

The Anthropomorphous Dolls-Patrimonial Idols of Attanay and Their Place in the Language Picture World of the Siberian Tatars

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Abstract: The study is devoted to comprehension of ethno and a sociocultural phenomenon of the patrimonial dolls-kurtsak at the Siberian Tatars in connection with the maintenance of an interjection *atta/attana/attanay*, actively functioning in the modern Tatar dialects of Siberia (in Tobol-Irtysh and Barabinsk dialects). During the period of 1999-2015 the researchers' collective conducted expeditions to the low-studied local areas of the Siberian Tatars residence in the Tyumen region the Russian Federation. Researchers offer their own view on the name etymology of a house idol and related to it interjection in the Siberian Tatars language. The phenomenon of kurtsaklar/kurchaklar idols marks spiritual space of the Siberian Tatars, designating borders of life and death, existence and a non-existence, spirit and human's physics. The uniqueness of this fact is that this phenomenon, being, on the one hand, relic, nevertheless remains actual for the Siberian-Tatar culture. So, kurtsak can protect as actually common dwelling of the Siberian Tatars, so the sacral house (Astana-holy graves, holy sites and so forth), relating to the world of Dolnema. On the other hand, material expression of sacral senses kurtsaklar assists the distribution and the immersion in the layman world of deep knowledge of the old Turkic world order. The presented materials are due to the own field researchers' expeditions to the traditional local places of residence of the Siberian Tatars/Sibertar. Researchers compare the received results with polls data which they carried out during their expeditions, for the purpose of identification the vital degree of the Siberian Tatars traditional culture and their ethnos in whole. The unique local lines of culture and language allow speaking about the process of the Siberian Tatars group isolation from the Kazan Tatars, allowing the further intra ethnic centripetal movement prediction.

Key words: Ethnography, siberian tatars, tobol-irtysh dialect, barabinsk dialect, secondary nomination, kurtsak, patrimonial idols

INTRODUCTION

The population of one of the largest regions of the Russian Federation-Western Siberia in the national and cultural structure represents quite motley picture. On this territory historically the Turkic tribes, most of which was later the Tatar nation. Big distances between settlements caused language dissociation of the Siberian Tatars, this led to formation of the different dialects (Yusupov and Karabulatova, 2014). In the Omsk region and in the southern regions of the Tyumen region there was a Tobol-Irtysh dialect (the dialect received its name because the considerable part of Tatars lived on coasts of the Tobol and Irtysh Rivers). Tatars of the Novosibirsk region speak on the Barabinsk dialect which name corresponds with a place of their accommodation the Barabinsk steppes.

The Siberian Tatars culture identity and the world outlook could not but interest scientists of the different directions. The research of the Siberian Tatars language structure, its lexical structure, its grammatical system were studied by Akhatov (1984), Tumasheva (1992), Ganiyev (2005), Yusupov and Karabulatova (2014) and Zamaletdinov *et al.* (2014a) literary and culture critics consider folklore of the separate Siberian Tatars groups and the people-contactors (Yusupov *et al.*, 2013; Sayfulina, 2007; Karabulatova and Zinchenko, 2014), the folklore history (Sayfulina and Karabulatova, 2014), myth-linguistic interpretation of the Siberia toponym (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2014), the historical component of the sacred toponym in the sociocultural aspect of Astana (Karabulatova and Sayfulina, 2015); the textual analysis of the Turkic-Tatar literary monuments of Western Siberia was held (Sayfulina, 2007;

Sayfulina *et al.*, 2013; Gilazov *et al.*, 2015; Khusnutdinova *et al.*, 2015), the linguistic propedeutics of the interethnic conflicts as a stability basis in difficult polyethnic regions is analyzed (Zamaletdinov *et al.*, 2014b). The complexity of the Siberian Tatars ethnic culture phenomenon is caused by the synergetic nature of Asia and Europe space interaction, reflected in their outlook and national-language picture of the world.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study materials are the field records collected during the folklore-dialect expeditions on the territory of the Vagaysk and the Tobolsk regions of the Tyumen region during the period from 2000-2014. Specific areas of the research and the settlements are as follows: the Vagaysk Region: Maliy Condan, Maliy Urvat, Tukuz (3 settlements altogether). The Tobolsk region: Alga, Ahmanay, Achiry, Baygara, Baikalovo, Varhmahli, Yepachina, Izemet, Irek, Ishmeneva, Laytamack, Maslova, Mednyaki-Tatarskie, Nadtsi, Nerda, Nignie Aremzyani, Noskinskaya, Pyshnyatskaya, Sabanaki, Staritskaya, Suklem, Tahtagyl, Toboltyra, Topkinbashevo, Topkinskaya, Turba, Ustamack, Cheburga, Shamsha, Uyrti, Irtishatskie, Yangutum (31 settlement altogether). The Tyumen region: Amanadskoe andreevskiy, Bolshie Akiyari, Embaevo, Esaulova, Kazarovo, Kaskara, Malie Akiyari, Mullashi, Novotarmanskiy, Salairka, Turaeva, Chaplick, Chickcha, Yakushi, Yantick (16 settlements altogether). Qualitative survey data reflects the following interview:

