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THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF JUNGAR TUVA

Talant Mawkanuli

**Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University**

December 1999

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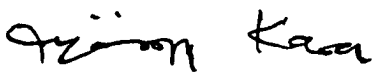
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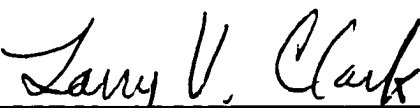
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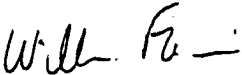


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**In Memory of my father, Mawkan Rakimbayuli (1929-1979)
and
to my mother, Biyshan Mukametzhanizi**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to Jungar Tuva people for welcoming me into their community and being my teacher, hosts and friends throughout the course of stay in Akkaba and Kanas. I would like to thank my informants for their hospitality, friendliness, and patient cooperation.

I owe many thanks to the members of my dissertation committee: György Kara, Larry Clark, William Fierman, Beverly Hartford, and Kenneth DeJong. Their comments and assistance throughout the process really helped, and hopefully resulted in a better dissertation.

My deepest appreciation goes to György Kara, my thesis advisor. He has been my guide, advocate, colleague, and friend. His exemplary scholarship was and will be an inspiration to me. His constant concern for his students has provided me the opportunity for the growth and development as a scholar. I am also grateful to Larry Clark whose advice and support have been invaluable, for his confidence in my ability. He has willingly offered his time, support, encouragement, and direction to me as I completed this dissertation and study over the years. Both Kara and Larry Clark helped me to strengthen my pursuit of higher learning and provided me with intellectual encouragement throughout the course of my studies. I am also grateful to William Fierman who has given generously of his time and attention and to his uncompromisingly honest responses to my work. His questions consistently challenged my thinking and have contributed greatly to this dissertation. In particular, I want to thank Ken DeJong for his carefully reading of the dissertation, and allowing me to profit from his linguistic expertise. I would like to express my appreciation to all of those who have sought to introduce me to and widen my horizons in Turkic linguistics over the years. These include: my father Mawkan Rakimbayuli, Nigmat Minzhan, Turdi Ahmet, Chen Shiliang, Larry Clark, and György Kara.

I would like to extend my gratitude for the help and support, the encouragement and friendship that I received throughout my graduate education from friends and colleagues such as Nazif Shahrani, Ayse Rorlich, Dru Gladney, Ginny Martin, Ruth Meserve, Christopher Beckwith, Christopher Atwood, Nancy Walter, John Walter, Stuart Delorme, Marlys Macken, and Uli Schamiloglu. I especially want to thank Nazif Shahrani and Ayse Rorlich who have been models of what it means to be a scholar, for their profound positive influence on my life over a period of many years.

I also want to thank my brother and sisters, (Kayrat, Tursin, Zibiyla and Zhanat) as well as my parent in-law (Diyar Kumash and Shamsha Abil) for their valued support and encouragement throughout my prolonged education. I thank them all for their patience and understanding.

My heartfelt thanks go to my wife Aygul. I am deeply grateful to Aygul for her love and extreme patience and for her companionship throughout the long process that was required to complete this study. Her unfailing trust in me kept me going strong, even when things seemed desperate. Her unwavering support gave me the strength and incentive to forge ahead, and her faith has given me the motivation to finish. I want to especially thank my daughter Dana and son Ayaz who stood by me through this and put up with my many moods and absences. They have unselfishly accompanied me on my journey through doctoral education. Without you all, none of this would be possible.

Finally, I express my deepest gratitude towards my mother and father for giving me life and love. Thanks to my sweet mother for always encouraging education and to my father who instilled in me self-confidence, encouraged me to work toward my goals. Their love for children has always been a source of strength and an inspiration to me and I dedicate this dissertation to you.

ABSTRACT

Talant Mawkanuli

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF JUNGAR TUVA

This dissertation presents a comprehensive synchronic description of the phonological and morphological structures of Jungar Tuva, one of the Turkic languages of China. The presentation is based on extensive fieldwork with Jungar Tuva people in the Jungar-Altay region of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. It is intended as a reference work for scholars of comparative Turkic and general linguistics, and also as a record for a language of endangered status. The research conducted for this dissertation is presented in the following way. Chapter 1 provides the geographic setting and the socio-historical context in which the language is spoken, with a focus on the state of endangerment of Jungar Tuva. Previous published material on the language is noted and the typological characteristics of Jungar Tuva are outlined. The nature and the sources of the data upon which the present analysis is based are described. Chapter 2 presents a description of the phonological system of the language. The description includes: Vowel phoneme inventory; vowel realization rules and allophonic variation; vowel harmony; consonant phoneme inventory; consonant realization rules and allophonic variation; phonotactics and morphophonemic processes. Chapter 3 characterizes both the structure of the words and the various parts of speech and other preliminaries which are distinguished in the language. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the morphology of nominal and verbal words respectively. To support further empirical work on Jungar Tuva two appendixes containing glossed data are included: Appendix A is an analyzed corpus of ten Jungar Tuva texts collected by author, accompanied by literal English translations and Roman transliterations, and Appendix B contains a lexicon.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Abstract	vii
Lists of Tables	xiii
Abbreviations	xiv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 The Tuva People	1
1.1.1 The Ethnonym Tuva	3
1.1.2 Historical Background	4
1.2 The Jungar Tuva Language	9
1.2.1 Typological overview of Jungar Tuva	9
1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context of Jungar Tuva	11
1.2.2.1 Linguistic Geography: Demographic Factors	16
1.2.2.2 Language Use	21
1.2.2.3 Language Maintenance	27
1.3 Objectives of This Studies	33
Chapter 2. Phonology	37
2.1 Vowels	38
1.2.1 Long vowels	44
2.1.2 Pharyngealisation	47
2.2 Consonants	49
2.3 Phonotactics	59
2.3.1 Syllable structure	59

2.3.2	Morpheme structure	61
2.3.3	Word structure	63
2.3.4	Distribution of phonemes within the word... ..	63
2.3.4.1	Vowel distribution	63
2.3.4.2	Vowel sequences	64
2.3.4.3	Diphthongs	65
2.3.4.4	Vowel harmony	66
2.3.4.5	Consonant distribution	68
2.3.4.6	Consonant clusters	70
2.4	Stress	81
2.5	Morphophonemics	82
2.5.1	Elision	82
2.5.1.1	Vowel deletion	82
2.5.1.2	Consonant deletion	84
2.5.2	Contraction	84
2.5.3	Assimilation	85
2.5.3.1	Vowel harmony	85
2.5.3.1.1	Palatal vowel harmony	85
2.5.3.1.2	Labial vowel harmony	86
2.5.3.2	Consonant assimilation	87
2.5.3.2.1	Progressive assimilation	87
2.5.3.2.2	Devoicing	88
2.5.3.2.3	Regressive assimilation	89
2.5.4	Free morphological variation	90
2.5.4.1	Consonant alternation	90
2.5.4.2	Vowel alternation	90
2.6	Extrasystemic Phonology	91

2.6.1	Loan words	91
2.6.2	Onomatopoeic forms	92
2.6.3	Exclamations and interjections	92
2.6.4	Animal calls	92
2.7	Orthography used for examples and texts	93
 Chapter 3. Morphology		95
3.1	Word Structure	95
3.2	Word Classes	97
3.2.1	Parts of speech	97
3.2.2	Declinable word classes	99
3.2.2.1	Nominals	99
3.2.2.2	Verbs	102
3.2.3	Indeclinable word classes	103
3.2.3.1	Adverbs	103
3.2.3.2	Postpositions	105
3.2.3.3	Particles	108
3.2.3.4	Interjections	110
3.2.3.5	Conjunctions	111
 Chapter 4. Nominal Morphology		113
4.1	Inflectional Nominal Morphology	113
4.1.1	Nouns	115
4.1.1.1	Number	115
4.1.1.2	Definiteness	118
4.1.1.3	Indefiniteness	118
4.1.1.4	Possession Marking	118

4.1.1.5 Case Marker	124
4.1.2 Adjectives	134
4.1.3 Pronouns	136
4.1.3.1 Personal pronouns	136
4.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns	139
4.1.3.3 Possessive pronouns	141
4.1.3.4 Reflexive pronouns	141
4.1.3.5 Reciprocal pronouns	143
4.1.3.6 Interrogative pronouns	144
4.1.4 Numerals	144
4.1.5. Personal markers	147
4.2 Derivational Nominal Morphology	147
Chapter 5. Verb Morphology	157
5.1 Inflectional Verb Morphology	157
5.1.1 Personal markers	157
5.1.2 Tenses	162
5.1.2.1 Past.....	162
5.1.2.2 Present	167
5.1.3 Aspects	171
5.1.4 Mood	173
5.2 Derivational Verb Morphology	178
5.2.1 Deverbal verb derivation	179
5.2.2 Denomenial verb derivation	180
5.3 Verbals	191
5.3.1 Infinitive	191
5.3.2 Participles	193

5.3.3 Gerunds	194
Appendix A. Texts	197
1. The Altay Tuva.	198
2. The Clans of Jungar Tuva.	201
3. Distribution of Jungar Tuva.	203
4. Population and Movements of Tuvas in Akkaba.	206
5. My hometown - Akkaba	208
6. A Personal History.	211
7. The Tuva language	215
8. House Building	220
9. Personal History	228
10. Folktale: "Old Lady Dektene"	232
Appendix B. Lexicon	239
References	286

Lists of Tables

Table 1: Ethnic Composition in three Tuva villages	2
Table 2: Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang.....	12
Table 3: Ethnic Composition in Altay Prefecture.....	18
Table 4: Phonemic Vowel System of Jungar Tuva	38
Table 5: Phonemic Long vowels of Jungar Tuva	44
Table 6: The contrast between short and long vowels.....	45
Table 7: Contractions of Vowels.....	46
Table 8: Minimal pairs of pharyngealized vowels.....	48
Table 9: Consonant phonemes of Jungar Tuva.....	49
Table 10: The contrast between front and back syllables.....	61
Table 11: Occurrence of word-initial vowels.....	64
Table 12: Occurrence of word-final vowels.....	65
Table 13: The possible sequences of vowels.....	69
Table 14: Possible clusters in word medial position.....	80
Table 15: Proposed Orthographic System.....	94
Table 16: The possessive markers	119
Table 17: The paradigms of possessive markers	120
Table 18: Case with possessive markers	122
Table 19: Case with 3 person possessive marker	123
Table 20: Case Inflections	125
Table 21: Examples of Case suffixes	126
Table 22: Personal pronouns	137
Table 23: Case marking of personal pronouns	138
Table 24: Case marking of demonstrative pronouns	140
Table 25: Case marking of reflexive pronouns	142
Table 26: Inflection of personal markers	158
Table 27: Personal endings with simple past tense	159
Table 28: Personal endings with conditional	160
Table 29: Personal endings with present-future tense	161
Table 30: Definite past tense	164
Table 31: Indefinite past tense	165
Table 32: Present-future tense	168
Table 33: Personal endings with conditional	176
Table 34: Optative-imperative.....	177

