

MATERIALS OF THE TUVINIAN LANGUAGE IN CHINA

GENG SHIMIN*
(Beijing)

The author collected linguistic materials among the Tuvinians living in China. The language of the Tuva in China is basically the same as that spoken in Russia and shows only small local differences. The texts are given in transcription with translation and commentaries. A list of suffixes and a glossary are added.

Key words: Turkic languages, Tuva, minorities in China, folklore texts, lexica.

The Tuvinians of China inhabit the high mountain ridges of the Altai Prefecture, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, along the Chinese–Russian (now Kazakhstan) borders. They live mainly in Xom, Xanas (Buwıršin County) and Aq Qaba (Qaba County). In addition, a few Tuvinians also live at Temeki (about 6–7 km to the Northwest of Köktoghay County) and at Köksuw of Altai County as well. They have a population of about 2000. Because the Tuvinians wear Mongolian-style robes and believe in Lamaism, in the official census they are included among the Mongolians by the local government. The local Kazakhs call them Munčaq (or Kök Munčaq), and the Mongols call them Urianghai. They call themselves as Dība (jurt) or Munčaq. The Tuvinians of China are divided into 7 clans: Qara Soyan, Qızıl Soyan, Orasaq, Aq Soyan and Munčaq, etc. The Tuvinians are engaged mainly in animal husbandry and hunting (mostly in winter).

The following materials of the Tuvinian language were collected by myself 43 years ago, in October, 1956. In August of 1956 when I met in Urumchi the Mongolist of former S.U. Prof. B. H. Todayeva, who just came back from Tarbaqatai (for investigation of Western Mongolian language), she told me that in the Altai Prefecture there exists a part of Mongolians speaking a special “unknown” language. She asked me to clear this question during my investigation of Kazakh dialects there.

After finishing the investigation work of Kazakh dialects, I arrived at Buwıršin County at the end of September. We stayed at a place called Chongqur to the North of the centre of the county for making preparation to enter the remote mountain re-

* Geng Shimin, Department of Uighur Language and Culture, Central University for Nationalities, 27 Baishing Road, 100081 Beijing, China

gion (to find a guide as well as to buy enough flour and other daily necessities, especially to borrow a gun from the district government for defence against attacks of brown bears). I spent more than a month time investigating the Tuvian language at 3 places (from East to West, they are Xom, Xanas, Aq Qaba). In the very first week of the investigation, I believed that the investigated language was a special old Turkic language (e.g. *adij* 'bear', *ked-* 'to wear...'). Later when in the recorded texts the word "diba" or "diwa jur" appeared, I realised that it should be corresponding to the "Tuva" of Russia. After I returned to Beijing I compared my materials with the "Tuvinsko-Russkiy Slovar'" (Moscow, 1955) (especially the appendix: Outline of Tuvian Grammar by Š. Ch. Sat (the only Tuvian dictionary I could find in Beijing at that time), it was proved that the so-called "unknown" language is basically the same language as spoken in Russia. Then I published an information paper "On the Newly Discovered Tuvian Language" in the "Newsletter of Minority Languages Investigation" (No. 6, 1957).

At the first night of arriving at Xanas (the first Tuvian place I visited) when I slept in the open at the bank of Xanas river, a heavy snow fell. Later, as the road returning to Buwirsšin was blocked by heavy snow, I was compelled to go westward to Aq Qaba and then through the centre of Qaba County I returned to Buwirsšin County at the end of October.

Generally speaking, the Tuvian language of China (TC) is the same language as the Tuvian of Russia (TR). There are only some dialectic differences between them. The characteristics of TC can be summarised as follows:

1) Many words with front vowels are pronounced with *k-* instead of *χ-* in TR, e.g. *köl* 'lake', *kün*, 'day', etc. instead of *χöl*, *χün*.

2) In word initial position, *j-* is instead of *č* in TR, e.g. *ji-* 'to eat', *jit-* 'to lie' instead of *či-*, *čit-*.

3) The 2nd per. poss. suffixes are *-yar/-ger* instead of TR's *-nar/-ner*, e.g. *χoyyar* 'your sheep', *jaylaayar* 'your summer pasture' instead of *χoyunar*, *jaylaanar*.

4) Like the Tuvian in TR, in TC also exist second-grade long vowels coming from contraction – the loss of consonants *g*, *γ*, *l*, *r*, e.g. *deen* 'named' < *degen*, *jiin* 'eaten' < *jigen*, *beer* 'to be giving' < *berer*.

5) In the sentences the words beginning with *k-*, *q-* are always voiced to *g-*, *γ-*, e.g. *kel-* 'to go', *kör-* 'to see' become *gel-*, *gör-*.

6) As in TR there exists also the pharyngealisation of vowels, e.g. *a`t* 'horse', *o`t* 'grass', *e`t* 'meat', etc. pairing with the unpharyngealised words *at* 'name', *ot* 'fire', *et* 'goods'.

At last, but not least I must mention that during my work in the Tuvian region I spoke Kazakh to communicate with my informants. Maybe I understood or the informants translated some words or sentences not very precisely. The majority of Tuvian people in China know Kazakh language. A part of Tuvian people living at Qanas can also speak Western Mongolian.

