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[Materials and Research Notes]

Tuvan Text: *Döŋ-Hööžük*¹

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1. Introduction

The present paper provides a text of the fairy tale *Döŋ-Hööžük*, a famous Tuvan classic tale about a smart boy and a witch. Tuvan (Tyvan) is the Sayan Turkic language of the South-Siberian sub-branch of North-Eastern branch of Turkic languages (Johanson 1998) spoken in the Republic of Tyva, various parts of Russia, North-Western Mongolia and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. According to the recent classification, spoken Tuvan is divided into central (Dzun-Khemchik, Erzin–Tes-Khem, Ulug-Khem, Ovrur, Tangdy), western (Bay-Tayga–Barun-Khemchik, Mongun-Tayga, Kara-Khol), Tere-Khol, Todzhan and Tsagaan-Nuur dialects, and the Altay dialect with the Khovd, Tsengel and Chinese sub-dialects (Bavuu-Syuryun 2018).

2. About the text

The text presented here was recorded from Aleksandr Syuryun by Nadezhda Syuryun and sent to the authors via the internet. Aleksandr Syuryun was born in 1957 in Bay-Tayga district; he is a speaker of the western dialect of Tuvan. The text was recorded to a smartphone on the 25th of January, 2021, in the village of Sukpak, Republic of Tyva, and the recording duration was approximately seven minutes. The authors transcribed, annotated and translated the recorded data using ELAN (<https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>). The words in the text were transcribed according to the speaker's pronunciation.

3. Abbreviations and some grammatical notes

The followings are the list of abbreviations present in the text.

¹ The present paper is an outcome of the following projects: “A new collaborative approach with Russia to the documentation and studies on Altaic languages” by JSPS Invitational Fellowships for Research in Japan (Longterm) and “The study of egophoricity in the languages of Central Eurasia: focusing on Tuvan and Sibe” by ILCAA Joint Research Project.

1	first person	LIMIT	Limitative
2	second person	LOC	Locative
3	third person	NEG	Negative
ABL	Ablative	NPST	Non-past
ACC	Accusative	NPROP	Proper noun
ACTOR	Actor	ONOMAT	Onomatopoeia
ADV	Adverbializer	OPT	Optative
ADJ	Adjective	PL	Plural
ALL	Allative	POSS	Possessive
CAUS	Causative	PRF	Perfective
COND	Conditional	PROP	Proprietary
CV	Converb	PST	Past
CV1	Simultaneous	PTCL	Particle
CV2	Perfective	PTCP	Participle
CV3	Sequential	Q	Question
DAT	Dative	RECP	Reciprocal
DUAL	Dual	REFL	Reflexive
GEN	Genitive	SG	Singular
IMP	Imperative	VBLZ	Verbalizer
INTJ	Interjection		

Nouns take case suffixes *-nĭŋ* (genitive) with twelve allomorphs for voiced and unvoiced consonants, rounded and unrounded vowels; *-GA* (dative) with four allomorphs *-ga// -ge// -ka// -ke*, in intervocalic position *-g-* drops, resulting in lengthening the vowels; *-nĭ* (accusative) twelve allomorphs for voiced and unvoiced consonants, rounded and unrounded vowels, and the stems ending with *-l*; *-DA* (locative) with four allomorphs *-da// -de// -ta// -te*; *-DAn* (ablative) with four allomorphs *-dan// -den// -tan// -ten*; *-že// -če* (allative). Nouns without case suffixes are treated as being in a nominative case. Nouns also use the number marker *-LAr* (plural), which has eight allomorphs. Nouns can take possessive markers *-(ĭ)m* for first-person singular, *-(ĭ)vĭs* – first-person plural, *-(ĭ)ŋ* – second-person singular, *-(ĭ)ŋAr* – second-person plural, *-(z)ĭ* – third-person singular, and *-ĭ* – third-person plural; all have corresponding allomorphs for stems ending with consonants, and those with rounded and unrounded vowels.

Verbs take TAM suffixes *-Ar* (non-past), *-Dĭ* (recent past), *-GAn* (remote past), *-ĭvĭt*, *-ĭp(t)-* (perfective). Verbs also take converbial suffixes *-A(j)* (simultaneous), *-p* (perfective), and *-GAš* (sequential). Verbs can be marked with *-za* (conditional) for third person and the complex suffix *-zĭ-Person-zA* for first, second singular, and plural markings.