Abbreviations

1.pl.	first person plural
1.sg.	first person singular
2.pl.	second person plural
2.pl.Imp.	second person plural imperative
2.sg.	second person singular
2.sg.Imp.	second person singular imperative
3.pl.	third person plural
3.pl.Imp.	third person plural imperative
3.sg.	third person singular
3.sg.Imp.	third person singular imperative
Abl.	ablative
Acc.	accusative
Act.	active
Adj.	adjective
Adv.	adverb
Aux	auxiliary
Be	the existential verb bar
C	consonant
Caus.	causative
Comp	comparative
Cond.	conditional
Conj.	conjunction
Cop	copula
Dat.	dative
Def.	definite
DerAdj	derived adjective
DerCaus	derived causative
DerNom	derived nominal
DerRefl	derived reflexive
Dem.	demonstrative
Fut.	future
Gen.	genitive
Ger.	gerund
Hab.	habitual
Imp.	Imperative
Inf.	infinitive
Inst.	instrumental
Inter	interrogative
Intr	intransitive
IO	indirect objective
L	liquid
Loc.	locative
Mod	modifier
N	noun

Nam	name
Neg	negative/negation
Neg.Aor.	negative aorist
Neg.Cop.	negative copula
Neg.Exist.	negative existential
Nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral/number
Obj	objective
Ord	ordinal
P.pro	personal pronoun
Pass.	passive
Past.	past
Pl.	plural
Poss	possessive
Poss.Pr.	possessive pronoun
Post	postposition
PPart	past participle
Pred	predicate
Pr.Prog	present progressive
Pro	pronoun
Prog	progressive
Prt	particle
Q	question particle
Recip.	reciprocal
Rel.Cl.	reflexive
Rep	repetitive
Sg	singular
Sbj	subject
sg.	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb order
St	stem
Suf	suffix
Tr	transitive
V	vowel
Vb/v.	verb
VP	verb phrase
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
[]	phonetic transcription
//	phonemic transcription
{ }	morpheme
()	optional
*	ungrammatical

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 The Tuva People

The Jungar Tuva language described in this study is a dialect of Tuva. Tuva in turn is a Turkic language spoken by slightly more than 200,000 speakers. Most speakers of Tuva are found in the Republic of Tuva within the Federated Republic of Russia (198,500 in 1989) and the rest of the Tuva speakers reside in the northwest of Mongolia (estimated 3,000 - 14,000, see Mamayon 1971: 41, 44; Mongush 1996: 229) and in the northwest of China (less than 2,000). The term Tuva also refers to a series of linguistically and culturally related groups and tribes who inhabit the large area on both sides of the Yenisei River (Ulug-Xem in Tuva).¹

Jungar Tuva is spoken in the Jungar-Altay region of the Altay Prefecture, Ili Kazak Autonomous District, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China.² The Jungar Tuva live around Lake Kanas in the Altay Jungar region roughly between 47° and 50 ° north latitude and 85 ° and 91 ° east latitude. Kazakstan lies to the west, Russia to the north and Mongolia to the east. Northeast are the Altay mountains, south the Ertis River and west the Kaba River. In the 17th century, large numbers of Altay Tuva migrated in all directions, establishing sizable communities within the Altay Jungar region, much of whose ancestral territory also is home to migrating Kazaks and Mongols.

¹ E.g. the Tuba sub-group of the northern Altay people; cf. Baskakov 1965, 1966.

There is no accurate survey of the total number of Jungar Tuva speakers, because the Tuvas have been included in official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality. Various independent counts of the number of these Tuva were made after 1980, when Chinese linguists became interested in the Tuva language in China. In 1981, Song estimated their number at 1500 (Song 1981:1), whereas Chen and others placed the figure at 2,300 (Chen 1994: 39). Tuvas are distributed mainly in the following localities of the Altay Prefecture of Ili-Kazak Autonomous District: the Akkaba village of Kaba County, the Kanas village and Kom village of Buwirshin County and the Temek village of Koktogay county. In addition, a small number of Tuva live scattered in the Koktogay County Town, Buwirshin County Town and in Lamajao village of Altay County of the same prefecture. According to a field survey made in 1987, the number of Tuva is more than 1500 but less than 2000 (see Table 1).³

Table 1: Ethnic Composition in three Tuva villages

Population	Akkaba Village	Kanas Village	Kom Village
Total	723	688	944
Jungar Tuva	387	397	692
Mongol	72	148	17
Kazak	236	98	222
Hui (Dongan)		21	
Telengut	28	24	13

² The present Chinese official administrative institutions in Xinjiang are in order of ascending size: *kistak* (Cun) 'small village', *awil* (Xiang) 'village', *awdan* (Xian) 'county', *aymak* (Diqu) 'prefecture', *oblast* (Zhou) 'district' and *rayon* (Qu) 'region'.

³ This data was collected during our linguistic fieldwork in 1987 and cited in Chen, 1995: 40. Also see the section "Linguistic Geography" in this chapter.

1.1.1 The Ethnonym Tuva

The ethnonym “Tuva” was recorded in Chinese annals of the Sui and Tang dynasties as well as in Mongol sources such as the “Secret History of the Mongols”, where it appears variously as *Tu-po*⁴, *Tu-pa*⁵, *Tuba*⁶ and in modern Chinese history books as *De-wa*, *De-ba*, *Tu-ba* and *Tu-wa*. This name with its variants is the basic ethnonym of all modern Tuva, although other names are used.

The Tuva, who call themselves the Tuva (Diba) or Monchak and who were known historically as the Soyons, Soyots, or Uriankhais, are a small ethnic group who live in a large area on both sides of the Yenisei River (Ulug-xem). The Tuvas, like many of the Turkic-speaking peoples of south Siberia, are descended from Turkic and Turkified Kettic and Samoyedic tribes.⁷

Some Jungar Tuva speakers identify themselves with their place of settlement, the Altay mountains, and therefore call themselves Altay Tuva. However, if we were to apply the term Altay to their language then it would be confused with the name of the Tuva who live on the other side of the Altay mountains in the State of Mongolia, and who also call themselves Altay Tuva. In this work, the name Jungar Tuva is selected to avoid this confusion. Most speakers of Jungar Tuva prefer to call themselves /diba / 'Tuva' and their

⁴ *Bei shi*, juan (volume) 99, cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41; *Sui shu*, juan 84, cited in He 1988: 36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41.

⁵ *Tong dian*, juan 199, cited in He 1988:36; *Xing Tang shu*, juan 217, cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994: 59 and in Su 1985: 41.

⁶ *Secret History of the Mongols*, chapter 9, cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41; *Sui shu*, juan 84, cited in He 1988: 36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41. In this source, it appears as *Tubas-I*, which is the plural form plus the accusative of Tuva.

⁷ For detailed references to the ethnonym and name Tuva, see Chen P. (1980), He (1988), Mannay-ool (1981,) Dulzon (1971), Savinov (1973), Su (1985), Tatarintsev (1990), Taube (1994), Vainshtein (1980).

language /dɪba dili/ 'Tuva language'. Tuva also is the name of the common Tuva language, which includes all the Tuva dialects spoken in northwest China and Mongolia, as well as in the Tuva Republic of Russia. This term has been preserved by all speakers of this language and its dialects today.

Kazaks and Mongols call the Jungar Tuva Dɪba, Kōk Monchak (blue button) or Urangkay.⁸ In the author's experience, Monchak is an offensive term, even though some Jungar Tuva still use it. When asked what the name of their language is, such speakers typically have trouble responding, and may answer either /dɪba/ or /mončaq/. The name Uriangkhai is an old social and ethnic term with a long and complicated history, Mongols generally apply this name to the various Turkic and Mongolian inhabitants of the Altay, Tuva and western Mongolian regions, but it does not identify any language spoken there (see Okada 1986/87).

1.1.2 Historical Background

The origin of the Jungar Tuva is an unknown chapter in the history of the Tuva people of south Siberia. Only oral traditions refer to them moving from Siberia to their present location, fighting their way against Oirat Mongols as far as the Kanas area of the Altay. The original center of the Tuva was the region west of Baikal.⁹ Little is known of their former life, except that the Tuva were mainly hunter-gatherers and nomadic pastoralists

⁸ *Urankay* is a Kazak spelling. In Mongolian spells either *Uriankhai* or *Uriyangkhai*.

⁹ For a detailed study of the now sadly neglected cultural heritage of the Tuva, the reader is referred to works by (Alatalu 1992, Clark 1997, Ewing 1981, He 1988, Potapov 1964, also Vainshtein 1961, 1980).

who practiced some cultivation. Now they are subsistence farmers with animal husbandry and some hunting.

The designation "Tuva" is widespread in south Siberia and there is a close interrelationship between the different ethnic groups who bear the same name. The Tuva are of mixed origin, although they are basically Turkic peoples who assimilated some local Samoyedic and Yenisey peoples. The Tuva first emerged from the process of ethnogenesis into an identifiable cultural group by the early eighteenth century. They were divided into two primary groups. The Tuva proper, who constitute the majority of the nationality, live in the steppes and mountain steppes of central, southeastern, southern, and western Tuva. The eastern Tuva, also known as Tozha, inhabit the taiga-steppe zones of eastern Tuva, primarily in Tozha district and the upper Kaa-xem river basin.

The process of Tuva ethnogenesis was assisted by the geography of Tuva. As noted above, Tuva, which is located in south-central Siberia, sits on the northwestern border of Mongolia. Tuva consists of a series of high mountain valleys at the headwaters of the Yenisei river, with rugged mountains cutting the region off from the rest of Siberia and Mongolia. The upper Yenisei River valley is characterized by three distinct economic life styles. Most of the component groups lived in the steppe and mountain-steppe regions of Tuva, where they practice nomadic pastoralism primarily with sheep, goats, cattle and horses. The groups living in the mountainous forests make their living by hunting and herding reindeer. Those living in the high forests and meadows are more likely to support themselves by raising horses and cattle, as well as by hunting. The Tuva economy still reflects those divisions (see Vainshtein 1980).

The territory of the present Tuva came under the rule of the Turk Khanate in the sixth century AD, and it was in turn conquered by the Uygurs in the mid-eighth century and the Yenisei Kirgiz in the mid-ninth century. The Mongols controlled the region from 1207 to 1368, when a series of Chinggisid Mongolian rulers established dominance there. Chinggisid Mongolian states next dominated the area until the sixteenth century when it was ruled by the Khotgoid Mongols. The Jungar Mongols incorporated the region into their empire in the last half of the seventeenth century, and following their defeat by the Manchus in 1758, the entire region was incorporated into the Manchu Chinese Empire. After the Treaty of Peking between Russia and Manchu China in 1860, trade relations arose in the region, and a small colony of Russian settlers developed. By the early twentieth century there was a Russian colony in what was known as the Uriankhai territory, a name that had been applied to this region since the Mongol empire (see Ewing 1981).

Until 1911, the Tuva region was politically part of Mongolia, which was controlled by the Manchu Chinese Empire. In the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 this region was in turmoil and in 1914 the Russians were able to take advantage of the situation to establish a protectorate there. Although Tuva declared its independence from China in 1912, a tripartite agreement in 1915 between China, Russia, and Tuva left the region autonomous but still within Peking's sphere of influence. During the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war, control of Tuva frequently changed hands between various Red and White armies. When the dust settled after the Revolution, the Tannu-Tuva People's Republic was established in 1921 as an autonomous state under Soviet sovereignty. In 1944, the Soviets dissolved the Tuva People's Republic and incorporated

the area within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as the Tuva Autonomous Oblast. In 1961, it became known as the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Alatalu 1992, Mongush 1993).

As for the historical background of the Jungar Tuva, they are composed of several splinter groups that comprise the main body of the Tuva people. There are different versions of the appearance of the Tuvas in the Xinjiang Altay region. S. M. Abramzon believed that a small group of Tuvas who belonged to descendants of the Yenisey Kirgiz was taken away by Jungars from Yenisey to Xinjiang at the beginning of the 17th century (Abramzon 1961). However, in all probability, the Jungar Tuva were part of the original body of Tuva who were arbitrarily separated by political borders established by the Russians and Manchus in the 18th century (cf. Mongush 1996b).

