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CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS IN ČULYM (1)

1 Introduction

1.1 The aim. The purpose of this paper is to present some consonant alternations in Čulym (further on: Čul.), i.e., since Čul. has no literary form (cf. e.g. Duř. D 16), in its three dialects: Kűarik¹ (further on: K), Lower Čulym (further on: LČ) and Middle Čulym (further on: MČ). The first part contains *Introduction*, *References*, *Abbreviations* and consonant alternations in absolute initial position. Consonant alternations in medial and final positions will be presented in the second part.

For our aim here is to present the alternations of consonants in Čul. synchronously, as they have been recorded in the sources at our command (cf. 1.2), the order of the elements of each alternation is accidental and does not indicate any historical phonetic changes.

1.2 The sources. The lexical material used as a basis for our studies here has been collected from the works of W. Radloff, i.e. Kűarik materials from his dictionary and a sixteen-page long fragment written in prose (cf. R and TM in *References*); two papers by A. P. Duřzon (cf. Duř. and Duř. D); two monographs and one paper by R. M. Birjukovič (cf. LČJa, SČ and ZS) and one paper by O. Pritsak (cf. Pr.). Although the collection of our sources of Čul. lexical material has been lately

¹ Contrary to the authors of the sources of Čul. (cf. e.g. Duř. D 16), who classify Kűarik as a subdialect (Rus. *govor*) of LČ, together with the subdialects of individual villages in the area of LČ, we shall describe it separately.

enriched by a two-part monograph by Birjukovič: *Morfologija čulym-sko-tjurkskogo jazyka*, part I.; Moskva 1979, part II: Saratov 1981 and some short papers by hers, we were not able to use it for our present study.

Although the above mentioned publications could have been used by us only as the sources of lexical material, they had to be treated very critically. First of all Duřzon's and Birjukovič's publications are full of careless recordings of diacritic signs, misprints, typographical mistakes, wrong statements of the stems and incorrect translations (cf. 1.3; cf. also e.g. Janh. 316f.; StachM BTK 245ff.; StachM DW 21). Some, at first glance, alternate sequences are so uncommon that it is impossible to treat them no other than as a result of the above mentioned errors, e.g. K *üç* 'three' (TM 689) ~ K *üñ* id. (TM 697, a *hapax legomenon*, probably a misprint for *üç*); MČ *čay-* 'to rain' in e.g.: *suγ žayālyr* 'it is going to rain' (Duř. 461) vs. quoted by Birjukovič stem MČ *čap-* 'to rain' (LČJa 71) illustrated by: MČ *sug čābyl* 'it rains' (ibid.), MČ *kar čāptyr* 'it snows' (ibid.). The issue is, that neither the former sample nor the latter one illustrates the stem *čap-*: *-b-* in *čābyl* belongs to the suffix of the present tense, i.e. *-b-yl*, so *čābyl* < **čayb-yl* and *-p-* in *čāptyr* indicates the gerund in *-(V)p-*, so *čāptyr* < **čaypyr*. As a result, we have to deal here with an incorrect statement of the stem *čap-* instead of *čā-* ~ *čay-* and not with the alternation *-γ* ~ *-p*.

Single recordings of Čul. voiced non-liquids in absolute initial and final position in such isolated forms like MČ *baktanbāyyl* 'do not boast!' (ZS 81); MČ *žānīm* 'I will measure' (ZS 35); Čul. *öksüs* 'orphan' (LČJa 51) ~ Čul. *öksüz* id. (ibid. 15) are an other issue that needs to be dealt with. It results from our studies on Čul. phonetics that in such positions only unvoiced consonants occur, so the above quoted forms are probably caused by a careless notation of a secondary sonorisation on the border between the lexemes, intervocalically or in the position between a sonant and a vowel of seemingly isolated forms being in fact the parts in a sequence of the lexemes.

Such uncommon alternations have been added by a special commentary.

1.3 The transcription. In his paper, Pritsak used a modified Latin alphabet for his Čul. materials. Radloff and Birjukovič use, in all their

publications, a modified Cyrillic alphabet. The same one has been used by Duřzon in one of his papers (cf. Duř.), while in his other paper (cf. Duř. D), the modified Latin alphabet has been used.

