

SHAMAN AND BEAR: SIBERIAN PREHISTORY IN TWO MIDDLE CHULYM TEXTS

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0. Introduction

This paper is dedicated to the great Andreas P. Dulson, who pioneered the study of the Chulym Turkic language in the middle of the 20th century. Middle Chulym, the easternmost of the two Chulym Turkic languages is one of the least well-known of Central Siberian languages. In the Russian linguistic tradition, the languages of the Middle Chulym and the Lower Chulym are regarded as dialects of one language, called Chulym Turkic (in Russian, *chulymsko-tjurkskij jazyk*). The Lower Chulym or *Küärik-Käzik* people were distributed in the northern and western part of the Chulym territory, in the villages of *Tan'kij*, *Minaevka*, and *Perevoz* near the city of Tomsk. The traditional center of the *Küärik* (or 'chipmunk') speakers was along the *Kija* river, while the *Käzik* were found mostly near the town of *Mariinsk*.

Middle Chulym is now a moribund language. The total number of speakers, all of whom are over the age of 40, is approximately fifty. No children speak Chulym and it remains unwritten to this day.¹ In this brief report, we offer two short texts with translation, analysis and commentary. The first text was collected over thirty years ago but never published, while the second was collected in 2003. The texts portray two key players in the animistic world view of native Siberians, and hence in Siberian prehistory: the bear and the shaman. As such, these stories contain not only complex linguistic structures that are now disappearing, but also remnants of traditional knowledge about a now all-but-vanished belief system and worldview. While bear hunting is still practiced on occasion by the Chulym, much of the ritual and taboo surrounding the bear has been forgotten. Shamanism, as far as we know, has no active practitioners among the Chulym, though aspects of animistic practice and persistent beliefs may still be found. The texts thus offer a unique glimpse into Siberian prehistory, including what has already been forgotten and what may still be documented.

1. Previous work on Chulym and Dulson's legacy

According to A. P. Dulson (1966: 446), the first Chulym forms ever mentioned were a few toponyms in 17th century Russian documents. The first real lexical materials date to German explorer D. Messerschmidt's journal from the early 18th century, a significant

¹ For details on the recent discovery of an incipient native literary tradition, see Harrison and Anderson (2003).

portion of which was published on pages 224-226 of J. Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*. Middle Chulym lexical materials also may be found in the *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vsekh jazykov i narechij* [Comparative Dictionary of all Languages and Dialects] commissioned by Catherine the Great and appearing in 1789 under the editorship of P. Pallas. Some 150 words and 60 expressions appeared in the anonymously authored *Jazyk chulymskix inorodtsev* [Language of Chulym Aborigines] from the annals of the Tomsk governate of 1858. The Russian scholar V. V. Radloff visited the Chulym in 1863 and published an excerpt from an epic tale "Taska Mattyr" in *Obraztsy narodnoj literatury tjurksikh plemen* [Examples of the folk literature of Turkic tribes] (1868 vol. II, pp. 689-705). He added some brief phonological and lexical materials in his *Opyt slovarja tjurksikh narechij* [An attempt at a dictionary of Turkic dialects] (1882-1899) and *Fonetika severo-tjurskikh narechij* [Phonology of northern Turkic dialects] (1882). Dulson renewed the study of Chulym in the 1940s and 1950s, undertaking field expeditions to the Chulym and producing a range of short works (cf. Dulson [Dulson] 1952a, 1952b, 1954, 1956, 1957, 1966, 1973). His student R. M. Biryukovich produced some studies in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. 1972, 1973, 1975, 1980, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1997, Serebrennikov and Biryukovich 1984); these are generally based both on her own field notes as well as on Dulson's field notes. Except for one very brief article in German (Pritsak 1959), no data are accessible to non-Russian speakers. The bulk of Chulym Turkic language materials describe only or primarily Lower Chulym, especially the *Küärik* ('chipmunk') variety.

In addition to the publications mentioned above, the Siberian Languages Laboratory in Tomsk has ca. 700 pages of unpublished field notes of Biryukovich and Dulson found in five field notebooks and several thousand index cards dating back 60 years, containing individual lexical items and phrases of Lower and Middle Chulym. These have been kept locked away in the lab for over thirty years. There were originally seven such notebooks; two of Dulson's original field notebooks have vanished. Krivonogov may have some recordings, and there is mention of recordings done by Tomsk scholars, but their whereabouts are unknown to researchers in Tomsk and abroad. The list of field notebooks, file cards with lexical materials, etc., unpublished but housed in Tomsk is listed in Il'jashenko et al. (1998).

