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CHALKANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

CHALKANLAR VE DİLLERİ

1. Chalkan Ethnonyms

The Chalkans are an indigenous Turkic people of South Siberia, living in the North of the Altay Republic. Earlier Russian designations for them were *lebedincy* or *lebedinskie tatory* ‘Lebed’ Tatars’ (i. e. Swan Tatars), or, in Chalkan, *quu-kiži* (literally ‘people of the Swan (river)’). Their self-names are *čalqandu*, *šalqandu*, *quu-kiži*.

In Russian Turcological literature, the Chalkans were first distinguished as a separate ethnic group by V. V. Radloff, who visited their settlements in 1861.

2. Religion and Culture

The traditional beliefs of the Chalkans are animism and shamanism. The shaman (*qam*) is a mediator between people and spirits, and the well-being of the family group depends on the relationship he helps to establish between them.

The world of spirits falls into three groups—upper, middle and lower, each subdivided in separate levels (or layers). The shaman’s communication with the spirits is closely connected to faith in the soul or, to be more exact, in the shaman’s ‘double’. During rituals, the *qam* can send his double to different places in the universe. Unlike his southern Altay counterpart, the Chalkan shaman does not have a special ritual costume. The main cult attribute is the drum, by means of which he communicates with spirits. There are several rituals for making a drum and animating it (Bel’gibaev, in print). The shaman has functions like healing, leading the souls of the dead into the next world, or searching for lost objects. He plays an important role in sacrificing to the gods. In the *tayilya* rite the *qam* sends the soul of a dead horse to the Upper World asking for help in the upcoming economic activities.

The shaman also appeals to spirit-masters for help. Their origin is connected with the Chalkans’ ancient animistic views. Almost all objects of nature are animated, as is shown e.g. in the tree cult (Kandarakova 1994: 20). The most honorable and sacred tree is the birch. The mountain cult was described in detail by Potapov (1946: 145–160). The sacred family mountain (*tös tay*) is a small motherland for a Chalkan *kezek* (‘family clan’). Here, people hunt and gather cedar nuts and make horse sacrifices to the rulers of the Upper and Lower Worlds. The Chalkan fishing activities are reflected in the cult of the ‘water mistress’ – *suu eezi*. The ‘fire mistress’ – *ot eezi* or *ot-ene* ‘mother-fire’ protects the dwelling and the peace of its inhabitants from evil spirits (Bel’gibaev, in print).

The traditional economic activities of the Chalkans were hunting, agriculture and animal husbandry; fishing, plant picking, bee-keeping and market gardening developed under Russian influence. Hunting was the most important economic activity of the Chalkans for a long time. Different material cultural phenomena were connected with hunting—rifles, traps, trapping pits, and the like. Skiing was an important means of conveyance, and there were several devices for transferring goods—hides used for dragging, drag-sleds with two runners, birch-bark baskets carried on the shoulder (*qomdo*), fur-covered skis (*čana*), and special makeshift sledges (*čanač*). Gathering played a subsidiary role in traditional economy. Mattock agriculture and animal husbandry were less developed.

Traditionally, the Chalkans settled in small groups, *kezek*'s. Members of the group were relatives by descent. Family groups formed a system of small farms. Their dwellings were situated at the nearby mountains, but necessarily near water—a river, brook or spring. Permanent dwellings were blockhouses with gable roofs, half under and half above ground. The basic traditional clothes were shirts, trousers and robes made of homespun linen. Footwear consisted of boots with sackcloth or leather bootlegs and of soft leather boots (for women).

3. Geography and Population

The Chalkans inhabit the Northern part of the Mountain Altay region. Their ethnic territory covers a part of the Turočak district—the basin of the river Lebed' (Chalkan *Quu* 'swan'). They also live in the Taštagol district of the Kemerovo region. During the whole Soviet period, the exact number of Chalkans was not known, since they were not counted separately but as Altays in population censuses. According to the data of the Altay Government, 1689 Chalkans lived in the Turočak district in the basin of the river Lebed' and its tributary Bajgol in the settlements Kurmač-Bajgol, Suranaš and Majskij of the Altay Republic in 1997. According to the National census of 2002, the number of Chalkans was 855; (see www.perepis2002.ru); among these, 830 lived in the Altay Republic. The majority of the Chalkans (720 people) lived in villages. However, only 539 Chalkans had some command of Chalkan while 817 Chalkans spoke Russian. The census of 2010 counts 1181 Chalkans, of whom only 310 people speak their language (see www.perepis2010.ru): Within less than a decade, the number of speakers has been reduced by almost 40% – a dramatic language loss.