In our present contribution, we shall use a transcription of the phonological background, which is generally known from other non-Russian turkological works. Some signs need however to be commented:

1.3.1 In his classification of LČ vowels (Duř. 447), Duřzon describes *a* (with its long counterpart) as a back, non-labial, broad, short vowel while *α* (with its long counterpart) as a middle (non-back, non-front), non-labial, broad, short one. However, on the other page in the same paper, he places both *a* and *α* in one and the same group of vowels and describes them both as back (Duř. 449). Pritsak uses the sign *ā* for Tg. (= Turgaj, a village in the area of LČ) forms and describes it as a "halbpalatal" (Pr. 625), in Birjukovič materials *ā* has been used for a vowel which she describes as "переднего ряда отодвинутый назад". Both *α* and *ā* are nothing else than allophones of /a/, a continuation of PT **a*. For, in the presence of many other misprints, careless recordings and typographical mistakes, both of the above mentioned signs have been used very inconsistently, i.e. both of them have been used in the same word, cf. e.g. MČ *kystar* 'girls' (ZS 80) ~ *kystār* id. (ZS 13), in our present contribution only *a* has been used.

1.3.2 Radloff constantly uses an open *ä* || *ā* in his Kūārik examples. Though in Birjukovič's and Duřzon's LČ and MČ forms both *ä* || *ā* (Cyr. *ä* || *ā*;) and *e* || *ē* (Cyr. *e* || *ē*;) are used, they denote facultative variants, i.e. allophones of /ä/ (cf. e.g. ZS 19), being a continuation of PT **ä*. For, in the presence of many other misprints, careless recordings and typographical mistakes, both *ä* || *ā* and *e* || *ē* have been used very inconsistently, i.e. they have been used in the same word or suffix, e.g. MČ *kelgän* ~ *kālgän* 'he has come' (ZS 18); MČ *kālbezem* 'if I do not come' vs. LČ *kelvāzām* id. (Duř. 461); MČ *kāmā* 'boat' (ZS 91) ~ *keme* id. (Duř. D 20); Čul. *kāmāl* ~ *kemel* 'stack' (Duř. 464) ~ *kemāl* id. (LČJa 40); MČ *ēbene* ~ *ābenā* 'to his house' (LČJa 77); LČ *sāñ* 'yours' (Duř. 451) vs. LČ *mēñ* 'my' (ibid.), in our present contribution only *ä* || *ā* has been used (cf. StachM DW 20f.).

1.3.3 Birjukovič describes for MČ the vowel *ε* as non-labial, middle (non-low, non-high, a little bit higher than *ā*), "переднего ряда ото-

двинутый назад”, an allophone of /i/ [!] (ZS 19). Elsewhere in the same monograph, she writes: “*е* – закрытое *е*” (ZS 5). Taking into consideration the above mentioned descriptions and a phenomenon of lowering of articulation in Čul., cf. e.g. MČ *apčem* [!], a misprint for *äpčem*?] ‘my wife’ (LČJa 77) < *äpči* ‘wife’ (ibid.); MČ *käptëren* ‘their clothes, Acc.’ (ZS 127), cf. MČ *käštëri* ‘his children’ (ibid.); MČ *tel ~ til* ‘language’ (ZS 19); MČ *per* (sic, recorded as one of the examples illustrating the use of *е*) ~ *pir* ‘one’ (ibid.), we would rather treat this *е* as an allophone of /ä/ and, in the presence of many other misprints and careless recordings of diacritic signs, render it by *ä*.

1.3.4 Duřzon, next to *o* and *ö* (with their long counterparts), uses for his LČ examples also *ó*, as in LČ *kóp* ‘much, many’ (Duř. 462) and, in one place of the same paper, he describes it as a labial, semi-narrow, back vowel (Duř. 447), while, in another place, as front (ibid. 449). Pritsak describes Tg. *ó* as “halb-palatal” (Pr. 625). Birjukovič uses the same sign for an allophone of /ö/ (ZS 9, 15) and describes it as “гласный переднего ряда сильноотодвинутый назад” (ZS 15). For, in the presence of many other misprints, careless recordings of diacritic signs, *ö* and *ó* have been used very inconsistently, i.e. both of them have been used for one and the same word, e.g. MČ *kök ~ kók* ‘blue; sky-blue’ (ZS 129), but cf. also *kok* [!], a misprint? ‘green; sky-blue’ (ZS 27); MČ *köl ~ kól* ‘lake’ (ZS 129); Tg. *kör-* ‘to see’ (Pr. 625) ~ Tg. *kör-* id. (Pr. 627), MČ *kör- ~ kór-* ‘to see’ (ZS 129), but. cf. MČ *kor-bēgnarbe* [!] ‘have you not seen?’ (ZS 19 literatim: вы видели ли?), we shall use the sign *ö* for it.

