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MASTER THESIS

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# A description of aspects of the Soyot grammar

by means of a Soyot text provided by Rassadin

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## Abstract

In this thesis a Soyot (Sayan Turkic spoken in Buryatia, Russia) text called *The Hunter* is analyzed in order to provide more information on the grammar of Soyot. This text came with the only linguistic study available at the moment, the grammar sketch by Rassadin (2010). Besides the text, a mini-dictionary was also published together with the grammar sketch. This dictionary was the source for the translation of the text, which was subsequently parsed and glossed. This work was published in order to revive the Soyot language which went extinct sometime between the 1970s and 1990s. However, a lot of this language has not yet been studied. The analyzed text provided new data and it was the basis for the description of the functions of participles and gerunds. The text also shows how predicative possession is constructed. On the other hand, the mini-dictionary helped to define the sound inventory of Soyot. With the help of literature on other languages, such as related Turkic languages or Mongolic languages which have influenced Soyot, a hypothetical IPA orthography could be constructed and the syntax of subordinate clauses and predicative possessive could be compared.

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## Glosses

1	first person	GER	gerund	PP	remote past participle
2	second person	IMP	imperative	PRO	pronoun
3	third person	INCH	inchoative	PROX	proximal
ABL	ablative	INF	infinitive	PRS	present
ACC	accusative	INTJ	interjection	PST	past
ACT	action	IPFV	imperfective	PTCL	particle
ADJZ	adjectivizer	IPFVP	imperfective participle	PURP	purpose
ALL	allative	ITER	iterative	Q	question word
ASS	assertative	LIM	limitative	REC	recent past
AUX	auxiliary verb	LK	linker	RECP	reciprocal
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative	REFL	reflexive
COL	collective	MED	medial	REM	remote past
COND	conditional	MOD	modal	RPP	recent past participle
CONJ	conjunction	MOM	momentane	SBEN	self-benefactive
CONT	continuous	NEG	negation	SG	singular
COP	copular verb	NMLZ	nominalizer	ST	same TAM value
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative	VBLZ	verbalizer
DEF	definite	NPP	non-past participle	VIS	visible past
DEM	demonstrative	NPST	non-past	-	morpheme boundary
DES	desiderative	NVIS	non-visible past	.	separation of grammatical information in one morpheme
DIST	distal	PASS	passive	//	phonological notation
EMPH	emphasis	PFV	perfective	[]	phonetic notation
EXIST	existential verb	PFVP	perfective participle		
FUT	future	PL	plural		
FUTP	future participle	POSS	possessive		
GEN	genitive				



## Transcription of Soyot sounds

The first column contains the letters that are part of the Soyot alphabet according to Rassadin (Rassadin 2010: 10, 12). The letters that were actually found in the text and wordlist are found in the second column. These letters are used in line (ii) of examples. The last column contains the (hypothetical) IPA notation of the sounds that were found in Rassadin's (2010) grammar sketch. This notation is used in line (i) of examples.

Rassadin (2010)	Found in wordlist and text	(hypothetical) IPA notation	Transcription remaining sounds <sup>1</sup>
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	a	
<i>б</i>	<i>б</i>	b	
<i>в</i>	<i>в</i>	v	
<i>г</i>	<i>г</i>	g	
<i>ґ</i>	<i>ґ</i>	ɸ	
<i>д</i>	<i>д</i>	d	
<i>(e)</i>	<i>e</i>	ɛ	
<i>(ë)</i>			yo
<i>ж</i>			ž
<i>з</i>	<i>з</i>	z	
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	i	
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	ɨ	
<i>й</i>	<i>й</i>	j	
<i>к</i>	<i>к</i>	k	
<i>қ</i>	<i>қ</i>	q	
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	ħ	
<i>л</i>	<i>л</i>	l	
	<i>м</i>	m	
	<i>н</i>	n	
<i>ң</i>	<i>ң</i>	ŋ	
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	o	
<i>ө</i>	<i>ө</i>	ø	
<i>п</i>	<i>п</i>	p	
<i>р</i>	<i>р</i>	r	
<i>с</i>	<i>с</i>	s	
<i>т</i>	<i>т</i>	t	
<i>у</i>	<i>у</i>	u	
<i>ү</i>	<i>ү</i>	y	
<i>ф</i>			f
<i>х</i>			kh
<i>ц</i>			c
<i>ч</i>	<i>ч</i>	tʃ	
<i>ч</i>	<i>ч</i>	dʒ	
<i>ш</i>	<i>ш</i>	ʃ	
<i>щ</i>			šč

<sup>1</sup> The sounds that are listed by Rassadin 2010: 10, 12, but are not found in the rest of the grammar sketch. These sounds are not annotated by an IPA notation, but based on the Scientific Transliteration of Cyrillic (i.e. transliteration which is used in most scientific journals) since nothing can be said about their phonological value.

ъ	ь	ҕ	
Ы	Ы	Ш	
(Ы)			-
Э	Э	Э	
Ә	Ә	Ә	
(Ю)			yu
(Я)			ya

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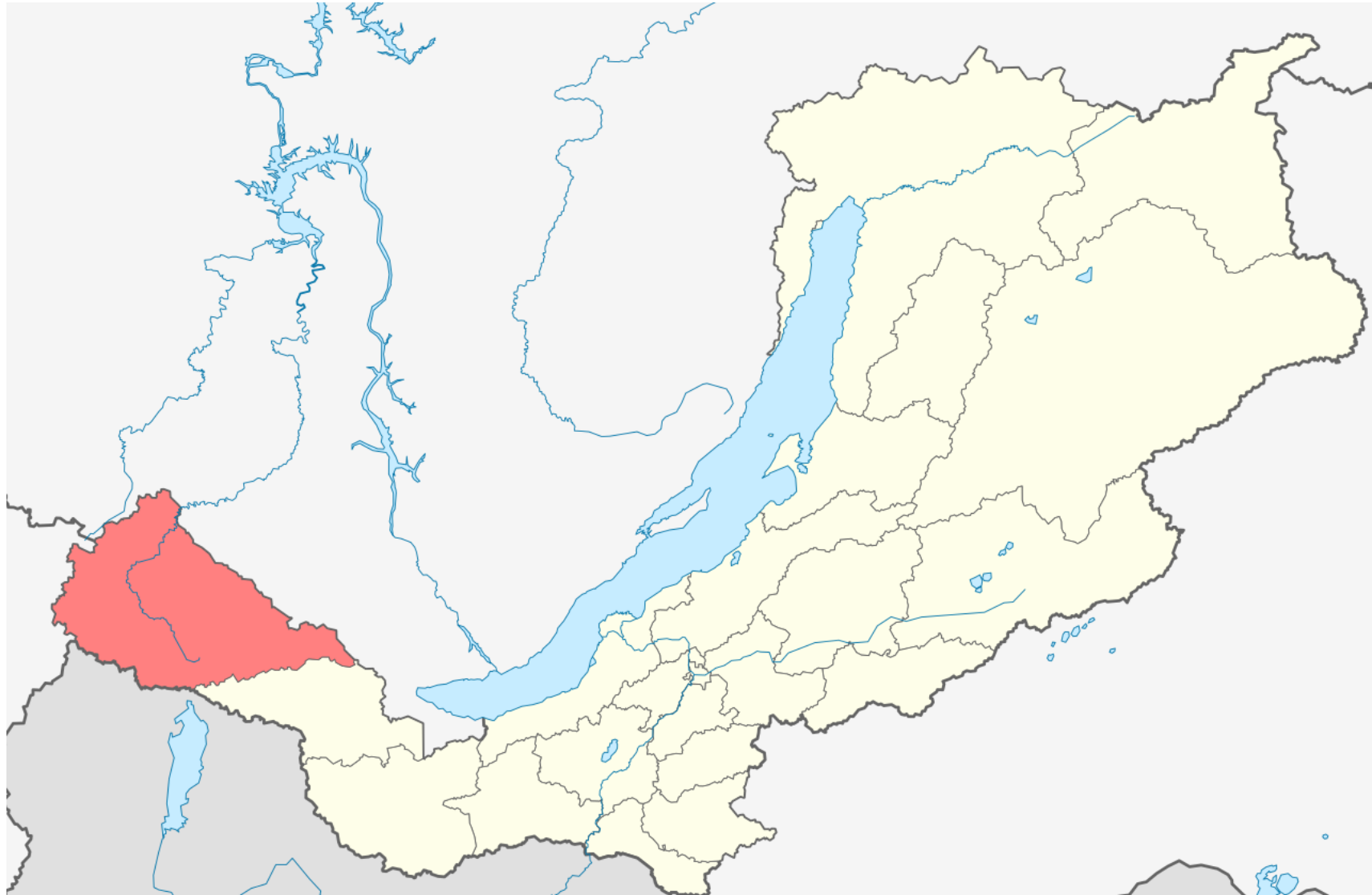
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Map 1: The beige part is Buryatia, the red part is the Okinsky Rayon or the Oka region. The dark grey is Mongolia with the Khövsgöl Lake in the corner left down. The Tuva Republic is just visible at the left of the Oka region. The Irkutsk Oblast' is situated north of the lake Baikal (the big lake in the middle of the map).

# 1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to this thesis. The focus of this thesis is on the Soyot phonology, the grammar of gerunds and participles and predicative possession. Before turning to the Soyot language, the history, social and linguistic background of the Soyot people will be provided. Soyot died out somewhere in the second half of the twentieth century, but nowadays, the Soyot try to revitalize their language and revive their culture. After this introduction, the basic grammar of Soyot will be briefly discussed. An overview of previous studies conducted on Soyot follow up, which lead to the research questions and methodology.

## 1.1 History of the Soyot people

The Soyot nowadays live in the very western part of Buryatia, in the Oka region which they share with the Buryats and a few Russians (Forsyth 1992: 175; Rassadin 2010: 7; Census 2010a). This region is situated in the Western Sayan Mountain range. On the other side of these mountains is the Tuvan Basin. The Tuvan people live in this natural basin. These people are linguistically related to the Soyot, for the Soyot and the Tuvan both speak a Sayan Turkic variety. On the other side of the Oka border with Mongolia, the Dukha live. The Dukha also speak a Sayan Turkic variety. North to the Oka border with the Irkutsk Oblast', the Tofa live. As the name already reveals, these people are also related to the Tuvan and also speak a Sayan Turkic variety (De Mol-van Valen 2017: 105).

Although this might sound undisputed, there is a debate about the origins of the Soyot, which is entwined with the history of the Soyot people. Ragagnin (2011: 17-18) and Rassadin (Rassadin 2010: 7) both stated that the Soyot moved from the Khövsgöl region in Mongolia to Buryatia around 400-450 years ago. In Mongolia, the Soyot had a reindeer breeding lifestyle. Before they migrated to Buryatia, the Soyot lived together with the Dukha and the Darkhat, speakers of respectively a Sayan Turkic and a Mongolic language (Ragagnin 2011: 17; Rassadin 2010: 7).

Although this seems plausible, Pavlinskaya (2003) and Forsyth (1992) both suggest that the Soyot are from a different descent. Forsyth states in his book on the history of the Siberian peoples, that Southwestern Siberia was inhabited by Samoyedic and Ket tribes (Forsyth 1992: 23; Pavlinskaya 2003). The peoples who lived in the area of the Sayan Mountains shifted from Samoyedic and Ket languages to Sayan Turkic varieties, to which also the current Soyot language belongs. Pavlinskaya (2003) claims that the Soyot have a proto-Samoyedic background. In the first millennium AD, Turkic cattle and horse breeding tribes arrived in Southwestern Siberia. Due to the power and influence that these Turkic tribes had, the Samoyedic people shifted to the Turkic languages and underwent a substratum Turkicization, creating the Sayan Turkic language branch (Pavlinskaya 2003).

According to Rassadin, the Mongolian name given to the Soyot and the Dukha – related people – was *Uigar* or *Tsatan-Uigar*, which reveals that, for the Mongols, the Soyot are linked to the Uigur, a nation of Turkic descent. The Mongolian collective name for all related tribes was *Uryankhad*, having an Uigur language (Rassadin 2010: 8). On the other side, Forsyth states that a related name, *Uryankhai*, was given to them, which means 'original inhabitants' (Forsyth 1992: 94). So, both explain the Mongolian names in favour of their own theory on the origin of the Soyot. Genetic research conducted on the peoples in the area suggests both a Turkic and Samoyedic decent. Besides, even traces of Mongolic origin were found (Dulik et al. 2012). So far, genetic studies support a combination of the theories above, since history made this region a genetic melting pot.

Although there is no consensus on the origin of the Soyot, all authors agree on the rest of the history of the Soyot. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Soyot left Khövsgöl region and moved to Buryatia, probably due to political events concerning the Mongols and Chinese powers, which were constantly battling each other and expanded their empire time over time. In Buryatia, a part of the Soyot adapted to the Buryat lifestyle and shifted to cattle breeding because the Buryat environment did not suit the reindeer breeding lifestyle. However, the western part of Buryatia has a rougher climate and is more suitable for the reindeer breeding lifestyle. Therefore, some Soyot moved to the western

part of Buryatia, to the Oka region, where they could continue the nomadic lifestyle they had in the Khövsgöl region. Due to exogamic rules, i.e. when marrying outside the tribe is obligatory, the Soyot had difficulties to maintain their cultural heritage and they even more quickly adapted to the Buryats (Rassadin 2010: 8).

In the nineteenth century, Tuvan clans fled from the adjacent Tuvan Basin to avoid double subjugation by the Chinese and the Russians (Forsyth 1992: 225). This was added to the process of Soyot cultural decline.

During the Soviet era in the thirties, the remaining Soyot were forced to give up their nomadic lifestyle by the communist government, but it was not until the sixties when the Soyot settled and gave up their traditional lifestyle (Pavlinkskaya 2003; Rassadin 2010: 8).

## 1.2 Social and linguistic status

Sometime between the 1970s and the 1990s, the Soyot language went extinct and up to 1993, the Soyot were not distinguished from the Buryats in the censuses. Therefore, the Soyot faced the possibility of complete assimilation to the Buryats and the loss of their identity. But on 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1993, the Highest Council of the Parliament of Buryatia acknowledged the independent ethnicity of the Soyot, allowing them to establish their very own Soyot National Local Government in the Oka region. However, this was not enough for the Soyot, for they also sought acknowledgement by the Russian Parliament. On 21<sup>st</sup> of November 2001, the Parliament approved the request for acknowledgement and Soyot became an acknowledged ethnic minority of Russia (Rassadin 2010: 7). In the first census after their acknowledgement, there were 2,769 Soyot, of which 2,739 lived in Buryatia (Census 2002a-b). In 2010, their number increased to 3,608, of which 3,579 lived in Buryatia (Census 2010a-b). The remaining Soyot live in the neighbouring Irkutsk Oblast' (Census 2002a-b; Census 2010a-b).

With their acquired acknowledgement, the Soyot also started to revive the reindeer breeding lifestyle (Pavlinkskaya 2003) and their language (Rassadin 2010: 9). Since 2005, the Soyot language is taught in elementary schools. The numbers of the new speakers are not (yet) seen in the censuses, but maybe the census of 2010 was too early to register the first native speakers of the revitalized Soyot language. It was not possible to obtain the educational material that is used to teach the Soyot language.

The Soyot social and linguistic situation can be seen from a broader (Siberian) perspective. It is estimated that around 45 indigenous languages are spoken in Siberia, but only Buryat, Sakha and Tuvan are not moribund (Lewis et al. 2016). This means that the vast majority of the indigenous languages spoken in Siberia is on the verge of extinction. The process of extinction started decades earlier in most cases, as it is seen with Soyot. According to Comrie (1981), most of Siberian's languages showed a decline, favouring the Russian language. This language shift can be explained in the light of politics (e.g. policies to forbid or to stimulate the use of indigenous languages) and social environment (e.g. status of the language), but also depends on very specific causes, such as the number of speakers and the degree of language contact and isolation. The Soyot suffered from wars and defeats, which caused them to adapt to their rulers. This adaptation meant a start of the loss of Soyot culture. For example, the movement from Mongolia to the Oka Region and Buryatia forced some Soyots to give up reindeer herding, since the environment of Buryatia and the Oka Region was partially suitable for reindeer herding (Pavlinkskaya 2003). It also meant that the Soyot people married with Buryat people who speak a Mongolic language, instead of Dukha people who speak a related Turkic language, because of exogamic rules. In this way the Turkic Soyot language was no longer automatically passed on to the next generation since the typological differences between the Mongolic Buryat language and the Turkic Soyot language are bigger than the differences between Dukha and Soyot (closely related, both Turkic). The social environment was never in favour of the Soyot language. The social status of the Buryat, Russian and Tuvan language, which functioned as lingua franca or as the language of the ruler, has always been better than the status of the Soyot language. This is also seen in the Far East, where Sakha has the status of the lingua franca and, for

example, the Yukaghiric language have not. The first language is vivid and the latter are almost extinct (Lewis et al. 2016, Maslova 2003: 22-23). The more language specific causes of extinction can be found in the number of speakers and degree of language contact and isolation. Tuvan, for example, has around 262,000 speakers (Census 2010a-b). Soyot has none recorded, but even their nation does not count that many people (it is small-average if compared to other Siberian peoples). Small peoples and languages seem to be more vulnerable to extinction simply because they are closer to zero in numbers. This is also seen with Tofa (25 speakers), Yukaghiric languages (29 and around five speakers) and many other small languages spoken in Siberia (Census 2010a-b; Maslova 2003: 22-23). Buryat and Sakha for example have respectively 265,000 and 450,000 speakers and are not moribund. And last, the lack of isolation and language contact can work as a catalyst in the decline of the language and culture. The Tuvan people are isolated and it is said that their language and culture flourish because of that (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 1), whereas the Tofa and the Soyot live at the other side of the mountain range in a less geographically isolated area and, therefore, were more prone to subjugation, war, traffic and contact, which can have a backlash on the native culture and language.

The renewed interest in the Soyot language and the attempt of revival can also be seen from a broader perspective. Since the 1990's more nationalities were included in the Russian censuses (e.g. Soyot, Enets, Chuvans and Kereks). Acknowledgement 'paves the way' to develop or revive the language that comes with the nationality. The acknowledgement for the Soyot came first, then the Soyot got the opportunity to revive their Soyot language and implement it in the education system. This is also reflected in the observation that the Council of Europe made. They saw a rise of minority language courses in Russia and an increased number of books and literature on the minority languages in the public education system in Russia (Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe 2007). This tendency is reflected in the Soyot situation: its first dictionary was published in 2002 and since 2005, Soyot grammar lessons are implemented in the courses of elementary schools.

### 1.3 The Soyot language

The Soyot language belongs to the Sayan language branch of the Turkic language family (De Mol-van Valen 2017: 105). Soyot displays Turkic features such as an agglutinative morphology, vowel harmony and a lack of gender distinction. Vowel harmony is based on the back-front opposition and sometimes on the rounded-unrounded opposition, although the latter is not consequently applied.

For all is known, Soyot only has suffixes. The seven cases, nominative (subject), genitive (possessor), dative (indirect object and direction towards the noun), accusative (definite direct object, which is dropped when indefinite), locative (position of the noun), ablative (direction from the noun) and allative (direction towards the noun) are also expressed through suffixes. The table below shows those nominal case suffixes and how they adapt to the noun to which they are attached. The capital letters denote the sounds that adapt to the vowels or consonants in the preceding syllable.

*Table 1: Case suffixes in Soyot (Rassadin 2010: 18)*

	IPA notation	Cyrillic notation	'bee (IPA)'	'bee (Cyrillic)'	'cow (IPA)'	'cow (Cyrillic)'
NOM	-	-	arw	ары	ħem	hem
GEN	-NIŋ	-НИҢ	arw-nwŋ	ары-ныҢ	ħem-niŋ	hem-ниҢ
DAT	-KA	-КА	ara-a	ара-а	ħem-bæ	hem-бә
ACC	-NI	-НИ	arw-nw	ары-ны	ħem-ni	hem-ни
LOC	-DA	-ДА	arw-da	ары-да	ħem-dæ	hem-дә
ABL	-DAn	-ДАН	arw-dan	ары-дан	ħem-dæn	hem-дән
ALL	-KIdI	-КИДИ	arw-gwdw	ары-ғыды	ħem-gidi	hem-ғиди

Nominal number is expressed through the suffix *-LAr/-ЛАр* (Rassadin 2010: 15), although this suffix is often omitted. Plurality is marked before possessive suffixes and case. The paradigm of the possessive suffixes in combination with the noun can be found in the table below:

Table 2: Possessive suffixes in Soyot (Rassadin 2010: 16)

	IPA notation	Cyrillic notation	'mother (IPA)'	'mother (Cyrillic)'	'tree (IPA)'	'tree (Cyrillic)'
1SG	-(l)m	-(И)м	ava-m	ава-м	njadз-ум	НЯЧ-ЫМ
2SG	-(l)ŋ	-(И)ң	ava-ŋ	ава-ң	njadз-уŋ	НЯЧ-ЫҢ
3SG	-(s)l	-(с)И	ava-sw	ава-сы	njadз-ш	НЯЧ-Ы
1PL	-(l)vls	-(И)вИс	ava-vwс	ава-выс	njadз-шvwс	НЯЧ-ЫВЫС
2PL	-(l)ŋAr	-(И)ңАр	ava-ŋар	ава-ңар	njadз-шŋар	НЯЧ-ЫҢАР
3PL	-(c)l	-(с)И	ava-sw	ава-сы	njadз-ш	НЯЧ-Ы

Tense, Aspect and Mood (hence TAM), participles, gerunds and voice are expressed through suffixes on the verbal stem. Soyot has an extensive and productive verbal morphology. Pronominal marking is rarely seen on the verbal stem, but is expressed by pronominal markers that resemble the personal pronouns following the main verb. Third person pronominal marking is often omitted. Suffixes resembling the possessive suffixes are attached on two TAM suffixes. The table below provides an overview of the pronominal markers on the verb.

Table 3: Pronominal markers on verbs in Soyot (Rassadin 2010: 28, 33)

	General markers		Recent past, conditional	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	men/мен	bis/бис	-(l)m/-(И)м	-(l)vls/-(И)вИс
2	sen/сен	siler/силер	-(l)ŋ/-(И)ң	-(l)ŋAr/-(И)ңАр
3	-	(-lAr/-лАр)	-	(-lAr/-лАр)

#### 1.4 Previous studies

The first academic who wrote about the Soyot is Anton Friedrich Büsching. According to Rassadin, Büsching only mentions the Soyot in his observation that the Soyot spoke the same Turkic variety as the Karagas, also known as the Tofa (Rassadin 2010: 9). This observation was also made by Matthias Castrèn during his fieldwork on the Tofa (Castrèn 1857: vi-vii). He also noted that the Soyot were almost completely assimilated to the Buryats and that they were Buddhists (Castrèn 1857: vi). The same conclusion was made by G.D. Sanzheev (1930). Citing Rassadin, in Sanzheev's study on the Darkhat, he mentions the Soyot and writes that the Soyot speak the same language as the Tofa (Rassadin 2010: 9). But these authors did not publish research on the Soyot, for their focus was on the related Turkic peoples in Southwest Siberia, such as the Tofa and the Tuvan or the Mongolic people, such as the Darkhat. The first study conducted on the Soyot was done by B.E. Petri and published in 1927. He was sent by the Committee of Northern Matters, which represented the interests of the ethnic minorities in Siberia. Petri was an ethnographer, but he already wrote that elderly were still able to speak the Soyot language, which was closely related to the *Uryankhai*, a collective name for the Tuvan, Dukha and Tofa (Rassadin 2010: 9). The ethnographic studies were continued by Larisa Pavlinskaya, who conducted the most recent studies on the Soyot.

The first linguistic research was conducted by Vladimir Rassadin during the seventies of the previous century and in the 1990s when he returned. However, the only publications of which I know, were published during the first decade of this millennium. In 2002, Rassadin published a Soyot-Buryat-Russian dictionary, which was republished in a smaller version – Buryat was left out this time – in 2006. These dictionaries were based on the fieldnotes Rassadin made in the seventies and were published in light of the acknowledgement of the Soyot identity by the Russian government and the wish of the Soyot people who wanted to revitalize their language. However, the number of copies was low. So in order to save this information, the Department of Altaic Studies in Szeged contacted Rassadin for a copy and permission to present the data to non-Russian Turkologists. Rassadin provided the data of the dictionary, wrote a grammar sketch based on his fieldnotes from the seventies and also included a Soyot text with a Russian translation. The grammar sketch was translated and all the data was published in 2010. This 41-page grammar sketch was the first



published descriptive linguistic research on the Soyot language. Beside this linguistic research, comparative research was conducted by Tessa de Mol-van Valen. In her MA-thesis she compares four Sayan languages, including Soyot. This resulted in a comparative overview of the Sayan languages and a classification tree of the Sayan languages and it showed that the Sayan languages were influenced by the (neighbouring) Mongolic languages. The Mongolic influences were mainly found in word order, phonology and lexicon. The Sayan languages showed many Turkic resemblances amongst themselves. The biggest differences between the Sayan languages were found in word order and phonology. However, the study also showed that basic grammatical information on Soyot is lacking (information about subordinate clauses, for example). Because that thesis served the goal of linguistic comparison and due to time limits, the raw data that Rassadin's grammar sketch contains was not extensively used to add new information on the Soyot grammar. The goal of retrieving new information about the Soyot grammar from the text in Rassadin (2010) would take another thesis and serve a different goal, namely, the goal of language description. Therefore, the raw data and raw information on Soyot grammar remained undiscussed in De Mol-van Valen (2017). The current study seeks to analyse the raw data in order to provide more information on the Soyot grammar.

Although not complete, Rassadin's grammar sketch provides the most thorough analysis of the Soyot language that is available at this moment. In his grammar sketch, Rassadin discusses the Soyot alphabet and briefly discusses word-internal vowel harmony. After the discussion of the Soyot orthography, Rassadin shows examples of the different Soyot word classes. The nominal morphology is well-described, but the verbal morphology sections leave some questions. Tense-Aspect-Mood (hence, TAM) markers are given, also in combination with a verbal stem, but often could use more explanation or examples. The morphology of participles and gerunds – or converbs as Rassadin named them – is discussed, but their use and consequences for syntax is not. Moreover, the grammar sketch lacks a chapter on syntax and syntax is not discussed as such. This means that subordination and the syntactic roles of gerunds and participles is not clarified by the grammar sketch. The same goes for auxiliary verbs, word order and predicative possession. Due to the brief phonology section, the role of linkers or probably metathesis is not clear, yet, those unanalyzed sounds and segments are rarely not to be seen. On the other hand, Rassadin provides good information on particles, onomatopoeic words and both Buryat and Russian influences on the Soyot lexicon.

Because the Soyot want to revitalize their language, Soyot is taught in elementary schools. However, the material used for educational purposes, is not available here. This is because of the small number of published copies and due to the remoteness of the Oka Region.

## 1.5 Research question

The 41-page grammar sketch by Rassadin (2010) already provides the basic information about the Soyot grammar, however, there are some gaps in the grammatical information provided by Rassadin. Syntax is not described, the grammar of gerunds and participles is not elaborated either and the phonology section is incomplete. Attributive possession is well-described, but predicative possession is not. On the other hand, the grammar sketch also contains a Soyot text, which is translated into Russian, and a Soyot-Buryat-Russian mini-dictionary. The text in the grammar sketch by Rassadin (2010) is called *The Hunter* and contains 184 clauses, which have been glossed and translated and which are available in *Appendix B: Soyot Tale (Rassadin 2010: 53-59) - glossed*. By analyzing and translating the text, more Soyot material becomes immediately available. It should be mentioned that there is no more additional information about the text. It is not known when or where in the Oka Region the text is recorded, nor the speaker is known. The text itself seems to be a legend or a folk tale. However, this material can still be used to answer the research question and fill the gaps described above. The main question of this research will be:

*To what extent does the text in Rassadin's grammar sketch provide additional explanation and material for the aspects of the Soyot grammar, such as phonology, the grammar of gerunds and participles and possession?*

The text (and the wordlist) provide additional examples, which are not used in Rassadin's grammar sketch (2010). Besides, these subjects that are discussed in this thesis occur often enough to describe them and provide an analysis. However, literature on related languages or languages that have influenced Soyot, are necessary to confirm the structures and results that are found, since this cannot be done by other Soyot material, because it is not available.

## 1.6 Methodology

The text *The Hunter* was first divided into sentences. The Soyot text and the Russian translation are two different parts in Rassadin's grammar sketch, so by separating the sentences, the Soyot phrases could be lined up with their Russian equivalents. After combining the Soyot lines with the Russian lines, I parsed the Soyot line. This parsing is based on the information provided in the grammar sketch by Rassadin (2010). Cases, voice, TAM markers and pronominal suffixes could be easily detected, since these are thoroughly described by Rassadin (2010). Some morphemes could not be named, since they are not described in Rassadin's grammar sketch or their cognates in related languages were not found. In this case, I parsed the morpheme, but left a question mark in the line with the morphological information. So, overall the analysis of the text is checked with Soyot or Turkic sources, the question marks indicate the aspects that are questionable.

Rassadin provides an alphabet with Soyot letters (Rassadin 2010: 10, 12). However, some letters are listed, but no examples are found (for example ж (ž), ɥ (c) and ɥ (šč) from Rassadin 2010: 12). And other letters were not given but they are listed in the wordlist and found in the text, such as the letter м (m) and н (n; Rassadin 2010: 134). Therefore, I chose to look at the distribution of the phonemes and I tried to link the letters of the Soyot alphabet with phonetic IPA symbols. The results are based on a study of the text *The Hunter*, but also on the wordlist at the very end of the grammar sketch. Furthermore, it clarifies why the spelling of words in the text *The Hunter* is not consistent. Therefore, section 2.1 *The Soyot sound inventory* is dedicated to the phonological distribution of Soyot sounds and their transcription. Information about the policy of the Cyrillic transcription of Turkic languages came from Azerbaijani, Dukha, Kazakh, Tatar, Tofa, Turkmen, Tuvan and Uygur. These languages are all written with a Cyrillic script and their phonology is better studied and described.

The second aspect that is discussed in this thesis is the relation between gerunds, participles and TAM markers. Because the difference between these three verbal suffix classes is not discussed, this will be elaborated in section 2.2 *An analysis of the nature of gerunds and participles*. Besides the morphological differences, also the differences in semantics and syntax will be discussed. Again, examples are taken from the text *The Hunter*, additional information is gotten from the languages Tuvan and Turkish (Turkic) and Buryat and Khalkha (Mongolic). The Turkic languages enlighten the hypotheses made for Soyot. The Mongolic language sources are used to look for borrowed structures.