4. Historical Background¹

Both Uralic and Altaic peoples are involved in the ethnogenesis of the Chalkans. Indigenous Samoyed ethnic elements had an important role in their formation. According to population-genetic research they are closest to the Forest Nenets and, together with the Kumandu and the Enets, form the so-called 'Samoyed cluster' (Karafet; Osipova 1993: 39). Equally important in their ethnogenesis are Turkic elements related to the political formations of the Orkhon Turks, the Uygurs and the Yenisei Kyrgyz of the early Middle Ages (6th–12th centuries) (Potapov 1969a: 131–134; 1969b: 70–77; 1974: 304–313). Significant events in the ethnic history of the Chalkans in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century were the movement of different groups of the Teles-Šaqšilu from the region of lake Teleckoe to the basin of the river Quu, and the departure of the tribe of Küzen. The common origin of the Küzen and Šoljanu tribes is documented in one of the Chalkan legends (Potapov 1969b: 112). Their territorial separation was ended by processes of ethnic integration. Processes of ethnic convergence of the *Šalqaniy* (Literary Altay *Šoljanu*) and *Šayšiliq* (Literary Altay *Šaqšilu*) tribes led to a relatively unified group with common self-awareness and ethnonym (Potapov 1974: 303–313).

¹ This part is mostly based on a description of the Chalkan ethnic history compiled by Bel'gibaev (In print.)

The Russians used to call all natives of the northern foothills of the Altay 'Kuzneck Tatars' (Boronin 2002: 9). In the 1620s, the local administration strived to bring the Upper-Ob regions under Russian citizenship. However, between the 17th and the middle of the 18th century the Chalkans and other native peoples of the region submitted to two or more suzerains (Russians, Ob-Teleuts, West Mongolians (Jungars, Oirats)), paying *yasak* or *alban* tribute to them (Boronin 2002: 10).

The Chalkans are first mentioned in 1625. In that year a detachment of *Kuzneck* servicemen subdued one of these groups and placed them under tribute (Kandarakova 1996: 77; Samaev 1996: 19). At that time the Russians already fixed a yearly *yasak* payment of between 5 and 10 sables from each hunter (Boronin 2002: 10). By 1629 the Chalkans, along with other taiga groups of the northern foothills of the Altay, fell under the *Kuzneck* district (Russian *uezd*) (Dolgix 1960: 104). A *Šelkal'skaja volost'* *Šelkal volost'*² is mentioned already in documents of the year 1630 (Miller 1941: 370). This *volost'* was known from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century under the names *Šelkal'skaja*, *Kondomo-Šelkal'skaja* or *Lebedskaja*. In the beginning of the 20th century the *Kondomo-Šelkal'skaja volost'* was an administrative unit of the *Kuzneck* region of Tom province (Patkanov 1911: 271–283). In the 17th – 18th centuries, the term *Kondomskaja* was applied to all administrative units of the natives of the northern foothills of the Altay that were situated in the basin of the Kondoma river. Upstream the Kondoma, *Kuzneck* servicemen went to collect the *yasak* tribute (Samaev 1996: 8). For some time after 1917, the *Lebedskaja volost'* was located within Mountain Shoria, but it later became a part of the *Ojrot* (Mountain Altay) Autonomous Region, known since 1992 as 'The Altay Republic'.

In their social organization, the Chalkans were divided into two exogamous tribes—*Šolyanu* and *Šaqšilu*. The basic structural unit of genealogical kinship was the group of relatives (*kezek*). Marriages within one *kezek* were forbidden. At present the earlier term *kezek* is mostly replaced by *sök* 'bone; tribe'. The basic cell of the community was the monogamous family. Marriage was patrilocal. Arranged marriages were widespread. Arrangements between the parents of small children, elopement marriage and bride stealing also occurred. Marriages between cousins were preferred. Before marriage, there was a proposal and the two sides agreed on the size of the *qalim* (bride money).