Texts

D. uyanñıy uruy

(1) burun bir şayda bir joqtuy ašqıyaq jorıptır. (2) oñ bir jaštıy jorıptur. (3) onı bir ıan alırmen dep bodaaştan alır ebin dıpjadaaş. (4) bir kün, onı ječen sösternen oraap alırıya sayıš bitken. (5) bir kün, ol ašqıjaqtı qı(y)ıtıbaap (~ qıyyırtıp alyaş) ınıya aytqan: “sen öñdägi uruunıan mengä külden arıamjı eštirip ber! kerbä arıamjı eštir albazañ, seen bažıñnı alırmen,” deptur. (6) onu dıñnaaş aštıyaq uyan osqunup qoryup ööngä geeptur. (7) gelgäš uruunıya ıannıñ dužan jarlıın tözin aytıptır. (8) uruy adazınıya aytıptur: “sen qortpa, ol belen jibegä,” deptur. (9) oñ soonda adazınıya bir qujaq sigen aldırıyaš bodu arıamjı eškeš, daš qırınıya qaayaştan örttetkeš ıanıya adazın dayın salıptur. (10) barıp ayt: “ežerin ežip qaydıñ. geep bodu jıip alsın,” deptur. (11) ašqıyaq barıp ıanıya aytıptur. (12) ıan geep göriptur. (13) oñ soonda ıan qanjalıñ ebin dıppayın dayın bir gejää keräk dužaaptur. (14) “ašqıyaq, sen mengä day jerdägi adıñnıñ izäänin tözin [mengä] sanap ber.” (15) oñ soonda uruy dalašpayın olurıyaš adazınıya aytıptur. (16) “sen barıp iyi ölgen gıjınıñ bažın ekkel,” deptur. (17) ol uruy ölgen gıjınıñ bažın aldırıp alyaş adazınıñ iyi ektingä ıadap bergeš, ıannıñ gelir oruunıñ aqsınıya olurtup qaaptur. (18) oñ soonda ıanıya šimäa beriptur. “gelger, adıñnıñ üdüñ tözin sanap boldum.” (19) ıan onı dıñnaaş, qanjap sanadı, göreyin! dep geeptur. (20) ıan geljıdarda, oruq qırında üš baštıy gıji olurıptur. (21) onı görgen ıan uyan sayıžınan adırılıp ašqıyaqtıñ ööngä dezip gelgešten uruyıya aytıptur: “men bögün üš baštıy gıjı gördim,” deptur. (22) oñ soonda uruy aytıptur: “orçalañda indıy jibä dolu bolur,” deptur. (23) ıan aytıptur: “bo jašımıya gelgıjä mundıy jibäni görbäänmen,” deptur. (24) “siler monı görbään bolsañ, adıynıñ jejä üdü barın qanjap bilersen.” (25) ortta ıan aytıptur: “adıynıñ üdüñ men de bilbesmen.” (26) “böydenıñ ıanı sen durup onı bilbään (bolsa), soonda ot qıdıında olurıyan men qanjap bilirmen.” (27) oñ soonda ıan qılir ebin dıppayın dayın aytıptur. (28) “erten sen mengä yeri inektiñ südünen taraq ažıdıp ber!” deešten jana barıptur. (29) ertenında ıan dayın geep öy jaštıñıya gelgešten uruyñı qıy deptur. (30) uruy: “adıñ, adıñ,” dep bıçı doqtaptur. (31) oñ soonda uruy ünüp gelgešten ıanıya aytıptur: “adam bögün ıol budun dırdıp jıdır,” dedi. (32) ıan aytı: “yeri gıji törüür bā?” (33) “siler jünü aytıydırsiler. yeri inekten süt ünüp durıyanda, yeri gıji dā törüür,” deptur ol. (34) ıan ol söskä munıyaştanıyaš aytır sözin dıppanıyındur[u]. (35) ijalyaştan ol uruy ol ıannıñ dažırarınan gedi(li)ptur.

Translation

D. Clever daughter

(1) Once upon a time, there was an old man. (2) He had a young daughter. (3) A khan wanted to marry her, but he could not find a way to take her. (4) One day an idea came to him: through cunning words to get her. (5) One day he sent someone for the old man and said to him: “let your daughter in house twist a rope from ashes for me! If you can’t let her make this, I will take away your head.” (6) After hearing this, the

old man lost his wisdom and being very afraid returned home. (7) After he returned home, he told all the khan's delivered order to his daughter. (8) The daughter said to her father: "Don't be afraid, it is an easy matter." (9) Then she let her father bring her an armful of hay. She made a rope and put the rope on a stone and burned it. (10) Then she sent her father to the khan. "You go to tell the khan his rope was ready, and ask him to come to take it himself." (11) The old man went to inform the khan. (12) The khan came and saw (what happened). (13) Finally the khan could not find any measure (to reach his aim). He once again delivered a difficult thing (to the old man). (14) He said to him: "old man, you count for me all the holes of bears at this mountain region." (15) Then, the daughter having no hurry said to her father: (16) "You go to bring me two dead men's heads." (17) The daughter took those dead men's heads and put (lit. stuck) them on her father's shoulder and let him sit at the crossing of a road which the khan takes. (18) Then she gave information to the khan: "please come to have a look, I already counted all the holes of bears." (19) Hearing this news the khan thought: "Let me see how they counted (the holes)." (20) When the khan was coming, he saw a man with three heads sitting at the side of road. (21) The khan feared so much, losing all his wisdom escaped to the old man's house. He said to the daughter: "Today I saw a man with three heads." (22) Then the daughter said: "In this world there are a lot of such things." (23) The khan said: "Up to this age I never saw this kind of thing." (24) (The daughter said:) "If you didn't see this thing, how can I know the number of bears' holes?" (25) Later the khan said: "I also don't know the number of bears' holes." (26) "As a khan of all the people, if you cannot know (the bears' holes), how can I – sitting at the side of fire – know this?" (27) Then, with no measure found, the khan again said: (28) "Tomorrow you bring me yoghurt soured form a bull's milk!" Saying so he returned (to his home). (29) Next day the khan came to the daughter's house and shout at her. (30) The daughter said: "Just wait a minute, just wait a minute." (31) After a little while the daughter went out and said to the khan: "My father today will give birth to a child (lit. 'is pulling his hand and leg')." (32) Then the khan said: "How can a male human being give birth to a child?" (33) The daughter said then: "What are you saying? If a bull can give milk, the male human being can also give birth to a child." (34) Being put in awkward situation by the words of the daughter, the khan could say nothing. (35) So, the daughter was freed from the khan's humiliation.

E. bōrū men qayay

(1) ertā burun šayda bir qīrīn qīryan qayay booptur. (2) oonj ūš bičii jaš oylu bar ergin. (3) bir oylun šay dep adaan, iyinči oylun jilij dep adaan, ūžünči oylun mijij dep adaar ergin. (4) bo qayay yāštij doorsında bir bičii gūkpākkā duryan ergin. (5) ol qayay qaybir künnerdā bičii ooldarın mindij xayındirip todurar ergin. (6) gejä bol-yanda ooldarın sabinya oraap jıtqırar ergin. (7) anjalyaştan, ol qīryan qayay bičii ooldarınen qadī jobalanjoq āme dzuwup jōrüy beer ergin. (8) bir kün qīryan qayay mindij xayındirip olurarda, bičii ooldarī iyezi qudu bir görüp, xayındirip turyan mindij