Section 2.3 *Possession* handles possession. Although, Rassadin discusses attributive pronominal possession in his grammar sketch, some morphophonological questions are left unexplained. Predicative possession is not discussed at all in Rassadin's grammar sketch, although the text shows several examples of the predicative possession construction. Its morphological and syntactic details will be discussed by means of those examples. Furthermore, the descriptions of Dolgan, Tuvan, Dukha and Old Turkic helped to comprehend the processes going on in Soyot possession.

Beside the analysis of the Soyot text, I also used literature of (closely) related languages, such as Tuvan, Dukha, which are closely related, or Old Turkic, Turkish and Dolgan. These languages are better described and the literature on these languages often contains profound analysis of the development or relations of these languages. This sometimes clarifies the results of the analysis of

the text and sometimes it puts the results in perspective by providing an alternative theory. I also used literature of languages that have influenced Soyot, such as Khalkha. This Mongolic language is the best described Mongolic language that has influenced Soyot.

An example of an analyzed phrase from the text can be found directly below. Line (i) of an analyzed phrase is the line as it is published in Rassadin's book or it is the IPA notation of the Soyot line (ii). The first option is found in the appendices, the second in the examples throughout this thesis. Line (ii) is the parsed Soyot line; all morphemes are separated by hyphens. Line (iii) is the line with the grammatical information per morpheme, which is done according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which can be found on website of the Max Planck Institute (Leipzig Glossing Rules). Line (iii) also contains the translation of nominal or verbal stem. Line (iv) is the Russian translation as it is provided by Rassadin in his grammar sketch (2010). Line (v) is the English translation. The English translation is primarily based on line (iii), not on the Russian translation (iv), because I tried to stay as close as possible to the Soyot original. Taking the Russian translation in line (iv) could create noise in the English translation, since it would be a result based on two different languages, instead of on the original Soyot line only (although the Russian translation is used to check the approach of the English translation).

- (1) (i) Аңшы киши/аңʃi kiʃi  
 (ii) аң-шы киши  
 (iii) hunt-ACT.NMLZ person  
 (iv) 'Охотник'  
 (v) 'The hunter'

I chose to follow the original spelling provided by the sources that are used in this thesis because not all letters can be transcribed with absolute certainty. Recorded material could solve this problem, but up to this day I could not find a Soyot record. In this thesis I propose a hypothetical transcription of the Cyrillic annotated Soyot. In order to make the data accessible for anyone without knowledge of the Cyrillic script, the first line of the examples in this thesis contains the phrase with this proposed IPA notation. The Cyrillic line is maintained, because it is the most certain data available. If recorded material was available, this could be directly compared with the original data.

Some sources, such as Daniyoroova (2001), Erdal (2004), Gaunt & Bayarmandakh (2004), Theunissen & Türkmen (2005), Afanaseva (2006) and Rassadin (2010) do not contain glosses. For these sources, I provided the glosses according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Other sources have examples with glosses. For these examples, I did not reanalyze the glosses, but I adapted the abbreviations to the abbreviation of other glosses in this thesis in order to be consistent. For example, Li et al. (2008) decided to gloss the third person with *3p*. In line with the other glosses and the Leipzig Glossing Rules, the *p* is redundant and just the number is enough to encode the third *person*. Therefore, I changed *3p* into *3*. So, the glosses themselves are not touched, only the abbreviations. Glosses that I analyzed and added myself are based on the grammatical information that is given by the original source in which the glossless example was found. Because Rassadin (2010) is not that generous with information, this thesis will contain sources of other Turkic and sometimes Mongolic languages. Turkic, because Soyot is a Turkic language, Mongolic because Rassadin states that Soyot is influenced by Buryat, Khalkha, Darkhat and Mongol, which are Mongolic languages (Rassadin 2010: 46, 49-50).

Although I aspire to be consistent in my glosses, I chose to gloss synchronically, which means that I glossed the morphemes according to their current meaning rather than their original meaning. I made this decision in order to clarify certain processes that are not yet completed. Synchronic glosses are able to show the development of a morpheme from one function to another function. As I already mentioned, I followed the guidelines of the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Glosses that are not described in those guidelines are constructed according to the rules for compound glosses, such as *P* for the abbreviation of participle. Dots denote that there is more than one information segment corresponding to the morpheme. Morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen. Slashes are used

to denote the phonological notation of a sound or word. The orthography found within the slashes is based on the principles of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The phonetic notation, which is represented by the Cyrillic letters (it is the closest phonetic representation in Rassadin's grammar sketch and therefore available) is put between square brackets. Another use of square brackets is to indicate what words are added to the translation of a glossed or parsed sentence in order to produce a correct and grammatical translation of the source language to English. When Soyot material appears without bracket in text, the IPA notation is given first, followed by the original Cyrillic orthography.

## 2. Results

In this chapter the results of the analysis of the text *The Hunter* are discussed. The aspects of the Soyot grammar that are not mentioned in Rassadin (2010) are studied in this section.

### 2.1 The Soyot sound inventory

Because there are differences between the alphabet Rassadin provides at the beginning of his grammar sketch and the letters that are found in the examples, text and wordlist, I first discuss the Cyrillic letters found throughout the grammar sketch. After this discussion, the sound inventory is clear and the Cyrillic letters can be tied to IPA symbols to see what phonological value the Cyrillic letters have. I should mention that this part is a proposal rather than a set phonological transcription, since it cannot be confirmed by recorded data. This section leads up to the spelling used by Rassadin, in order to find out what spelling policy Rassadin had, since the spelling is sometimes inconsistent and Rassadin does not explain his annotation methods.

Below, one can find a table with an overview of the notations of the sounds that were found. In this chapter the letters that are between slashes are *always* the symbols of the proposed IPA notation. Letters with square brackets are the letters from the Cyrillic alphabet (the first two column of the table below). The square brackets are used to make a distinction from the phonological notation and present the link between the Cyrillic transcription and the phonological value of those letters. The Cyrillic script is maintained since it is the most certain script that is available for Soyot. However, when Soyot material appears without brackets also the proposed IPA notation is provided.

Rassadin (2010)	Found in wordlist and text	(hypothetical) IPA notation	Transcription remaining sounds <sup>2</sup>
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	a	
<i>б</i>	<i>б</i>	b	
<i>в</i>	<i>в</i>	v	
<i>г</i>	<i>г</i>	g	
<i>ґ</i>	<i>ґ</i>	ɣ	
<i>д</i>	<i>д</i>	d	
<i>(e)</i>	<i>e</i>	ɛ	
<i>(ë)</i>			yo
<i>ж</i>			ž
<i>з</i>	<i>з</i>	z	
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	i	
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	ɨ	
<i>й</i>	<i>й</i>	j	
<i>к</i>	<i>к</i>	k	
<i>қ</i>	<i>қ</i>	q	
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	ħ	
<i>л</i>	<i>л</i>	l	
	<i>м</i>	m	
	<i>н</i>	n	
<i>ң</i>	<i>ң</i>	ŋ	
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	o	
<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	∅	

<sup>2</sup> The sounds that are listed by Rassadin 2010: 10, 12, but are not found in the rest of the grammar sketch. These sounds are not annotated by an IPA notation, but based on the Scientific Transliteration of Cyrillic (i.e. transliteration which is used in most scientific journals) since nothing can be said about their phonological value.

п	п	p	
р	р	r	
с	с	s	
т	т	t	
у	у	u	
ү	ү	y	
ф			f
х			kh
ц			c
ч	ч	tʃ	
ҷ	ҷ	dʒ	
ш	ш	ʃ	
щ			ʃč
ъ	ъ	ɤ	
ы	ы	ɯ	
(ь)			-
э	э	ɛ	
ә	ә	æ	
(ю)			yu
(я)			ya

### 2.1.1 Distribution of phonemes

In his phonology section, Rassadin lists the vowels and the consonants on two different pages. According to Rassadin, there are ten vowels: [а, о, у, ы, э, ә, ө, ү, и and i] (Rassadin 2010: 10) and 24 consonants: [б, п, в, ф, т, д, с, з, ш, ж, ч, л, р, й, к, х, г, ц, щ, қ, ғ, ң and h] (Rassadin 2010: 12). However, not all Cyrillic letters listed above were found in the grammar and some Cyrillic letters were found, but not mentioned in the range of letters on page 10 or 12.

[б] seems to be the native voiced bilabial stop, for it has no restrictions in combinations with vowels. [б] is found in the onset of the syllables (*ша.да.бас*, ‘cannot’; Rassadin 2010: 54), but also in a word-initial position (*бир*, ‘one’; Rassadin 2010: 53), although [б] in intervocalic positions is rare and more often [в], the voiced bilabial fricative, is found. [б] is not found in word-final positions. This leads to my theory that [п], the voiceless bilabial stop, and [в] originally occur in complementary distribution, for word-initial and intervocalic [п] is only attested in loans (*апар-*, ‘carry away’; Rassadin 2010: 74; *паар*, ‘couple’; Rassadin 2010: 150) or in the onset of the negation suffix, which strictly defined by the rules of consonant harmony (i.e. [п] follows a devoiced consonant). Word-final [п] is found in words of Soyot origin (*алып*, ‘taking’; Rassadin 2010: 54). [в] is found intervocalic (*ава*, mother; Rassadin 2010: 68) and word-initially only in loans (*вагоон*, ‘coach’; Rassadin 2010: 93).

[м], the nasal bilabial, was not in Rassadin’s list of letters of the Soyot alphabet (Rassadin 2010: 12). However, this consonant has no distribution restrictions and is found in all possible positions (word-initial: *мен*, ‘I’; Rassadin 2010: 135; intervocalic: *дэмин*, recently; Rassadin 2010: 100; word-final: *hem*, river; Rassadin 2010: 127). It seems that this letter is not used as an allophone for other bilabial sounds, since it does not occur in complementary distribution with [б], [в] or [п].

[т] and [д], respectively the voiceless and voiced alveolar stop, have no restrictions in distribution, with one exception: [д] is not found in word-final positions.

[с] seems to be the native voiceless alveolar fricative and it is found in word-initial and word-final positions. However, intervocalic it is often realized as [з], its voiced counterpart (*сес*, ‘eight’ versus *сезэр* ‘eight each’; Rassadin 2010: 21-22). Furthermore, [з] word-initially is only found in loans (*завод*, ‘factory’; Rassadin 2010: 101) and is not found in word-final position.

The trill [р] word-initially is found in loans (*раама*, ‘window’; Rassadin 2010: 152), but in other positions, there are no restrictions on distribution. Moreover, [р] is the one of the few consonants

that is allowed to form consonant clusters with [ɾ] in the coda of the syllable (*дәрт*, ‘four’; Rassadin 2010: 98).

[ɳ] needs more research, for, at first sight, it seems that the consonant has combination restrictions when it occurs word-initially (mid front and central vowels are not seen after word-initial [ɳ]). However, due to the scarcity of (recorded) data I cannot draw a conclusion. This [ɳ] is also the second letter which is not mentioned in Rassadin’s phonology part at the beginning of the grammar sketch.

[tʃ] and [dʒ], palate-alveolar affricates, are allophones or subject to free variation. [tʃ] is devoiced and [dʒ] is voiced. However, when the environment is voiced, it does not automatically trigger the voiced [dʒ] ([...] *та чоқ* [...]; Rassadin 2010: 53), nor do voiced consonants necessarily trigger a voiced [dʒ] (*чачык*-, ‘behave like a child’; Rassadin 2010: 189). So this gives rise to the hypothesis that the two consonants appear in free variation.

[ʃ], the voiceless palate-alveolar fricative, does not have any restriction and is found in any position (*шаг*, ‘time’; Rassadin 2010: 206; *ышык*, ‘tumor’; Rassadin 2010: 219; *чаш*, ‘newborn’; Rassadin 2010: 189).

The palatal glide [j] is the other consonant that needs more research, especially the [j] in word-initial position. In this position, the [j] only takes the vowels [a] and [o]. [j] is not found in word-final position and intervocalic it is rare (although it is found in the Soyot name: *сойот*).

[l], the alveolar lateral, is found in word-final positions (*аал* ‘nomad camp’; Rassadin 2010: 68) and in intervocalic positions (*силер*, ‘you PL’; Rassadin 2010: 155). Word-initially, [l] is only found in loans (*лама*, ‘lama’; Rassadin 2010: 133) and particles, such as *ла* (Rassadin 2010: 133).

The velar nasal [ŋ] is not found word-initially, but this is one of the features that is shared with some other Turkic languages (Anderson 2013). [ŋ] can be found in the coda of the syllable, but it cannot be the word-final syllable (*дыңна*- ‘hear’; Rassadin 2010: 99). Although there is an exception to this rule, for the genitive case *-Ниг/-НИН*<sup>3</sup> ends with the [ŋ]. The same goes for [ŋ] in onset position of a syllable. [ŋ] is found in the onset of syllables that are not in a word-initial position (*а.в.а.ңар*, ‘your PL mother’; Rassadin 2010: 16). So, in general, [ŋ] is not found word-initially or word-finally, with the exception of the genitive case marker. In this case, [ŋ] can be found in word-final position. Within syllables, there are no restrictions as long as [ŋ] does not appear in at the borders of the word.

[k] and [q] are listed separately in the wordlist by Rassadin (2010). However, their distribution is complementary and the consonants are allophones. [q], the voiceless uvular stop, is found when it is followed or preceded by back vowels (*қал*-, ‘stay’; Rassadin 2010: 110) and [k], the voiceless velar stop, is triggered when followed or preceded by front vowels (*кел*-, ‘come’; Rassadin 2010: 105).

Beside the given voiced velar stop [g], there is also a [ɣ], although the difference and position of these two are not mentioned by Rassadin. [ɣ] is found in word-initial position, but this is not common and is often seen as free variation of the word-initial [k] (*гөр*- versus *көр*- ‘see’; Rassadin 2010: 53, 107). [ɣ] is probably the thebackened [r], but the realization of [ɣ] is discussed in section 2.1.2 (*Hypothetical*) IPA notation. I only found [ɣ] in non-word-initial positions (*долған* ‘froze’; Rassadin 2010: 12), but it is not clear whether [ɣ] is a phoneme or an allophone.

[h] has no restrictions on its distribution. The phonological value is discussed in section 2.1.2 (*Hypothetical*) IPA notation.

Besides the consonants discussed above, Rassadin also claims that [ж, ф, х, ц and щ] are a part of the Soyot alphabet. However, these letters were not found in the wordlist. Only one word, a loan, was found with a [ж]: *пыж*, ‘wad’ (Rassadin 2010: 151) and a [х]: *завхоз*, ‘economic CEO’ (Rassadin 2010: 101).

Aside from vowel harmony in the suffixes, I did not find many restrictions regarding the distribution of the vowels word-internally. All vowels ([и, і, ы, ү, у, ә, э, ө, о and а]) can be lengthened and pharyngealized. All these variations are productive and are found in all possible positions of the word.

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<sup>3</sup> The capital letter is used to denote all variations of the letter in the suffix.

[ə] is often found in the suffixes (кəp-гəh ‘see-REM’; Rassadin 2010: 37). Sometimes, this vowel is found in the nominal or verbal stem (кескək ‘agile’; Rassadin 2010: 105), but no pattern was found.

The vowels [e], [ɤ] and [jə] are not phonemic according to Rassadin (Rassadin 2010: 10). Out of these three, [e] occurs the most frequently, but never takes the word-initial position. [ɤ] and [jə] are mostly found after word-initial [h], but rarely occur.

### 2.1.2 Proposed IPA notation

Although the Soyot orthography is based on the Cyrillic alphabet and Rassadin does not provide an IPA-transcription, it is possible to present a hypothesis of the IPA transcriptions of the Soyot orthography, based on the distribution of phonemes and closely related languages that do have an IPA transcription. The tables below show the hypothetical Soyot inventories transcribed into the IPA orthography and the Cyrillic transcription provided by Rassadin.

*Table 4.a: Soyot phonological vowel inventory (adapted from Rassadin 2010: 10)<sup>4</sup>*

	front		mid	back	
<b>high</b>	/i/	/y/	/i/	/ʉ/	/u/
<b>mid</b>	/ɛ/	/ø/		/o/	
<b>low</b>	/æ/		/a/		

*Table 4.b: Soyot vowel inventory with the Cyrillic notation (adapted from Rassadin 2010: 10)*

	front		mid	back	
<b>high</b>	[и]	[y]	[i]	[ʉ]	[y]
<b>mid</b>	[э]	[ø]		[o]	
<b>low</b>	[ə]		[a]		

Three vowels are put in this table with some hesitancy. The first one is the /i/ or [i]. According to Rassadin, the [i], here transcribed with /i/, is the “palatal antipode” of the Cyrillic [и], which is transcribed with /ʉ/ (Rassadin 2010: 10). It is not clear what is meant with the palatal part of Rassadin’s quote. It could mean that the place of the [i] is between front and back, which is where the palate is located, but it could also mean that the the front vowel [и] is palatalized, making it an /ɨ/ or /i/ or that the /ʉ/ is fronted resulting in an /i/. Because the /i/ is the sound that occurs in most scenarios, I chose to put the /i/ for [i], /i/ for [и] and /ʉ/ for [ʉ] in the phonological vowel chart.

The second vowel is the /ɛ/ or [э]. In Dukha, which is directly related to Soyot, the [e] is used to denote the /ɛ/ (Ragagnin 2011: 7). Tofa, also a Sayan language, has both [e] and [ɛ], denoting respectively /e/ and [ɛ] (Rassadin 1971: 17). It is possible that that Rassadin uses [э] for /ɛ/. However, Rassadin also often uses [e], a sound that is neither explained, nor consistently found. This could be due to the ‘inconsistent’ spelling by Rassadin (see 2.1.3. *Inconsequent spelling*). If this is the case, it is possible that the [э] could represent /ɛ/, but also sounds leaning towards /e/. However, because Rassadin distinguishes [e] and [э] and also does this in his Tofa grammar, I chose to denote [э] with /ɛ/. Apparently, the difference between [e] and [э] is big enough for Rassadin to provide a different orthography for both sounds. I left out the /e/ or [e], because it is not clear if this is a allophonic realization of [э] or free variation.

<sup>4</sup> Everything between slashes is the hypothetical IPA notation, the square brackets indicate the *Cyrillic* notation as it is found in Rassadin (2010). In a way the Cyrillic letters represents the phonetic values, since the Cyrillic notation is the closest to the reality.



The disputed last vowel is the /æ/ or [ə]. In many Turkic languages with a Cyrillic script, the schwa denotes an /æ/. This is the case for languages, such as Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Tatar, Turkmen and Uygur (Abdoulla & Malherbe 2008: 53; Kara 2002: 7; Poppe 1968: 24; Clark 1998: xxiv; Tenišev 1965: 97). Out of these languages, only Azerbaijani is not spoken in Central Asia. But all of these languages share Kipchak Turkic roots. The Sayan languages, however, are not a part of the Kipchak Turkic language branch (Hammarström 2016 et al.). Therefore, it is not certain that the /æ/ is also present in Soyot. It could be that Rassadin followed the ‘standard’ Cyrillic transcription of Turkic sounds. In that case, the [ə] should be transcribed with /æ/. However, the phonology of Dukha is better described and does not contain an /æ/ sound (Ragagnin 2011: 7). In Ragagnin’s grammar on Dukha, the [ə] is used to denote a /ə/. Tuvan, a Sayan language and related to Soyot, lacks a schwa and /æ/ (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 2). The grammar on Tofa is also written by Rassadin in Cyrillic script. However, Rassadin also provides a Latin transcription. In the vowel chart in the Tofa grammar is no [ə] found, but [ä] – even written as /æ/ in the chart – is present (Rassadin 1971: 17). Rassadin’s second grammar on Tofa is completely written with a Cyrillic script. Here the [ə] denotes the /æ/ sound (Rassadin 1978: 9). Given the ‘tradition’ in Cyrillic orthography to use the [ə] to denote the /æ/ and Rassadin’s transcription in the related language Tofa, I chose to transcribe Rassadin’s [ə] to transcribe with /æ/.

Table 5.a-b presents the hypothetical consonant chart.

*Table 5.a: Soyot phonological consonant inventory (adapted from Rassadin 2010: 12)*

	labial		labio-dental		alveolar		palato-alveolar		palatal	velar		uvular	pharyngeal
<b>plosives</b>	/p/	/b/			/t/	/d/				/k/	/g/	/q/	
<b>nasals</b>		/m/				/n/					/ŋ/		
<b>trills</b>						/r/						/ʁ/	
<b>fricatives</b>					/s/	/z/	/ʃ/						/ħ/
<b>affricates</b>							/tʃ/	/dʒ/					
<b>laterals</b>						/l/							
<b>approximants</b>									/v/				/j/

Table 5.b: Soyot consonant inventory with the Cyrillic notation (adapted from Rassadin 2010: 10)

	labial		labio-dental		alveolar		palato-alveolar		palatal	velar		uvular	pharyngeal
<b>plosives</b>	[п]	[б]			[т]	[д]				[к]	[ґ]	[қ]	
<b>nasals</b>		[м]				[н]					[ҥ]		
<b>trills</b>						[р]						[ʀ]	
<b>fricatives</b>					[с]	[з]	[ш]						[ħ]
<b>affricates</b>							[ч]	[җ]					
<b>laterals</b>						[л]							
<b>approximants</b>										[в]			

Most of the consonants can be transcribed without reservations. However, two consonants are a part of the Soyot consonant inventory, but the place of production is not completely clear. The first consonant is the [ħ]. Azerbaijani, Kazakh and Tatar have the [ħ] in its Cyrillic script and in those languages the [ħ] is used to denote /h/ (Abdoulla & Malherbe 2008: 53; Kara 2002: 7; Poppe 1968: 24). However, in Dukha, the [ħ] is used to transcribe the sounds /h/ and /ħ/ (Ragagnin 2011: 8). Tofa has /h/ and /ħ/ too, but also in the Tofa grammars, these sounds are transcribed with [ħ] (Rassadin 1971: 44; Rassadin 1978: 9). The [ħ] is absent in Tuvan (Harrison 2000: 11). I transcribed [ħ] with /ħ/, because in both Sayan languages the /ħ/ is present. However, one should be aware that the Soyot [ħ] also could represent /h/.

The other consonant of which the location in the chart is not sure is /ʀ/, the transcription of [ʀ]. The distribution of [ʀ] suggests that it is a backed allophone of the [r], which would make it a voiced counterpart of [q]. This [q] is transcribed with /q/. This transcription is also found in other Turkic languages, such as Tofa, Dukha (Rassadin 1971: 44; Rassadin 1978: 9; Ragagnin 2011: 8). This would plead for /g/ as a IPA transcription. However, looking at other Turkic languages makes this transcription problematic, since the [ʀ] is used to denote /ʀ/ or /ɣ/. Karakalpak, Uygur and Uzbek, for example, use [ʀ] to represent [ʀ] (Doniyorova 2002: 28; Tenišev 1965: 98; Doniyorova 2001: 42), but Kazakh uses [ʀ] to denote /ɣ/ (Kara 2002: 7). The /ʀ/ and /ɣ/ have in common that they are fricatives in the velar and uvular part of the mouth. Dukha has all three options /g/, /ʀ/ and /ɣ/ but according to Ragagnin, these are allophones (Ragagnin 2011: 8, 48). The Tofa consonant inventory contains the /ɣ/, but also the /g/ (Rassadin 1971: 44). However, these sounds are not reflected in its Cyrillic orthography (Rassadin 1978: 9). The velar and uvular fricatives and uvular stops are absent in Tuvan (Harrison 2000: 11). Therefore, it is not clear how the Soyot [ʀ] should be transcribed. I chose for /ʀ/, because only Dukha and Tofa have the /g/ consonant and only in an allophone context. The velar and uvular fricatives are found in all discussed Turkic languages and also in Dukha and Tofa. Therefore, I chose to transcribe [ʀ] with /ʀ/. It is possible that the [ʀ] is realized in more than one form, as is found in Dukha.

### 2.1.3 Inconsequent spelling?

The Cyrillic spelling Rassadin uses seems to be based on the phonetics of the Soyot language. This results in an inconsistent orthography. Especially the spelling of the stops is somewhat inconsistent. Some alternations between the stops are explained in the paragraphs above, but sometimes the spelling of the word differs from one phrase to another. The examples below show pairs of words with the same meaning, however, the spelling differs. As can be seen in example (2.a-b), the context does not trigger the different spelling, for both preceding words end with a back vowel en a voiceless stop. Examples (2.c-d) show that this does not happen to only verbs, but also to other word classes,

such as nouns. (2.d) shows two spelling varieties in one sentence. The reader should be aware of the fact that the spelling variety probably is caused by Rassadin’s aim to annotate the individual speech rather than according to phonological rules and structures.

- (2) a. *қағ-, ‘put’*  
 [...] *шар қаван алат[ш-өвлік [...]*  
 [...] *шы-п қағ-ан алачы.өф-лік [...]*  
 cover-GER.ST put-PP nomadic.tent-ADJZ

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 5)

- b. [...] *аһнар қаван*  
 [...] *аһ-на-п қағ-ан*  
 hunt-VBLZ-GER.ST put-REM

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 9)

- қол, ‘hand’*  
 c. [...] *ту<sup>с</sup>тан қол шқақ [...]*  
*туыт-қан қол-ы ыш-қаш [...]*  
 hold-PP hand-3.POSS swell-GER.PFV

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 45)

- d. [...] *бийә қол шқан [...] ту<sup>с</sup>тан қолун куду*  
*бийә қол ышқан [...] туыт-ып қол-ын куды [...]*  
 DEM.EMPH hand swell-PP hold-GER.ST hand-3.POSS.ACC down

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 97)

## 2.2 An analysis of the nature of gerunds and participles

Although verbal morphology takes almost half of the grammar sketch of Rassadin (2010), I will analyze the gerunds and participles. These verbal classes play a major role in the verbal morphology and syntax, but this aspect is not discussed in Rassadin’s grammar sketch. Besides, the function of the gerunds and participles is not that well-elaborated. Analyzing these suffixes by the means of the text *The Hunter* provides more clarity and additional explanation about the function of these suffixes. It will show what function gerunds and participles carry out, what the relationship between TAM markers and the gerund and participle suffixes is and how subordinate clauses are constructed. In this paragraph, I will discuss (i) the function of gerunds and participles and their morphology, (ii) the relation between TAM markers and gerunds and participles, since some of them overlap in form and (iii) the influence of gerunds and participles on the syntax of subordinate clauses. Literature on Buryat, Dukha, Khalkha, Old Turkic, Turkish, Tuvan are used to compare with Soyot structures and help find underlying structures. Since these languages have developed over time, it should be clear that non-Soyot literature is used to compare structures and processes, rather than morphological forms.

### 2.2.1 Gerunds and participles

In Turkish, gerunds and participles are used to construct adverbial, adjectival or subordinate clauses (Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 296, 365). Soyot seems not to differ in this respect. Rassadin describes the suffixes denoting gerunds and suffixes and provides examples of verbal stems combined with the suffix, but does not explain the function of the gerunds and participles. However, the text *The Hunter* contains many examples of gerunds and participles in context and gives away what the differences

are between the gerunds and participles, what their meaning and morphology is. Their impact on syntax is discussed in section 2.2.3 *The syntactic position and embedding of subordinate clauses within the main clause*.

One difference between participles and gerunds is the possibility to combine the suffixes with nominal case suffixes. The text shows that participles can take nominal cases (3.a) – although this is not compulsory – and gerund in general do not (3.b). Although, there is one exception in example (3.c), where the gerund is marked by the locative case.

*Soyot*

- (3) a. *ħamnɯ dzalaardan baʃʒa dzimæ dzoq*  
*ħamnɯ çala-ар-дан баъшқа çимә çоқ*  
 shaman invite-NPP-ABL different thing EXIST.NEG  
 ‘Ничего другого, как приглашать шамана.’  
 ‘There is nothing else than inviting the shaman.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53-54, line 50)

- b. *aŋnap tʃoruur aʃtw ta ivisi ta tʃoq bolʋan*  
*аң-на-п чору-ур аът-ы та иви-си та чоқ бол-ған*  
 hunt-VBLZ-GER.ST go-NPP horse-3.POSS PTCL reindeer-3.POSS PTCL EXIST.NEG be-REM  
*иик*  
 PTCL  
 ‘У него не было ни коня, ни оленя, чтобы ехать на охоту.’  
 ‘He did not have a horse, nor a reindeer to hunt.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 3)

- c. *malɯvwɯs kenæt turuda tʃoʃaaf turar bolʋan*  
*мал-ывыс кенәт тур-ы-да чоъша-аш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 cattle-1PL.POSS suddenly stand-GER.IPFV-LOC jump.out-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Наш скот вдруг шарахается от испуга.’  
 ‘Our cattle suddenly stood up and jumped out of fear.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 36)

The nominal case following the gerund suffix is only found once, the participles took nominal cases twelve times (out of over sixty occurrences of participles). The example below shows the non-past participle together with the dative nominal case.

*Soyot*

- (4) *ardɯŋa gøørgæ iʃhi qɯzɯl ħaja ħavsaraar dææf turar keli tʃuʃturɯ*  
*ард-ы-ңа гө-өр-гә иъһи қызыл һайа һавсара-ар дә-әш*  
 back-3.POSS-LK.DAT see-NPP-DAT two red rock annex.to-NPP say-GER.PFV  
*тур-ар кел-і чыътыры*  
 stand-NPP go-GER.IPFV CONJ  
 ‘Когда посмотрел назад, то две красные скалы сближаются, чтобы сомкнуться.’  
 ‘When he looked back, two red rocks were added and came closer, so to say.’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 149)

Example (3.c) and (4) above also show that there is no clear semantic line between participles and gerunds, for the participle in example (4) bears an adverbial meaning answering the question ‘when’ and the gerund coordinates the verb *tʃoʃa-/чoʃa-*, ‘jump out’ and *tur-/тур-* ‘stand’, but is combined with a nominal case like a participle. The possibility of taking nominal cases is in Turkish the most salient factor to distinguish participles from gerunds. But in Soyot, this test is not effective, since example (4) more or less represent the other participles marked by a nominal case. Another general distinction is the adverbial meaning gerunds tend to carry out, but example (4) shows that participles too can represent an oblique meaning. Therefore, the difference between participles and gerunds must be found in another function of these verbal categories.