1.3.5 For *ü*, an allophone of /ü/ has also been used by Duřzon, Birjukovič and Pritsak very inconsistently [Duřzon, for instance, quotes this sound in his descriptions of Čul. vowels (Duř. 447, 449) but he gives no example of its use] we shall use the sign *ü* for it.

1.3.6 Another question which needs to be dealt with here is the transcription of Čul. reduced vowels. Radloff quotes for K three reduced vowels: *ĩ* (Cyr. *ĩ*), *ũ* (Cyr. *ũ*), *ũ* (Cyr. *ũ*). We shall use Latin counterparts of Radloff’s Cyrillic reduced vowels.

In his paper, Pritsak quotes Duřzon’s Tg. examples and uses for them in his Latin transcription *ĩ*, a reduced *ũ*, e.g. Tg. *atĩřim* ‘I throw’ (Pr. 627); Tg. *korĩkväl!* ‘do not be afraid!’ (ibid.). In such forms, we shall prefer a sign *ũ*.

For LČ, Duřzon describes two reduced vowels: a non-labial, narrow, medial (non-front, non-back) (Duř. 447) or front (Duř. 449) *ь* and a non-labial, semi-broad, medial (Duř. 447) or back (Duř. 449) *ъ*, e.g. LČ *pylēdim ~ pilēdim* ‘I know’ (Duř. 452); LČ *alъc* ‘wild; animal’ (Duř. 450).

Although, in her descriptions of MČ vowels, Birjukovič quotes only *ъ* (“гласный смешанного ряда, нелабиализованный, среднего подъема”) (ZS 25), she uses in MČ words also *ь*, e.g. *pālāčāktъn* ‘I am small’ (ZS 94); *ēgъn* ‘chin’ (ZS 95). The issue is that *ъ* has been used in MČ words both with front and back vowels, cf. e.g. *kēr giži bārskъn turā* ‘an old man went to the town’ (ZS 30); *ũr žũrēbъs* [!] ‘we walk for a long time’ (ZS 132); *kāllũkkъm* [!] ‘I will come’ (ibid.). We shall leave the examples with *ъ* after front vowels without change, adding only “[!]” after them. The origin of Birjukovič’s *ъ* and *ь* is difficult to be stated. In one instance Birjukovič treats *ъ* as an allophone of /y/ (ZS 9), in other one, she writes: “Гласный *ъ* встречается вместо гласных *ä* [!], M. P.] и *ы* в результате редукции этих гласных в определенных условиях, причем, звук *ъ* вместо *ä* [!], M. P.] встречается только в конечной позиции и только факультативно [...]. В результате редукции гласного *ы* гласный *ъ* встречается в инлауте и ауслауте [...]”. From among the examples of *-ä* (*-ä?*) > *-ъ* Birjukovič quotes both MČ *koryodũbъ* ‘are you afraid?’ (ZS 25) and *altъ* ‘six’ (ibid.). As a result, we shall preserve Duřzon’s and Birjukovič’s notations *ъ*, *ь* without changes.

1.3.7 For Čul. affricates we shall use the signs as shown below:

1.3.7.a LČ, K *c* = Radloff, Duřzon (cf. Duř.), Birjukovič: *ч*; Duřzon (cf. Duř. D): *ts*; Pritsak *c*;

1.3.7.b LČ, K *ž* = Radloff (cf. TM): *џ*, Radloff (cf. R): *з*; Pritsak for Tg. examples: *з*, Pritsak for K examples (quotations from TM): *č*; Duřzon (cf. Duř.): *ðз*, Duřzon (cf. Duř. D): *dз*; Birjukovič: *ðз*;

1.3.7.c MČ *č* = Pritsak: *č*; Duřzon (cf. Duř.): *ч*, Duřzon (cf. Duř. D): *tš*; Birjukovič: *ч*;

1.3.7.d MČ *ž* = Duřzon (cf. Duř.): *ðж*, Duřzon (cf. Duř. D): *dž*; Birjukovič: *ðж*.