yudu bir görüp oluryan ergin. (9) däl bo gestä bir jiwä (~ jimä) gükpäk öön xaap turyanin diñnaydır. (10) “bo yim?” dep qayay suraaştan (~ surabitqaş) bodu jügürüp ejikkä baryaş didiqtan baqılaydır. (11) unuun, baqılaarda bir änäy göstür, ooñ soonda dekpiläp alyan ejiin aźidiwitqaş, “sen qimsen? meen joqtuy kükpämgä seni qandiy zalyin çaydıp ekkeldi?” dep suraydır qayay. (12) “men silerniñ aaldaş jariqtayı qırıyan üšküniñ anayimen. meen iyem silergä dustaan baliqtı belekkä berip jorttu.” (13) qayay anaynan baliptı al(i)dir. (14) baliq ulux baliq bolyaştan, jaštındaıyı qırtıjı ot uşqaş qılañyaynıp durar ergin. (15) ol baliqtıñ semizingä üzü çaptur ergin. (16) qayay öörüp öörügeningä çortıldap ittaydır. (17) ol qayay bir eleennen beeri baliq e’din jibään (~ jiwään) ergin, (18) çort dep ittaaş anay yudu görüp “qırıyan iyengä mendi dep ayt,” dedi. (19) “yeki!” dep öçük berdi dä, bir mäläbitkäş (~ mäläwitkäş) mendiläşkäş anay ööngä jana wardı (~ bardı). (20) unuun, qayay ojuunya gelgeş jaş ooldarın iziy mindiñmen jennendirip bodu baliqtı jirgä olıradır. (21) baliqtı bažınan qudu ruunya jedir töözın jiidir, бүдүн sööktäyaanya jedir töözın jiidir. (22) “qay bir kündä munday baliq jip durdum ezä, bayay bolbas iyik,” dep bodaydır qayay. (23) unuun biçii ooldarın jaštıya edertip üngeş, jiliy balyaşqa jıttıryaş, bodu qırıyan söögin küngä döğäp jıdadır. (24) unuun, üremäş boljayjoq, qayay bodunıñ ooldarimen qadı jıtqaş, eñ adaanda, suy ijer durazı geldir. (25) unuun, duryaştan ooldarınya aytıydır: “senner balyažıyaryya jıda durıyar, men suuya (~ suyya) barıp geleyin,” dedi. (26) anjalyaştan suuya jañyıs oruqtan joy bardı. (27) anjalyaştan, suuya baryaş serin suñni jilmilenip iže baştadı. (28) suy izip jıdarda, kenerten qayniñ gelgeni bilinbey bir börü ünüp gel-di. (29) ol börü qayayni görsäli qayayniñ qırınya çalıp üngäş, jidiç dižinen qayayniñ jıtkäzinä çadaptur. (30) “amdı men seni jiiimen, qayay. seni görüp aqsıman jaraam qayadır iyik. jeerlä çolumya düşpey [niñ] jorjuqsen,” didi. (31) qayay bodaydır: “jeer-laa gejäa boldu!” dep bodaaş “börü qandiy gejäa bolsa da, arıç ištında jorsa da, unun aamay añ joq. monı aldap göreyin,” dep bodaydır. (32) unuun, qayay ayttı: “meni jibägär,” dep eptiç sösten jalnıp ayttı. (33) “meen biqtım daş, bažim töžäk, budum yäş, meni jibegär, jidiç dižigärni dirıyar. moon ezesinä silerni yekilep çonaça qilirmen. silergä bodumnıñ üş oylumnı beermen. meen ooldarım qırıyan emäs, šin dorzuq uşqaş semis, baza baqşadayı alma uşqaş qıp-qızıl,” didi. (34) börü: “seen aytırın jigä, biqtın daş, bažin töžäk, damanıñ yaş, jidiç dižimni seen qırıyan söögüñgä badırıjıya jimjaq semis ooldarınıñ amdanniy e’din jidim ezä, mengä yeki bolur,” didi. (35) qayay gök jel börüniñ sözın diñnap, ulux ööriidir. (36) jimjaq yeki sösten: “oo, uyanniy gökjel börü, böğün qarañyı düžermen (~ bilen) bistiñ durıyan jariqqa gelgär. unuun, murunay ulux oylumnı, dāriy orta ooldı, eñ soñnan, biçii oylumnı qıyırđın ezä, ooldarım ünüp gelir. injan, jidiger ezä bolur,” didi. (37) ol sösti diñnaan soonda börüniñ qaraa qılañyaynıp, dižin janıp: “seen ooldarınıñ attarı qım?” dep suraydır qayaynan. (38) unuun, qayay ayttı: “uluunıñ adı şay, ortaazınıñ adı jilıç, kenjäziniñ adı bižıç,” didi. (39) “yeki, men seni ööngä jorturmen. jañyıs gejä bolurnan seen ooldarınıya baarmen.” (40) “jerlä gelgär, çooçinnı megeläp jorba! men ooldarımni amdı ezä simiriñki-räp durar uzun jennendirip durayın,” dep aytqaş qayay ööngä jügürä bardı. (41) “baarmen, jügä barbasmen!” dep aytqaş börü qılın arıç qudu girä bardı. (42) arıç qudu baar jıtqaş, börü ištında bodaydır: “oy, bo qırıyan qayayniñ tenee[n] jüdeen tenek! bar ooldarın mengä berdi. onumen qaybayın (~ qaywayın) meni gelbes dep qorıadır,” didi.

(43) qayay ööngä jügürüp gelgeş, biçii ooldarın balyaştan duryuzup alyaş, süt iştiri-geş, ööngä giirgeş, ooldarın sawın döžäängä jütqıryaş, ejiin bižix dekpiläş, bodu ooldarın qidiinya jida waldı (aldı). (44) börü gejä oray bolurbilen qilin arıxnan üngeş jügürüp gelgeş: (45) “ay, qırıyan qayay! şay oyluñya ayt, mengä gelsin, soyurdegä boop oynaqay!” dep qıyırdı. (46) qayay ööngä jıtqaş: “oo, gök börü, öyi ödä bardı emäs pä? men onu jımjaq döžäkkä jıtqıryaş ududup qayjıqmen,” dep xarı berdi. (47) börü ažinip aytı: “ay, qırıyan qayay, jılıy oyluñya ayt-aan, mennen jaštıp oynaarğa jarıqqa gelsin!” dep dayın qıyırdı. (48) “meen jılıx oylum bolyaş başqa ooldar da sabın döžäändä ölü uyyuda jıdır,” dep qayay börügä dayı xarı berdi. (49) börü ažınannan xalıp-xalıp: “ay, sen qırıyan qayay, kenjä biçii oyluñ bižixya ayt, mennen biçii ooldar qılıp oynaarğa gelsin,” dep jarıqtı jañyırğalandır dıñsıx qışqırdı. (50) “meen öömnıñ ejii bižix xaydınyan, unun ne dā börü qazanda gir albas, jit gök töbet arıxça! iyinçi udaa uyannıx bol!” dep qayay aytı. (51) “doqtaa, bālem, qazan bolsa da aqsımğa bir düžersen,” dep uluydır. (52) uluurmen dižin xarıjınatıp arıxıñ oruumen ıraqqa joruy bardı.

