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A Tuvan Hero Tale,
with Commentary, Morphemic Analysis, and Translation

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INTRODUCTION

Tuvan is a Turkic language spoken by both nomadic and sedentary populations in South Siberia, Western Mongolia, and the People’s Republic of China. The Tuvan epic tale represents a living but endangered oral genre of considerable antiquity. In the example tale presented here, the heroine, a girl named Bora-Seelei, must conceal her sex, assume her dead brother’s identity, and embark on a difficult quest with the ultimate goal of restoring her brother (Boktu-Kirii) to life. She sets out, armed only with her own wits, her magical powers, a bow and arrows, and clever talking horse. In the course of the tale, she overcomes challenges and works feats of deception, prowess, and magic needed to bring about the happy ending. The text presented here is a phonemic transcription, with annotation and translation, of a short version of the tale told in 1998 by a prominent Tuvan storyteller, Mr. Šojdak-ool Xapilakovič Xovalig (born 1929). The tale and accompanying analysis afford insights into Tuvan grammatical structures, performativity, oral genres, and the culture of Inner Asian nomads. It is prefaced with a commentary describing the cultural context of epic tales, the social context of this endangered genre, and structural (linguistic) aspects of the tale itself. A video recording to accompany this article may be downloaded at http://tuvan.swarthmore.edu. The video shows the tale told in its natural setting at a nomadic camp, to a Tuvan audience, with domestic animals and ambient sounds.1

TUUVAN MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

Tuvans are linguistically a Turkic people (Castrén 1857, Katanov 1903, Menges 1955), residing in what is considered to be the ancient Siberian homeland of the Turks, the Altai mountain region extending across South Siberia and Western Mongolia. According to a 1989 census (cited in Mongus 1996), there are over 198,000 Tuvans in the titular republic, and a few thousand more outside its borders, including some just to the north in the Krasnoyarsk district, several thousand in Western Mongolia, and a few hundred in Xinjiang, China. Though Tuvans have been traditionally transhumant pastoralists and hunters, most are now sedentary, residing in villages and towns. It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the

None of this work would have been possible without the talent and generosity of the storyteller, Mr. Šojdak-ool Xovalig, to whom I am deeply grateful. This tale was recorded in August 1998 in the course of fieldwork funded by IREX. Subsequent field expeditions in 2000–2004 were funded by a grant from VolkswagenStiftung. Initial transcription was done by Mr. Muslim Doržu and Mr. Alexander Ondar; the latter also assisted with translation. The author thanks Stephanie Jamison for her editorial oversight, two anonymous JAOS reviewers for their instructive and detailed comments, Tuva experts Dr. Gregory D. S. Anderson, Dr. Theodore Levin, and Stefan Kamola for assessing drafts, and Robbie Hart and Luke Smith for editing final copy. Students in my “Structure of Tuvan” seminar at Swarthmore College in the spring of 2005 contributed many helpful comments. Any mistakes rest with the author.

1. Recorded in August 1998 near Argyg-Uzüü village in central Tuva, on Hi8 digital videotape and DAT audio tape, assisted by Mr. Afanassij Myldyk. The materials shown here and in the video file should be regarded as the intellectual and cultural property of the storyteller and the Tuvan people.

numbers of Tuvans who still live as nomads, but knowledgeable estimates put that number at approximately one-quarter of the current Tuvan population, perhaps under 70,000 people. Nomadic Tuvans migrate with their animals four to five times a year to long-established seasonal campsites. A typical nomadic camp (aal) will have from two to five yurts housing from two to eight people, usually all members of an extended kin group. Yurt camps vary in composition and membership depending on the season, location, resources, and other factors. The basic dwelling is the yurt (öğ), made of a collapsible wooden lattice frame covered with a thick layer of handmade felt. Tuvan nomads herd (subject to local conditions) domesticated yaks, cows (or yak-cow hybrids), camels, horses, sheep, and goats. Hunting of birds, marmots, bears, wild pig, wild deer, squirrels, and mountain goats supplements their diet and provides fur. Traditional technologies central to nomadic life include the processing of milk products, production of leather and felt, blacksmithing, making of wooden household implements, sewing, hunting, and animal domestication (Vainshtein 1980). The nomads’ material culture and transhumant, pastoralist life figure prominently in this and all Tuvan stories.

Spiritual culture also figures prominently in Tuvan oral tradition. Tuvans are animists who believe in the presence of local or “earth” spirits (čër eeezi) residing in significant topographical features (e.g., springs, mountain passes, caves) and animals (especially the bear). The Tuvan cosmology also includes a large number of supernatural beings (demons, devils) inhabiting the lower world and a similar number in the upper world or “nine heavens” (tos deer). Inspirational practitioners known as xam (“shamans”) were and remain a traditional accompaniment (though not an essential element) to the practice of animism. Tuvans are also, since the seventeenth century, Lamaist Buddhists, and they have long practiced Buddhism and animism in parallel and to a significant degree in syncretism (Mongus 1994). It is the pre-Buddhist Tuvan animist cosmology that appears in epic tales. In fact, such tales, along with shamans’ songs (Kenin-Lopsan 1994) and other sacred texts, provide the primary source for knowledge about this belief system.

**THE TUVAN EPIC TALE**

Storytelling was once a profession in Tuva, as well as an avocation practiced by both men and women living as nomadic herders. An itinerant storyteller (tooldžu) might visit a nomadic encampment for an extended period, telling a single epic story in installments over a succession of evenings. A story would typically begin at evening teatime, after the day’s major outdoor chores had been completed and the animals were in the stockade. With the opening words sijaan am, formulaic speech roughly translatable as “once upon a time,” a story would begin. Listeners might from time to time call out sijaan, intended to urge on the teller in his or her performance. Many older Tuvans, when interviewed, could recall storytelling sessions from their childhood that would extend late into the night and continue for several evenings. A tale could be accompanied by playing the igil, a bowed horse-head fiddle made of wood, or bizaanči, a bowed two-stringed instrument with a skin-covered resonator, but instrumental accompaniment was not essential.

The tale presented here, *Boktu-Kiriš Bora-Šeelei*, is a hero tale (Grebev 1960), the continuation of an ancient oral tradition. The Turkic epic tale has survived as a living, spoken genre in a number of Turkic daughter languages (Chadwick and Zhirmunsky 1969, Reichl 1992, Shoolbraid 1997). The most celebrated of these is the Kyrgyz epic *Manas*, said to comprise over half a million lines. A number of motifs common to folktales the world over appear in *Boktu-Kiriš*. These include the arming of the warrior; wrestling; disguised identity,
cross-dressing, and gender play; a talking horse that gives advice; magical objects (e.g., a ring); magical powers (e.g., divination, shape-changing ability); successions of three (e.g., competitions, beasts, circumambulations); the use of a cave as a hiding place; animals symbolizing specific traits (e.g., hare = swiftness), and use of symbolic numbers (e.g., three, four, nine). Other motifs more specific to the Tuvan context include references to animal organs (e.g., fat, liver, intestines); the “taiga” (mountain forest); Tuvan-style wrestling; images of meat piled high to denote abundance; a metaphor of the future as being located behind and the past out in front; frequent reference to cardinal directions.

