

Migration of People and Melodies in the *Taiga* Area of Southern Siberia

Galina B. Sychenko¹

Introduction

Southern Siberia is an area of residence of several small Turkic-speaking communities, some of which still characterized by various forms of semi-nomadism. Since the region is geographically characterized by a combination of *steppe – mountain – taiga* landscapes, pure nomadism has not been typical of the area. Moreover, even in the predominantly steppe areas seasonal vertical migrations of pastoralist families and their herds within the assigned territories have been the most common type of economy. Such routes can be represented as a form of circle in three-dimensional space with starting and finishing points at more or less stable winter camps, similar to Mongolia (Lugli 2013; 2016). Nowadays this semi-nomadic type of traditional economy in many parts of Southern Siberia – for example, in the Central Altai – is transforming into what could be more correctly defined as *transhumance*.

Usually this term is attributed to a particular type of pastoralism in the Mediterranean zone (Fabietti and Remotti 1997). Considered in a broad cultural sense, it could be applied to a vast number of cultural phenomena. Its main sense, in our opinion, is based on a dichotomy of ‘departure – return.’ The idea of departure and, then, returning home is probably the most archetypical and essential for any culture at large. The model of ‘departure – return’ in semi-nomadic cultures is multi-polar, because each of the camps on the annual route can be regarded as a place of both return and departure, with a special role for the winter camps. In the transhumance kind of pastoralism, the ‘departure – return’ model becomes bipolar. A village or small town is a point of departure as well as a point of return. The same

¹ Galina B. Sychenko, vice-chair, ICTM Study Group on Music of the Turkic-speaking World, [sytschenko@mail.ru](mailto:sytchenko@mail.ru), gal.sychenko@gmail.com.

could be said about the destination – upper alpine pastures, to which herds return every spring or summer and which they leave in the autumn.

Continuing to examine the ‘departure – return’ model in various societies, we discover that transhumance of some kind can be found in many of them. Probably, it is more logical to speak of *transhumances* instead of *transhumance*. Transhumance can be vertical or horizontal; bi- or multi-polar (triangular, square, round); seasonal or continuous, etc.

Furthermore, the transhumance of peoples and animals causes another sort of transhumance: the transhumance of cultural phenomena. This is probably one of the most important mechanisms in the distribution of cultural artefacts, including melodies, poetic forms and so on. Below we examine a particular case of transhumance in this sense.

Chalkans and the transhumance in the *taiga* area

The northern zone of Southern Siberia geographically includes the northern foothills of Altai, Kuznetzkii Alatau and the upper reaches of the River Abakan. It is characterized by *taiga* landscape and snowy winters that contribute to the development of a special type of economy. Small-numbered Turkic-speaking groups – the Shors, Chalkans, Sagais and others – living in the *taiga* zone have developed a rather complex type of economy consisting of hunting, fishing, gathering, cattle- and horse-breeding, farming, as well as a variety of crafts. The Northern Altais (Chalkans, Kumandins and Tubas) and Shors were the first to meet Russian colonizers and to start contacts with them. Some cultural phenomena were adopted by both groups of the population – the indigenous and the outsiders – from each other.

The Chalkans represent a typical model of the hunting culture of the *taiga* zone.² They live in the Turochak district of the Republic of Altai in Southern Siberia (see Fig. 1 and 2).

² In the scientific literature there are two modes of transliterating the ethnonym: Chelkans [челканыцы] and Chalkans [чалканыцы]. We prefer the second, used by linguists, because it is closer to the original term in the Chalkan language.



Figure 1: The Republic of Altai in the Russian Federation.

The Turochak district is located in the north-east of the Republic of Altai, on the border with the *Altai krai*, *Kemerovo oblast'* and the Republic of Khakassia (Fig. 2).

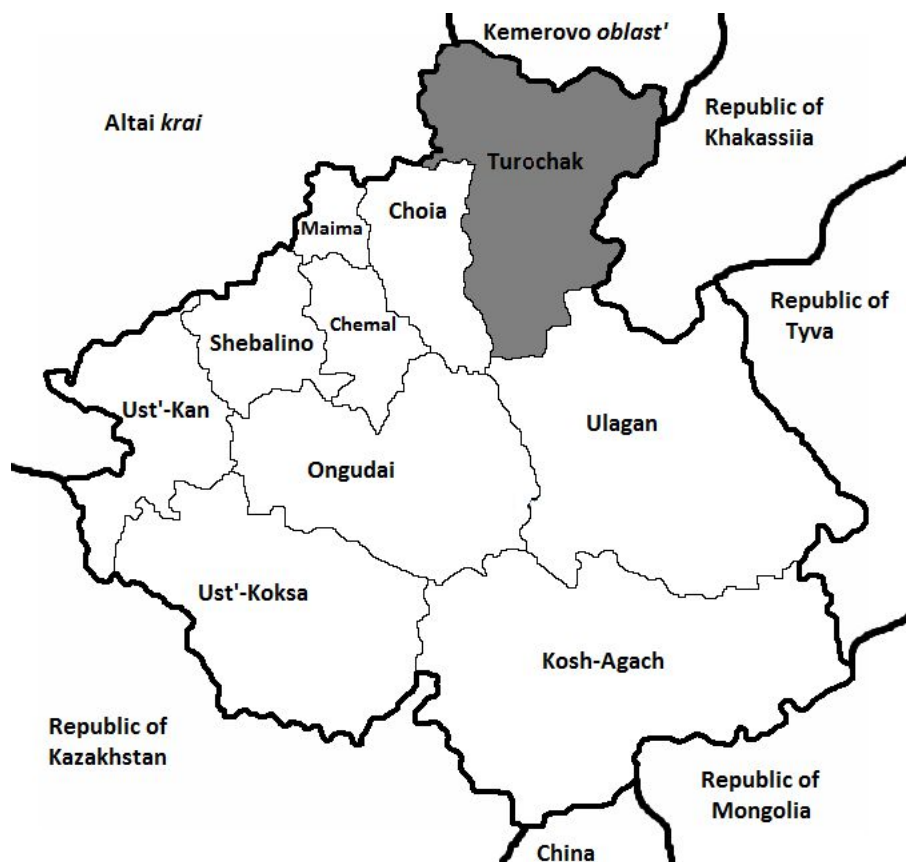


Figure 2: The Turochak district of the Republic of Altai and neighbouring regions.

Cattle-breeding was predominant among the Chalkans in the 20th century, due to the abundance of grass in the summer and feeding hay in the winter. Such husbandry is not subject to migrations; moreover, simple herding has no special needs: in many cases the cattle move freely in search of food, fairly close to settlements, with impassable *taiga* and rivers serving as a natural barrier (Fig. 3).