1.1 Recent fieldwork

During a field expedition carried out in July 2003, we made audio/video recordings of twelve fluent speakers, numbering about 40 individual sessions, and representing approximately 6 hours of recorded materials. While the number of extant formal genres is quite small, we were able to collect the following: greetings, a wool-spinning song, aphorisms, and bear- and moose-hunting stories. Of informal and elicited genres, we collected: personal narratives; narrated demonstrations of how to use fur-covered skis, fishing lures, dugout wooden canoes and other cultural objects; spontaneous

conversation; verbal and nominal paradigms embedded within sentences; and word lists including toponyms, body parts, colors, fauna, flora, kin terms, and numerals.

2. Qam: Shaman

First, as a striking example of the kinds of materials that have been collected by previous researchers but never analyzed or published, we reproduce here a short text about a shaman. The story was originally collected and transcribed by Dulson's student R. M. Biriukovich, and is found in her 1972 field notes (Volume III, pages 625-626), kept in the Laboratory of Languages of Siberian Peoples at Tomsk State Pedagogical University. The story was told by Varvara Ivanovna Budeyeva (born 1908), resident of Novoshumylovo village, Tegul'det region, Tomsk ob'l'st. When we visited Novoshumylovo in July 2003, we found Varvara Ivanovna Budeyeva walking briskly along the main road of the village, still active and apparently in reasonably good health at age 95, and hailed by villagers as the oldest living Chulym person. She consented to be interviewed on camera and sang several songs for us, but she did not repeat the shaman story she had told in 1972. The significance of this shaman story lies in its detailed (given the brevity of the text) account of shamanic divination, a ritual that has since vanished from Chulym life.

Qam

- (1) *qam qam-na-ptur æmdæ qam-nuŋ tʃugun æt tur-ubul*
 shaman shamanize-VSF-PRES.II now shaman-POSS container meat stand-PRES
 'When the shaman shamanizes, there is a plate of meat nearby.'
- (2) *araya tur-ubul yʃʃ litra*
 alcohol AUX-PRES three (R)liter
 'There are three liters of alcohol.'
- (3) *munzuq on tuyus mojn-an-da sall-ubul*
 beads ten nine neck-3-LOC put-PRES
 'There are nineteen strings of beads hanging around her² neck.'
- (4) *aq plot baaʒ-en-a baɣyul-abul*
 white (R)scarf head-3-DAT be.tied-PRES
 'A white scarf is tied on her head.'
- (5) *on iye kales kul-un-da tut-qan ayatʃ qazuuq-bula suq-qan*
 ten two (R)rings hand-3-LOC hold-PAST wooden spoon=INS strike-PAST
 'She holds twelve rings in her hand and beats them with a wooden spoon.'

² The gender of the shaman is not indicated in the text.

- (6) *ola-bul qa:ʒuʊq-u-n ap-tur qa:ʒuʊg-e-n qam-na-ptur qa:ʒuʊg-e-n.*
 sit-PRES spoon-3-ACC take-PRES.II spoon-3-ACC shamanize-PRES.II spoon-3-ACC
 ‘Then sitting, she takes the spoon, and shamanizes with the spoon.’

- (7) *qaʒuʊq ojdaŋ aŋna-p pay-an tʃurt-qa tʃaʃʃu*
 spoon right.side.up fall-CV AUX-PAST tent-DAT good
 ‘If the spoon lands right side up, it augurs well for the household.’

- (8) *qaʒuʊq aŋna-p-pay-an ty:ndææ ʃybyr-ge*
 spoon fall-CV AUX-PAST upside.down bad-DAT
 ‘If the spoon lands upside down, it augurs bad.’

