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Mongolic loanwords of Turkic origin in Tuvan

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Tuvan has been subject to strong Mongolic influence to the effect that it has more Mongolic loanwords than any other Turkic language. The author uses phonetic, morphological and semantic criteria to determine a special category of loanwords that comprises elements of ultimately Turkic origin. In many cases Tuvan also displays the original Turkic words.

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The genetic relationship of the Altaic languages is debated up to now. Some researchers think that these languages are genetically related, while others believe they are not. However, according to more recent research, a great part of the correspondences among the Altaic languages are loanwords.

The aim of my dissertation was to find and characterize the Mongolic elements in Tuvan. In my work I deal with these words from etymological, phonetic and morphological aspects, and I try to determine when and from which Mongolic language the loanword was taken. In this paper, I will try to present a special category of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan. While etymologizing Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan, I found several words which are Mongolic loanwords but of ultimately Turkic origin. In many cases we find, alongside the Mongolic loanword, the same word as a member of the original Turkic stock. The literature calls this type of loanwords „reborrowings”.

One may ask what method we have to distinguish those Turkic words in Tuvan that are loanwords from Mongolic, from those which remain from the ancient Turkic stock. Before answering this question, let us see what the reasons are for the powerful linguistic interaction between these two languages.

Tuvan belongs to the South-Siberian branch of Turkic languages. Although it is one of the most archaic Turkic languages, due to a powerful Mongolic influence it also has the most Mongolic loanwords of any Turkic language. According to Rassadin (1980: 58), the vocabulary of Tuvan includes more than 2,000 Mongolic loanwords, while Tatarincev (1976: 110) says that one-third of the Tuvan vocabulary is of Mongolic origin. In my work I deal with more than 1,500 basic words.

Katanov (1903) was the first to deal with the Mongolic loanwords of Tuvan in his famous work of 1903. Later, this subject was discussed by Tatarincev (1976) and by

Rassadin (1980: 58-65). In the year 2000 the first volume of the Etymological Dictionary of the Tuvan Language appeared, wherein its author, Tatarincev (2000), briefly presents the origin of the Tuvan words, including the Mongolic loanwords.

The vast number of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan can be explained by geographical, historical and cultural factors.

The territory of the present-day Tuvan Republic is bordered on the East by the Buryat Republic and on the South-East by Mongolia.

From a historical point of view, there was a Mongolic influence on Tuvan already in the 13th century, when the territory of Tuvan was inhabited by the Mongolian tribes called Forest-people. After the downfall of the Chingisid Empire, Tuvan played a role in the struggle of the Khalkha and Oirat khanates. From the end of the 14th century to the 16th century, the Tuvan people were under Oirat supremacy, subsequently entering the Khalkha khanate of Altan khan. In the second half of the 17th century they again became the subjects of Oirats of the Dzhungar khanate. From 1757 to 1912 they belonged to the Manchu Cin [Qing or Ching] dynasty. From that time on, Tuvan has shared its history with that of Russia and the Soviet Union.

Tuvan-Mongolian bilingualism is a very old phenomenon. As Vladimircov (1929: 14-15) observed early on, the Mongolian language was used by Tuvan people as the language of culture, and as the contact-language between Tuvan and Mongolian people. Up to the year 1930, only the Uighur-Mongolian script was used among the Tuvan people, not only in official but also in everyday life. The oldest specimens of Tuvan folklore were also noted down in the Mongolian language and Mongolian script.

The original religion of the Tuvan people had been Shamanism, but from the 17th century the Tibeto-Mongolian variant of Buddhism was spread among them. From this time Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist terms entered into the Tuvan vocabulary via the Mongolian language.

Criteria

The Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan can be distinguished by certain criteria, such as:

The presence of vowels at the end of words:

Tuvan *berge* 'heavy, hard' ← Mongolic **berke*: cf. MNT *berke*, Ibn-Muh. *berke*, HY *berke*, LM *berke*, Khalkha *berx*, Buryat *berxe*, Kalmyk *berkä* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *bärk* 'firm, stable, solid' > Tuvan *bert* 'a place passable with difficulty';¹ cf. Tofalar *be^crt* 'good', Yakut *bärt* 'good';

Tuvan *kuža* 'ram' ← Mongolic **quča*: cf. Muq. *quča*, HY *quča*, LM *quča*, Khalkha *xuc*, Buryat *xusa*, Kalmyk *xutsa* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qoč* ~ *qočñār* > Tuvan *koškar*;

¹ <**berk*: -rk- > -rt-: cf. OT **börk* 'cap' > Tuvan *bört*.