3. The text

- (1) *Tool Döŋ-Hööžük*
Tool Döŋ_Hööžük
 fairytale NPROP
 ‘Fairy tale Döŋ-Hööžük.’
- (2) *Šijaan-am, ertenginiŋ ertezinde burungunuŋ murnunda Süt-Höl*
šalbaa, Sümber-Uula tej turar šagda čüveŋ irgin.
šijaan=am erten-gi-niŋ erte-zi-nde
 once.upon.a.time=PTCL tomorrow-ADJ-GEN early-POSS.3-LOC
burun-gu-nuŋ murnu-nda Süt=Höl šalbaa, Sümber_Uula
 long-ADJ-GEN front.POSS.3-LOC milk=lake puddle NPROP
tej tur-ar šag-da čüve-ŋ irgin
 hill to.stand-PTCP.NPST period-LOC thing-POSS.2.SG PTCL
 ‘Once upon a time when the lake Süt-Höl was a puddle and the mountain
 Sümber-Uula was a hill.’
- (3) *Irej-kadaŋ čurttap čorup tur evespe.*
irej=kadaŋ čurt-ta-p čor-up tur evespe
 old.man=woman country-VBLZ-CV2 to.go-CV2 to.stand PTCL
 ‘There lived an old man and a woman.’
- (4) “*Ulug ak šariŋ munup algaš, bizaalariŋ munup ekkeer sen be, oglum?*” -
deen.
ulug ak šari-ŋ mun-up al-gaš
 big white ox-POSS.2.SG to.ride-CV2 to.take-CV3
bizaa-lar-iŋ mun-up ekke-er sen be
 calf-PL-POSS.2.SG to.ride-CV2 to.bring-PTCP.NPST 2SG Q
ogl-um?”- de-en.
 son-POSS.1.SG to.say-PTCP.PST
 ‘They said, “Could you saddle your big white ox and bring your calves, son?”’
- (5) *Döŋ-Hööžük-daa čüzü boor ulug ak šarizän munup algaš, bizaalarin dilep*
čorup-la kaan irgin.
Döŋ_Hööžük=daa čü-zü bo-or ulug ak
 NPROP=PTCL what-POSS.3 to.be-PTCP.NPST big white
šari-zän mun-up al-gaš, bizaa-lar-in
 ox-POSS.3.ACC to.ride-CV2 to.take-CV3 calf-PL-POSS.3.ACC

dile-p čor-up=la ka-an irgin.
 to.search-CV2 to.go-CV2=PTCL to.put-PTCP.PST PTCL
 ‘Then Döŋ-Hööžük saddled his big white ox and went to search for his calves.’

- (6) *Taa kažanga, taa čežege deer dilep kelgen čüve, tip čadap kaaš, čanip kelgen.*
taa kažan-ga, taa čeže-ge
 do.not.know when-DAT do.not.know how.many-DAT
deer dile-p kel-gen čüve, ti-p
 until to.search-CV2 to.come-PTCP.PST thing to.find-CV2
čada-p ka-aš, čan-ip kel-gen.
 to.be.not.able-CV2 to.put-CV3 to.go.home-CV2 to.come-PTCP.PST
 ‘No one knows how long he searched, but he could not find them and returned home.’

- (7) *Aal-čurtunuŋ turgan čeringe keerge, čüggle baglaaži artkan, čüü-daa čok, een bolgan.*
aal=čurt-u-nuŋ tur-gan čer-i-nge
 camp=country-POSS.3-GEN to.stand-PTCP.PST place-POSS.3-DAT
keer-ge, čüggle baglaaž-i
 to.come-PTCP.NPST-DAT only hitching.post-POSS.3
art-kan, čüü=daa čok, een bol-gan.
 to.stay-PTCP.PST what=PTCL no empty to.be-PTCP.PST
 ‘When he arrived at a place where his home used to be, there was nothing, only a hitching post left.’

- (8) *Küžür er-daa čüü boor, ulug ak šarizi-bile baš uglaan čerže iglap-siktaptojaap čorup-la kaan irgin.*
küžür er=daa čüü bo-or, ulug ak
 poor boy=PTCL what to.be-PTCP.NPST big white
šari-zi=bile baš ugla-an čer-že
 ox-POSS.3=with head to.lead-PTCP.PST place-ALL
igla-p=sikta-p tojaa-p čor-up=la
 to.cry.bitterly-CV2 to.wander-CV2 to.go-CV2=PTCL
ka-an irgin.
 to.put-PTCP.PST PTCL
 ‘Poor boy, unconsciously guided by his head, he went wandering on his big white ox, crying all the way.’

- (9) *Bir čerge čorup orarga, kilamalaj berip, doŋa bergen doš čitkan, hem.*
bir čer-ge čor-up or-ar-ga,
 one place-DAT to.go-CV2 to.sit-PTCP.NPST-DAT
kilama-la-j ber-ip, doŋ-a ber-gen
 shiny-VBLZ-CV1 to.give-CV2 frozen-CV1 to.give-PTCP.PST
hem čit-kan.
 river to.lie-PTCP.PST
 ‘There was a shining frozen river somewhere on his way.’
- (10) *Onu kežip bar čidirda, ulug ak šariziniŋ čavaa čarilgaš ölüp kalgan irgin.*
onu kež-ip bar čid-ir-da,
 3.SG.ACC to.cross-CV2 to.go to.lie-PTCP.NPST-LOC
ulug ak šari-zī-niŋ čava-a čar-il-gaš
 big white ox-POSS.3-GEN crotch-POSS.3 to.break-PASS-CV3
öl-üp kal-gan irgin.
 to.die-CV2 to.put-PTCP.PST PTCL
 ‘While he was crossing this shiny frozen river, his big white ox broke its crotch and died.’
- (11) *Am kančaar, Döŋ-Höözük kančaar-daa aajin tippajn bodaniŋ olurgaš, idiinden bolza iji ilig kestiin užulgaš, ulug ak šariziniŋ karaaniŋ čaan ijaška šišteeš, ot salip algaštiŋ, onu čiiir deeš šištep olurup ap-tir.*
am kančaar, Döŋ_Höözük kančaar=daa
 now to.do_how NPROP to.do_how=PTCL
aaj-in tipp-ajjn boda-n-iŋ olur-gaš,
 order-POSS.3.ACC to.find-NEG.CV to.think-REFL-CV2 to.sit-CV3
idi-i-nden bol-za iji ilig
 shoe-POSS.3-ABL to.be-COND two measure
kesti-in užul-gaš, ulug ak
 knife-POSS.3.ACC to.pull_out-CV3 big white
šari-zī-niŋ kara-a-niŋ čaan ijaš-ka
 ox-POSS.3-GEN eye-POSS.3-GEN fat.POSS.3.ACC tree-DAT
šište-eš, ot sal-iŋ al-gaš-tiŋ, on-u
 to.prick-CV3 fire to.put-CV2 to.take-CV3-GEN that-POSS.3
či-ir deeš šište-p olur-up
 to.eat-PTCP.NPST to.say.CV3 to.prick-CV2 to.sit-CV2
ap=tir.
 to.take.CV2=PTCL
 ‘No matter how hard he thought, Döŋ-Höözük did not know what to do and