This text, albeit brief, contains a number of descriptive elements that correspond closely with descriptions of shamanic practice among other Siberian peoples (cf. Dioszegi and Hoppál 1978). Offerings to the spirits of meat and alcohol are a prerequisite to the divination ceremony. The shaman dons ceremonial garb, including a white scarf (in other Siberian cultures, some kind of headgear that at least partially covered the eyes was common), and strings of beads. The numbers of ritual objects seem salient, as the storyteller mentions specifically nineteen strands of beads and twelve rings. Finally, the culmination of the ceremony is the dropping of a spoon to see whether it lands in a way that bodes well for the household. This must have been just one element of a much more elaborate ceremony. By comparison to other known shamanic practices of Siberia, we can speculate that such ceremonies included ritual incantations, drumming, chanting, dance, and the use of totem objects. Unfortunately, all these elements and traditions have been long forgotten by the Middle Chulym. Besides Varvara Budeyeva, whom we believe was an eyewitness to such shamanic rituals, we found only one Chulym speaker who reported having seen a shaman as a child.

3. Moyalaq: Bear

As an example of the types of texts it is still possible to collect in Middle Chulym, we offer Moyalaq (‘Bear’), newly recorded in July 2003. Following the text, we offer a discussion of some of the salient linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the language of the text. The story was told to the authors by Ivan N. Skoblin (born 1931) at Ozornoe village in Tomsk oblast’ in the Russian Federation on July 16, 2003. His telling of the story was recorded in a digital video. Unfortunately, the important gestural and interactional components of the narrative cannot be rendered in the transcription below. Some of this will be presented in the commentary on the text.

Moyalaq

- (9) *pis pa-ya-bus moyalaq-qa*
 we go-PST-1PL bear-DAT
 ‘We were going bear hunting.’

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- (10) *po mun-da bol-gan*
 this here-LOC be-PST
 ‘It was here.’
- (11) *vasilij juditf mæn i p’etrufa*
 Vasilij Yudich I and Petrusha
 ‘It was Vasilij Yudich, me and Petrusha’
- (12) *tjeper judut’f-tuŋ par-ejdi-ps annar*
 (R)now Yudich-GEN/INS go-PRES.II-1PL to.there
 ‘Now we were going there with Yudich’
- (13) *judut’f ajud-ubuul po moyalaq tur-ubuul*
 Yudich say-PRES this bear stand-PRES
 ‘Yudich says, “there’s a bear there!”’
- (14) *qajduy mæn ajud-ubuul mæn*
 some.kind I say-PRES I
 ‘“What kind?” I say.’
- (15) *kør-ze-m na nas kakoj=ta fybyr moyalaq*
 look-Pres-1 (R)at (R)we-ACC (R)some.kind.M.SG.NOM bad/poor bear
 ‘I look, and there’s some kind of poor bear (looking) at us.’
- (16) *uluy be*
 big Q [TUVAN]
 ‘Was it big?’
- (17) *peledžek bol-gan*
 small be-PST
 ‘It was small.’
- (18) *amda pis-ti turu-p kør-ybyl*
 still we-ACC stand-CV look-PRES
 ‘It just kept standing there looking at us.’
- (19) *judit’f ajd-ubuul davaj at-qul manzoq*
 Yudich say-PRES (R)come.on shoot-IMP now
 ‘Yudich said, “come on, shoot (it) now!”’
- (20) *sa-a ajd-ubuul*
 you-Dat say-PRES-PROG
 ‘(He) said (it) to you?’

- (21) *no a øz-y tfulguu-da dur-ubul*
 (R)yes (R)and self-3 horse-LOC stand-PRES
 ‘Ah, I myself was sitting on a horse’
- (22) *juditf mæn a:lga ad-uups-qa-m*
 Yudich I first shoot-PFV-PST-1
 ‘Yudich ... (no) ‘I shot first.’
- (23) *anzon-duun juditf srazu napal-i moyalaq*
 then-ABL Yudich (R)right.away (R)set.upon-PL bear
 ‘Then ...Yudich...we attacked the bear immediately’
- (24) *moyalaq ayna-p bol-gan*
 bear fall-CV AUX-PST
 ‘The bear fell down.’
- (25) *moyalaq ja duma-l-a juditf-a napa-l*
 bear (R)I think-PST-FEM/SG Y.-ACC set.upon-PST/MASC/SG
 ‘Oh, I thought the bear attacked Yudich.’
- (26) *a juditf kakze no*
 (R)and Y. how.so but
 ‘No, it was Yudich.’
- (27) *peej-i jest' qoj-ubal-uu tfaduu*
 mare-3 (R)be-3.SG run-PRES-CV AUX
 ‘His mare, uh, runs away.’
- (28) *a juditf sedlo:-zui-n duuŋ-ebil-e tfaduu*
 and Y. saddle-3-ACC hold.onto-PRES-CV AUX
 ‘And Yudich is holding onto his saddle.’
- (29) *tuuŋ-ba-an pol-za to ayna-p par-raq e:-di*
 hold.onto-NEG-PST AUX-COND (R)then fall-CV AUX-FUT2 AUX-PST.DEF
 ‘If he hadn’t held onto his saddle he would have fallen.’
- (30) *o ayna-an buu*
 he fall-PST (R)Cond
 ‘And he would have fallen.’