1.3.8 MČ palatal fricatives *š* (Cyr. *uš*) and *ž* (Cyr. *ž*) are allophones of *š*. For, in the presence of many other misprints, careless recordings and typographical mistakes, both *uš* and *ž* have been used very inconsi-

stently, i.e. even in the unit dealing with $\mathfrak{x}$ the given sign has been recorded only in some words, we shall use here $\mathfrak{s}$ and $\mathfrak{z}$ respectively. Also Birjukovič's carelessness of recordings needs mentioning here: MČ *u* (ZS 100f.) and $\mathfrak{x}$ (ZS 102f.) are described as allophones of $\mathfrak{s}$ and not recorded in any examples.

1.3.9 We shall use γ for Čul. spirant, recorded by Radloff as $\mathfrak{B}$ (vs. $\mathfrak{z}$ for a stop), by Pritsak as γ (vs. g), by Duřzon as γ [vs. $\mathfrak{z}$ (cf. Duř.) or g (cf. Duř. D)] and by Birjukovič as $\mathfrak{z}$ (vs. $\mathfrak{z}$). Since Čul. spirantisation seems to occur very inconsistently and still needs more detailed studies, we shall try to follow Birjukovič's notations of $\mathfrak{z}$ and $\mathfrak{z}$, despite the difficulties with their reading.

We shall preserve Radloff's notation $-\bar{g}$ without change.

1.3.10 We shall use η for Čul. uvular n , which Radloff notices as η , Pritsak – as η , Duřzon (cf. Duř.) – as $\mathfrak{H}_2$, or (cf. Duř. D) – η , and Birjukovič – η .

1.3.11 We shall use l for Duřzon's $\mathfrak{l}$ used for l in the words with front vowels, as in: LČ *jeđeđānuđuc* 'we could not reach' (Duř. 466), but cf. LČ *körölvān* 'he could not see' (ibid. 461).

1.4 The designation of Čul. dialects. Birjukovič and Duřzon indicate, apart from MČ and LČ, also their subdialects (Rus. *govors*): Jačinsk, Ježi, Turgaj for LČ and Melet, Tatal for MČ. Unfortunately they do this very inconsistently. Let us mention here for instance the Tatal $\mathfrak{s}$ ~ Melet s - alternation, e.g.: *šalyb* ~ *salyb* 'wave' (LČJa 24). In another monograph by Birjukovič, we also observe the pairs like *šamalžak* ~ *syvyłžak* 'little finger' (ZS 108) both from MČ but without any further designation of the subdialects. Although for the above mentioned forms we would state the subdialects by ourselves, it is still not so easy and explicit for many other examples. That is why, we shall confine ourselves to the division of the three main Čul. dialects taking no account of the further division to each subdialects.

In some of her publications (i.e. in LČJa, SČ), Birjukovič supplies Čul. forms by the designation of the given dialects, i.e. LČ or MČ, very occasionally. In such cases, where phonetic phenomena allow us to do that, we state the affiliation of a given form to the definite dialect by ourselves. In other cases, we supply given forms by the designation "Čul."

1.5 Abbreviations

Cyr. = Cyrillic; **Čul.** = Čulym; **dČd** = different Čul. dialects; **K** = Kü-ärik; **LČ** = Lower Čulym; **MČ** = Middle Čulym; **PT** = Pre-Turkic; **Rus.** = Russian.