In the early Manchu (Qing, 1644-1911) period, the people of Inner Asia were divided into a number of different linguistic, tribal, and military-administrative units. Most of the Turkic and Mongol peoples in these units shared a nomadic pastoral lifestyle, in which the main activity was the raising of livestock. During the 17th and 18th centuries when the Manchus were taking the Jungar Mongols into their empire, considerable changes were introduced into the organization and administration of the Jungar-Altay region.

The important group of Mongols in this region were the Oirats who formed the Jungar Empire. By the late seventeenth century, the Oirats were distributed over a vast territory, from the Alashan mountains in modern Tibet Autonomous Region (PRC) to as far as the present Kalmyk Republic in European Russia --- a great stretch of land which included all Jungaria, the entire western portion of the modern Republic of Mongolia and

part of Tannu Tuva. After the Manchus conquered this region, they organized the Oirats, along with the Jungar Tuva and other peoples of the region, into a 'banner-arrow' system of administration (Okada 1972, Miyauski 1984).

In 1760 ~ 1770, the Manchus divided the peoples of the region known as Uriankhai (Jungar-Altay-west Mongolia) into Seven Banners which were further divided into left wing and right wing. The Mongol and Turkic groups in the Altay were called the Altay Uriangkay Seven Banners. The left wing of this group consisted of four banners (*koshuun*): Berese, Ak soyan, Kara soyan, and Meyren. These four banners were further subdivided into arrows (*sumuns*). Today, the Jungar Tuva who were in these units are mainly distributed in Altay county, Kaba county, Buwirshin county and the Koktogay area. The Right Wing of the Seven Banners consisted of three banners: Berese, Kokmonchak, and Sarin. These were further subdivided into arrows whose modern Jungar Tuva descendants live, especially in Kom-Kanas, Akkaba and Kanas in Kaba and Buwirshin counties (cf. He 1984, 1988; Chen 1994).

1.1.3 Origin of the Jungar Tuva

Although it is difficult to fix precisely the origin of modern settlements of Jungar Tuva within the old banner system, it is possible to briefly describe the history of each of these settlements using some historical sources as well as some of their historical legends.

The Kanas area is regarded as the original homeland and cultural center of the Jungar Tuva by the people themselves and by Chinese scholars. There, the language is less subject to external influences, and kinship ties and traditional life are still strongly

maintained. Most Jungar Tuva in the Kanas region practice small-scale hunting, animal husbandry, and very small-scale agriculture. The Tuva living in other areas like Altay, or Chinggil are much more subject to Mongolian influence, often embracing Buddhism, abandoning their patrilineal names and allowing contact with their Kanas cousins to lapse. Some Tuva also settled in the urban area of the Kanas and Buwirshin counties, which has resulted in an attenuation of both their linguistic 'purity' and their cultural ties with the Kanas group.

1.2 The Jungar Tuva Language

1.2.1 Typological overview of Jungar Tuva

As mentioned above, Jungar Tuva is a dialect of Tuva, which is a member of the Turkic language family, a large group of languages spoken throughout Central Eurasia. Attempts at classification of the Turkic languages have been ongoing for over a century. There have been a number of different proposals and hypotheses over the years, arguing for different relationships among and within the branches, as well as for the inclusion and exclusion of various languages and groups of languages. The most widely accepted classification places Tuva and its dialects, along with Tofalar, within the Old Uyghur group of the eastern division of the Turkic family (Baskakov 1969: 313-349). According to all previous scholarship, Tuva is most closely related to Shor, Khakas, the northern group of Altay, and Yakut (see Tekin 1989). The external genetic relationships of the

Turkic family remain controversial, although some scholars claim that it belongs with the Mongolian and Tungus languages in an “Altaic” family.

As a general introduction, some of the most significant features of the phonology, and morphology of Jungar Tuva grammar may be cited here, although these topics are dealt with more extensively in the appropriate chapters of the grammar.

In the phonological system, Jungar Tuva has an opposition between short and long vowels, but not between these and pharyngealized vowels as standard Tuva. There are nine short and eight long vowels. Vowel length is distinctive although long vowels occur relatively less often. Vowel harmony based on the distinctions frontness-backness and roundness-unroundness is a characteristic feature of all Tuva words. Palatal harmony is strictly observed (a word has only front or only back vowels) whereas the labial harmony is less strictly observed (a word has only rounded or only unrounded vowels), and is usually disregarded beyond the third syllable of a word.

The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C). There are consonant clusters composed of two consonants word-finally but not word-initially. There are two sources for these clusters: they are derived either historically or synchronically by addition of suffixes or enclitics to a consonant-final stem.

The basic morphological unit is the root, usually consisting of one or two syllables. Two kinds of elements can be added to the root: suffixes (derivational and inflectional) and enclitics. Both types of suffixes are monosyllabic. Derivational suffixes form new words from existing words. Inflectional suffixes express case, number, person, tense and mood. Nominals and verbals may be clearly defined in Tuva by morphological

structure. Certain nominals like adjectives, adverbs and postpositions may be defined in syntactic terms.

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context of Jungar Tuva

The Jungar Tuvas are one of a number of peoples with miniscule population of the PRC who are trying to maintain themselves within an overwhelmingly Han Chinese environment as well as the powerful influences of Kazak and Mongolian. Moreover, in an even more local context, the Jungar Tuvas are the smallest or very nearly so among the nationalities of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Both the people and their language face the same threat of immersion within these greater entities. Faced with such challenges, it is important to ask how the Jungar Tuva use their language and what strategies they follow to maintain it.

In the PRC, there are a wide variety of ethnic and linguistic groups who are different from each other and from the main ethnic group of Han Chinese. Most of these have not been assimilated into the Han Chinese ethnic group and, therefore, are called the national minorities. According to the 1990 census there are 55 minorities comprising a total of 90,200,314 people,¹⁰ who are presently recognized as distinct nationalities by the Chinese government based on linguistic, historical, and religious factors. Many of these minorities as well as the Han Chinese co-exist in Xinjiang, which is a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural region. According to the Chinese government, there are 13 main ethnic groups which live in Xinjiang: Uygur, Chinese, Kazak, Hui, Kirgiz, Mongolian, Shibe, Tajik, Uzbek, Tatar, Manchu, Daur, and Russian.

Table 2: Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang¹¹:

Population	Xinjiang Region	Ili Oblast	Altay Prefecture
Total	16613500	3621488	549867
Uygur	7800038	577758	10179
Han Chinese	6318114	1610714	233562
Kazak	1237706	948474	276884
Hui (Dongan)	747608	294966	18791
Kirgiz	157828	17130	74
Mongol ¹²	152844	66090	5327
Shibe	38211	31688	76
Russian	8971	4601	379
Tajik	38211	113	0
Uzbek	13291	5025	253
Tatar	4652	2462	1261
Manchu	19936	4118	246
Daur	6147	5517	8
Others	69943	52832	2827

Source: Xinjiang Nianjian, 1996: 67-68

¹⁰ Source: Guojia Tongjiju Renkou Tongjici (1993)

¹¹ Chinese population figures only count those officially registered as residents in a given region. Unregistered residents make up a substantial part of Xinjiang's population and the most of them are Han Chinese (with some Hui). If the unregistered Han are added to registered residents, then they are by far the majority of the population (Mawkanuli 1995).

¹² Tuvas were included in this official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality.

Although many ethnic groups share a common linguistic or religious heritage to a certain degree, each of them has its own distinct language and cultural practices. The languages spoken in Xinjiang mainly belong to three different language families: Altaic, Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European. The Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Uzbek and Tatar speak languages in the Turkic branch of the Altaic family¹³. The Mongol and Daur speak languages in the Mongolian branch of Altaic group, while the Manchu and Shibe speak languages in the Manchu-Tungus branch of the Altaic language family. There are only two linguistic ethnic groups of Indo-European languages in China and both of them are found in Xinjiang. These are the Tajik who speak a language of the Iranian branch and the Russian. The Hui and Han Chinese speak Chinese which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan group. (Mawkanuli 1994, Ramsey 1987)

The official languages of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are Chinese and Uygur. The Kazak language is the official language of Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture. Chinese, Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Mongolian and Shibe are written languages. The Uzbek and Tatar are small in population and live in close proximity to other Turkic people, such as the Kazak and Uygur. Therefore, they are linguistically assimilated and practically no one uses these two languages. The Hui and Manchu speak Chinese.

The Jungar Tuvas face an almost insurmountable task in using and maintaining their language, because they are not recognized by the Chinese government as one of the nationalities of the PRC. In other words, on official levels, they do not exist as a people. The reason that the Jungar Tuvas did not gain nationality status in the PRC has a historical origin that can be traced to the Manchu or Qing dynasty.

¹³ The genetic unity of the Altaic and Sino-Tibetan families is currently disputed. I have used these terms here only for convenience in analysis.

As late as the early 20th century, the region of the Altay where the Jungar Tuva live was part of a larger area known under the name of Uriyangkhai, a term that goes back to the time of Chinggis Khan when this area became the patrimony of the Uriyangkhai tribe which supported his rise to power. During the Manchu dynasty, this area encompassed all of the modern Tuva republic and parts of western Mongolia and of the Altay region of Xinjiang. Peoples within this area were called Uriyangkhai, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic affiliation, so that both Turkic-speaking and Mongol-speaking groups often bore the name.

In the 18th century, those Uriyangkhai in the Jungar basin region of this area (that group which forms the Jungar Tuvas of today) declared themselves Mongolians to avoid oppressive treatment at the hands of the Manchus and to enjoy the favored status of the Mongolians who were the allies of the Manchu court (Heberer 1989:38). Moreover, pressures existed that forced some of these Tuvas to assimilate to Mongol in culture and in language. For example, an informant of an Akkaba clan related the legend that in the 18th century the Tuvas of the region were ruled directly by a Mongol prince named Taywen Gong, who introduced the regulation that no one could be a member of his banner who did not speak Mongolian, and questioned those speaking Tuva in the following way: "If you are Mongolian, then why are you not speaking Mongolian?"¹⁴ This regulation forced many of the Tuvas to learn Mongolian. As a result of this and other factors, their administrative status as Mongolians remained in place into the middle of the 20th century.

After the communists gained power in China, one of the first steps of the new government was to take stock of the peoples within its borders, essentially those

established by the Manchus. Large-scale projects to survey the languages and social histories of nationalities were undertaken in the 1950s, and it was during this work that the Jungar Tuvas were “discovered” to be for the most part a Turkic-speaking people.¹⁵ Nonetheless, they continued to be designated Mongolians in official circles.

Beginning in 1979, and especially in the early 1980s, representatives of the Jungar Tuva people began to appeal to the Chinese government to recognize Tuva as an official nationality of the XUAR.¹⁶ The regional Party Committee instructed the Regional Nationalities Affairs Commission to establish a research group comprising members of the Nationalities Research Institute, History Research Institute and Literature Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences as well as the China’s Languages Department of Xinjiang University (XSKYMS: 1985). This research group was further subdivided into three subgroups: nationality subgroup, history and religion subgroup, and language subgroup. The task of all three was to survey the languages and social histories of all the peoples of the Altay region, including the Jungar Tuvas, in order to define their nationality status more clearly. Most of the scholars in the research group proposed that Jungar Tuva should be granted a nationality status.¹⁷ However, ultimately, this research group recommended against according the Jungar Tuvas nationality status for two reasons:

¹⁴ Solungo, personal communication 1995.