Tuvan *küčü* ‘power, might’ ← Mongolic **küčün* ‘power, force, strength’: cf. Muq. *küč(in)*, LM *küčün*, Khalkha *xüč(in)*, Buryat *xüse(n)*, Kalmyk *kütšn* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *küč* ‘strength’ > Tuvan *küš* ‘energy’;

Tuvan *xıra* ‘edging, border; bow, rim’ ← Mongolic **qıra*: cf. LM *kira* ‘summit or ridge of a mountain; a strip attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle’, Khalkha *xyar*, Buryat *xyara*, Oirat *kiri* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qır* ‘an isolated mountain or block of mountains’ > Tuvan *kir*.

Tuvan words showing Turko-Mongolic rotacism:

Tuvan *aray* ‘just a little’ ← Mongolic **arai* < **ār+Ai*: cf. LM *arai*, Khalkha, Buryat *arai*, Kalmyk *arā*, Oirat *ārā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *āz* ‘few, scanty, a little’ > Tuvan *as* ‘a few’;

Tuvan *arā* ‘groove in rifling’ ← Mongolic **arā* < **ari+GA*: cf. MNT *ara’a*, Ibn-Muh. *arā*, Muq. *ari’ā*, LM *ariya* ~ *arağ-a* ‘molar’, Khalkha, Buryat *arā(n)*, Kalmyk *arā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *azığ* ‘a large tooth’ > Tuvan *azığ* ‘eye-tooth’;

Tuvan *ürgay* ‘mine; shaft; hole, pit’ ← Mongolic **ürkai* < **agur+KAi*: cf. LM *agurqai*, Khalkha *ürxai*, Buryat *ürxai*, Kalmyk *ürxā* ~ *ürxā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *agız* ‘the mouth’ > Tuvan *ās*;

Tuvan *uran* ‘artistic, masterly’ ← Mongolic **uran*: cf. Muq. *uran*, HY *uran*, ZY *uran*, LM *uran* ‘craftsman, artist’, Khalkha *ur(an)*, Buryat *uran*, Kalmyk *urn* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *üz* ‘a skilled craftsman’ > Tuvan *us* ‘artistic, masterly’;

Tuvan *ximrān* ‘weak tea’ ← Mongolic **kimurağan* < **qimura+GA*n: cf. LM *kimurağan* ‘boiled milk with water’, Kalmyk *kimrān*, Oirat *kimir* ~ *kimēr* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qimiz* ‘fermented mare’s milk, koumiss’ > Tuvan *ximis*;

Tuvan *xürene* ‘marten’ ← Mongolic **kürene*: cf. LM *kürene* ~ *kürüne* ‘skunk, polecat’, Khalkha *xürne*, Buryat *xüneri*, Kalmyk *kürn*; Oirat *kürēn* ~ *kürün* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *küzen* ‘polecat’ > Tuvan *küzen* ‘marten’.

Tuvan words showing Turko-Mongolic lambdacism:

Tuvan *čalī* ‘young’ ← Mongolic **jalū*: cf. MNT *jala’ui* ~ *jala’u*, Leiden *jalawu*, Ibn-Muh. *jala’ū*, Muq. *jala’ū* ~ *jalū*, Ist. *jalau*, LM *jalağu* ‘young, youthful’, Khalkha *jalū*, Buryat, Kalmyk *zalū* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* ‘fresh’ > Tuvan *čas* ‘childish, young’;

Tuvan *xolbā* ‘connection, contact’ ← Mongolic **xolbā* < **qolbo-GA*: cf. Muq. *qolba-*, LM *qolboğa* ‘connection, contact’ < *qolba-* ~ *qolbo-* ‘to unite, to connect’, Khalkha, Buryat *xolbō(n)*, Kalmyk *xolwān*, Oirat *xolbā* ~ *xolwō* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qoš-* ‘to conjoin, unite (*two things*)’ > Tuvan *koš-*.