pulled out his knife from his shoe, pricked his big white ox's eye on the stick, set the fire and was going to eat it.'

- (12) *İnçap olurda, bir, bir-le artında “Artında çüü çüvel Döη-Hööžük?” dep kījiripkan.*

inča-p olur-da, bir, bir=le artī-nda
to.do.like.that-CV2 to.sit-LOC one one=PTCL back.POSS.3-LOC
“*Artī-η-da çüü çüve-l Döη_Hööžük?*”
back.POSS.3-POSS.2.SG-LOC what thing-Q NPROP
de-p kījir-ip-kan.
to.say-CV2 to.call-PRF-PTCP.PST
‘While he was sitting like that “What is on your back, Döη-Hööžük?” someone called from his back.’

- (13) *Döη-Hööžük haja körüp keerge çüü-daa çok bolgan.*

Döη_Hööžük haja kör-üp keer-ge çüü=daa
NPROP back to.see-CV2 to.come.PTCP.NPST-DAT what=PTCL
çok bol-gan.
no to.be-PTCP.PST
‘When Döη-Hööžük turned back, there was nothing.’

- (14) *Oon am šištep algan karaan köörge, baza çok boop tur.*

oon am šiš-te-p al-gan karaan
then now sharp-VBLZ-CV2 to.take-PTCP.PST eye.POSS.3.ACC
kö-ör-ge, baza çok bo-op tur.
to.see-PTCP.NPST-DAT also no to.be-CV2 to.stand
‘And when he looked for the eye he had pricked, it had also disappeared.’

- (15) *İnçap olurda, baza-la “Artında çüüžel Döη-Hööžük” deerge, baza katap haja körnüp keerge, çüü-daa çok, am dedir körnüp keerge, ak šariži-daa çok, oon murnunda čilbiğa kadaj olurup-tur.*

inča-p olur-da, baza=la
to.do.like.that-CV2 to.sit-LOC also=PTCL
“*Artī-η-da çüü-žel Döη_Hööžük*”
back.POSS.3-POSS.2.SG-LOC what-thing.Q NPROP
de-er-ge, baza katap haja kör-n-üp
to.say-PTCP.NPST-DAT also again rock to.look-REFL-CV2
ke-er-ge, çüü=daa çok, am dedir
to.come-PTCP.NPST-DAT what=PTCL no now back

kör-n-üp ke-er-ge, ak šari-ži=daa
 to.look-REFL-CV2 to.come-PTCP.NPST-DAT white ox-POSS.3=PTCL
čok, ooŋ murn-u-nda čilbīga kadaj olur-up=tur.
 no that.GEN front-POSS.3-LOC witch woman to.sit-CV2=PTCL
 ‘And then again “What is on your back, Döŋ-Hööžük?” someone said, but when he turned back again, there was nothing, and when he turned back, his white ox was nowhere, but the witch was sitting in front of him.’

- (16) *Čilbīga turgaš “Meeŋ öömge baraalī, inda meeŋ sen iškaš bičii ooldarim bar, olarniŋ-bile oinaar sen, inaar barbas bolzuŋza, seni men čipter men” dep olurarga*

čilbīga tur-gaš “Meeŋ öö-m-ge
 witch to.stand-CV3 1SG.GEN yurt.POSS.1.SG-DAT
bar-aalī, inda meeŋ sen iškaš bičii
 to.go-IMP.DUAL there 1SG.GEN 2SG similar small
ool-dar-īm bar, olar-niŋ=bile oina-ar
 son-PL-POSS.1.SG to.exist 3PL-GEN=with to.play-PTCP.NPST
sen, inaar bar-bas bol-zu-ŋ-za, sen-i
 2SG there to.go-NEG.NPST to.be-COND-2.SG-COND 2SG-ACC
men či-pt-er men” de-p olur-ar-ga
 1SG to.eat-PHF-PTCP.NPST 1SG to.say-CV2 to.sit-PTCP.NPST-DAT
 ‘The witch said, “Let's go to my place, there I have my little sons like you, you will play with them, but if you don't go there, I will eat you”.’