- The Vagaysk region: 6 persons
- The Tobolsk region: 110 persons
- The Tyumen region: 70 persons

Total: 186 persons. The respondents age from 3-101 years. The youngest one is Ishkulov Ilnaz Izilevich (He was born in 2012), lives in Topkinbashevo village of the Tobolsk region. The oldest respondent is Garifullina Bibikay Abdunadzhipovna (she was born in 1914), lives in Bolshie Akiyari village of the Tyumen region. In the Fig. 1 shown the Topkinbashevo village of the Tobolsk region (Photo from I.S. Karabulatova personal archive, February 24, 2003). The study specified period of expeditions from 2000- 2014 however, observations were made from the mid 90s of the twentieth century but only in 2014-2015 were organized special expeditions. In general, there are a lot of folklore texts but directly related to Attanay and Kurtsak which were recorded by us just 4 texts:



Fig. 1: Topkinbashevo village of the Tobolsk region (Photo from I.S. Karabulatova personal archive, February 24, 2003)

- Maliy Urvat village of the Vagaysk region: Saidullina Zulhayda Sultanbaevna (she was born in 1966) “The story of kurtsak, which was stored in the barn”
- In the same place “The story of the diseases treatment using ?urtsa?”
- Amanadskoe village of the Tyumen region: Mavlyutov Marat Basyrovich (he was born in 1936) “The story of Ettenev” (Recording date 08.20.2015)
- Yakushi village of the Tyumen Region: Aynullin Rashit Kalimullovich (she was born in 1959) “The story of Ettenev” (Recording date 17.08.2015)

The statements containing the word *atta/attan/Attanay* are ubiquitous. Young generation often pronouncing this word and/or using it in steady phraseological phrases, does not guess that it meant originally. The phenomenon of patrimonial dolls (*Kurtsak*) which are called in the Siberian Tatars language as *Attanay* became the analysis object. The patrimonial dolls idols are still significant sacral artifact of the Siberian Tatars traditional culture. Anthropomorphous dolls-idols were made of wood or pieces of cloth, their height were 35-40 cm. The name *AttAnAy* is a result of two lexeme combining the most revered names of family members: *AttA* (father) and *AnnA* (mother). With the Islam formation, which (according to the extant documents) distributed in Siberia from the fourteenth century (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2014), attributes of paganism Idols (*Kurtsaki*) including *AttAnAy* leaved the wide existance. However, *AttAnAy* organically integrated into the Siberian Tatars national language picture of the world.

The etymology of an interjection is connected with the sacral nomination of one of the main deities of times of the Siberian Tatars pagan beliefs *Kurtsak attanay*, which was represented in the form of the old man with the old woman.

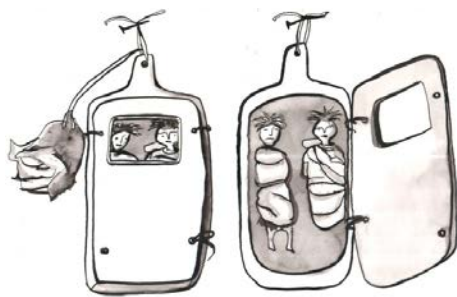


Fig. 2: Image of the kurtsak-Attanay dolls (Picture was made by Sajfiullina F.S. in a field expedition to the Tobolsk region, 1998)

