pol-* (13, 14, 15, 15.2, fn. 40, 16)

bed, bedding *tözök* (9.1), MĈ *tözäk*, Küä. *tözök* (9.1, fn. 33)

big *ulug* (6, 7, 8.3)

bottom *tözök* (9.1)

bread *itväk* (2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14), *itv'ak*, *itp'ak* (2.3), MĈ *itväk*, *itpäk* (2.3)

burn *köj-* (7, 8, 9), *ärtä-* (7), MĈ *ärtä-* ~ *örtä-* (7.1)

catch up with *jät-* (14.2)

coal *kos* (7)

cold: get cold *suga-* (13)

container *kap* (15)

cook, be cooked *pyš-* (10), MĈ *pyš-* (10.1)

cover (n) MĈ *kərtyš* (15.1)

cover (v) *jap-* (12), MĈ *čap-*, *š'ap-*, Küä. *jap-* (12.1)

crust *kərtyš* (15)

dough (leavened) *kvašniä* (1, 2, 3), *kvašna* (14)

dough *tästä* (5)

dough-trough *kvašniä* (5, 6)

dress: having a dress MĈ *platälyg* (7.4)

drop *požat-* (15.5)

easily *tor* (8.5)

eat *ji-* (15.2, fn. 40)

eight *sāgis* (6)

empty *poš* (15)

enough: be enough *jät-* (14), MĈ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)

evening *ingär* (1)

eye Küä. *karak* (11.2)

fall *aš-* (9), Küä. *aš-* (9.2); **fall down** *požan* (15)

fast MĈ *togur*, *tögur* (8.5)

flesh, pulp *özän* (16)

flour *talgan* (1, 4, 8, 9), MĈ, Küä. *talgan* (1.1)

fly *uc-* (8)

food *aš* (15.2, fn. 40)

forget: be forgotten *undul-* (3.2)

free: become free *požan-* (15), **free oneself** Küä. *poža-* (15.5, fn. 43)

get *jät-* (14.2), MĈ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)

give Küä. *pär-* (8.6, fn. 28)

go *par-* (2, 3, 7, 8, 8.4, 9, 9.2, 13, 15), MĈ, Küä. *par-* (7.2)

go out *cyk-* (6), Küä. *cyk-*, MĈ *čyk-*, *šyk-*, *syk* (6.1)

good *tor* (8.5)

hand *kol* (8)

he *ol* (4, 9.2)

heap up *kučala-* (7)

heat *izig* (7)

hour *čas* (10)

46 If it is not noted otherwise, the quoted words are Lower Chulym.

- house** MĀ *äp* (8.1)
know *pil-* (7), MĀ, Küä. *pil-* (7.5)
lie down *jat-* (3), Küä. *jat-* (11.2)
lift *ködür-*, *ködür-* (3.3)
like *okšok* (15, 16), Küä. *okšös* (15.4)
little: a little *türčä* (8), MĀ *türčä* (8.7)
load Küä. *jüktä-* (8.6, fn. 28)
lock *jap-* (12.1)
lower part of sth *tözök* (9, 9.1)
make *ät-* (2), MĀ, Küä. *ät-* (2.2); **being made** *ädil-* (3.2)
mattress Küä. *tözök* (9.1, fn. 33)
mix (up) LĀ, MĀ *pulga-* (4)
moon Küä. *aj* (15.4)
morning: in the morning *ärtän* (2)
one *pir* (6, 7, 10)
oven *päc* (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15), MĀ *päc* (8.3); **Russian (= big) oven** *uluväc*, *ulug päc* (8.3)
place *jär* (7)
pour out see 11.2
pulp, flesh *özän* (16)
put *naklad-* (Rus.) (5), *sal-* (9, 11), *turgus-* (11), MĀ, Küä. *turgus-* (11.1)
quickly *tor* (8), LĀ, MĀ *tör* (8.5)
quiet Küä. *agryn* (9.3)
rain MĀ *süg*, *sü*, Küä. *su* (11.3)
reach *jät-* (14.2), MĀ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)
read *sana-* (4.1)
ripped LĀ, MĀ *pyš-* (10.1)
rise *ködürll-* (3), MĀ *ködürll-* (3.3)
river MĀ *sü*, Küä. *su* (11.3)
sack LĀ, MĀ, Küä. *kap* (15.3)
say Küä. *sölö-* (8.6, fn. 28)
seat *otsüz-* or *otsüs-* (8, 9), MĀ *ölurt-*, Küä. *oltus-* (8.6); **seat down** *of-*, *ofi-*, *oltyj-* (8.6), Küä. *odur-*, *oltuj-*, MĀ *olur-*, *ölur-*, *oltuj-* (8.6)
send *yj-* (7.2, 8, 8.4, 11, 15.5), Küä. *ys-*, *ij-* (8.6, fn. 28)
shoot LĀ, Küä., MĀ *at-* (8.4)
shore *kər* (8.1)
shovel *lopät* (9)
slowly *akurin* (9), Küä. *agrin*, *agryn* (9.3)
smoke Küä. *tüdün* (11.2)
soft *jumžak*, LĀ, Küä. *jymžak*, MĀ *čymžak* (13.1); **very soft** *jumžagač* (13), *jymžagač* (16)
soon *tör* (8.5), MĀ *togur*, *tögur* (8.5)
sour *äcl-* (2, 3, 14, 2.1), Küä. *ažy-* (2.1); **make sour** *äžut-* (1)
squirt, spring see 11.2
stand *tur-* (3.2), Küä. *tur-* (12.1)
stream Küä. *su* (11.3)
swell *köp-* (3), MĀ, Küä. *köp-* (3.2)
take *al-* (5, 8)
take out *apcyk-* (11)
tasteless *präsnjy* (Rus.) (14)
that *ol* (4, 5); **at that time** *anda* (9)
then *andyn* (4, 5, 7, 11, 12)
thick *kojug* (4)
thief MĀ *por* (7.4); **be a thief** MĀ *porlan-* (7.4)
think *sana-* (4.1)
throw *at-* (8), MĀ, Küä. *at-* (8.4)
towel *jojguc* (12)
tree *agac* (9.2)
unleavened *präsnjy* (Rus.) (14)
up *üskärä* (3)
wait *sakla-* (8), MĀ *sakla-*, Küä. *sakta-* (8.8)
wash, wash oneself *jun-*, MĀ *čun-*, Küä. *jun-* (12.2, fn. 39)
washbasin *junduk*, MĀ *čojguč* (12.2)
water *süg* (11, 16), *sug* (11.3), MĀ *sug*, *süg*, *sü*, Küä. *sü*, *su* (11.3)
when *kazan* (3, 9, 13, 14)