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of this, see Song 1992 and the “Objective of This Studies” section in this chapter.

¹⁶ Solungo, Sendish Ergin-ool, and other representatives of the Tuva community; personal communication 1995.

¹⁷ Chen Shi, Kidirkan, Ma De-yuan, personal communication 1985. Based on their field research, He Xing-liang (1984: 4) and Song Bei-hai (1983: 49) proposed that Tuva should have a nationality status.

1. Strong weight was given to the view of the regional Mongol official who thought that the official status of Mongols in Xinjiang would be jeopardized if they were further divided or weakened in numbers.¹⁸

2. The argument was made that the Jungar Tuvas were in a transitional process, as shown by the fact that a group of “Uriyangkhais” in the same Altay region also used to be Tuvas but, after living with Mongols for a long time, had lost their own Turkic language and now considered themselves to be Mongols. This process was claimed to be happening to the remaining Jungar Tuvas as well, and so it was not certain that they would exist as a distinct nationality in the future (see Story 8 in Chapter 4).¹⁹

As a result of this research group’s recommendation, the Jungar Tuvas failed to gain nationality status.

1.2.2.1 Linguistic Geography: Demographic Factors

This lack of official recognition of their status as a distinct nationality has presented the Jungar Tuvas with formidable challenges in regard to preserving their identity and maintaining their language. An additional challenge naturally arises when demographic factors are taken into consideration.

Reliable figures on the number of the Jungar Tuvas are not available, but various estimates have been offered. According to He, the number of Uriankhai is about 4000 (1984: 3) and Tuva speaking Uriankhai are more than 2000. According to Song, the

¹⁸ Baday, of a Mongol nationality, who was then a member of the standing committee of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region’s Communist Party argued strongly against the idea of giving the Jungar Tuva a national minority status.

¹⁹ Solungo, personal communication 1995.

number of Tuvas lay between 1,000 and 1,500 (1981, 1983, and 1985). Su gives a number not in excess of 2,600 for the entire Jungar Tuva region, but this figure certainly included Mongols. (1985:43). At the time when this people made its appeal for recognition, Song Zhenchong conducted linguistic fieldwork in Akkaba for his dissertation (1981), and reported that Tuva was spoken by as many as 1,500 speakers, although he felt that the number would be less if a more accurate count were taken.

In 1983, the research group formed by the Regional Nationalities Research Institute of XUAR (described above) also gathered materials that were used to estimate a Jungar Tuva population of 4,000 (Su 1983). Since this estimate did not separate out Mongol groups, and for other reasons, it appears to be far too high.

In 1990, the Chinese Statistics Office of the Xinjiang region counted 1,925 Mongols in the villages of the Altay prefecture where the Jungar Tuva live. Some observers (e.g. Chen 1997) therefore give the number of the Jungar Tuva as 1,925, without taking into account that actual Mongols who also live in these villages.

Table 3: Ethnic Composition in Altay Prefecture:

Ethnicity	Atay Prefecture	Alaty City	Buwirshin county	Koktogay County	Buwirtagay Couty	Kaba Couty	Chinggil County	Zhemney County
Total	549867	192977	62461	80818	59310	69427	51050	33824
Kazak	276884	62857	35502	54536	23100	41906	38255	20710
Chinese	233562	115871	19527	21258	33258	21731	9883	12034
Uygur	10179	4819	1004	2517	567	336	597	339
Hui	18791	5806	3567	1807	1780	4216	1087	528
Kirgiz	74	10	8	15	1	0	11	29
Mongol	5327	2134	1664	194	164	416	708	47
Shibe	76	36	4	13	12	5	6	0
Russian	379	182	110	50	28	0	1	8
Tajik	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uzbek	253	135	10	41	0	30	28	9
Tatar	1261	446	334	71	60	82	261	7
Manchu	246	116	1	48	41	6	7	27
Daur	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
Others	2827	547	730	260	299	699	206	86

Source: Xinjiang Nianjian, 1996: 67

According to my own field observations in 1995, Akkaba village has approximately 800 inhabitants, of whom 386 are Tuvas and around 400 are Kazaks.

As mentioned above, Tuva were always included in official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality. However, most of the inhabitants listed as Mongol in Buwirshin county and Kabak county are Jungar Tuvas. So we could estimate the Jungar population to be something less than 2000.

In this century, then, the size of the Jungar Tuva population has varied due to political and other processes. There is, however, reason to think that, while some temporary gains in size might have been made, the overall trend was decline from a formerly larger number than today. A few events in the past that led to a decline in population came to light in the course of field interviews with Tuvas of the region. One such event was the Civil War in neighboring Russia, when Red and White forces were fighting in the Tuva territory in 1921. At that time, some Tuvas fled into the Xinjiang Altay, but later most of these refugees moved on into the Kobdo Altay region of Mongolia. Nonetheless, a number of White Russians remained in Xinjiang Altay until they outmigrated during the Cultural Revolution. Those Russians lived in larger, relatively prosperous villages, and ran a Russian school which Tuva children could attend. The language of instruction was Russian only. This is the reason that one may encounter a few Tuvas in this region who speak fluent Russian.

In 1933, a banner of some two hundred Jungar Tuva families of the Xinjiang Altay fled the Ma Zhongying (Dongan) Rebellion into Mongolia, and almost none of these returned. Between 1930 and 1940, the Kazaks of Xinjiang Altay waged a fairly successful series of campaigns aimed at driving the Chinese out of their region. Eventually, Chinese troops, later aided by Soviet Russian troops, ended this conflict, but not before some Tuva groups in the region fled to Mongolia to avoid the fighting.

The Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s brought further demographic pressures to bear on the Jungar Tuvas. Chinese authorities rounded up the whole Tuva population and placed them in two camps where they were forced to do hard labor. As a result, many

Tuva died, especially small children (see Story 4 in Chapter 4), and upon release some Tuvas moved out to avoid a recurrence.

The Sino-Soviet rift of 1961 also had disastrous effects on the Jungar Tuvas. Accused of collaboration or sympathy with the Soviets, as well as suspected of planning to take flight to the Soviet Union, the Jungar Tuvas were labeled "revisionists." Under this pretext, the Chinese government again moved all the Tuvas to farming communities well away from the borders. As a consequence, a number of Tuvas died, either because their unfamiliarity with farming failed to feed families or because local water sources carried fatal diseases.

It is impossible to determine precisely the total affect of such events on the population of the Jungar Tuva, but it is reasonable to assume that their once higher numbers have been on the decline in this century.

Economic and social processes also affect the number of Jungar Tuvas. Although statistics are lacking, biographies collected among the Tuva reveal that members of each succeeding generation moved out of the region, either to seek jobs or education in larger towns, or to marry into other groups.

In addition to these influences, which affect the use and maintenance of the Jungar Tuva language on the macro level, there are a number of factors that come into play in language use and maintenance on the micro level.

1.2.2.2 Language Use

The Jungar Tuva do not live in isolation, but instead are a tiny people surviving in the multilingual environment of the Xinjiang Altay. The Tuvas are located primarily in three villages: Akkaba, Kanas and Kom-Kanas. Akkaba belongs to Kaba county, but within Akkaba the Tuva form a village called Akkaba kistak (*kistak* originally meant “winter pasture”) and this Akkaba kistak belongs to a village called Terekti awiltik (*awil* originally meant “encampment”), and it is this Terekti awiltik that belongs to Kaba county of Altay prefecture within the Ili-Kazak Autonomous District. Kanas also falls within this prefecture, but lies within Buwirshin county. The Tuva live within the Kanas kistak of Kanas village. The village of Kom-Kanas also falls under the jurisdiction of Buwirshin county, however here the Tuvas are regarded officially as Mongols and so their sector of the village is called Kom Mongol awiltik.

Each of these three villages is composed of several nationalities. In Akkaba, beside the Tuva are the Kazaks and Mongols with their own Kazak and Mongol awiltiks, although they are also labeled Akkaba kistak. In Kanas, Tuvas live together with Mongols and a few Kazaks, and no division into encampments (*awiltik*). In Kom-Kanas, the Tuvas form the majority and are mixed with Mongols, as well as being officially labeled as Mongols. The other Jungar Tuva habitations are the Temeki village of Koktogay county, and the county towns of Burshen, Koktogay and Kaba counties, and Lamajao village of Altay country, all in Altay prefecture, and in these the Tuva do not form a group, but live interspersed with a population of Mongols, Kazaks and Chinese.

Even though the Tuva are equal in number or even form a majority relative to the Kazaks and Mongols in their primary three locations, they do not enjoy the higher status in any of the three. For that reason, and perhaps more importantly because they are not an official nationality, their language also is third in stature, and actually fifth when the status of Chinese and Uygur in Xinjiang is factored in. Ranking or prestige of these languages depends on access to power, education and economic opportunity.

In Xinjiang the Chinese language is one of the official languages. At the same time, it is associated with economic and educational rewards since the Chinese have now become the majority and dominate the government and economy. The Chinese language has spread widely throughout the country, and there are all kinds of educational institutions available in Chinese in this region. In Chinese schools, no local ethnic minority languages are taught; instead, foreign languages such as English and Russian are taught (Mawkanuli 1995).

In most of the region, especially in the rural areas, Uygurs and Kazaks use their own ethnic languages and a small portion of the population is bilingual, also speaking Chinese or another ethnic language. Some Kazaks speak both Uygur and Chinese in addition to their mother tongue. The Uygur and Kazak languages are the major languages used from primary school to high school, and all textbooks for Uygur and Kazak schools are in these languages. Chinese is taught from third grade until the end of high school. Students are required to study one to two years of Chinese after entering the colleges or universities where special Chinese programs are offered. In a normal situation it takes a Chinese student four years to graduate from a university while it takes a minority student who graduated from a minority high school five to six years. (There are still many Uygur

and Kazak children who go to Chinese primary and high schools). In most local colleges and universities, the subjects of science and technology are taught in both Chinese and ethnic languages (Uygur and Kazak). Other subjects, such as language, literature, history and Marxist philosophy are taught in ethnic languages. In most of the major colleges and universities in Urumchi, the major languages of instruction are Chinese and Uygur. Therefore, the Kazak students have to master both Chinese and Uygur. The Kazak language is mainly used in the colleges in Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture.

The local documents of Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture and Altay District, as well as of Kaba county at one time were translated from Chinese into Kazak, but now this practice is changing, so that even Kazak is threatened on the local level. All government employees are encouraged or in many cases required to learn Chinese.

Mongol is the major language of instruction in the Mongols' own primary and middle school while Chinese is taught as a subject from third grade to the end of middle school. In the Mongolian high school this method continues. There are only a few Mongolian teachers' colleges in Xinjiang, but college and university education in Mongolian language is available out of the region, i.e. in Inner Mongolia. Uygur (in Autonomous Region) and Kazak, Kirgiz, and Mongolian (in autonomous "Oblasts" 'prefectures') are the official languages that are used along with Chinese for the administrative, judicial and other official proceedings. Radio and television broadcasts are in these languages. There are also a number of newspapers, journals, periodicals and books published in these languages. Even so, comparatively speaking, Chinese is the primary or dominant language. For all upper government appointments, knowledge of

Chinese is directly or indirectly implied as a requirement in the educational qualifications.

According to the Chinese language policy, Chinese has been designated as the official language for interethnic communication. In practice, Uygur and Kazak are also used in interethnic communication among ethnic minority communities. Other minority languages are used only for intra-ethnic communication.

The Tuva children of Akkaba, Kanas and Kom-Kanas attend Mongol schools in the region, but since they do not know Mongol, the first three years of their instruction is eased by translating Mongol textbooks and instructions from Mongol into Tuva. That is the only concession made to the existence of their language, and it is made because there is no other choice.