At the same time the Attanay role is reflected in the various works of the Siberian Tatars folklore. To our mind, the patrimonial Attanay idols are connected with the numerous legends about the gold woman among the nations-contactors “Khanty, Mansi, Nenets” (Sayfulina and Karabulatova, 2014) and the use of this patrimonial doll serves guidance ethnic consciousness (Karabulatova and Zinchenko, 2014) which is especially typical for sacred tradition of family and tribal culture in general (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2005). The research theoretical basis are the history and ethnography works of the Siberian Tatars (Karabulatova and Mukhamadieva, 2006; Tomilov and Frank, 2000); as a reference data the Tatar dialects and etymological dictionaries are used. The study was conducted with the use of traditional methods and techniques. So, the descriptive and analytical method involves direct observation of the analyzed language and cultural facts, followed by a generalization of the results as “Ethnography points broadly to the careful and usually long-term observation of a group of people to reveal the patterns of social life that are locally experienced” (Gubrium and Holstein, 1999).

The culture found artifacts distribution allowed to reveal semantics of analyzed units on the basis of the closest contextual setting (Fig. 2). The descriptive and analytical method provides the direct observation of analyzed units *atta/Attana/Attanay* with the subsequent generalization of the received results:

- Wooden or cloth anthropomorphous dolls-idols of the Siberian Tatars
- The interjection expressing disappointment, indignation, a regret, surprise
- The method of informants interviewing was used during the direct collection of dialect material

To do this, a program of collecting the Tatar national dialects of the Tyumen region was prepared, which takes into account gender and age criteria. Questions are distributed according to age of the respondent (0-7, 8-11, 12-17, 18-49, 50-69, over 70). For example, respondents between the ages of 0 and 7 years are asked questions such as “What children's games do you know?” “What are the rhymes?” and for respondents over the age of 70 “How people lived in the village during the years of the Great Patriotic War?”, “Tell us about your ancestor” and others. When collecting a material such criteria as the birthplace and accommodation of the respondent are considered. As a rule, the Tatar settlements population in the Tyumen region is ethnically heterogeneous. For example, in Salairka village of the Tyumen region the Siberian Tatars and the Kazan Tatars live, in Bolshie Akiyari village of the Tyumen region live the Siberian Tatars and descendants of Sarts, in the Alga village of the Tobolsk region live Mishars and the Siberian Tatars. Undoubtedly, interaction of national dialects at different levels is observed.

The subject and the texts type are various: village, family, work, war, folklore, way of life, people, nature, religion; a fairy tale, a song, a legend, a riddle, a proverb, a saying, a story about war, a story about a family tree, a story about ancient idols of the Siberian Tatars, etc.

The observation method is used throughout the research: from observation over speech of the dialect informants through observation of the functioning of certain language unit. The distribution analysis is used to identify and the describe the meaning of the analyzed units on the basis of the closest contextual setting. So, the semantics of an interjection *Atta/Attana/Attanay* is established on the content of all sentences. The method of definitions comparison allowed establishing structural and substantial characteristics of units *Atta/Attana/Attanay* and *kuanarchak/kuatarchak* and *iongorchai/iongyptsai*.

The method of the lingo-cultural analysis is used at attraction to the linguistic analysis of data from people's spiritual culture: pagan beliefs of the Siberian Tatars, the myth about the Zanki-baba (baba old man in Siberian Tatar Language). The research held in 2010, allowed revealing the answers dynamics to the question of satisfaction of belonging to the nationality, having designated the positive tendencies which have occurred in the ethnic identity of Tatars of the Tyumen region over the last ten years. The vitality Tatar ethnic identity in the Tyumen region is illustrated in the dynamics of responses answers to the question about the satisfaction degree with their nationality, in % of total number of the respondents. Among the Siberian Tatars are the following ethnic

Table 1: How are you satisfied with belonging to the Tatar nationality?

Satisfaction degree	Years	
	2001	2010
Satisfied	77.7	88.4
Not satisfied	1.7	3.2
I do not attach importance to national identity	13.5	6.0
Hard to answer	7.1	2.4

Table 2: The world outlooks of respondents in relation with religion depending on ethnos and sub ethnos, in % to total number of the answered

Possible answer	All respondents	Nationality		
		Tatar	SiberianTatar	KazanTatar
Yes, I am a believer	61.0	62.5	61.1	57.1
No, I'm not a believer	5.8	7.0	4.8	8.9
I am the way to God	12.8	9.0	14.3	17.9
Hard to answer	20.4	21.5	19.8	16.1

groups: Tobol-Irtysh, including Kurdaksko-Sargatsky, Tyumen, Tarsky and Yaskolbinsky Tatars; Barabinsk, which includes Barabinsk-Turazhsky, Tereninsko-Choysky and Lyubeysko-Tunusky Tatars; Tomsk, consisting of Kalmacks, Eushtints and Chats (Zamaletdinov *et al.*, 2014; Yusupov *et al.*, 2013).