The Tuvan epic tale, called a tale, has two recognized subgenres: maadirlig tale, ‘hero tale’, and simply tale (all other types) (Orus-oool 1997). The longest Tuvan epic tale in print is a version of Boktu-Kirisl in Tuvan numbering 9,654 lines and consisting of portions told by various storytellers edited into a single, amalgamated tale (Orus-oool 1995). A shorter version numbering 5,060 lines with parallel free translation into Russian was published in 1997 by the Russian Academy of Sciences (Orus-oool 1997). Though a few Tuvan texts have been translated into Russian (Taube 1994, Orus-oool 1997), German (Taube 1978, 1980), and English (Kenin-Lopsan 1997), no Tuvan epic tale has been translated into English. Linguists have been audio-recording Tuvan oral genres since at least 1962 (Orus-oool 1997). Recordings from the 1960s and later are effectively unavailable, existing only on reel-to-reel and other legacy format tapes in the archives of the Tuvan Institute for Humanitarian Researches (TIGI) located in Tuva’s capital city of Kyzyl. Making new recordings in digital video should be an urgent priority, given the perilous status of the genre.

Tuvan epic storytelling is now a seriously endangered genre. In expeditions undertaken in Tuvan and Mongolia in 1995, 1998, 2000, and 2003, the author found no competent storytellers under the age of forty-five. By contrast, it is still easy to locate speakers of all ages who can recite some other oral genres including praise songs (maktal), blessing songs (joreel), tongue-twisters (durgen cugaa), shamanic chants (algiš), stories (cugaa), metered verse (šilük), Buddhist prayers (morgül), songs (ir), aphorisms (üleger sös), and riddles (tivizik). There are hopeful signs, however, that within some families the epic tradition is indeed being passed on. In western Mongolia in 2000, the author recorded a female storyteller, age fifty-two, whose nineteen-year-old son sat next to her and lip-synched many of her lines as she told the story, but would not himself consent to tell a story solo. The demise of epic storytelling can be attributed to many factors. Among these are the invasion of pop culture, which diminishes the attraction of oral tales, the decrease in the nomadic lifestyle which is the most natural setting for tale-telling, and the advent of widespread literacy, which diminishes the perceived need to memorize long tales. Unlike “throat-singing,” the immensely popular Tuvan cultural export (Levin and Edgerton 1999, Levin and Süözükei 2006), epic storytelling has not yet attracted a foreign audience. Nor is it likely to, given its relative lack of theatrics and demanding linguistic complexity. Tuvan youth with talent are increasingly drawn exclusively to throat-singing and its promise of a lucrative stage career, leading to a neglect of epic genres. This neglect was most evident in a Tuva-wide story-telling competition held in 2003, in which master storyteller Shojoak-oool Xovalig took first prize in the epic genre category. He wistfully recounted that his reward was “twelve tea bowls and an empty thermos.” This modest prize may be compared to the horse and cash prize awarded in the biennial throat-singing competition and the new car awarded annually to the best Tuvan wrestler. Professional throat-singers with whom the author discussed the status and lack of support for the epic tale genre expressed little desire to learn it personally or incorporate it into their repertoires. Nor is there any obvious reason why they should. Throat-singing does not seem to have been a necessary part of tale-telling, which requires only minimal,
recitative-style singing. Though a few talented individuals might have done both, they are largely separate avocations. One genre now thrives while the other withers away.

LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES

Tuvan syntax follows SOV order and is characterized by pro-drop and frequent use of auxiliary verbs. Morphologically, the language is almost exclusively suffixing, and has agglutinating morphemes. In the transcription presented here morpheme boundaries are marked by hyphens in both the first tier (phonemic transcription) and second tier (morpho-syntactic tagging). Abbreviations for morpho-syntactic tags are given at the end of the article. Tagging conventions largely follow those used in a recent grammar of Tuvan (Anderson and Harrison 1999). For a fuller discussion of Tuvan grammar, I refer the reader to that work. Here, I shall merely point out those linguistic devices that most directly serve the epic storytelling style. These include the following:

(i) frequent use of emphatic/focus enclitic =daa ~ =taa (line 37), and emphatic/focus suffix -la ~ -na ~ -le ~ -ne (lines 38, 40).
(ii) reference to antagonists using full names plus kinship terms, which appear in 3sg possessed form, e.g., ‘his younger sister’, ‘her elder brother’ (lines 29, 33).
(iii) a special ameliorative register that palatalizes word-final consonants (lines 201, 213).
(iv) alliteration of first words in successive or paired lines (lines 25, 26, 27 and lines 185, 186, 187 all begin with [k]). Longer stretches of text show mnemonic structure. For example, lines 242–53 consist of four sets of three lines, each beginning with a similar consonant (d d t / e e e / k x x / k k k). Within each triplet, an adverb appears as the first element, an animal name as the second, and a body-part as third or successive: ‘very’ / ‘kite’ (birdname) / ‘head’; ‘very’ / ‘eagle’ / ‘shoulder’; ‘very’ / ‘hare’ / ‘... tailbone’, etc.
(v) emphatic prefixing reduplication (line 49).
(vi) special narrative past form, constructed by adding to a verb root the same subject marker followed by the genitive case marker (lines 52, 58).
(vii) archaisms, including many compound forms (lines 27, 31).
(viii) special phrasing, prosody, and intonation (not described herein, but may be observed by viewing the video clip).
(ix) recitative-style singing (lines 6–62).
(x) a heptasyllabic line scansion (for reasons of space, scansion is omitted herein in favor of longer lines. Punctuation within the phonemic tier indicates phrasing).

With the exception of (viii) through (x), none of these features individually marks the narrative as an epic tale, but taken all together they unmistakably characterize the genre.

THE STORYTELLER AND THE SETTING

The version presented here was told in August 1998 by Mr. Šojdak-ool Xovalig (b. 1929), of the village of Arig-Uzüüi in central Tuva. By profession a combine driver on a collective farm, Mr. Xovalig recalls learning tales at a young age from his grandmother and others, and, as an adult, reciting them during his many hours driving combines in the wheat fields. He told stories throughout his adult life as an avocation, but reported in 2001 that finding an audience had become more and more difficult. By that time he was being invited just once or twice a year to tell stories at the village community center. He lamented that the size and
attention span of his audiences had dwindled with the popularity of television and “Jackie Chan” action films on video.