Although syntax is not discussed in the grammars on Tofa, Dukha and Soyot, the Tuvan grammar suggests that gerunds also function to mark the same subject of main clauses in subordinate clauses (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 85). At the same time participles are used to mark a different subject in the subordinate clause (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 85). Participles can take possessive markers in Tuvan and they are used to mark the subject of the subordinate clause, but often these are left out. Gerunds do not take possessive suffixes, but it is not necessary either, for they do not mark a different subject which should be marked as such. The Soyot examples above show the same pattern. Example (3.c) shows one subject, but two verbal clauses *tur-/тур-* ‘stand’ and *tʃoʃa-/чoʃa-* ‘jump out’. Example (4) contains the covert third person singular subject ‘he’ in the main clause. However, *iʰhi qwɪzwl ʰaja/иʰhi қызыл һайа*, ‘two red stones’ is the subject of the subordinate clause and the dependent of the verb *ʰavsara-/навсара-*, ‘annex to’, which is marked by the participle marker *-ar/-ар* and already indicates that the subject of its subordinate clause differs from the subject of the main clause.

#### Gerunds

There are three gerund suffixes found in the text *The Hunter*. The suffix that occurs the most is the suffix *-KAʃ/-КАш*. It is used when the same subject did both actions, but the actions did not happen at the same time but consecutively. Example (5) shows how the subject of the verb *keʃs-/кеʃс-* ‘cut’, also is the subject of getting hungry and thirsty. However, the gerund suffix gives away that that happened before the the subject tried to cut with his knife.

#### Soyot

- (5) *aʃtaaʃ suʋsaʃ piʃææ bʰle keʃsip kʰrgæen*  
*ашта-аш суҕса-аш пишэ-э биле кеʃс-ип көр-гән*  
 be.hungry-GER.PFV be.thirsty-GER.PFV knife-3.POSS with cut-GER.ST see-REM  
 ‘Проголодавшись, испытал жажду, попробовал резать ножом.’  
 ‘After getting hungry [and] thirsty, he tried to cut with his knife.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 18)

The other gerund suffix in example (6) is the the gerund suffix *-(l)p/-(l)п*. This gerund suffix denotes actions happening simultaneously and takes the same TAM values as those that are marked on the finite verb. The example below shows the relationship between the gerund suffix and the TAM marker *-геп/-гән* on the finite verb *kel-/кел-*, ‘come’. It describes how the action of cutting happens at the same time of the action of coming. The gerund suffix *-ip/-ип* links the two verbs to one another.

#### Soyot

- (6) *ʰaaq keʃsip kelgæen*  
*һаақ кеʃс-ип кел-гән*  
 twig cut-GER.ST come-REM  
 ‘Срезали кустик.’  
 ‘He came and cut the twig.’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 65)

The last gerund is expressed through the suffix *-V*, where *V* stands for any vowel adapting to the value of vowel in the preceding syllable, or *-j/-й*. It seems that this gerund bears an imperfective meaning. It does not necessarily denote simultaneousness of actions, it rather describes the incompleteness of the action marked by this gerund. Example (7) shows an imperfective gerund: the action of doing nothing is not yet fully completed when the action of stepping starts. There is a small overlap between these actions, but the focus is on the incomplete action of ‘doing nothing’.

*Soyot*

- (7) *ħamaan dzoq ʃŋvəj qʷlʷ qʷlʷʃtaaʃ turar bolʷan*  
*ħamaan.çoq ыңғай қыл-ы қылашта-аш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 unimportant further do-GER.IPFV step-CAUS-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Делать нечего, пошагал дальше.’  
 ‘Doing nothing, he went on.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 39)

*Participles*

There are at least two kinds of participles found in the text *The Hunter*, the remote past participle and the non-past participle. The difference between these participles is tense based. The another, probably third participle is not glossed without doubt as a participle. It concerns the recent past participle.

The remote past participle is expressed through the suffix *-KAN/-КАН*. Examples (8.a-b) show the remote past participle in an adjective role. In the first example as a negative adjective translated with a relative clause. In the second example the participle is also reflected in the English phrase. Those example also show two functions of participles in Soyot: verbal adjective and participles functioning as the head of the relative clause. The past element of these participles is reflected in the tense that is used in the translation. The act of not seeing in (8.a) and the act of decorating in (8.b) is accomplished already.

*Soyot*

- (8) a. *gørvææn oranʷa tʷʃkæn turʷan*  
*гөр-вә-ӘН оран-ға түгш-кән тур-ған*  
 see-NEG-PP land-DAT fall-PP stand-REM  
 ‘Он попал в невиданную страну.’  
 ‘He landed in a land that was never seen.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 24)

- b. *ħyræn qʷzʷl budaan dzʷʃħʷ baʃʷanʷŋ søøgi bolʷp turʷ*  
*ħyræn қызыл буда-ан чыгльһы багш-ы-н-ың сөөг-і бол-ып*  
 brown red decorate-PP herd head-3.POSS-LK-GEN bone-3.POSS be-GER.ST  
*тур-ы*  
 stand-PRS  
 ‘Лошадь, покрашенная красно-бурым цветом, превратилась в череп.’  
 ‘The red-brown decorated horse [from a herd] became a skull.’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 154)

The non-past participle suffix *-Vr/-Vp* is used when the action of the participle is not yet completed. As opposed to (8.a), the action of seeing and not seeing in example (9) are not yet completed. In the translation, the first non-past participle is translated with a temporal or conditional clause in the

present tense by means of the locative case. This use of case markers combined with participle markers is also found in Tuvan and Altai (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 80). The *V* in the suffix can stand for any vowel, adapting to the vowel of the preceding syllable.

*Soyot*

- (9) wraqtan kørdæ køstir dʒimæ boor tʃoovadzaar bolsa køzilvæs tʃimæ bolw væær  
 ырақ-тан кө-өр-дә көс-тир чимә бо-ор чооҕаҕа-ар бол-са  
 far-ABL see-NPP-LOC see-ASS thing be-NPP approach-NPP be-COND

көз-ил-вәс чимә бол-ы вә-әр  
 see-PASS-NEG.NPP thing be-INCH AUX-NPST

‘Если посмотреть издали – были видимы, если приблизиться – становились невидимыми.’

‘It starts to be visible when it is seen from far – it was invisible if he approached.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 28)

The questioned participle found in the text could be the recent past participle *-DI/-ДИ*, which only occurs once in the text. The occurrence can be found below in example (10.a). The TAM equivalent is shown in (10.b), since direct speech seems always to be expressed with finite verbs. However, in example (10.a), the verb with the discussed suffix appears in front of the finite verb *durw/дурь*, ‘appear’, leaving a gerund or participle as the only options for the verb *saq-/сақ-*, ‘remember’. Since the gerunds have the aspectual opposition and the participles seem to have a tense-based opposition. The recent past does not carry out an aspectual meaning, but rather a ‘scalarity of tense’. Therefore, the participle reading would not be illogical.

*Soyot*

- (10) a. wn’dzaaf bir tʃeʃjæ aj la ɛʃrtkæn dææn bir tʃerdæn huj aqsunda boo saadaam aʃrtgwrw qawa  
 men dɛp saqtw durw mɛn  
 ыньча-аш бир чешә ай ла эрт-кән дә-ән бир чер-дән  
 do.like-GER.PFV one how.much moon INTJ pass.by-PP say-REM one place-ABL

һуй ақ-сы-н-да боо саада-ам аьрт-гыр-ып  
 cave white-3.POSS-LK-LOC gun ammunition.belt-1SG.POSS remain-CAUS-GER.ST

қағ-а мен дә-п сақ-ты дур-ы мен  
 put-PP PRO:1SG say-GER.ST remember-RPP appear-PRS 1SG

‘Так прошло несколько месяцев», – рассказал он, – «В одном месте возле входа в пещеру, помню, оставил ружьё и пояс с зарядами.’

‘“After a few months passed by”, he said, “At a place in the white cave, I put my gun and ammunition belt down and left them behind, I remember.”’

(Rassadin 2010: 56, line 174)

- b. bijæ dzaaʃaj kiji qajw bardw dææf kørgæn dzoq bolwan  
 бийә чааһай киши қайы бар-ды дә-әш көр-гән чоқ бол-ған  
 DEM.EMPH beautiful person where go-REC say-GER.PFV see-REM EXIST.NEG be-REM

‘Куда делся тот красивый человек? Смотрит – исчез.’

‘Saying: ‘Whereto did that very beautiful person go?’, it was visibly different.’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 155)

The similarities between TAM markers and suffixes of gerunds and participles are discussed in section 2.2.2 *The relation between TAM markers and participle and gerund suffixes, a comparison with Old Turkic, Turkish and Khalkha.*

### 2.2.2 The relation between TAM markers and participle and gerund suffixes – a comparison with Old Turkic, Turkish and Khalkha

Many Soyot TAM suffixes show resemblance with participle and gerund suffixes. The difference with TAM markers is the lack of person marking. (11.a) shows how the remote past suffix *-gæn/-гән* on the verb *køŕ-/көр-*, ‘see’, is used as a TAM suffix, but (11.b) contains the same verb *gøŕ-/гөр-*, ‘see’, and the same verbal suffix *-gæn/-гән*. However, the verb is non-finite and is used as the adjectival predicate of the existential phrase.

- Soyot
- (11) a. aʃtaaʃ suksaaʃ piʃææ biʃe keʃip kørgæn  
*ашта-аш суҕса-аш пишэ-э биле кес-ип көр-гән*  
 be.hungry-GER.PFV be.thirsty-GER.PFV knife-3.POSS with cut-GER.ST see-REM  
 ‘Проголодавшись, испытав жажду, попробовал резать ножом.’  
 ‘After getting hungry [and] thirsty, he tried to cut with his knife.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 18)

- b. gørgæn ta dæg dʒer bolʋan  
*гөр-гән та дэҕ джер бол-ҕан*  
 see-PP PTCL as place be-REM  
 ‘Вроде бы виданная местность.’  
 ‘That place was still visible.’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 159)

When all Soyot TAM markers, participle and gerund suffixes are compared to each other, it would result in the table below:

Table 6: Soyot verbal suffixes

Participles	Gerunds	TAM markers
-КАп/-КАп (PP)		-КАп/-КАп (REM)
-Vr/-Vp (NPP)		-Vr/-Vp (NPST)
-DI/-ДИ (RPP)		-DI/-ДИ (REC)
	-V or -j/-й (GER.IPFV)	-V or -j/-й (PRS)
	-(I)p/-(И)п (GER.ST)	
	-KAʃ/-КАш (GER.PFV)	
		-KAj/-КАй (FUT/OPT)
		-TʃIk/-ЧИк (EVIP)
		-(I)v(I)t/-(И)вИт (PFV)
		-sA/-сА (COND)
		-IKsA/-ИКСА (DES)

The similar suffixes are in the same row and show that there is an overlap in the forms of the suffixes. In Turkish, Old Turkic and Khalkha these kind of similarities are also found and these processes behind these similarities are better described. Comparison with those languages and a comparison study on the literature on these languages, help explain the similarities and processes found in Soyot.



According to Theunissen & Türkmen (2005), the old Turkic languages did not differentiate between the TAM markers or the gerund and participle suffixes (Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 298). Turkish is an example of a language in which grammaticalization of the majority of these suffixes took place, i.e. the suffixes developed into separate suffixes and bearing only one function – a participle or gerund function or a TAM function (Erdal 2004).<sup>5</sup> Although Theunissen & Türkmen (2005) and Erdal (2004) both mention the lack of distinction of the verbal suffix classes, they do not agree on the origin of these suffixes. Theunissen & Türkmen state that the Turkic languages at first lacked TAM suffixes and later on developed those suffixes from the gerund and participle suffixes (Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 298). Erdal, on the other hand, argues that the participles and gerund suffixes developed from the TAM suffixes (Erdal 2004: 155-156, 239-241, 284-285, 294-300). The examples below show a TAM marker in (12.a), a participle suffix in (12.b) and a gerund in example (12.c). The participle suffix and TAM marker show resemblance. The differences are found in the marking: possessive marking on the non-finite verb versus pronominal marking on the finite verb. The gerund in example (12.c) does not take personal nor possessive marking at all.

- Turkish*
- (12) a. *san-a şimdi bir şey söyle-y-eceğ-im sen de çok*  
 PRO:2SG-DAT now one thing say-LK-FUT-1SG PRO:2SG also very  
*kız-acak-sın*  
 become.angry-FUT-2SG  
 'I am going to say something that will make you very angry.'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 162)

- b. *Orhan'ın al-acağ-ı araba-yı gör-dü-n mü*  
 Orhan-GEN take-FUTP-3.POSS car-ACC see-VIS-2SG Q  
 'Did you see the car that Orhan will buy?'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 316)

- c. *Hollanda'-ya gel-ip üç ay kal-mak için vize al-mak ist-iyor*  
 Netherlands-DAT come-GER three month stay-INF for visa take-INF want-PRS  
 'He wants to apply for a visa to come to the Netherlands and to stay for three months'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 369)

Although, the future participle suffix and the future tense marker are phonetically similar, not all participles and TAM markers are in that way identical. The examples below show the aspectual participles in Turkish. One of the aspectual participles, the imperfective participle as in example (13.b), is not related to any TAM marker. Example (13.a) shows the present tense marker, but it is clearly not morphologically related to the participle in (13.b). The other aspectual participle, the perfective participle in (13.d), is related to the TAM marker of the non-visible past (13.c).

- Turkish*
- (13) a. *ordu-muz düşman-a karşı yürü-yor*  
 army-1PL.POSS enemy-DAT against walk-PRS  
 'Our army advances on the enemy.'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 222)

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the grammaticalization of these suffixes I refer to the grammar by Theunissen & Türkmen (2005) and the grammar of Old Turkic by Erdal (2004). The latter also thoroughly discusses grammaticalization patterns in other Turkic languages.

- b. *orada yürü-y-en-ler-i tan-ıyor mu-sun*  
 there walk-LK-IPFVP-PL-3.POSS know-PRSQ-2SG  
 'Do you know the people walking overthere?'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 304)

- c. *Ajda'=yla hiç yat-ma-mış*  
 Ajda=with nothing lie-NEG-NVIS  
 'He might not have slept with Ajda.'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 170)

- d. *Havuçkoltuk-ta yat-mış televizyon seyred-iyor*  
 Havuçcouch-LOC lie-PFVP television watch-PRS  
 'Lying on the couch, Hwavuç watches television.'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 308)

Khalkha, a Mongolic language which is spoken on the other side of the Buryat Russian-Mongolian border, takes it somewhat further than Turkish. This language does not distinguish participle suffixes from TAM markers at all (Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 99, 137). Therefore, the suffixes of participles and TAM suffixes do not vary, but are morphologically similar. Example (14.a) and (14.b) show the suffix *-san* twice. In the first example, *-san* functions as TAM marker of the imperfective aspect. In the second example, *-san* is the past participle in the relative clause. The two suffixes behave morphologically and phonetically identical, but the first one is a finite verb and the latter the head of a relative clause. As can be seen in example (14.c), gerunds are marked by different affixes. These suffixes cannot be linked to TAM markers.

*Khalkha*

- (14) a. *bi Mongol-in tuhai yapy-a-san*  
 PRO:1SG Mongolia-GEN about speak-IPFV  
 'I spoke about Mongolia.'

(Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 59)

- b. *činiy möng-iyg av-san yün ter bayna*  
 DIST money-ACC take-PP person DIST COP  
 'That is the one who took your money.'

(Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 137)

- c. *yool-oo ide-ž pivo uu-can*  
 food-REFL.ACC eat-CONT beer drink-IPFV  
 'I ate and had some beer.' (lit.: 'I drank beer [and was] eating my own food.')

(Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 87)

Judging the examples above, it seems that Soyot is somewhere between Khalkha and Turkish. Not all Soyot verbal suffixes from the different verbal classes (TAM markers, gerunds, participles) differ from each other, but Soyot has different verbal suffixes in the TAM marker class and the class of gerund and participle suffixes. The examples below show that Soyot has coinciding suffixes in participles (15.a-b) and gerunds (15.c-d). especially, the participles in (15.a) and the remote past marker in

(15.b). However, the examples also show that the perfective gerund in example (15.d) is not similar to the remote past tense in the other examples (15.a-c). The present tense marker in (15.d) on the other hand, show similarities with the imperfective gerund in (15.c).

*Soyot*

- (15) a. *tuj dzaaḥaj bolvan gelgæn bijæ kifini yndirgæn baruun mala dzalaan*  
*туң чааһай бол-ған гел-гән бийә киши-ни үн-дир-гән баруун тала*  
 very beautiful be-PP come-PP DEM.EMPH person-ACC leave-CAUS-PP western side  
*чала-ан*  
 invite-REM  
 ‘Настала благодать, вывела того человека наружу, пригласила на западную сторону.’  
 ‘She invited [that person] leading that person to the western side to become blessed.’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 114)

- b. *wnda bir ḥuj bolvan*  
*ында бир һуй бол-ған*  
 there one cave be-REM  
 ‘Там было одна пещера.’  
 ‘There was a cave.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 13)

- c. *ḥamaan dzoq ŋwaj qulw qulaḥtaaf turar bolvan*  
*һамаан.чоқ ыңғай қыл-ы қылашта-аш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 unimportant further do-GER.IPFV step-CAUS-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Делать нечего, пошагал дальше.’  
 ‘Doing nothing, he went on.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 39)

- d. *olgwdu girgæf olurwup turw*  
*ол-гыды гир-гәш олыр-ып тур-ы*  
 MED-ALL enter-GER.PFV sit-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Войдя в него, сидит.’  
 ‘Entering that, he sat down.’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 116)

Erdal (2004) describes a more or less similar situation in his grammar on Old Turkic. He states that this is due to the participles and gerunds functioned as predicatives in the main clauses and developed from there to finite TAM markers (2004: 234). It seems that the same process of grammaticalization is still ongoing in Soyot. This would explain why the Soyot gerund and participle suffixes share similarities with the TAM markers – or the other way around. If this process was already present in Old Turkic and is still seen in Turkish, it is possible that this is also the case for Soyot.

Furthermore, Erdal suggests that the Old Turkic verbal predicates triggered pronominal clitics functioning as a finite element of the clause (2004: 234). In Turkish, this is still found in simple copular constructions, like example (16.a). Example (16.b) is an example taken from Uygur. According to Erdal, the suffix on the verb is a participle suffix putting the verb in a predicative construction. The

suffix *-ım* is the finite element in (16.a) and the repetition of the pronoun functions as the finite element in (16.b).

*Turkish*

- (16) a. *ben ev-de değil sinema-da-y-ım*  
 PRO:1SG house-LOC NEG cinema-LOC-LK-1SG  
 'I am not at home but in the cinema.'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 109)

*Uygur*

- b. *män öy-ür män*  
 PRO:1SG remember-NPP 1SG  
 'I remember.'

(Erdal 2004: 234)

Something similar to example (16.b) is found in Soyot. Example (17) contains the double *мен/мен*. In the previous section I showed that the non-past participle was denoted by *-Vr/-Vp*. The example below shows a phrase with the non-past TAM marker *-ur/-ыр* or morphologically written as *-Vr/-Vp*. Following the theory of Erdal, it could be possible that Soyot has the same construction as Uygur. This implies that Soyot also would use participles and gerunds in every clause and predicative constructions to create a finite clause. If this theory is true, it would mean that the suffix *-ur/-ыр* in the example below should not have been glossed by the non-past TAM marker, but by the non-past participle.

*Soyot*

- (17) *мен монш алгај тџоонур мен*  
**МЕН** *мо-ны ал-гаш чоон-ыр* **МЕН**  
 PRO:1SG PROX-ACC take-GER.PFV what.do-NPST 1SG  
 'Что я буду делать, взяв это?'  
 'What shall I do, after taking this?'

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 70)

It would mean, in general, that some verbal suffixes can function as both participles or gerund markers and TAM markers. This, as Erdal states, makes the boundaries between finite and non-finite verbs somewhat blurred (Erdal 2004: 421). On the other hand, the finite verb tends to be the last verb of the main clause and also seems to function as the pivot of the sentence. Example (18) shows first a simple clause in (18.a) of which the finite verb, the only one in the clause, takes the last slot of the sentence. (18.b) contains four verbal roots. This chain of verbs has three non-finite verbs, i.e. gerunds and participles, and one finite verb, the last one in the sentence. This last verb is a copular verb. This can be seen in the light of the predicative construction discussed above, making the participles and gerunds a part of the predicative clause constructed by a auxiliary or copular verb. Tuvan, the closely related to Soyot, reveals that beside *bol-/бол-*, be, also *tur-/мыр-*, stand, *olur-/олыр-*, sit, and *tforu-/чоры-*, go, can be seen as auxiliaries and *tur-/мыр-* can function as a copular verb (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 69).

Soyot

- (18) a. tʃumdzaq tʃimæ turʋan  
чумцақ чимә тур-ған  
soft thing stand-REM  
'Было что-то мягкое.'  
'There was something soft.'

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 16)

- b. ʃʰtu tuʰta dzaskaʃ turar bolʋan  
ығт-ы туғт-а час-қаш тур-ар бол-ған  
dog-3.POSS catch-GER.IPFV discover-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
'Собаки хватили мимо.'  
'Their dogs could catch [him] after discovering [him].'  
(lit.: 'Their dog could catch [him] after [he] is becoming discovered.')

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 31)

This is, again, confirmed by Erdal, who states that the last verb in the sentence tends to be the finite verb (Erdal 2004: 425) and his explanation on the origin of auxiliaries in the Turkic languages (Erdal 2004: 247ff.).

### 2.2.3 The syntactic position and embedding of subordinate clauses within the main clause

Since participles and gerunds are used to link clauses, they have a major influence on the syntactic position of the subordinate clause. Rassadin does not discuss the order of subordinate and main clauses, therefore, in this section the syntactic position of subordinate clause with the gerunds and participles will be discussed.

Example (19) shows first a simple clause in (19.a) and a complex clause in (19.b). The simple clause has the SOV word order. The complex clause shows how the subordinated clause with the gerund is inserted just in front of the main verb. Although the English translation shows a coordinate clause, the sentence contains a subordinate clause in the Soyot line because of the gerund. This mismatch between the translation and the original line is found more often (Stapert 2013: 268-270).

Soyot

- (19) a. iʰhi aal turʋan  
[иһи аал тур-ған]  
two nomad.camp stand-REM  
'Стояли два стойбища.'  
'There were two nomad camps.'

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 26)

- b. bijæ lama girip olʋʋan  
[бийә лама [гир-ип] олып-ған]  
DEM.EMPH lama enter-GER.ST sit-REM  
'Тот лама, войдя, сел.'  
'That lama came in and sat down.'

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 129)

Figure 1: structure of example (20)

w <sup>h</sup> tw ыџm-ы (S) dog-3.POSS		bolwan бол-џан (V <sub>1</sub> ) be-REM	Main clause
	tu <sup>h</sup> ta тџm-a (V <sub>2</sub> ) catch-GER.IPFV		Sub. clause level 1.1
		turar тџp-ар (V <sub>3</sub> ) stand-NPP	Sub. clause level 2
		dzasqaʃ џac-џaw (V <sub>4</sub> ) discover-GER.PFV	Sub. clause level 2.1

More complex clauses, like the one from example (18.b), show a similar structure. The sentence from example (18.b) can be found below with square brackets indicating the subordinate clauses. The English translation only reflects only one subordinate clause (the Russian translation does not even contain a subordinate clause). The Soyot clause on the other hand, has four verbal roots. The subordinate clause is inserted in front of the finite verb and the subordinate clause within the subordinate clause is again inserted in front of the main verb of the subordinate clause.

*Soyot*

- (20)  $\omega^{\text{t}}\text{tu}$   $\text{tu}^{\text{t}}\text{a}$   $d\text{zasqa}$   $\text{turar}$   $\text{bol}\omega\text{an}$   
 [ы́т-ы [ту́т-а] [[час-қаш] тур-ар] бол-ған]  
 dog-3.POSS catch-GER.IPFV discover-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM

‘Собаки хватили мимо.’

‘Their dogs could catch [him] after discovering [him].’ (lit.: ‘After [he is] becoming discovered, their dog could catch [him].’)

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 31)

The finite verb *bolwan/bolgan*, ‘was’, agrees with the definite subject  $\omega^{\text{t}}\text{tu}/\text{ы́тты}$ , ‘their dogs’. On the second level, the non-finite auxiliary verb *turar/мурар*, ‘standing’ or ‘becoming’, facilitates the predicative construction with the perfective gerund *dzasqa/часқаш*, ‘discovered’. This predicative structure is not constructed with a gerund, but with a participle, for the subject of this subordinated clause is the hunter from the story, not the dog at the beginning of this sentence. The gerund suffix on *dzas-/час-*, ‘discover’, would indicate that the subject of this verb is the same as the subject of the verb *tur-/мур-*, ‘stand’<sup>6</sup>. The last verb is  $\text{tu}^{\text{t}}\text{a}/\text{ту́т-а}$ , ‘catching’ and is again a gerund. This gerund alligns with the subject  $\omega^{\text{t}}\text{tu}/\text{ы́тты}$ , ‘their dogs’, which is also the subject of *bolwan/bolgan*, ‘was’. The subordinate clause with the verb *turar/мурар*, ‘standing’ or ‘becoming’, is inserted between the finite verb and directly after the non-finite verb  $\text{tu}^{\text{t}}\text{a}/\text{ту́т-а}$ , ‘catching’. Figure (1) clarifies the levels of the subordinate clause and shows on what level the subordinate clauses are subordinated. The subordinate clause on the second level is inserted after the subordinate clause on level 1.1.

This structure is called a *tangconstructie* in Dutch, a construction resembling pliers. Because the main clause embraces the subordinate clauses as pliers. Soyot portrays a similar structure. Example (21) shows a more complex sentence with eight verbal roots.

*Soyot*

- (21)  $\omega\text{raqtan}$   $k\emptyset\emptyset\text{rd}\text{æ}$   $k\emptyset\text{stir}$   $d\text{zim}\text{æ}$   $\text{boor}$   $t\text{ʃoo}\omega\text{adzaar}$   $\text{bolsa}$   $k\emptyset\text{zilv}\text{æ}\text{s}$   $t\text{ʃim}\text{æ}$   $\text{bol}\omega$   $\text{v}\text{æ}\text{æ}\text{r}$   
 [[[ырақ-тан кө-өр-дә] [[[көс-тір] чимә бо-ор] чооҕаҕа-ар]] бол-са]  
 far-ABL see-NPP-LOC see-ASS thing be-NPP approach-NPP be-COND

$k\emptyset\text{z-}\omega\text{l-}\text{v}\text{æ}\text{s}$   $\text{чимә бол-ы]$   $\text{вэ-эр]$   
 see-PASS-NEG.NPP thing be-INCH AUX-NPST

‘Если посмотреть издалека – были видимы, если приблизиться – становились невидимыми.’

‘It starts to be visible when it is seen from far – it was invisible if he approached.’

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 28)

<sup>6</sup> The verbs *tur-/мур-*, ‘stand’, *olur-/олыр-*, ‘sit’, *tʃoor-/чоор-*, ‘go’ are also used as auxiliary verbs. Their original meaning is not always reflected in the translation, since English and Russian have different constructions for expressing phrases with auxiliary verbs.

Figure 2: structure of example (21)

		<i>væær</i> <i>æð-æp</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) AUX-NPST	Main clause
		<i>køzilvæs tʃimæ bolw</i> <i>көз-ул-вәс</i> (V <sub>3</sub> /ADJ) <i>чумә</i> (S) <i>бол-ы</i> (V <sub>2</sub> ) see-PASS-NEG.NPP thing be-INCH	Sub. clause level 1.1
<i>wraqtan køørdæ</i> <i>ырақ-тан</i> (ADV) <i>кө-өр-дә</i> (V <sub>4</sub> ) far-ABL see-NPP-LOC			Sub. clause level 1.1.1
		<i>bolsa</i> <i>бол-са</i> (V <sub>5</sub> ) be-COND	Sub. clause level 2
	<i>tʃoovadzaar</i> <i>чооҗаҗа-ар</i> (V <sub>6</sub> ) approach-NPP		Sub. clause level 2.1
	<i>køstir dʒimæ boor</i> <i>көс-тiр</i> (V <sub>8</sub> /ADJ) <i>чумә</i> (S) <i>бо-ор</i> (V <sub>7</sub> ) see-ASS thing be-NPP		Sub. clause level 2.1.1

Figure 3: structure of example (22)

	<i>dađıt-ıl-an</i> (V <sub>2</sub> /ADJ) spread-PASS-IPFVP <i>bir broşur-de</i> (ADV) one brochure-LOC	<i>belir-t-il-iyor</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) make.clear-CAUS-PASS-PRS	Main clause
<i>başvur-an-lar-a</i> (V <sub>3</sub> /N.IndrO) turn.to-IPFVP-PL-DAT			Sub. clause level 1.1
		<i>2007</i> (ADV) <i>son-bahar-ı-n-da</i> (ADV) 2007 end-spring-3.POSS-LK-LOC <i>Türkiye'-ye</i> (ADV) <i>gid-ebil-eceğ-i</i> (V <sub>4</sub> ) Turkey-DAT leave-MOD-FUTP-3.POSS	Sub. clause level 2
	<i>bursu</i> (O) <i>kazan-an-lar-ın</i> (V <sub>5</sub> /N.S) scholarship win-IPFVP-PL-GEN		Sub. clause level 2.1



Figure (2) is the schematic representation of the sentence from example (21). On the first level, the level of the main clause, only the finite verb *əə-əp* is found. This auxiliary is used to construct the inchoative aspect. According to the dictionary, the auxiliary *væ-ær/əə-əp* is difficult to translate but its meaning is somewhere between *əavəŭ*, which can be translated by ‘let’s’, and ‘start’ on the other hand (Rassadin 2010: 86). The *-u/-ы* is glossed as the inchoative, but it only bears the inchoative meaning in combination with the auxiliary *væ-ær/əə-əp*. I chose to put *bol-u/бол-ы*, ‘being’ on second level, because its suffix resembles the imperfective gerund suffix. The third verb is the adjectivized participle, functioning as the predicative of the verb *bol-u/бол-ы*, ‘being’. The fourth verb, *køørdæ/køøpðə*, ‘seen’ is the start of an adverbial subordinate clause, since it denotes the conditions that need to be set in order to execute the action of ‘seeing’ on the second level. A conditional clause is inserted right after the subordinate clauses of the main verb on the first level. Also found in this sentence is the ‘pliers construction’, since the subordinate clause of level two is inserted between the two parts of the clauses of the first level. This conditional on the second level is the host for two other subordinate clauses marked by participles denoting a change of subject, which is found on the lowest level, level 2.1.1. This subject is visible, whereas the subject on the first level is not. Again, this example shows how gerunds and participles are used to denote a change of subject and how they make a mark on the syntactic structure of the sentence.