So far as the media are concerned, nearly all television and radio programming is in Chinese, although the Altay prefecture has a local television station that broadcasts programs in Kazak, and it is probably the case that broadcasts in Kazak from Mongolia can be picked up locally. However, only a small number of village people even own television sets. Those Tuvas with radios can receive broadcasts from Kizil in the Tuva republic (see below, Language Maintenance). Newspapers available locally are in Chinese, Kazak or Mongol. No publication or other writing of any kind has ever been made in the Jungar Tuva language.

What do the Jungar Tuvas do to navigate within this multilingual environment in which their own language possesses virtually no status at all? What choices are available to them in which situations? All Tuva children, to my knowledge, learn to speak Kazak

by the time they are of school age, and then they all begin learning Mongolian when they start school, although the degree of their command varies considerably.²⁰ The small number of Tuvas who know Chinese learn it well only if they go on to a county high school or get an education elsewhere. Generally, Tuvas do not learn Uygur, since communication is possible using Kazak. In short, the Jungar Tuvas are bilingual in Tuva and Kazak, and potentially trilingual when intermixed with Mongols.

Jungar Tuvas must constantly choose which of the two or three languages (s)he knows to use in a particular situation. The choice of a language in a particular situation depends on social (macro) and individual (micro) factors at play. From the macro perspective, the relationship between Tuva and Kazak in this environment traditionally has been one of diglossia. Kazak was almost exclusively used in formal domains such as education and public administration, whereas Tuva was restricted to such informal domains as the family and neighborhood. Nowadays, however, the previously stable diglossia has been more or less replaced by unstable bilingualism. Increasingly, Kazak has been intruding in informal domains, and Mongolian has been intruding in a limited way in some formal domains. One of the factors affecting this process is language policy, which has led to a somewhat increased use of Mongolian in the public administrative sector, not to mention its use as the language of instruction in schools.

From the micro perspective, the situation is less clear due to the lack of research on this topic. In Akkaba, despite the lack of study of individual use of Tuva at the micro level of interaction, personal observation leads me to assume that Tuva bilingual speakers tend to accommodate to the Kazak or Mongol speakers they are talking to and search for

²⁰ According to a study by the Institute of Nationality Studies, CASS (1989), some 80% of the Tuva population can speak Kazak and quite a number also read and write in Kazak through independent study. In

their language. Obviously, this tendency relates to the facts that Tuva are multilingual and fluent in either Kazak or Mongolian, and that the higher status of the dominant languages, Kazak and Mongolian, promotes the tacit social norm to accommodate. My own research indicated that this norm is already acquired at an early age. Moreover, many Tuvas are well aware of their accommodative behavior. They often refer to it as an automatic response that “just happens.” The main reason for Tuva speakers to avoid using their own language with Kazak or Mongolian interlocutors is their desire for social approval, whereas lack of comprehension of Tuva by either Kazak or Mongolian speakers is less important in this respect.

A micro factor that affects the way a given speaker might use one of the languages (s)he has chosen in a given situation is ethnicity. Language is not only a means of communication, but also has a symbolic value for both the in-group and the out-group. Here, we subjectively define ethnicity as the sense of alliance with an ethnic group, based on real or perceived group characteristics. Where ethnicity is concerned, the Jungar Tuvas generally conceive of language and kinship as the central group characteristics of “Monchak (Jungar Tuva) identity.” Most Jungar Tuvas evaluate language and kinship as the most critical defining criteria for ethnicity.

Besides proficiency in their language, the most important mark of one’s identity as Tuva is the clan name, although due to their complex history many Tuvas confuse their clan origins with names of banners and districts in the Manchu administrative system. As already mentioned, the Tuvas of Akkaba and probably those of the other villages as well appear to belong to one of four clans: Koyuk, Irgit, Zhagda Tuva and Shungur (see Story 2 in Chapter 4). Whether all Tuvas would actually use one of these names, or another

the several years of my fieldwork, I did not encounter a single Tuva who could not speak Kazak.

reflecting the Manchu organization, is unknown. However, all the Tuvas, at the time of introduction, give their clan or other similar identity.

When a Tuva uses a language other than Tuva to identify with another speaker on the basis of ethnicity but not language, then the discourse takes on an ethnic character that transcends linguistic boundaries. For example, when a Tuva is speaking Kazak or Mongolian with someone who only speaks Kazak or Mongolian but has identified herself or himself as originally a Tuva by clan name, their exchange can still possess the qualities of “we-ness.” In those situations, the finding that linguistic background is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for Jungar Tuva ethnicity reveals that defining oneself as Tuva requires a more or less conscious choice.

1.2.2.3 Language Maintenance

As has been discussed, a variety of factors operate against the maintenance of Tuva language by the Jungar Tuvas and in favor of their shift to the prestige languages of the region, mainly to Kazak, and less so to Mongolian. These processes are affected by the socio-economic status of the Jungar Tuvas.

From various perspectives, these people are one of the most disadvantaged of the ethnic minority groups in China. First of all, they have very low socio-economic status, determined by low level of education, professional knowledge, and employment. Moreover, their legal status is poor since they have not officially been recognized as a target minority group of governmental policy.

While the majority of the Jungar Tuvas formerly were nomadic pastoralists, they have seen their pastures reduced in size due to Chinese lumbering and mining operations. Due to this and also to Chinese decisions to forcibly collectivize the Tuvas at several times in recent history, many Tuvas have taken up farming while the majority engage in limited animal husbandry with only poor pasture and water available to them. The highest altitude lands are used as individual plots for herding small numbers of sheep and bovines, which serve as sources of meat and wool, but also as readily convertible sources of cash. Those engaged in farming, such as a group of around fifty households in Akkaba, cultivate maize, beans and tuber crops which barely sustain the community. Generally, although Jungar Tuva can survive, life is hard for them.

Given their low socioeconomic status, it is not surprising that the Tuva people face an uphill struggle in maintaining their language. In this, their language attitudes, their ethnolinguistic vitality and their speech accommodation²¹ are the critical factors at work, whether they are operating in favor of language survival or against. The attitudes held by the Tuva people toward their language frequently play an important role in either case.

Attitudes of Jungar Tuvas toward their language vary according to age, ethnicity and location. In general, speakers of an older generation, regardless of their socioeconomic status, are more devoted to their own language than are younger speakers. For example, Solungo, the most educated of the Jungar Tuvas, who now holds the position of vice-chairman of the educational committee of Kaba county, actively supports

²¹ Since Tuvas are bi- or trilingual, there is constant interference of Kazak and Mongol systems with the Tuva language. Generally, the proximity of Kazak and Tuva facilitates convergence in phonological and lexical spheres to Kazak, whereas convergence to Mongol tends to be limited to the lexicon. Materials

efforts to retain his native language and to establish separate education programs for Tuvas. Solungur's son, on the other hand, studies at the Mongolian Teacher's College in Urumchi, and in fact shares the judgments of most Mongols and Kazaks that Tuvas are dirty, stupid and backward, and he has no intention of using his passive knowledge of Tuva again.

Tuvas who possess relatively positive attitudes toward their own language must deal with the negative attitudes of non-Tuva speakers. The example of Solungur and his son shows that Tuva attitudes often are tempered by negative attitudes of the dominant Kazaks and Mongols. Mongols generally call the Tuvas "Altay people" (a pejorative term similar to American English "hillbilly") merely because they do not speak Mongolian well, whereas the Kazaks generally call the Tuvas "Kapirs" ("infidels,"), a term which they also apply to Mongols, because they are not Muslims. Paradoxically, both Kazaks and Mongols, themselves nomadic pastoralists in the past, look down on the Tuvas for their links to this economic pursuit, although this may be the influence of Chinese stereotypes at work upon the more socially mobile Kazaks and Mongols. Neither of these groups expresses willingness to accept Tuvas into their societies.

Those Tuvas who live in compact Tuva-speaking areas like Akkaba maintain a far more positive attitude toward their language than do those in non-Tuva speaking areas like Altay county, where attitudes are relatively negative. The explanation for this probably lies in the fact that in such closer-knit communities, Tuvas face far less discrimination than they do when living interspersed within non-Tuva communities.

which I collected are rich with examples of these kinds of accommodation and will form the basis of a future study.

The ethnolinguistic vitality of the Tuva people also plays a critical role in the maintenance or decline of their language. Because they do not enjoy official recognition as a nationality, they do not have the right to formulate a written language or to publish or broadcast in Tuva. In addition, they must attend local Mongol schools where instruction is a mixture of translation from Mongol textbooks to Tuva and of instruction only in Mongol. Tuva children enter a primary Mongol school (so-called because Tuvas officially are Mongols) at the age of seven, where teachers essentially translate from Mongol into Tuva for the first three years. After this time, teachers try to switch instruction over into Mongol alone for two more years of primary school and three years of middle school. Tuva children who go on to a Mongol high school receive instruction only in Mongol and nearly always lag behind their Mongol classmates in the Mongol schools because of their poor proficiency in the language.

This system simultaneously accords the Tuva language some status in the early years, such that in the crucial period of learning a Tuva child may feel his language is adequate, and strips the language of status in later years, when a Tuva child meets only hostility toward and rejection of his language. Not only does this instill negative language attitudes, but it reaffirms the lack of functionality for Tuva in the real world beyond the home and village.

Within the developmental process itself, young Tuvas come to realize the advantages of other ethnic groups and other languages. They become fully aware of the importance of knowing Kazak both at official and social levels, whereas they may not accord much importance to Mongolian. Those Tuvas in Akkaba and Kom tend not to know Mongolian well since they are surrounded by Kazaks, whereas those in Kanas gain

better proficiency since they live with Mongols. The Kazak written language is used in local official documents, prompting some Tuvas to teach themselves how to read it in order to seek better jobs or opportunities. However, few Tuvas have any interest in mastering written Mongolian, since the language has too little instrumental value in society. While Chinese clearly is the most prestigious language, and a required subject from the third year of primary school on, few Tuvas make any effort to learn the language.

The effect of their educational experience on Tuva children appears to be dual in nature. While practicality dictates early reinforcement of their own language and therefore of their own ethnicity in the classroom, such gains in vitality, if any, are later reversed when the “real world” of Xinjiang Altay society is impressed upon them, motivating a few to reject their own ethnicity and others to do nothing.

An important factor affecting ethnolinguistic vitality is loss of identity and language as a result of intermarriage. According to Tuva custom, marriages cannot be arranged within the same district (*sumun*) reflecting an old restriction against endogamy within clans, which means that outmarriage must be pursued to a considerable extent. However, religion functions as a possible barrier of Kazak-Tuva marriages, one that is taken down when a Kazak man marries a Tuva woman who does not have a firm commitment to another religion. The religious barrier does not exist between Mongols and Tuvas, all of whom profess Buddhism, at least as a symbol of cultural identity. Again, however, such marriages are contracted only between Mongol men and Tuva women.

The effect of this kind of intermarriage would be to weaken the vitality of the Tuva, since Tuva women and their children surely could not maintain identity or language in their new households. However, the number of such marriages appears to be very small, especially in more cohesive communities like Akkaba. During my fieldwork, I heard about no more than twenty such marriages having taken place.

Given that positive language attitudes appear to be declining by generation and location due in large part to unrelentingly negative stereotypes about the Tuva and their language, and given that their ethnolinguistic vitality diminishes due to demographic and socioeconomic factors, one must ask whether the existence of the Tuva language is severely endangered. However, it is my view that Jungar Tuva, while appearing to be in a semi-healthy state, in terms of transmission actively to succeeding generations whose grasp of the language is relatively sound due to its use in the home and for several years in school, the greatest threat to its survival is that children growing into teenage years and beyond are not *using* Tuva in outgroup environments.