Original Turkic initial **y-* in Tuvan regularly changes to *č-*, but in some Mongolic loanwords the original Turkic **y-* is represented by *d-*:

Tuvan *dayin* ‘war’ ← Mongolic **dayin*: cf. MNT *dayin*, Ibn-Muh. *dain*, Muq. *dain*, LM *dayin* ‘war, enemy’, Khalkha *dain*, Buryat *dai(n)*, Kalmyk *dān*, Oirat *dāñ* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yagī* ‘enemy, hostile’ > Tuvan *čā* ‘war’.

The representation of original Turkic **y-* by *y-* in Tuvan, also proves the Mongolic origin:

Tuvan *yala* ‘guilt, punishment’ ← Mongolic **yala*: cf. LM *yala*, Khalkha *yal*, Buryat *yala*, Kalmyk *yal*^a ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yalā* ‘suspicion; blame; false accusation’.

Mongolic suffixes in Tuva words:

Tuvan *čalā* ‘crest of a bird, band on a cap’ ← Mongolic **jalağa* < **jala*+GA: cf. LM *jalağa*, Khalkha *jalā(n)*, Buryat *zalā*, Kalmyk *zalā*, Oirat *dzalā* ~ *zalā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yāl* ‘a horse’s mane’ > Tuvan *čal*: *ačal* ‘fatty layer on the horse’s withers’;

Tuvan *kudurga* ‘crupper; breeching (harness)’ ← Mongolic **qudurğa* < **qudur*-GAN: cf. MNT *qudurqa*, Muq. *qudurğa*, LM *qudurğ-a(n)*, Khalkha *xudraga*, Buryat *xudarga*, Kalmyk *xudrga*, Oirat *xudürgä* ~ *xudrāgä* ← Turkic **qudur*-. cf. Old Turkic *qudruk* ‘the tail of an animal’ > Tuvan *kuduruk*;

Tuvan *kulugur* ‘dashing fellow’² ← Mongolic **qulugur* < **qul(u)*-GUr: cf. LM *qulugur* ‘laid or pressed back (of ears); crop-eared’; Khalkha *xulgar*; Kalmyk *xulgar* ← Turkic **qul*:³ cf. Old Turkic *qulaq* ~ *qulqaq*⁴ ‘ear’ > Tuvan *kulak*;

Tuvan *solagay* ‘left, left-handed’ ← Mongolic **solugai* < **solu*+GAi: cf. LM *solugai* ‘left hand, left-handed’, Khalkha *solgoi*, Buryat *halgai* ~ *holgoi*, Kalmyk *solgā* ~ *solgā*, Oirat *solgā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *söl* ‘left’ > Tuvan *sol*;

Tuvan *sorül* ‘cigarette-holder’ ← Mongolic **sorül* < **soroğul* < **soro*-GUi: cf. LM *soroğul* < *soro*- ‘inhale, smoke’, Khalkha *sorül*, Buryat *horül*, Kalmyk *surül*, Oirat *surül* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *sör*- ‘to suck; to suck up, or out’ > Tuvan *sor*;

Tuvan *tölevir* ‘compensation, payment of debt’ ← Mongolic **tölebüri* < **töle*-bUri: cf. LM *tölöbüri* < *tölö*- ‘to compensate, pay off, pay a debt’, Khalkha *tölbör*, Buryat *tülberi*, Kalmyk *tölwr* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *töle*- ‘to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)’ > Tuvan *töle*;

There are also some words in Tuvan which at first sight seem to be original Turkic words, but for semantic reasons we have to suppose that although the word is ultimately of Turkic origin, the Tuvan word has been borrowed from Mongolic:

Tuvan *ertem* ‘science’ ← Mongolic **erdem*: cf. MNT *erdem*, Leiden *erdem*, LM *erdem* ‘knowledge, learning; science’, Khalkha, Buryat *erdem*, Kalmyk *erdm* ← Turkic *ärdäm* < **är*+dAm: cf. Old Turkic *ärdäm* ‘manly qualities, virtue’ < *är* ‘man’;

Tuvan *derlik* ‘Tuvan national summer-cloth’ ← Mongolic **terlig*: cf. LM *terlig* ‘summer-cloth’, Khalkha *terleg*, Buryat *terlig*, Oirat *terlëk* ← Turkic **tärlük* < **tär*+IIG: cf. Old Turkic *tärlük* ‘something which absorbs sweat; sweat-cloth, saddle-cloth’ < *tär* ‘sweat’;

² See Russian *uhar* ‘dashing fellow’ < *uho* ‘ear’; Hungarian *szemfüles* ‘clever’ < *szem* ‘eye’ and *fül* ‘ear’.