Something similar is found in Turkish. The example below shows a sentence with five verbal roots. The main and finite verb is found at the very end of the sentence, like Soyot.

- Turkish*
- (22) *[[başvur-an-lar-a] dağıt-ıl-an bir broşur-de [[bursu kazan-an-lar-ın]*  
 turn.to-IPFVP-PL-DAT spread-PASS-IPFVP one brochure-LOC scholarship win-IPFVP-PL-GEN  
*2007 son-bahar-ı-n-da Türkiye'-ye gid-ebil-eceğ-i] belir-t-il-iyor]*  
 2007 end-spring-3.POSS-LK-LOC Turkey-DAT leave-MOD-FUTP-3.POSS make.clear-CAUS-PASS-PRS  
 ‘It is announced in a leaflet given to the ones who asked for it that the ones who got the scholarship can go to Turkey in the fall of 2007.’

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 453)

From figure (3), it becomes clear that Turkish also uses the ‘pliers construction’ by embedding the subordinate clause of the second level in the main clause, inserting it in front of the main verb of the clause the level above.

This is also found in Soyot. In figure (1) and figure (2), both subordinate clauses on the next level are inserted right in front of the main verb of the subordinate or main clause of the level above. Therefore, the subordinate clause of the second level of example (20) is a subordinate of the main verb *bolvan/болван* and the subordinate clause of the second level of example (21) is a subordinate of the verbal clause *køzilvæs/kөзилвэс*.

However, it is not always the case that subordinate clauses are embedded in the main clause. It is possible to let the subordinate clause precede the main clause, as can be seen below in example (23). In example (23), the subordinate clauses are not inserted right in front of the main clause of the subordinate clause from a higher level, but it follows the subject or object of the main clause.

Figure 4: structure of example (23)

bijæ ʰamʷ бийә һамы (S) DEM.EMPH shaman		bɛlæk беләк (O) gift	tuʰtɾaan туът-па-ан (V <sub>1</sub> ) hold-NEG-REM	Main clause
	mørgæp мөргә-п (V <sub>2</sub> ) kneel-GER.ST	tʃalbʷrap чалбыр-ап (V <sub>3</sub> ) pray-GER.ST	dɛp дә-п (V <sub>4</sub> ) say-GER.ST	Sub. clause level 1.1
	bolwngwdu бол-ын-гыды (V <sub>6</sub> /N.ADV) be-3.POSS-LK-ALL			Sub. clause 1.1.1

Figure 5: structure of example (24)

			turu тур-у (V <sub>1</sub> ) stand-PRS	Main clause
	buʰrʰan kʷrwɪnda qʷzʷl sarʷɛ ɛʰsɪr буьрһан (O) кыр-ы-н-да (ADV) қызыл (ADJ) сарығ (ADJ) эьсир (S) god surface-3.POSS-LK-LOC red yellow eagle		budap буда-п (V <sub>2</sub> ) defile-GER.ST	Sub. clause level 1.1
			olwɾw олыр-ы (V <sub>3</sub> ) sit-GER.IPFV	Sub. clause level 1.1.1
		kɛlɪp кел-ип (V <sub>4</sub> ) come-GER.ST		Sub. clause level 1.1.1.1
kɛlɪrdæn araj burwɪn кел-ір-дән (V <sub>5</sub> ) арай (ADV) бурын (ADV) come-NPP-ABL barely in.front				Sub. clause level 2

- Soyot*
- (23) *bijæ ħamw bolwngwdw mɔrgæp tʃalbwrɔp belæk dɛp tuʔtraan*  
 [[[бийә һамы [[бол-ы-н-гыды] мөргә-п] чалбыр-ап] [беләк [дә-п]]  
 DEM.EMPH shaman be-3.POSS-LK-ALL kneel-GER.ST pray-GER.ST gift say-GER.ST

*туьт-па-ан]*

hold-NEG-REM

‘Тот шаман, молясь в свою сторону, не взял подарок.’

‘That shaman, kneeling towards the one who is present and praying, did not take the alleged gift.’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 69)

Out of the two subordinate clauses, one precedes the finite verb *tuʔtraan/туьтпаан*, ‘did not take’ and the other precedes the object of the main clause. The ‘pliers construction’ is maintained, but not in its usual position. Moreover, it seems that the subordinate clauses follow their heads, rather than preceding them. The subordinate clause *dɛp/дәп*, ‘alleged’ follows its head the gift, *belæk/беләк* and the same goes for the shaman, *bijæ ħamw/бийә һамы*, and the subordinate clause about his actions, which also follows instead of preceding *bijæ ħamw/бийә һамы*.

Example (24) shows two subordinate clauses. One that is not inserted in the main clause, but it is preceding the main clause and another one that is inserted into the main clause.

- Soyot*
- (24) *kəlirdæn araj burwɔn buʔrħan kwurwɔnda qwɔwɔl sarwɔv ɛʔsɪr kəlɪp olwɔrw budap turu*  
 [кел-ир-дән арай бурын [[буьрхан кыр-ы-н-да] [[кызыл сарыҥ эьсир]  
 come-NPP-ABL barely in.front god surface-3.POSS-LK-LOC red yellow eagle  
 [кел-ип]] [олыр-ы]] буда-п] тур-у]  
 come-GER.ST sit-GER.IPFV defile-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Незадолго перед его прибытием прилетает и садится на статую Будды красно-жёлтый орёл, пачкает.’  
 ‘Just a few moments before he came, the red-yellow eagle came, sat down and defiled on top of the god.’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 104)

Figure (5) shows a subordinate clause according to the ‘pliers construction’ on the first level. However, there is a second subordinate clause, which is not embraced by the claw of the pliers. Instead, this subordinate clause is inserted in front of the main clause.

This last structure is also found in Tuvan, Tofa and Dukha, the closely related Sayan languages. The ‘pliers construction’ is also found in Tuvan. Example (25) contains two purpose clauses, which are subordinate clauses in Tuvan. In example (25.a) the ‘pliers construction’ is used to subordinate the clause right after the overt marked subject. Example (25.b) shows a subordinate clause that is inserted in front of the main clause, not embedded in the claw of the pliers of the main clause.

- Tuvan*
- (25) a. [[*men [o-lar-ga šaptik [kat-pas deeš]] bažɪŋ-če [kir-ip]] kel-di-m]*  
 PRO:1SG PRO:3-PL-DAT obstacle add-NEG.NPST PURP house-ALL enter-GER go-REC-1SG  
 ‘I came inside so as not to disturb them.’

(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 76)

Figure 6: structure of example (25.a)

		<i>kel-di-m</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) go-REC-1SG	Main clause
<i>men</i> (S) PRO:1SG	<i>bažiŋ-če</i> (ADV) <i>kir-ip</i> (V <sub>2</sub> ) house-ALL enter-GER		Sub. clause level 1.1
	<i>o-lar-ga</i> (IndrO) <i>šaptik</i> (O) <i>kat-pas deeš</i> (V <sub>3</sub> ) PRO:3-PL-DAT obstacle add-NEG.NPST PURP		Sub. clause level 2

Figure 7: structure of example (25.b)

		<i>olur men</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) AUX-NPST 1SG	Main clause
	<i>kadar-ip</i> (V <sub>2</sub> ) guard-GER		Sub. clause level 1.1
	<i>al-zin-nar deeš</i> (V <sub>3</sub> ) SBEN-3.IMP-PL PURP		Sub. clause level 2
<i>uyguz-un</i> (S) <i>xandir</i> (ADV) <i>ud-up</i> (V <sub>4</sub> ) sleep-3.POSS deeply sleep-GER			Sub. clause level 2.1

Figure 8: structure of example (26.a)

		<i>bay-na</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) COP-NPST	Main clause
	<i>bi</i> (S) <i>iγ</i> (ADV) <i>bayarla-ž</i> (V <sub>2</sub> ) PRO:1SG much happy-CONT		Sub. clause level 1.1
<i>čam-ayg</i> (O) <i>ir-sen</i> (V <sub>3</sub> ) <i>učr-aas</i> (ADV) PRO:2SG-ACC come-IPFV reason-ABL			Sub. clause level 2

Figure 9: structure of example (26.b)

	<i>na:šin</i> (ADV) <i>ir-u:l-šix</i> (V <sub>1</sub> ) here come-CAUS-MOM		Main clause
<i>ši</i> (S) <i>xar-a:d</i> (V <sub>2</sub> ) <i>tər xün-i:</i> (O) PRO:2SG see-GER.PFV PROX person-ACC			Sub. clause level 2

- b. [[*uyguz-un xandir [ud-up]*] [*al-zin-nar deeš*]] [*kadar-ip ol-ur men*]  
 sleep-3.POSS deeply sleep-GER SBEN-3.IMP-PL PURP guard-GER AUX-NPST 1SG  
 'I am guarding them, so that they can get some sleep.'

(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 76)

This also shows in the figures (6) and (7). The lack of overt subject marking in example (25,b) is probably the reason why the 'pliers construction' is not completely represented in figure (7).

However, this cannot be the explanation of not fully executed 'pliers constructions' in Soyot, since there was overt subject marking in example (24), but the subordinate clause was inserted in front of the subject of the main clause and even its adverbial object. It is not exactly clear why Soyot does not seem to have strict locations rules on subordinate clauses. One reason could be that the fieldnotes were taken when the Soyot language was already moribund. It could be that the active knowledge of Soyot was not adequate enough to draw hard conclusions about the location of the subordinate clause. On the other hand, Tuvan is a very vital language and also displays various orders of the main clause and subordinate clause. Dryer shows in his typological research on the order of the relative clause that some languages do not have a dominant order, i.e. the language does not prefer one sequence main clause and subordinate clause or another (Dryer 2013). These languages are spoken at the southern side of the Himalayas, but Dryer's research does not contain that many (Turkic) languages spoken in Siberia. One should also note that Dryer's research is conducted on relative clauses rather than on subordinate clause. However, it could be possible that Soyot is one of the languages that does not have a dominant word or clause order. This could be due to a lack of sufficient active knowledge, but also because of influence from (non-related) languages spoken in the area, such as Khalka and Buryat, which prefer preposed subordinate clauses instead of the 'pliers construction'.<sup>7</sup>

*Khalkha*

- (26) a. [[*čam-ayg ir-sen učr-aas*] [*bi iy bayarla-ž bay-na*]]  
 PRO:2SG-ACC come-IPFV reason-ABL PRO:1SG much happy-CONT COP-NPST  
 'Because you've come, I'm very happy.'

(Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 100)

*Buryat (Barguzin dialect)*

- b. [[*ši xar-a:d tər xün-i:] na:šin ir-u:l-šix*]  
 PRO:2SG see-GER.PFV PROX person-ACC here come-CAUS-MOM  
 'When you see that man, bring him here.'

(Afanaseva 2006: 100)

The figures below show the structures of the examples above. They show that the subordinate clauses precede the main clause. Example (26.a) contains two subordinate clauses and both completely precede the main clause, i.e. there is no part of the main clause that is put in front of the subordinate clause forming a 'pliers construction'. The same goes for example (26.b). Figure (8) and (9) show how the main clause remain intact and is not 'broken' by the subordinate clause.

It is possible that Soyot borrowed these constructions from languages, such as Khalkha and Buryat due to contact, but historical and sociolinguistic research is necessary to see whether this is the cause of the diversity in word and clause order in Soyot or that the lack of active knowledge is the reason.

<sup>7</sup> The non-dominant clause order could also be caused due to the influence of Russian. However, Russian does not prefer preposed subordinate clauses. But due to the diversity of policies concerning the position of the subordinate clause in the surrounding languages, this could cause the diversity in clause orders in Soyot.

## 2.3 Possession

The last aspect of the Soyot grammar that will be discussed in this thesis is possession. Rassadin provides several paradigms of the six pronominal possession suffixes attached to nouns and combined with nominal cases (Rassadin 2010: 15-16, 18-20) in order to show the different outcomes of vowel and consonant harmony and the behavior of the suffixes. Predicative possession, on the other hand, is not treated in the grammar and nor are the linkers and the case forms combined with pronominal possessive suffixes. The following paragraphs will work out these topics in detail.

### 2.3.1 Morphophonology of linkers

Pronominal possession is directly marked on the noun by suffixes (see table 2, page 3). Nominal cases are also marked by suffixes on the noun and occur in combination with pronominal possession suffixes. When combined, the possessive suffix always precedes the nominal case. The letter *-n/-h-* appears when a pronominal possessive suffix is combined with a case suffix. I glossed this as a linker. This linker is found when the pronominal possessive suffix ends with a vowel and, in the case of Soyot, only appears following the pronominal possessive suffix of the third person. The linker does not follow the other pronominal possessive suffixes because that would result in a consonant cluster with three subsequential consonants, which is not allowed in the Soyot phonology. On the other hand, the combination CiCV(C) is allowed in Soyot. For example, take the nominative forms of *gidin/ɣudin*, ‘highlight’ and *siɣen/ciɣen*, ‘grass’ (Rassadin: 2010: 95, 155). In both nouns, the *i/i* or *i/u* is followed by a consonant which is also found in the case markers (*d/ð* in the locative case and *g/ɣ* in the dative case). And even nouns ending with an *i/i* or *i/u* can take a nominal case marker without a linker:

- Soyot  
(27) a. *kijigidi*  
    [...] *кишш-ɣidi* [...] [*...*]  
          person-ALL  
          ‘towards the person’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 56)

- b. *ʃæjungwɔw*  
    [...] *шəŋ-ы-н-ɣыды* [...] [*...*]  
          tea-3.POSS-LK-ALL  
          ‘towards his tea’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 108)

In the context of example (27.a), the linker is not triggered, whereas in example (27.b) the linker is also not triggered, although the nominal case is similar to the one in (27.a). This leaves the question why a slot for a linker exists and how it should be parsed, since the Soyot phonology rules would not oppose to a CiCV(C) construction and it is not clear whether this is an independent linker or if the linker is part of the pronominal possessive suffixes. Example (28.a) shows a noun and the third possessive suffix *-(s)/-(c)ɨ* without a case marker. The linker is not present. In example (28.b) the linker is present, probably, because the locative case follows the third person possessive suffix. The linker is not triggered when a case follows a noun stem ending with a vowel, as can be seen in example (27.a), nor is the linker not triggered after non-third person possessive suffixes (28.c).

- Soyot  
 (28) a. kifisi  
 [...] *киши-ци* [...]   
 person-3.POSS  
 'his person'

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 29)

- b. jaanda  
 [...] *ша-а-н-да* [...]   
 time-3.POSS-LK-LOC  
 'in his time'

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 2)

- c. *Һамууустуң*  
*Һамы-выс-тың* [...]   
 shaman-1PL.POSS-GEN  
 'of our shaman'

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 63)

As can be seen in example (28.b), the third person possessive takes the first slot, followed by the linker *-n/-H-* and the case marker. The linker is also found in other Turkic languages, such as Turkish, Tuvan and Chulym. These languages are better described than Soyot. But in the literature, Turkologists disagree in their opinions about the position and conditions of the linker. In her grammar on Turkish, Kornfilt treats the linker as it is a part of the possessive suffix (example 29.a; Kornfilt 1997: 185). Ketrez states in his learner's grammar on Turkish that the *-n-* functions as a 'buffer' for the third person possessive suffix (Ketrez 2012: 27) and Theunissen & Türkmen actually use the word linker to describe the *-n-* (Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 73). Although they do not provide a reason or a description for the linker, they do denote and sometimes parse the *-n-*.<sup>8</sup>

- Turkish  
 (29) a. *ali kız-ın-dan çok oğl-un-u sev-er*  
 Ali daughter-3SG-ABL more son-3SG-ACC love-AOR  
 'Ali loves his son more than his daughter.'

(Kornfilt 1997: 434)

- b. *kedisi-nden*  
 cat.3POSS-ABL  
 'from his cat'

(Ketrez 2012: 27)

- c. *evinden*  
 house-3.POSS-LK-ABL  
 'from his house'

(Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 88)

<sup>8</sup> Note that, in this case, I took the original line and morpheme boundaries to show how different authors handle the linker in the one and the same language. The glossing line is based on the original grammatical information. Therefore, the number of glosses not always add up to the number of morphemes and some examples may lack morpheme boundaries all together.

Languages closer to Soyot also show the *-n-* after a third person possessive suffix, however sometimes the native line is not parsed and more often the *-n-* is not denoted nor described, like in the phonology description on Tuvan (example 30.a). In Chulym, it becomes clear that the *-n-* is only triggered when a nominal case follows (example 30.b-c). Example (30.b) shows the noun *pāž*, ‘head’, combined with pronominal possessive suffix. In example (30.c), the same construction – noun and pronominal possessive suffix – is found, but combined with a case suffix. However, according to Li et al. the *-n-* appears suddenly and is a part of the pronominal possessive suffix (Li et al. 2008: 33).

- Tuvan*
- (30) a. NOM *nomu* ‘her book’  
 ABL *nomundan*<sup>9</sup> ‘from her book’

(Harrison 2000: 25)

- Chulym*
- b. *čilyi-niŋ pāž-i*  
 horse-GEN head-3SG.POSS  
 ‘horse’s head’

(Li et al. 2008: 31)

- c. *mān at-qam pāž-in-a*  
 I shoot-PST-1SG head-3SG.POSS-DAT  
 ‘I have shot at its head, I shot at its head’

(Li et al. 2008: 33)

Uzbek, on the other hand, does not portray the *-n-*. Example (31) shows the noun *bayram*, ‘holiday’. The pronominal possessive suffix precedes the nominal case, but the *-n-* is not found in the phrase. So, not all Turkic languages have this linker.

- Uzbek*
- (31) *garchi yomg’ir-li kun bo’l-sa ham hamma Navro’z*  
 although rain-ADJZ day take.place-COND also everybody Navröz
- bayram-i-ga chiq-di*  
 holiday-3.POSS-DAT get.out-DEF.PST  
 ‘Malgré la pluie, tout le monde est sorti pour la fête de Navrouz.’  
 ‘Although it was a rainy day, everybody got out for the Navröz holiday.’

(Daniyoroova 2001: 81)

Concluding from the examples above, it is clear that the *-n-/-H-* only appears preceding a nominal case marker when it follows the third person possessive suffix. Because the occurrence of *-n-/-H-* is bound to such specific conditions, it would not be right to see the *-n-/-H-* as a fixed part of the possessive suffix. Also, *-n-/-H-* is not seen when a case does not follow. However, seeing *-n-/-H-* as a part of the case markers is not correct either, for cases without the combination with the third

<sup>9</sup> Note that, in this case, I took the original line and morpheme boundaries to show how different authors handle the linker in the one and the same language. The glossing line is based on the original grammatical information. Therefore, the number of glosses not always add up to the number of morphemes and some examples may lack morpheme boundaries all together.



person possessive suffixes do not show an *-n/-H-*. Therefore, the linker-approach of Theunissen & Türkman seems to be the most suitable, for it avoids classifications that *-n/-H-* does not represent (case or possession, which is only the case for the third person possessive suffix) and it shows the function for *-n/-H-* (linking pronominal possessive suffix ending with a vowel to nominal case markers), plus it explains the absence of *-n/-H-* in the environment of other personal possessive suffixes and case markers, since those suffixes do not end with a vowel.

When the Soyot linker *-n/-H-* is followed by a dative, the *-n/-H-* and *-K/-K* of the dative case marker sometimes merge, resulting in a *-ŋ/-H-* (examples 32..a-b).

- Soyot  
 (32) a. oranŋa  
 [...] oran-ы-ңа [...]
   
land-3.POSS-LK.DAT
   
'for his land'

(Rassadin 2010: 56, line 183)

- b. i<sup>ʃ</sup>tiŋæ  
 [...] уьшт-і-ңә [...]
   
inside-3.POSS-LK.DAT
   
'inside (movement)'

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 118)

This is not unexpected since the *-ŋ/-H-* is realized as a nasal in the same part of the mouth where [ɸ], [ɣ], [ɣ] and [κ] are realized. When the nasal sound /n/ and the velar or uvular stops are realized simultaneously, it results in the engma, the nasal velar consonant [ɣ] – although it is merely found in the context of the linker combined with the dative case. This process is also observed by Erdal (2004), who describes the process of the merging of nasal linker and the velar stop of the dative case into the engma (Erdal 2004: 184). But this phonetic phenomenon is not always attested. Example (33) shows both the linker *-n/-H-* and *ʌ/ɸ* as the onset of the dative case *-KA/-KA*.

- Soyot  
 (33) ŋojŋwa  
 [...] һой-ы-һ-ға [...]
   
sheep-3.POSS-LK-DAT
   
'for his sheep'

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 133)

### 2.3.2 Metathesis or linker?

Another case combined with a third person possessive suffix that has impact on the realization of the Soyot linker is the accusative case. When it is not combined with a possessive suffix, the accusative is expressed through *-NI/-HI*, but when the accusative suffix is combined with the third person possessive suffix, it is expressed through *-In/-IH*. Example (34) shows an example of the accusative combined with the third person possessive in a clausal context.

Soyot

- (34) *bijæ kol ʃɨqan uruunʃɨj ɛj ʰøøʰijɨɨ dææʃ baʃʃɨn dʒaj muʃmɨp qolɨn kudɨ dʒaj muʃmɨp*  
*бийә кол ыш-қан уру-у-ның эй һөөрһий-һи дә-әш*  
 DEM.EMPH hand swell-PP child-3.POSS-GEN INTJ poor.man-ACC say-GER.PFV

*баъш-ын чай туът-ып қол-ын куды чай туът-ып*  
 head-3.POSS.ACC summer<sup>10</sup> hold-GER.ST hand-3.POSS.ACC down summer hold-GER.ST

‘У того ребёнка, рука которого опухла, голову погладил и по руке погладил, сказав: «Э-э бедняжка!»’

‘That child has a swollen hand, touching his head and holding his hand down, saying: “Hey, poor man!”’

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 97)

The ending *-In/-ИH* is found in the very specific environment of the third person possessive *-(s)I/-(c)I* in direct object position and, therefore, this raises the question whether this is metathesis of the *-NI/-НИ* accusative marker or a specific variety of the third possessive suffix and the linker. Nine times the ending *-In/-ИH* occurred in the text *The Hunter* (Rassadin 2010: 53-56, line 53, 54, 61, 97, 109, 146, 177). Two times, the suffix *-In/-ИH* was found after a postposition (like example 35).

Soyot

- (35) *aʃltɨn*  
 [...] *аълт-ы-н* [...] *аълт-ы-н*  
 down-3.POSS-ACC/LK?  
 ‘down’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 146)

The example (35) with the postposition reveals that the *-ɨ/-ы* is the third person possessive suffix, since postpositions need the possessive suffix to be linked to the postposition object (Rassadin 2010: 42). But then again, the *-n/-н* is not yet explained. Example (34) on the other hand, contains the word *kol/кол* twice and comparing the two nouns shows that *qol-ɨn/қол-ын* is in accusative position. There are three possible scenarios. The first scenario is the accusative slot in the clause triggered the linker described above. This implies that the accusative case is triggered by the role of the noun in the sentence, but is not overtly marked and expressed by a so-called  $\emptyset$ -morpheme. This  $\emptyset$ -morpheme functions as a case marker and triggers the linker, but since the  $\emptyset$ -morpheme is not visible, only the linker is seen and the case marker is not. This process is not preferable, because  $\emptyset$ -morphemes are controversial (Anderson 2006: 199, 202) and using a dummy morpheme to make the theory conclusive does not make the scenario plausible. On the other hand, the non-marked accusative case is found next to the marked accusative in other Turkic languages, such as Turkish and Tuvan (Theunissen & Türkmen 2005: 85; Anderson & Harrison 1999: 15), and also in Soyot (Rassadin 2010: 53, line 45). Therefore, it is possible that the linker is triggered by the accusative role the noun takes but that the accusative is not overtly marked at the same time.

The second option is the *-n/-н* being the onset of the accusative suffix and the nucleus is dropped. A different analysis of *-n/-н* involves apocope. The process would have been as follows:

? I-n-nI > I-nI > I-n  
 ? И-н-НИ > И-НИ > И-н  
 3.POSS-LK-ACC 3.POSS-ACC 3.POSS-ACC

<sup>10</sup> This word is not reflected in the Russian or English translation, since it is not clear how this word fits into the Soyot phrase.

The original construction is used in the first stage, so the pronominal possessive suffix, the linker and the accusative case marker are found at the end of the noun. One of the two *n/H*'s is dropped. In the scheme above, I assume it is the *n/H* of the linker, since this sound is covered by the onset of the accusative case, but it is also possible that the *n/H* of the accusative marker is dropped, since this is usually done when the noun or previous suffix ends with a consonant. The vowel of the accusative case is dropped in the last stage. This apocope is somewhat unexpected, since it is not regularly found in other endings and it would only be found with third person possessive suffixes combined with the accusative case. Besides, apocope is also not structurally found in the other Sayan languages. For example, it is not described in Harrison's (2000) extensive phonology grammar on Tuvan. Therefore, this option seems to be highly unlikely to function as an explanation for the *-In/-ИH* ending.

The last possible scenario is a metathesized accusative marker which is merged with the third person possessive suffix. In this case, the process would look like the scheme below:

? I-n-nl > I-n-In > I-In > I-n  
 ? И-н-нИ > И-н-ИH > И-ИH > И-н  
 3.POSS-LK-ACC 3.POSS-LK-ACC 3.POSS-ACC 3.POSS-ACC

Or:

? I-n-nl > I-nl > I-In > I-n  
 ? И-н-нИ > И-нИ > И-ИH > И-н  
 3.POSS-LK-ACC 3.POSS-ACC 3.POSS-ACC 3.POSS-ACC

There are two possible processes. The first process shows the third person possessive suffix, the linker and the accusative case. The accusative case metathesized, as phenomenon also found in Tuvan (Harrison 2000: 15-17), the linker got dropped in the intervocalic context and the double vowels merged. The other possible process differs in the place of the dropped linker on the timeline. The linker is dropped in the earliest stage and the accusative suffix metathesized later on. Due to the double vowels, the two vowels merged and resulted into *-In/-ИH* ending. The problem with this theory is the metathesis. Although, metathesis is attested in Tuvan (Harrison 2000: 15-17), this mainly involves consonants metathesizing in a more sonorant consonant cluster.

This phenomenon *-In/-ИH* is found but not always described in detail in the literature on closely related languages. In her grammar on Dukha, the most directly related language to Soyot, Ragagnin just briefly mentions the *-n* and the *-In* accusative form, stating that the accusative case only contains an *-n* when juxtaposed to the third person possessive suffix. This *-n* could be a pronominal *-n* (Ragagnin 2011: 123).

Another discussion about the ending in a table on possessive suffixes is found in the dissertation of Stapert (2013) on Dolgan. Stapert provides a table with the paradigms of the possessive suffixes in combination of nominal cases (Stapert 2013: 193).

Table 7: Dolgan possessive suffixes and nominal case (Stapert 2013: 193)

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG	<i>munnum</i>	<i>munnubun</i>	<i>munnubar</i>
2SG	<i>munnun</i>	<i>munnugun</i>	<i>munnugar</i>
3SG	<i>munna</i>	<i>munnun</i>	<i>munnugar</i>
1PL	<i>munnubut</i>	<i>munnubutun</i>	<i>munnubitigar</i>
2PL	<i>munnugut</i>	<i>munnugutun</i>	<i>munnugutugar</i>
3PL	<i>munnnulara</i>	<i>munnularin</i>	<i>munnularigar</i>

Only one page earlier, Stapert also provided a table with the nominal case markers. Here, she states that the accusative case is expressed through the suffix *-(n)l* (Stapert 2013: 192). In a way, this Dolgan table confirms that the Soyot *-ln/-Ил* ending is a third person possessive suffix merged with an accusative. However, this does not answer the question what process (metathesis, linker or apocope) is laying underneath this ending.

Erdal describes in his grammar on Old Turkic the timeline of the *-ln/-Ил* ending. He states that this ending was also originally found on the first and second person possessive suffixes. In more recent Turkic Buddhist texts these forms shifted to *-nl* after being combined with the first and second person possessive suffixes (Erdal 2004: 185-186). This form *-nl* is developed from the pronominal accusative (Erdal 2004: 170) and ended up in languages, such as Turkish, whereas the ending *-ln* is found in Soyot. However, this does not explain the lost linker, since the linker was found combined with the *-ln* accusative ending in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 185-186). The linker is probably dropped in the intervocalic context. This is often seen in pronominal possessive constructions and is mentioned by Rassadin (Rassadin 2010: 16). In his grammar sketch he states that consonant might be dropped when the suffix causes an intervocalic context (Rassadin 2010: 16). Therefore, the development of *-ln/-Ил* should probably be as followed:

l-n-ln	>	l-ln	>	l-n
<i>И-н-Ил</i>	>	<i>И-Ил</i>	>	<i>И-н</i>
3.POSS-LK-ACC		3.POSS-ACC		3.POSS-ACC

### 2.3.3 Syntax of predicative possession

Another aspect of possession is predicative possession. This is not discussed in Rassadin’s grammar sketch on Soyot. Predicative possession entails the possession that is expressed through a predicative rather than by an affix directly put on the possessee or the possessor (Stassen 2013). Because predicative possession always involves a predicate, this section will discuss the syntactic structure of Soyot predicative possession.

Predicative possession is expressed through a suffix that is not discussed in Rassadin’s grammar sketch. This suffix, *-LIG/-ЛИГ*, appears 14 times in the text *The Hunter* and is also used to adjectivize a noun. Example (36) shows how the Soyot nouns *miis/миис* ‘horn’ and *aza/аза* ‘devil’ adjectivized by the suffixed *-tʃw/-тыҕ* and *-lʃw/-лыҕ*. Both nouns take the adjective position in front of the noun.