When this author first approached Mr. Xovalig in 1998 with the request to tell part of an epic tale, he immediately agreed. But he insisted he could tell it only in its proper setting with an audience, not simply sitting before a video camera in his small log house in the village. And so the next morning we set off to visit his relatives, nomadic horse herders, who were camped about ten miles outside the village. We arrived at their camp at about 7:00 A.M. and entered the yurt to find sleepy faces and inquisitive glances at Şojdak-ool’s announcement, “I’m going to tell a tale.” Within twenty minutes people had dressed and washed, morning chores had been partially done, and the horses let out of their stockades. To the dismay of the entire camp, one horse had disappeared during the night and was presumed stolen. That misfortune notwithstanding, tea bowls were set out and the entire extended family of eight persons, ranging in age from about seven to over eighty, assembled on the grass at the side of the yurt to hear the tale. Mr. Xovalig donned a traditional Tuvan robe and hat. Adults present assumed the traditional seated pose with one knee up, one leg folded under. The youngest family member, a seven-year-old girl was exhorted by the eldest, a man of over eighty, to “listen well!” and the tale began. The text below may be read to the accompaniment of the video file.

A TUVA HERO TALE: BOKTU-KIRIŠ BORA-ŞEELEI

1. A Tuvan people’s tale called Boktu-Kiriš Bora-Şeelei,
2. of which there are many different versions.
3. The briefest of these wonderfully interesting tales,
4. a short one, finished in just fifteen minutes,
5. I present to your attention. Once upon a time . . .

[Recitative style begins with line 6]
6. Once upon a time, in the very earliest morning of time, before the long, long ago,
7. at the end of the bad times, before the good times,
8. when the deer and doe, the wild elk stag and elk doe overflowed from their woods,

2. Literally, “with the good times at (over) the shoulder and the bad times at the head”; the future is interpreted as located physically behind a person, with the past out in front.

[Text in Tuvan script]

9. the mountain goat, the hare, and the grouse overflowed from their forests,

10. a rich, wonderful, and plentiful good time it was, so they say.

11. Once upon a time, (riding along) on a mixed-gait brown horse with black mane and tail,

12. named Ajan-Kula,

13. was splendid as gold, handsomely dressed (Boktu-Kiriş),

14. with his younger sister Bora-Seelei,

15. Boktu-Kiriş of the Sayin clan. He was going along, wasn’t he?

16. Once upon a time Boktu-Kiriş and Bora-Seelei,

17. these two siblings, had meat (piled) higher than their shoulders,

18. and livestock reaching higher than their heads.

19. In a southern land in a hollow on a hill they rounded up

20. the herd of gray horses.

21. In a forest on a northern slope

22. they rounded up the striped and spotted cows.

23. On a wide and even plain

3. öle-bula is a compound, which as a whole means ‘gray’. Compounds are shown in the phonemic tier herein as two elements separated by a tab-space, with a hyphen inserted before the second one. In Tuvan, one or both compounded works may lack independent lexical meaning.

4. The unit čüği denotes a herd of (about) forty horses.
they rounded up the brown and yellow camels.

At a cliff in a ravine they rounded up

their sheep and goats—they were as numerous as tumbleweeds and nearly didn’t fit into their pen.

Amazingly rich, wealthy, and hard-working

were the siblings, so they say.

He was a brave archer,

he could butcher wild animals, sharpen tools, do blacksmithing and carpentry.

Bora-Seelei his younger sister

herded the livestock, watched the cattle,

filled up the food and milk containers,

and could sew and make anything.

The siblings were extremely skilled, so they say.

Once upon a time, her elder brother Boktu-Kiriš

5. A kažaa is an animal pen or stockade. Depending on locally available resources, these may be made of split logs, woven branches, or stacked stones.

6. baj šīrak literally ‘rich strong’, meaning ‘very rich’.
9. went hunting on the forested mountain ridge,

39. went hunting on the forested mountain ridge,

40. and disappeared without a trace.

41. Bora-Seelei his younger sister

42. was a person who could read divining bones.

43. When she had laid out the divining bones, she saw (that)

44. her elder brother, on a northern slope named Arzaity in the Ala mountains,

45. had died.

46. And his horse Ajan-Kula stood crying at his side, so it seemed.

47. And so it was that his younger sister Bora-Seelei

48. was a shape changer.

49. She immediately changed into a hawk,

50. and flew to that place.

51. She began to speak with Ajan-Kula, his horse.

52. Ajan-Kula said:

53. “A poor horse like me, what could I do?

54. (I was) tracking animals, galloping along,

55. and I failed to notice a bear’s den.
When my two arms went into that hole and I suddenly fell down,

Boktu-Kiriš of the Sayin clan, my good master,

having fallen off me, broke his neck and died.

And that’s it,” said (the horse), crying, “that’s what happened.”

Bora-Seelei his younger sister

swallowed her bitterness about her elder brother,

and she sat and cried and cried.

But no matter how much she may have cried,

she understood that crying was of no use or help, so she made herself stop crying.

To find out how she could make her dead brother live again,

she began to lay out her divining bones.

she laid out the divining bones, she saw

if Bora-Seelei the younger sister

would become Boktu-Kiriš the elder brother,
er kiži bo-op xuul-up al-gaš-tiq
male person PROB-CV change.into-CV SBEN-SS-GEN
70. by changing into the man
čiğe songu čük-tü ežel-ej töre-en
straight north direction-ACC rule/occupy-CV be.born-PST
71. born to rule the lands directly to the north.
šan xaan-niž čaraš kiz-i
Š. X.-GEN beautiful girl-3
72. (And if he would take) the beautiful daughter of Šang Khan,
Angir-čečen aldın dangina-ni kadaj kil-d-ir
A-Ć golden princess-ACC wife do-CAUS-PF
73. the golden princess Angyr-Checken, as his wife
kudala-p ekke-er bol-za, ol-la aldın dangina
wed-CV bring-PF AUX-COND this-EMPH golden princess
74. and marry her, then that very same golden princess
boktu-kiriš-ti ölüm -čidim-den=daa kamgala-ar,
B-K-ACC death -demise-ADJ=EMPH protect-PF
75. would protect Boktu-Kiris, even from death.
ölü-p=daa ka-ar-ga dirgiz-i donma-p ekke-er,
die-CV=EMPH AUX-PF-DAT make.live-PF do.by.magic-CV bring-PF
76. And even if he had died, she would make him live again,
mindig kondzug ertem -šibi-liq dangina=dir dep
thus such knowledge -magic-ADJ princess=DEIC QUOT
77. because the princess possessed such strong magic.
šo -tölge körğüs-ken=dir.
divining -bones show-PST=DEIC
78. So the divining bones showed.
küzür bora-seelej kis detects-zi,
poor B-Š girl younger.sibling-3
79. Now poor Bora-Seelei his younger sister
xuul-up-ta kiži čuš bo-or,
change.shape-PERF-PF PN DISC PROB-PF
80. was a shape-changer.
boktu-kiriš aki-ži kil-d-ir xuul-up-la egele-en=dir.
B-K elder.brother-3 do-CAUS-PF change.into-CV-EMPH begin-PST=DEIC
81. She began to make her elder brother Boktu-Kiris by changing herself into him.
xuul-up xuul-up al-gaš,
change.into-CV change.into-CV SBEN-SS
82. After changing and changing,
köründžük-ke kör-dü-í n-gen köründžük-ke kör dön-er-ge
mirror-DAT look.at-PASS-PST mirror-DAT look.at-PF-DAT
83. she looked at herself in the mirror. When she looked at herself in the mirror,
kirbej kara sal-dig, čoon kara kežegi-lig,
short/thin black beard-ADJ thick black braid-ADJ
84. she had a thin black beard and a thick black braid of hair,
kadır xavak-tig, kalčan bas-tig, ajak=deg ala karaq-tig,
steep forehead-ADJ bald head-ADJ tea.bowl=like striped eye-ADJ
85. her forehead was steep, her head was shaved bald in front, and her eyes were striped and big as a tea-bowl.
altis subus aks-i=deg aązok ulug aas-tig,
devil demon mouth-3=like very large mouth-ADJ
86. Her mouth like a devil's was extremely large.
aki-zi kara olčaan, arn-i baž-i,
elder.brother-3 completely similar face-3 head-3
87. She was just like her brother, like his face and head,