- (17) *Šijaan-am, čilbīga-daa Döŋ-Hööžüktü ulug barbazinga sukkaš, čüktep algaš, čanip čorupkan.*

šijaan=am, čilbīga=daa Döŋ_Hööžük-tü
 once.upon.a.time=PTCL witch=PTCL NPROP-ACC
ulug barba-zī-nga suk-kaš, čükte-p
 big bag-POSS.3-DAT to.put.inside-CV3 to.carry.on.the.back-CV2
al-gaš, čan-ip čor-up-kan
 to.take-CV3 to.go_home-CV2 to.go-PHF-PTCP.PST
 ‘Well, the witch put Döŋ-Hööžük into her big bag, carried it on her bag and went home.’

- (18) *Döŋ-Hööžük körüp čoruurga ol ulug barbada üt, ojbak bar bolgan.*

Döŋ_Hööžük kör-üp čoru-ur-ga ol ulug
 NPROP to.see-CV2 to.go-PTCP.NPST-DAT that big

barba-da üt ojbak bar bol-gan
 bag-LOC hole holey to.exist to.be-PTCP.PST
 ‘Döŋ-Hööžük noticed that there was a hole in that big bag.’

- (19) *Ol ojbaktan üne berip bolur bolup tur.*
ol ojbak-tan ün-e ber-ip bol-ur
 that holey-ABL to.go.out-CV1 to.give-CV2 to.be-PTCP.NPST
bol-up tur
 to.be-CV2 to.stand
 ‘One can escape through that hole.’

- (20) *Čilbīga-kadaj bir čerge kilaštap čorup orgaštij: “Kiži čükteen kiži dištanir deen čüve bolgaj”, deš dištanip olurup aar orta, Döŋ-Hööžük ulug ojbaktan büdüü üngeš, dön-terezin arazinče čaštíp kire berip-tir.*
čilbīga=kadaj bir čer-ge kilaš-ta-p
 witch=woman one place-DAT step-VBLZ-CV2
čor-up or-gaš-tij: Kiži čükte-en
 to.go-CV2 to.sit-CV3-GEN person to.carry.on.the.back-PTCP.PST
kiži dištan-ir de-en čüve
 person to.rest-PTCP.NPST to.say-PTCP.PST thing
bol-gaj”, de-eš dištan-ip olur-up aar
 to.be-OPT to.say-CV3 to.rest-CV2 to.sit-CV2 to.take.PTCP.NPST
orta, Döŋ-Hööžük ulug ojbak-tan büdüü
 moment NPROP big holey-ABL secretly
ün-geš, dön=terezin ara-zī-nče
 to.go.out-CV3 hill=feather.grass between-POSS.3-ALL
čašt-ip kir-e ber-ip=tir.
 to.hide-CV2 to.enter-CV1 to.give-CV2=PTCL
 ‘On her way, the witch said, “They say the one who carries a human should take some rest” and while she sat down to have a rest, Döŋ-Hööžük secretly escaped through the bag and hid in the feather grass.’

- (21) *A ol üjede čilbiganij ooldari avazin kajiraktan-na körüp kaaš: “Avavīs kel čidīr, avavīs kel čidīr” deš halčip-la kaannar.*
a ol üje-de čilbīga-nij ool-dar-i
 and that time-LOC witch-GEN son-PL-POSS.3
ava-zin kajī irak-tan=na kör-üp
 mother-POSS.3.ACC which far-ABL=PTCL to.see-CV2

ka-aš: *Ava-viš* *kel* *čid-ir*;
to.put-CV3 mother-POSS.1.PL to.come to.lie-PTCP.NPST
ava-viš *kel* *čid-ir*” *de-eš*
mother-POSS.1.PL to.come to.lie-PTCP.NPST to.say-CV3
hal-č-ïp=la *ka-an-nar*.
to.run-RECP-CV2=PTCL to.put-PTCP.PST-PL

‘At that time the witch's sons seeing their mother from afar said, “Our mother is coming, our mother is coming” and ran to her.’

- (22) “*Adir, ooldarim, men mindig bičii ool ekkeldim, ooŋ-bile kadï ojnaar siler*”
deeš, barbazin ažiđiptarga, kurug bolgan.

adir, *ool-dar-im,* *men* *mindig* *bičii* *ool*
wait son-PL-POSS.1.SG 1SG like.this small boy
ekkel-di-m, *ooŋ=bile* *kadï* *ojna-ar*
to.bring-PST-1SG 3SG.GEN=with together to.play-PTCP.NPST
siler de-eš, *barba-zin* *ažiđ-ipt-ar-ga,* *kurug*
2PL to.say-CV3 bag-POSS.3.ACC to.open-PRF-PTCP.NPST-DAT empty
bol-gan.
to.be-PTCP.PST

‘Having said, “Wait, sons, I brought such a little boy, you will play with him”, she opened her bag and found that it was empty.’