Soyot

- (36) a. qwzwl sarwʃ ɥyrl miistwʃ buʃɥa  
 [...] қызыл сарыҕ һүрил миис-тыҕ буьһа [...]  
 red yellow bronze horn-ADJZ bull  
 ‘red-yellow bull with bronze horns’ (lit.: ‘red-yellow bronze-horn-y bull’)

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 126)

- b. tʃy butʃar azalwʃ aal silær  
 чү бучар аза-лыҕ аал сi-ләр  
 what dirty devil-ADJZ nomad.camp PRO:2-PL  
 ‘«Что вы за стойбище с дранным чёртом!»’  
 ‘“What kind of dirty devilish nomad camp are you!”’

(Rassadin 2010: 55, line 134)

This is confirmed by Dukha, which has the same suffix and even has a cognate. In Dukha this suffix, *-LIG*, also functions as an adjectivizer (Ragagnin 2011: 95). Example (37) shows two Dukha examples

of adjectivized nouns. Due to consonant and vowel harmony the suffix *-LIG* is realized with a nasal consonant, a schwa and fricative velar consonant.

- Dukha*
- (37) a. *u<sup>h</sup>xaan-nəy*      *u<sup>h</sup>xaan*  
 intellect-ADJZ      intellect  
 'intelligent'      'intellect'
- b. *amt<sup>h</sup>an-nəy*      *amt<sup>h</sup>an*  
 taste-ADJZ      taste  
 'tasty'      'taste'

(Ragagnin 2011: 95)

The Soyot suffix *-LIG/-ЛИГ* is not only found on nouns in order to adjectivize them, it is also found in predicative possessive constructions. The example below shows that the adjectivizer described above is also used to describe more than one property of the noun. The next example also shows that only one adjectivizer suffix is used to adjectivize more than one property. The translation of example (38) almost reflects a possessive construction.

- Soyot*
- (38) *dʒer suv ɲølliv ɛr aza bar bolʃɯʃa*  
*чѐр суѳ ɲøл-лиѳ эр аза бар бол-ыша*  
 place water lake-ADJZ male devil EXIST be-LIM  
 'До тех пор, пока есть чѐрт, владеющий землѐй, реками и озѐрами.'  
 'Until [then], there is a male devil of the earth, water and lakes.'

(Rassadin 2010: 54, line 75)

Erdal (2004) also mentions suffix *-IXg*, where X stands for any vowel, and states that this is one of the Turkic adjectivizers (Erdal 2004: 137, 325). More interestingly, Erdal describes the differences between the Turkic adjectivizers and explains that *-IXg* is mostly used on nouns (Erdal 2004: 142-143). Another difference between *-IXg* and other adjectivizers is the use of *-IXg*. According to Erdal, *-IXg* is used as a possessive suffix and strongly interacts with the syntactic structures (Erdal 2004: 139, 149-150). Moreover, at some point, Erdal even states that *-IXg* can be translated with the verb 'have' in certain contexts (Erdal 2004: 451). Stassen (2013) elaborates the process from adjectivizer to predicative possessive construction. The adjectivizer develops from the adjectival meaning to 'provided with'. After this the use of the adjectivizer is broadened and applied in other contexts than 'provided with' triggering a predicative possessive construction (Stassen 2013).

This explains why the Soyot adjectivizer suffix can be used for expressing predicative possession. Examples (39.a-c) all show that the possessesees are adjectivized.

Figure 10: structure of example (39.a)

		bolʁan iik бол-ған (V <sub>1</sub> ) иик be-REM PTCL	Main clause
		alatʃa-øʁliʁ алачы.өф-лиф (PRED) nomadic.tent-ADJZ	Level 0.1
	qavan қаған (V <sub>2</sub> ) put-PP		Sub. clause level 1.1
dwt tʃøʁiɾææsi bilæ ʃap дыт чөһурәә-си билә ʃap larch bark-3.POSS with cover-GER.ST			Sub. clause level 1.1.1

Figure 11: structure of example (39.b)

ol aŋʃa kiji ол аң-шы киши (S) MED hunt-ACT.NMLZ person	iik иик PTCL	Main clause
	iʁhi urʁɔlʁɔ иъһи урыф-лыф (PRED) two child-ADJZ	level 0.1

Figure 12: structure of example (39.c)

	aal аал (S) nomad.camp	turʁan тур-ған (V <sub>1</sub> ) stand-REM	Main clause
mallʁɔ мал-лыф (PRED) cattle-ADJZ	tʃaʁʁɔlʁɔ чыълһы-лыф (PRED) horse.herd-ADJZ		Level 0.1

Soyot

- (39) a. dwt tʃø<sup>h</sup>irææsi bilæ ʃwɔɔ qavan alatʃw-øvliv bolvan iik  
 дьт чө<sup>х</sup>ирææ-сi билæ шы-п қағ-ан алачы.өғ-лиғ бол-ған иик  
 larch bark-3.POSS with cover-GER.ST put-PP nomadic.tent-ADJZ be-REM PTCL  
 ‘У него был чум, покрытый лиственничной корой.’  
 ‘He had a nomadic tent covered with larch bark.’ (lit.: ‘He was nomadic-tent-covered-with-larch-bark-like.’)

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 5)

- b. ol aŋʃw kiji i<sup>h</sup>i urwɔwɔw iik  
 ол аң-шы киши у<sup>х</sup>и урығ-лығ иик  
 MED hunt-ACT.NMLZ person two child-ADJZ PTCL  
 ‘У того охотника было двое детей.’  
 ‘That hunter had two children.’ (lit.: ‘That hunter [was] two-children-like.’)

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 6)

- c. mallwɔw tʃw<sup>h</sup>iɔwɔw aal turvan  
 мал-лығ чы<sup>л</sup>һы-лығ аал тур-ған  
 cattle-ADJZ horse.herd-ADJZ nomad.camp stand-REM  
 ‘У них была скотина и лошади.’  
 ‘The nomad camp had a cattle and a horse herd.’ (lit.: ‘The nomad camp was cattle-horse.herd-like.’)

(Rassadin 2010: 53, line 27)

The examples above also show that the grammaticalization process described by Stassen (2013) is not yet completed in Soyot. If the syntactic levels are analyzed as it is done in 2.2.3 *Syntax of subordinate clauses*, it shows that there is no fixed word order. In figure (10), the predicative is put in front of the copular verb. The predicative itself has a relative clause inserted in front of it. The subject is not overtly expressed. Therefore, there is no complete predicative construction found.

An almost complete predicative construction is found in the sentence of example (39.b). The subject is overtly expressed by *ol aŋʃw kiji/ол аңшы киши*, ‘that hunter’. The predicative possession is expressed through the suffix *-wɔw/-лығ* adjectivizing *i<sup>h</sup>i urwɔw/у<sup>х</sup>и урығ*, ‘two children’. The children are adjectivized and put behind the noun and subject, making it a predicative construction. The function of *iik/иик* is not clear. Rassadin names it an ‘auxiliary word’ functioning as a ‘predicative copula’ (Rassadin 2010: 35, 38, 43). However, *iik/иик* is also found in verbal constructions, so it is not a purely predicative particle. According to Ragagnin, the cognate *iik* in Dukha functions as an assertative copular particle (Ragagnin 2011: 175). Both, the Dukha function and the Soyot explanation of the predicative particle, would suit the meanings and functions of *iik/иик* in (39.a) and (39.b). It would function as an assertative particle in (39.a) and as the predicative copular particle in (39.b), making the predicative possessive construction complete.

The figure of example (39.c) also shows all the components of a predicative possessive construction: the subject is (overtly) expressed, the predicative is marked by *-LIG/-ЛИГ* and a copular verb is present. However, the word order is different when compared with the sentence of example (39.b). In example (39.c), the predicative precedes the subject. This raises the question whether this must be seen as a predicate or as a noun being adjectivized, giving *-LIG/-ЛИГ* its original function as an adjectivizer.

As I already mentioned, the diversity of word orders found in sentences with a predicative possession meaning could be due to the grammaticalization process described by Stassen (2013). It would mean that this process is not yet finished in Soyot and therefore, Soyot does not yet have a set word order for predicative possession.

The finished process of the grammaticalization is found in Tuvan. The predicative possession is also expressed through the suffix *-Llg*. Example (40.a-b) show the predicative possessive use of *-Llg*. The nouns with the adjectivizer take the adjectival predicate slot and are juxtaposed to their possessors. (40.c) shows the original use of *-Llg*, which is still used in Tuvan. The suffix is put on the noun *aldar*, ‘fame’ and it takes the attributive adjectival slot preceding the noun (compare with 40.d, which shows the default attributive adjectival slot in Tuvan). Therefore translation does not contain a predicate translation, but only a clause.

- Tuvan*
- (40) a. *sen aška-lig sen be*  
 PRO:2SG money-ADJZ 2SG Q  
 ‘Do you have money?’
- b. *bis mašina-lig bis*  
 PRO:1PL car-ADJZ 1PL  
 ‘We have a car.’
- c. *aldar aldar-lig kiži*  
 fame fame-ADJZ person  
 ‘fame’ ‘famous person’
- d. *berge nom*  
 difficult book  
 ‘the difficult book’

(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 32)

Dukha also shows the predicative possessive function of the suffix *-LIG*. Example (41.a) shows the predicative use of *-LIG*, but it does not necessarily reflect a predicative possessive function. One could arguably translate the Dukha phrase with the verb ‘have’ (“Ah, an elegant nice girl which has long braids.”), making it predicative possession, but the translation Ragagnin provides is sufficient and closer to the Dukha original. Example (41.b) on the other hand, shows predicative possession. The adjectivized noun is in the correct slot for functioning as a predicate and is juxtaposed to the possessor *pis*, ‘we’. The translation shows the possession making it a predicative possession.

- Dukha*
- (41) a. *ah pir gaas jaraš gīs usan na hejige-lay*  
 INTJ one elegant nice girl long PTCL braid-ADJZ  
 ‘Ah, a nice elegant girl with really long braids.’

(Ragagnin 2011: 191)

- b. *pis peš jara-lay*  
 PRO:1PL five riding.reindeer-ADJZ  
 ‘We have five reindeer to ride.’

(Ragagnin 2011: 193)

According to Ragagnin, this function of *-LIG* shows parallels in Mongolic languages. She does not provide comparable examples and I could not find similar possessive constructions in Mongolian literature. One should also bear in mind that Erdal describes this function of *-IXg* in his grammar on Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 385). It is true that Mongol had its influence on the Sayan languages, since the



lexicon for example, shows Mongolic traces and loans (De Mol-van Valen 2017: 103). But at the same time, the suffix *-lXg* was already present in Old Turkic (7<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century AD) and back then, *-lXg* already functioned in possessive constructions (Erdal 2004: 139, 451).

Locational constructions, which are found besides predicative possession in Tuvan (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 20), are not found in Soyot. Neither are traces of a 'have-verb' or a transition towards a 'have-verb' found, which also occur together with predicative possession in Tuvan.

### 3. Discussion and conclusion

This thesis sought to answer the following research question:

*To what extent does the text in Rassadin's grammar sketch provide additional explanation and material for the aspects of the Soyot grammar, such as phonology, the grammar of gerunds and participles and possession?*

One can conclude that the analysis of text *The Hunter* provided new material, which in itself also could be analyzed and used to describe certain features of the Soyot grammar. The text immediately presented new examples (184 new lines parsed, glossed and translated). The examples revealed structures and functions of gerunds and participles and showed how predicative possession is expressed in Soyot. To be more specific, the text helped to distinguish the differences between participles and gerunds.

With respect to the Soyot sound inventory, it rather was the provided dictionary in the grammar sketch, than the text *The Hunter* that was helpful in the analysis. It resulted in an overview of the distribution of the sounds and a proposal for IPA notation. With the sources of other Turkic languages, it was possible to compare Cyrillic writing policies for Turkic languages. This helped determine the position of consonants such as the Cyrillic *і*, *ѣ* and *h*, but also turned out that this was not sufficient to uncover the phonetic value of the Cyrillic *ə*. It should be mentioned that the IPA notation is based on comparative research and a wordlist, since there are no sound files on Soyot. Therefore, the results on the phonology section should be taken cautiously. However, the majority of the Cyrillic letters could be transcribed without doubt and was new information. The link between the IPA symbols and the Cyrillic script also revealed that Rassadin probably tried to annotate phonetically, resulting in variation and somewhat 'inconsistent' spelling.

The distribution of the Cyrillic *н* and *њ* raised questions that were left unanswered. Besides, Rassadin mentions the existence of palatalized vowels (Rassadin 2010: 10), but does not elaborate on it. Due to space and time limits, I was not able to discuss them. It would be impossible to do so by means of the text and the dictionary, since Rassadin does not explain how the palatalized vowels can be orthographically distinguished from non-palatalized, nor in what context they appear. Therefore, phonological research could reveal many aspects of the Soyot phonology.

The text *The Hunter* provided examples and data for the analysis of the functions of gerunds and participles. Rassadin only showed how suffixes are attached to the verbal stem and the explanation is very limited. The text showed the verbal suffixes in the context of phrase or sentence. Besides, the examples and analysis helped to determine the underlying syntactic structures. The grammar on Old Turkic elaborated the development of verbal suffixes and provided an explanation on the development of the TAM markers, gerund and participle suffixes. However, this was also compared with Khalkha, since this is one of the Mongolic languages which influenced Soyot.

Participles are used for subordinate clauses with a different subject or with attributive subordinate clauses. Gerunds denote the same subject in the subordinate clause and are used for adverbial clauses. However, this last function can also be executed by participles, as long as they are marked with a nominal case like the locative or dative, denoting their adverbial meaning. The text also shows that the suffixes of participles and gerunds are also found amongst the TAM markers. This phenomenon is also found in Turkish, Old Turkic and Khalkha. The literature on the first two languages explained this as a process of grammaticalization. This also explains why it is found in Soyot.

A dominant word order for the subordinate clauses could not be determined. This is probably due to the lack of active knowledge of Soyot in the time that fieldwork was conducted or due to the influence from the Mongolic languages, such as Buryat and Khalkha, and Russian. The related Sayan languages also display a variety of word orders in the subordinate clauses. It is not clear why Soyot has this diversity in its subordinate clausal word order. It is possible that this diversity is found

because of the fact that Soyot is influenced by languages, such as Buryat and by the time the first linguistic research was conducted, Soyot was already moribund. It is also possible that the active knowledge was degraded and that therefore, the order was not fixed anymore. The answer to the question of the clausal order could probably also solve the conundrum of the word orders.

Another part of this section that should be discussed is the certainty of the development of the functions of TAM markers and the gerund and participle suffixes. In this thesis, the results are based on the grammar of Old Turkic. This is an ancestor of Soyot, but it is not guaranteed that the processes described in the grammar on Old Turkic also took place in Soyot. Although the results coincide with the processes described by Erdal (2004), more historical research – also on the other Sayan Turkic languages – could confirm the results found in this study.

In terms of possession, the phonology of linkers in general and linkers combined with the accusative marker were discussed. At last, the syntax and construction of predicative possession were treated. The linker *-n/-H* is put between the third person possessive suffix and case markers. The linker sometimes adapts to the velar stop of the dative case and is realized as an engma instead of *-n/-H*. When the linker is combined with the accusative marker, the combination third person possessive, the linker and accusative case marker is denoted with simple *-In/-ИH*. The possible underlying processes are reconstructed by means of Old Turkic and Dolgan and Dukha. But because Soyot lacks sufficient data and historical research, this results are a hypothesis that should be confirmed by more research.

Predicative possession is expressed through the adjectivizer suffix *-LIG/-ЛИГ*. This suffix can adjectivize even phrases and by that form predicative constructions. The place of the possessive phrase is not clear. The possessive phrase can occur in front of or behind the noun. The latter case displays a pure predicative construction, since attributive adjectives occur in front of the noun and predicative adjectives follow the noun. According to Stassen (2013), the approach to express predicative possession can be seen in the light of grammaticalization. However, it seems that the process of grammaticalization is not finished yet, since the order possessor-possessee is not fixed. More research is also needed to see why Soyot seems to have no set order for predicative possessions. Although the other Sayan Turkic languages display a variety of constructions in order to express predicative possession, Soyot seems to use only the adjectivizer for predicative possession.

The general weakness of this study is the lack of Soyot material or data to check the hypotheses and results found in this study. Sources on related languages partially filled this gap. However, the results presented above show that further research is needed in order to answer the questions raised in this thesis. More research would benefit the fragile culture and languages status of the Soyot. Furthermore, some topics could be discussed by means of the text and provided new and certain information about the Soyot grammar, such as the adjectivizer and the functions of gerunds and participles. Lastly, the analysis of the text *The Hunter* provided fresh and new data on the Soyot language, which could be further analyzed in the future for more research.

The summary above already shows that additional literature was necessary to fill the gaps in the grammatical aspects discussed above and more research is necessary in order to answer the questions that could not be answered in this thesis or to discuss aspects with regards to subjects that were out of the league of this thesis. The first subject that was out of league is the Soyot origin. Since this is disputed and genetic studies so far were unable to put discussions to an end, more specific genetic research on the Soyots could determine the Soyot origin and descent, which would help unraveling the pre-Turkic history. But also studies on the sociolinguistic status of the Soyot could help to see whether the revitalization was successful and if so what was successful and could this be repeated on other languages that are in the same situation as Soyot currently.

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## Appendix A: A Soyot tale (Rassadin 2010: 53-59)

### Аңшы киши

Шаанда шағ шаанда бір аңшы киши турған иик. Аңнап чоруур аъты та, ивисі та чоқ болған иик. Кылаштап чорып аң кылған иик. Дыт чөһирәәсі билә шып қаған алачы-өғліг болған иик. Ол аңшы киши иъһи урығлығ иик. бірәәсі иъһи наъсыннығ, бірәәсі беш наъсыннығ иик.

Бір када ол киши аң қылықсап чорый бергән. Бір чердә ол аңнап чорысында, беш улығ-аң аңнап қаған. Кенәт қара шуурған тұшкән. Қараңһы дүннә дәғ һептіг боб лы бергән. Чер көрвийн, орық билбийн азывытқан. Ында бір һуй болған. кенәнгә һуйға куды қылы тұшә бергән. Қараңуыда чү тә көзилбәс болы бергәш, долғандыры туътып көргәш, үнәр чер чоқ болған. Чумцақ чимә турған. Қачырықтығ та дәғ, дүктығ та дәғ караңуы чер. Аштааш, суғсааш, пишәә билә кеъсип көргән. Чумцақ чимә дәғ чимә болған. Ишип, чип турғаш, тода вергән.

Ыньчааш ол чимшәй бергән. Кенәт от үнгән. Гөрвәән оранға тұшкән турған. Ол қаъһааш, ыңғай қылы қылаштап чораан. Иъһи аал турған. Маллығ, чығлһылығ аал турған. Ырақтан көөрдә – көстір чимә боор, чооғацаар болса – көзилвәс чимә болы вәәр. Малы та, чығлһысы та, өғләрі та кишисі та черле шупты көзилвәс болы вәәр. Чаңғыс ла ытттарын гөөр болған. Ыты туъта часқаш турар болған. Аштааш, чимәсіндән чип турар болған. «Чимәвис һор-һомса болғаш турар болған. Малывыс эмин шибишкеләәш турар болған. Чүдән чү болғаш турар бол? Малывыс кенәт турыда чоъшааш турар болған. Ытывыс алы, чий часқаш турар болған», – дәән. Таъшта өөңә кіріп барғаны – баъса гөрвәс. һамаан чоқ ыңғай қылы қылаштааш турар болған. Ол иъһи аал һалыш аал болған. Бурын гиргән аалның беш насыннығ урығ мурны болы эъртіп чығтқан. «Э-эй, һөөрһий!» – дәәш, колындан туътқан. Кенәт чоъшып алғыргаш туры. Ат-иъһәсі чанчап турған. Туътқан колы ышқаш, уруу ораай бергән. Бо чооны бердің? «Миин чоққан чимәни чооныр эмиш?», – дәәш, таъштан һой туътқаш, мынып алған. Тыъртычып алған һой өлі бергән. «Мал эът қарачадааш, урығ-дарығ ораағаш, чүдән чү болғаш туры?», – дәән. һамны чалаардан баъшқа чимә чоқ. Бийә киши дыңнап олырырға, ыньча дичип турар болған. һамны чалаар дичип болған. Аът четкәш чораан. Бичә удағынын чалаар болған. Ол удағынын чалап келгән. Бодындан арай бурын ээрән шаъсыңа куқсын геліп қонған. Бийә кишигиді чиһә гөрбәс болған. Қоърһар һептіг болған. Чүдән чү болғаш туры? Қайдан қайы болғаш туры? Бийә һамыңа һадақ туътқаш бергән, беләк дәп. Олырда бийә киши чооныр эмиш дәәш, тура бергәш, һомыстың дылын сай туътқан. Олық сәрий бергән. һамывыстың һомызы сынғаш, чооныр бо болырыл? «Демәй һаақ кеъсіп келіңер!», – дәән. һаақ кеъсіп келсән. Өргәл кылыһн! Өргәнни чимәп олырған. Өргәннің баъшын сай туътқан. Бийә һамы болынғыды мөргәп чалбырап, беләк дәп туътпаан. Мен моны алғаш чооныр мен? Шалаа та чивүүс геліп олырған. Демей баруун талагыды өргәп кааңар! Чаа, мені дәріңер чоқ. Миин һирә киши шадабас. Чер, суғ, һөлліг эр аза бар болғыша. Өскә арға шырғаңар! Бодыңар оорһа каътығ туры. Намын чеътірәр дәәнн. «Бодым чана бергәй мен». Боды чанған.

«Улығ удағын чалаар һерәктіг», – дәән. Чиһәләп келгән. Чаа, онса қайы һирә беърт? Чиһәләп келдіргән бодындан арай бурын ээрән шаъсыңа эъсир келіп қонғаш, бодынғыды гөөр болған. Чиһә гөөр болған. Бийә һамы гиріп биләргә бурнынғыды будын көъсілгән. һамаан чоқ, қылаштааш эъртә бергән. Гөрбәс болған. Баъса һадақ туътқаш, қай-қараца болғаш, урығ-дарығ ораағаш, арға чоқ тумаа тұшпәк дәскиндиргәш, чүдән чү болғаш туры? Бийә һам беләк дәп көргәш, чер суғ һөлліг эр чимә болғаш туры. «Пеш кеъсіп келіңер! Өргәл қылып берийн!», – дәән. Алып келгәш, «Қандығ қандығ чимә гирәріл?». Тос өң чимә шимәәр». «Бийә һам һамнаан адыр чооныр эмис?». Ыньчаңғаш бодынғыды мөргәп, чалбырып, бийә кишинің өргәл беләәм дәп чалбырып. Моны алып, чораан, чалбырып. Бийә кол ышқан урууның «эй, һөөрһийни» дәәш, баъшын чай туътып, қолын куды чай туътып.

Бир ай һирә болғаш, соонда бийә аалыңа даъһый келгидәғ. Даъһый чооғаш келіп туры. Ыньчаңғаш ыты алы часқаш турған, даъһый мал һей һойғаш турар болы бергән. Бийә чаң даъһый кірді. Чаа, бийә аалның улыстар, бийә киши дыңнаарға, гәпши бақшыны чалаар дәәш,

даңарта аът четкәш чораан. Чалааш келгән. Келірден арай бұрын буърһан кырында қызыл сарығ эьсір келіп олыры, будап туру. Бийә киши гөріп олырарға, ламабыс гелі чығытыры дәеш, төшәк салғаш, кіріп олырарда, мурнынғыды будын гөьсілгән. Гөрбәәш, һамаан чоқ баьса эьртә кылаштааш, олырып туры. Шәй дүлгәш, чимә тавақтааш салып бергән. Шәй ишип олырғаш, бийә лама айаана кудып салғаш, үніп чорыда, шәйынғыды тоьһырақ бичи кудып туры. Кіріп келгәш, бийә айаққа қаан шәйын ишкәш: «Иьштім аарый берді», – дәп. «Бақшы эмніг ийнаан сіләр аан. Эминәрдән чооглап алыңар!», – дәән. Ыньчаңғаш, бодының эминдән ишкәш, эькірә болғаш. «Тавақ қылыңар, – дәеш, – үріп чаьсал қылып берийн!». Бийә киши гөріп олырарға, чааһай чааһай няш чонғаш, қаастааш, чимә білә чимәәш, буърһан мурныңа салғаш, номнаан олыры. Туң чааһай болған гелгән, бийә кишині үндіргән, баруун тала чалаан. Бийә киши үнгәш, көргән чааһай қаастығ оран таьшта турған. Олгыды гіргәш, олырып туры. Баруун чүккіді чории бергән. Озының иьштіне олырып турған.

Үш һирә ай болған соң бийә аалыңа даьһый баар дурасы гелгәш, даьһый чүгіргәш келіп туру. Баьса ыт алы чий часқаш, малы һей һойғаш турар болы беріп туру. Баьса маа чаң гирді. Бийә киши чаңнап турарға: «Ам болбас болды. Чорчы бақшыны чалаар», – дәән. Даартасы қызыл сарығ һетәллиғ аът чедіп келір болыр. «Чаа, чорчы бақшыбыс морилап болыр ба!», – дәән. Гелірден арай бұрын қызыл сарығ һүрил миистығ буьһа мандап келгәш, буърһан ардан оьрта турған. Гөөр олыры, арга чоқ, туң коьрһынчығ. Бір көөргә, бар болып һубулывытқан. Бийә лама гіріп олырған. Қылаш қынғаш көріп көөр дәғ болып туры. «Мал махыбыс һей һойғаш, ығытыбыс алы чий часқаш, аарыг-ааршық дэскиндіргәш бақшы, сіләр болғап һайыраһап! Чү чаьсап кірәріл!», – дәән. Ыньчаңғаш, һадақ туьтқан. Маа киши ламасы ыңғый һараар тушта, судырын оорылааш, һойынға салып туры. «Чү бучар азалығ аал сіләр! Судырын Ханда дэпсәләм оорылай берді!», – дәп каьһаан лама бақшы. Шалыы һачыылас қынғаш, турып келгәш: «Чер суғ һөлліғ эр аза туры. Қуу аът баьшының сөөгі тып келіңер! Сігән чулып келіңер! һой дүгү білә сігән киши қыл!», – дәән. Киши туьтқаш, һой дүгү білә ораағаш оорап туры. Чөьһрәә білә эзерліғ қылғаш, қызыл һүрән будық білә куу аът баьшының сөөгін будааш, көк торға білә кишині доннааш, мындыра салғаш, буърһан мурныңа салғаш, бийә лама: «Шаң һеңгірік білә сен һеңгіргә һап чыдаар сен?» – дәән. «Чыдаар мен», – дәп чандыры соодавытқан. Ыньчаңғаш бийә кишинің чүрәә дәльбә бары часқаш, ақсындан үнә бері часқаш, коьрһынчыды арға чоқ. Чәьшқан таряасы даш мөндір болғаш, баьшын чаза қаьққаш, һанасындан чуурааш болыр йора чоқ болған. Үнә чүгіріп гөргәнін бурнында эчик ақсында аьлтын чааһай чүгәнниг қызыл һүрән аът, қызыл аьлтын чааһай гөлмәліг аът туьтқан туң чааһай чараш қыс киши: «Дэьк түргән мын! Иьһәән чораалы!», – дәән. Дэьк мына һалааш, иьһәән ушқашқаш чорып туры. Ардыңа гөөргә, иьһи қызыл һайа һавсараар дәеш турар келі чығытыры. Иьһәән ушқашқаш, қымшылап шап олырып туры. Бір чергә туьшкән. Чаьтқаш, удый бергәш, одынға, гөргән. Бийә чааһай аът киши иьһи чоқ болып туры. һүрән қызыл будаан чыьһы баьшының сөөгі болып туры. Бийә чааһай киши қайы барды дәеш көргән – чоқ болған. Удып соғырарып чаьтқаш, осқынған туры. Унуун гөргән – гөк торға доннып қылған, чазып көргән – дүк білә орааған сігән киши болып туры. Унуун кулаштап чораан. Гөргән та дәғ чер болған. Бийәдә бодының оран чуьрты та һептіг болған. Қулаштап чораан. Аал көстіп турған. Ол аалға болған. Иьһи урығ чүгіршип келгәш: «Ачавыс келді!», дішкәш, кірә чүгіршә бергән. «Чаа, қайыын? Үш чыл болған киши. Атаңар қайыын діриғ болырыл? һоорашпийн турыңар!». Ыньчаңғаш чаңчаан: «Шын! Шын! Кіріп келіп туры», – дічип.

Шын болған. «Бо эьрткән шағда, үш чыл шаанда чү чаьсаан сен? Арғаша сооданып бернаан, қандығ оран чуьрт чөьтіп чорыдыңыл?», – дәән. «Қара шуурғанда асқаш, долғандыры караңһы түннә дәғ болған, һуй турған, олгыды гіргәш, дүп чоқ, чумчақ чимә караңһында, туьшә бергәш, качырықтығ та дәғ, дүктіг та дәғ караңһы чергә учир та билдірбәс, ол чмиәдән чип турымда, от қаьққаш чаьһылған үнәр дәғ болғаш, бір лә гөрбәән орангыды чории барғаш, мыньчап чөьті бергән мен ол. Ыньчааш бір чөьшә ай ла эьрткән», – дәән, – «Бір чердән һуй ақсында боо саадаам аьртгырып қаған мен дәп сақты дуры мен. Барып тыьптыр болыр ба? Қандығ чердә чимә эргән ләм?». Бөдіріп чорааш, маа гіргән һуйын тыьпқан. Боо саадаа турған. Қызыл

цевірэй бергәнің тып алып туры. Бийә киши бодының аалыңа урығ-дарыыңа гелгәш, дөргәән болғаш амиган болғаш, амыр чааһай чарғай олырып туры.

Бо чернің киши һуй иъштіндә ичип чаътқан луу қырына тұшкәш, ұстүү типтә, тип солий бергәш, аза болып турған. Ұстүү тип оранның киши көрбәс турған. Беът ламасы даһый бо ораныңа сүріп чорыды ытқан. Куу аът баъшының сәәгі білә һоорааш, сiгән білә киши кылғаш, бо оранғыды беът лама аза дәп сүріп чандыры ытқан, ол киши бо черинә тұшып келгән.

## Охотник

Давным-давно был один охотник. У него не было ни коня, ни оленя, чтобы ехать на охоту. Пешком охотился. У него был чум, покрытый лиственничной корой. У того охотника было двое детей. Одному из них было два года, другому – пять.