mőček-mőček şiğan-nar-ľig
strong-RED muscle-PL-ADJ
88. and she had strong, strong muscles,

mőge şirak, ulug čaaqaj-i deerge
wrestler powerful big full.grown-3 POST
89. full-grown and big like a wrestler’s.

ana bir adig -maažalaj=deg, appar-gan=daa bol-za,
simply one bear -bear=like become-PST=EMPH COP-COND
90. She had become just like a bear, but nevertheless

kis kiți-niŋ sin-i-n kaasta-an,
girl person-GEN figure-3-ACC decorate-PST
91. she still had a girl’s figure,

čaja-an čaza-an iji emi-i xeever,
create-PST carve-PST two breast-3 same.as.before
92. created and carved out with two breasts.

baza aži-töl-dû čaja-ap božu-ur,
also offspring-offspring-9 -ACC be.fated-CV give.birth.to-PF
93. And she had something created to give birth to children,

aci-lig bujan-nig aļdı̊n ežik,
kind.heartedness-ADJ nobleness-ADJ golden door
94. a noble and kind golden door,

kis xindi-i baza xeever bo-op=tur eves=be
girl genitals-310 also as.before
95. she still had her woman’s genitals, the same as before, so it seemed.

am kandžal-zi-m-za ekki=l? dep
now do.thusly-COND-lSG-COND gOOd=DEIC QUOT
96. “Even though I’ve changed, what good is it?”

ajan-kula âd-in-dan ajtir-gan=dir.
A-K horse-3-ABL ask-PST=DEIC
97. she asked her horse Ajan-Kula.

ajan-kula âd-i mindža de-en=dir.
A-K horse-3 thus say-PST=DEIC
98. Her horse Ajan-Kula said:

sen ol iji emi-iğ-ni=daa, kis xindi-iğ-ni=daa
you these two breast-2-ACC=EMPH girl genitals-2-ACC=EMPH
99. “Those two breasts of yours and your girl’s genitals,

kandža-ar=daa ôsker-ti-p šida-vas sen,
do.thus-PF=EMPH change-CAUS-CV be.able-NEG\F you
100. you cannot change in any way.

indžal'ét=daa janzê=birü arga-lar-ni aźig-la-p tur-gaš-ting
nonetheless=EMPH different=QUAN methods-PL-ACC use-VPF-CV AUX-SS-GEN
101. However, by using various methods,

9. aži-töl (compound noun) ‘descendants, offspring’.
10. xindiük (noun) has multiple meanings: 1. navel, bellybutton, 2. genitals, 3. (archaic) crown, top of head, 4. (archaic) a round silver ornament woven into the hair braid of a woman or a bridegroom.
iji emi-in-ni=daa, kis xindi-in-ni=daa
two breasts-2-ACC=EMPH girl genitals-2-ACC=EMPH

even your two breasts and your woman’s genitals

kim-ga=daa körğüs-pei-jn,
who-DAT=EMPH show-NEG-1MOD

I will not let anyone see.

boktu-kiriş aki-ŋ bo-op, er kiţi bo-op
B-K elder.brother-2 PROB-CV male person PROB-CV

As your elder brother Boktu-Kiriş, as a man,

bügü-le mösörej-ler-ni až-ip ün-geš-tiŋ,
all-EMPH competition-PL-ACC go.over-CV go.out-SS-GEN

overcoming and winning all the competitions,

ciğe sonğu čük-tü ežel-ej töre-en
straight north direction-ACC rule/occupy-CV be.born-PST

born to rule in the lands directly to the north,

šan xaan-niŋ aldin čaraš kiţi
Š. X.-GEN golden beautiful girl-3

(taking) Šang Khan’s beautiful, golden daughter,

angır-čečen aldin daŋgina-ni
A-Č golden princess-ACC

Angyr-Chechen, the golden princess,

kadaj kil-di-r kudala-p ekkel-geš-tiŋ,
wife do-CAUS-PF wed-CV bring-SS-GEN

and bringing her as his wife to wed,

öl-gen aki-ŋ-ni dirgis-tir-ip a-p-t-ar arga-ŋ bar kiţi=dir sen.
die-PST brother-2-ACC enliven-CAUS-CV SBN-PERF-PF method-2 COP person=DEIC you

you are the person who’s able to bring your dead brother back to life.

dürgen-ne aki-ŋ-niŋ idik -xev-i-n kettin-ivit,
quickly-EMPH elder.brother-2-GEN shoe -clothes-3-ACC put.on.clothing-PERFIMP

Hurry up now, put on the shoes and the clothes of your elder brother,

čora-p-taali,
go-PERF-DUALIMP

and let’s go, the two of us.

oon baška inda ada-an mösörej egele-er dep bar-də.
or else there call-PST competition begin-PF quot cop-rec.pst

For the announced competition is just about to begin.

xamik kādee-ler, deerge,
all suitor-PL POST

As for all the suitors,

ciğ-t-l-ip kel-gen, margi-ž-ip tur-lar, dep
gather-PASS-CV come-PST compete-RCP-CV AUX-PL QUOT

they have already gathered to compete,”

ât mindžan-gan=dir.
horse do.thusly-PST=DEIC

said the horse.

indşa de-er orta, bora-šeelej kis diŋma-zi čiţi bo-ar.
Thus say-PF as.soon.as B-Š girl younger.sibling-3 what PROB-CV

As soon as the horse said so, what could younger sister Bora-Şeelei do?

öl-gen aki-zi-n iri-ves, čiši-vas
die-PST elder.brother-3-ACC rot-NEG,F stink-NEG,F

So that her dead elder brother would not rot and stink,
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119. She magically turned him into frozen meat.

120. She put him into the mouth of a black cave,

121. magically concealed the cave's mouth with a vertical cliff,

122. put on her brother's shoes and clothes,

123. took up his bow and arrows, mounted the horse Ajan-Kula,

124. and made the horse fly away directly to the north.

125. When she came in a straight northerly direction and arrived at Ñang Khan's campsite,

126. there were horses and people spread out as far as the eye could see.

127. After having talked to people,

128. (she found out) the announced competition would begin tomorrow.

129. Ñang Khan had announced three events:

130. “First of all we will find out who is the bravest archer;

131. we will see who of the suitors will not miss the target with bow and arrow.