Figure 3: Cattle and horses in the Kurmach-Baigol village. Photograph: Galina B. Sychenko, 2005.

Scientists believe that the Chalkans adopted cattle-breeding from the Russian settlers no earlier than the middle of the 19th century. Before that, only horse-breeding was known amongst them (Belgibaev 2001). The importance of the horse in traditional Chalkan culture is regarded as evidence of the nomadic past of their remote ancestors (Belgibaev 2001). This is confirmed by the presence of the sacrifice of a horse of light colour in clan and tribal rituals.³ Even now motifs of horse-hitching pole are popular in the decoration of houses and fences in the Chalkan village of Kurmach-Baigol (Fig. 4 and 5).

³ Unpublished field materials by Galina B. Sychenko (1992).



Figure 4: Motive of horse-hitching pole as a decoration of the house. Photograph: Galina B. Sychenko, 2016.



Figure 5: Motive of horse-hitching pole as a decoration of the entrance to the court-yard. Photograph: Galina B. Sychenko, 2005.

The lyrics of songs often provide parallels between a horse and a girl (see, for example, the text of the second song in this article).

At the same time, another type of migration process was – and still is – extremely important for the *taiga* peoples. We are talking about the seasonal migrations of the men of a society for commercial hunting. There is no doubt that hunting has been the basic economic activity of the Chalkans since ancient times. Scientists assign to the hunt a paramount role in the traditional economy (Belgibaev 2001).

Hunting includes several periods of different lengths. Most important is the one-month autumn period of hunting with dogs for fur-bearing animals: squirrel, kolinsky, ermine, and sable in particular, as well as a longer period of winter hunting for different animals without dogs.⁴ During both periods, the males leave the settlements.

Traditional settlements typical of this type of economy are small and scattered along minor rivers belonging to the right-hand basin of the upper Bïa. The most important of these is the River Kuu (Lebed' in Russian, Swan in English), a right-bank tributary of the River Bïa.⁵ The River Baigol – a left-bank tributary of the River Lebed' – was of secondary importance for the Chalkans.

Their way of life before colonization is unknown, but we may suppose that Chalkan families always chose for their settlements the estuaries of small streams and rivers flowing into the main arteries of the Lebed' and Baigol, as well as others. All lists and maps of such settlements demonstrate a similar picture, although the number of households varies. Thus, in 1893 there were 22 settlements with 111 households – from 1 to 11 in one settlement (typically, 3–5) – registered by the authorities. In 1911, 24 settlements were registered, with 256 households – from 4 to 21 in one settlement (mostly, 6–14).⁶ As we see, the number of settlements is almost the same, but the number of households in a single settlement has increased significantly. It may therefore be stated that, at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, a process of growing village-like settlements definitely took place amongst the Chalkans. In 1922 the picture was similar, but several new villages were built along the Turochak – Artybash road (towards Teletskoe Lake) outside proper Chalkan territory (Fig. 6).

⁴ Unpublished field materials by Francesca Lugli and Galina B. Sychenko (2016).

⁵ This river gave the endoethnonym *kuu-keiꞑhi* 'people from Kuu-river' and exoethnonym *lebedinskie tatary* used in Russian documents up to the 20th century.

⁶ The data are taken from Belgibaev (2001, 289–93).

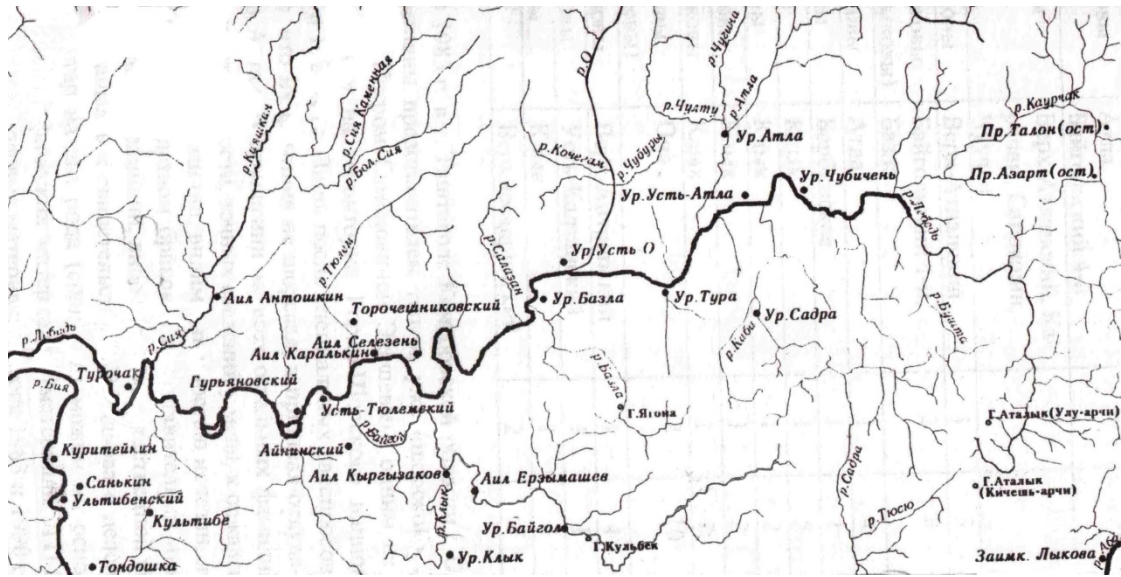


Figure 6: Chalkan settlements in 1922 (taken from Funk 2000).

The situation changed only in the collectivization period in the 1930s and, in particular, in the 1950s–1960s, after the so-called ‘politics of consolidation [*укрупнение*],’ when a large number of the settlements were recognized as unpromising [*неперспективные*]. The main village of the Turochak district and villages along the road were growing, but in the *taiga* zone only very few villages were left. On the following map the shaded triangles show the places where informants were recorded in the second half of the 1980s until the early 1990s. Empty triangles mark the places where they were born (Fig. 7). In the period of recording only the village of Suranash existed on the River Lebed,⁷ and there were three villages – Kurmach-Baigol, Biika and Chuika – in the River Baigol zone (on the right of the map).

⁷ I do not include two other villages in the upper reaches of the River, built for gold mining.