- (23) “*Aa, kulugurnu, Döŋ-Höözük-tü, kajda čüde bardïŋ?*” *deeš, kök deerni*
hölbeŋnedir, kara čer-ni sirtiledir kiškïrip-la kelgen.

aa, *kulugur-nu,* *Döŋ_Höözük-tü,* *kaj-da* *čü-de*
INTJ bad-ACC NPROP-ACC which-LOC what-LOC
bar-dï-ŋ?” *de-eš,* *kök* *deer-ni* *hölbeŋ-ne-dir,*
to.go-PST-2.SG to.say-CV3 blue sky-ACC flutter-VBLZ-ADV
kara čer-ni *sirtile-dir* *kiškïrip=la*
black place-ACC to.shake-ADV to.scream-CV2=PTCL
kel-gen.

to.come-PTCP.PST

““What a bad boy, Döŋ-Höözük, where are you?” - she started screaming so that the blue sky fluttered, and the black earth shuddered.’

- (24) *İncaptar orta, Döŋ-Höözük kortkaš:* “*Minda men, kirgan-avaj, minda men*”
deeš, čaštïnïp čitkan čerinden üne halip kelgen.

inča-pt-ar *orta,* *Döŋ-Höözük*
to.do.like.that-PRF-PTCP.NPST moment NPROP

kort-kaš: *Minda* *men* *kirgan=avaj,* *minda*
to.be.afraid-CV3 here 1SG old=mother here
men *de-eš,* *čaš-tin-ip* *čit-kan*
1SG to.say-CV3 to.hide-REFL-CV2 to.lie-PTCP.PST
čer-i-nden *ün-e* *halī-p* *kel-gen.*
place-POSS.3-ABL to.go.out-CV1 to.run-CV2 to.come-PTCP.PST
‘After that Döŋ-Hööžük got scared: “I am here, granny, I am here”, he said
and came out of his hideout.’

- (25) *Čilbīga-kadaj Döŋ-Hööžüktü ööŋge ekkelgeš, ulug hapka haptaaš dündükke
askaš “Men bo kulugurnuŋ büüreen bižirip čür bürülüŋ ijaštan, baarīn
bižirip čür par ijaštan ekkeejn ooldarīm” deš, čoruj bargan irgin.*
čilbīga=kadaj *Döŋ_Hööžük-tü* *öö-nge* *ekkel-geš,*
witch=woman NPROP-ACC yurt.POSS.3-DAT to.bring-CV3
ulug *hap-ka* *hap-ta-aš* *dündük-ke* *as-kaš*
big bag-DAT bag-VBLZ-CV3 smoke.hole-DAT to.hang-CV3
men *bo* *kulugur-nuŋ* *büüre-en* *bižir-ip*
1SG this bad-GEN kidney-POSS.3.ACC to.fry-CV2
či-ir *bürü-lüg* *ijaš-tan,* *baar-īn*
to.eat-PTCP.NPST leaf-PROP tree-ABL liver-POSS.3.ACC
bižir-ip *či-ir* *par* *ijaš-tan*
to.fry-CV2 to.eat-PTCP.NPST thick tree-ABL
ekke-ejn *ool-dar-īm* *de-eš,* *čor-uj*
to.bring-OPT.1.SG son-PL-POSS.1.SG to.say-CV3 to.go-CV1
bar-gan *irgin.*
to.go-PTCP.PST PTCL
‘The witch brought Döŋ-Hööžük to her house, put him into a big bag and
hang on the chimney: “I will go and bring some branches with leaves to fry
his kidneys, some thick wood to fry his liver”, she said and went out.’

- (26) *Čilbīga-kadaj čoruj baarī bilek, Döŋ-Hööžük čilbiganīŋ čedi agbagar sarīg
baštīg ooldarīn kögüdüp “Meni čežiptiŋer, ooldar, men siler-bile avañar
kelgiže deer ojnāp alijŋ šüve” deen.*
čilbīga=kadaj *čor-uj* *ba-ar-ī* *bilek,*
witch=woman to.go-CV1 to.go-PTCP.NPST-POSS.3 moment
Döŋ_Hööžük *čilbīga-nīŋ* *čedi* *agbagar* *sarīg*
NPROP witch-GEN seven shaggy yellow
baš-tīg *ool-dar-īn* *kөгүd-üp* *Men-i*
head-PROP son-PL-POSS.3.ACC to.persuade-CV2 1SG-ACC

čež-ipt-ijer, ool-dar, men siler-bile
 to.untie-PRF-IMP.2.PL boy-PL 1SG 2PL=with
ava-ŋar kel-giže deer ojna-p al-ijn
 mother-POSS.2.PL to.come-LIMIT until to.play-CV2 to.take-OPT.1.SG
šüve” de-en.
 PTCL to.say-PTCP.PST

‘When she left, Döŋ-Hööžük persuaded her seven shaggy yellow haired sons and said, “Unrope me, boys, I will play with you until your mother comes”.’

- (27) “*Šinap-la inčaaliŋar*” *de-eš, čilbiganiŋ ooldari Döŋ-Hööžüktü čerge düžürüp, haptan uštup ap-tirlar.*

šinap=la inča-aliŋar de-eš, čilbiga-niŋ
 really=PTCL to.do.like.that-IMP.DUAL.PL to.say-CV3 witch-GEN
ool-dar-i Döŋ-Hööžük-tü čer-ge düžür-üp,
 son-PL-POSS.3 NPROP-ACC place-DAT to.bring.down-CV2
hap-tan ušt-up ap=tir-lar.
 bag-ABL to.pull.out-CV2 to.take.CV2=PTCL-PL

“‘Right, let's do it” said the witch's sons, put Döŋ-Hööžük down and pulled him out of the bag.’