- (31) *qajduq=daa a:luy moyalaq bol-gan*
 what.kind.of=EMPH foolish bear be-PST
 ‘That was some foolish bear.’

3.1 Narrative setting and audience interaction

The context of the recording of this narrative text was as follows: The two authors were visiting at the storyteller’s home. Also present were the storyteller’s wife and two grandchildren (all non-Chulym speakers), his neighbor Anna Badeyeva, and Vassilij Gabov (both fluent Chulym speakers). It is important to the story that two other native speakers and two non-fluent speakers (the linguists) were present, thus providing a comprehending audience. The narrative was at several points interrupted by the listeners with explanation and commentary as appropriate. The interruptions are as follows:

- Line 16, one of the authors asks, “Was it a big bear?” at the point in the story that the bear was introduced. The storyteller answers, “(No) it was a small one.”
- Line 20, A. Badeyeva asks for clarification about a point in the story: “He said it to you?” The storyteller answers the question with the particle *no*, commonly used in Siberian Russian conversational discourse, and then he continues with the narration.
- Line 25, Badeyeva again interrupts, but here to acknowledge that she had previously misunderstood a point in the narrative. Here code-mixing with Russian is evinced (more on this below). The storyteller acknowledges this comment, reiterating the point his listener had just realized.

The narrative starts out by establishing that there is a group of people including the storyteller that the narration deals with. Then it sets the location of the story contained in the narrative. At this point the storyteller motions with his hand off to the right and up. This was to indicate that the story took place in the woods just outside the village (Ozyornoe is a tiny village with fewer than 40 residents cut into the middle of swampy forest land, with dense taiga just past the edge of the cultivated fields). Then he establishes the players in the story.

The story clearly related a very amusing event, no doubt embellished in the re-telling. During its narration both the storyteller and the neighbor laughed heartily at several points. Indeed, when viewing and listening to a playback of his story the next day, the storyteller again laughed many times. The interactions with the audience reflect the jovial atmosphere apparent during the actual narration.

3.2 The Language of the text

The language of the *Moyalaq* text reflects the current state of the Middle Chulym language. The storyteller is a fluent first language speaker of Middle Chulym, who, like

virtually all Middle Chulym people, speaks Russian the majority of the time. His speech is therefore considered to be relatively typical of the present-day speech community. There is considerable variation in the realization of certain morphemes, as well as evidence of the rich morphological machinery that characterized the Middle Chulym language in its vibrant state. On the other hand, its current moribund status is also amply reflected in the text through the extensive use of Russian code-switching/code-mixing throughout.

Some general comments on the language of the *Moyalaq* text should be made. With regards to clause-level syntax, most, but not all, of the clauses with finite verbs in the text show the verb in final position. While it is indeed possible and even likely that Russian has had some influence in a number of deviations from SOV syntax in much of spoken Middle Chulym, the narrative style shows a greater tendency towards preserving archaic structures. Therefore, it is important not to overlook the likely (at least partially motivated) discourse functions of deviations from SOV syntax in the text. The very first line of the text, it may be argued, with the bear in post-verbal position, establishes it as a participant of high discourse salience. Indeed, in all but one of the non-verb final clauses that have verbs and are not in Russian in the text, the word that appears out of ‘normal’ order, that is in post-verbal position, is *moyalaq* ‘the bear’, that is, the central character around which the discourse centers. The only other sentence with an element other than the finite verb in final position has the deictic adverbial *annar* ‘to there’, reiterating the importance of the setting of the narrative first established by line 10 with its accompanying gesture. This post-verbal element, it is here argued, sets the physical setting of the narration and brings this momentarily to the fore. This setting is only crucial at the beginning of the story (Lines 10 and 12) and is subsequently abandoned. The bear, on the other hand, is unsurprisingly highlighted throughout the stream of discourse by its frequent placement in post-verbal position.