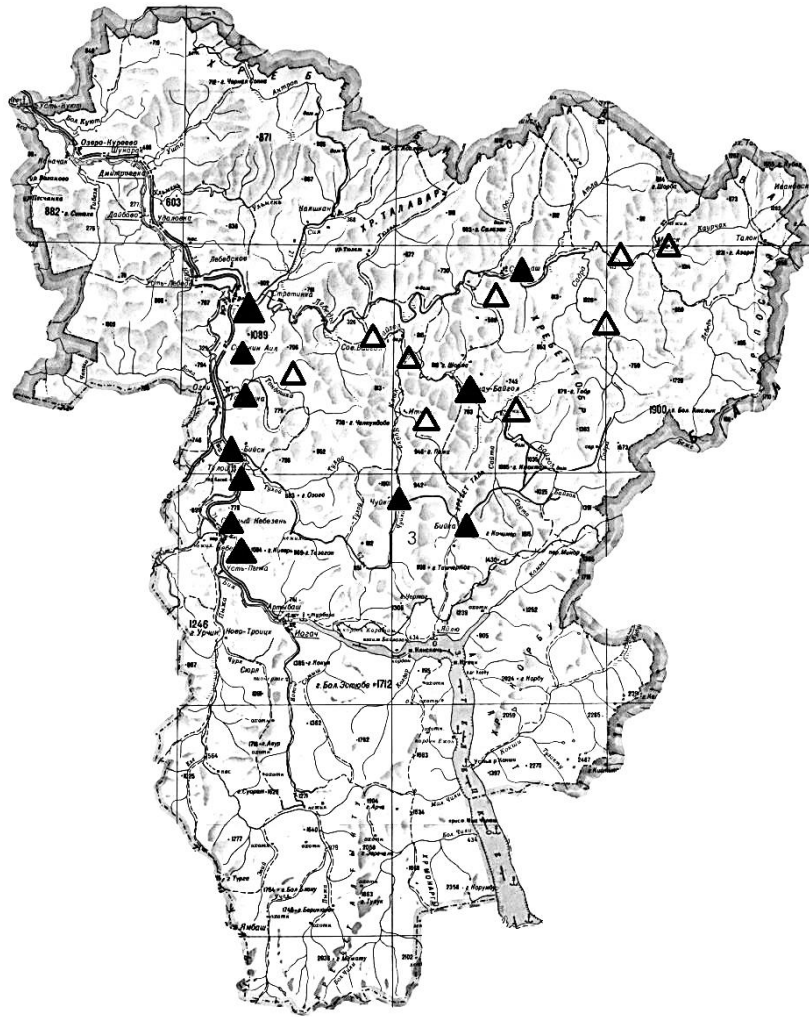


Figure 7: Places where Chalkan songs were recorded in the 1980s–1990s (shaded triangles) and places of birth of the performers (empty triangles).

The mountain-*taiga* landscape thus predetermined the traditional way of life of the inhabitants of the *taiga* area, living in small groups in convenient locations with limited territorial resources. However, all the wealth of the *taiga* and first and foremost the animals compensated for the lack of opportunity for the unlimited development of cattle husbandry. The settlements were located not too far from each other (normally, 5–10 km), making it possible for people living there to make contact, communicate and exchange. Major rites and feasts provided opportunities for the gathering of the Chalkan clans. Such events usually finished with eating, drinking and performing non-ritual music, songs in particular. Marriages were another important institution, firstly of mobility within Chalkan society and, secondly, for social gatherings.

What music was performed at these meetings and how were the melodies distributed? What kind of transhumance existed at that time? Are there any methods of reconstructing long-gone processes that have been left without any written evidence? In order to answer these questions we should pass on to

musical analysis, but our basic assumption, derived from the preceding analysis, is that the lyrics and melodies of the songs and other genres migrated together with people and were distributed largely over the whole area.

Song tradition of the Chalkans: sources and methodological issues

The intonational culture [*интонационная культура*] (IC) (Kondratieva, Mazepus and Sychenko 1999) of the Chalkans is described in general (Kondratieva, Mazepus and Sychenko 1999; Kondratieva and Sychenko 1997). Some genres – shamanic and epic music, tales with songs, lyric songs and lullabies – have been studied (Gorbacheva 2017; Kondratieva 1998; 2002; Mazepus and Sychenko 1992; Sychenko 1990; 1997; 1998; 2004; 2005; 2016; Sytchenko 2009). The IC of the Chalkans is thus now known on a primary level. Currently, the song tradition of the Chalkans has become the subject of advanced and more detailed studies. It forms part of the current research project by a group of Siberian scholars, focused on a comparative study of the local song traditions of the Turkic and Slavic peoples of Siberia.⁸

No documentation exists about the musical culture of the Chalkans before the 20th century.⁹ We do not even know whether or not they performed lyric genres, and if they did, what kind of songs they were.¹⁰ It is clear however that they may have done so and that the distribution and migration of songs – both texts and melodies – could have taken place in the cultural context discussed above.

The songs of the Chalkans have been recorded rather late. The first recordings were made only in the 1960s. Then, in the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s the main body of musical materials (about 500 items, half of which are traditional lyric songs) was made available by Natalya Kondratieva and the author in collaboration with the Altaian scholars Ekaterina Kandarakova, Anna Kandarakova (Pustogacheva), Mira Demchinova.¹¹ In 2005¹² and 2007¹³ the situation was rather different – members of the expeditions met only a few people who could perform songs. The last generation which kept traditions and with whom we – students and young researchers – worked in the 1980s until the 1990s has now been replaced by a more modern generation.¹⁴ Tab. 1 demonstrates this situation rather clearly.

⁸ The project is conducted by the group of Novosibirsk scholars, ethnomusicologists and philologist T. Daineko, N. Leonova, E. Tiron, Zh. Yusha and the author (head of project). It was financed by RHF, then RFFR in 2014–2016 (project 14-04-00171a). For more details about the project see Leonova, Sychenko and Yusha (2015).

⁹ The first notations were made by A. V. Anokhin in the 1910s or 1920s, only two of which are known and published (Khokholkov 1989, 21).

¹⁰ This may be definitively stated about the existence of epic and shamanic traditions, folk tales and non-tale prose, hunting rites and spells and so on.

¹¹ These expeditions were financed by the Government of the Gorno-Altayskaya *avtonomnaia oblast'* (1985; 1989) and by the Altai Centre of Biospherical and Humanity Research (1992).

¹² Expedition financed by RFFR-DAAD (project 03-06-04001) and by RFH (project 05-04-18028e).

¹³ Expedition financed by RFH (project 07-04-18033e).

¹⁴ They perform mostly modern authors' songs; when they perform songs with traditional melodies, the timbre and intonation are very different from the traditional ones.