The socio-economic reorganizations of the 1920s and 1930s greatly influenced the traditional economy and culture of the Chalkans. Practically the whole able-bodied population of the basin of the river Lebed' was drawn into new collective farms and farms of forest industry. During pre-war and post-war times some of the Chalkans took part in the industrial development of the southern foothills of the Altay and of Mountain Shoria. The importance of hunting, fishing and gathering declined and mattock agriculture disappeared in the 1940s and 1950s, while animal husbandry and gardening gained in importance. The spiritual and social spheres of traditional culture changed greatly, and some elements of traditional material culture, such as dwellings, clothes, utensils or vehicles, disappeared in the 1920s–1950s.

In the 1960s-1980s it was government policy to close shops, clubs and schools in so-called 'villages with negative prospect', which further narrowed the traditional culture sphere, and led to the disappearance of a number of mono-ethnic Chalkan villages. The Chalkans were forced to move to settlements in the Turočak area that provided a better infrastructure. Surrounded by a mainly

² *Volost'* used to be a part of provincial districts, called *uezd* in the Russian Empire. Each *uezd* had several *volost'*s that were subordinated to the *uezd* city.

Russian-speaking population, they lost many elements of their traditional culture. Ethnic assimilation processes gained strength, although they were not as strong as those of other native groups of the region (Kumandu and Tuba), due to the relative inaccessibility of the Chalkan territories and the survival of the ethnically homogeneous villages Kurmač-Bajgol and Suranaš.

At present, Chalkan villages like Kurmač-Bajgol, Suranaš or Majsij are culturally practically identical to the nearby Russian-populated areas. Chalkans live in single-floor log houses constructed according to Russian tradition, wear ready-made clothes, use modern utensils and possess video or audio equipment. Only few cultural phenomena in the basin of the river Quu are still connected with traditional material culture: traditional style boots, skis, ski poles, sledges, and double-runners drag-sleds. Among the preserved utensils there are hand mills, corn mills, trays with handles, wooden mortars and iron cauldrons. Some of these are used in the preparation of products of traditional cuisine, such as oatmeal and *toqpaq*, a dense cedar-nut paste. The Chalkans cherish their rich folklore traditions – shamanism and oral art, including legends, tales, proverbs, sayings and riddles (Kandarakova 2004: 144–175).

5. Spelling

Chalkan was a non-written language until very recently. As it was considered a dialect of the Altay language it had to use that as literary language. In 2000, the Chalkans (along with the Tuba and Telengit) were granted official minority status by Russia, and the language was listed in the Red Book of the peoples of Russia. However, this has not changed the acute endangerment of the Chalkan language.

Until 2006, the only Chalkan book was the children's book *Aba-d'ištij aŋ-quštari* (2004) ('Animals and Birds of the Primeval Taiga') by Anna Kandarakova, compiled and published by researchers from the Institute of Philology, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IP SB RAS) in a Chalkan spelling that they had developed. Research on Chalkan, carried out under the supervision of Ajana Ozonova and Marcel Erdal and coordinated by Irina Nevskaya in cooperation between the IP SB RAS and Frankfurt University, enabled the publication of further Chalkan books and materials in Russia and Germany.

The Chalkan alphabet proposed by this project consists of the letters а, б, в, г, ґ, д, е, ё, ж, жь, з, и, й, к, қ, л, м, н, нь, нг, о, ө, п, р, с; т, ть, ү, ү, ф, х, ц, ч, ш, щ, ъ, ы, ь, э, ю, я; the letters ё, ф, х, ц, ъ, ь, ю and я are used only in Russian borrowings.

6. Language

According to the Ethnologue website, there is no individual identifier of the Chalkan language in ISO 639-3; it is mentioned among Northern Altay varieties alongside Tuba and Kumandu under the identifier *atv*.

The first scholar to document Chalkan was Radloff (1866). In the 20th century, research on Altay and its dialects and particularly Chalkan was carried out by Baskakov, whose 1985 monograph is based on his field materials. The toponymy of the region inhabited by the Chalkans alongside other Altay regions is described by Molčanova (1979, 1982). On Chalkan phonology there is the research of Kirsanova (Mandrova) (1982, 2003) and Kokorin (1981). Between 2000 and 2004, researchers of the IP SB RAS in Novosibirsk conducted field work among the Chalkans, financed by various Russian foundations and programs. Since 2004, this research was carried out in cooperation between the IP SB RAS and Frankfurt University. Chalkan language materials collected during these expeditions were