However, Tuva is a vital expression of the people who speak it; it codifies and reflects the culture, spirit, history, and philosophy of its speakers. The fact that the Jungar Tuva continue to use Tuva, despite enormous historical and sociolinguistic pressures to assimilate, reflects the importance of the language to its speakers. In the last few years there has been an increasing effort at the community level towards promoting cultural awareness and language use. Unless this effort is recognized and supported, the threat to Jungar Tuva's survival will be growing.

1.3 Objectives of This Study

The aim of this study is to record and describe the phonological and morphological structure of the endangered Jungar Tuva based on materials collected in the field. Jungar Tuva is one of the more poorly documented languages of the world. Despite a brief grammatical sketch (Song 1983), an unpublished dissertation (Song 1981), and several articles about the Jungar Tuva language, there is no comprehensive treatment of the language. The present description, therefore, fills an important gap in the linguistic knowledge of an endangered language.

There has been very little published in Western languages concerning Jungar Tuva language or culture. The exceptions consist of two articles by M.V. Mongush (1995, 1996), which deal with some aspects of the Jungar Tuvas' history and culture, and one article by Song (1990) dealing with bilingualism among the Jungar Tuva. In Russian, there appeared a review of Chinese works by Sat and Dorzhu (1989). Most publications on this people have been authored by Chinese scholars (e.g. Chen 1994, Chuzhinzabu 1985, Dong 1985, He 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, Song 1988, Su 1984).

Large-scale general surveys of the national languages and social history of minorities throughout China were conducted in the 1950s. Under the leadership of the Central Nationalities Affairs Commission and Chinese Academy of Social Science, as part of the general survey, the first stage of the linguistic survey of Turkic languages was carried out beginning in 1956 for seven Turkic languages: Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Tatar, Uzbek, Salar and Yellow Uygur in Xinjiang as well as Gansu and Qinghai provinces. The group which was in charge of Kazak language also conducted a brief preliminary

language survey on the Tuva language. Much of the 1950s linguistic fieldwork data on Turkic languages except Jungar Tuva was compiled and published in the fifty-seven-volume series "Chinese Minority Nationalities Brief Language Records Collection" (Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu Yuyan Jianzhi Congshu 1980-1993?). Only Dong (1985) used data from that linguistic fieldwork regarding Jungar Tuva in a short paper entitled "the Tuva People and the Tuva Language."

As mentioned above, in the early 1980s, the Jungar Tuva began to appeal to the Chinese government, urging it to recognize their status as an independent nationality, which this once more focused the attention of some Chinese scholars on the Tuva language. In 1980, Song conducted linguistic fieldwork in Akkaba for his dissertation, parts of which appeared in three articles dealing with the phonology, grammar and bilingualism of the Jungar Tuva (1981, 1983, 1985)

In order to carry out the XUAR's regional Party Committee's instruction to define the ethnicity of the Tuva in the Altay mountain region, in 1985 under the leadership of the Regional Nationalities Affairs Commission a research group was established which was composed of the Nationalities Research Institute, History Research Institute, and Literature Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, as well as the China's Languages Department of Xinjiang University. This research group was further divided into three subgroups: Nationality subgroup, History and Religion subgroup, and Language subgroup. These groups made general surveys of language, religion and social history throughout the Altay region. The results of the investigation of the Jungar Tuva by the religion and social history groups were assembled in a manuscript entitled "A Compilation of the Survey of the Tuva in the Altay region." The language group prepared

a manuscript entitled “A Brief Survey of the Tuva Language with three glossaries: Tuva-Uygur-Chinese, Tuva-Kazak-Chinese, and Tuva-Mongolian-Chinese.” Both manuscripts were submitted to the government commission and remain unpublished.

Various Chinese, Kazak and Uygur specialists in Turkic languages prepared “A Lexicon of Turkic Languages” which included Tuva and was published in 1990 (Nurbek). A brief grammatical sketch of Tuva was included in the same group’s “Survey of China’s Turkic Languages” (1983) commissioned by the editorial board of China's Turkic Language Association.

As a member of a Turkic Languages Research Team which consisted of two professors and five other graduate students from Xinjiang University, I first visited Akkaba and Kana in 1987. This linguistic fieldwork data on Jungar Tuva was included in a volume entitled “Comparative Turkic Linguistics” (Chen, Mawkanuli et al. 1997).

The grammatical description of Jungar Tuva offered in this dissertation is based primarily upon information collected during three periods of fieldwork in Akkaba, Kanas and Urumchi in 1987-1988, in 1993, and in 1995. During my first visit to Akkaba and Kana in 1987, my primary responsibility was the collection of data on phonology. My efforts were mainly directed at acquiring as much proficiency as I could in the language itself. In the first few days I tried to collect basic vocabulary and expressions from any Tuva available. After somewhat random work with a few people, I met my principal informant, Sendish Ergin-ool. Our communication was through Kazak, which is my native language and in which Sendish Ergin-ool is very fluent too. After working together for a few days, Sendish Ergin-ool gained a great interest in and understanding of what I was trying to do

and devoted himself to our work. On this first trip, I also concentrated on trying to learn Jungar Tuva habits and customs, and joining the routine work of other people and participating in various cultural events and gaining a practical knowledge of their life. With my informant, I collected basic vocabulary and tried to do grammatical elicitation in order to get an idea of the phonology and basic sentence structure. I also recorded several stories and an epic told by another informant. After coming back to Urumchi, I was fortunate to have access to a number of Jungar Tuva speakers, mostly students at the Mongolian Teacher's College in Urumchi. The data collected was incorporated in my thesis submitted in 1988 for the MA in Turkic Linguistics, Xinjiang University, and later included in the volume "Comparative Turkic Linguistics" (Chen & Mawkanuli et al. 1997).

In 1991, I came to the United States to pursue a higher degree in Turkic linguistics at Indiana University. I went back to Urumchi 1993 and visited some of the Jungar Tuva students at the Mongolian Teacher's college and did some recording. I returned to Akkaba, Kanas and Urumchi for a second field trip in late September 1995. Unlike my previous visits, I already had basic knowledge of the language and had established a good many hypotheses about the language. During this trip my efforts were mainly directed at collecting as much information as possible for subsequent analysis in the United States.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the phonological system of Jungar Tuva. A comprehensive account of the 36 segmental phonemes (17 vowels and 19 consonants) is presented first, followed by non-segmental features of stress and intonation. Significant allophonic alternations are mentioned where they occur, and the phonetic realizations of distinctive segments and of their allophones are discussed. The IPA phonetic symbols are used in brackets, offering a broad transcription, and the equivalents of the segments in proposed orthography. There follows a description of the syllable types and distribution of phonemes, morphemes, extrasystemic phonology and finally a brief discussion of the orthography. The orthography uses symbols that in most cases correspond to the phonetic symbols of the IPA. Examples are cited in a broad transcription. Details concerning the concrete phonetic correlates of the segments are discussed in the individual sections, and the segments under discussion are more narrowly transcribed in a given example, while the remainder of the example is transcribed broadly, especially if it contains sounds that have not been discussed yet. Orthographic representations appear in italics (*italics*), phonemic representations in slashes (/ /), and phonetic representations in brackets ([]).

The distinctive phonological units of Jungar Tuva are listed below in terms of their principal place and manner of articulation. With respect to voicing, obstruents are fully voiced or voiceless unaspirated elements, while sonorants (nasals, glides, liquids,

vowels) are predictably voiced. The airstream mechanism is uniformly pulmonic egressive, and distinctive secondary articulations are not found.

2.1 Vowels

There are seventeen phonemically distinct vowels in Jungar Tuva which are distinguished by height, position and roundness. Among these vowels, /ä/ hardly occurs in native Jungar Tuva morphemes. Vowel length is phonologically significant and long vowels will be noted as geminate. Vowels are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Phonemic Vowel System of Jungar Tuva

	Unrounded vowels		Rounded vowels	
	front	Back	Front	Back
High	i, ii	ɪ, ɪɪ	ü, üü	u, uu
Mid	e, ee		ö, öö	o, oo
Low	ä	a, aa		

The following section lists each of the vowel phonemes, describes their allophones, and states the distribution of the allophones if there is more than one.

/i/ [i] slightly higher and tenser than the major allophone, occurs after bilabials, or after consonants of which the first is an alveo-dental or an alveo-palatal fricative:

/biyir/	[biyir]	pencil
/bis/	[bis]	we
/izig/	[izix]	hot
/giši/	[giʒi]	person
/sigen/	[sigen]	grass
/širbiš/	[ʃirbiʃ]	broom

[j] voiceless variant of the major allophone, occurs at the beginning of a word, following a glottal stop before the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ mainly in loan words.

/išpiyon/	[ʔiʃp ^h iyon]	spy
/išpekši/	[ʔiʃp ^h ekʃi]	worker

[ɪ] high, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than cardinal [i], occurs elsewhere:

/kin/	[kɪn]	belly button
/diš/	[dɪʃ]	tooth
/erlik/	[^h erlik]	inferno

/e/ [j^e] as the major allophone, but palatalized and preceded by a mid, tense front glide, occurs at the beginning of a word.

/erin/	[^ɨ erin]	lip
/eš/	[^ɨ eš]	companion, friend
/em/	[^ɨ em]	medicine

(As shown in the transcription, a palatal glide is inserted before the vowel /e/ if it is in the initial position, that is to say word-initial /e/ often exhibits a prothetic.)

[e] mid tense front unrounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/bel/	[bel]	waist
/geš/	[geʃ]	skin
/der/	[der]	sweat

[ɛ] mid, lax front unrounded, (As part of Jungar Tuva's general tendency to lower (centralize) vowels, [e] alternates with [ɛ] in most environments.)

/ɨ/ [ɨ] high, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [i], occurs after š, ž, s or adjacent to y [j].

/šin/	[šin]	true
/dɨym/	[dɨjm]	squirrel
/žɨyt de-/	[dʒɨjt de-]	chirp

[ɤ] mid tense back unrounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/ɨt/	[ɤt]	dog
------	------	-----

/kɪska/	[q ^h ɾsqʌ]	short
/baxʂɪ/	[bʌxʃɾ]	teacher

[ʌ] Sometimes, in some speakers [ɾ] is in free variation with the low lax back unrounded vowel [ʌ] in the following words.

/aragɪ/	~	[ʌɾʌʂʌ]	liquor, alcoholic drinks
/daʂɪ-/	~	[dʌʂʌ-]	carry
/dira-/	~	[dʌɾʌ-]	comb

/ä/ [æ] low, lax front unrounded vowel,

/ädil/	[ædil]	fairness
/däkt ^h er/	[dækt ^h er]	notebook
/äreket/	[ærek ^h et]	movement, effort
/käleʂ/	[k ^h æleʂ]	rubber overshoes

This phoneme occurs almost exclusively in roots that are derived from loan words copied from Arabic, Persian and Russian via Kazak and in proper names, where such roots have not been nativized. Jungar Tuva /ä/ which is restricted to the first syllable, is an innovation caused by secondary fronting of /a/ in words copied from Arabic and Persian.

/a/ [ɑ] slightly open and tenser than the major allophone, occurs adjacent to a uvular:

/ak/	[ɑq]	white
/dirgak/	[dɪrɾɑq]	comb
/kalbɪr/	[q^hɑlbɪrɾ]	tin can

[æ] low, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [ɛ], occurs between š, ž and y.