Years	Recording locations	Collectors	Number and characteristics of song genres	Notes about performers and/or circumstances of recording
1960s	Suranash (?) or Gorno-Altaiisk	S. S. Surazakov (?)	3 songs of the disappeared genre (presumably, <i>koqlyp saryn</i> [козлыт сарын])	Unique pieces by famous story tellers M. D. Kandarakov and K. B. Pustogachev
1984	Gorno-Altaiisk	Z. S. Kazagacheva, K. E. Ukachina and other Altaian folklorists, Yu. I. Sheikin, M. L. Didyk (sound recordings)	Several lyric songs from A. M. Kandarakova (Pustogacheva) and E. P. Kandarakova	Performers – representatives of Chalkan intelligence, connoisseurs of traditional culture
1985	Turochak district (Kurmach-Baigol, Turochak, Suranash)	N. M. Kondratieva, G. B. Sychenko, K. G. Tarasov	49 examples of song genres: <i>saryn</i> , <i>kyyska/kychash saryn</i> , <i>uzun/ulu saryn</i> , <i>takpak</i> by 15 performers	Musical ethnographic expedition, full examination of the territory
1989	Turochak district (Turochak, Suranash, Kurmach-Baigol, Tuloi, Kebezen', Verkh-Biisk, San'kin Ail, Biika, Chuika)	A. M. Kandarakova (Pustogacheva), E. P. Kandarakova, N. M. Kondratieva, (sound recordings)	71 examples of song genres: <i>saryn</i> , <i>kyyska/kychash saryn</i> , <i>uzun/ulu saryn</i> , <i>takpak</i> and others by 23 performers	Complex expedition, full examination of the territory, re-recordings
1992	Turochak district (Kurmach-Baigol, Suranash)	G. B. Sychenko	18 examples of song genres by 12 performers	Target ethnomusicological expedition to record shamanic practices; the recording of songs made mostly during the First Congress of the Chalkans
2000	Kosh-Agach district (surroundings of the village of Kokor'a)	N. A. Alexeev, N. R. Baizhanova, T. A. Kozyrev, E. N. Kuz'mina, G. B. Sychenko (sound recordings)	Three performers: one traditional, one modern, and A. M. Kandarakova (Pustogacheva)	Complex expedition; the recording of a few songs made during the National Altai Festival "El-Oiyn"
2005	Turochak district (Kurmach-Baigol, Turochak)	E. V. Nikolina, A. A. Ozonova, Uu. S. Popova, G. B. Sychenko (sound recordings), A. V. Tazranova, N. S. Urtegeshev	In the village of Kurmach-Baigol the only performer was able to sing 8 <i>kyyska saryn</i> with melodies combining the features of traditional tunes and <i>cbastushka</i>	Complex expedition by linguists and ethnomusicologists
2007	Turochak district (Turochak), Gorno-Altaiisk	Uu. S. Popova, G. B. Sychenko (sound recordings)	Re-recordings from the shamaness A. K. Abasheva, A. M. Kandarakova (Pustogacheva)	Target ethnomusicological expedition

Table 1: Sound recordings of Chalkan songs.

It is evident that the modern generations do not preserve song tradition even as recorded in the 1980s until the 1990s. The situation was similar in 2016 during our last expedition.¹⁵ Reflecting on these materials, I have formulated some important methodological issues, which may be relevant in many similar cases. First of all, we have an important archive collection, capturing a song tradition that has now

¹⁵ International expedition, financed by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (participants Dr. F. Lugli and the author), aimed at researching the man-dog relationship in different societies of nomads and hunters of Eurasia.

almost disappeared from everyday practice. It is very difficult nowadays to find experts within the Chalkan community who can discuss related anthropological issues. On the other hand, it is not a ‘mute’ collection, like so many other archive collections. It is well documented, we know a lot about the performers: their names, clans, phratries,¹⁶ years and places of birth, educational level, profession and occupation, and so on.

What kind of research can be done and what information can we extract from these materials? In my opinion, in this particular case we may combine three different approaches. First, traditional musical analysis will allow a classification of the song tradition and lead to an understanding of how it was arranged in the recent past, as well as reaching conclusions about its typological position in the circle of other Turkic cultures of the Altai-Saian region. Second would be an indirect contextual analysis of ideas and concepts about songs, including linguistic analysis of song terminology. Third, the historical approach: meaning the juxtaposition of analytical and all available historical data. Together, this should make it possible to trace at least the relative chronology of the process of distribution of melodic patterns in the studied area.

Song traditions of the Chalkans: historical strata

The recorded materials, from an historical point of view, can be divided into three groups: 1) the 1960s; 2) mid-1980s until early 1990s; 3) the 2000s. The first group contains three of the earliest samples representing disappeared genres. The second group includes the main part of the Chalkan collection. The third group contains materials demonstrating its rapid destruction and disappearance.

The earliest examples were recorded by two prominent representatives of the epic tradition: two songs by Manakop Denisovich Kandarakov (end of the 19th century until 1972), and one song by Karylep Baiakovich Pustogachev (1900–1971). The three songs are very similar and can be considered as two versions of the same melody. Taking into account the dates of birth and death of the performers, and the fact that the songs were recorded in the 1960s, it is possible to associate them with a period at least from the last quarter of the 19th century up to the 1970s. The melodies of these songs differ both from the epic tunes recorded by the same performers, and from the main body of lyric songs recorded in the second period.

During the second period of collecting materials on the musical culture of the Chalkans almost all genres were recorded, including most of the lyric songs. There are several stylistic groups amongst them, which we also may attribute to different historical periods. Thus, the majority of songs belong to the group of so-called songs with model tunes (Sychenko 2013), which were considered by all performers as ‘traditional Chalkan songs.’ This group – traditional lyric songs – includes a relatively small number of

¹⁶ Most of the Chalkan clans belong to one of the two phratry-like groups: Shalgany and Shakshylyg.

tunes of other types. Taking into consideration the years of birth of our informants (1900s–1930s) and their reference to the previous generation, from whom they adopted these songs, this stylistic layer of the songs could be correlated with a period of more than one hundred years – from the end of the 19th to the 21st century. It is quite likely that this chronological border could be pushed back at least another generation or two.

*Chastushka*¹⁷ is reliably present in Chalkan culture at least from the 1930s. In this case its appearance could relate to a new Soviet reality: collectivization and the creating of the *kollehozes*. But it could have appeared earlier, before the revolution, because contacts with Russians started much earlier than the revolution. The adoption of economic forms could have accompanied the adoption of musical-poetical genres, among which *chastushka* is one of the most likely candidates. This question requires careful study. On the contrary, songs of the Civil War, of course, could not have appeared earlier than the end of the 1910s.

All these groups of songs coexisted for a considerable period of the 20th century. Nevertheless, we may arrange them in a chronological sequence; their progressive disappearance from Chalkan culture correlates with this list.

Lyric songs with model tunes

In the 1980s the most popular category of songs were lyric songs with so-called universal model tunes (UMT). Practically, all people born between 1900 and the 1930s could perform this kind of song (Sychenko 2013; 2016). It should be stressed that this kind of melody in particular was connected with ‘Chalkan-ness,’ i.e. played an important role as an ethnic marker.