132. During the second competition we will find out who is the strongest wrestler.

133. During the third competition we will find out who is the most agile horseback rider.

134. To the winner of those three competitions, to the bravest suitor,

135. I shall give my daughter as a wife,
136. together with all her gold and silver, and with all her livestock,

137. and with her slaves,

138. Sang Khan announced.

139. So, even the poorest men began to prepare for the competition.

140. And the next day what did all the men do?

141. At the foot of Bashky-Tangdy mountain,

142. they began to prepare their bows and arrows.

143. At the foot of Songu-Tangdy mountain,

144. there were three wild animals already chained up.

145. These wild, predatory animals were a cruel bear,

146. a dangerous lion, and a bloodthirsty gray wolf.

147. They all threatened the livestock, the wild animals,

148. and the peasants of the Khan’s state, creating dangerous conditions,

149. and becoming more aggressive.

150. So, by the firm law of the Khan,

11. Tuvan arzilaq, a common Turkic word reborrowed into Tuvan from Mongolian (Tatarintsev 2002), denotes a lion, but also a mythical beast often depicted as a beneficent protector.
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they were sentenced to be killed. They were sentenced to be killed.

The Khan’s entire army went after them with shouts.

All those men with bows and arrows were to go from the foot of Bashky mountain.

down to the foot of the Songu mountain to shoot (them), don’t you say?

Okay, the competition has begun!

All the men began to make the arrows shoot.

The many men shot until noon,

but not a single man’s arrow reached the targets.

But the man by the name of Boktu-Kiris with a short black beard,

although carrying his bow and arrows,

did not shoot, but simply walked around like this.

“What kind of man are you?

Why don’t you shoot, friend?” asked the others.

When they asked him he said: “My elder brothers,

always/still competition-DAT enter-RCP-CV see-NEG-PST CON-PF

I have never taken part in a competition,

so I am afraid,
korg-up, čūre-em čagdat-pajn tur, dep mindig.
fear-cv heart-I come-up-NEG AUX QUOT thus
168. I’m afraid and my heart will not let me do it,” he answered.
aa! sen=daa anaa ešpi-dej,
EXCL you=EMPH just woman-DIM
169. “Oh! You’re just a little woman,
espi kiži eves sen be? dep oör-ü, mindig.
woman person NEG you QUES QUOT friend-3 thus
170. you aren’t a woman, are you, friend?” asked the other men.
aa! ešpi, čūū=daa bol-gaj-la men,
EXCL woman what=EMPH COP-CNCL-EMPH I
171. “Well, I can be a woman, I can be whatever,
am kandža-ar, aki-lar-im.
now do-THUS-PL elder.brother-PL-1
172. but what can I do, my elder brothers?
čerle šaam mindig kiži dir men, dep
always FIG like person =DEIC I QUOT
173. That is just the way I am,” he said,
šak mindža-p tur-up-la kal-gan-na, mindig.
exactly do-THUS-CV stand-EMPH stay-PST-EMPH thus
174. and he just kept standing right there in that same way.
er<ler>iŋ kežee-ge čed-ir at-kan,
male<PL> evening-DAT reach-PF shoot-PST
175. All the men kept shooting until evening.
čangji-zi-iŋ=daa sogun-u čet-pe-en.
single<GEN-EMPH> arrow-3 reach-NEG-PST
176. but not a single one of their arrows reached the target.
adak söölin-de boktu-kiriš dep at-tig,
very end-LOC B-K QUOT name-ADJ
177. At the very end only the man by the name of Boktu-Kiriš,
kirbej kara sal-dig anijak er art-ip kal-gan.
short black beard-ADJ young male remain-CV AUX-PST
178. with a short black beard, remained.
če sen čaaskaan art-ti-ŋ, er, at! dep
okay you alone remain-REC.PST-2 male shootUMP QUOT
179. “You are the only man left, shoot!”
er<ler>iŋ mindžan-gan.
male<PL> do-THUS-PST
180. the other men said.
indža-ar-ga=daa kulugurun kezen-ip kir-ip<le>-t-ken.
do-THUS-PL-DAT=EMPH hero prepare.to.shoot-CV INCH-PERF<EMPH>-CAUS-PST
181. Only after that the hero began to prepare himself for shooting.
kūžir eriŋ=daa čūū boor, deerzin, kūžir boktu-kiriš,
poor male=EMPH what PROB DISC poor B-K
182. What could the poor guy do, poor Boktu-Kiriš?
bir dugaar sogun-u-n čaja-ap
one number arrow-3-ACC move.up/down-CV
183. He moved his bow up and down to aim the first arrow,
pull-CV pull-CV pull-CV put-PST-EMPH
184. then pulled, pulled, pulled it back and shot.
185. His arrow broke right through the forehead bone of the cruel bear.

186. And having shot through the flat shoulder blade of it,

187. put out its black liver

188. with the very first shot.

189. The hero (readied) his second shot,

190. pulled, pulled, pulled back and let fly,

191. and shot out the teeth of the dangerous lion,

192. then shot apart its six twisted necks.

193. Then the hero, taking the third arrow,

194. pulled, pulled, pulled back and let fly.

195. And having shot out the guts of the bloodthirsty gray wolf,

196. he shot its round head right off.

197. “The first competition was won by the young man who’s come from the south

198. and goes by the name of Boku-Kiriš!” announced the Khan.

199. Then the Khan’s spy, who secretly knew all,

200. ran quickly to him and whispered in his ear:

12. Sound symbolic for clattering or intensity.
13. Added palatalization on final consonants (e.g., [tʲ] instead of expected [t]) marks a special ameliorative or pejorative register, considered vulgar and colloquial vis-à-vis standard Tuvan.

14. The verb meaning 'see', used here as an auxiliary, denotes a polite request, as does the use of the second person plural suffix on a form addressed to a single individual.

15. The traditional dress of the Tuvan wrestler includes high boots (idik), tight shorts (šodak), and a jacket (šolag) with long sleeves and a back piece, but nothing covering the chest or stomach. Some accounts explain the bared chest as intended to prevent women from wrestling in disguise.
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What shall I do about my two breasts?" she asked, didn’t she?

And her horse Ajan-Kula said:

“"It’s fine, just fine."

From that very same bear hide,

well that’s that.

Then you’ll be a hairy chested man!”

the very do.thus-PF the same do-CAUS-PF do-cv sben-ss-gen

Having done just that,

and sat down among the many wrestlers.

The eyes of all the wrestlers, competitors, and other men

threw it aside,

and sat down among the many wrestlers.

The eyes of all the wrestlers, competitors, and other men

were on the chest of the young man named Boktu-Kiriš.

Possibly kandžaptan², with ameliorative final-consonant palatalization.