Line 19 (with a non-verbal element in final position) is in a quote of direct speech from a conversation, and reflects the syntactic (and discourse) structure of this register. As is evident, this is an imperative clause, one actually exhibiting a formally archaic imperative marker (*-GII*). It should be noted that it is likely that the default order for imperatives in spoken Middle Chulym is in fact with the verb in initial position followed by any number of post-verbal elements.

3.3 Features reflecting morphological richness

The language of the *Moyalaq* text, although quite short, shows a significant number of morphemes, and attests to the morphological machinery utilized by fluent speakers of the language. Five different case forms, the accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative, are found.

(32) Case marking

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| a. <i>moyalaq-ka</i> | bear-DAT |
| b. <i>judutf-tuŋ</i> | Yudich-GEN/INS |
| c. <i>pis-ti</i> | we-ACC |

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d. <i>sedlo:-zui-n</i>	saddle-3-ACC
e. <i>tfulguu-da</i>	horse-LOC
f. <i>anzon-duun</i>	then-ABL

The use of two morphological present tense forms and one compound/auxiliary one as well as the same number of past tense forms is attested in the text.

(33) *ajd-ubul*
say-PRES
'he says'

(34) *pa-ya-buus*
go-PST-1PL
'we went'

(35) *par-ejdi-ps*
go-PRES.II-1PL
'we [were/are] go[ing]'

(36) *e:-di*
AUX-PST.II
'he'd'

(37) *qoj-ubal-uu tfadiu*
run.away-PRES-CV AUX
'runs away'

(38) *ayna-p bol-gan*
fall-CV AUX-PST
'fell down'

Note that many of the present tense forms in Middle Chulym can be used in narratives in past meanings as well, in so-called 'narrative present' formations.

The protasis and apodosis of counterfactual or irrealis conditionals are also represented in the text.

(39) *tuuŋ-ba-an pol-za to ayna-p par-raq e:-di*
hold.onto-NEG-PST AUX-COND (R)then fall-CV AUX-FUT.II AUX-PST.II
'If he hadn't held onto his saddle he would have fallen.'

In addition, a mixed Russian form with counterfactual or irrealis conditional functions is attested in the text. Formally this consists of the Middle Chulym past and the irrealis particle from Russian *buu*, here perhaps showing characteristic Middle Chulym vowel harmony (for more on Middle Chulym vowel harmony, see 3.5 below).

- (40) *o ayna-an buu*
 he fall-PST (R)COND
 ‘And he would have fallen.’

Middle Chulym also exhibits the archaic and pan-Altai-Sayan Turkic perfective suffix. This perfective suffix is commonly used in such cognate languages as Tofa or Xakas.

- (41) *mæn a:lga ad-ups-qa-m*
 I first shoot-PFV-PST-1
 ‘I shot first.’

Finally, a range of current and fused auxiliary verb constructions are evident in the text, attesting to the rich system of auxiliary verb constructions so characteristic of Altai-Sayan Turkic languages (Anderson 2003). Thus, there is a perfective construction in *-p par*. Cognate forms are found in throughout the Altai-Sayan Turkic [AST] languages.

- (42) *ayna-p par-raq e:di*
 fall-CV AUX-FUT2 AUX-PST.II
 ‘he would have fallen’

As in many AST languages, the stem *tfat* ~ *tfadu* ‘lie’ is used in a present/progressive function, here attested in a compound present form.

- (43) *qoj-ubal-uu tfadu*
 run.away-PRES-CV AUX
 ‘runs away’

Common to many AST languages, the verb *bol/pol* ‘be[come]’ is frequently used in various kinds of auxiliary verb constructions in Middle Chulym.

- (44) *ayna-p bol-gan*
 fall-CV AUX-PST
 ‘he fell’

- (45) *tuŋ-ba-an pol-za*
 hold.onto-NEG-PST AUX-COND
 ‘if he hadn’t held on’

As mentioned above, Middle Chulym makes use of a perfective suffix that is widely distributed among the modern AST languages, and even is attested in Old Turkic sources (Anderson 2002). This comes from a fusing of the auxiliary **uð* ‘send’.