/šay/	[šæy]	tea
/žay/	[žæy]	summer
/žayɪn/	[žæyɪn]	in the summer

[ʌ] low lax back unrounded vowel, slightly more lower and back than IPA cardinal [ʌ], occurs elsewhere:

/aš/	[ʌʃ]	hungry
/žɪlan/	[dʒɪɾʌn]	snake
/lama/	[ɾʌma]	lama

/ü/ [ʏ] high semi-tense front rounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [ʏ]:

/üs/	[ʏs]	oil
/süt/	[sʏt]	milk

/üsd/ [ɣsd] above, top

/u/ [u] high lax back rounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [u]:

/uzun/ [uzun] long

/gurmustu/ [ɣurmusdu] God of heaven

/sulu/ [suɫu] oats

/ö/ [ʷø] as the major allophone vowel [ø], but it is realized with a prothetic bilabial glide in word-initial.

/örük/ [ʷøɣyk] apricot

/örtök/ [ʷørtʰøk] price, cost

/ödö/ [ʷødø] very

[ø] mid tense front rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/dört/ [dørt] four

/böş/ [bøʃ] cloth

/töş/ [tʰøʃ] chest

/o/ [ʷɔ] as the major allophone, but it is realized with a prothetic bilabial glide in word-initial.

/on/ [ʷɔn] ten

/oyunçık/ [ʷɔyuntʃʰɣq] toys

/oηay/ [ʷɔηay] easy

[ɔ] mid lax back rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/torga/	[t ^h ɔrga]	woodpecker
/sɔyul/	[sɔyut]	culture
/kina/	[k ^h ina]	movie, film

2.1.1 Long Vowels

Phonemically distinct long vowels occur as counterparts of each of the short vowels. They share the same articulatory features as the short vowels and differ only in duration. Their qualities are in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Phonemic Long vowels of Jungar Tuva

	Unrounded vowels		Rounded vowels	
	Front	Back	Front	Back
High	ii	ɪɪ	üü	uu
Mid	ee		öö	oo
Low		aa		

As mentioned above (see p.38), the phoneme /ä/ occurs almost exclusively in roots that are derived from loan words copied mostly from Arabic and Persian via Kazak and in proper names, where such roots have not been nativized. The phoneme /ä/ is restricted to

the first syllable, and within the Jungar Tuva phonological framework, /ä/ does not have a long counterpart /ä:/.

The contrast between short and long vowels is illustrated by the minimal pairs in Table 6 below:

Table 6: The contrast between short and long vowels

/ža/	[dʒɹ]	bow	/žaa/	[dʒɹ:]	new
/er/	[er]	man	/ža/	[e:r]	curved
/bisti/	[bisti]	we-Acc.	/bistii/	[bisti:]	our
/sin-/	[sɪn-]	break	/sɪn/	[sɪ:n]	deer
/bo/	[bɔ]	this	/boo/	[bɔ:]	gun, rifle
/öš/	[øʃ]	revenge	/ööš/	[ö:ʃ]	gullet
/žuga/	[dʒʊɹɑ]	thin	/žuuga/	[dʒʊ:ɹɑ]	stream
/düñ/	[dʏn]	night	/düün/	[dʏ:n]	yesterday

Most of the long vowels of minimal pairs in Jungar Tuva as in the standard Tuva and other South Siberian languages are normally historical products of contractions. The word-final long vowels go back to the loss of *-g. Even intervocalic *-g- and *-ŋ- can disappear due to contraction. Jungar Tuva also exhibits loss of intervocalic -l- and -r-, mainly in monosyllabic verb stems (see below Table 7).

Long vowels also are produced morphologically through the loss of stem-final *k/g, x, w, l*, or suffix-initial *k*, or *-k-* intervocalic or through the addition to stems ending in a vowel of suffixes like the present indefinite participle *-ar/ır* or the third person possessive suffix *-ı* which retain their vowels.

Table 7: Contractions of Vowels

/ža/	[dʒʌ]	bow	/žaa/	[dʒʌ:] <*žana	new
/tar/	[tʌr]	narrow	/taar/	[tʌ:r] <*tagar	sack
/er/	[er]	man	/eer/	[e:r] <*eger	curved
/bisti/	[bisti]	we (Obj.)	/bistii/[bisti:] <*biznigi	we (Acc.)	
/sın-/	[sɪn-]	break	/sıın/	[sɪ:n] <*sıgɪn	deer
/ıt/	[ɪt]	dog	/ııt/	[ɪ:t] <*ıgɪt	sound
/ol/	[ol]	this	/ool/	[o:l] <*ogul	gun
/öš/	[øʃ]	revenge	/ööš/	[ø:j] <*öŋöš	gullet
/žuga/	[dʒʊʁʌ]	thin	/žuuga/	[dʒʊ:ʁʌ] <*ž../	stream, brook
/dün/	[dʏn]	night	/düün/	[dʏ:] <*dügün/	yesterday

2.1.2 Pharyngealisation

Because a few scholars have attempted to establish the phonemic status of pharyngealized vowels *vis-à-vis* the short vowels by means of minimal pairs, some

discussion of pharyngealization is necessary here, especially as the present analysis is at variance with other descriptions of the same phenomenon.

Sun (1980, 1985) noted a phonetic difference between short and pharyngealized vowels found in a few mostly monosyllabic words such as /öt/ [ø^ʕt] 'pass' ~ /öt/ [øt] 'gall'; /irt/ [i^ʕrt] 'ram, sediment' ~ /irt/ [irt] 'milk product', and a few others. On this basis, he concluded that pharyngealized vowels are an inherent feature of the language and are phonemic, although he noticed that the distinction was disappearing among young speakers. Dong (1985), who did his fieldwork in 1956 the results of which were published only in 1985, also indicated that there are three pharyngealized vowels in Jungar Tuva. He cited three examples (e.g. /a^ht/ [ɑ^ʕt] 'horse' ~ /at/ [ɑt] 'name'; /o^ht/ [o^ʕt] 'fire' ~ /ot/ [ot] 'grass'; and /i^ht/ [i^ʕt] 'dog;') and decided that the distinction was phonemic.

The following list presents the minimal pairs found in my data, where the pharyngealized vowels are marked with ^ʕ in the phonetic transcription to indicate this feature. (See below Table 8)

Although Sun and Dong basically accepted the existence of pharyngealized vowels as phonemically distinct from short vowels on the basis of limited minimal pairs, which also occur in my data, I find in my material that only the older generation of Jungar Tuva speakers differentiate the short and pharyngealized vowels, whereas younger people pronounce these non-pharyngealised and pharyngealised sounds in exactly the same way. Therefore, it appears that pharyngealisation of vowels is beginning to die out in the language. In fact, already in 1987, while doing fieldwork for my MA thesis at

Xinjiang University, I realized that the influence of bilingualism in Jungar Tuva and Kazak was erasing the distinction because Kazak lacks this feature. This was reported in the book based on this fieldwork (Chen, Mawkanuli et al.1997:13).

Taking into account the fact that Jungar Tuva has been greatly influenced by the surrounding Kazak and Mongolian languages, along with the facts that pharyngealized vowels are not consistent in nature and are not used by younger speakers, and not consistently even by older speakers of Jungar Tuva, this feature is not regarded here as a distinctive part of the phonology.

Table 8: Minimal pairs of pharyngealized vowels

/at/	[a ^ʕ t]	horse	/at/	[at]	name
/et/	[e ^ʕ t]	meat	/et/	[et]	goods
/ot/	[o ^ʕ t]	grass	/ot/	[ot]	fire
/öt/	[ø ^ʕ t]	pass	/öt/	[øt]	gall
/buduk/	[budu ^ʕ q]	branch	/buduk/	[buduq]	dye
/žük/	[dʒʏ ^ʕ k]	heavy	/žük/	[dʒʏk]	direction
/kıs-/	[qɯ ^ʕ s-]	press	/kıs-/	[qɯs-]	strive
/irt/	[i ^ʕ rt]	ram	/irt/	[irt]	milk product

2.2 Consonant Phonemes

We can recognize nineteen consonant phonemes in Tuva, which are presented as the following inventory in Table 9:

Table 9: Consonant phonemes of Jungar Tuva

	Bilabial	Alvo-dental	Alveo-palatal	velur
Voiceless stop	p	t		k
Voiced stop	b	d		g
Voiceless fricative		s	š	x
Voiced fricative		z	ž	
Affricative			č	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ
Lateral liquid		l		
Retroflex liquid		r		
Glide	w		y	

The following section lists each of the consonant phonemes, describes their allophones, and states the distribution of the allophones if there is more than one.

/p/ [p] voiceless bilabial non-aspirated stop, before consonants and

utterance finally:

/dɪp-/ [dɪp-] obtain, get

/dopšu/	[dɔpʃu]	button
/kep/	[kʰɛp]	clothes, clothing

[p^h] voiceless bilabial aspirated stop, occurs elsewhere:

/par/	[p ^h ʌɾ]	tiger
/paska/	[p ^h ʌsq ^h ɑ]	hammer
/dopan/	[dɔp ^h ʌn]	chaff, husk

/b/ [p] voiceless bilabial non-aspirated stop, occurs before consonants and utterance finally:

/ab-/	[ʌp-]	take
/dobšuur/	[dɔpʃuur]	dombra
/xablan/	[xʌplʌn]	leopard

[β] voiced bilabial fricative, occurs intervocalically:

/šeber/	[ʃeβɛɾ]	health, clean
/göböy/	[gøβøj]	many; much
/debežen/	[deβedʒɛŋ]	paradise

[b] voiced bilabial non-aspirated stop, occurs elsewhere:

/bal/	[bʌt]	honey
/doburak/	[dɔβuraq]	soil
/gorbilday/	[gɔɾbɪtɔɟ]	parrot

/t/ [t] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated alveolar, occurs preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/aʃɪtkɪ/	[ʌʃɪtq ^h ɣ]	yeast
/ötkür-/	[øtk ^h ɣɾ-]	live, pass
/süttü/	[sɣtt ^h ɣ]	milky
/dɪt/	[dɪt]	larch
/ört/	[ørt]	fire

[t^h] voiceless aspirated alveolar, occurs elsewhere:

/tebe/	[t ^h ebe]	camel
/artıʃ/	[art ^h ɣʃ]	cypress
/taptıɣ/	[tʌpt ^h ɣɛ]	sweet

/d/ [d] voiced non-aspirated alveolar:

/dayak/	[dʌjɑq]	stick
/žödöl/	[dʒødøl]	cough
/kodu/	[qɔdu]	stomach

/k/ [k] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated velar, occurs preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/ökpe/	[økp ^h e]	lung
--------	----------------------	------

/žükte-/	[dʒʏkte-]	load
/edek/	[edek]	hem, flap
/süzük/	[sʏzʏk]	religion

[kʲ] voiceless slightly palatalized aspirated velar, occurs before a front vowel:

/keme/	[kʲʰeme]	ship
/kiži/	[kʲʰidʒi]	siege
/köl/	[kʲʰøɫ]	lake

[q] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated uvular, occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel, preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/akša/	[aqʃʌ]	money
/aksak/	[ɑqsɑq]	lame
/balık/	[bʌtʏq]	fish
/sook/	[sɔːq]	cold

[qʰ] voiceless aspirated uvular occurs elsewhere in a syllable with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

/kalbak/	[qʰɑlbɑq]	flat
/kıska/	[qʰʏsqʰɑ]	short, brief
/kodan/	[qʰɔdɑn]	rabbit
/kulun/	[qʰʊtʏn]	colt, foal