Однажды тот человек отправился на охоту. В одном месте он охотился на пятерых лосей. Вдруг налетела снежная вьюга. Стало темно, как ночью. Не видя местности, не зная дороги, он заблудился. Там было одна пещера. Неожиданно он свалился вниз в пещеру. В темноте было ничего не видно, попробовал пошарить вокруг, выхода не было. Было что-то мягкое. Тёмное место – вроде как удивительное, вроде как волосатое. Проголодавшись, испытал жажду, попробовал резать ножом. Было что-то вроде как мягкое. Что-то вроде как жирное. Попив, поев, наелся.

Потом он зашевелился. Вдруг появился огонь. Он попал в невиданную страну. Удивившись, он пошагал дальше. Стояли два стойбища. У них была скотина и лошади. Если посмотреть издали – были видимы, если приблизиться – становились невидимыми. И скотина, и лошади, и чумы, и люди – вообще всё становилось невидимым. Только лишь собак можно было увидеть. Собаки хвятили мимо. Проголодавшись, поел от той вещи. Подумал: «Наша вещь становится скудной. Вымя нашей скотины покрылось чирьями. Отчего это происходит? Наш скот вдруг шарахается от испуга. Наши собаки перестают брать и есть». Снаружи зашёл в чум – опять не видит. Делать нечего, пошагал дальше. Те два стойбища были стойбищами братьев. Пятилетний ребёнок стойбища, куда он заходил ранее, промелькнул перед ним. Сказав: «Э-э, бедняжка!», взяв его за руку. Вдруг тот шарахнулся от испуга и закричал. Родители забранились. Схваченная рука опухла, ребёнок стал её обматывать. Что с тобой случилось? Подумав: «Что происходит с вещами, к которым я приближаюсь?» поймал на дворе овцу и оседлал её. Овца, которой он занимался, подохла. Подумал: «Скотина терпит убыток, дети перевязываются, отчего что происходит?». Ничего другого, как приглашать шамана. Тот человек слышал, как говорили, что надо приглашать шамана. Поехали, ведя в поводу лошадь. Стали приглашать маленькую шаманку. Та шаманка прибыла. Чуть раньше её самой прилетел ворон и сел на середину амулета. На того человека прямо не смотрит. Вроде как боится. Отчего что происходит? Откуда куда происходит? Тому шаману вручили хадак, сказав, что подарок. Тот человек, думая, что будет дальше, встал и переломил язык у хомуса. Тут же обряд камлания закончился. У нашего шамана хомус сломался, что происходит? Велел срезать пуштышный кустик. Срезали кустик. Сделаю обряд жертвоприношения! Украсили колышек. Вершину колышка переломил. Тот шаман, молясь в свою сторону, не взял подарок. Что я буду делать, взяв это? Немного неприятно стало. Принесите жертву на западную сторону! Ладно, обо мне разговора нет. Такой человек, как я, не сможет. До тех пор, пока есть чёрт, владеющий землёй, реками и озёрами. Ищите другие способы! У вас хребет прочный! Хотели проводить шамана. «Я сам вернусь домой». Сам вернулся.

Решили: «Большую шаманку надо приглашать». Напрямую прибыла. Прямо перед её приходом прилетел орёл и сел на середину амулета, стал смотреть на самого. Прямо смотрит. Тот шаман вошёл, вытянул ноги вперёд. Делать нечего, прошагал мимо. Не увидел. Опять вручили хадак, произошёл убыток, дети обмотались, безвыходное, сопли, слёзы возвратив, что отчего происходит? Тот шаман, увидев подарок, (уведомил, что) стоит мужское существо,



обладающее землёй, реками и озёрами. Велел срубить кедр, будет делать обряд жертвоприношения. Срубили. «Какие вещи войдут?», – спросили. «Украсим вещами девяти цветов». Подумал: «Что будет с той рогулькой, при помощи которой шаманил шаман?» Потом поклонившись, помолившись в сторону себя, тот человек решил, что та жертва ему подарок. Взяв её, пошёл, молясь. У того ребёнка, рука которого опухла, голову погладил и по руке погладил, сказав: «Э-э бедняжка!»

Прошло около месяца, после опять надо было прийти в то стойбище. Опять подходит близко. Потом собака схватила мимо, опять скот без причины испугался. Опять произошло по тому же обычаю. Ладно, люди того стойбища, как слышит тот человек, решив пригласить гэпши-бакши, назавтра отправились, ведя в поводу коня. Пригласили, прибыл. Незадолго перед его прибытием прилетает и садится на статую Будды красно-жёлтый орёл, пачкает. Как видит тот человек, сказав, что прибывает наш лама, постлала тюфяк, когда вошёл и сел, вытянул перед собой ноги. Не увидев, делать нечего, снова проходит мимо, садится. Поставили варить чай, положили кое-что из блюдо, поставили. Сев пить чай, тот лама, налив чашку, когда вышел, насыпал ему в чай немного земли. Вернувшись, выпил свой чай, налитый в ту чашку, и сказал: «У меня живот заболел». «У Вас, учитель, ведь есть лекарство. Отведайте Вашего лекарства!». – ему говорят. Тогда, выпив своего собственного лекарства, выздоровел. «Сделайте блюдо, – велит, – дую, буду делать убранство». Как видит тот человек, обстругав красивое-красивое дерево, украсив его узором, украсив вещами, поставив перед бурханом, сидит читает книгу. Настала благодать, вывела того человека наружу, пригласила на западную сторону. Выйдя наружу, тот человек увидел, что снаружи стояло красиво-красиво изукрашенное жилище. Войдя в него, сидит. Отправился в сторону запада. Сел внутри его.

После того как прошло около трёх месяцев, снова захотелось пойти в то стойбище, снова прибегает туда. Опять собака хватается мимо, скот попусту начинает пугаться. Опять произошла по тому же обычаю. Тот человек рассердился: «Опять случилось небывалое. Нужно приглашать чорджи-бакши». Назавтра повели запасную лошадь, стало возможным прибыть. «Да, наш учитель чорджи сможет прибыть?». Незадолго до прибытия прискакал красно-жёлтый бык с бронзовыми рогами и встал как раз позади бурхана. Смотрит, безвыходное положение, очень страшно. Когда один раз посмотрел – превратился в тигра. Тот лама, войдя, сел. Вроде как искоса смотрит. Говорят: «Наш скот впустую пугается, наша собака не может схватить, болезни возвращаются. Учитель, соизвольте это устранить! Что начать делать!» Потом вручили хадак. Наш человек в тот момент, когда лама отвернулся, украв его сутру, сунул её себе за пазуху. «Что вы за стойбище с драным чёртом! Украли сутру «Ханда дэпсэлэм!», – удивился учитель-лама. Немного отдохнув, встал и сказал, придя: «Есть чёрт, владеющий землей, реками и озёрами. Найдите череп серой лошади! Нарвите травы! Из овечьей шерсти и травы сделайте человека!». Сделав человека, обернули овечьей шерстью. Сделав с седлом из лиственничной коры, покрасив красно-бурой краской череп серого коня, одев человека синим шёлком, посадив верхом, поставили перед бурханом. Тот лама сказал: «Сможешь бить в литавры и бубен?». Ответил: «Смогу». Потом ударяя литавры, колотя в бубен, совершает молебен. У того так сделавшего человека сердце чуть не разорвалось, чуть изо рта не выскочило. Страшно невозможно. Посеянное зерно превратилось в каменный град, голову разбил вдребезги, не стало дурной приметы, высыпавшейся из его стены. Попробовал выбежать – впереди у двери очень красивая славная девушка, державшая красно-бурого коня с золотой красивой уздой, коня с красным золотым чепраком, говорит: «Быстро садись верхом! Поедем вдвоём!» Быстро запрыгнул верхом, едут вдвоём на одном коне. Когда посмотрел назад, то две красные скалы сближаются, чтобы сомкнуться. Едут вдвоём, сидят, нахлёстывают. В одном месте спешились. Постелив, заснул, проснувшись, посмотрел. Тот самый красивый конь и человек исчезли. Лошадь, покрашенная красно-бурым цветом, превратилась в череп. Куда делся тот красивый человек? Смотрит – исчез. То, что лежал и во сне ослеп, утратилось. После этого посмотрел – сделанный с одеждой из синего шёлка, развернувшийся – стал травяным человеком, обмотанным шерстью. Потом пошагал. Вроде бы виданная местность. Вот тут, кажется, своя страна. Шагает дальше. Показалось стойбище. Он пошёл к стойбищу. Подбежали двое детей:

«Наш папа пришёл!». «Ладно, откуда? Три года прошло. Ваш папа откуда жив будет? Не обманывайте!». Тогда заругались: «Правда! Правда! Вот заходит».

Взаправду было. «За это прошедшее время, за три года, что ты делал? По возможности расскажи, какие страны посетил?», – спросили. «Заблудился в чёрной вьюге, вокруг было темно, как ночью, была пещера, в которую попал, без дна, в темноте что-то мягкое, свалился, вроде как удивительное, вроде как волосатое, в тёмном месте причину не разобрать, когда ел от той вещи, ударил огонь, словно молния сверкнула, попал в невиданную страну, вот так это было. Так прошло несколько месяцев», – рассказал он, – «В одном месте возле входа в пещеру, помню, оставил ружьё и пояс с зарядами. Возможно пойти и найти? В каком же месте это было?» Цепью прошли, нашли эту пещеру. Были ружьё и пояс с зарядами. Нашли красное от ржавчины. Тот человек пришёл в своё стойбище, к своим детям, став вчетвером, живут спокойно и счастливо.

Человек этой земли, упав на дракона, лежавшего от стыда в пещере, в верхнем мире, поменяв мир, превратился в чёрта. Человек страны верхнего мира не видел. Умелый лама опять отправил его в эту страну. Обманув черепом серого коня, сделав человека из травы, умелый лама, поняв, что это чёрт, отправил его обратно, тот человек опять упал на эту землю.

## Appendix B: A Soyot tale (Rassadin 2010: 53-59) - glossed

1. Аңшы киши  
*аң-шы киши*  
 hunt-ACT.NMLZ person  
 ‘Охотник’  
 ‘The hunter’
  
2. Шаанда шағ шаанда бір аңшы киши турған иик.  
*ша-а-н-да шағ ша-а-н-да бір аң-шы киши тур-ған иик*  
 time-3.POSS-LK-LOC time time-3.POSS-LK-LOC one hunt-ACT.NMLZ person stand-REM PTCL  
 ‘Давным-давно был один охотник.’  
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a hunter.’
  
3. Аңнап чоруур аьты та, ивиси та чоқ болған иик.  
*аң-на-п чору-ур аьт-ы та иви-си та чоқ бол-ған*  
 hunt-VBLZ-GER.ST go-NPP horse-3.POSS PTCL reindeer-3.POSS PTCL EXIST.NEG be-REM  
  
*иик*  
 PTCL  
 ‘У него не было ни коня, ни оленя, чтобы ехать на охоту.’  
 ‘He did not have a horse, nor a reindeer to hunt.’
  
4. Қылаштап чорып аң қылған иик.  
*қылаш-т-ап чор-ып аң қыл-ған иик*  
 step-CAUS-GER.ST go-GER.ST hunt do-REM PTCL  
 ‘Пешком охотился.’  
 ‘He went hunting on foot.’
  
5. Дыт чөъһирээсі білә шып қаған алачы-өғліғ болған иик.  
*дыт чөъһирээ-сі білә шы-п қағ-ан алачы.өғ-ліғ бол-ған иик*  
 larch bark-3.POSS with cover-GER.ST put-PP nomadic.tent-ADJ be-REM PTCL  
 ‘У него был чум, покрытый лиственничной корой.’  
 ‘He had a nomadic tent covered with larch bark.’ (lit.: ‘He was nomadic-tent-covered-with-larch-bark-like.’)
  
6. Ол аңшы киши иъһи урығлығ иик.  
*ол аң-шы киши иъһи урығ-лығ иик*  
 MED hunt-ACT.NMLZ person two child-ADJ PTCL  
 ‘У того охотника было двое детей.’  
 ‘That hunter had two children.’ (lit.: ‘That hunter [was] two-children-like.’)
  
7. Бірээсі иъһи наъсыннығ, бірээсі беш наъсыннығ иик.  
*бірээ-сі иъһи наъсыннығ бірээ-сі беш наъсыннығ иик*  
 one-3.POSS two having.age one-3.POSS five having.age PTCL  
 ‘Одному из них было два года, другому – пять.’  
 ‘One of them was two years old, the other five.’

8. Бір қада ол киши аң қылықсап чорый бергән.  
*бір қада ол киши аң қыл-ықса-п чор-ый бер-гән*  
 one time MED person hunt do-DES-GER.ST go-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Однажды тот человек отправился на охоту.’  
 ‘One time, that man wanted to go hunting.’
9. Бір қердә ол аңнап чорысында, беш улығ-аң аңнап қаған.  
*бір қер-дә ол аң-на-п чор-ы-сы-н-да беш улығ-аң*  
 one place-LOCPRO:3SG hunt-VBLZ-GER.ST go-GER.IPFV-3.POSS-LK-LOC five elk  
  
*аң-на-п қағ-ан*  
 hunt-VBLZ-GER.ST put-REM  
 ‘В одном месте он охотился на пятерых лосей.’  
 ‘Once, he went hunting for five elks.’
10. Кенәт қара шуурған тұшкән.  
*кенәт қара шуурған тұш-кән*  
 suddenly black snowstorm fall-REM  
 ‘Вдруг налетела снежная вьюга.’  
 ‘Suddenly a snowstorm hit.’
11. Қараңғы дүңнә дәғ һептіғ боб лы бергән.  
*қараңғы дүңнә дәғ һептіғ боб лы бер-гән*  
 darkness night as having ?<sup>11</sup> ?<sup>12</sup> AUX-REM  
 ‘Стало темно, как ночью.’  
 ‘It became as dark as the night.’
12. Қер көрвийн, орық билбийн азывытқан.  
*қер көр-вийн орық бил-бийн аз-ывыт-қан*  
 place see-NEG.GER.ST road know-NEG.GER.ST be.mistaken-PFV-REM  
 ‘Не видя местности, не зная дороги, он заблудился.’  
 ‘Not knowing the[se] places, not knowing the road, he got lost.’
13. Ында бір һуй болған.  
*ында бір һуй бол-ған*  
 there one cave be-REM  
 ‘Там было одна пещера.’  
 ‘There was a cave.’
14. Кенәнгә һуйға куды қылы тұшә бергән.  
*кенәнгә һуй-ға куды қыл-ы тұш-ә бер-гән*  
 unawareness cave-DAT down do-INCH climb.down-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Неожиданно он свалился вниз в пещеру.’  
 ‘Unaware, he climbed down into the cave.’

<sup>11</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>12</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

15. Қараңғыда чү тә көзилбәс болы бергәш, долғандыры туғытып көргәш, үнәр чер чоқ болған.

*қараңғы-да чү тә көз-ил-бәс бол-ы бер-гәш долған-дыр-ы*  
darkness-LOC what PTCL see-PASS-NEG.NPP be-INCH AUX-GER.PFV turn-CAUS-GER.ST

*туғыт-ып көр-гәш үн-әр чер чоқ бол-ған*  
hold-GER.ST see-GER.PFV leave-NPP place EXIST.NEG be-REM

‘В темноте было ничего не видно, попробовал пошарить вокруг, выхода не было.’

‘Nothing was visible in the darkness; trying to turn around and hold [it] and see, there was no exit left.’

16. Чумцақ чимә турған.

*чумцақ чимә тур-ған*  
soft thing stand-REM

‘Было что-то мягкое.’

‘There was something soft.’

17. Қачырықтығ та дәғ, дүктығ та дәғ караңғы чер.

*қачырықтығ та дәғ дүктығ та дәғ караңғы чер*  
amazing PTCL as hairy PTCL as darkness place

‘Тёмное место – вроде как удивительное, вроде как волосатое.’

‘The dark place had [something] amazing, [something] hairy.’

18. Аштааш, суғсааш, пишәә биле кеъсип көргән.

*ашта-аш суғса-аш пишә-ә биле кеъс-ип көр-гән*  
be.hungry-GER.PFV be.thirsty-GER.PFV knife-3.POSS with cut-GER.ST see-REM

‘Проголодавшись, испытав жажду, попробовал резать ножом.’

‘After getting hungry [and] thirsty, he tried to cut with his knife.’

19. Чумцақ чимә дәғ чимә болған.

*чумцақ чимә дәғ чимә бол-ған*  
soft thing as thing be-REM

‘Было что-то вроде как мягкое.’

‘The thing was like a soft thing.’

20. Тосалығ та дәғ чимә болған.

*тосалығ та дәғ чимә бол-ған*  
greasy PTCL as thing be-REM

‘Что-то вроде как жирное.’

‘The thing was like [something] greasy.’

21. Ишип, чип турғаш, тода вергән.

*иш-ип чи-п тур-ғаш тода вер-гән*  
drink-GER.ST eat-GER.ST stand-GER.PFV ?<sup>13</sup> AUX-REM

‘Попив, поев, наелся.’

‘Drinking, eating, ?’

<sup>13</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

22. Ыньчааш ол чимшэй бергэн.  
*ыньчааш ол чимшэ-й бер-гэн*  
 later MED move-INCH AUX-GER.PFV  
 ‘Потом он зашевелился.’  
 ‘And then it started to move.’
23. Кенэт от үнгэн.  
*кенэт от үн-гэн*  
 suddenly fire grew-REM  
 ‘Вдруг появился огонь.’  
 ‘Suddenly, a fire started to glow.’
24. Гөрвээн оранға түшкэн турған.  
*гөр-вэ-эн оран-ға түш-кэн тур-ған*  
 see-NEG-PP land-DAT fall-PP stand-REM  
 ‘Он попал в невиданную страну.’  
 ‘He landed in a land that was never seen.’
25. Ол қаъйһааш, ыңғай қылы қылаштап чораан.  
*ол қаъйһа-аш ыңғай қылы қылаш-т-ап чора-ан*  
 PRO:3SG surprise-GER.PFV further as step-CAUS-GER.ST go-REM  
 ‘Удивившись, он пошагал дальше.’  
 ‘Surprised he continued walking like that.’
26. Иъһи аал турған.  
*иъһи аал тур-ған*  
 two nomad.camp stand-REM  
 ‘Стояли два стойбища.’  
 ‘There were two nomad camps.’
27. Маллығ, чығлһылығ аал турған.  
*мал-лығ чығлһы-лығ аал тур-ған*  
 cattle-ADJZ horse.herd-ADJZ nomad.camp stand-REM  
 ‘У них была скотина и лошади.’  
 ‘The nomad camp had a cattle and a horse herd.’ (lit.: ‘The nomad camp was cattle-horse.herd-like.’)
28. Ырақтан көөрдә – көстір чимә боор, чооҕаҕаар болса – көзилвэс чимә болы вээр.  
*ырақ-тан кө-өр-дә көс-тір чимә бо-ор чооҕаҕа-ар бол-са көз-ил-вэс*  
 far-ABL see-NPP-LOC see-ASS thing be-NPP approach-NPP be-COND see-PASS-NEG.NPP  
  
*чимә бол-ы вэ-эр*  
 thing be-INCH AUX-NPST  
 ‘Если посмотреть издали – были видимы, если приблизиться – становились невидимыми.’  
 ‘It starts to be visible when it is seen from far – it was invisible if he approached.’

29. Малы та, чыълһысы та, өгләрі та кишисі та черле шупты көзилвәс болы вәэр.  
*мал-ы та чыълһы-сы та өг-ләр-і та киши-сі та*  
 cattle-3.POSS PTCL horse.herd-3.POSS PTCL yurt-PL-3.POSS PTCL person-3.POSS PTCL  
*черле шупты көз-ил-вәс бол-ы вә-әр*  
 complete all see-PASS-NEG.NPP be-INCH AUX-NPST  
 ‘И скотина, и лошади, и чумы, и люди – вообще всё становилось невидимым.’  
 ‘The cattle, the horse herd, the yurts and the people – it all started to become completely invisible.’
30. Чаңғыс ла ыгттарын гөөр болған.  
*чаңғыс ла ыгт-тар-ын гө-өр бол-ған*  
 only PTCL dog-PL-3.POSS.ACC see-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Только лишь собак можно было увидеть.’  
 ‘Only one of the dogs was visible.’
31. Ыгты туьта часқаш турар болған.  
*ыгт-ы туьт-а час-қаш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 dog-3.POSS catch-GER.IPFV discover-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Собаки хватили мимо.’  
 ‘Their dogs could catch [him] after discovering [him].’ (lit.: ‘After [he] is becoming discovered, their dog could catch [him].’)
32. Аштааш, чимәсіндән чип турар болған.  
*ашта-аш чимә-сі-н-дән чи-п тур-ар бол-ған*  
 be.hungry-GER.PFV thing-3.POSS-LK-ABL eat-GER.ST stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Проголодавшись, поел от той вещи.’  
 ‘Being hungry, he ate from their things.’
33. «Чимәвис һор-һомса болғаш турар болған.  
*чимә-вис һор.һомса бол-ғаш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 thing-1PL.POSS meager be-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Подумал: «Наша вещь становится скудной.’  
 ‘Our thing[s] have become meager.’
34. Малывыс эмин шибишкеләш турар болған.  
*мал-ывыс эмин шибишки-лә-әш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 cattle-1PL.POSS udder pimple-VBLZ-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Вымя нашей скотины покрылось чирьями.’  
 ‘The udder of our cattle got pimples.’
35. Чүдән чү болғаш турар бол?  
*чү-дән чү бол-ғаш тур-ар бол*  
 what-ABL what be-GER.PFV stand-NPP be  
 ‘Отчего это происходит?’  
 ‘What happened from there?’
36. Малывыс кенәт турыда чөшаш турар болған.  
*мал-ывыс кенәт тур-ы-да чөшаш-аш тур-ар бол-ған*  
 cattle-1PL.POSS suddenly stand-GER.IPFV-LOC jump.out-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Наш скот вдруг шарахается от испуга.’  
 ‘Our cattle suddenly stood up and jumped out of fear.’

37. Ыътывыс алы, чий часқаш турар болған», – дээн.  
*ыът-ывыс ал-ы                      чи-й                      час-қаш                      тур-ар бол-ған дә-эн*  
 dog-1PL.POSStake-GER.IPFV    eat-GER.IPFV    discover-GER.PFV    stand-NPP    be-REM    say-REM  
 ‘Наши собаки перестают брать и есть».’  
 ‘After our dog[s] discovered, they stopped taking and eating, he said.’
38. Таъшта өөңә кіріп барғаны – баъса гөрвәс.  
*таъшта    ө-ө-ңә                      кір-іп                      бар-ған-ы                      баъса                      гөр-вәс*  
 ?<sup>14</sup>                      yurt-3.POSS-LK.DAT    enter-GER.ST    go-PP-GER.IPFV    again                      see-NEG.NPST  
 ‘Снаружи зашёл в чум – опять не видит.’  
 ‘Again he does not see, after he entered his yurt.’
39. һамаан чоқ ыңғай қылы қылаштааш турар болған.  
*һамаан.чоқ    ыңғай    қыл-ы                      қылашта-аш                      тур-ар                      бол-ған*  
 unimportant    further    do-GER.IPFV    step-CAUS-GER.PFV    stand-NPP    be-REM  
 ‘Делать нечего, пошагал дальше.’  
 ‘Doing nothing, he went on.’
40. Ол иъһи аал һалыш аал болған.  
*ол    иъһи аал                      һалыш аал                      бол-ған*  
 MED    two    nomad.camp    brothers    nomad.camp    be-REM  
 ‘Те два стойбища были стойбищами братьев.’  
 ‘That two nomad camps were ‘brother’ nomad camps.’
41. Бурын гиргән аалның беш наъсынның урығ мурны болы эъртіп чыътқан.  
*бурын    гир-гән    аал-ның                      беш    наъсынның    урығ    мурны                      бол-ы*  
 corner    enter-PP    nomad.camp-GEN    five    having.age    child    in.front.of    be-GER.IPFV  
  
*эърт-іп                      чыът-қан*  
 walk.by-GER.ST    lay-REM  
 ‘Пятилетний ребёнок стойбища, куда он заходил ранее, промелькнул перед ним.’  
 ‘A five-year-old child walked by and laid down in front of the earlier entered nomad camp.’
42. «Э-эй, һөөрһий!» – дэәш, қолындан туътқан.  
*э-эй    һөөрһий    дә-әш                      кол-ы-н-дан                      туът-қан*  
 INTJ    poor.man    say-GER.PFV    hand-3.POSS-LK-ABL    hold-REM  
 ‘Сказав: «Э-э, бедняжка!», взяв его за руку.’  
 ‘Saying “Hey, poor man!” he held his hand.’
43. Кенәт чоъшып алғыргаш туры.  
*кенәт    чоъш-ып                      алғы-р-гаш                      тур-ы*  
 suddenly    jump.out-GER.ST    scream-VBLZ-GER.PFV    stand-PRS  
 ‘Вдруг тот шарахнулся от испуга и закричал.’  
 ‘Suddenly, he jumped out and screamed.’

<sup>14</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.



44. Ат-иһәсі чанчап турған.  
*ат.иһә-сi*                    *чаңча-п*    *тур-ған*  
 father.mother-3.POSS scold-GER.ST stand-REM  
 ‘Родители забранились.’  
 ‘The parents were scolding.’
45. Туътқан колы ышқаш, уруу ораай бергән.  
*туът-қан* *кол-ы*            *ыш-қаш*            *уру-у*            *ораа-й*            *бер-гән*  
 hold-PP    hand-3.POSS swell-GER.PFV child-3.POSS wrap.around-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Схваченная рука опухла, ребёнок стал её обматывать.’  
 ‘The child started to wrap around the hand that he held after it was swollen.’
46. Бо чооны бердің?  
*бо*    *чоон-ы*                    *бер-дi-ң*  
 PROX what.do-GER.IPFV AUX-REC-2SG  
 ‘Что с тобой случилось?’  
 ‘What did you started to do?’
47. «Миинң чоъққан чимәні чооныр эмиш?», – дәәш, таъштан һой туътқаш, мынып алған.  
*миинң*    *чоъқ-қан*    *чимә-нi*    *чоон-ыр*    *эмиш*    *дә-әш*    *таъштан*    *һой*  
 PRO:1SG.GEN approach-PP thing-ACC what.do-NPP possibly say-GER.PFV door.street.side sheep  
*туът-қаш*    *мын-ып*    *ал-ған*  
 hold-GER.PFV sit.on-GER.ST take-REM  
 ‘Подумав: «Что происходит с вещами, к которым я приближаюсь?» поймал на дворе овцу и оседлал её.’  
 ‘After he said “What possibly to do with the things I approached?”, he grabbed a sheep at the door and sat on it.’
48. Тыъртычып алған һой өлі бергән.  
*тыърт-ыч-ып*    *ал-ған*    *һой*    *өл-i*            *бергән*  
 grab-?<sup>15</sup>-GER.ST take-PP sheep die-GER.IPFV AUX-REM  
 ‘Овца, которой он занимался, подохла.’  
 ‘The sheep that he grabbed and took, had died.’
49. «Мал эът қарачадааш, урығ-дарығ ораағаш, чүдән чү болғаш туры?», – дәән.  
*мал*    *эът*    *қарачада-аш*    *урығ.дарығ*    *ораа-ғаш*                    *чү-дән*    *чү*    *бол-ғаш*  
 cattle meat bear.loss-GER.PFV family wrap.around-GER.PFV what-ABL what be-GER.PFV  
*тур-ы*            *дә-ән*  
 stand-PRS say-REM  
 ‘Подумал: «Скотина терпит убыток, дети перевязываются, отчего что происходит?».’  
 ‘He said: “The cattle has borne loss, the children are wound, what happened with them.’
50. һамны чалаардан баъшқа чимә чоқ.  
*һамны*    *чала-ар-дан*    *баъшқа*    *чимә*    *чоқ*  
 shaman invite-NPP-ABL different thing EXIST.NEG  
 ‘Ничего другого, как приглашать шамана.’  
 ‘There is nothing else than inviting the shaman.’

<sup>15</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

51. Бийә киши дыңнап олырырға, ыньча дічип түрар болған.  
*бийә киши дыңна-п олыр-ыр-ға ыньча діч-ип түр-ар бол-ған*  
 DEM.EMPH person hear-GER.ST sit-NPP-DAT like.this ?<sup>16</sup>-GER.ST stand-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Тот человек слышал, как говорили, что надо приглашать шамана.’  
 ‘That person heard that was said like this that [he] needs to sit’
- һамны қалаар дічип болған.  
*һамны қала-ар діч-ип бол-ған*  
 shaman invite-NPP ?<sup>17</sup>-GER.ST be-REM  
 ‘It was said that the shaman is invited’  
 ‘[That person heard that it was said like this] that he needed to invite the shaman.’
52. Аът четкәш чораан.  
*аът чет-кәш чора-ан*  
 horse lead.across-GER.PFV go-REM  
 ‘Поехали, ведя в поводу лошадь.’  
 ‘He went and led the horse across.’
53. Бичә удағынын қалаар болған.  
*бичә удағын-ын қала-ар бол-ған*  
 little shaman.female-3.POSS.ACC invite-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Стали приглашать маленькую шаманку.’  
 ‘He invited the little shaman (f.).’
54. Ол удағынын қалап келгән.  
*ол удағын-ын қала-п кел-гән*  
 MED shaman.female-3.POSS.ACC invite-GER.ST come-REM  
 ‘Та шаманка прибыла.’  
 ‘He invited the shaman (f.) and came.’
55. Бодындан арай бұрын ээрән шаъсыңа қуқын геліп қонған.  
*бод-ы-н-дан арай бұрын ээрән шаъс-ы-ңа қуқын гел-іп*  
 self-3.POSS-LK-ABL barely before shaman.amulet ?<sup>18</sup>-3SG.POSS-LK.DAT raven come-GER.ST  
  
*қон-ған*  
 land-REM  
 ‘Чуть раньше её самой прилетел ворон и сел на середину амулета.’  
 ‘A bit before herself, a raven came and landed in the middle of the shaman amulet.’
56. Бийә кишигиді чиһә гәрбәс болған.  
*бийә киши-гиді чиһә гәр-бәс бол-ған*  
 DEM.EMPH person-ALL straight see-NEG.NPP be-REM  
 ‘На того человека прямо не смотрит.’  
 ‘She did not look straight at that person.’

<sup>16</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>17</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>18</sup> Not found in the dictionary as a separate entry, only found in context.