- (46) *ad-ups-qa-m*
 shoot-PFV-PST-1
 ‘I shot’

Both of the synthetic present tense forms in Middle Chulym come from fused auxiliary verb constructions. In the following, the former comes from **-Ip ol[ur]* and the latter from **-A/y tur*.

(47) *ajd-ubbul*
say-PRES
'he says'

(48) *par-ejdi-ps*
go-PRES.II-1PL
'we [were/are] go[ing]'

3.4 Allomorphy

A number of morphophonological alternations typical of spoken Middle Chulym are evidenced in the text. For example, the common verb *par* 'go', which, as mentioned above, also has a range of auxiliary uses, loses the *-r* before the past tense suffix (with the initial consonant of the past tense suffix showing a spirantization of *g > γ*); the past tense suffix itself loses the final *-n* before the subject suffix as in Xakas (Anderson 1998). Also, following stems that are 'really' vowel final (that is, that are always vowel final, and do not show the alternation typical of *par* described above), the initial velar is lost altogether, as occurs in a number of other AST languages, e.g. Tuvan (Anderson and Harrison 1999). Further, suffixes may appear with or without a (high) vowel, as in the first plural suffix. Thus, we find *par-ejdi-ps*, *pa-γa-buus*, *aγna-an*, and *bol-gan*, with *par ~ pa* 'go', *gan ~ γa ~ an* past tense and *buus ~ ps* first plural subject.

Indeed, a number of forms show considerable variation in the text. This is quite typical of the current state of the Middle Chulym language, with hyper-variation even within the speech of a single speaker. As is well-known, this kind of hyper-variation even on the idiolectal level, and certainly across a speech community, is typical of endangered languages like Middle Chulym (e.g. Andersen 1982; Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Dorian (ed.) 1989, Grenoble and Whaley 1998, Crystal 2000, Nettle and Romaine 2000).

We will give two examples to demonstrate this variability in the language exhibited in the *Moyalaq* text. One comes from the domain of variation in lexical stems, the other from inflectional suffixes.

The verb meaning 'be[come]' in Middle Chulym, which commonly functions as both a copula (in non-present forms) and an auxiliary verb is realized with either a voiced or a voiceless initial stop, i.e. *bol ~ pol*. Note that there is a similar variation between *dur* and *tur* 'stand' (also with auxiliary functions, not attested in this text).

The characteristic and uniquely Middle Chulym form of the present tense, which, as mentioned above, derives from the historical fusing of an auxiliary verb construction in **-Ip olur*, is generally realized as *-Ibll* (with conditioned harmonic variants, *-ybyl*,

-ubul, and *-ubul*; see below). In the present text, this appears in a range of different forms, particularly in complex present tense formations. In particular, there is variation between high and low vowels (underlined) in this suffix: *qoj-ubal-u tfadu* and *duŋ-ebil-e tfadu*. In the former combination, the second vowel of the present tense suffix is low, not high; in the latter form, the reverse is true. In addition, the converb form that this tense marked verb appears in is also variably realized as a high or a non-high vowel, viz. *-uu* or *-e*. To be sure, there are a number of other forms in the text which suggest a similar vacillation between high and non-high vowels. Thus, the form *parraq* (line 29) contains the element *-raq*, which is a form of the characteristic Middle Chulym future suffix *-LIK*, but with a non-high vowel rather than the high vowel typically found with this suffix. In other forms used by the storyteller not in this narrative, we find this same suffix with the ‘expected’ high vowel.

With this alternation in mind, let us now turn to the problematic form *judutŋ-tuŋ* from line 12. By form it appears to be a genitive case typical of the whole of the areal grouping of the AST languages with voice assimilation to the stem-final consonant and final *-ŋ*. However, its meaning is more of an instrumental or comitative. Now in Middle Chulym, the ablative appears with a high vowel and a final *-n*, so this is not a specialized use of the ablative case by all appearances, as might be expected functionally speaking. It is of course possible that Middle Chulym idiosyncratically and, as of yet, inexplicably uses a genitive case in an instrumental/comitative function. Another possibility is that this is actually a variant of *-tAŋ*, which is reminiscent of the dialectal Xakas instrumental *-nAŋ* ~ *-dAŋ*, which is not obviously, but nevertheless demonstrably derivable from the pan-AST instrumental **=bIlA[ŋ]* ~ **=bInAŋ* (see Anderson 2004, chapter 3, for more detail on the instrumental in Xakas). Resolving this issue requires further research.