The songs were performed by men and women solo with no accompaniment. Their performance requires no special abilities or professionalism. Most songs reveal the theme of love, family and kinship relations. The modality of discourse ranges from the philosophical to the humoristic.

As in all other cases for model tunes, free connection between the topic of the song and its melody is typical. Both temporal and pitch parameters of the songs are determined by a sort of generative grammar which allows a creation of the ‘right’ melodies (Mazepus and Sychenko 1997; Sychenko 1997; 1998; 2013). A very short description of the main traits of the grammar is provided below on three important aspects: versification, rhythm and pitch.

¹⁷ The term *chastushka* (rhyme, couplet) refers to Russian short songs (short ditties) based on quatrain, or couplet composition with 7/8 syllable verse and typified melodies. For more details see Adonyeva (2004); Alexander (1976); Morgenstern (2007; 2011; 2015); Zemtsovskii (2000), and others). This genre was largely distributed amongst different peoples of the former Russian Empire and, lately, USSR.

Versification in Chalkan lyric songs with UMT is of the free-syllabic type with a stable post-caesura part: $n + 3$. Normally, $n = 4, 5$ syllables, therefore, one verse contains 7–8 syllables, but in some cases it may vary up to 11 syllables. In most examples, only the pre-caesura part of the verse varies.

Rhythmical organization is based on the combination of three musical feet per line (corresponding to verse).¹⁸ Pre- and post-caesura parts are almost identical in length (usually minim); the first part consists of two feet, also equal in value (usually crotchets):

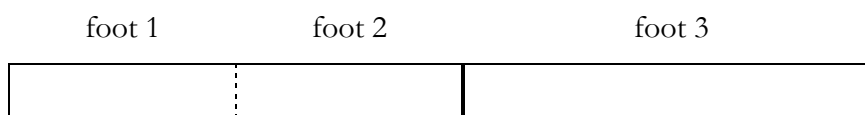


Figure 8: Model tune framework in the song tradition of the Chalkans.

Melodies are based on the diatonic scales, mostly of octave diapason. They belong to two types: major and minor alike.¹⁹ Previously, I determined them as 3H- and 3L-scales (Sychenko 1997).²⁰ Actually, there are different variations of major and minor scales: parallel major-minor; eponymous major minor; Dorian; scales with a diffuse value of the steps; uncertain scales. However, the contrast between melodies in 3H- and 3L-scales seems to be an important stylistic determinant.

Below are two examples demonstrating this kind of melody.²¹ Both belong to the category *kyska saryn* ‘short song.’ The first example is based on the 3H-scale, the second on the 3L-scale.²²

¹⁸ See Sychenko (1998) for a list of binary and ternary feet and their combination; the generative grammar is described in Mazepus and Sychenko (1997).

¹⁹ These and following terms are used figuratively, because the major-minor tonal system is not relevant for the oral musical culture of the Chalkans.

²⁰ The definitions 3H- (with major, or ‘high’ third) and 3L- (with minor, or ‘low’ third) scales are used instead of ‘major’ and ‘minor’ scales. It is necessary to stress an importance of the quality of the 3rd tone of the octave scale and ambivalence of the quality of the 6th tone, which can be represented by any variant, for distinguishing of the melodic repertoire.

²¹ Examples are taken from Sychenko (2013). Texts in Chalkan language and Russian translation by Aiana Ozonova, notation and English translation by Galina B. Sychenko, computer music set by Ekaterina Tiron. Texts for the present publication are given in another transliteration; some corrections have been made in notation and translation of the text.

²² First song was performed by Tatiana Varlamovna Menegecheva, second song was performed by Antonina Pavlovna Prikhod’ko. Taped by Natalia Kondratyeva, Galina Sychenko and Konstantin Tarasov 23. and 24.01.1985 in Kurmach-Baigol, Turochak district, Gorno-Altaiiskaia avtonomnaia *oblast’* (now Republic of Altai). Materials are kept in the Archive of Traditional Music of the Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka, Collection A0019, NN 42 and 66.

1. Kyska saryn

Kas pa _ la _ sy ka _ kyl _ dap

Ka _ mysh _ tu sas _ ta u _ iam, dei.

Kys pa _ la _ sy kym _ na _ nyp

El ai _ mak _ ta d'or _ tem, dei.

Figure 9: Example of Chalkan song with 3H-scale.

2. Kyska saryn

Ka _ re le kös _ tü ka _ ra [a]dym

Kar _ sh'a kai _ la _ nap kish' _ te _ ve.

Ka _ ry ly kös _ tü iei ba _ lam

Ka[r] _ sh'a kai _ la _ nyp kom _ na _ ve (crying)

Figure 10: Example of Chalkan song with 3L-scale.

Two examples demonstrate typical cases of verse structure: 7 (8, 9) = 4 (5) + 3 (4):

1

Kas palazy kakyldap (7)	Goose's child cackling,
Kamyshtu sasta uiam, diit. (8)	In a reed marsh his nest is, says.
Kys palazy kymnanyp (7)	Girl-child whispering,
El aimakta t'urtyym, diit. (7)	In a middle of a people her home is, says.

2

Kare <i>le</i> köstü kara adym (9)	With black eyes my black horse,
Karsh'a kailanyp kisteve. (8)	Turning back, don't neigh.
Kare <i>le</i> köstü <i>ey</i> , palam, (8)	With black eyes, <i>hey</i> , my child,
Karsh'a kailanyp komnava. (8)	Turning back, don't grieve.

The rhythmical structure of these songs is based on the combination of musical feet consisting of 2 or 3 elements. In the odd lines of the second song the last foot ends with a short element:









	1 example	2 example
1 line		
2 line		
3 line		
4 line		

Figure 11: Rhythmical schemes of the two song examples.

Each performer chooses the elements for the creation of his/her own variant or version of a tune from shared melodic and rhythmic resources. A generative grammar facilitates the creation of the 'right' melodies. The grammar is based on the combinatorial principle. The mobility of the elements concerns both the rhythmic and intonation spheres. Favourite and frequent combinations form the core of the tradition, although there is no borderline between the centre and the periphery of this song tradition. The performer's degree of focus on the rules varies; some creating standardized melodies, others, individualized ones.²³

²³ It seems that this process took place unconsciously.

Conceptualization of songs and melodies

Returning to our archive collection, we may formulate some questions about the mobility of the melodies within the Chalkan community. How are melodies distributed? Does their distribution correspond to gender, age, clans, phratries, places of birth, villages? In other words, is this distribution connected with personal, social or spatial models?