An adverb, meaning ‘by fitting into tightly’, e.g., a cork in a bottle.
bo čerle čüü kandaaj amittan de-er siler!
this now what what.kind creature say-PF 2.PL

231. "What kind of creature is it?

xöre-e deerge er kizi xöre-en-ge dömez-le-er užur čok,
chest-3 POST male person chest-3-DAT compare-VSF-PF custom NEG

232. Its chest cannot be compared in any way to a man's chest.

bir-le xörek er čüve,
one-EMPH chest male thing

233. It is such a manly chest,
am arr-in-da xajirakan dąg-ü ün-üp kel-gen.
now top-3-LOC bear hair-3 grow.up-CV AUX-PST

234. and on top of all that, it has bear hair growing out of it.

bo=daa xajirakan-dan ukta-gan, anaa čerle,
this=EMPH bear-ABL originate-PST just still

235. He must still have some bear ancestry,

kiži xürezip=zir daa arga čok,
person wrestle-PF=EMPH means NEG

236. so there's no way a man can wrestle with him.

čüü ada-m amittan eves bo? dep,
what father-1 creature NEG it QUOT

237. What kind of creature is it?"

xöj möge-ler-niŋ baldır-lar-i sirtejn-ki ber-gen čüve=dir.
many wrestler-PL-GEN calf-PL-3 shake-CV INCH-PST PN=DEIC

238. Many of the wrestlers' calves began to tremble.

xürež=daa egele-en-ne!
wrestle=EMPH begin-PST-EMPH

239. So the wrestling began!

kižur boktu-kiriš aki-zi bo-op xuul-up al-gan
poor B-K elder.brother-3 Prob-CV change.into-CV SBEN-PST

240. Being changed into her poor brother Boktu-Kiriš,

bora-šeelej kis diŋma-zi=daa xürež-ip kir-ip<er>-t-ken.
B-S girl younger.sibling-3=EMPH wrestle-CV Inch-perf<EMPH>-caus-PST

241. younger sister Bora-Seelei was made to begin wrestling.

dendii širak möge devi-p ke-er orta
very strong wrestler perform.eagle.dance-CV come-PF while

242. When a very strong wrestler came up, waving his arms in an eagle dance,18

deeldigen-niŋ dezi-i=bile degele-es-tiŋ,
kite-GEN speed-3=INS trip.up-SS-GEN

243. she tripped him with the speed of a kite,
tej-i-n kudu kil-di-r dižür-up,
top.of.head-3-ACC downwards make-Caus-PF fall-CV

244. and dropped him upside down on top of his head.

---

18. The eagle dance (ezir sam) is a mimetic display that begins and ends Tuvan traditional wrestling matches. Wrestlers take wide, slow steps, executing small hops and turns and waving their arms slowly in the air as if flapping wings. They then bring their arms down and slap their palms against their inner and outer thighs. While dance skill has no bearing on the outcome of a match, it is intended to intimidate the opponent and display one's physique and prowess before the match (and afterwards as well, for the victor). Though the routine is mostly fixed, individual wrestlers' creativity in executing dance steps is appreciated and cheered on by spectators.
emin orta šürak möge eštêdedi-p kel-ir orta
very middle strong wrestler strut-CV CLOC-PF while

245. When another very strong wrestler strutted up to her,
ezir kaš-tug erez-i=bile eešen-den al-gaš-ṭiq
eagle bird-GEN courage-3=INS heel-ABL take-SS-GEN

246. she took his ankle with the courage of an eagle,
ekajgamčik šürak möge xal-ip ke-er orta,
amazing strong wrestler run-CV cloc-PF while

248. When an amazingly strong wrestler ran up to her,
xartiga-nig kašpigaj-i=bile kattaj kak-kaš-ṭiq
falcon-GEN agility-3=INS together start.running.towards-SS-GEN

249. she ran towards him simultaneously with the agility of a falcon

250. and made him fall down in a flash.
kondzug šürak möge korgu-du-p kel-ir orta
very strong wrestler fear-CAUSS-CV come-PF while

251. When another very strong wrestler approached, trying to frighten her,
kajgūn-nun kašpigaj-i-bile, xos öde xala-aš-ṭiq,
hare-GEN agility-3=INS empty.space through run-SS-GEN

252. she slipped between his legs with the agility of a hare,

253. and she made him fall very painfully on his tailbone on the bare ground.

255. she beat all of the wrestlers by throwing them on their backs.

256. “In the second competition it is the young man who comes from the south

257. named Boktu-Kiris who has won,” the Khan announced.

258. But the Khan’s spy, who knew all the secrets, ran quickly to him

259. and whispered in his ear: “It’s so, weird, my dear Khan,

260. that man of yours whom they call Boktu-Kiriš

19. Possible metathesis; cf. same form line 7 with [kt] instead of [tk].
er eves kis kiži čive dir,

male NEG girl person PN DEIC

261. is not a man at all, it’s a woman.

daira čariš üje-zin-de xina-p kör-üner, dep mindžan-gan=dir.
tomorrow horse.race time-3-LOC check-CV AUX-2PLIMP QUOT do.thus-PST=DEIC

262. Check it tomorrow during the horserace,” he said.

cê, kandža-ar xina-ar ulus bis? dep.
DISC do.how-PF check-PF PN WE QUOT

263. “Well, how are we supposed to check it?” the Khan asked.

cê, xaan čarli-in-dan ert-ken čive eves?
okay khan announcement-3-ABL pass.by-PST PN NEG

264. “Well, who would disregard an announcement by the Khan?

daira šuptu-zu-n šaldan čariš-tir-ivit.
tomorrow everybody-3-ACC naked ride.horse-CAUS-PERF

265. Make everybody race naked tomorrow.

a šak indžan kis kiži-niŋ kis xindi-i kős-tü-le ber-gej.
and the same thus girl person-GEN girl genital-3 see-CV-EMPH INCH-CNCL

266. And thus let the girl’s female genitals be revealed.

xaan=daa čarlik-ti řndar-gen-ne:
khan=EMPH announcement-ACC go.out-CAUS-EMPH

267. So the Khan made an announcement:

daira šuptu šaldan čariš-ir!
tomorrow everybody naked ride.horse-PF

268. “Tomorrow everybody will race on horseback naked!”

onu diŋa-p ka-aš-tiq boktu-kiriš aki-zi bo-op
thatVACC hear-CV AUX-SS-GEN B-K elder.brother-3 PROB-CV

269. Having heard this, being changed into her brother Boktu-Kiriš,

xuul-up al-gan bora-seelej kis diŋa-zi Ajan-kula âd-in-ga
change-CV SLEN-PST B-S girl younger.sibling-3 A-K horse-3-DAT

270. younger sister Bora-Seelei came quickly to her horse Ajan-Kula,

sir-man-i kel-geš, čugaala-š-kan=dir.
symb-run-3 come-SS talk-RECIP-PST=DEIC

271. running pell-mell, and had a talk.

kandžaanl, čoonl, ekki âd-im?
how\AMEL what.do\AMEL good horse-1

272. “What shall I do now, my good horse?

daarta šuptu-zu šaldan čariš-ir čive=dir,
tomorrow everybody-3 naked race.horse-PF PN=DEIC

273. It turns out that tomorrow everybody must race horseback naked.

kis xindi-im-ni kandža-pt-ajin?
girl genitals-1-ACC do.how-PERF-1\MOD

274. so what should I do about my woman’s genitals?”