Translation

E. Wolf and Sow

(1) Early in the past time there was a very old sow. (2) She had three little sons. (3) One son was named Şay (Time), the second one was Jılıy (Warm), the third one was Mijiy (Sturdy). (4) This sow lived in a small hut by the corner of woods. (5) That sow always boiled porridge and fed her sons. (6) In the evening she let them lie down on dried hay. (7) So, that old sow lived together with her little sons with no worry. (8) One day while the old sow was boiling porridge, her little sons were now looking at their mother, now looking at the boiling porridge. (9) Just at that moment, she heard someone was closing their small hut. (10) “Who is this?” asked the sow. Then she ran to the door and peeped through the hole. (11) Then, when she looked, a lamb appeared. Then the sow opened the locked door and asked: “Who are you? What a gentle wind drove you to my poor hut?” (12) “I am the lamb of the old goat who lived in your neighbour valley. My mother let me send you some salted fish as a gift.” (13) The sow accepted the fish from the lamb. (14) The fish was very large and the scale on his body was sparkling like fire. (15) Owing to the fat of the fish, its oil was dropping. (16) Being very happy the sow gave wheezy sound. (17) For a long time the sow did not eat fish meat. (18) Giving wheezy sound and looking at the lamb the sow said: “Please send my good wish to your mother.” (19) “OK,” (the lamb) gave an answer and bidding (bleating) farewell went back home. (20) Then, the sow came to tripod, fed her little sons with the hot porridge and herself sat down to eat the fish. (21) She ate the fish completely (lit. from head to tail). She ate the whole fish until the bare bone was left. (22) The sow thought: “If someday I can (again) eat such a fish, how good it is (lit. it would not be bad).” (23) Then she brought her little sons to outside and let them lie down at the warm mire, she herself lay down to let her old bone get sun. (24) Then, before long, while the sow lay (on earth) together with her sons, lastly she was thirsty (lit. her want to drink water came). (25) Then she stood up

and said to her sons: "You continue to lie down at the mire, I go to drink water." (26) Thus, (the sow) went to water along a narrow road. (27) So, arriving at the water she began to drink the cool water with enjoyment. (28) While she was drinking water, suddenly a wolf appeared. Nobody knows from where he came. (29) As soon as that wolf saw the sow, he jumped up on the sow's body and stuck his sharp teeth in the neck of the sow. (30) "Now I will eat you, when I saw you, my mouth flowed slaver. Only you did not fall to my hand," he said. (31) The sow thought: "Really it became bad (lit. difficult). Although wolf is very fierce in the forest, but no one is more stupid than him. Let me try to cheat him." (32) Then the sow begged with soft words: "Please, don't eat me! (33) My flesh of armpit is hard as stone, my head is like a stump, my thigh like wood, don't eat me, please, cherish your sharp teeth. Instead of this, I will entertain you well. I will give you my three children (to eat). My children are not old. Their meat is as fat as shank. Moreover (their meat) is as red as apple in the garden." (34) The wolf said: "Your saying is correct. Your flesh of armpit is like stone, your head is like stump, your thigh is like wood. For me it is better to eat your children's soft, delicious meat than to harm my sharp teeth by your old bone." (35) After hearing the grey-mane wolf's words the sow was very happy. (36) She said with soft, good words: "Oo, wise grey-mane wolf, today after it becomes dark, please, come to the valley where we live. Then, you call firstly my oldest son, then my second son, lastly my youngest son, they will come out. Thus you can eat them." (37) After hearing those words the wolf's eyes sparkled. Gritting his teeth he asked the sow: "What are your sons' names?" (38) Then the sow said: "My oldest son's name is Šay, the second one's is Jilix, the youngest's is Bižix." (39) "OK, I will let you go home. In the evening I will go to your children," (said the wolf). (40) "At any rate, please, come, don't cheat your old friend! I will feed my children well and let them become more fat." Saying that the sow ran to her house. (41) "I will go, why I do not go!" said the wolf and entered into the thick forest. (42) After the wolf entered the forest and lay down, he thought by himself: "Oy, how stupid this old sow is! She gave me all her children, moreover still not being at ease: she fears that I would not come." (43) The sow ran to her house, took up her little sons from the mire and nursed them, then entered the house, let the children lie on the dried hay, firmly locked the door, then lay down at the side of her children. (44) In the late evening the wolf ran out from the thick forest (45) and howled: "Ay, old sow, tell your (oldest) son Šay: let him come to me. We play the hide-and-peek!" (46) The sow lying in the house gave the answer: "Oo, grey wolf, the time is too late, isn't it? I've already let my children lie down on the soft bed and sleep." (47) Being angry the wolf again howled: "Ay, old sow, tell your (second) son Jilix, let him come to the valley and play the hide-and-peek with me!" (48) "My son Jilix is also asleep like my other sons on the straw bed," answered the sow to the wolf. (49) Being very angry the wolf jumped up repeatedly. "Ay, you old sow, tell your youngest son Bižix, let him come out to play 'little boy play' with me," howled (the wolf) with a valley-shaking strong voice. (50) "The door of my hut was firmly closed. So, no ferocious wolf can enter. Go away to the forest, you grey dog! Next time be wiser!" said the sow. (51) "Stop! You cunning sow, if you some-

day fall to my mouth,” howled the wolf. (52) Howling and gritting the teeth, the wolf along a forest road went far away.