published in vols. 7, 10, 13, 15 and 17 of the series *Jazyki korennyx narodov Sibiri* ("Languages of Indigenous Peoples of Siberia") and elsewhere; vols. 15 and 17 of this series as well as two volumes of Chalkan language materials and language descriptions (*Chalkan Manual, Part I*, in print; *Chalkan Manual, Part II*, in preparation) are the result of the cooperation between Novosibirsk and Frankfurt). Fedina (2010) is devoted to the present-day state of Chalkan phonology and morphology. We should also mention the thematic dictionary of Northern Altay dialects (D'ajym 2004) and the Chalkan-Russian thematic dictionary by Pustogačeva (2008). The main centers of Chalkan language studies are the S.S. Surazakov Institute of Altaic Studies (Gorno-Altajsk) and the IP SB RAS (Novosibirsk).

All Chalkans are bilingual and have a good command of Russian, which has already become native for many of them. Use of Chalkan is at present limited to family communication and to small production teams involved in traditional economic activities.

Our description of the Chalkan grammar below is mainly based on materials gathered in the framework of the above-mentioned cooperation project.

a. Chalkan and Turkic Languages

According to the classification of Johannes Benzing, Chalkan as an Altay variety belongs to the Altay-Sayan group of Northern Turkic alongside Khakas, Shor, and Tuvan. In the classification of Claus Schönig based on the areal principle, Siberian Turkic languages belong to the Border Turkic group forming an areal Northeast Turkic branch. Chalkan is further classified as an Altay-Sayan (or South Siberian) language alongside further Altay varieties, Shor, Chulym, Khakas, Tuvan, and Tofan. According to the Ethnologue website, Chalkan, Tuba and Kumandy belong to the Northern Altay subgroup of Northern Turkic, also including Southern Altay, Shor, Khakas, Tuvan, Karagas (Tofan), Yakut and Dolgan. Thus, this classification is clearly underspecified.

b. Dialectology of Chalkan

The two Chalkan tribes speak very similar linguistic varieties. However, there are some, mostly lexical, differences. In the absence of a literary form there are many arguments concerning the question which variety represents the 'correct' Chalkan language.

c. Phonology

Vowels. Baskakov distinguishes 8 short and 8 long Chalkan vowel phonemes (a, o, ĩ, u, ä, ö, i, ü and their long counterparts). Long vowels are secondary; they are a consequence of the elision of certain intervocalic consonants, or of positional lengthening. More recent research by Kokorin (1982) found only 15 vowel phonemes in Chalkan as the vowel *i* lacks a long counterpart.

The following features are characteristic for Chalkan vowels:

1. Positional lengthening of wide vowels in open non-final syllables before the narrow vowels: *qas* 'goose'—*qaazim* 'my goose'—*qastarim* 'my geese'.
2. A tendency to become centralized; thus, vowels that are functionally back in terms of vowel harmony, are pronounced as central-back vowels, while functionally front vowels are pronounced as central-front ones.
3. According to Fedina 2010, there is a tendency of narrowing the wide vowels *a* and *ä* in the second syllable; in closed syllables they narrow to *ĩ*, which is especially well manifested by the affix of plurality which has the form-*Lir*, the ablative marker-*Din* and the future tense affix-*(i)r* etc., e.g.: *kölir* < *köllär* 'lakes'; *köldin* < *köldin* 'out of the lake', *körir* < *körär* 'he will see'. However, the ablative and

aorist markers with narrow vowels might be remnants of the corresponding affixes with narrow vowels found also in Old Turkic.

4. Violations of palatal vowel harmony (see above); vowel harmony is also violated in synthesized compound words and analytical word forms. Phonological and morphological reductions often go so far that it is impossible for speakers to reconstruct the full form; this makes the situation with vowel harmony even more complex, e.g.: *parin* < *par-ïp iy-gän* [go-CV send:aux-PF] 'he is gone', *köran* < *kör-ïp al-yan* [see-CV take:aux-PF] 'he has seen'.

5. Some Chalkan possessive affixes have variants with only rounded vowels (see below).

Consonants. Baskakov distinguished 13 consonant phonemes with 28 allophones. Kirsanova counts 18 consonant phonemes; 10 obstruents [p], [t], [s], [š'], [q], [t'] (voiceless counterpart of the voiced d' found in Standard Altay), [β ~ v], [d], [z], [ž] and 8 sonants ([l], [r], [ɣ], [ɣ] and the nasals [m], [n], [ŋ (ñ)] and [ŋ]).