³ See Mongolic *qulki* (< **qul*+ki) ‘earwax; middle ear’, *qulayi*- (< **qul(A)*+yi-) ‘to have cropped ears’.

⁴ According to Erdal, M. (1991: 75) in the Turkic words *qulaq* and *qulqaq* we can observe the suffixes +GAK and +AK, suffixes denoting metaphorical names for body parts.

Tuvan *xīna-* ‘to check, verify’ ← Mongolic **kina-*: cf. LM *kina-* ‘to look rigorously or attentively’, Khalkha *xyana-*, Buryat *xina-*, Kalmyk *kin-* ← Turkic **qīna-*: cf. Old Turkic *qīna-* ‘to punish, torture’ < *qīn* ~ *qīñ* ‘punishment, torture’;

Tuvan *surag* ‘news, rumor, information’ ← Mongolic **surag*: cf. LM *surag* < *sura-* ‘to ask’, Khalkha *surag*, Buryat *hurag*, Kalmyk *sur^uG* ← Turkic **sor-XG*: cf. Old Turkic *soruğ* ‘question, inquiry’ < *sōr-* ‘to ask (a question); to inquire about (something Acc.)’, Khakas *surag*, Kirgiz *surak* ‘interrogation’;

Tuvan *süzük* ‘faith, belief’ ← Mongolic **süsüg*: cf. LM *süsüg* ~ *süjüg* ‘religious worship, faith, belief’, Khalkha *süseg*, Buryat *hüzeg*, Kalmyk *süz^uG*, Oirat *südžük* ← Turkic **süzük* < **süz-UK* Pass.N./A.S.: cf. Old Turkic *süzük* ‘clarified, strained; pure, transparent’ < *süz-* ‘to filter or strain (a liquid)’.

Compound words

The next group of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan consists of compound words. The Mongolic origin of some Tuvan compound words is explained by the fact that one of their elements is Mongolic:

Tuvan *šō-börü* ‘jackal, hyena’ ← Mongolic **čō-bōri*: cf. MNT *jö’ebōri*, HY *čü’äbāri*, LM *čögebōri* ‘jackal’, Khalkha *cōwōr*, Buryat *sūber*, Kalmyk *išōwr* ← Turkic *bōri*: cf. Old Turkic *bōri* ‘wolf’ > Tuvan *börü*;

Tuvan *belek-selek* ‘gift, present’ ← Mongolic **beleg seleg*: cf. Leiden *belek*, LM *beleg-seleg*, Khalkha, Buryat *beleg-seleg* ← Turkic **bäläg*: cf. Old Turkic *beläg* ‘something wrapped up; a gift’. The word *seleg* does not exist independently in Mongolic. It is formed by reduplication with change of the original initial, which is a Mongol-type word-formation, as in the case of Khalkha *ger-mer* ‘the yurt and everything around’, *cās mās* ‘paper’, *jolig-molig* ‘good-for-nothing’.

Hybrid words

An independent group consists of hybrid words. Sometimes it is quite difficult to determine whether such words are of Mongolic or Turkic origin:

Tuvan *soguna* ‘onion’ < **sō+GXnA*: cf. Old Turkic *sōgun* and LM *songgina*. Here the final vowel would point to a Mongolic origin, while the lack of *-ñ-* may be an argument in favour of its Turkic origin;

Tuvan *tavañgay* ‘the sole of the foot’ < **taban+GAi*: cf. Old Turkic *taban* ‘the sole of the foot’ and LM *tabaqai* ‘paw’. The suffix *+GAi* is Mongolic, while the *-ñ-* and its meaning point to a Turkic origin.