Commentaries

- D2 uruu: < uruy ‘daughter’ + -i (3rd per. poss.) ‘his daughter’.
- D2 joriptur: < jori- ‘to go’ + -p converb + aux. verb ‘tur’ (stand) indicating past narrative tense.
- D3 bodaaſtan: < boda- ‘think’ -yaſ (past converb) + -tan (ablative).
- D3 jadaaſ: < jada ‘cannot’ + -yaſ (past converb).
- D4 sayiſ bit-/büt-: ‘an idea comes to being’.
- D5 qiſyirtibaap: < qiſyirtip + aliſ.
- D5 iſnya: < ol ‘he, it’ + -ya (dative) ‘to him’.
- D5 ööſ: < öy ‘home’ + -iſ (2nd per. poss.) ‘your home’.
- D5 uruuſ: < uruy ‘daughter’ + -uſ (2nd per. poss.) ‘your daughter’.
- D6 diſnaaſ: < diſna- ‘to hear’ + -yaſ (past converb).
- D6 geeptur: < gelip + tur.
- D7 gelgäſ: < gel- ‘to come’ + -gäſ (past converb).
- D7 duſzaan: < duſzaa- ‘to give order’ + -yan (past participle).
- D7 jarliin: < jarliſ ‘order’ + -i (3rd per. poss.) + -n (accusative) > jarliſqin > jarliſyin > jarliin.
- D9 ooſ soonda: ‘after that, then’ < ooſ (genitive of pronoun ‘ol’ he, it), soonda < soſ ‘end’ + i -n + -da.
- D9 eſkeſ: < eſ- ‘to twist’ + -keſ/-käſ (past converb).
- D9 qaayaſtan: < qay- ‘to put’ + -yaſ (past converb) + -tan (ablative).
- D10 eſerin: < eſ- + -er (aorist) + -i (3rd per. poss.) + -n (accusative).
- D10 eſip qaydım: ‘I have twisted (the rope)’. qay- ‘to put’ was used as aux. verb indicating a finished action.
- D10 jiiſ: < jiſy- ‘to collect’ + -ip (-p converb).
- D13 qanjalir: < qanjal- (pronominal verb ‘what to do’) + -ir (present-future participle).
- D13 diſpayin: < tiſp- ‘to find’ + -payin (negative converb).
- D14 adiſniſ: < adiſniſ ‘of bear’. In TC -y at the end of a word becomes -ſ when after it genitive suffix beginning with -niſ/-niſ follows.
- D16 ekkel: ‘bring it here’. < aliſ ‘taking’ + kel ‘come’.
- D17 oruu: < oruſ ‘road’ + -i (3rd per. poss.).
- D17 qaaptur: here ‘qaap’ should be a converb form of ‘qayip’ of verb ‘qay-’ (to put) plus aux. ‘tur’, not from the converb ‘qaliſ’ of verb ‘qal-’ (to stay).
- D18 geliger: ‘please you come’. In TR the corresponding form is ‘geliger’. In TC the form is the same as in Sibirian Altaic (Oyrot) language.
- D19 qanjap: < -p converb form of verb ‘qanjaar’ (what to do).
- D19 geeptur: < geliptur ‘he came’.
- D20 geli(i)jidarda: ‘when he was coming’ < geli + jıt- + -ar + -da.

- D21 ööngä: ‘to his house’ < öy ‘house’ + -i (3rd per. poss.) + -n (epenthetic) + -gä (dative).
- D28 yeri: ‘male’, when ‘e’ appears at the initial position of a word, there is a strong prothetic ‘y’.
- D28 deešten: ‘saying’ < de- ‘speak’ + -geš (converb) + -ten (ablative).
- D31 xol budun dırt-: ‘to give birth to’ (lit. ‘to pull his/her hand and leg’).
- D32 törürbä: ‘does he/she give birth to ...?’ In my original text it is written as ‘törülbä’, it should be a mistake.
- D33 jünü aytıdırsiler: ‘what are you saying?’ ‘aytıdır’ may be a special, emphatic form of ‘aytadır’ (he says) < v. ‘ayt-’ (to say) + -a (-a converb) + -dir (aux. v.).
- D35 dažırar: ‘insult’ < M. ‘tašaara’ (?).
- D35 gedi(li)ptur: My informant translated this sentence as ‘she was freed from the insult of the khan.’ Cf. TRS p. 219 (obsolete word) ‘kediler’ (being freed from...). Etymologically it comes from ‘ket-’ (to go away) in other Turkic languages.
- E1 men: ‘and’, ‘with’ < K. ‘men’ id.
- E1 qaıay: ‘sow’. In TR it is ‘qawan’.
- E3 adaan: ‘named’ < ada- ‘to name’ + -yan (past indefinite).
- E4 yaš: ‘wood’, this word is always pronounced as ‘yāš’ (nasalised).
- E4 doorsında: ‘at the corner of’, the normal form should be ‘doorsusında/doorzusında’.
- E4 kükpäk: ‘hut’ < K. ‘küpanä’ (haystack) (?) (with metathesis p/k).
- E5 mindiñ: ‘porridge’ (?). I can’t identify this word. Maybe it is related to ‘mün’ (soup) in TR and Sarıgh Uıg.
- E7 anjal-: ‘to do like this’ = TR ‘ıñçal-’ id.
- E7 ooldarinen qadı: ‘together with her children’. My informant first used ‘...men qadı’ (cf. E24, E42), but later changed to ‘...nen qadı’. In E39 once again ‘gejä bolurman’ (not ‘bolurmen’) was used. Cf. D4 ‘sösternen’ (with ... words). The -men form should be influenced by Kazakh language.
- E7 äme dzuwup: < -p converb of v. ‘äme dzuu’ (to live), cf. M. ‘am’ zuuχ’ (to live) (MRS, p. 36).
- E7 jörüy = jorıy (-a/-y converb of v. ‘jorı-’).
- E8 qudu: ‘towards’. The meaning is some different from TR and OT (downward).
- E9 däl: < K. däl (just).
- E9 ges: < K. ‘kes’ (time).
- E10 suraaštan: ‘asking’. My informant said it is better to say ‘surabıtqaš’ (< surap + it + qaš).
- E11 köstür: a habitual form derived from verb ‘kör-’ (to see) with the meaning ‘to appear’.
- E11 dekpilä-: < tepkile- ‘to kick’, ‘to seize’ (with repetitive suffix ‘-kile’ and p/k metatheses).
- E11 ejiin: < ežik/ejik ‘door’ + -i (3rd per. poss.) + -n (accusative).
- E11 ažiđiwıtqaš: < ažiđip (< ažit ‘to open’) + it (to send), + qaš (converb).
- E11 zalyın: ‘gentle breeze’ = TR ‘salıın’.