- (28) *İnčaarga men čaština beejn, silerni men “Če! depterimge, siler meni dileer, tüvar siler” deen.*

inčaar-ga men čaš-tin-a be-ejn, siler-ni
 to.do.like.that-DAT 1SG to.hide-REFL-CV1 to.give-OPT.1.SG 2PL-ACC
men če de-pt-er-im-ge, siler
 1SG let's to.say-PRF-PTCP.NPST-POSS.1.SG-DAT 2PL
men-i dile-er, tiv-ar
 1SG-ACC to.search-PTCP.NPST to.find-PTCP.NPST
siler de-en.
 2PL to.say-PTCP.PST

‘He said, “Then I will hide myself and when I say to you: “Let's (start)”, you will search for me”.’

- (29) *Šijaan-am, Döŋ-Hööžük iji ilig kestiin beletkeeš, ežik aksinga kedep turup algaš, “Če!” dep algirip-latkan.*

šijaan=am, Döŋ_Hööžük iji ilig
 once.upon.a.time=PTCL NPROP two measure
kesti-in beletke-eš, ežik aks-i-nga
 knife-POSS.3.ACC to.prepare-CV3 door mouth-POSS.3-DAT

kede-p tur-up al-gaš, če de-p
 to.spy-CV2 to.stand-CV2 to.take-CV3 let's to.say-CV2
algir-ip=la-t-kan.

to.scream-CV2=PTCL-AUX-PTCP.PST

‘So, Döŋ-Hööžük prepared his knife, stood behind the door on watch for them and screamed: “Let's (start)!”.’

- (30) *Čilbiganij ooldari ünüp keerge-le, boksun odura keskeš, ünüp keerge-le, boksun odura keskeš, oktap-la, ol čedeldirzin bolza, ölürip kaapkan irgin.*

čilbīga-nij ool-dar-i ün-üp
 witch-GEN son-PL-POSS.3 to.go.out-CV2
ke-er-ge=le, boks-un odur-a
 to.come-PTCP.NPST-DAT=PTCL neck-POSS.3.ACC to.sever-CV1
kes-keš, ün-üp ke-er-ge=le,
 to.cut-CV3 to.go.out-CV2 to.come-PTCP.NPST-DAT=PTCL
boks-un odur-a kes-keš, okta-p=la
 neck-POSS.3.ACC to.sever-CV1 to.cut-CV3 to.throw-CV2=PTCL
ol čed-eldir-zin bol-za, ölü-üp
 that seven-all-POSS.3.ACC to.be-COND to.kill-CV2
kaa-p-kan irgin.

to.put-PRF-PTCP.PST PTCL

‘Every time one of the witch's sons came out, he cut their throats, and threw them, and he killed all seven sons.’

- (31) *Ooldarini borbak bažin orunga šuglaaš, e'din ulug paška dülgeš, hanin čumurga kutkaš, ög artinga čaštīp turup algan-dir.*

ool-dar-i-nij borbak baž-in orun-ga
 son-PL-POSS.3-GEN round head-POSS.3.ACC bed-DAT
šugla-aš, e'd-in ulug paš-ka dül-geš,
 to.cover-CV3 meat-POSS.3.ACC big pot-DAT to.boil-CV3
han-in čumur-ga kut-kaš, ög artī-nga
 blood-POSS.3.ACC abomasum-DAT to.pour-CV3 yurt back-POSS.3-DAT
čaštī-p tur-up al-gan=dir.
 to.hide-CV2 to.stand-CV2 to.take-PTCP.PST=PTCL

‘He covered the heads of the witch's sons, boiled their meat in a big pot, poured their blood into the stomach gut and hid himself behind the yurt.’

- (32) *Udavaanda čilbīga-kada jijažin düžürgeš, ööngē kiirip kaaš, pašta e'tti körüp kaaš “Oo, meen ooldarim Döŋ-Hööžük iškaš čelerni borastaptar apargan-*

dir ale” - *deeš, amirap olurgan irgin.*

udavaanda čilbiga=kadaj ijaž-in
 soon witch=woman tree-POSS.3.ACC
düž-ür-geš, öö-nge ki-ir-ip
 to.put.down-CAUS-CV3 yurt.POSS.3-DAT to.enter-CAUS-CV2
ka-aš, paš-ta e't-ti kör-üp
 to.put-CV3 pot-LOC meat-ACC to.see-CV2
ka-aš oo meeŋ ool-dar-ım
 to.put-CV3 INTJ 1SG.GEN son-PL-POSS.1.SG
Döŋ_Hööžük iškaš če-ler-ni borasta-pt-ar
 NPROP similar thing-PL-ACC to.do.somehow-PRF-PTCP.NPST
apar-gan=dir ale de-eš, amira-p
 to.become-PTCP.PST=PTCL PTCL to.say-CV3 to.be.glad-CV2
olur-gan irgin.
 to.sit-PTCP.PST PTCL

‘Soon the witch unloaded the wood, put it inside the yurt, and seeing the meat in the pot, said: “Oh, my sons became capable of dealing with someone like *Döŋ-Hööžük*” and felt happy.’