Compound hybrid words

In addition to the last two categories, there is a group of hybrid words which are compounds. One of their elements is Mongolic while the other is Turkic. This group consists mostly of colour names, and names of animals and plants:

Tuvan *ak-bidā* ‘rice’ ← Old Turkic *āq* ‘white’ + Mongolic *budağ-a* ‘rice’;

Tuvan *a't-inā* 'horse, saddle-horse' ← Old Turkic *at* 'horse' + Mongolic *unuḡ-a* 'saddle-animal';

Tuvan *dagır-ergek* 'thumb' ← Mongolic *takir* 'crooked' + Old Turkic *ārñāk* 'finger';

Tuvan *kizil-xüreñ* 'wine-red' ← Old Turkic *kizil* 'red' + Mongolic *küreng* 'brown';

Tuvan *užar-sāzın* 'kite' ← Old Turkic *uç-* 'to fly' + Mongolic *čaḡasun* 'paper'.

Mongolic loanwords with Turkic morphological element

Another special group of compound words are those where the Mongolic word takes a Tuvan morphological element, like the Common-Turkic negative particle *yōq* instead of Mongolic *ügei*, e.g.:

Tuvan *magatčok* 'maybe' ← Mongolic *maḡad ügei* < *maḡad* 'sure';

Tuvan *xamānčok* adv. 'indifferently' ← Mongolic *qamiya ügei* 'unrelated, indifferently' < *qamiya* 'relevance, relation';

Tuvan *ōdežok* 'tired, withered' ← Mongolic *ōgede ügei* 'no good, good for nothing' < *ōgede* 'upwards'.

Original Tuva words with Mongolic suffixes

Many original Tuva words take Mongolic suffixes, mostly deverbial noun suffixes, e.g.:

1. **-lGA* (GWM §161):

Tuvan *bastırılga* 'threshing' < Old Turkic *bastur-* Causat. < *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack';

Tuvan *baštılga* 'leadership; direction' < Old Turkic *bašad-* 'to be a leader, at the head of (a body of men)' < *baš* 'head, beginning';

Tuvan *ekižidilge* 'improvement, amelioration' (< **eki+žI-t-* Causat.) < Old Turkic *ädgü* 'good';

Tuvan *kežilge* 'cutting, harvesting' < Old Turkic *käs-* 'to cut, to cut off';

Tuvan *kiržilge* 'participation' < Old Turkic *kiriš-* 'penetrate; to intervene; to meddle, interfere' < *kir-* 'to enter';

2. **-ltA* (GWM §163):

Tuvan *čılда* 'collection, gathering' (< *čig-* 'to collect') < Old Turkic *yig-*;

Tuvan *čülда* 'washing' (< *čug-* 'to wash') < Old Turkic *yū-*;

Tuvan *körülде* 'viewing' < Old Turkic *kör-* 'to see';

Tuvan *kirilде* 'introduction' < Old Turkic *kigür-* 'to bring in, introduce' Causat. < *kir-* 'to enter';

Tuvan *özülде* 'growth' < Old Turkic *ös-* 'to grow'.

3. **-mAl* (GWM §168):

Tuvan *čirimal* 'celestial body' (< *čiri-* 'to be, or become bright; to shine') < Old Turkic *yarū-*;

Tuvan *čorumal* 'traveller, wayfarer' (< *čoru-* 'to walk, march') < Old Turkic *yo-rī-*;

Tuvan *kazimal* 'fossilized' < Old Turkic *qaz-* 'to dig, dig out';

Tuvan *kilimal* 'make' < Old Turkic *qil-* 'to do (something); to make (someone something)';

Tuvan *ünümel* 'original, wild (of plants)' < Old Turkic *ün-* 'to rise (of plants)';

4. **-mji* (GWM §171):

Tuvan *berimče* 'donation, contribution' < Old Turkic *bēr-* 'to give';

Tuvan *čedimče* 'luck' (< *čet-* 'to reach, catch up') < Turkic *yet-*;

Tuvan *dōramči* 'chopped frozen meat used for cooking soup' (< *dōra-* 'to cut, or split into slices or small pieces') < Old Turkic *toğrā-*;

Tuvan *kezemče* 'punishment' < Old Turkic *kās-* 'to cut, cut off'.

In conclusion, the question we asked at the beginning of this paper can be answered as follows:

To distinguish those Turkic words in Tuvan which are loanwords from Mongolic, from those which remained from the ancient Turkic stock, we have recourse to several criteria, namely phonetic, morphological and semantic ones.

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