3.5 Sound patterns

A prominent feature of Central Siberian Turkic languages is vowel harmony (Harrison 1999, 2004). Two basic types are found: the first is backness harmony, which prohibits the co-occurrence of back and front vowels within a word. The second is rounding harmony, which requires certain vowels (typically high vowels) to be rounded when they appear in the vicinity of other rounded vowels. Vowel harmony systems in Siberian Turkic are in a state of flux, with some of the systems now in the process of breaking down. Middle Chulym is no exception to this. On the one hand, roots show fairly pervasive patterns of harmony. Backness harmony is apparent in roots, where front vowels [i, y, e, ø, æ] do not typically co-occur with back vowels [u, ʊ, a, o]. Roots thus typically contain either all front vowels (e.g., *fybyr*, *peledzek*, *æmdæ*, *iye*, *ty:ndææ*, etc.) or all back vowels (e.g., *ayna-*, *tfuľgu*, *moyalaq*, *anzon*, *kajduq*, *a:ľuy*, *manzok*, *qazuuq*, etc.). Exceptions may be found in disharmonic loanwords from Russian (e.g., *kales*, *litra*, *sedlo*). Backness harmony is also apparent in alternations of suffix vowels. For example, the dative, which may be underlyingly represented as /-KA/, surfaces with an [a] or [e] depending on the vowel(s) of the root to which it attaches, e.g., *fybyr-ge*,

tfurt-qa. Some morphological exceptions also exist, as in the PRES suffix /-ebil/, which sometimes appears with fixed front vocalism and thus starts a new harmony pattern, e.g., *duŋ-ebil-e*. We also found speaker variation; this remains to be investigated more fully.

Rounding harmony requires that vowels be rounded if they are high and if they immediately follow a rounded vowel. This is observable in static co-occurrence patterns within roots: e.g., *fybyr*, *turu-*. The pattern is also observed in vowel alternations in suffixes, for example: *oz-y*, *kör-ybyl*, *tur-ubul*, *koj-ubal-u*. If they follow an unrounded vowel, high suffix vowels must typically be unrounded (underlined here): e.g., *ajd-ubul* *judutf-tuŋ*. Cases of underapplication of rounding harmony may be found as well (non-harmonizing vowels underlined): e.g., *sedlo:-zuu-n*, *anzon-dun*.

We may generalize that Middle Chulym still has robust backness harmony and also rounding harmony, but that these systems are somewhat in flux, as evidenced by considerable inter- and intra-speaker variation. More research in this area is needed.

3.6 Russian influences

As would be apparent to anyone familiar with Russian, there is an obvious degree of influence from Russian in the *Moyalaq* text. Indeed, there is code-switching and code-mixing (intra-clausal code-switching) exhibited in the data here. For example, various clause-peripheral discourse particles are peppered throughout the narrative. Examples include the use of *tjeper* ‘now’ in line 12, (*no*) *a* in line 21, *a* in line 28.

(12) *tjeper judutf-tuŋ par-ejdi-ps annar*
 (R)now Yudich-GEN/INS go-PRES.II-1PL to.there
 ‘Now we were going there with Yudich’

(21) *no a oz-y tfulguu-da dur-ubul*
 (R)DISC (R)and self-3 horse-LOC stand-PRES
 ‘Mm-hmm, uh, I myself was sitting on a horse’

(28) *a juditf sedlo:-zuu-n duŋ-ebil-e tfadu*
 and Y. saddle-3-ACC hold.onto-PRES-CV AUX
 ‘And Yudich is holding onto his saddle.’

It is possible that these have simply been borrowed into Middle Chulym, but given the actual and clear use of Russian in the text and the universal bilingualism among the Middle Chulym people, there is no way to really tell in the case of *a* and *no*. In the case of *tjeper* there is a functionally similar Middle Chulym element, *amda*, that is attested later in the text.