The following features of Chalkan consonants are noteworthy:

1. Lenis pronunciation of labial, medio-lingual and uvular consonants leading to plosive / fricative variants depending on their positional and combinatory features; forelingual consonants, on the other hand, are very tense due to the fact that they have an opposition of plosive and fricative phonemes.

2. Forelingual consonants (except *l* and *r*) do not get palatalized when combined with the vowel *ä* contrary to other Altay and further neighboring Turkic varieties; *l* and *r* are only slightly palatalized in this position. *š'* is always very strongly palatalized in all positions. *l* and *s* are strongly velarized in combination with *a*.

3. Absence of affricates.

4. Proto-Turkic *y* in initial position has developed into *t'*, but into *ɲ* in case of a following nasal consonant: *ɲaan* 'big', *ɲundruq* 'fist'.

5. Suffix-onset consonants are characterized by full or partial progressive assimilation.

6. Final voiceless consonants become voiced between vowels: *paš* 'head'–*pažim* 'my head'.

7. In the genitive and ablative case markers, the last consonant has *ŋ ~ n* variation.

Fedina's research showed some recent features of Chalkan phonology that developed during the sixty years after Baskakov's research.

8. denasalization of intervocalic-*m*-: *ämäs* > *äväs* 'is not';

9. fricativization of intervocalic stops: *qap* 'sack' > *qab'i* 'his sack';

Under the influence of Standard Altay, Chalkan phonology is undergoing drastic changes: there are numerous lexical and grammatical doubles—one of them an inherited Chalkan element, the other an Altay loan. This is leading to a revision of all the language systems, which are converging with those of Standard Altay.

d. Morphology

Chalkan morphology is characterized by agglutination with some analytical tendencies; fusion processes are observed at the junction of morphemes. Nouns are characterized by the morphological categories of number, case and possessor; verbs by the categories of mood, tense, person/number,

modality, aspect, actionality, voice and negation. There is a well-developed system of infinite verbal forms: participles as polyfunctional forms combining finite functions with various infinite ones, converbs, and the infinitive ending in *-ArA* ~ *-OrO*.

The maximal nominal word form consists of a lexeme and affixes of plurality, possession and case, in this order. The maximal verbal word form consists of a lexeme (consisting of a simple or a derived stem) followed by an affix of negation, a TAM (tense/aspect/mood) affix and a person/number marker. All grammatical morphemes have broad variability.

The Chalkan plural marker, originally *-LAr*, also has the variants *-Lir* and *-LOr*, the initial consonant varying between *l*, *n*, *t* and *d*: *pižaq-tar* ~ *pižaq-tir* ~ *pižaq-tor* 'knives'.

The possessive affixes are: *-(X)m* ~ *-(U)m* (POSS1SG), *-(X)ŋ* ~ *-(U)ŋ* (POSS2SG), *-(z)l(n)* ~ *-(z)U(n)* (POSS3SG), *-(X)VXs* (POSS1PL), *-LArIŋ* (POSS 2PL), *-LArI* (POSS3PL).

The nominative case is unmarked; it is equal to the nominal stem. The genitive case marker is both *-NXŋ* and *-NXn*, e.g. *käbä-niŋ* 'of the boat', *qas-tiŋ* 'goose's', *qam-niŋ* 'shaman's', *qar-diŋ* 'of the snow' along with *käbä-nin*, *qas-tin*, *qam-nin*, *qar-din*. The dative marker varies: *-GA* and *-GO* after low rounded vowels, the latter variant reflecting the Altay influence on the Chalkan morphophonology: *qas-qa* 'to the goose', *qam-ya* 'to the shaman'; *t'ol-ya* ~ *t'ol-yo* 'to the road'. The *G* gets elided between vowels: *käbä-gä* > *käbää* 'to the boat'. The accusative affix is *-NI* and *-NU* (this latter only in Baskakov's texts, also after stems with unrounded vowels): *ayt-qan-du* [say-PP-ACC] 'what is said' along with *käbä-ni*, *qas-ti*, *qam-ni*, *qar-di*. The locative case marker is *-DA* and *-DO*: *käbä-dä*, *qas-ta*, *qam-da*, *qar-da*, *t'ol-do* 'on the road'. The ablative case has a remarkable number of variants: *-DAŋ* ~ *DIŋ* ~ *DAn* ~ *DIn*: *qas-taŋ*, *qas-tiŋ*, *qas-tan*, *qas-tin*. The instrumental/comitative/prolative case is *-IA*, as in *käbä-lä*; it comes from the postposition *BIIA*. The lative case marker is *-ZA* ~ *-ZAArI*, the equative case marker *-žA*. Nouns used as nominal predicates take a special set of personal endings going back to cliticized personal pronouns, often reduced (1SG-*VIn*, 2SG-*ZIn*, 1PL-*-(I)Vis*, 2PL-*ZAAr*): *Män Aq-Qaan-niŋ uyl-i-vin* [I Ak-Khan-GEN son-POSS3-1SG] 'I am Ak-Khan's son'.