ТЕКСТЫ

1. Как пекут хлеб

тал'ан'дын а:дзу'дад'и кваш'н'а, |а:дзу'дад'и инггарт'а.
 ар'тан кваш'н'а |а:ц ва:р'за, э:дед'и ит'вāk ка'дзан кваш'н'а
 |а:ц ят'са, |кō:пхātт'и, кō:дүр' |үп па'рад'и үскā |рā ан'дын а: |ны
 пул'үд'и тал'танвълз ко' |жуҗала. анд'ын ол |тāстā |ны кваш'н'
 āдын |а:п, накла'дад'и ит'вāk. у'луҗ кваш'н'а'дын цы'үад'и
 пир'се:гис ит'вāk. улуҗ пāц кō' |жүп ар'тип па:р'за |ко:зу'ну
 |пир |жәр'гā куча'лап ан'дын п'лейди пāц'тинг изиги'ни, тал'тан
 кол'җа: |а:п'пāц'кā: а:дыв'за тор удзур'та кōй па:р'за ит'вāk'ти
 отсу: |зорок; түр'цā сак'лыд'и. ка'дзан тал'тан пāц тōжō:гүн-
 гā: а: |жып аку'рин кōй па:рза, ан'да ит'вāk'ти лапатка са:п
 |отсу: |зед'и. ит'вāk пāцтā пы' |жад'и пир час. андын ит'вāk'ти ап-
 цы'үад'и пāцтин |турту'зувады'ви:п пуртла'дад'и су'твала.
 андын |а:пса'лад'и |жой' |үуцвълз. кадзан ит'вāk су' |җап па:р'за,
 ит'вāk по'лад'и |жумжаҗац. кадзан кваш'н'а а: |дзып |жетве'зā
 ит'вāk по'лад'и пресный; къртыжы пāцтā поп па'рад'и пош |ка-
 воқшок, кърты' |жы по'жан па'рад'и |ō:зе'ни по'лад'и |жым-
 жаҗац— |су:җ окшок.

1. Из муки заводят квашню, заводят ее вечером. Когда квашня к утру закиснет, стряпают хлеб. В то время, когда квашня киснет, она вздувается и поднимается вверх, скиснув же она спадает. Тогда ее густо замешивают мукой. Взяв тогда это тесто из квашни, накладывают хлеб. Из большой квашни выходит восемь буханок. Когда печка протопится, сгребают уголь кучей в одно место и узнают температуру печки: если взяв муки в руку, и бросив ее в печь, она, улетая, быстро сгорит,—хлеб в печь не сажают, а немного обожгут. Если же мука, упав на подпечки, медленно сгорит, тогда хлеб лопатой сажают в печь. Хлеб в печи печется один час. Потом хлеб вынимают из печки, ставят и обрызгивают водой, а затем накрывают полотенцем. Когда хлеб остынет,—он мягкий. Если квашня недостаточно закиснет, то хлеб бывает пресный; его корка становится в печи пустой, как коробка, она слетает, а мякоть бывает мягкой, как вода.