- E11 *χaydīp*: it should be a -p converb of verb ‘*χadī-*’ (to blow) in TR, not the Kazakh -p converb of verb ‘*aydap*’ (driving).
- E12 *dustaan*: ‘salted (fish)’ < *dusta-* + *-yan* (past participle).
- E13 *aldīr*: ‘she accepted’, it should be an oral (shortened) form of ‘*aladīr*’ (present reported tense).
- E14 *uškaš*: ‘like’, it comes from ‘*uqšaš*’ through metathesis, cf. Uig. ‘*oχšaš*’, K. ‘*uqsas*’ id.
- E15 *χaaptur*: my informant translated this word as ‘flowed’. Compared with E30 ‘*qayadīr*’ (flowed), the stem should be ‘*qay-/χay-*’. But in TRS this verb means only ‘strike, hit’, having no meaning ‘to flow’. Maybe it is a special idiomatic use of the verb ‘*qay-*’ in TC.
- E15 *bir eleennen beri*: ‘since a longer time’. Here an unnormal ablative suffix -nen is used instead of ‘-den’.
- E19 *da/dā*: here it should be a particle, borrowed from K. (expressing that two actions happen one after another).
- E19 *mälābitkaš/mälāwitkäš*: < *mälā-* ‘bleat’ + *-p* + *-it* + *-käš*.
- E19 *mendiläškäš*: ‘extending greetings to each other’ < *mendi* ‘healthy’ (< M. *mend*) + *-lä* + *-š* + *-käš*.
- E21 *söök-tayaan*: < *söök-tayaq/dayaq* ‘bone’ + *-i* + *-n*.
- E23 *jaštī*: ‘outside’ = TR ‘*daštī*’ id.
- E24 *üremäš*: < *ür* ‘long time’ + *emääš* ‘little’ (cf. TR ‘*eweeš*’).
- E24 *adaanda*: ‘at the end’ < *adaq* ‘end’ + *-i* + *-n* + *-da*.
- E26 *joy bardī*: ‘went away’ = *joriy bardī*.
- E27 *suññi*: ‘water’ (accusative). When after a word ending with -y a suffix beginning with -n is added, the -y changes to -ñ in TC.
- E28 *qaynñin gelgen*: ‘from where he came’. The normal form should be ‘*qayñin gelgen*’.
- E29 *gör säli*: ‘as soon as he saw’. The normal form should be ‘*köre sala*’ (-a converb + aux. verb *sal-* ‘to put’).
- E29 *jitkäzinä*: ‘to its neck’, here the dative ‘*nä*’ is the Kazakh’s influence.
- E30 *jaraa(m) qayadīr*: ‘(my) slaver is drooling’. From this phrase we know that the verb ‘*qay-*’ has the meaning of ‘to flow’, cf. E15 ‘*χaaptur*’.
- E31 *bodaaš*: ‘thinking’ < *boda-* + *yaš*.
- E31 *unun*: according to the context, it should be the ablative case of the 3rd personal pronoun ‘*ol*’ (he, it) – < *on-dan*. Here maybe it is a dialect form in TC.
- E33 *biqt(īm)*: ‘the flesh under armpit’ (R. p. 1307).
- E33 *moonj ezecinä*: ‘making compensation for this’, ‘instead of it’. ‘*moonj*’ (genitive of ‘*bo*’ – this), *eze* < K. *ese* ‘contribution’ + *-si* + *-n* + *ä*.
- E34 *daman*: ‘rear foot’ = *dawan* of TR.
- E36 *däriy*: ‘then’ < M. ‘*daraa*’ (MRS, p. 145).
- E37 *qaraa*: ‘his eye’ < *qaraq* ‘eye’ + *-i*.
- E37 *qayaynan*: ‘from the sow’. In TR only -dan/-tan two sets of variants are used. Accordingly here should be ‘-dan’.
- E38 *uluu*: ‘the biggest’ < *uluγ* + *-i*.

- E40 semiriŋkirä-: ‘to become more fat’ < semeri- + -ŋkirä (intensive suffix adding to verb stem).
 E42 tenee[n]: ‘his foolishness’ < tenek + -i.
 E42 qaybayın: it should be negative form of verb ‘qay-/χay-’ (to close) with the transferred meaning ‘not set one’s mind at rest’.
 E43 giirgeš: ‘letting enter’ < giir ‘to let enter’ + -geš.
 E43 döžäängä: ‘to his bed’ < döžäk + -i + -n + -gä.
 E43 ejjin: ‘his door’ (accusative) < ejik + -i + -n.
 E43 qidiŋya: ‘to his side’ < qidiŋ ‘side’ + -i + -n + -ya.
 E43 bilen: ‘with’ instead of TR ‘bile’.
 E45 soyurdegä: ‘hide-and-see’ < K. ‘soqırteke’ (blind goat).
 E47 ayt-aan: < ayt- ‘say’ + -aan (affirmative particle).
 E47 jaštıp oynār: = soyurdegä.
 E50 ne dä: ‘whatever kind of’. But my informant translated as ‘hateful’.
 E50 töbet: ‘male dog’ < K.
 E51 bäl(em): ‘(my) terrible fellow’ < K. ‘päle’ id.

List of Grammatical Suffixes

D1	-ptur/-ptür/-ptir/-ptir	past narrative
D1	-da/-de/-ta/-te/-nda/-nde	locative
D2	-ar/-er/-ir/-it/-ur/-ür	aorist
D2	-ya/-gä/-qa/-ke	
	-(i)na/-(i)ne/-(zi)na/-(zi)ne	dative
D3	-men	1st per. pronominal s.
D3	-qan/-ken/-yan/-gen	past participle
D5	-ni/-ni/-nu/-nü	
	-di/-di/-du/-dü	accusative
	-ti/-ti/-tu/-tü	
D5	-qaš/-keš/-yaš/-geš(-š)	past converb
D5	-dan/-den/-tan/-ten/-nan/-nen	ablative
D5	-dayi/-dägi	adjective (with locative meaning)
D5	-p/-ip/-ip	connective converb
D5	-tir/-tir/-dir/-dir, -t,	
	-qir/-kir/-qiz/-yiz	causative
D5	-za/-ze/-sa/-sä	conditional
D5	-im/-im/-m	1st per. poss.
D5	-iŋ/-iŋ	2nd per. poss.
D8	-i/-i/-zi/-zi	3rd per. poss.
D8	-ba/-bä/-pa/-pä/-ma/-mä	negative
D10	-sun/-sün/-sün/-sün	3rd per. imperative
D11	-n	epenthetic suffix after 3rd per. poss.