Examples of code-switching in the text come in several places. Line 23 starts with the Middle Chulym connective *anzondun* ‘and then’ and is followed by the Russian name Yudich. Now it is possible that this triggers a switch to Russian, as the next two

words are clearly in Russian (an adverb followed by a plural-marked past tense of a Russian perfective verb stem).

- (23) *anzon-duun juditf srazu napal-i moyalaq*
 then-ABL Yudich (R)right.away (R)set.upon-PL bear
 ‘Then ...Yudich...we attacked the bear immediately’

At line 25, the neighbor makes a commentary on the narrative. Other than the initial word *moyalaq*, this line is entirely in Russian, including a feminine past tense, an animate accusative-cum-genitive marker on the object, etc. The storyteller follows this switch to Russian with a sentence in Russian himself.

- (25) *moyalaq ja duma-l-a juditf-a napa-l*
 bear (R)I think-PST-FEM/SG Y.-ACC set.upon-PST/MASC/SG
 ‘Oh, I thought the bear attacked Yudich.’

- (26) *a juditf kakze no*
 (R)and Y. how.so but
 ‘No, it was Yudich.’

The examples of code-mixing are even more interesting in this text. Line 15 stands out in this regard.

- (15) *kør-ze-m na nas kakoj=ta fybyr moyalaq*
 look-Pres-1 (R) at (R) we-ACC (R) some.kind.M.SG.NOM poor/bad bear
 ‘I look, and there’s some kind of poor bear (looking) at us.’

The sentence starts with a common narrative device found in AST discourse, viz. a first person form of the conditional *kør-ze-m*. This serves to set out a particular scene in the narrative. It generally occurs with the verbs meaning ‘see’/‘look’ (as here) or ‘listen’/‘hear’. A similar use of first singular conditional forms in narrative discourse is found in such AST languages as Xakas and Shor. This verb is followed by a Russian prepositional phrase *na nas* ‘at us’. This latter form appears to be conditioned by an omitted Russian verb *smotret’* ‘to look’ (which governs an object with *na* ‘at’). This use of the Russian prepositional phrase appears to have triggered further use of Russian in the form of the pronominal *kakoj=ta* ‘some such’. This then is followed by the clause peripheral noun *moyalaq* ‘bear’, which, as mentioned above, frequently occurs in such a sentential position. This appears to draw the narrative back into Middle Chulym.

A final example of the use of Russian, or at least an element of Russian origin in a mixed construction, comes from the counterfactual or irrealis conditional clause occurring near the end of the text. Line 29 has the ‘normal’ or etymological irrealis form for Middle Chulym:

- (29) *ayna-p par-rak e:-di*
 fall-CV AUX-FUT2 AUX-PST.II
 ‘And he would have fallen.’

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Formally speaking, this construction consists of a verb in future followed by an assertive (or definite, recent) past form of the archaic auxiliary *-e* (Anderson 2002). This in turn is followed by a synonymous clause consisting of a past tense form of the verb followed by the Russian irrealis particle:

- (30) *o ayna-an buu*
he fall-PST (R)Cond
'And he would have fallen.'

It is not clear at the present state of investigation of Middle Chulym whether this latter formation was a spontaneous, idiosyncratic instance of code-mixing, or whether it has wider currency within the speech community and thus constitutes an alternative construction in irrealis contexts.

4 Summary

This brief communiqué, discussing a recently recorded text in the Middle Chulym language, is offered as homage to the great Siberianist A. P. Dulson. While a new chapter is opening up in the history of the study of the Middle Chulym language, the present authors feel indebted and a tremendous respect for the trailblazing work begun by Professor Dulson (and continued by his student R. M. Birjukovich), without whose pioneering efforts much of what is known about the vanishing and fascinating Middle Chulym language, and in turn about Siberian prehistory, would simply not be possible.

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Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative
AST	Altai-Sayan Turkic
AUX	Auxiliary
COND	Conditional
CV	Converb
DAT	Dative
FUT.II	Future II
GEN	Genitive
INS	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
M(ASC)	Masculine
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
PFV	Perfective
PRES	Present
PRES.II	Present II
PST	Past
PST.II	Past II
Q	Question
(R)	Russian loanword or code-mixing
SG	Singular
VSF	Verb stem formant
1(PL)	First person (plural)
3	Third person