ât tur-gaš mindža de-en=dir:
horse AUX-SS thusly say-PST=DEIC

275. Then her horse said:

ol deerge kõŋgus anaa čive.
that POST just okay PN

276. “As for that, it’s just fine.

doo tur-gan arzaži de-er ala tağıa-ŋŋ
DIST AUX-PST A. say-PF striped taiga-GEN

277. Way over there in a striped mountain forest called Arzaitya,
northern side-GEN lake-LOC many-EMPH white geese-PL swim-CV AUX-PL

don its northern side in a lake are swimming a lot of white geese.

ol ak kas-tar-niq arazin-da
this white geese-PL-GEN among-LOC

Among those white geese,

čuduruk=deg močak kizil xaa-j-lig askir ak kas bar=dir.
fist=like big red bill-ADJ male white goose COP=DEIC

279. Among those white geese,

ol ak kas-tar-nin arazin-da
this white geese-PL-GEN among-LOC

280. there's a white gander with a big red bill like a fist.

šak ol askir ak kas-ti sok-kaš,
the very that male white goose-ACC hit-SS

281. Having killed that white gander,

kež-i-n soj-up okta-p-kaš-ti, ak kas-tiğ kőske-e-n
skin-3-ACC peel-CV throw-PERF-SS-GEN white goose-GEN goose.part-3-ACC

282. and peeled off its skin, take the white gander's parts,

er kiži̇-ni̇q xap-či-i kil-dir-r,
male person-GEN sack-DIM-3 do-CAUS-PF

283. and make from them a man's testicles,

a čuduruk=deg močak kizil xaa-j-i-n
and fist=like big red beak-3-ACC

284. and take its fist-like big red beak,

mojn-u=bile kattaj xaar-a er kiži̇-ni̇q er xindi-i kil-d-ir
neck-3=INS together create-CV male person-GEN male genital-3 make-CAUS-PF

285. together with its neck, and make from them a man's genitals,

kis xindi̇n-i-ni̇ duj xirba-la-n-di̇r tarbid-ip aar-tn̄-ga
girl genital-2-ACC shut.tight glue-VERB-PASS-CAUS-PF do.magically-ACC AUX-2SG-DAT

286. and when you've magically glued shut your woman's genitals with them,

ol-la=dir!
DEIC-EMPH=DEIC

287. that's that!

sidi̇n kistig-a ber-ze,
piss-2 flow.out-CV INCH-COND

288. If you need to piss,

kas-tiğ xaa-j-i-n kődi̇r-üp sikte-er-iq-ge
white goose-GEN bill-3-ACC raise-CV piss-PF-2-DAT

289. then you'll raise the beak of the goose to piss,

imaar šarı̇najn-ip-la ber-gej dep minḍa-p=tir eves be.
there run.out.noisily-CV-EMPH INCH-CNCL QUOT do.thusly-CV=DEIC NEG QUES

290. and let the piss trickle out through it,” the horse said, didn’t he?

ol-la xeever kil-ip al-gaš
that-EMPH the.same do-CV SBEN-SS

291. Having done exactly so,

daarta=dau xoj er-ni̇q ara-zin-ga
tomorrow=EMPH many male-GEN space.between-3-DAT

292. the next day among the numerous men,

kőzi̇r boku̇ṭi̇ri̇š aki̇-zi̇ bo-op xuul-up al-gȧn
poor B-K elder.brother-3 PROB-CV change-CV SBEN-PST

293. being changed into her poor brother Boku̇ṭi̇ri̇š,

bora-šeelej kis di̇ṇma-zi̇ kaldan validated gaš olur-üp-kan.
B-Ś girl younger.sibling-3 get-naked-SS sit.down-PERF-PST

294. younger sister Bora-Šeelej sat there naked.
The eyes of all the men were on the man named Boktu-Kiriš.

"What kind of man is this? With such a chest,

that still what father-1 male Prob-Pf DEIC chest-3 POST chest

And as for his genitals, his testicles are as heavy as a teapot,

there’s no way a person could even lift them.

His genitals are like the beak of a bird, like a horn, and to top it all, covered all over with teeth.

He’s such a strange creature!"

While they were wondering and gaping,

the start-man began to count down.

whipped their horses with riding crops and charged off.

But the one who had changed into her brother Boktu-Kiriš,

because she could also change into a gray hare.

20. A Russian loanword komanda 'command', used here, forms an agentive noun and verb. In standard Tuvan, the man who starts a race is called idikči or salikči; as a verb it is idar, salir.

am bora -toolaj bo-op xuul-up al-gaš-tiŋ
now gray hare PROB-CV change-CV SBEN-SS-GEN

310. But while she was changed into a gray hare,
kiži-ler=bile čarži-ir-qa taar-šiš-pas bol-gan-da
people=PL=INS compete-PF-DAT suit-RCF=NEG=PF be-PST-LOC

311. it wasn’t proper for her to compete with people.

indša-ar xuul-ba-jn,
do.thus-PF change-NEG-PST

312. So, she didn’t actually change into one,
a bora -toolaj-niŋ man-i-n ke-ep ap-kaš-tiŋ,
but gray -hare-GEN run-3-ACC cloc-cv take-ss-GEN

313. but simply took on the running speed of a gray hare.
bora -toolaj marj-i=bile marjna-p irjaj-la bol-gan.
gray -hare run-3=iNS run-cv away.from-EMPH COP-PST

314. And with the running speed of a gray hare, she ran far away.
doo xal-č-ip bar-ip čit-kan er-ler-ni doraan ert-ken.
DIST run-RCF-CV go-CV place middle-3 even reach-PST

315. She immediately passed the men who were running way over there.
ča! er-ler čer ortu-zu bezin čet-pe-en-de,
EXCL male-PL place middle-3 even reach-NEG-PST-LOC

316. Hah! before the guys had even reached the halfway point of the race-course,
xaan kadin bašta-an xamik čon-ga
king queen head.up-PST all people-DAT

317. (to reach the place) where all the people were headed up by the Khan and the queen,
čed-e mapna-p kel-gen boktu-kiriš, deerge, čiůŭ boor,
reach-cv run-CV CLOC-PST B-K POST what PROB

318. Boktu-Kiriš came running up to that place, and what did she do next?
xox jčil-gan čon-nu uš dolgan-di-r deerigle-eš-tiŋ,
many gathered-PST people-Acc three go.around-CAUS-PF run.around-SS-GEN

319. She ran three circles around the gathered crowd.
dedir xev-i-n ked-ip a-ar dees,
back clothes-3-ACC put.on-cv SBEN-PF POST

320. Then in order to put her clothes back on,
baški dag-niŋ čan-in-dže in-e ber-gen.
B. mountain-GEN side-3-ALL go.out-cv INCH-PST

321. she ran off, back towards Bashky mountain.
čaa! uš dugaar mõörej-ni
disc three ORD competition-ACC

322. “Well, in the third competition
murnuu čuk-tjen kel-gen anijak er,
southern direction-ABL come-PST young male

323. the young man from the south,
boktu-kiriš čaal-ap al-di.
B-K take.as.winner-cv SBEN-REC-PST

324. Boktu-Kiriš, has won.
caraš kiz-im-ni kadaj kil-di-r ber-ip tur men,
beautiful girl-1-ACC wife do-CAUS give-cv AUX I

325. I’m giving him as a wife my beautiful daughter.
angır-češen aldn dangina-m-ni
A-Č golden princess-1-ACC

326. My golden princess Angyr-Chechen
I hereby give to my son-in-law, Boktu-Kiris.

I'm also giving half of all of my mighty army and slaves.