We are unlikely to find all the answers, but some we may find. First of all, it is important to understand how the Chalkans themselves conceptualize their songs. From field diaries and comments on songs we learn that songs are sometimes connected with persons (“This is a song of my uncle/grandfather, and so on”). Songs can be associated with the circumstances of life (“We sang this song when we came back from the field after work”). Melodies are often associated with places (“This melody is from my village”). In general, the group of lyric songs with UMT is associated with belonging to the ethnic community (“Chalkan-ness”). The last two points are both connected with space: either the territory of a small home area, or all Chalkan territory. It is quite likely therefore that the spatial model is more relevant in the distribution of melodies.

Scales of lyric songs with UMT and their distribution in the Chalkan territory

Now we will go on to analyse the distribution of scales or, to be more exact, modal-scales. We will use not only scales as such, but also some modal parameters, which is important for the melos. Thus, we take into account the final tones of the lines as well as the different quality of the tones: tones not appearing in the first position of a league are regarded as weak. Every scheme is thus a sort of projection of the melody. Each unit refers to one strophe, regardless of whether it is a separate song or not.

Below I give a complete list of all possible modal-scales with their frequency in the material available.²⁴ In Tab. 2, capital letters mark the final tone of the strophe, underlined letters show temporary stops (final tones of lines), weaker tones are in brackets.

3H-scales (72 cases)			3L-scales (38 cases)		
Scale	Final tones	Total	Scale	Final tones	Total
D-(<u>f</u> is ²⁵)-g-a-h	4141	2	D-e-f-g-a-h-c ¹	1111	1
D-(<u>f</u> is)-g-a-h	5141	1	D-(e)-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹	1111	2
D- <u>f</u> is-g-a-h	1151	1	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹	1111	12
D-e- <u>f</u> is-g-a-h	1111	2	D-e- <u>f</u> -g-a-b/h-c ¹	3151	1
D-e- <u>f</u> is-g-a-h-c ¹	1111	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	2

²⁴ Here terms ‘modal-scale,’ or ‘scale’ are used as synonyms. They refer to concrete pitch structure extracted from one particular song, while term ‘mode’ refers to a more generalized category, which may include several similar scales.

²⁵ In the Tab. 2–6 *-is* means ‘sharp’, *-es* means ‘flat.’

D-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹	1131	1
D-g-a-h-d ¹	1151	1	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	4
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	5111	1
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	2	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	7151	1
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	1	D-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	3131	1
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1151	1	D-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -es ¹	3131	1
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	5151	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	1131	1
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	6	D-e-f-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	7131	2
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	2	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	7131	1
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	6141	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-(c ¹)-d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1161	1	D-e-f-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	1	c̣-D-e-f/fis-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹ /f ¹	1131	1
D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1			
D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1151	2			
D-(e)-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	14			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1121	1			
D-e-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1121	4			
D-e-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	2121	3			
D-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	5			
D-(fis)-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	6161	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	1151	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	6161	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	5141	1			
D-(e)-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	1			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	1111	1			
D-e-fis-g-a-b/h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -es ¹	1111	1			

Table 2: Scales in the model tunes of the Chalkans.

As we can see, major scales are almost twice as many as minor ones.²⁶ Exceeding the octave limits is more typical for the latter. Besides this, the minor scales include more steps and are therefore fuller, or more complete. In the major scales very often one or two steps are missing and the core of the mode reveals itself rather clearly: **D-fis-g-a-h-d¹** (steps found in all variants of 3H-scales are in bold type). It is very similar to the epic mode: d-fis-G-a-h. Minor scales also have a common part: **D-e-f-g-a-c**. As far as the 6th step is concerned, in the minor scales free alternation is typical (b/h).

²⁶ There are three examples of melodies in which the traits of the two groups are mixed; there are also two examples of more sophisticated scales, which should be examined separately, but for the moment will be ignored.

All this suggests that tunes with minor scales appeared in the Chalkan culture later than the major ones. In order to prove this thesis, we try to trace the distribution of scales a) across settlements and b) in accordance with the gender of performers.

Among the settlements we have chosen Suranash and Kurmach-Baigol as two key locations where Chalkans concentrated during the Soviet period: the Chalkans living along the Lebed' and its tributaries mostly migrated to Suranash; the Chalkans from the Baigol basin concentrated in Kurmach-Baigol. Tab. 3–6 shows the distribution of modal-scales in all villages where songs were recorded. Before the double line the data for the main villages are shown and after the data for other villages according to the place of birth of the informants. Data for men and women are given separately.

3H-scales (50 examples)			3L-scales (10 examples)		
Scale	Final tones	Total	Scale	Final tones	Total
Suranash					
D-e-fis-g-a-h	1111	2	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹	3151	1
D-e-fis-g-a-h-c ¹	1111	1	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	5111	1
D-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	7151	1
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-(c ¹)-d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	5151	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1			
D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	1			
D-(e)-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	11			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	2			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	2			
D-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	1			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	2			
Turochak					
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	4			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	5141	1			
Chuika					
D-(fis)-g-a-h	4141	2			
D-(fis)-g-a-h	5141	1			
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1			
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	4141	1			
D-(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1151	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	6141	1			

D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1141	1			
D-(e-fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1151	2			
D- <u>e</u> -(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1121	1			
Biika					
			D-e-f-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	7131	2
			D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	7131	1

Table 3: Distribution of modal-scales in the culture of the Chalkans from the Lebed' basin (women).

3H-scales (5 examples)			3L-scales (3 examples)		
Scale	Final tones	Total	Scale	Final tones	Total
Suranash					
			D-e-f-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -f ¹	3131	2
			<u>e</u> -D-e-f/fis-g-a-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹ /f ¹	11131	1
San'kino					
D-fis-g-a-h	1151	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1161	1			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	1			
D-e-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	1			
D-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	1151	1			

Table 4: Distribution of modal-scales in the culture of the Chalkans from the Lebed' basin (men).

3H-scales (8 examples)			3L-scales (25 examples)		
Scale	Final tones	Total	Scale	Final tones	Total
Kurmach-Baigol					
D- <u>e</u> -fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1121	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	2
D-e-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	1111	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹	1131	1
D-e-fis-g-a-b/h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -es ¹	1111	1	D-e-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	1131	1
			D-f-g-a-b-c ¹ -d ¹ -e ¹	3131	1
			D-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ /cis ¹ -d ¹ -es ¹	3131	1
Turochak					
D-e-fis-g-a-h-d ¹	1111	2	D-e-f-g-a-h-c ¹	1111	1
D-e-fis-g-a-h-(c ¹)-d ¹	1111	2	D-(e)-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹	1111	2
D-(e)-fis-g-a-h-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	1	D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹	1111	12
			D-e-f-g-a-b/h-c ¹ -d ¹	1111	4

Table 5: Distribution of modal-scales in the culture of the Chalkans from the Baigol basin (women).