Contrary to popular belief, in the anthropological terms Tatars are considered as the extremely heterogeneous. The fact is that, for example, the Siberian Tatars in their physical appearance are very similar to the so-called South Siberian type, belonging to the great Mongoloid race. The Tartars, constantly residing in Siberia as well as those who inhabit the Urals and the Volga regions, speak their own Tatar language which belongs to the Kypchak subgroup of the widespread Turkic (the Altay language family) (Yusupov and Karabulatova, 2014). To understand the importance of the phenomenon Kurtsak in the Siberian Tatars culture it was important for us also to trace the variation of the ideological positions, depending on the membership of a particular Tatars group. Population census of 2010 showed the dissociation of the Tatar society in the Tyumen Region and the distribution of such clusters as the Tatars, the Siberian Tatars and the Kazan Tatars (Table 1).

According to our research, it was found exceeding the proportion of people preferring ethno-cultural and psychological criteria over ethnic identification. If 36.8% of respondents in 2001 believed that nationality should be determined by “the person’s desire”, 22.5% on “native language” then for one third of respondents (34.5%) defining value had an origin that is a nationality of parents (“nationality of father” 23.6%; “nationality of mother” 6.2% “nationality of father and mother” 4.7%). The data in Table 2 shows that: the religious population of the South of the Tyumen region is 61.0% (religiousness

level) which is higher than the average for Russia (53.0% of the religious population the All-Russian research 2007, the ISPR Russian Academy of Sciences, under the arms of V.V. Osipov and V.L. Schultz; Wavers between belief and unbelief, there are 12.8%; Atheists make up to 5.8% of the sample (or non-religious people); The parity of the religious and non-religious population largely depends on a complex of the social-economic, territorial, socio-political, historical, confessional and ethnic facts. In Russia as a whole, the ratio is about 3:1.

Socio-demographic characteristics of religious and non religious representatives of the Tatar population are dim now. Today, it is difficult to trace a clear dependence between the religiosity level of age, social status, place of residence, education, marital status, income level of the respondents. The Siberian Tatars legends recorded by us (the Vagaysk and the Tobolsk regions of the Tyumen region) testify to special spirits-idols. According to the legends, masters made these dolls of a birch bark and branches. Further the knowing person (the local shaman) pointed out a special place in the forest, often in trees hollows where this spirit found its home (Karabulatova and Sayfulina, 2015). It was believed that they could protect the village from misfortunes. Often it also happened that such wooden idols were nailed to the house’s roofs. They should preserve all households. It is considered that spirits of the dead can attack the village, so the locals made of from time to time special cloth dolls-Kurtsak. They are necessary to be kept in special birch boxes which were placed within wicker baskets under spreading trees near to the cemetery.

Certain features of the Siberian Tatars folk monuments were examined previously by members of a group of researchers, it allowed to track the evolution of the considered definition (Sayfulina *et al.*, 2013; Gilazov *et al.*, 2015; Khusnutdinova *et al.*, 2015). The method of definitions comparison makes it possible to compare the structural and substantial characteristics of language and cultural units. As researchers fairly emphasize, the observation method is leading in ethnography, allowing to represent information about life in various stories, legends, legends, parables and other narrations (Gubrium and Holstein, 1999). Undoubtedly, such data cannot be received without the use of a qualitative method of interviewing informants compared with data, received as a result of introspection.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The parents cult which is the leading one at the Siberian Tatars was developed in ancient beliefs of Turkic

Table 3: National ceremonies and traditions vitality among the Siberian Tatars (the answers to the question "Do you perform national ceremonies?" indicating the gender, in % to the total number answered)

Perform the ceremonies	All respondents	Gender	
		Male	Female
Completely	22.5	19.7	23.9
Partly	61.1	64.6	59.3
Do not perform	9.3	9.2	9.3
Do not know the ceremonies	3.6	4.4	3.2
Hard to answer	3.5	2.1	4.1

Table 4: The vitality dynamics of the national ceremonies and traditions among the Siberian Tatars (in % to total number answered)