- (33) “*Döŋ-Hööžük kulugurnuŋ büüree biškaŋ be?*” *deeš, büürekti čirge, bodunuŋ büüree bürt deer bolgan.*

Döŋ_Hööžük kulugur-nuŋ büüre-e
 NPROP bad-GEN kidney-POSS.3
biš-kan be? de-eš, büürek-ti či-ir-ge,
 to.ripen-PTCP.PST Q to.say-CV3 kidney-ACC to.eat-PTCP.NPST-DAT
bod-u-nuŋ büüre-e bürt de-er
 self-POSS.3-GEN kidney-POSS.3 ONOMAT to.say-PTCP.NPST
bol-gan.
 to.be-PTCP.PST

‘When she said: “Is *Döŋ-Hööžük*'s kidney ready?” and tried the kidney, her own kidney shivered.’

- (34) “*Döŋ-Hööžüktüŋ baarī biškaŋ be?*” *deeš, baarīn čirge, bodunuŋ baarī bart deer bolgan.*

Döŋ_Hööžük-tüŋ baar-ī biš-kan be?
 NPROP-GEN liver-POSS.3 to.ripen-PTCP.PST Q
de-eš, baar-ın či-ir-ge,
 to.say-CV3 liver-POSS.3.ACC to.eat-PTCP.NPST-DAT

surag.

news

‘The witch called her sons, “Come on, sons, the meat is ready, get up and eat”, but her sons did not move.’

- (37) “*Oj, ooldarim, e'diŋer biža berip tur, turuŋar če!*” *dömej-le surag bolgan.*

oj, ool-dar-im, e'd-iŋer biž-a ber-ip
 oops son-PL-POSS.1.SG meat-POSS.2.PL to.ripen-CV1 to.give-CV2
tur tur-uŋar če dömej=le surag
 to.stand to.stand-2.PL let's same=PTCL news
bol-gan.

to.be-PTCP.PST

“‘Oh, sons, the meat is ready, get up!”, still there was no movement.’

- (38) “*Čop končug ujgužu čeleril bo*” - *deeš, čoorganni ažiđip oktaptarga, ooldariniŋ borbak baštari čuglup čitkan.*

čop končug ujgu-žu če-ler-il bo de-eš,
 PTCL very dream-ACTOR thing-PL-PTCL this to.say-CV3
čoorgan-ni ažiđ-ip okta-pt-ar-ga,
 blanket-ACC to.open-CV2 to.throw-PRF-PTCP.NPST-DAT
ool-dar-i-niŋ borbak baš-tar-i čugl-up
 son-PL-POSS.3-GEN round head-PL-POSS.3 to.roll-CV2
čit-kan.

to.lie-PTCP.PST

‘She said, “What sleepy bags they are”, lifted the blanket and her sons' heads were rolling.’

- (39) “*Aa, halak, kulugur Döŋ-Höözük-tü! ooldarimni ölürip kaapkan. Kajda bardıŋ, čüde bardıŋ?*” - *dep algirip kiškiŋip üne-le halaan.*

aa, halak, kulugur Döŋ_Höözük-tü ool-dar-im-ni
 INTJ INTJ bad NPROP-ACC son-PL-POSS.1.SG-ACC
ölür-üp kaap-kan. Kaj-da bar-di-ŋ,
 to.kill-CV2 to.put.PRF-PTCP.PST which-LOC to.go-PST-2.SG
čü-de bar-di-ŋ?” de-p algir-ip
 what-LOC to.go-PST-2.SG to.say-CV2 to.scream-CV2
kiškiŋ-ip ün-e=le hala-an.

to.scream-CV2 to.go.out-CV1=PTCL to.run-PTCP.PST

“‘Ah, goodness, bad boy Döŋ-Höözük! He killed my sons. Where are you?’ - she screamed and ran out.’