3H-scales (9 examples)			3L-scales (0 examples)		
Scale	Final tones	Total	Scale	Final tones	Total
Biika					
D- <u>e</u> -(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	1121	3			
D- <u>e</u> -(fis)-g-a-h-d ¹	2121	3			
Chuika					
D-g- <u>a</u> -h-d ¹	1151	1			
Verkh-Biisk					
D-(fis)-g-a- <u>h</u> -c ¹ -d ¹	6161	1			
D-fis-g-a- <u>h</u> -c ¹ -d ¹	6161	1			

Table 6: Distribution of modal-scales in the culture of the Chalkans from the Baigol basin (men).

Analysis of the data of Tab. 3–6 makes it possible to draw several very important conclusions. First of all, the proportion of major and minor melodies in Suranash and Kurmach-Baigol is different. In the first village this proportion for women is 32/7, in all villages where women from the Lebed’ basin live it is even higher for the major scales: 50/10. In the second village the proportion is 3/6; for all villages 8/25. This means that the number of melodies with major scales is higher for the Lebed’ settlers, while melodies with minor scales are more typical for women from the Baigol area. Another picture is revealed when we analyze the data for men. The proportions are 0/3–5/3 (Lebed’) and 6/0–9/0 (Baigol). That means that in general men perform melodies with major scales regardless of their places of birth or where they live. The negative result for the village Suranash may be an accident because records made for men are fewer than for women. Each village is represented by one man and more than one (2–8) women.

Men’s preference for major tunes may therefore correlate with a different style of performance. Men prefer energetic march styles, while women prefer more relaxed lyrical styles. As a result, minor melodies with an abundance of passing notes and more complete scales are distributed amongst women much more than amongst men.

Returning to the distribution of major and minor melodies, a very intriguing and simple question might be: Why is there any such distribution? What kind of transhumance of melodies and modes took place in the past? The answer could be found in the geography of the territories. Thus, the basin of the Lebed’ is much more impassable than the Baigol basin. There were not and still are not any roads except the winter road on the River Lebed’. The first stable villages were created on the River Baigol in the 19th century. In Soviet times there were several villages, connected by country roads, whereas Suranash was accessible only by river in summer, winter road and by helicopter. Naturally, this caused a much larger influx of people into Kurmach-Baigol than into Suranash, where only local people migrated. On the

contrary, in Kurmach-Baigol not only the Chalkans lived, but also the Kumandin, Tubalars, Russians and other nationalities.

The presence of each of the listed peoples could contribute to the process of transhumance and forming differences in song performance styles. Thus, melodies similar to the Chalkan ones are also characteristic for the Kumandins. Kumandin melodies belong almost exclusively to the minor scales, so it is reasonable to assume that this is how they appeared in Chalkan culture. The modal structure D-f-g-a-c is also typical of the Tubalars, with whom the Chalkans had close marriage relationships. Russian influence also could have taken place, but this question needs more careful study.

Another observation concerns the nature of modal-scales in mixed villages built along the main roads. As we can see in Tab. 3–6, there are many examples of modal-scales with a diverse combination of final tones. This indicates a process of melodic development and a gradual departure from the core of tradition.

Preliminary conclusions

At the present stage of the research, we may formulate some preliminary conclusions about the migration (or transhumance) of the melodies and, warily, about the history of this process. Traditional Chalkan society was based on the mobility of small family groups within a prescribed territory. They were mainly attached to the rivers Lebed' and Baigol, and the basin of the second one was more open to the influx of people from outside. The Chalkans made different contacts and would therefore adopt song melodies from each other, but local micro-traditions – if they existed – were rather mobile. The way of life – scattered over the *taiga* – and solo character of the performance did not allow stable local traditions to form. With people's migration to the *taiga* zone, their melodies migrated too. Only the establishing of new and bigger villages was favourable to the process of forming local traditions. We may assume that melodies with major scales were more characteristic of the Chalkans in the past. They are closer to epic tradition; they are better kept in the more isolated village Suranash and, last but not least, they are better kept by men than by women. So, women might adopt the new minor style of performing in settlements with mixed populations. It could have happened as early as the end of the 19th century. Now we may speak about two local traditions: Suranash, or Lebed', and Kurmach-Baigol, or Baigol.

Outside the Chalkan context, we find similar kinds of melody among the neighbouring Turkic cultures: the Kumandins, Tubalars, Shors, Teleuts and Sagays. All these cultures use them in a very limited quantity. Only in the Kumandin culture have they the same position as in the Chalkan one, which again poses the question about the historical relationships between the two North Altai ethnic groups and, possibly, about transhumance of musical artefacts from one group to another.