Affixes extending noun stems are *-AK* ~ *-OK*, *-čAK* ~ *-žAK*, *-š*, *-Aš'* for diminutives, *-LU* ~ *-LUG* for possessive adjectives, *-O* ~ *-U* for collective and *-InžA* ~ *-InžI* for ordinal numerals. Affixes extending verb stems are the iterative *-GiIA*, causative *-(I)D* ~ *-DUR* ~ *-Dir* ~ *-tOr*, passive *-(I)I* ~ *-UI*, reflexive *-(I)n* ~ *-Un*, reciprocal *-(I)š* ~ *-Uš*.

Infinite forms of the verb are the conditional (with *-ZA* ~ *-ZO*), converbs ending in *-(I)p* ~ *-Up*, *-A* ~ *-O*, *-(A)IA* ~ *-(O)IO*, *-VAy* ~ *-Viy* ~ *-Vin* (negative of the previously mentioned forms), *-GANžA* ~ *-GANčA* ~ *-GANčI* ~ *-GONžA*, and participles (which also serve as finite predicates): aorist/future *-(A)r* ~ *-Or* (neg. *-VAs* ~ *-VOs*), perfective *-GAN* ~ *-GON*, imperfective I *-(y/A)tAn* ~ *-(y/O)tOn* ~ *-(y)tIn*, imperfective II *-(p)trAn* ~ *-(p)tOn* ~ *-(p)tAn*, probabilative *-GAdIG* ~ *-GODIG* and cunctative (about actions which have not yet taken place, but are expected to happen) *-GAIAK* ~ *-GOIOK*.

Indicative finite forms of the verb are the preterite in *-D*, the general present in *-(y)t*, the actual present in *-(p)t'it* and the indirective past in *-(p)tIr*. Non-indicative forms are the optative in *-GAy* and the imperative mood; it has the following suffixes:

1SG	<i>-(A)yIn</i>	1PL	<i>-AAK</i> , <i>-Aŋ</i> ~ <i>-Oŋ</i>
2SG	<i>-ZAr</i> ~ <i>-ZOr</i>	2PL	<i>-(L)Ar</i> ~ <i>-LOr</i>
3SG	<i>-ZIn</i> ~ <i>-ZUn</i>		

3PL normally gets the affix of plurality, but it is not quite clear whether it is obligatory.

Semantic and grammatical data

Noun: a well-developed network of spatial cases, which is presently enriched due to the fact that a number of postpositions have become affixes, resulting in the presence of lative and directive cases in addition to the usual Turkic locative, ablative and dative.

Verb: actionality as well as modal and aspect/tense meanings are primarily expressed in the framework of analytical verbal constructions with postverbs; categorical markers express indirectness of action.

Syntactic data

Chalkan has a nominative structure and unmarked SOV word order with subordinate syntactic members (predicative and non-predicative) preceding their head. Syntactic relations between situations are mostly expressed in the framework of complex sentences with infinite verb forms in subordinate clauses.

e. Lexicology and Sociolinguistic Aspect

Chalkan has a rich native vocabulary in the areas of nature, weather, flora, fauna and, especially, hunting. It displays several regional lexemes, such as *pel* 'taymen trout', *soyan* 'arrow', *š'aqayaq* 'flower'. Such areal similarities may be partly due to a shared substrate, and partly to contacts in recent centuries.