	Years	
	2001	2010
Able to		
Hunt	8.0	15.1
Put fishing net	10.5	20.8
Sew national clothes	2.2	-
Treat skins of fur animals	0.9	-
Roll felt boot	0.3	-
Cook national dishes	45.2	66.3
Treat sheep wool and goat down	8.3	23.5
Sing national songs	-	45.1
Execute national dances	-	25.4
Other	1.5	-
Do nothing	23.1	8.8

tribes and partly continued to the present days (Hallett and Jeffers, 2008). The study found that residents of rural settlements remain and fulfill national ceremonies. So, if some citizens who are not performed national ceremonies 27.1% of respondents, among villagers this number twice is 13.3%. According to the results of our study twice bigger number of city respondents did not perform national ceremonies, than rural (respectively did not carry out 27.1 and 13.3%). At the same time three times more rural respondents did not know the ceremonies. Traditionally, the most consistently performing national ceremonies, respondents aged 60 and older. If aged 20-50 years old ceremonies performs constantly from 1.5-4.9% of respondents, at the age of 60 and older, the number was 41.2%. It is connected with that such a possibility has appeared in both men and women to retire.

Fully implement national ceremonies fifth of the representatives of the Tatar population. More than the half of respondents (61.1%) perform the national ceremonies partly. One of ten (9.3 %) does not carry out national ceremonies (Table 3 and 4). During the research it was interesting to know the respondents opinions about whether there is a danger to the Tatar population representatives to lose national identity because for the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups representatives as do many other nations who are now undergoing modernization challenges and threats to ethnic culture, questions of national identity which are extremely actual

(Karabulatova and Akhmetova, 2015; Karabulatova *et al.*, 2013; Karabulatova *et al.*, 2013; Karabulatova and Polivara, 2013, 2015). In this regard, there is a fair question of differentiation the research objects (Gubrium and Holstein, 1999).

Today for the Siberian Tatars remain relevant the patrimonial ceremonies rites, that combine the features of the pagan and Muslim. In some local areas (Zabolotye) the Siberian Tatars preferred to use the services of midwives-old women until the mid 90s of the twentieth century. The results of our folklore and ethnographic expeditions to settlements in the south of the Tyumen region allow us to assert that "almost in everyone of them live at least one person as a rule, woman of advanced age who owns the knowledge of traditional medicine" (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2005). Many aspects of the traditional culture of motherhood and childhood concealed from the eyes are recorded by us for the first time. The ceremonies of the childhood aimed primarily at adapting the little man in the new conditions, various means of influencing are used for this purpose: word, household items, special ritual figures, herbs, birds, animals, different sounds, smells and physical activities.

On the one hand, dolls kurtsak are sacred meaning they are the house spirits, they are the material idea of dual substances organizing aura the family. On the other hand, this idol fills the family and tribal space with the cultural senses, having the extensive verbal-associative network. Evidence of this is the naming among the Siberian Tatars. Archive materials of the Separately-Babasansk volost (volost a district in the administrative classification of Tsarist Russia) 28-29 centuries testify that male personal names assigned newborn through one generation (F.I 154, OP. 8, D. 4, 289, 570, 807). Later, these names tend to become the basis for the formation of family surname. This Siberian Tatars not only express respect to the parent but also sought to preserve and continue in the next generations the name of the progenitor. Further on the progenitor name carrier great responsibility for the reputation preservation was assigned (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2011).

Symbolically, the material expression of the family spirit is Atta/Attana/Attanay that among the many idols of Siberian Tatars is the most important and is traditionally portrayed as an old man and an old woman (Bayazitova *et al.*, 2009). The connection in one Kurtsak two people of different genders and its name allow suggesting the assumption that the doll name Attanay is formed by adding the names of the most respected members of the family atta (father) and anna (mother). Over time among the siberian tatars the lexemes kurtsak and attanay began to be used as synonyms.

The peculiarity in the way of Tatar families was that the children-carriers of the progenitor name had no right to be called by name (traditionally it was considered as a lack of respect to the patrimonial memory). Treatment of children, the naming of the father or the mother, were lexemes, establishing the degree of relationship in relation to any member of the family: Ati, Atka (father), ina (mother), ollata (grandfather), onna (grandmother). In turn, the lexeme Atta is formed in the suffixal way: ata a father +an affix ta/ta which goes back to an ancient Turkish word tai 'similar such. Thus, the word Atta literally means "similar to the father (parent)". It corresponds to Ganiyev's statement that nouns with a suffix-ta designate a subject, characterized by what is expressed in a base. Therefore, there are all bases to consider that the word Attanay is derived from the word pair Atta-Anna where Atta-it is translated as ata-the father and Anna-ana-mother. It is quite probable that the idol image in the form of the old man with the old woman affected the formation of the lexeme-Attanay, in the form of the old man-atta.