I'm also giving him the good half of my livestock;

the Khan announced.

And the deceitful spy, who lied

was given a sound beating with a riding crop and chased away.

And what did poor Boktu-Kiris do next?

(She took) Sang Khan's beautiful daughter,

golden princess Angyr-Chechen,

and traveled back to the homeland.

When they came up close to the yurt,

(went) to that cave she had put her dead brother in,

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ušt-up al-gaš-tŋ, take.out-CV SBEN-SS-GEN
344. and took him out. ŏg orn-un-da ekke-p sal-gaš, yurt bed-3-LOC bring-CV put-SS,
345. Having brought him and placed him on the bed in the yurt, ergiz-ip tarbida-p ka-aš-tŋ, thaw-CV do.magically-CV AUX-SS-GEN
346. and magically thawed him out, bod-u čaštn-a ber-gen, self-3 hide.self-CV INCH-PST
347. she hid herself. Šan xaan-nŋ čaraš kiz-i angir-čečen aldn daŋgina X.-GEN beautiful girl-3 A-Č golden princess
348. And Şang Khan’s beautiful daughter, the golden princess Angyr-Chechen, köç-üp čed-ip ke-er-ge, move/migrate-CV arrive-CV CLOC-PF-DAT
349. when she arrived at the camp, deem čaa xal-di-p čor-uj bar-gan aš-a just new run-CAUS-CV go-CV TLOC-PST husband-3
350. saw her husband, who had just made her run (to the yurt), ĝl-üp kal-gan, orun kirin-da bo čit-kan die-CV AUX-PST bed top-LOC DEIC lie-PST
351. lying there dead on top of the bed. oon sŏll-un-de kondzung ertem šillig-šg daa čaš caw or, this behind-3-LOC very knowledge skill-ADJ princess=EMPH DEIC PROB-CV
352. And what could a princess with magic powers do then?
mŏngun čuštũ-ũ ušt-up ekkel-geš-tŋ; silver ring-3-ACC take.out-CV bring-SS-GEN
353. She took out her silver ring, meen aš-a-am boktu-kišš šin bol-za, my husband-1 B-K true COP-COND
354. (and she said) “If it is truly my husband Boktu-Kiriš, sŏng-gan sŏg-ũ dač-u ber-zin, break-PST bone-3 connect-CV BEN-IMP3
355. let his broken bones join together, uzul-gen šoondźũ-zũ ettin-e ber-zin, tear.up-PST intestines-3 become.good-CV AUX-IMP3
356. let his torn up guts recover,” de-eš domna-ar-ga, say-SS do.magically-PF-DAT
357. she said, and magically made it happen. çarlı-ip kal-gan molduru-u anaa appar-gan, break.up-PST AUX-PST backbone-3 good become-PST
358. And then his broken backbone healed. če, meen aš-a-am boktu-kišš šin bol-za tur-a okay my husband-1 B-K true COP-COND stand.up-CV
359. “Well, if this is truly my husband Boktu-Kiriš, he will stand up. xal-ipla ke-er ijaan, deč domna-ar-ga, run-CV-EMPH CLOC-PF DISC POST do.magically-PF-DAT
360. and surely come running (to me),” she said, working her magic.
šinap-la tur-a xal-ip kel-geš:
truly-EMPH stand-up CV run-CV CLOC-SS
361. After then he really did stand up and came running right to her.

ok kődek, ert-ir ud-up kal-gan men be?
oh, cunt overflow-PF sleep-CV AUX-PST I QUES
362. (And he said) “Oh, fuck! Did I oversleep?

bo diž-üm-de
this dream-1-LOC
363. In this dream of mine,

šañ xaan-niq čaräš kiz-i, angur-čečen aldin dängina-ni
Š. X.-GEN beautiful girl-3 A-Č golden princess-ACC
364. Sang Khan’s beautiful daughter, golden princess Angyr-Chechen, and I

kulala-p tur-gan bol-da-m čop!
mARRY-CV AUX-PST be-REC-PST-1 DISC
365. were going to marry, right?

düž-üm dep boda-an-im,
dream-1 COMP think-PST-1
366. I thought that it was just a dream,

šinap-la kulala-p ekkel-gen
truly-EMPH marry-CV bring-PST
367. but I really did marry,

al-gan kizi iskaž=il men, de-eš-tiq
SBEN-PST PN as.īf=DEIC I AUX-SS-GEN
368. and bring her home, apparently,” he said.

angir-čečen aldin dängina-ni kuluguruŋ, deerge,
A-Č golden princess-ACC hero POST
369. And as for the golden princess Angyr-Chechen,

čitta-an, čišga-an, deerge, ana šušt kizi magada-ar.
kiss-PST lick-PST POST simply all person be.amazed-PF
370. he took her and kissed and licked her, and everybody simply admired them.

dogda kö-ör-ge, doo bora-šeelej kis diŋma-zi
over.there22 see-PF-DAT thatDIST B-Š girl younger.sibling-3
371. And when they looked over yonder, (they saw) his younger sister Bora-Seelei

bodu-nuŋ duśtu-u
self-GEN lover-3
372. together with her own lover,

karati xaan-niq kajgal ogl-u kara čuvellekti-ni
Karaty Khan-GEN brave son-3 Kara Čuvellekti-ACC
373. Kara-Čuvellekti, the brave son of Karaty Khan.

follow.with-CV SBEN-PST this laugh-RCP-CV walk-RCP-CV AUX-PST-PL
374. Here they came laughing and walking together.

šak ooŋ sōl-ūn-de iji ališki, küdee-zi, čaava-zi,
just that after-3-LOC two sibling brother.in-law-3 elder.brother’s.wife-3
375. So right after that, the two siblings, with his brother-in-law and her sister-in-law,

dörtele-en,
do.by.fours-PST
376. the four of them together,

encamped their yurt on the hilly lands,
and brought their livestock up to the high ground,
they evened out the vales and hills,
and have gone on living there ever since. The end.

Clap your hands!

23. *öön tip* < *tig tiger* 'to set up / pitch / construct a yurt'.

**MORPHO-SYNTACTIC TAGS**

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<th>Tag</th>
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REFERENCES


Katanov, N. F. 1903. Opyt issledovanie uriankhaiskogo yazyka s ukazaniem glavniykh rodstvennykh otnosheniy ego k drugim yazykam tyurkskogo kornya. Kazan’.