Among the older foreign words, the Arabic and Persian loans in Chalkan are often the same ones also found in other South Siberian languages, including *paa* 'price', *qayat* 'paper', *quday* 'God' from Persian, and *qaliq* 'people', *qiyvat* 'expensive', and *taam* 'taste' from Arabic.

The Mongolic words in Chalkan are also comparable to those of neighbouring languages. Only some can be attributed to old periods, e.g. *alyay* 'bowl', or to specific dialects, e.g. *saŋmay* 'temple of the head' from western Mongolic. Such items do not suggest a special relationship between Chalkan and the ultimate source languages. Many foreign elements are *Wanderwörter* which could have entered from other Turkic languages, in some cases even from Russian. Examples include *aŋmar* 'barn', *araa* 'liquor', *pal* ~ *mal* 'livestock', *savın* 'soap', and *taqpı* 'tobacco'.

The most recent and the most numerous additions to the Chalkan lexicon stem from Standard Altay and Russian.

Being exposed to the massive influence of Standard Altay, which is taught at school and has been the language of local mass media beside Russian for more than eighty years, Chalkan has borrowed a lot of Altay language material, both lexemes and (morphological variants of) affixes. Loanwords from Altay are often cognates of the Chalkan words they threaten to supplant. There are interesting doublets, as in the case of *andiy* 'such' alongside native *anduy*, or *törtön* 'forty', alongside native *qiriq* 'id'.

Chalkan uses the verb *ät*- 'to do' to create verbs based not only on Russian nouns, as in *analiz ät*- 'to analyse', but also on infinitives, as in *piçatat' ät*- 'to print'.

Interesting premodern Russian loanwords may stem from obsolete and/or regional Russian, include *prestek* 'sour clotted milk' and *salqoy* 'ruble'. Some words that had been adapted to Chalkan phonology, may return to a form closer to Russian, e.g. Baskakov's *posto* 'bridge' has now been documented as *mosta*.

f. An Original Sample Text in the Chalkan Language and Its Translation to English
Арабушқа

Arabušqa

1. T'är püdär tušta pir apš'ıyaq t'attır.	1. In the time when the Earth was created one old man lived, (as people say).
2. Ol ıaııis oolaš'tu poltır.	2. They say, he had one son.
3. Altaydın talap alyan qatı par aq poltır.	3. He had a wife that he brought from the Altay (Mountains).
4. T'atqan t'äriniı alinš'a aqqan aq talaylu suı par poltır.	4. In front of the place where they lived, there was a river flowing as big as a white sea (lit.: a flowing white sea).
5. Ol suyniı tayis artu t'ärinä toon soqtır, tärän t'ärinä para suqtır.	5. On places where the water was shallow, he put a fyke; on places where the water was deep he put a net.
6. Paliq kirgändä, sämiyözini azırap t'attän poltır.	6. When fish got into (the fyke and net) he fed his family, as they say.
7. Pir kün parazini tart šiıyar kälzä, parazina ıaan üš pädär kir qaltır.	7. One day as he pulled out his net (he saw) that three big trout had gone in (into it).
8. Üziläzi tirü poltır.	8. All three of them were alive.
9. Üyinä äkälkäp, ıaan qarıtqa suı urkäp, üš pädärni poıot iytir.	9. He brought (them) to his house, poured water into a big trough and let the three trout swim freely (there).
10. Qarıtqa salsaan pädärlär oynaptanarı matap poltır.	10. The trout were swimming (lit.: playing) in the trough a lot.
11. Apš'ıyaq parazini körörö qatap parıytır.	11. The old man went to look at his net again.
12. Tirüy pädärlär šalıııqtap, oynaptäni matap poltır.	12. The lively trout were swimming and splashing (water around) a lot.
13. Apš'ıyaqtıı azırap t'än oolaııı qarıtııı qıyına käl körzö, pädärlärniı oynaptänäri matap.	13. A boy whom the old man was bringing up came to the trough and saw that the trout were playing a lot.
14. Anı körgön oolaš' poyında sanandı:	14. The boy saw that and thought to himself:
15. "Po qarıtta piydä oynaptän pädärlär, aq talayda andın artıq oynıyirlär ädä!"	15. "The trout that are playing so much in the trough would be playing even more in the open sea!"
16. Pir pädärni qaı al, talayya par sal iydi.	16. He took out one trout and let it swim into the sea.
17. T'ılbiq pädär sal qaldı.	17. The slippery trout swam away.

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