It is possible that the modern distribution of this lexeme options is connected with the ancient gender views of the Turkic people. Separate echoes we can even see in modern female literature (Khachmafova *et al.*, 2015). Confirmation to it we find at the ethnographer A.G.Seleznev. He writes that the lexeme AttAnAy at the Tobolsk Tatars meant the supreme deity. According to his observations, informants surely deduce the word Attanay from the Turkic word ata"father". The expedition researches of 1991 allowed to affirm as this version: the lexeme AttAnAy in a number of places (for example, in the Tukuz village of the Vagaysky region of the Tyumen region) functions along with all-extended lexeme of Kuday meaning "god", "deity" matters at the Southern and Western Siberia Turkic peoples. According to F.T.Valeev's observations, the word Aattanay at some groups of the Siberian Tatars meant big wooden images of patrimonial spirits to which made a sacrifice (Seleznev and Seezaneva, 2003).

A functional variety of an idol Attanay caused also the frequency of pronouncing his name. Undoubtedly, with this image Tatars connected the idea of good, the truth, the verity. Further, probably, the image of the idol and the address to him became more and more separated. The lexeme Attanay becomes the secondary nomination of Atta-ann A (Atta, respectively, ata) that led to transition of a proper name to the nominal. In turn, it promoted that the lexeme Atta/ attana/AttanAy began to serve as the means of expressing different kind of subjective modality. In the modern Siberian Tatars language the lexeme Atta/Attana/Attanay does not designate any concept, does not express the grammatical

relations but contains references to various relations of the speaker to reality. Such nature of a lexeme allows to consider it as an interjection. As an interjection it is understood the unchangeable word serving for undifferentiated emotional expression and emotional and strong-willed reactions to surrounding reality.

In the folklore and dialects sources contain very poor material about this lexeme: Attanay (Siberian) the expression of offense, disagreement (Tumasheva, 1992), ay Attana the expression of a regret, disappointment (Akhatov, 1984), ouch Attana , wow atta the expression of surprise, wonder.

During the field expeditions the national dialects and folklore were gathered at the Tatars living in the Vagayskiy and Tobolsk regions, the following statements containing the lexeme Atta/Attana/Attanay were fixed: 1. Attana-a-a-a, onytypmyn!//Attana-a-a-a, I forgot! 2. Wow Attana a-a-a, sungka kaltym kuy!//Wow Attana a-a-a, I am late! Wow Attaganam ashgara kotsom potto! // Wow attaganam, Oh, really forces leaved me!

In the first two sentences the disappointment is expressed, this meaning corresponds to data of dialect dictionaries. In the third sentence the expression of indignation, which is enhanced by varying the intonation of the vowel a-atta a-a-a-a. Let's note that this meaning of an interjection is not given in the dictionaries. But any way the emotional load of an interjection atta/attana/attanay does not correspond to semantics of a word atta/ata (father).

Thus, the semantic field of the lexeme atta/attana/attanay in the modern Siberian Tatars language has 2 meanings:

- Wooden or cloth anthropomorphic dolls-idols of the Siberian Tatars
- An interjection expressing the disappointment, indignation, regret, surprise

The Siberian Tatars ancient pagan pantheon were the anthropomorphic idols wooden or cloth kurtsak (dolls). These idols, on the Siberian Tatars representations, gave the sacral support, being creatures of the other world, turning after death in the family spirits. Such honoring of ancestors and the relation to the life and death cycle is not something exclusive (Bonsu and Spene, 2008; Hallett and Jeffers, 2008). Considering the etymology of the lexeme kurchak, ethnographer A.G. Seleznev refers to B. Diosegi in whose works reveal the relationship of this word with the shaman's drum and other attributes of the Turkic peoples of southern Siberia. Let's compare: the Siberian-Tatar kurchak "idol"; Altaisk, sagaysk. kurchak

“a frame, a hoop, shaman drum rib”; Teleut. *kurchu* “rib”; Altaisk. *kurchu* “rattle rings on a shaman suit, etc.” According to R.G. Akhmetyanov, the word *kurchak* is formed from the Chagatai language (the medieval Central Asian) *kaghup*, *kavur*, *kaghurt* “a shadow; an idol, spirit” + affix-*chak* which goes back to the word *chak* with mean similar, *suc*’ (Ganiyev, 2005). In the dialect dictionary fixed variations of *iurchai* (package)/*iongorchai*/oongyrchak (Barabinsk dialect) “doll as worship subject as idol as deity” (BDSTYA).