1.6 References

- Duř. = Duřzon, A. P.: Čulymsko-tjurkskij jazyk. – *Jazyki narodov SSSR*, Vol. II, Moskva 1966: 446-466.
- Duř. D = Duřzon, A. P.: Dialekty i govory tjurkov Čulyma. – *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1973/2: 16-29.
- Janh. = Janhunen, J.: Samoyedological news. Review of recent publications. – *Finnisch Ugrischen Forschungen* XLVIII, 1987: 316-326.
- LČJa = Birjukovič, R. M.: *Leksika čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka. Posobie k spekursu*, Saratov 1984, pp. 88.
- Pr. = Pritsak, O.: Das Abakan- und Čulymtürkische und das Schorische. – *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Vol. I, Wiesbaden 1959: 598-640.
- R = Radloff, W.: *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, S. Peterburg 1893-1911.
- SČ = Birjukovič, R. M.: K voprosu semantiki čisla v čulymsko-tjurkskom jazyke. – *Jazyki narodov sibi-ri*, Kemerovo 1978: 115-118.
- StachM BTK = Stachowski, M.: Studien zum baraba-tatarischen Konsonantismus. – *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 5, 1998: 245-254.
- StachM DW = Stachowski, M.: *Dolganischer Wortschatz*, Kraków 1993.
- StachM NEG = Stachowski, M.: Notizen zur Etymologie der tschulymischen Gerätenamen. – *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 87, 1997: 243-248.
- TM = Radloff, W.: *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, Vol. II, S. Peterburg 1868: 689-705.
- ZS = Birjukovič, R. M.: *Zvukovoj stroj čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka. Metodičeskoe posobie*, Moskva 1979, pp. 202.

2 Alternations in absolute initial position

2.1 Stops

2.1.1 *k-*

2.1.1.a Čul. *k-* ~ LČ *h-*: Čul. *kazadan* ~ LČ *hastyn* 'perch' (LČJa 5);

2.1.1.b Special cases: forms like Čul. *karъ göynvāj* 'bilberry' (Duř. 463), cf. Čul. *kъzyl köynvāj* 'cowberry' (ibid. 464); MČ *aj ɣazāɣъ* 'moon' (ZS 132), cf. Čul. *aj karāɣy* id. (LČJa 27); Čul. *ala ɣanat* 'river-eagle, Russ. речной орел' (ibid. 28), cf. Čul. *ala kanat* 'eagle' (ibid. 37) seem to be a result of a secondary sandhi sonorisation and they do not display the alternation *k* ~ *g* ~ *ɣ*-, cf. 2.1.2.c, 2.1.3.c.

2.1.2 *p-*

2.1.2.a dČd *p-* ~ *m-* with a nasal in the subsequent syllable, cf. 2.1.2.b, e.g. MČ *purun* 'nose' (ZS 124) ~ K *murun* id. (TM 704), LČ. *murun* id. (Pr. 625); MČ *poj(V)n* 'neck' (ZS 118) ~ K *moj(V)n* id. (TM 697); oblique cases of a demonstrative pronoun dČd *pu* 'this, that': K *munŭ* 'him' (TM 691); K *mynda* 'here' (TM 701), MČ *mynda* id. (LČJa 81); LČ *māni* ~ *miŋi* ~ *mynar* 'this way' (Pr. 627), but cf. Čul. *punuŋ* 'his' (LČJa 55);

2.1.2.b dČd *p-* ~ *m-* with no nasal in the subsequent syllable, cf. 2.1.2.a, e.g. K *pörü* 'wolf' (TM 705) ~ LČ *mörü* id. (Pr. 625); MČ *pörü* 'wolf' (ZS 122) ~ *mörü* id. (ZS 123); MČ *pükčük* 'hump-backed' (ZS 86) ~ LČ *mükčük* id. (Duř. D 17);

2.1.2.c Special cases: Čul. *paj* 'rich' (Duř. D 17) ~ *baj* id. (LČJa 17); MČ *paskъč* 'stairs' (ZS 110) ~ *baskъč* id. (ZS 97); MČ *baŝha* 'apart (from)' (ZS 139) ~ *pashъ* id. (ZS 140) and isolated forms like e.g. MČ *barlyk* 'he will come' (Duř. D 17), cf. MČ *par-* 'to go' (Duř. D 465) seems to be a result of a careless notation of secondary sandhi sonorisation of a seemingly isolated form being in fact the parts in the ranges of lexemes and they do not display the alternation *p-* ~ *b-*, cf. the samples of the sonorisation in question, e.g. MČ *älbäj būzü* 'cobweb' (ZS 100); Čul. *kuran bālyk* 'dried fish' (Duř. 464), cf. also Čul. *älbäj püsü* 'cobweb' (LČJa 31), cf. 2.1.1.b, 2.1.3.c.