References

- Adonyeva, Svetlana. 2004. “The Pragmatics of the *Chastushka*. A Socio-Linguistic Study.” *Forum for Anthropology and Culture*, 1: 159–82.
- Alexander, Alex E. 1976. “The Russian Chastushka Abroad.” *The Journal of American Folklore*, 89/353: 335–41.
- Belgibaev, Erzhan A. 2001. *Traditional Material Culture of the Chelkans of the River Lebed’ Basin (Second Half of the XIX–XX Century)*. [Традиционная материальная культура челканцев бассейна реки Лебедь (вторая половина XIX–XX веков)]. Omsk State University, History dissertation.
- Fabietti, Ugo, and Francesco Remotti, eds. 1997. *Dizionario di Antropologia*. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Funk, Dmitrii A. 2000. “The Number and Distribution of the Chelkans in the XIX Century.” [Численность и расселение челканцев в XIX веке] In *Chelkans in Research and Materials of the XX Century* [Челканцы в исследованиях и материалах XX века], edited by Dmitrii A. Funk, 40–65. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology RAS.
- Gorbacheva, Yulia S. 2017. *Shaman Intoning of the Chalkans: Problems of Typology and Structural Organization*. [Шаманское интонирование чалканцев: проблемы типологии и структурной организации]. Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M.I. Glinka, Art Criticism dissertation.
- Khokholkov, Vladimir F., ed. 1989. *Composer Andrei Viktorovich Anokhin. Saga about Altai*. [Композитор Андрей Викторович Анохин. Сказание об Алтае]. Gorno-Altai: Gorno-Altai Branch of Altai Publishing House.
- Kondratieva, Natalia M. 1998. “Lullabies of the Teleuts, Tubalars, Kumandins, Chalkans.” [Колыбельные телеутов, тубаларов, кумандинцев, чалканцев]. In *Folklore Heritage of the Gornii Altai* [Фольклорное наследие Горного Алтая], edited by Vladimir I. Edokov, 20–48. Gorno-Altai: Gorno-Altai Research Institute of History, Language and Literature.
- Kondratieva, Natalia M. 2002. “Music of Altai Tales.” [Музыка алтайских сказок]. In *Altai Folk Tales* [Алтайские народные сказки], edited by Tamara M. Sadalova, 42–69. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Kondratieva, Natalia M., Vladimir V. Mazepus, and Galina B. Sychenko. 1994. “The Concept of the Textbook ‘Intonation culture of the Chalkans.’” [Концепция учебного пособия «Интонационная культура чалканцев»]. In *Intellect, Culture and Education* [Интеллект, культура и образование], edited by Ilya S. Ladenko, 126–28. Novosibirsk: Novosibirsk State University.
- Kondratieva, Natalia M., Vladimir V. Mazepus, and Galina B. Sychenko. 1999. “To the Theory of Intonational Cultures: the Intonational Culture of the Telengits.” [К теории интонационных культур: интонационная культура теленгитов]. In *Issues of Musicology* [Вопросы музыковедения], edited by Boris A. Shindin, 212–25. Novosibirsk: Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka.
- Kondratieva, Natalia M., and Galina B. Sychenko. 1997. “Altaians: Altai-kizhi, Telengits, Tölöses, Teleuts, Tubalars, Chalkans, Kumandins.” [Алтайцы: алтай-кижи, теленгиты, төлөсө, телеуты, тубалары, чалканцы, кумандинцы]. In *Musical Culture of Siberia* [Музыкальная культура Сибири], edited by Boris A. Shindin, Vol. 1, 209–83. Novosibirsk: Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka.
- Leonova, Natalia V., Galina B. Sychenko, and Zhanna M. Yusha. 2015. “Principles of a Multilevel Description of Local Song Traditions.” [Принципы многоуровневого описания локальных песенных традиций]. *Bulletin of Kemerovo State University of Culture and Arts*, 1/30: 161–68.
- Lugli, Francesca. 2013. “The Winter Camps of Mongolia.” In *Ethnoarchaeology: Current Research and Field Methods*, edited by Francesca Lugli, Assunta A. Stoppioello, and Stefano Biagetti, 209–16. Oxford: BAR Publishing.
- Lugli, Francesca. 2016. “Mongolian Nomads and their Dogs.” In *The Intangible Elements of Culture in Ethnoarchaeological Research*, edited by Francesca Lugli and Stefano Biagetti, 125–39. London: Springer International Publisher.

- Mazepus, Vladimir V., and Galina B. Sychenko. 1997. "The Generative Grammar of the Rhythmic Structure of the Distich in the Song Poetry of the Chalkans and the Kumandins." [*Горождающая грамматика ритмической структуры дистиха в песенной поэзии чалканцев и кумандинцев*]. In *Folk Culture of Siberia and Far East* [*Народная культура Сибири и Дальнего Востока*], edited by Natalia V. Leonova and Boris A. Shindin, 92–95. Novosibirsk: Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka.
- Morgenstern, Ulrich. 2007. "Musik und Eros im traditionellen russischen Kurzlied (*častuška*)." *Berichte aus dem ICTM-Nationalkomitee Deutschland, XV: Stimme und Instrument in musikalischen Regionalkulturen der Gegenwart*, edited by Marianne Bröcker, 97–106.
- Morgenstern, Ulrich. 2011. "Die russische *častuška* als ethnomusikologisches problem." [*Russkaja častuška kak etnomuzykovedčeskaja problema*]. In *Folklor i my. Tradicionnaja kul'tura v zerkale ee vozprjatija. Sbornik naučnyh statej, posvyščennyj 70-letiju I.I. Zemcovskogo*, edited by Naila J. Al'meeva et al., Vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg: Russian Institute of History of Arts, 83–99.
- Morgenstern, Ulrich. 2015. "Dichten und Tanzen als soziale Interaktion. Beobachtungen zur russischen *častuška* und verwandten Gattungen." In *Der Tanz in der Dichtung – Dichter tanzen. Walter Salmen in Memoriam*, edited by Gabriele Busch, Monika Fink, and Thomas Nußbaumer, 303–27. Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 1990. *Some Features of Intoning the Altai Shamans*. [*Некоторые особенности интонирования алтайских шаманов*]. Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka, manuscript.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 1997. "Pitch Structures in Modal Tunes of the Chalkans." [*Звуковысотные структуры в типовых напевах чалканцев*]. In *Folk Culture* [*Народная культура*], edited by Tatiana G. Leonova, 59–62. Omsk: Omsk State Pedagogical University.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 1998. *Traditional Song Culture of the Altaians*. [*Традиционная песенная культура алтайцев*]. Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka, Art Criticism dissertation.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 2000. "Ulgen, Tiazhin, Kyrgys and Others ... (Notes on Chalkan Shamanism)." [*Ульген, Тяжин, Кыргыз и другие... (заметки о чалканском шаманстве)*]. In *Chelkans in Research and Materials of the XX Century* [*Челканцы в исследованиях и материалах XX века*], edited by Dmitrii A. Funk, 114–27. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology RAS.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 2004. "Poetics and Structure of the Chalkan Shamanic Text." [*Поэтика и структура чалканского шаманского текста*]. In *Indigenous languages of Siberia* [*Языки коренных народов Сибири*], Vol. 15, Chalkan collection [*Чалканский сборник*], edited by Natalia N. Shirobokova, 73–101. Novosibirsk: Institute of Philology of Siberian Branch of RAS.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 2005. "Verse Structure of the Chalkan Shamanic Text." [*Стиховая структура чалканского шаманского текста*]. In *Indigenous languages of Siberia* [*Языки коренных народов Сибири*], Vol. 17, Chalkan collection [*Чалканский сборник*], edited by Natalia N. Shirobokova, 119–27. Novosibirsk: Institute of Philology of Siberian Branch of RAS.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 2013. "Model Tunes of the 'Short Songs' of the Chalkans." In *Handbuch des Tschalkantuerkischen. Teil 1. Texte und Glossar*, edited by Marcel Erdal et al., 201–6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Sychenko, Galina B. 2016. "The Song Tradition of the Chalkans of the Turochak District of the Republic of Altai (to the Problem of Comparative Typological Research)." [*Песенная традиция чалканцев Турочакского района Республики Алтай (к проблеме сравнительно-типологического исследования)*]. *Issues of Ethnomusicology* [*Вопросы этномузиковедения*], 1/14:21–36.
- Sytchenko, Galina B. 2009. "Shamanic Cosmology and its Reflection in Shamanic Texts: The Chalkan Shamanesses' Case Study." *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore. New Series* 1–2/2008: 25–40.

Zemtsovskii, Izalii I. 2000. "Russia." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Vol. 8. Europe, edited by Timothy Rice, James Porter, and Chris Goertzen, 754–89. New York and London: Garland.