D13	-payin/-peyin -bayin/-beyin -mayin/-meyin	negative pres. converb
D14	-niŋ/-niŋ/-nuŋ/-nüŋ/ -diŋ/-diŋ/-duŋ/-düŋ -tiŋ/-tiŋ/-tuŋ/-tüŋ	genitive
D18	-(i)yar/-(i)gär/-(i)ger	2nd pl. poss. (also used in verb denoting politeness) (instead of -ŋar... of TR)
D18	-di/-ti/-du/-tu/-dü/-tü	past categorical
D19	-ayin/-eyin	1st sing. imperative
D20	-a/-e/-y + jüt-	-a converb + aux. jüt- (to lie) denoting an action in progress
D23	-qija/-kija/-yija/-gija	limiting converb
D23	-baan/-bään/-paan/-pään -maan/-mään	negative form of past participle
D25	-bas/-bes/-pas/-pes	negative aorist
E5	-lar/-ler/-dar/-der -tar/-ter/-nar/-ner	plural
E11	-sen	2nd per. pronominal s.
E20	-a/-y + -dir/-dir/-dur/-dür	present reported tense (out of sight)
E22	ezä	conditional particle
E25	-ayin/-eyin	1st per. sing. imperative
E28	-bay/-bey/-pay/-pey/-may/-mey	negative converb
E30	-jiq/-jik/-juq/-jük	past rhetorical
E31	-sa da/-sä dä	concessive construction
E36	-men	instrumental
E45	-yay/-gey/-qay/-key	optative
E46	-ba/-bä/-pa/-pä	questional particle

Glossary

a, ä, č, d, e, f, g, γ, h, i, ĭ, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, ö, p, q, r, s, š, t, u, ü, w, χ, y, z, ž
Because of technical reasons, I used letter 'j' for [dʒ]

ada	D8 'father'	alma	E33 'apple'
ada-	E3 'to name'	amdanniy	E34 'delicious'
adaq	E24 'end'	amdī	E30 'now'
	eŋ adaanda 'at the end'	anay = änäy	E11 'lamb'
adiy	D14 'bear'	anjäl-	E7 'to do like this'
adir	D30 'just wait a moment'	aŋ	E31 'animal'
adiril-	D21 'to lose'	aryamji	D5 'rope'
al-	D3 'to take'	ariχ	E3 'forest'
alda-	E31 'to cheat'	ašqijaq	D1 'old man'

at	E37 'name'	bögün	D30 'today'
ayt-	D5 'to say, to tell'	böyde	D26 'all'
aži-	D28 'to turn sour'	börü	E1 'wolf'
ažin-	E47 'to be angry'	burun	D1 'before'
ažit-	E11 'to open'	but	D3 'fut'
		büdün	E21 'whole'
aas	D17 'mouth'		
	aqsı 'his mouth'	da/dä	D33 conjunctive particle
aaldaš	E12 'neighbour'	day	D13 'mountain'
aamay	E31 'stupid'	dayın	D9 'again'
		dalašpayın	D15 'not hurrying'
		daman	E34 'leg'
äme dzuu-	E7 'to live'	daš	D9 'stone'
änäy = anay	E11	dažırar	D35 'insult'
			< M. 'tašaaral' (?)
ba/bä	D32 question particle	däl	E9 'just'
bayay	E22 'bad'		< K. 'däl' id.
balyaş	E23 'mud'	däriy	E36 'then'
balıq	E12 'fish'		< M. 'daraa' id.
baqıla-	E10 'to look'	de-	D3 'to say'
baqša	E33 'garden'	dekpilä-	E11 'to shut tight'
bar	D23, E2 'there is, to exist'		< depkilä- 'to kick repeatedly'
bar-	D10 'to go'		
baš	D5 'head'	dez-	D21 'to escape'
bašqa	E48 'other'	diš	E29 'tooth'
bašta-	E27 'to begin'	dıdıq	E10 'hole'
bat-	E34 'to sink'	dıña-	D6 'to hear'
baza	E33 'again'	dıñsıx	E49 'strong'
belek	E12 'gift'	dıp-/tıp-	D3 'to seek'
belen	D8 'easy'	dırt-	D31 'to pull'
beeri	E17 'since'		D33 (here it means 'cherish')
bičii	D30 'little'		
bil-	D25, E28 'to know'	dolu	D22 'many'
bir	D1 'one'	doqtaa-	D30, E51 'to stop'
bis	D36 'we'	dorzuq	E33 'shank'
bit-/büt-	D4 'to achieve, to bring about'	doorsu	E4 'corner'
		dögä-	E23 'to get warm, to sun'
bıqt	E33 'flesh of armpit'	dözäk	E43 'bed'
bo	D23 'this'	dur-/tur-	D26, E4 'to stand'
boda-	D3, E22 'to think'	dura	E24 'desire'
bodü	D9 'himself'	dusta-	E12 'to salt'
bol-	D18, E1 'to become, there is'	dužaa-	D7 'to hand over, to deliver'
boljaq	E24 'time'	düş-	E30 'to fall'

eder-	E23 'to follow' edert- E23 'to let follow, to lead'	ïraq ïttaa-	E52 'far' E16 'to give a sound'
egin	D17 'shoulder' ekti 'his shoulder'	jada- jalïn-	D3 'cannot' E32 'to beg'
ejik	E10 'door'	jan-	D28 'to go back'
ekkel-	D16 'to take, to bring' < alïp kel- 'taking come'	janï-	E37 'to make sharp, to grind'
eleen	E17 'a longer time'	janÿÿryalandïr	E49 'reverberating'
emäs	E33 'mot'	janÿÿs	E26 'one, single'
emääš	E24 'little'	jaraa	E30 'saliva'
ep	D3 'means, method'	jarïq	E12 'valley'
eptix	E32 'suitable'	jarlïq	D7 'order'
ergin	E2 modal particle (expressing narration)	jaš	D23 'age'
ertä	E1 'early'	jaš ~ jãš	E33 'wood'
erten	D28 'tomorrow'	jaštï	D29, E14 'outside'
eš-	D5 'to twist'	jaštï-	E47 'to hide'
e't	E17 'meat'	jaštïÿ	D2 'young'
ezä	E22 conditional particle	jeçen	D4 'cunning (words), artful'
eze	E33 'share, contribution' < hässä (< p. -a.) id.	jedir	E21 'until'
gejä	E6 'evening'	jel	E35 'mane'
gejää	D13, E31 'difficult'	jemnendir-	E20 'to feed'
get-/ket-	D35 'to go away'	jer	D13 'place'
giir-	E43 'to let enter'	jeerlä	E30 'only'
güstür	E11 'to appear'	jibe	D8 'thing'
gükpäk	E4 'hut'	jidiÿ	E29 'sharp'
inek	D28 'cow'	jigä	E34 'straight'
iš-	E24 'to drink'	jilmilen-	E27 'to be greedy'
išt(i)	E31 'inside'	jit-	E50 'to get away'
iye	E8, 12 'mother'	jitkä	E29 'neck'
iyi	D26 'two'	jiwä = jibe/jibä	E9
iyik	E22 particle express- ing narrative in past (< er- 'to be')	jïÿ-	D10 'to pick up, to collect'
iyinçi	E50 'second'	jïliÿ	E3 'warm'
iziy	E20 'hot'	jïmjaq	E34 'soft'
izään	D14 'den'	jït-	D20, E6 'to lie'
ïndïÿ	D22 'of that kind'	jobalañjoq	E7 'worryless'
ïnya	D5 'to him'	joqtuy	D1 'poor'
ïnjan	E36 'at that time'	jorï-	D1 'to go'
		jörü- = jorï-	E7
		jü	D32, E42 'what'
			jü deen (< degen) 'how, what'