At the Siberian Tatars *kurchaks* were the patrons and the keepers of the general family wellbeing. Appointments of the *kurchaks* are extremely various: these are the patrons of home and life, the trade patrons, the women and children patrons, etc. (Han, 2015) Dolls-idols took a certain place in the breeding cult. Having killed a cattle, its blood, a part of meat or an interior Tatars bore to the dolls. In the Guzenevo village of the Muromtsevsky region of the Omsk region, say: “When we cut a sheep or a calf, the great-grandmother got the dolls and fed them with blood-smeared their lips”. In the Maliy Urvat village of the Vagaysk region the following field record made: *Atamkurata antay kurtsakny saklaytyghan ite, any syjernyng tiresennAn ishAtkAn ide. Syjer bosaulasa, iurtsaiia iaer birAtegAn ite, “sangge-songge pobagha” dip.* Translation: The father stored such doll in a shed which made (spun) from a cow skin. After cows calving, usually, some alms were given to the doll, thus repeating “*sAngge-songge pobagha*” (to the grandfather says-sentences-sings).

Attanay have something in common with the other family and patrimonial idol-patron that is called *Zanki-baba*. *Zanki* (Zengi/Sengi) *baba* (old man) the religious and mythological image being the patron of cattle. It was represented in the form of the disembodied spirit-master of cows endowed with exclusively positive characteristics. Among its main functions the help to cows during the calving time. On beliefs, *Zanki-baba* taught cows to find the house, to reach the yard. The use of the transformed lexeme *sangge-songge pobagha* indicates that it is perceived by native speakers as something unknown but sacral.

Besides, this is the evidence of that in the minds of carriers pagan and Koranic elements intertwine: on the one hand, idolatry, expressed in the dolls worship, on another, the veneration of religious and mythological image *sangki-pabva/zanki-baba* which historical prototype is sufi sheikh *zangi-ata*, the the sufi *suleiman bakirgani* (*hakim-ata*) pupil whom, in turn, there was the well-known *khoja ahmed yasawi* pupil (Seleznev and Selezneva, 2003). Still the *sabanaka* siberian-tatar village inhabitants (the tobolsk region of the tyumen region) before an exit of

cattle to a pasture make the ceremonies devoted by *zanki-baba*. The ceremony is carried out at the initiative of any family. Before the ceremony slaughter a sheep, boil meat and treat with it the invited inhabitants of the village. Before the meal begins the mullah makes a prayer during which uttered good wishes to mention the saints, the islam preachers *yakhchylar* and *auliyalar* and refers to the *Zanki-baba*.

People treated with the help of the dolls, called *kuanarshak/kuatarshak* “puppeteer” In a morpheme the word *kuanarshak/kuatarshak* is approached to *iongorshai/ionyrtsaı* (the Barabinsk dialect) “the doll as a worship object as an idol as a deity” (BDSTYA). The Old Turkish dolls representing wooden or cane sticks, wound in rags and tapes, were used also during shaman prayers: they were lit and, having taken over the patient, threw into the fire. In the settlement *maliy uvat* of the *vagaysky* region of the *tyumen* region memories of diseases treatment with the help of *kurtsak* are written down: earlier my grandmother so treated: at first whispered something *tokurtsak* (the doll), put it on a wooden shovel and put the furnace where baked bread, then pulled out and again whispered something.