2.1.3 *t-*

2.1.3.a MČ *t-* ~ *č-*: MČ *ton* 'fur-coat' (ZS 75) ~ *čon* id. (ZS 38);

2.1.3.b K, MČ *t-* ~ *p-*: MČ *turul-* 'vi to turn' (ZS 121) ~ *purul-* id. (ZS 125); K *tar* 'eng' (TM 691) ~ *par* id. (TM 702);

2.1.3.c Special cases: forms like e.g. Čul. *tāñāz* ~ *dīmāz* 'sea' (LČJa 8) are probably caused by a careless notation of secondary sandhi sonorisation of seemingly isolated forms being in fact a part in a sequence of lexemes and they do not display the alternation *t-* ~ *d-*, cf. the samples of the sonorisation in question, e.g. MČ *ara-dödür* 'here und there' (ZS 137); MČ *azāɣъn dugu* [!] 'down on the legs' (ZS 91); LČ *kır duy aj* 'the 6th month in Čulym calendar, literatim: month of small barrier at riversides used for fishing' (Duř. 463), cf. also Čul. *aratödür* 'here und there' (LČJa 29); LČ *uluy tuy aj* 'the 7th month in Čulym calendar, literatim: month of big barrier at riversides used for fishing' (Duř. 463), cf. 2.1.1.b., 2.1.2.c.

2.2 Spirants

2.2.1 *š-*

2.2.1.a MČ *š-* || *s-* || *č-* ~ LČ, K *c-*, cf. 2.3.1.a;

2.2.1.b MČ *š-* || *č-* || *ń-* || *n-* ~ K *j-* || *ń-* || *n-* ~ LČ *j-* || *t-*, cf. 2.4.1.a.

2.2.2 Special cases:

2.2.2.a LČ *cäbälä* 'spoon' (LČJa 70) ~ LČ (Jačinsk) *šäbälä* id. (Duř. D 22), for *š-* is observed in MČ and not in LČ, the latter form seems to belong to the border area between LČ and MČ, cf. 2.3.1.d;

2.2.2.b Isolated forms like MČ *žänim* 'I will measure' (ZS 35) seem to be caused by a careless notation of secondary sandhi sonorisation of seemingly isolated forms being in fact the parts in the sequences of lexemes, cf. the samples of the sonorisation in question, e.g. MČ *süg žagan* 'it rained' (ZS 143), cf. also MČ *suy čagan* id. (ZS 112).

2.3 Affricates

2.3.1 *č-*

2.3.1.a MČ *č-* || *š-* || *s-* ~ LČ, K *c-*, e.g. MČ *čač* || *šaš* ~ LČ *cac* 'hair' (LČJa 23), K *cac* id. (R IV 195); MČ *čak* || *šak* ~ LČ *cak* 'time' (Duř. D 21), K *cak* id. (R IV 191); MČ *čak-* 'to strike fire' (LČJa 15) || *šak-* id. (Duř. D 18) ~ LČ *cak-* id. (ibid.), K *cak-* 'vt to hit, to strike' (R IV 191); MČ *šalyъ* || *salyъ* 'wave' (LČJa 24); MČ *šana* || *sana* 'ski' (Duř. D 23) ~ K *cana* 'runner; ski' (R IV 192); MČ *čaŋ* 'bell' (LČJa 18) || *šaŋ* id. (ibid. 75) ~ LČ *caŋ* id. (Duř. 465); MČ *cäbälä* 'spoon' (ZS 87) ~ LČ *cäbälä* id. (Duř. D 20); MČ *čyk-* || *syk-* 'to go out' (ZS 5) || *šyk-* id. (Duř. D 18) ~ LČ *cyk-* id. (ibid.), K *cyk-* id. (TM 698);