- (40) “*Minda men, kīrgan-avaj, mīnda men!*” - *deēš, Dōḡ-Höözük šariziniḡ čavaa čarlip kaan dožünče maḡnap-la kaan.*
mīnda men, kīrgan=avaj, mīnda men de-eš,
 here 1SG old=mother here 1SG to.say-CV3
Dōḡ Höözük šari-zī-niḡ čava-a čarl-ip
 NPROP ox-POSS.3-GEN crotch-POSS.3 to.break.PASS-CV2
ka-an dož-ü-nče maḡna-p=la ka-an.
 to.put-PTCP.PST ice-POSS.3-ALL to.run-CV2=PTCL to.put-PTCP.PST
 ‘I am here, granny, I am here’, he said and ran to the ice where his ox's crotch had been broken.’
- (41) *Doška čedip keeš, čumurda hannī čara šančiptarga, han töktü bergen.*
doš-ka čed-ip ke-eš, čumur-da han-ni
 ice-DAT to.arrive-CV2 to.come-CV3 abomasum-LOC blood-ACC
čar-a šanči-pt-ar-ga, han tökt-ü
 to.break-CV1 to.hit-PRF-PTCP.NPST-DAT blood to.pour.out-CV1
ber-gen.
 to.give-PTCP.PST
 ‘When he reached the ice and cut the stomach gut, the blood poured out of it.’
- (42) *Čilbīga-kadaj halip keeš, “Dōḡ-Höözüktüḡ soondan ooda ooldarimniḡ hanin sugže badirbas-tir” - deēštiḡ, ol doštu čilgap-la egeleen.*
čilbīga=kadaj halip ke-eš, Dōḡ-Höözük-tüḡ
 witch=woman to.run-CV2 to.come-CV3 NPROP-GEN
soo-ndan ooda ool-dar-im-niḡ han-in
 end.POSS.3-ABL even son-PL-POSS.1.SG-GEN blood-POSS.3.ACC
sug-že bad-ir-bas=tir de-eš-tiḡ,
 water-ALL to.go.down-CAUS-NEG.NPST=PTCL to.say-CV3-GEN
ol doš-tu čilga-p=la egele-en
 that ice-ACC to.lick-CV2=PTCL to.start-PTCP.PST
 ‘The witch arrived and said, “At least I should not let my sons' blood flow into the water and follow after Dōḡ-Höözük”, and started to lick the ice.’
- (43) *İnčap turda, doška diličišpinip kaan.*
inča-p tur-da, doš-ka dil-i
 to.do.like.that-CV2 to.stand-LOC ice-DAT tongue-POSS.3
čišpin-ip ka-an.
 to.stick-CV2 to.put-PTCP.PST
 ‘Then her tongue stuck to the ice.’

- (44) Čilbīga čida: “Oglum, Döŋ-Hööžük, meni adirivit, am seni čives men” - dep araj čadaj-čadaj čugaalap-la čidirda, “Aa, “boskum odura kezivit” didir sen be?” - deeš, halip keeš, boskun odura kezip ölürip kaapkan-dir.

čilbīga čid-a: ogl-um, Döŋ_Hööžük, men-i
 witch to.lie-CV1 son-POSS.1.SG NPROP 1SG-ACC
 adir-ivit, am sen-i či-ves men
 to.detach-PRF.IMP now 2SG-ACC to.eat-NEG.NPST 1SG
 de-p araj čada-j=čada-j
 to.say-CV2 a.bit to.be.not.able-CV1=to.be.not.able-CV1
 čugaala-p=la čid-ir-da, Aa, bosk-um
 to.tell-CV2=PTCL to.lie-PTCP.NPST-LOC INTJ neck-POSS.1.SG
 odur-a kez-ivit didir sen be?”
 to.sever-CV1 to.cut-PRF.IMP to.say.PST 2SG Q
 de-eš, halī-p ke-eš, bosk-un odur-a
 to.say-CV3 to.run-CV2 to.come-CV3 neck-POSS.3.ACC to.sever-CV1
 kez-ip ölürip kaap-kan=dir.
 to.cut-CV2 to.kill-CV2 to.put.PRF-PTCP.PST=PTCL

‘Lying on the ice, she somehow started to pronounce, “Son, Döŋ-Hööžük, please, free me, I will not eat you”, “Ah, you say “cut my throat?”, he said and killed her cutting her throat.’

- (45) Čilbiganiŋ iŋtin čara kezipterge, ada-ijezi, mal-magani šuptu ünüp keep-tir.

čilbīga-niŋ iŋti-n čar-a kez-ipt-er-ge,
 witch-GEN inside.POSS.3-ACC to.break-CV1 to.cut-PRF-PTCP.NPST-DAT
 ada=ije-zi mal=magan-i šuptu ün-üp
 father=mother-POSS.3 cattle=COLL-POSS.3 all to.go.out-CV2
 ke-ep=tir.
 to.come-CV2=PTCL

‘When he cut her stomach, his parents, his cattle and everything was released.’

- (46) Čaa, küžür er-daa čüü boor, ög ögleer čeringe öön öglep, mal-maldaar čeringe malin maldap, ojun oja čiriin čire čurttap čoruj barip-tir, oo.

čaa küžür er=daa čüü bo-or, ög
 alright poor man=PTCL what to.be-PTCP.NPST yurt
 ög-le-er čer-i-nge öön
 yurt-VBLZ-PTCP.NPST place-POSS.3-DAT yurt.POSS.3.ACC
 ög-le-p, mal mal-da-ar čer-i-nge
 yurt-VBLZ-CV2 cattle cattle-VBLZ-PTCP.NPST place-POSS.3-DAT

mal-ïn *mal-da-p,* *oj-un* *oj-a*
 cattle-POSS.3.ACC cattle-VBLZ-CV2 hollow-POSS.3.ACC to.punch-CV1
čiri-in *čir-e* *čurt-ta-p* *čor-uj*
 notch-POSS.3.ACC to.cut-CV1 country-VBLZ-CV2 to.go-CV1
bar-ïp=tir, *oo.*
 to.go-CV2=PTCL INTJ

‘So, a poor boy, put his yurt on its place, shepherded his cattle on its usual pasture and continued living happily after.’

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トゥバ語民話テキスト : Döŋ-Höözük

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本稿ではトゥバ語 (チュルク諸語北東グループ) の古典的な民話 Döŋ-Höözük の語りのテキストをグロス・英語訳付きで提示する。話者は Aleksandr Syuryun 氏 (1957年生)、録音は Nadezhda Syuryun 氏によって行われた。

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