jügür-	E10 'to run'	orčalaŋ	D22 'world' < M orčlong id.
kedi(l)-/gedi(l)-	D35 'to be freed'	orta	E36 'middle'
kel-/gel-	D6 'to come'	ortta	D25 'then, at that time'
kenerten	E28 'suddenly'	oruq	D20, E26 'road'
kenjä	E49 'youngest'	osqun-	D6 'to lose'
keräk	D13 'matter'	ot	D26, E14 'fire'
kerbä	D15 'if'	oyna-	E45 'to play'
kes/ges	E9 'time'	ool	E5 'son'
kiji	D16 'human being'	ooŋ	D2 genitive of 'ol' ooŋ soonda D9 'later, after that'
kök	E35 'blue, grey'		
kör-	D11 'to see'		
kükpä	E11 'hut'		
kül	D5 'ash'	öčük	E19 'answer'
kün	D4, E5, E23 'day, sun'	öy	D5, E19 'house, home'
mälä-	E19 'to baa'	öl-	D16 'to die'
megeälä-	E40 'to cheat'	ölü	E48 'dead'
men	D5 'I'	örttet-	D9 'tu burn'
	mengä (dative)	örü-	E16 'to be happy'
men	E1 'and'	öt-	E46 'to pass'
mendi de-	E18 'send one's regard to'	öy	E46 'time'
mendilä-	E19 idem	qadī	E7 'together' (with instrumental case '-men')
meen	E11 'my'		
mindin	E5 'porridge' (?)	qay-	D9 'to put'
mijjy	E3 'solid, sturdy'	qay-/χay-	E42 'to close'
monī	D23, E31 'this' (accusative)	qayay	E1 'sow'
mundiy	D23 'of this kind'	qal-	D17 'to stay'
munyaŋstan-	D33 'to be in awkward situation'	qandiy	qaaptur < qalıptur E11 'what kind of'
murunay	E36 'firstly'	qanjäl-	D13 'how to do'
		qanjap	D19 'how (to do)'
		qaraŋyī	E36 'dark'
ne dā	E50 'whatever'	qaraq	E37 'eye'
oŋul	E2 son	qaybir	E5 'some'
	oŋulu 'his son'	qaynīn	E28 (= qayīn) 'from where'
ojuq	E20 'tripod'	qažanda	E50 'whenever'
ol	D8 'that, it'	qīdīy	D26, E43 'edge, side'
olur-	D15 'to sit'	qīyīr-	E36 'to call'
onī	D3 accusative of 'ol'	qīl-	D25 'to do'
oray	E44 'very late'	qīlīn	E41 'thick'
oraa-	D4, E6 'to wrap, to wind'	qīlanŋaynī-	E14 'glisten'

qim	E10 'who'	suy	E24 'water'
qir	D9 1) 'edge, point' 2) positional noun (on...)	sura- süt	E10 'to ask' D28, E43 'milk'
qiryān	E1 'old'	şay	D1 'time'
qiriin	E1 'very'	şimää	D18 'information'
qirtış	E14 'scale (of fish)'	şin	E33 'true'
qişqir	E49 'to call'		
qi(y)de-	D29 'to shout'	taraq	D28 'yoghurt'
qi(y)şir-	D5 'to call' qi(y)şirt- 'to let someone to call'	tenek	E42 'stupid'
		tod-	E5 'to eat one's fill'
qizil	E33 'red'	töbet	E50 'male dog (or wolf)'
	qip-qizil 'very red'	törü-	E32 'to give birth'
qort-	D6 'to fear' (the stem is 'qort-', not qory-, cf. D8 qortpa 'don't fear')	tözin	D7 'all, complete'
		tözäk	E33 'stump'
qudu	E8 'toward'	udaa	E50 'time' (classifier)
quduruq	E21 'tail'	udu-	E46 'to sleep'
qujaq	D9 'armful'	uyan	D6 'wisdom'
		uyanniş	E36 'wise'
		ulu-	E51 'to howl'
sabın	E6 'hay'	uluş	E14 'big'
sayış	D4 'thought'	unuun	E11 'then'
sal-	D9 'to put' (also used as aux. verb expressing 'as soon as')	uruş	D2 'girl, daughter'
		uşqaş	E14 'like'
sana-	D14 'to count'	uyyu	E48 'sleep'
semiz	E15 'fat'	uzun	E40 'for, in order to'
sen	D5, E25 'you' seen D5 'your'	üçünçi	E3 'third'
serin	E27 'cool'	ün-	D31, E23 'to go out'
sigen	D9 'grass'	ür	E24 'long (time)'
siler	D24 'you' (pl. polite form)	üs	E15 'fat, grease'
		üş	D20 'three'
simiriñkirä-	E41 'to make more fat'	üşkü	E11 'goat'
soşurdegä	E45 'hide-and-peek' (lit. 'blind goat')	üt	D18 'hole'
soş	D9 'end' soonda D26 'then, at the end' < soş + -i + -n + -da	şada-	D17 'to insert'
		şay-/qay-	E15 'to flow'
		şay-	E9 'to close'
sös	D4 'word'	şaydın-	E5 'to be closed'
sök	E23 'bone'	şalı-	E29 'to jump'
söktäyaq	E21 'bone'	şan	D3 'khan'
		şarişinat-	E52 'to grit one's teeth'

χarıı ber-	E46 'to answer'	χoočın	E40 'old'
χaydı-	E11 'to blow' (cf. χadı- in TR)	yaš ~ yāš	E4 'forest'
χayındır-	E5 'to boil'	yeki	E19 'good'
χol	D31 'hand'	yekile-	E33 'to do well'
χonača	E33 'guest'	yeri	D28 'male'
χortilda-	E16 'to wheeze'	zalyın	E11 '(gentle) wind'

Abbreviations

- K.: Kazakh
M.: Mongolian
MRS: *Mongol'sko-Russkiy Slovar'*. 1957. Ed.: A. Luvsandendev.
OT: Old Turkic
R: Radloff, V. V.: *Opit Slovar' Tyurkskikh Narečiy*. 1893.
TC: Tuvinian of China
TR: Tuvinian of Russia
TRS: *Tuvinsko-Russkiy Slovar'*. 1955. Ed.: A. A. Pal'mbakh (with appendix 'Outline of Tuvinian Grammar' by Š. Ch. Sat)
(): The letter in parentheses is added by the author.
[]: The letter in square brackets should be deleted.