- 2.3.1.b** MČ *č-* || *š-* || *ń-* || *n-* ~ K *j-* || *ń-* || *n-* ~ LČ *j-* || *ť-*, cf. 2.4.1.a;
2.3.1.c MČ *č-* (~ LČ, K *j-*, cf. 2.4.1.a) ~ Ø: MČ *čiptār* 'he eats' (ZS 34) ~ *āptār* id. (LČJa 79), cf. 2.4.1.b;
2.3.1.d Special cases: LČ *cābālā* 'spoon' (LČJa 70) ~ *čābālā* id. (ibid. 72), for *č-* is observed in MČ and not in LČ, the latter form seems to belong to the border area of Čul. dialects, cf. Duř. D 21, cf. also 2.2.2.a;
2.3.1.e Special cases: MČ forms like *ol žadar* [!] 'he will reach' (ZS 112), cf. *čāt-* 'to reach; 2. to be enough' (LČJa 73); *čon žip* 'thick thread' (ZS 143), cf. *čip* 'thread' (ZS 110); *čīgā žōyul* 'there is nothing to eat' (ZS 134), cf. *čoyul* 'there is not' (ibid.) seem to be a result of a secondary sandhi sonorisation and they do not display the alternation *č-* ~ *ž-*, cf. e. g. 2.1.1.b.

2.4 Semivowels

2.4.1 *j-*

- 2.4.1.a** K *j-* || *ń-* || *n-* ~ LČ *j-* || *ť-* ~ MČ *č-* || *š-* || *ń-* || *n-*, e.g. K *jaj* 'sommer' (R III 4) ~ LČ *jaj* id. (Duř. 465) ~ MČ *čaj* id. (ibid.); LČ *jakšy* || *ťakšy* 'good' (Duř. 465) ~ MČ *čaksy* || *šaksy* id. (ZS 142); K *jāk* 'cheek' (R III 22) || *ňanak* id. (Pr. 625); LČ *jamyr* 'rain' (Duř. 462) || *ťamyr* id. (Duř. D 22); K *jaŋy* 'new' (R III 60) || *ňany* id. (ibid. 627) || *nā* id. (TM 692) ~ MČ *čaŋ* id. (ZS 142) || *ňa* id. (ZS 84); MČ *čāl* || *šāl* 'wind' (ZS 142); MČ *čāstām* || *nāzām* '1. my sister's husband older than I; 2. my husband's elder sister's husband' (LČJa 10); K *jazag* 'on foot' (TM 694) ~ LČ *jajaŋ* id. (LČJa 34) || *ťajaŋ* id. (Duř. D 22) ~ MČ *čazay* id. (ZS 99); LČ *jār* ~ MČ *čār* || *šār* 'earth' (ZS 102); K *jāt-* 'to reach, to attain' (R III 358) ~ MČ *čāt-* [!, a misprint for *ā?*] id. (LČJa 14); LČ *jigin-* ~ MČ *čigin-* || *šiyin-* 'to gather, to meet' (ZS 102); K *joyul* 'there is not' (TM 689) ~ MČ *čōyul* id. (ZS 134); LČ *jylan* || *ťylan* ~ MČ *čylan* 'snake' (Duř. 465);
2.4.1.b LČ, K *j-* (~ MČ *č-*, cf. 2.4.1.a) ~ Ø: K *jāt-* 'to reach, to attain' (R III 358) ~ LČ *āt-* id., in: *ol ātkālāk* 'he has not overtaken [it] yet' (Duř. 457); LČ *jol* 'way' (LČJa 35) ~ LČ *ol* id., in: *olum* 'my way' (Duř. 450), cf. 2.3.1.c;
2.4.1.c dČd *V-* ~ *jV-*, e.g. MČ *ägäčäm* 'my wife's elder sister' (LČJa 9) ~ *jägäžäm* id. (ibid. 35: misprintly: *jägäžā* 'my wife's elder sister'); MČ *āgъn* 'chin' (ZS 95) ~ Čul. *jāgъn* id. (LČJa 7); Čul. *ām* 'medicine'

- (LČJa 13) ~ *jām* id. (ibid. 35); MČ *ūs* ~ *jūs* '1. river; 2. Čulym' (ibid. 69); MČ *ürgän* 'spawn, roe' (ZS 95) ~ *jürgän* id. (LČJa 11);
2.4.1.d Special cases: LČ *jajaŋ* 'on foot' (LČJa 34) ~ LČ *čajaŋ* id. (ibid. 70) – for *č-* is not observed in LČ, *čajaŋ*, if not a misprint, seems to belong to the border area between LČ and MČ (cf. Duř. D 21). However, preserved *-j-* looks strange here;
2.4.1.e Special cases: MČ *jān* 'sleeve' (ZS 37) ~ *čāŋ* id. (LČJa 8) – MČ *j-* looks strange here.

(To be continued)