57. Қоърһар һептіҫ болған.  
*қоърһ-ар һептіҫ бол-ған*  
 be.afraid-NPP probably be-REM  
 ‘Вроде как боится.’  
 ‘She was probably afraid.’
58. Чүдән чү болғаш туры?  
*чү-дән чү бол-ғаш тур-ы*  
 what-ABL what be-GER.PFV stand-PRS  
 ‘Отчего что происходит?’  
 ‘What happened from there?’
59. Қайдан қайы болғаш туры?  
*қай-дан қайы бол-ғаш тур-ы*  
 which-ABL which be-GER.PFV stand-PRS  
 ‘Откуда куда происходит?’  
 ‘What happened from there?’
60. Бийә һамыңа һадақ туътқаш бергән, беләк дәп.  
*бийә һам-ы-ңа һадақ туът-қаш бер-гән беләк дә-п*  
 DEM.EMPH shaman-3.POSS-LK.DAT khata hand.over-GER.PFV AUX-REM gift say-GER.ST  
 ‘Тому шаману вручили хадак, сказав, что подарок.’  
 ‘It is said that the gift was a khata handed over to that shaman.’
61. Олырда бийә киши чооныр эмиш дәәш, тура бергәш, һомыстың дылын сай туътқан.  
*олыр-да бийә киши чоон-ыр эмиш дә-әш тур-а бер-гәш*  
 sit-LOC DEM.EMPH person what.do-NPP probably say-GER.PFV stand-INCH AUX-GER.PFV  
  
*һомыс-тың дыл-ын сай туът-қан*  
 string.instrument-GEN tongue-3.POSS.ACC bend hold-REM  
 ‘Тот человек, думая, что будет дальше, встал и переломил язык у хомуса.’  
 ‘That very man was thinking “what to do?” and started to play the khomus<sup>19</sup>.’
62. Олық сәрий бергән.  
*олық сәри-й бер-гән*  
 same end.shaman.rite-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Тут же обряд камлания закончился.’  
 ‘He started to stop the shaman rite.’
63. һамывыстың һомызы сынғаш, чооныр бо болырыл?  
*һамы-выс-тың һомызы сын-ғаш чоон-ыр бо бол-ыр-ыл*  
 shaman-1PL.POSS-GEN string.instrument break-GER.PFV what.do-NPP PROX be-CAUS-PASS  
 ‘У нашего шамана хомус сломался, что происходит?’  
 ‘What to do after our shaman breaks the khomus?’
64. «Дәмәй һаақ кеъсип келіңер!», – дәән.  
*дәмәй һаақ кеъс-ип кел-іңер дә-ән*  
 in.vain twig cut-GER.ST come-2PL.IMP say-REM  
 ‘Велел срезать пустяшный кустик.’  
 ‘“Come and cut the twig vainly” – she said.’

<sup>19</sup> Musical instrument, similar to a Jew’s harp.

65. һаақ кеъсiп келсән.  
*һаақ кеъс-iп кел-гән*  
 twig cut-GER.ST come-REM  
 ‘Срезали кустик.’  
 ‘He came and cut the twig.’
66. Өргәл қылыһн!  
*өргәл қыл-ыйһ<sup>20</sup>*  
 sacrifice do-IMP.1SG  
 ‘Сделаю обряд жертвоприношения!’  
 ‘I must sacrifice [the sacrifice].’
67. Өргәннi җимәп олырған.  
*өргән-нi җимә-п олыр-ған*  
 peg-ACC decorate-GER.ST sit-REM  
 ‘Украсили колышек.’  
 ‘They started to decorate the peg.’
68. Өргәннiң баъшыһ сай туътқан.  
*өргән-нiң баъш-ыһ сай туът-қан*  
 peg-GEN head-3.POSS.ACC bend hold-REM  
 ‘Вершину колышка переломил.’  
 ‘The top of the peg broke.’
69. Бийә һамы болыһгыды мөргәп чалбырап, беләк дәп туътпаан.  
*бийә һамы бол-ы-һ-гыды мөргә-п чалбыр-ап беләк дә-п*  
 DEM.EMPH shaman be-3.POSS-LK-ALL kneel-GER.ST pray-GER.ST gift say-GER.ST  
  
*туът-па-ан*  
 hold-NEG-REM  
 ‘Тот шаман, молясь в свою сторону, не взял подарок.’  
 ‘That shaman, kneeling towards the one who is present and praying, did not take the alleged gift.’
70. Мен моһы алгаш чоһныр мен?  
*мен мо-һы ал-гаш чоһ-ыһ мен*  
 PRO:1SG PROX-ACC take-GER.PFV what.do-NPST 1SG  
 ‘Что я буду делать, взяв это?’  
 ‘What shall I do, after taking this?’
71. Шалаа та җивүүс гелiп олырған.  
*шалаа та җивүүс гел-iп олыр-ған*  
 a.bit PTCL unpleasant come-GER.ST sit-REM  
 ‘Немного неприятно стало.’  
 ‘She become a bit uncomfortable.’

<sup>20</sup> According to the grammar, it should be *-ыйһ*.

72. Дэмей баруун талагыды өргөп қааңар!  
*дэмей баруун тала-гыды өргө-п қааң-ар*  
 in.vain western side-ALL sacrifice-GER.ST ?<sup>21</sup>-NPST  
 ‘Принесите жертву на западную сторону!’  
 ‘? and sacrifice towards the western side vainly.’
73. Чаа, мені дәріңер чоқ.  
*чаа мен-і дәр-іңер чоқ*  
 INTJ PRO:1SG-ACC ?<sup>22</sup>-2PL.POSS EXIST.NEG  
 ‘Ладно, обо мне разговора нет.’  
 ‘Well, ? is not me.’
74. Мииң бирә киши шадабас.  
*ми-иң бирә киши шада-бас*  
 PRO:1SG-GEN such person can-NEG  
 ‘Такой человек, как я, не сможет.’  
 ‘Such a person, like me, cannot.’
75. Чер, суғ, һөлліғ эр аза бар болғыша.  
*чер суғ һөл-ліғ эр аза бар бол-ғыша*  
 place water lake-ADJZ male devil EXIST be-LIM  
 ‘До тех пор, пока есть чёрт, владеющий землёй, реками и озёрами.’  
 ‘Until [then], there is a male devil of the earth, water and lakes.’
76. Өскө арға шырғаңар!  
*өскө арға шырға-ңар*  
 other way persevere-2PL.IMP  
 ‘Ищите другие способы!’  
 ‘Keep up the other ways!’
77. Бодыңар оорһа каътығ туры.  
*бод-ыңар оорһа каътығ тур-ы*  
 self-2PL.POSS back tough stand-PRS  
 ‘У вас хребет прочный!’  
 ‘You, yourselves, have a tough back.’
78. һамын чеътірәр дәәнін.  
*һамын чеътір-әр дәәнін*  
 shaman lead-NPP ?<sup>23</sup>  
 ‘Хотели проводить шамана.’  
 ‘They led the shaman.’<sup>24</sup>
79. «Бодым чана бергәй мен».  
*бод-ым чан-а бер-гәй мен*  
 self-1SG.POSS return.home-INCH AUX-FUT 1SG  
 ‘«Я сам вернусь домой.»’  
 ‘“I will start to return home.”’

<sup>21</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>22</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>23</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>24</sup> The last verb misses in the translation.

80. Боды чанған.  
*бод-ы чан-ған*  
 self-3.POSS return.home-REM  
 ‘Сам вернулся.’  
 ‘He himself returned home.’
81. «Улығ удағын чалаар һерәктіғ», – дәән.  
*улығ удағын чала-ар һерәк-тіғ дә-ән*  
 big female.shaman invite-INF need-ASS say-REM  
 ‘Решили: «Большую шаманку надо приглашать».’  
 ‘They said: “It is necessary to invite the big shaman (f.)”’
82. Чиһәләп келгән.  
*чиһәлә-п кел-гән*  
 go.straight-GER.ST come-REM  
 ‘Напрямую прибыла.’  
 ‘She came straightaway.’
83. Чаа, онса қайы һирә беърт?  
*чаа онса қайы һирә беърт*  
 INTJ special which such heavy  
 ‘Well, what could be so special?’
84. Чиһәләп келдіргән бодындан арай бұрын ээрән шаъсыңа эъсір келіп қонғаш,  
 бодыңды гөөр болған.  
*чиһәлә-п кел-дир-гән бод-ы-н-дан арай бұрын ээр-ән*  
 go.straight-GER.ST come-CAUS-PP self-3.POSS-LK-ABL barely in.front swirl-PP  
  
*шаъ-сы-ңа эъсір кел-іп қон-ғаш бод-ы-н-гыды гө-өр бол-ған*  
 ?<sup>25</sup>-3.POSS-LK.DAT eagle come-GER.ST sit-GER.PFV self-3.POSS-LK-ALL see-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Прямо перед её приходом прилетел орёл и сел на середину амулета, стал смотреть на самого.’  
 ‘He saw himself that the eagle had spent the night and that it had flown to the middle of the amulet, just before he let [it] go from him and let it go straight away.’
85. Чиһә гөөр болған.  
*чиһә гө-өр бол-ған*  
 straight see-NPP be-REM  
 ‘Прямо смотрит.’  
 ‘He looked straightaway.’
86. Бийә һамы гиріп биләргә бурнынгыды будын көъсілгән.  
*бийә һамы гир-іп бил-әр-гә бурн-ы-н-гыды будын*  
 DEM.EMPH shaman enter-GER.ST know-NPP-DAT in.front-3.POSS-LK-ALL ?<sup>26</sup>  
  
*көъсіл-гән*  
 stretch.legs-REM  
 ‘Тот шаман вошёл, вытянул ноги вперёд.’  
 ‘That shaman stretched his legs in front of [him] and entered what is known.’

<sup>25</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>26</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

87. *Һамаан чоқ, қылаштааш ээртэ бергән.*  
*Һамаан чоқ қылаш-та-аш ээрт-э бер-гән*  
 relation EXIST.NEG step-VBLZ-GER.PFV pass.by-GER.IPFV AUX-REM  
 ‘Делать нечего, прошагал мимо.’  
 ‘Having no connection, he stepped and passed by.’
88. *Гәрбәс болған.*  
*гәр-бәс бол-ған*  
 see-NEG.NPP be-REM  
 ‘He увидел.’  
 ‘He didn’t see [it].’
89. *Баъса һадақ туытқаш, қай-қараца болғаш, урығ-дарығ ораағаш, арға чоқ тумаа туышпәк дэскиндіргәш, чүдән чү болғаш туры?*  
*баъса һадақ туыт-қаш қай.қараца бол-ғаш урығ.дарығ ораа-ғаш*  
 again khata hold-GER.PFV loss be-GER.PFV family wrap.around-GER.PFV  
  
*арға чоқ тумаа туыш-пәк дэскин-дир-гәш чү-дән чү*  
 way EXIST.NEG runny.nose climb.down-?<sup>27</sup> turn.around-CAUS-GER.PFV what-ABL what  
  
*бол-ғаш тур-ы*  
 be-GER.PFV stand-PRS  
 ‘Опять вручили хадак, произошёл убыток, дети обмотались, безвыходное, сопли, слёзы возвратив, что отчего происходит?’  
 ‘After holding the khata again, loss happened, children wound up, it was hopeless, runny noses returned, what happened from there?’
90. *Бийә һам беләк дәп көргәш, чер суғ һөлліг эр чимә болғаш туры.*  
*бийә һам беләк дә-п көр-гәш чер суғ һөл-ліг эр чимә*  
 DEM.EMPH shaman gift say-GER.ST see-GER.PFV place water lake-ADJZ male thing  
  
*бол-ғаш тур-ы*  
 be-GER.PFV stand-PRS  
 ‘Тот шаман, увидев подарок, (уведомил, что) стоит мужское существо, обладающее землёй, реками и озёрами.’  
 ‘That shaman after seeing the gift, became the male being ruling the earth, waters and lakes.’
91. *«Пөш кеъсіп келіңер! Өргәл қылып берийн!», – дәән.*  
*пөш кеъс-іп кел-іңер өргәл қыл-ып бер-ийн<sup>28</sup> дә-ән*  
 cedrus cut-GER.ST come-2PL.IMP sacrifice do-GER.ST AUX-IMP.1SG say-REM  
 ‘Велел срубить кедр, будет делать обряд жертвоприношения.’  
 ‘Come and cut down the cedrus, and make the sacrifice – he said.’
92. *Алып келгәш, «Қандығ қандығ чимә гирәріл?».*  
*ал-ып кел-гәш қандығ қандығ чимә гир-әр-іл*  
 take-GER.ST come-GER.PFV which which thing enter-NPST-PASS  
 ‘Срубили. «Какие вещи войдут?», – спросили.’  
 ‘After coming and taking [the cedrus], “Which, which ones will be entered?’

<sup>27</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

<sup>28</sup> According to the grammar, it should be *-ийм*.

93. Тос өң чимэ шимээр». *тос өң чимэ шимэ-эр*  
 nine color thing decorate-NPST  
 ‘Украсим вещами девяти цветов.’  
 ‘He will decorate the thing [tree with] nine colors.’
94. «Бийэ нам хамнаан адыр чооныр эмиш?».  
*бийэ нам хам-на-ан адыр чоон-ыр эмиш*  
 DEM.EMPH shaman shaman-VBLZ-PP branched what.do-NPP maybe  
 ‘Подумал: «Что будет с той рогулькой, при помощи которой шаманил шаман?»’  
 ‘What to do with the dowsing rod the shaman used for shaman practices?’
95. Ыньчаңғаш бодынгыды мөргәп, чалбырып, бийэ кишинің өргәл беләәм дэп чалбырып.  
*ыньчаң-ғаш бод-ы-н-гыды мөргә-п чалбыр-ып бийэ киши-нің өргәл*  
 do.like-GER.PFV self-3.POSS-LK-ALL kneel-GER.ST pray-GER.ST DEM.EMPH person-GEN sacrifice  
*белә-әм дэ-п чалбыр-ып*  
 gift-1SG.POSS say-GER.ST pray-GER.ST  
 ‘Потом поклонившись, помолившись в сторону себя, тот человек решил, что та жертва ему подарок.’  
 ‘And then, do as follows: kneel down towards him, pray that person sacrifices my gift [he] said and prayed.’
96. Моны алып, чораан, чалбырып.  
*мо-ны ал-ып чора-ан чалбыр-ып*  
 PROX-ACC take-GER.ST go-REM pray-GER.ST  
 ‘Взяв её, пошёл, молясь.’  
 ‘He took this, went and prayed.’
97. Бийэ кол ышқан урууның «эй, һөөрһийні» дәәш, баъшын чай туътып, қолын куды чай туътып.  
*бийэ кол ыш-қан уру-у-ның эй һөөрһий-ні дә-әш*  
 DEM.EMPH hand swell-PP child-3.POSS-GEN INTJ poor.man-ACC say-GER.PFV  
  
*баъш-ын чай туът-ып қол-ын куды чай туът-ып*  
 head-3.POSS.ACC summer hold-GER.ST hand-3.POSS.ACC down summer<sup>29</sup> hold-GER.ST  
 ‘У того ребёнка, рука которого опухла, голову погладил и по руке погладил, сказав: «Э-э бедняжка!»’  
 ‘That child has a swollen hand, touching his head and holding his hand down, saying: “Hey, poor man!”’
98. Бір ай һирә болғаш, соонда бийэ аалыңа даъһый келгидәғ.  
*бір ай һирә бол-ғаш со-он-да бийә аал-ы-ңа*  
 one moon time be-GER.PFV end-3.POSS-LOC DEM.EMPH nomad.camp-3.POSS-LK.DAT  
  
*даъһый кел-гидәғ*  
 again come-?  
 ‘Прошло около месяца, после опять надо было прийти в то стойбище.’  
 ‘One month passed by, when he went again to that nomad camp.’

<sup>29</sup> This word is not reflected in the Russian or English translation, since it is not clear how this word fits into the Soyot phrase.



99. Даъһый чооғаш келіп тұры.  
*даъһый чоо-ғаш кел-іп тұр-ы*  
 again go-GER.PFV come-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Опять подходит близко.’  
 ‘He again came and went [to it].’
100. Ыньчаңғаш ығыты алы часқаш тұрған, даъһый мал һей һойғаш тұрар болы бергән.  
*ыньчаң-ғаш ығыт-ы ал-ы час-қаш тұр-ған даъһый мал*  
 do.like-GER.PFV dog-3.POSS take-GER.IPFV discover-GER.PFV stand-PP again cattle  
  
*һей һой-ғаш тұр-ар бол-ы бер-гән*  
 empty be.scared-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Потом собака схватила мимо, опять скот без причины испугался.’  
 ‘Not that much later, after the dogs did so, they took and discovered and again the cattle started to be without fear.’
101. Бийә чаң даъһый кірді.  
*бийә чаң даъһый кір-ді*  
 DEM.EMPH custom again enter-REC  
 ‘Опять произошло по тому же обычаю.’  
 ‘He entered again as usual.’
102. Чаа, бийә аалның улыстар, бийә киши дыңнаарға, гәпши бақшыны чалаар дәәш, даңарта аът четкәш чораан.  
*чаа бийә аал-ның улыс-тар бийә киши дыңна-ар-ға*  
 INTJ DEM.EMPH nomad.camp-GEN people-PL DEM.EMPH person hear-NPP-DAT  
 gepshi  
  
*гәпши бақшы-ны чала-ар дә-әш даңарта аът чет-кәш*  
 gepshi bakshy-ACC invite-NPP say-GER.PFV tomorrow horse lead.across-GER.PFV  
  
*чора-ан*  
 go-REM  
 ‘Ладно, люди того стойбища, как слышит тот человек, решив пригласить гәпши-бакши, назавтра отправились, ведя в поводу коня.’  
 ‘Okay, the people from that nomad camp, after that person heard [it], invited the gepshi-bakshy<sup>30</sup>, after leaving next morning and leading the horse across.’
103. Чалааш келгән.  
*чала-аш кел-гән*  
 invite-GER.PFV come-REM  
 ‘Пригласили, прибыл.’  
 ‘After they invited [him], he came.’

<sup>30</sup> One of the Buddhist offices.

104. Келірдән арай бұрын бұрхан кырында қызыл сарығ эьсір келіп олыры, будап тұру.  
*кел-ір-дән арай бұрын бұрхан кыр-ы-н-да қызыл сарығ эьсір*  
 come-NPP-ABL barely in.front god surface-3.POSS-LK-LOC red yellow eagle  
*кел-іп олыр-ы буда-п тұр-у*  
 come-GER.ST sit-GER.IPFV defile-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Незадолго перед его прибытием прилетает и садится на статую Будды красно-жёлтый орёл, пачкает.’  
 ‘Just a few moments before he came, the red-yellow eagle came, sat down and defiled on top of the god.’
105. Бийә киши гөріп олырарға, ламабыс гелі чығытыры дәэш, төшәк салғаш, кіріп олырарда, мурнынгыды будын гөьсілгән.  
*бийә киши гөр-іп олыр-ар-ға лама-быс гел-і чығытыры*  
 DEM.EMPH person see-GER.ST sit-NPP-DAT lama-1PL.POSS come-GER.IPFV CONJ  
*дә-әш төшәк сал-ғаш кір-іп олыр-ар-да мурн-ы-н-гыды будын*  
 say-GER.PFV bed lay-GER.PFV enter-GER.ST sit-NPP-LOC in.front-3.POSS-LK-ALL ?<sup>31</sup>  
*гөьсіл-гән*  
 stretch.legs-PASS-REM  
 ‘Как видит тот человек, сказав, что прибывает наш лама , постлали тюфяк, когда вошёл и сел, вытянул перед собой ноги.’  
 ‘As that person sees, he stretched his legs in front of him and laid them on the bed when our lama came entered and sat down.’
106. Гөрбәәш, һамаан чоқ баьса эьртә кылаштааш, олырып тұры.  
*гөр-бә-әш һамаан чоқ баьса эьрт-ә кылаш-та-аш олыр-ып*  
 see-NEG-GER.PFV shaman EXIST.NEG again pass.by-GER.IPFV step-VBLZ-GER.PFV sit-GER.ST  
*тұр-ы*  
 stand-PRS  
 ‘He увидев, делать нечего, снова проходит мимо, садится.’  
 ‘Not seeing, the shaman did nothing, after walking passed by again and sat down.’
107. Шәй дүлгәш, чимә тавақтааш салып бергән.  
*шәй дүл-гәш чимә тавақ-та-аш сал-ып бер-гән*  
 tea cook-GER.PFV thing plate-VBLZ-GER.PFV lay-GER.ST AUX-REM  
 ‘Поставили варить чай, положили кое-что из блюдо, поставили.’  
 ‘After they made tea and put something on a plate, they served it.’

<sup>31</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

108. Шәй ишип олырғаш, бийә лама айаана кудып салғаш, үніп чорыда, шәйынғыды тоъһырақ бичи кудып туры.

*шәй иш-ип олыр-ғаш бийә лама айаана куд-ып сал-ғаш*  
 tea drink-GER.ST sit-GER.PFV DEM.EMPH lama ?<sup>32</sup> ?<sup>33</sup>-GER.ST lay-GER.PFV

*үн-ип чор-ы-да шәй-ы-н-гыды тоъһырақ бичи куд-ып тур-ы*  
 leave-GER.ST go-GER.IPFV-LOC tea-3.POSS-LK-ALL soil small ?<sup>34</sup>-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Сев пить чай, тот лама, налив чашку, когда вышел, насыпал ему в чай немного земли.’  
 ‘After sitting and drinking the tea, that lama after ? and laying left and went to his tea room and ? small ?’

109. Кіріп келгәш, бийә аяққа қаан шәйын ишкәш: «Иъштим аарый берді», – дәп.

*кір-ип кел-гәш бийә аяқ-қа қа-ан шәй-ын иш-кәш*  
 enter-GER.ST come-GER.PFV DEM.EMPH cup-DAT put-PP tea-3.POSS.ACC drink-GER.PFV

*иъшт-им аары-й бер-ді дә-п*  
 inside-1SG.POSS hurt-INCH AUX-REC say-GER.ST  
 ‘Вернувшись, выпил свой чай, налитый в ту чашку, и сказал: «У меня живот заболел».’  
 ‘After coming, entering and putting that cup of tea that he drank, he said: “My stomach starts hurting.”’

110. «Бақшы эмніг ийнаан сіләр аан. Эминәрдән чооглап алыңар!», – дәән.

*бақшы эм-ніг ийнаан сі-ләр аан эм-иңәр-дән чоогла-п*  
 bakshy medicine-ADJZ still PRO:2-PL therefore medicine-2PL.POSS-ABL taste-GER.ST

*ал-ыңар дә-ән*  
 take-IMP.2PL say-REM  
 ‘«У Вас, учитель, ведь есть лекарство. Отведайте Вашего лекарства!». – ему говорят.’  
 “‘Bakshy, you still have the medicine. Therefore, taste your medicine!’ – they said [to him].”

111. Ыньчаңғаш, бодының эминдән ишкәш, эккірә болғаш.

*ыньчаң-ғаш бод-ы-ның эм-и-н-дән иш-кәш эккір-ә*  
 do.like-GER.PFV self-3.POSS-GEN medicine-3.POSS-LK-ABL drink-GER.PFV heal-GER.IPFV

*бол-ғаш*  
 be-GER.PFV  
 ‘Тогда, выпив своего собственного лекарства, выздоровел.’  
 ‘After doing so, he drank his own medicine and healed.’

112. «Тавақ қылыңар, – дәәш, – үріп чаъсал қылып берийн!».

*тавақ қыл-ыңар дә-әш үр-ип чаъсал қыл-ып бер-ийн<sup>35</sup>*  
 plate do-IMP.2PL say-GER.PFV blow-GER.ST attire do-GER.ST AUX-IMP.1SG

‘«Сделайте блюдо, – велит, – дүя, буду делать убранство».’  
 “‘Make a dish”, he said blowing, “I must put on the attire.”’

<sup>32</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>33</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>34</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>35</sup> According to the grammar, it should be *-ийм*.

113. Бийә киши гөріп олырарға, цааһай цааһай няш чонғаш, қаасташ, чимә билә чимәәш, буърһан мурныңа салғаш, номнаан олыры.  
*бийә киши гөр-ип олыр-ар-ға цааһай цааһай няш чон-ғаш*  
 DEM.EMPH person see-GER.ST sit-NPP-DAT beautiful beautiful tree plane-GER.PFV  
*қаас-та-аш чимә билә чимә-әш буърһан мурн-ы-ңа*  
 ornament-VLBZ-GER.PFV thing with decorate-GER.PFV god in.front-3.POSS-LK.DAT  
*сал-ғаш ном-на-ан олыр-ы*  
 lay-GER.PFV book-VBLZ-PP sit-PRS  
 ‘Как видит тот человек, обстругав красивое-красивое дерево, украсив его узором, украсив вещами, поставив перед бурханом, сидит читает книгу.’  
 ‘Seeing that person, planing the very beautiful chopped tree, laying the decorated [tree] with ornaments down in front of the god, he sat and read a book.’
114. Туң цааһай болған гелгән, бийә кишини үндіргән, баруун тала цалаан.  
*туң цааһай бол-ған гел-гән бийә киши-ни үн-дир-гән баруун тала*  
 very beautiful be-PP come-PP DEM.EMPH person-ACC leave-CAUS-PP western side  
*цала-ан*  
 invite-REM  
 ‘Настала благодать, вывела того человека наружу, пригласила на западную сторону.’  
 ‘She invited [that person] leading that person to the western side to become blessed.’
115. Бийә киши үнгәш, көргән цааһай қаастығ оран таъшта турған.  
*бийә киши үн-гәш көр-гән цааһай қаас-тығ оран таъш-та*  
 DEM.EMPH person leave-GER.PFV see-PP beautiful ornament-ADJZ country ?<sup>36</sup>-LOC  
*тур-ған*  
 stand-REM  
 ‘Выйдя наружу, тот человек увидел, что снаружи стояло красиво-красиво изукрашенное жилище.’  
 ‘After leaving, that person saw the beautiful decorated country.’
116. Олгыды гиргәш, олырып туры.  
*ол-гыды гир-гәш олыр-ып тур-ы*  
 MED-ALL enter-GER.PFV sit-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Войдя в него, сидит.’  
 ‘Entering that, he sat down.’
117. Баруун чүккіді чори бергән.  
*баруун чүк-кіді чори-и бер-гән*  
 western side-ALL go-INCH AUX-REM  
 ‘Отправился в сторону запада.’  
 ‘He started to go to the western side.’
118. Озының иъштїңә олырып турған.  
*озы-ның иъшт-ї-ңә олыр-ып тур-ған*  
 ?<sup>37</sup>-GEN inside-3.POSS-LK.DAT sit-GER.ST stand-REM  
 ‘Сел внутрь его.’  
 ‘He sat inside ?.’

<sup>36</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>37</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

119. Үш бирә ай болған соң бийә аалыңа даһый баар дурасы гелгәш, даһый чүгиргәш келип туру.  
*үш бирә ай бол-ған соң бийә аал-ы-ңа даһый ба-ар*  
 three time moon be-PP later DEM.EMPH nomad.camp-3.POSS-LK.DAT again go-INF  
*дура-сы гел-гәш даһый чүгир-гәш кел-ип тур-у*  
 wish-3.POSS come-GER.PFV again run-GER.PFV come-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘После того как прошло около трёх месяцев, снова захотелось пойти в то стойбище, снова прибегает туда.’  
 ‘After three months, he wanted to go again to that nomad camp and he run [to it] again.’
120. Баһса ығт алы чий қасқаш, малы һей һойғаш турар болы берип туру.  
*баһса ығт ал-ы чи-й қас-қаш мал-ы һей*  
 again dog take-GER.IPFV eat-GER.ST discover-GER.PFV cattle-3.POSSEmpty  
*һой-ғаш тур-ар бол-ы бер-ип тур-у*  
 be.scared-GER.PFV stand-NPP be-INCH AUX-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Опять собака хватает мимо, скот попусту начинает пугаться.’  
 ‘Again the dogs discovered [him], and the cattle started to be afraid.’
121. Баһса маа қаң гирди.  
*баһса маа қаң гир-ди*  
 again here custom enter-REC  
 ‘Опять произошла по тому же обычаю.’  
 ‘Again he entered as was usual.’
122. Бийә киши қаңнап турарға: «Ам болбас болды.  
*бийә киши қаң-на-п тур-ар-ға ам бол-бас бол-ды*  
 DEM.EMPH person custom-VBLZ-GER.ST stand-NPP-DAT now be-NEG.NPP be-REC  
 ‘Тот человек рассердился: «Опять случилось небывалое.’  
 ‘That person got used to it: “Now [something] unprecedented happened.”’
123. Чорчы бақшыны қалаар», – дээн.  
*чорчы бақшы-ны қала-ар дә-эн*  
 chorchy bakshy-ACC invite-NPP say-REM  
 ‘Нужно приглашать чорджи-бакши».’  
 ‘“We need to invite the chorchy-bakshy” – he said.’
124. Даартасы қызыл сарығ һөтәллиғ ағт чедип келир болыр.  
*даарта-сы қызыл сарығ һөтәллиғ ағт чед-ип кел-ип*  
 tomorrow-3.POSS red yellow spare horse lead.across-GER.ST come-GER.ST  
*бол-ыр*  
 be-NPST  
 ‘Назавтра повели запасную лошадь, стало возможным прибыть.’  
 ‘The next morning he came and led the red-yellow spare horse across.’
125. «Чаа, чорчы бақшыбыс морилап болыр ба!», – дээн.  
*чаа чорчы бақшы-быс морила-п бол-ыр ба дә-эн*  
 INTJ chorchy bakshy-1PL.POSS welcome-GER.ST be-NPP Q say-REM  
 ‘«Да, наш учитель чорджи сможет прибыть?».’  
 ‘“Yeah, is our chorchy-bakshy welcome?” – he said.’