According to the folklore-dialectologists specialists records, *Kurtsaks* were stored in an inaccessible place to another’s eyes: they were hidden in the trunks in the attic, in the basement (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2005). According to ethnographers, the dolls were stored in special barns, sheds or under canopies. The Barabinsk Tatars held idols far from the settlement, it is connected with that that the Barabinsk Tatars have the Ugric roots. As the proof of it a number of analogies are served by among the *Khanty* and the *Selkups*. The idols placed in a barn, were the image of patrimonial ancestors). Here is a record indicating the storage location of the dolls-idols, recorded by ethnographers in the *Tashetkany* village of the *Tevrizskiy* region of the Omsk region: Earlier the Siberian Tatars had gods *Kurchaks*. They prayed to them and stored them in a special place the house in the village was allocated for them. When arrived *Buharets* and began to teach Tatars Islam, then were decided to relieve Tatars from *Kurchaks* because the Siberian Tatars prayed to Allah and the dolls. *Sheikhs* decided to do it by deception and told that the room in which there were the dolls, it is necessary to heat. As *Kurchaks* felt cold, a lot of wood were brought, they were laid around this house and a fire was arranged. Old people said that from this place screams were heard

The ethnic consciousness, actualized in the work of its specific informants, quick to respond to changing conditions of social reality. The scientists records fixed at the Siberian Tatars in the late 22 early 221 centuries,

confirm mixing the Koranic traditions with pagan. In some areas of the Tobolsk province the facts of existence at native Tatars wooden idols are noted even at the beginning of the 20 century. The Tatars kept Kurtsaks in the esteemed trees hollows. Such an idol was a rough wooden figure representing a human, height 35-40 cm. However, scientists note that if the belief in home fire as a talisman, means of purification from the negative phenomena, dark forces is widespread on household level (in the form of superstitions and signs), then "a material incarnation of the spirits-guardians is almost the disappeared fact" (Valeev, 1993). The language phraseological fund is especially sensitive to the changes in society. To the phraseological neologism of the Islam spread period among the Siberian Tatars treats kurshak kotarlar (the Tatar dialect) - "worshipping to the dolls, i.e. idols" (BDSTYA) and iurshai tupgAu "The Eushtinsk-Chatsk). The phraseological meaning contains a negative connotation. Most likely, meaning of these phraseological units was formed with the respect to pagan beliefs of the Barabinsk Tatars who had accepted Islam after other the Tatar groups, lived in Siberia. Let's compare: AwAl pesne "kongorshailly paraba" teygannar.

Translation: Before we were called "Baraba with the dolls" that meant "Baraba, worshipping to the dolls". Now the lexeme kurtsak is often used to mean "toy". Besides, the lexeme kurtsak was a part of phraseologism. In the Vagaysk region the following idioms are fixed: Tash kurtsak pulyp utyraty (translation: sits as a monument), the phraseologism meaning-"does not move as a stone doll"; rAsinkA kurtsak igAn (translation: like a rubber doll), the phraseological unit is used for the characteristic of too plump woman; kurtsak kuy ul-Translation: as a doll, the phraseologism is used to the nomination of the beautiful woman; tsoygoltAk-Translation: The doll-tweeter, the phraseologism characterizes the sharp-tongued woman of small height. The phraseologism meanings with the Kurtsak component were formed metaphorically, the meaning transfer is connected with external characteristics of a person.

CONCLUSION

The field data records collected during the folk-dialectological expedition to the territory of the Vagaysk and the Tobolsk regions of the Tyumen Region during the period from 2000-2014, allowed to draw a conclusion that ethno-myth-linguistics interpretation of sacral concept attanay, fixed in the Siberian Tatars minds, reflects the Siberian Turkic peoples worldview caused by the syncretism of pagan beliefs and Islamic religious mythology. In the extant oral works of the Siberian Tatars myths, legends there are the facts confirming idolatry

among separate groups of the Siberian Tatars after acceptance of Islam. The mention of the most important object of worship-attanay, represented in the form of the old man with the old woman, the name correlation of an idol and the words "father-mother" in carriers consciousness of the Siberian Tatars dialects gives the chance to connect them with patrimonial memory, the cult of parents, the ancestors honor. Such "interlacing" of the Siberian Tatars traditional views which remained in mythology and folklore, with Islamic outlook leads to the idea that semantic reconsideration of the lexeme attana, to formation on its basis of the interjections atta/attana/attanay.

The comprehension of the lexemes meaning and the phraseologisms which have remained in the language of these or those people, their interpretation based on folklore and dialects, historical and ethnographic sources, will not only open up the still unsolved mysteries but also help to preserve the historical heritage of the Siberian Tatars language. Despite the globalization negative consequences, the Siberian Tatars of the South of the Tyumen region practically did not lose their skills of the traditional culture (Karabulatova *et al.*, 2014, 2015). Idioms as a conservative stratum of the language of the Siberian Tatars have fixed significant phenomenon kurtsak in everyday life of the Turkic peoples of Siberia.

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