126. Гелірден арай бурын қызыл сарығ һүрил миистығ буьһа маңдап келгәш, буьрһан ардан оьрта турған.  
*гел-ір-дән арай бурын қызыл сарығ һүрил миис-тығ буьһа*  
 come-NPP-ABL barely in.front red yellow bronze horn-ADJZ bull  
*маңда-п кел-гәш буьрһан ар-дан оьрта тур-ған*  
 skip-GER.ST come-GER.PFV god back-ABL exactly stand-REM  
 ‘Незадолго до прибытия прискакал красно-жёлтый бык с бронзовыми рогами и встал как раз позади бурхана.’  
 ‘Not long after that, a red-yellow bull with bronze horns skipping and stood exactly from behind the god.’
127. Гөөр олыры, арга чоқ, туң коьрһыньчығ.  
*гө-өр олыр-ы арга чоқ туң коьрһынь-чығ*  
 see-NPP sit-GER.IPFV way EXIST.NEG very horrible-ADJZ  
 ‘Смотрит, безвыходное положение, очень страшно.’  
 ‘He saw that this was not doable, it was very horrible.’
128. Бір көөргә, бар болып һубулывытқан.  
*бір кө-өр-гә бар бол-ып һубул-ывыт-қан*  
 one see-NPP-DAT tiger be-GER.ST ?<sup>38</sup>-PFV-REM  
 ‘Когда один раз посмотрел – превратился в тигра.’  
 ‘After he once looked, he changed into a tiger.’
129. Бийә лама гіріп олырған.  
*бийә лама гір-іп олыр-ған*  
 DEM.EMPH lama enter-GER.ST sit-REM  
 ‘Тот лама, войдя, сел.’  
 ‘That lama came in and sat down.’
130. Қылаш қынғаш көріп көөр дәғ болып туры.  
*қылаш қын-ғаш көр-іп кө-өр дәғ бол-ып тур-ы*  
 ?<sup>39</sup> ?<sup>40</sup>-GER.PFV see-GER.ST see-NPP as be-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Вроде как искоса смотрит.’  
 ‘He looks like a someone who squints.’

<sup>38</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>39</sup> Is compound with ?<sup>37</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Compound with ?<sup>36</sup>: ‘squint’

131. «Мал махыбыс ней хойғаш, ытыбыс алы чий қасқаш, аарыг-ааршық дэскиндіргәш бақшы, сіләр болғап хайыралап! Чү чаъсап кірәріл!», – дәән.  
*мал мах-ыбыс ней хой-ғаш ыт-ыбыс ал-ы чи-й*  
 cattle ?<sup>41</sup>-1PL.POSS empty be.scared-GER.PFV dog-1PL.POSS take-GER.IPFV eat-INCH  
*час-қаш аарыг.ааршық дэскин-дiр-гәш бақшы сі-ләр бол-ғап хайыралап*  
 discover-GER.PFV disease return-ASS-GER.PFV bakshy PRO:2-PL be-?<sup>42</sup> deign-GER.ST  
*чү чаъсап кір-әр-іл дә-ән*  
 what sort.out-GER.ST enter-NPP-PASS say-REM  
 ‘Говорят: «Наш скот впустую пугается, наша собака не может схватить, болезни возвращаются. Учитель, соизвольте это устранить! Что начать делать!»’  
 ‘They said: “Our cattle gets scared, our dogs take and start to eat, disease returns, bakshy, if you like, what do you think of that?”’
132. Ыньчаңғаш, хадақ туътқан.  
*ыньчаң-ғаш хадақ туът-қан*  
 do.like-GER.PFV khata hold-REM  
 ‘Потом вручили хадақ.’  
 ‘After doing so, he held the khata.’
133. Маа киши ламасы ыңғый хараар тушта, судырын оорылааш, хойынға салып тұры.  
*маа киши лама-сы ыңғый хара-ар тушта судырын оорыла-аш*  
 here person lama-3.POSS further watch-NPP during ?<sup>43</sup> steal-GER.PFV  
*хой-ы-н-ға сал-ып тур-ы*  
 sheep-3.POSS-LK-DAT lay-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Наш человек в тот момент, когда лама отвернулся, украв его сутру, сүёт её себе за пазуху.’  
 ‘At that moment, that person, the lama watched further during ? and laid down a sheep after he took it for himself.’
134. «Чү бучар азалығ аал сіләр!  
*чү бучар аза-лығ аал сі-ләр*  
 what dirty devil-ADJZ nomad.camp PRO:2-PL  
 ‘«Что вы за стойбище с дранным чёртом!»’  
 ‘“What kind of dirty devilish nomad camp are you!”’
135. Судырын Ханда дэпсәләм оорылай берді!», – дэп каъйһаан лама бақшы.  
*судырын Ханда дэпсәләм оорыла-й бер-дi дэ-п каъйһа-ан лама*  
 ?<sup>44</sup> Handa ?<sup>45</sup> steal-INCH AUX-REC say-GER.ST be.surprised-REM lama  
*бақшы*  
 bakshy  
 ‘Украли сутру «Ханда дэпсәләм!», – удивился учитель-лама.’  
 ‘Starting to steal a ?, the bakshy-lama was surprised and said: “Handa depselem!”’

<sup>41</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>42</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

<sup>43</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>44</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>45</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

136. Шалыы начыылас қынғаш, тұрып келгәш: «Ҷер суғ һөлліғ эр аза тұры.  
*шалыы начыыла-с қы-н-ғаш тұр-ып кел-гәш Ҷер суғ һөл-ліғ эр*  
 a.bit relax-? do-PASS-GER.PFV stand-GER.ST come-GER.PFV place water lake-ADJZ male
- аза тұр-ы*  
 devil start-PRS  
 ‘Немного отдохнув, встал и сказал, придя: «Есть чёрт, владеющий землей, реками и озёрами.’  
 ‘After resting a bit, he stood up and said, while coming: There is the male devil of earth, water and lakes.’
137. Қуу аът баъшының сөөгі тып келіңер!  
*қуу аът баъш-ы-ның сөөг-і ты-п кел-іңер*  
 grey horse head-3.POSS-GEN bone-3.POSS find-GER.ST come-IMP.2PL  
 ‘Найдите череп серой лошади!’  
 ‘Come and find the grey horse skull!’
138. Сігән чулып келіңер!  
*сігән чул-ып кел-іңер*  
 grass pull.out-GER.ST come-IMP.2PL  
 ‘Нарвите травы!’  
 ‘Come and pull out grass!’
139. Һой дүгү білә сігән киши қыл!», – дэән.  
*Һой дүг-ү білә сігән киши қыл дэ-ән*  
 sheep wool-3.POSS with grass person do.IMP say-REM  
 ‘Из овечьей шерсти и травы сделайте человека!’  
 ‘“Make a person from the wool of the sheep and the grass” – he said.’
140. Киши тұътқаш, һой дүгү білә ораағаш оорап тұры.  
*киши тұът-қаш һой дүг-ү білә ораа-ғаш оора-п тұр-ы*  
 person hold-GER.PFV sheep wool-3.POSS with wrap.around-GER.PFV ?<sup>46</sup>-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Сделав человека, обернули овечьей шерстью.’  
 ‘He made a human, the wool of sheep wrapped around.’

<sup>46</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.



141. Чөһрәә билә эзерлиғ қылғш, қызыл һүрән будық билә куу аът баъшының сөөгін будааш, көк торға билә кишині доннааш, мындыра салғаш, буърһан мурныңа салғаш, бийә лама:  
*чөһрәә билә эзер-лиғ қылғш<sup>47</sup> қызыл һүрән будық билә куу аът*  
 bark with saddle-ADJZ red brown color with grey horse
- баъш-ы-ның сөөг-і-н буда-аш көк торға билә киши-ні*  
 head-3.POSS-GEN bone-3.POSS-? confuse-GER.PFV grass silk with person-ACC
- дон-на-аш мындыр-а сал-ғаш буърһан мурн-ы-ңа сал-ғаш*  
 coat-VBLZ-GER.PFV permit-GER.IPFV lay-GER.PFV god in.front-3.POSS-LK.DAT lay-GER.PFV
- бийә лама*  
 DEM.EMPH lama
- ‘Сделав с седлом из листовенничной коры, покрасив красно-бурой краской череп серого коня, одев человека синим шёлком, посадив верхом, поставили перед бурханом.’  
 ‘After he put a grey, brown-red horse skull with a saddle made from bark together, that person put his silk and grass coat on and sitting down and that lama laid it down in front of the god.’
142. «Шаң һеңгірік билә сен һеңгіргә һап чыдаар сен?» – дәән.  
*шаң һеңгірік билә сен һеңгіргә һап чыдаар сен дә-ән*  
 timpani tambourine with PRO:2SG tambourine beat-GER.ST can-NPST 2SG say-REM
- ‘Тот лама сказал: «Сможешь бить в литавры и бубен?».’  
 ‘He said: “Can you beat the tambourine and the timpani?”’
143. «Чыдаар мен», – дәп чандыры соодавытқан.  
*чыдаар мен дә-п чан-дыр-ы соода-выт-қан*  
 can-NPST 1SG say-GER.ST return-CAUS-GER.IPFV talk-PFV-REM
- ‘Отвечил: «Смогу».’  
 ‘“I can” – he answered.’
144. Ыньчаңғаш бийә кишинің чүрәә дэльбә бары қасқаш, ақсындан үнә бері қасқаш, қорһыньчыды арға қоқ.  
*ыньчаң-ғаш бийә киши-нің чүрә-ә дэльбә бар-ы*  
 do.like-GER.PFV DEM.EMPH person-GEN heart-3.POSS break AUX-GER.IPFV
- қас-қаш ақ-сы-н-дан үн-ә бер-і қас-қаш*  
 wrap.around-GER.PFV valley-3.POSS-LK-ABL leave-INCH AUX-GER.IPFV wrap.around-GER.PFV
- қорһыньчы-ды арға қоқ*  
 fear.for.life-PP way EXIST.NEG
- ‘Потом ударяя литавры, колотя в бубен, совершает молебн. У того так сделавшего человека сердце чуть не разорвалось, чуть изо рта не выскочило. Страшно невозможно.’  
 ‘After he did so, the heart of that person broke, almost started to leave from his mouth and wounded up and he couldn’t fear more.’

<sup>47</sup> Туро: қы-л-ғаш do-PASS-GER.PFV

145. Чәшқан тарясы даш мөңдир болғаш, баъшын чаза қаъққаш, һанасындан чуурааш болыр йора чоқ болған.

*чәш-қан таря-сы даш мөңдир бол-ғаш баъш-ын чаза қаъқ-қаш*  
 ?<sup>48</sup>-PP crop-3.POSS stone city be-GER.PFV head-3.POSS.ACC ?<sup>49</sup> beat-GER.PFV

*һана-сы-н-дан чуура-аш бол-ыр йора чоқ бол-ған*  
 wall-3.POSS-LK-ABL grab-GER.PFV be-NPP bad.omen EXIST.NEG be-REM

‘Посеянное зерно превратилось в каменный град, голову разбил вдребезги, не стало дурной приметы, высыпавшейся из его стены.’

‘? to the stone city, his head was crushed and grabbed from the wall, this was not a bad omen.’

146. Үнә чүгіріп гөргәнін бурнында эчик ақсында аълтын қааһай чүгәнниг қызыл һүрән аът, қызыл аълтын қааһай гөлмәлиг аът туътқан туң қааһай қараш қыс киши: «Дээк түргән мын!

*үн-ә чүгір-ип гөр-гән-ин бурн-ы-н-да эчик*  
 leave-GER.IPFV run-GER.ST see-PP-3.POSS.ACC in.front-3.POSS-LK-LOC door

*ақ-сы-н-да аълт-ын қааһай чүгән-ниг қызыл һүрән аът*  
 white-3.POSS-LK-LOC down-3.POSS.ACC beautiful bridle-ADJZ red brown horse

*қызыл аълт-ын қааһай гөлмә-лиг аът туът-қан туң қааһай*  
 red down-3.POSS.ACC beautiful saddlecloth-ADJZ horse hold-PP very beautiful

*қараш қыс киши дәэк түр-гән мын*  
 nice girl person fast stand-REM sit.down.IMP

‘Попробовал выбежать – впереди у двери очень красивая славная девушка, державшая красно-бурого коня с золотой красивой уздой, коня с красным золотым чепраком, говорит: «Быстро садись верхом!’

‘Trying to run and leave, in front at the bottom of the white door a very beautiful girl held a red-brown horse with a beautiful red-brown saddlecloth and beautiful bridles: “Sit down quickly!”’

147. Иъһәән чораалы!», – дәән.

*иъһә-ән чора-ал-ы дә-ән*  
 two-COL go-PASS?<sup>50</sup>-PRS say-REM

‘Поедем вдвоём!’

“‘Let’s go both together!’ – she said.’

148. Дээк мына һалааш, иъһәән ушқашқаш чорып туры.

*дәэк мына һала-аш иъһә-ән ушқаш-қаш чор-ып тур-ы*  
 fast down ?<sup>51</sup>-GER.PFV two-COL ride.horse-GER.PFV go-GER.ST stand-PRS

‘Быстро запрыгнул верхом, едут вдвоём на одном коне.’

‘After he quickly jumped down, they rode together on one horse.’

<sup>48</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

<sup>49</sup> Compound with *қаъқ-*: ‘to crush’.

<sup>50</sup> I am not sure whether this is a passive. It could also denote an undescribed hortative, which is reflected in both the Russian and English translation.

<sup>51</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.

149. Ардыңа гөөргә, иъһи қызыл һайа һавсараар дәәш турар келі чыътыры.  
*ард-ы-ңа гө-өр-гә иъһи қызыл һайа һавсара-ар дә-әш*  
 back-3.POSS-LK.DAT see-NPP-DAT two red rock annex.to-NPP say-GER.PFV  
*тур-ар кел-і чыътыры*  
 stand-NPP go-GER.IPFV CONJ  
 ‘Когда посмотрел назад, то две красные скалы сближаются, чтобы сомкнуться.’  
 ‘When he looked back, two red rocks were added and came closer, so to say.’
150. Иъһәән ушқашқаш, қымшылап шап олырып туры.  
*иъһә-ән ушқаш-қаш қымшы-ла-п ша-п олыр-ып тур-ы*  
 two-COL ride.horse<sup>52</sup>-GER.PFV whip-VBLZ-GER.ST beat-GER.ST sit-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Едут вдвоём, сидят, нахлестывают.’  
 ‘They rode the horse, sat and beat it with a whip.’
151. Бір цергә түшкән.  
*бір цер-гә түш-кән*  
 one place-DAT fall-REM  
 ‘В одном месте спешились.’  
 ‘They got off to one place.’
152. Чаътқаш, удый бергәш, одынға, гөргән.  
*чаът-қаш уды-й бер-гәш од-ы-н-ға гөр-гән*  
 lie-GER.PFV sleep-INCH AUX-GER.PFV sleep-3.POSS-LK-DAT see-REM  
 ‘Постелив, заснул, проснувшись, посмотрел.’  
 ‘He saw [them] lie down, sleep and starting oversleping.’
153. Бийә қааһай аът киши иъһи чоқ болып туры.  
*бийә қааһай аът киши иъһи чоқ бол-ып тур-ы*  
 DEM.EMPH beautiful horse person two EXIST.NEG be-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Тот самый красивый конь и человек исчезли.’  
 ‘That very beautiful horse and person disappeared.’
154. һүрән қызыл будаан қығлһы баъшының сөөгі болып туры.  
*һүрән қызыл буда-ан қығлһы баъш-ы-н-ың сөөг-і бол-ып*  
 brown red decorate-PP herd head-3.POSS-LK-GEN bone-3.POSS be-GER.ST  
*тур-ы*  
 stand-PRS  
 ‘Лошадь, покрашенная красно-бурим цветом, превратилась в череп.’  
 ‘The red-brown decorated horse [from a herd] became a skull.’
155. Бийә қааһай киши қайы барды дәәш көргән – чоқ болған.  
*бийә қааһай киши қайы бар-ды дә-әш көр-гән чоқ бол-ған*  
 DEM.EMPH beautiful person where go-RPP say-GER.PFV see-REM EXIST.NEG be-REM  
 ‘Куда делся тот красивый человек? Смотрит – исчез.’  
 ‘Saying: ‘Whereto did that very beautiful person go?’, it was visibly different.’

<sup>52</sup> Two people on one horse.

156. Удып соғырарып чаътқаш, осқынған туры.  
*уды-п соғыр-ар-ып чаът-қаш осқын-ған тур-ы*  
 sleep-GER.ST blind-VBLZ-GER.ST lie-GER.PFV lose-PP stand-PRS  
 ‘То, что лежал и во сне ослеп, утратилось.’  
 ‘It lost when it lied down and fell deeply asleep.’
157. Унуун гөргән – гөк торға доннып қылған, чазып көргән – дүк білә орааған сігән киши болып туры.  
*ун-уун гөр-гән гөк торға дон-ны-п қы-л-ған чаз-ып көр-гән*  
 MED-ABL see-PP grass silk coat-VBLZ-GER.ST do-PASS-PP cover-GER.ST see-REM  
  
*дүк білә ораа-ған сігән киши бол-ып тур-ы*  
 wool with wrap.around-PP grass person be-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘После этого посмотрел – сделанный с одеждой из синего шёлка, развернувшийся – стал травяным человеком, обмотанным шерстью.’  
 ‘After he saw that, – wearing a coat made from green silk – he saw that the grass person was wrapped around with wool.’
158. Унуун кулаштап чораан.  
*ун-уун кулаш-та-п чора-ан*  
 MED-ABL step-VBLZ-GER.ST go-REM  
 ‘Потом пошагал.’  
 ‘After that, he walked [away].’
159. Гөргән та дәғ цер болған.  
*гөр-гән та дәғ цер бол-ған*  
 see-PP PTCL as place be-REM  
 ‘Вроде бы виданная местность.’  
 ‘That place was still visible.’
160. Бийәдә бодының оран чуърты та һептіг болған.  
*бийә-дә бод-ы-н-ың оран чуърт-ы та һептіг бол-ған*  
 DEM.EMPH-LOC self-3.POSS-LK-GEN land camp-3.POSS PTCL seems be-REM  
 ‘Вот тут, кажется, своя страна.’  
 ‘That seemed to be his very own territory of the camp.’
161. Қулаштап чораан.  
*қулаш-та-п чора-ан*  
 step-VBLZ-GER.ST go-REM  
 ‘Шагает дальше.’  
 ‘They walked on.’
162. Аал көстіп турған.  
*аал көс-т-іп тур-ған*  
 nomad.camp see-CAUS-GER.ST stand-REM  
 ‘Показалось стойбище.’  
 ‘It looked like a nomad camp.’

163. Ол аалға болған.  
*ол аал-ға бол-ған*  
 PRO:3SG nomad.camp-DAT be-REM  
 ‘Он пошёл к стойбищу.’  
 ‘He went to the nomad camp.’
164. Иъһи урыҕ чүгиршип келгәш: «Ачавыс келді!», дішкәш, кірә чүгиршә бергән.  
*иъһи урыҕ чүгир-ши-п кел-гәш ача-выс кел-ді ді-ш-кәш*  
 two child run-ITER-GER.ST come-GER.PFV daddy-1PL.POSS come-REC say-ITER-GER.PFV  
  
*кір-ә чүгир-шә бер-гән*  
 enter-GER.IPFV run-?<sup>53</sup> AUX-REM  
 ‘Подбежали двое детей: «Наш папа пришёл!».’  
 ‘Two children came running: “Our daddy came!”, – they said, running while entering.’
165. «Чаа, қайыын?  
*чаа қайы-ын*  
 INTJ which-ABL  
 ‘«Ладно, откуда?»’  
 ‘“Well, from where?”’
166. Үш чыл болған киши.  
*үш чыл бол-ған киши*  
 three year be-REM person  
 ‘Три года прошло.’  
 ‘“It<sup>54</sup> was three years ago.”’
167. Атаңар қайыын діриҕ болырыл?  
*ат-аңар қайы-ын діриҕ бол-ыр-ыл*  
 father-2PL.POSS which-ABL alive be-NPP-PASS  
 ‘Ваш папа откуда жив будет?’  
 ‘“How did your father became alive?”’
168. хоорашпийн турыңар!».  
*хоор-аш-пийн тур-ыңар*  
 deceive-RECP-NEG.GER.ST stand-IMP.2PL  
 ‘Не обманывайте!».’  
 ‘“Do not deceive!”’
169. Ыньчаңғаш чаңчаан: «Шын! Шын! Кіріп келіп тұры», – дічип.  
*ыньчаң-ғаш чаңча-ан шын шын кір-іп кел-іп тур-ы ді-ч-ип*  
 do.like-GER.PFV scold-REM truth truth enter-GER.ST come-GER.ST stand-PRS say-?<sup>55</sup>-GER.ST  
 ‘Тогда заругались: «Правда! Правда! Вот заходит».’  
 ‘After he did so, they scolded: “Truth! truth! Come and come inside.”, – they said.’

<sup>53</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

<sup>54</sup> The person.

<sup>55</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

170. Шын болған.  
*шын бол-ған*  
 truth be-REM  
 ‘Взаправду было.’  
 ‘It was the truth.’
171. «Бо ээрткэн шағда, үш чыл шаанда чү чаъсаан сен?  
*бо ээрт-кэн шағ-да үш чыл ша-а-н-да чү чаъса-ан сен*  
 PROX pass.by-PP time-LOC three year time-3.POSS-LK-LOC what fix-REM 2SG  
 ‘«За это прошедшее время, за три года, что ты делал?’  
 ‘What did you do in that time, those three years, that passed by?’
172. Арғаша сооданып бернаан, қандығ оран чуърт чеътіп чорыдыңыл?» – дээн.  
*арға-ша<sup>56</sup> соода-н-ып бер-на-ан қандығ оран чуърт чеът-іп*  
 way-? talk-REFL-GER.ST AUX-?<sup>57</sup>-PP which land camp reach-GER.ST  
  
*чоры-ды-ң-ыл дэ-эн*  
 go-REC-REFL-PASS say-REM  
 ‘По возможности расскажи, какие страны посетил?» – спросили.’  
 ‘“Is there a possibility to tell [us] which territories did you visit?” – they asked.’

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<sup>56</sup> Could be a variety of the dative case, but then it is unclear how this suits the Soyot clause and the translation.

<sup>57</sup> Not found in the grammar, nor in grammars of related languages.

173. «Қара шуурғанда асқаш, долғандыры караңһы түннә дәф болған, һуй түрған, олғыды ғиргәш, дүп чоқ, чумчақ чимә караңһында, түъшә бергәш, қақырықтығ та дәф, дүктіг та дәф караңһы чергә учир та билдирбәс, ол чмиәдән чип турымда, от қаъққаш чаһһылған үнәр дәф болғаш, бір лә гәрбәән орангыды чории барғаш, мыньчап чеътi бергән мен ол.

қара шуур-ған-да ас-қаш долған-дыр-ы караңһы түн-нә дәф бол-ған  
black seethe-PP-LOC get.lost-GER.PFV return-ASS-GER.IPFV darkness night-? as be-PP

һуй түр-ған ол-гыды ғир-гәш дүп чоқ чумчақ чимә  
cave stand-PP DIST-ALL enter-GER.PFV bottom EXIST.NEG soft what

караңһ-ы-н-да түъш-ә бер-гәш қақырық-тығ та дәф  
darkness-3.POSS-LK-LOC fall.down-GER.IPFV AUX-GER.PFV surprise-ADJZ PTCL as

дүк-тиг та дәф караңһы чер-гә учир та бил-дир-бәс ол  
wool-ADJZ PTCL as darkness place-DAT reason PTCL know-CAUS-NEG.NPP DIST

чимә-дән чи-п түр-ым-да от қаъқ-қаш чаһһылған үн-әр дәф  
thing-ABL eat-GER.ST game-1SG-LOC fire beat-GER.PFV lightning leave-NPP as

бол-ғаш бір лә гәр-бә-ән оран-гыды чори-и бар-ғаш мыньча-п  
be-GER.PFV one PTCL see-NEG-PP land-ALL go-GER.IPFV be-GER.PFV do.like-GER.ST

чеът-і бер-гән мен ол  
reach-INCH AUX-REM 1SG DIST

‘«Заблудился в чёрной вьюге, вокруг было темно, как ночью, была пещера, в которую попал, без дна, в темноте что-то мягкое, свалился, вроде как удивительное, вроде как волосатое, в тёмном месте причину не разобрать, когда ел от той вещи, ударил огонь, словно молния сверкнула, попал в невиданную страну, вот так это было.’

‘After I got lost in a snowstorm, a darkness as [dark as] the night returned. There was cave, which I entered. There was no bottom. Something soft fell down in the darkness, like wool, surprisingly, as there was no reason known for that dark place. I ate something from that thing. After a fire at my game was put out and the thunder rolled away, I visited a land never seen. That’s it.’

174. Ыньчааш бір чеъшә ай ла эърткән», – дәән, – «Бір чердән һуй ақсында боо саадам аъртгырып қаған мен дәп сақты дуры мен.

ыньча-аш бір чеъшә ай ла эърт-кән дә-ән бір чер-дән һуй  
do.like-GER.PFV one how.much moon INTJ pass.by-PP say-REM one place-ABL cave

ақ-сы-н-да боо саада-ам аърт-гыр-ып қағ-ан  
white-3.POSS-LK-LOC gun ammunition.belt-1SG.POSS remain-CAUS-GER.ST put-PP

мен дә-п сақ-ты дур-ы мен  
PRO:1SG say-GER.ST remember-RPP appear-PRS 1SG

‘Так прошло несколько месяцев», – рассказал он, – «В одном месте возле входа в пещеру, помню, оставил ружьё и пояс с зарядами.’

“‘After a few months passed by”, he said, “At a place in the white cave, I put my gun and ammunition belt down and left them behind, I remember.””

175. Барып тыгптыр болыр ба?

бар-ып тыгп-тыр бол-ыр ба  
leave-GER.ST find-ASS be-NPST Q

‘Возможно пойти и найти?’

“‘Is it possible to go and find [it]?’”

176. Қандығ чердә чимә эргән ләм?».  
*қандығ чер-дә чимә эргән ләм*  
 which place-LOC thing INTJ ?<sup>58</sup>  
 ‘В каком же месте это было?’  
 ‘“In which place was this thing?”’
177. Бедіріп чорааш, маа гіргән хуйын тығпқан.  
*бедіріп чора-аш маа гір-гән хуй-ын тығп-қан*  
 stand.in.line-GER.ST go-GER.PFV here enter-PP cave-3.POSS.ACC find-REM  
 ‘Цепью прошли, нашли эту пещеру.’  
 ‘They went in a row and here they found the cave that [the hunter] entered.’
178. Боо саадаа тұрған.  
*боо саада-а тұр-ған*  
 gun ammunition.belt-3.POSS stand-REM  
 ‘Были ружьё и пояс с зарядами.’  
 ‘[There] were the gun and ammunition belt.’
179. Қызыл цевірәй бергәнің тып алып тұры.  
*қызыл цевірәй бер-гән-ің тып-п ал-ып тұр-ы*  
 red rust AUX-PP-GEN find-GER.ST take-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Нашли красное от ржавчины.’  
 ‘They found [something that] had become red by rust and took [it].’
180. Бийә киши бодының аалыңа урығ-дарыңа гелгәш, дөртәән болғаш амитан болғаш, амыр чааһай чарғай олырып тұры.  
*бийә киши бод-ы-н-ың аал-ы-ңа урығ.дары-ы-ңа*  
 DEM.EMPH person self-3.POSS-LK-GEN nomad.camp-3.POSS-LK.DAT family-3.POSS-LK.DAT  
  
*гел-гәш дөрт-әән бол-ғаш амитан бол-ғаш амыр чааһай*  
 come-GER.PFV four-COL be-GER.PFV living.creature be-GER.PFV calm beautiful  
  
*чарға-й олыр-ып тұр-ы*  
 enjoy-GER.IPFV sit-GER.ST stand-PRS  
 ‘Тот человек пришёл в своё стойбище, к своим детям, став вчетвером, живут спокойно и счастливо.’  
 ‘This person went to his own nomad camp and family of four, living a quiet and beautiful, happy [life].’

<sup>58</sup> Not found in the dictionary, nor in dictionaries of related languages.



181. Бо чернің киши һуй иъштіндә ичип чаътқан луу қырына тұшкәш, ұстүү типтә, тип солий бергәш, аза болып турған.

*бо чер-нің киши һуй иъшт-и-н-дә ич-ип чаът-қан*  
 PROX place-GEN person cave inside-3.POSS-LK-LOC ashamed.of-GER.ST lie-PP

*луу қыр-ы-на тұш-кәш ұстү-ү тип-тә тип*  
 dragon on-3.POSS-LK.DAT climb.down-GER.PFV top-3.POSS continent-LOC continent

*соли-й бер-гәш аза бол-ып тур-ған*  
 change-INCH AUX-GER.PFV devil be-GER.ST stand-REM

‘Человек этой земли, упав на дракона, лежавшего от стыда в пещере, в верхнем мире, поменяв мир, превратился в чёрта.’

‘After the person of that place fell down inside the cave on a dragon that lied down there being ashamed, on the upper level, the level started to change and [it] became a devil.’

182. Ұстүү тип оранның киши көрбәс турған.

*ұстү-ү тип оран-ның киши көр-бәс тур-ған*  
 top-3.POSS continent land-GEN person see-NEG.NPP stand-REM

‘Человек страны верхнего мира не видел.’

‘The person didn’t see the upper level of th[at] land.’

183. Беърт ламасы даъһый бо ораныңа сүріп чорыды ытқан.

*беърт лама-сы даъһый бо оран-ы-ңа сүр-іп чоры-ды ыт-қан*  
 heavy lama-3.POSS again PROX land-3.POSS-LK.DAT drive-GER.ST go-RPP send-REM

‘Умелый лама опять отправил его в эту страну.’

‘His heavy lama send [him] again driving to that land.’

184. Куу аът баъшының сөөгі білә һоорааш, сігән білә киши кылғаш, бо орангыды беърт лама аза дәп сүріп чандыры ытқан, ол киши бо черинә тұшып келгән.

*куу аът баъш-ы-н-ың сөөг-і білә һоора-аш сігән білә киши*  
 pale horse head-3.POSS-LK-GEN bone-3.POSS with deceive-GER-PFV grass with person

*кы-л-ғаш бо оран-гыды беърт лама аза дә-п сүр-іп*  
 do-PASS-GER.PFV PROX land-ALL heavy lama devil say-GER.ST drive-GER.ST

*чан-дыр-ы ыт-қан ол киши бо чер-и-нә тұш-ип*  
 return-CAUS-GER.IPFV send-PP DIST person PROX place-3.POSS-LK.DAT climb.down-GER.ST

*кел-гән*  
 come-REM

‘Обманув черепом серого коня, сделав человека из травы, умелый лама, поняв, что это чёрт, отправил его обратно, тот человек опять упал на эту землю.’

‘Deceiving the pale horse with the skull and the person made from grass, the heavy lama spoke to the devil driving him away, sending that person back to that place where he fell down.’