[χ] voiceless uvular fricative (alternates with [q])

/kuduk/ [q^huduq] ~ [χuduq] well

/kayık/ [q^hajɾq] ~ [χajɾq] boat

/kara/ [q^hara] ~ [χara] black

[k^{hj}] voiceless aspirated velar, occurs elsewhere:

/küröŋ/ [k^{hj}ɾøŋ] lake

/eki/ [ek^{hj}i] good

/güske/ [gɾsk^{hj}e] mouse

/g/ **[g]** voiceless slightly palatalized aspirated velar, occurs preceding a front vowel:

/güş/ [gɾʃ] force, strength

/gidis/ [gɾɪs] felt

/gök/ [gøk] blue

[ɣ] voiced fricative non-aspirated or slightly aspirated uvular, occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

/goš/ [ɣoʃ] pair

/žılgı/ [dʒɾɪɣɾ] horse

/aşıg/ [ɑdʒɾɣ] mountain pass

[g^w] **voiced labialized rounded velar, occurs following a high rounded back vowel /u/:**

/buga/	[bug ^w ɑ]	ox
/ugannıg/	[ug ^w annɯɣ]	intelligent
/ugalaž-/	[ug ^w ɑtadʒ-]	consult

[g] **voiced, non-aspirated velar, occurs elsewhere:**

/elžigen/	[eldʒigen]	donkey
/tegene/	[tegene]	basin, pot
/emig/	[emig]	breast

/č/ [tʃ^h] **voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricative:**

/čaŋlɪŋ/	[tʃ ^h ʌŋlɪŋ]	salary, wage
/čiraylɪx/	[tʃ ^h ɯɾʌjɪɣx]	beautiful
/čeček/	[tʃ ^h etʃ ^h ek]	flower

The phoneme [tʃ] has entered Jungar Tuva through borrowings, initially mainly from local Kazak and Mongolian dialects, and later from Russian and Chinese.

/ʃ/ [ʒ] **voiced alveo-palatal fricative, occurs intervocalically:**

/giši/	[giʒi]	person
/ašiɣ/	[ʌʒɯɣ]	acid, sour

/ešek/ [eʒek] door

[ʃ^w] **voiced labialized fricative occurs intervocalically following a high rounded back vowel:**

/ušā/ [uʒ^wʌ] thigh

/ušar/ [uʒ^wʌr] to fly; dirty

/ušun/ [uʒ^wʌn] for, because

[ʃ] **voiceless fricative, occurs elsewhere:**

/šalɪŋ/ [ʃʌɪŋ] dew, dew drop

/kašan/ [q^hʌʃʌn] when

/ɪyaš/ [ɪjʌʃ] tree, wood

/ž/ [dʒ] **voiced alveo-palatal fricative occurs in most environments.**

/žaš/ [dʒʌʃ] age

/žem/ [dʒem] food

/žeže/ [dʒedʒe] how many

[tʃ] **voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated alveo-palatal affricate, alters with [dʒ].**

/žɪxdɪx/ ~ /čɪxdɪx/ [tʃɪxdɪx] unusual

/birinži/ ~ /birinči/ [birintʃ^hi] first

/xaržak/ ~ /xarčak/ [xartʃ^hʌq] drawer, box

/malʒɪ/ ~ /malčɪ/ [mʌltʃɪ] herder

/s/ [z] **voiced alveo-dental fricative, occurs intervocalically or following a nasal.**

/basɪm/ [bʌzɪm] step, pace

/güse-/ [gɪzɛ-] wish

/güsöl/ [gɪzøɪ] desire, wish

/dɪŋsɪg/ [dɪŋsɪʒ] tight, taut

[s] **voiceless alveo-dental fricative occurs elsewhere:**

/seek/ [se:k] fly

/güske/ [gɪsk^he] mouse

/žes/ [dʒes] copper

/z/ [z] **voiced alveo-dental fricative occurring in all environments:**

/zaan/ [zɑ:n] elephant

/žüzdük/ [dʒɪzɔdɪk] (finger) ring

/zıldız/ [zɪɾdɪz] star

/x/ [x] **voiceless velar fricative occurring in all the environments:**

/xablan/ [xablan] leopard

/texnik/ [texnik] technician

		/ndɪx/	[ɾndɪx]	that kind
/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal occurring anywhere:		
		/mašak/	[mʌdʒɑq]	stalk
		/semis/	[semis]	fat
		/nom/	[nɔm]	book, lesson
/n/	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal, occurs immediately before a velar (g or k):		
		/bonkit/	[bɔŋk ^h it]	station
		/burungi/	[buruŋɬɾ]	former, previous
		/banke/	[bæŋk ^h e]	bank
	[n]	voiced alveo-dental nasal, occurs elsewhere:		
		/nar/	[nʌr]	one-humped camel
		/taranži/	[t ^h ʌrʌnʒɾ]	peasant, farmer
		/mun/	[mun]	soup, broth
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal, occurs in medial and final position only:		
		/oŋaj/	[oŋɑj]	easy
		/žanŋ/	[dʒɑŋ]	attitude, manner

/soŋgu/ [sɔŋɣu] last, past

/l/ [ɭ] **velarized voiced alveo-dental lateral, occurs with a tautosyllabic**

back vowel:

/lama/ [ɭʌmʌ] lama

/xablan/ [xʌbɭʌn] leopard; panther

/bal/ [bʌɭ] honey

[l] **voiced alveo-dental lateral, occurs elsewhere:**

/lökür/ [lɔk^hʏr] proverb

/elši/ [elʃi] ambassador

/bil-/ [bil-] know

/r/ [r] **voiced alveo-dental trill, occurs everywhere:**

/seriin/ [seri:r] cold

/irak/ [ɣrɑq] far, remote

/tar/ [t^hʌr] narrow

/y/ [j] **voiced palatal glide (voiced palatal non-syllabic vowel):**

/iyi/ [iji] two

/duyura/ [dujuɾʌ] crane

/šay/ [ʃæj] tea

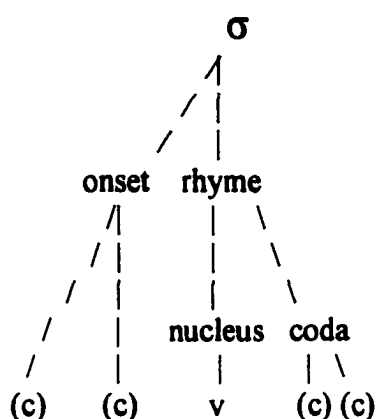
/w/	[β]	voiced unrounded bilateral fricative		
		/wagon/	[βΛg ^w ɔŋ]	railroad car
		/tawar/	[tΛβΛr]	fabric, satin
		/sawɪŋ/	[sΛβɪŋ]	soap
	[b]	voiced labial stop, alternates with [β]:		
		/kawɪŋ/	~ /kawɪŋ/ [q ^h ɔbɪŋ]	melon
		/awa/	~ /awa/ [ΛbΛ]	mother
		/žawa/	~ /žawa/ [žΛbΛ]	one year old horse

The glides are found with both front and back vowels. They do not interfere with vowel harmony, as we will see later, and are thus treated as full consonants in this respect by the phonological system.

2. 3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable structure

The syllable consists of an onset, a nucleus and a coda. The basic syllable in Jungar Tuva consists of a vowel nucleus to which either a consonant onset or a consonant coda, or both, may be added:



A phonemic syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus filled by a single vowel, and may also contain one consonant preceding and up to two consonants following the nucleus. Specifically, the syllable onset may be null, or it may consist of a consonant, or a glide, or in a few loanwords, a sequence of consonants. The nucleus generally consists of a short vowel or a long vowel. The coda is null or is formed by either a glide or a consonant, or by sequence of consonants.

Like most of the Turkic languages, Jungar Tuva syllable structure is characterized by intrasyllabic front vs. back harmony, according to which syllables are marked as either front or back. This phenomenon effects whole syllables with their vowel and possible consonants. The principles governing this phonological phenomenon can thus be best described at a suprasegmental level. It is not the frontness vs. backness of the individual segments, but the front vs. back categorization of syllables that has distinctive function (Johanson 1998: 203). Each syllable can be classified as front or back. For example:

Table 10: The contrast between front and back syllables

Front Syllable	Back Syllable
/kü / [k ^h ʏ] 'ashes'	/ku / [q ^h ʊ] 'slave'
/gir-/ [gir-] 'enter'	/gɪr/ [ɣɪr] 'edge'
/it-/ [it-] 'push, shove'	/it/ [ɪt] 'dog'
/dür-/ [dür-] 'roll up'	/dur-/ [dur-] 'stand'

2.3.2 Morpheme structure

Morphologically simple free forms can have the minimal shape of just a single syllable, either open or closed, with or without a consonantal onset, e.g.; /be/ 'mare', /tal/ 'willow', /oo/ 'oh', /ün/ 'sound'. Jungar Tuva has the following basic syllable structures:

V	/a-ža/	father	/o-yun/	game
VC	/em/	medicine	/ool/	son
CVC	/düün/	yesterday	/par/	tiger
CV	/bo/	this	/be/	mare
VCC	/üst/	above	/ört/	flame
CVCC	/žurt/	nation	/dört/	four

The following are possible syllables which only occur in some loan words.

CVV	/dialekti/	dialect
CVVC	/šiwžan/	principal
CVV	/dašüe/	university

Monosyllabic roots constitute only a small proportion of the lexicon. Root morphemes that are native words in Jungar Tuva usually are disyllabic, and sometimes trisyllabic.

1 syllable:	/ak/	white	/drl/	tongue
2 syllables:	/i-nek/	cow	/ma-da/	fabric, cloth
3 syllables:	/ku-ra-gan/	lamb	/ku-du-ruk/	tail

There is a very small number of longer roots which appear to be synchronically unanalyzable. Quadrisyllabic roots only occur in loanwords from Kazak or Mongolian.

4 syllables:	/ä-de-bi-yat/	literature	/u-run-zo-kaal/	literature
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All syllable types can occur anywhere within the morphemes except for VCC and CVCC which are found only morpheme finally.

2.3.3 Word structure

The structure of words is the same as that of morphemes, except that, in addition, the expansion of roots through affixation and cliticization can yield words of many syllables in length:

4 syllables	/sur-kuy-lı-lar/	schools
	/ın-žal-kal-dan/	but
5 syllables	/še-rix-ler-i-bis/	our troop
	/ter-güü-lek-če-si/	his chairman
6 syllables	/su-ruk-ži-lar-ıñ-nıñ/	your students'
	/xay-ral-dı-rı-sen-ner/	you protect

2.3.4 Distribution of phonemes within the word

This section describes the patterns and limitations of occurrence of phonemes in syllables, morphemes and words.

2.3.4.1 Vowel distribution

Word initial vowels: All seventeen distinctive vowels are found in word initial position. The occurrence of each distinctive vowel in word-initial position is given in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Occurrence of word-initial vowels

/aš/	hungry	/aal/	village
/ädet/	habit		
/edek/	hem	/eezi/	owner
/iš/	inside	/iile-/	use, employ
/ɪɾ/	song	/ɪš/	sound
/on/	ten	/oon/	his/her
/öböy/	infant	/ööš/	gullet
/ulus/	nationality	/uurak/	colostrum
/üs/	fat, butter	/üür-/	blow, exhale

Of the seventeen distinctive vowels, twelve can occur in word final position with noteworthy exceptions of vowels *ii*, *öö*, *uu*, *üü*. Examples of each word final vowel are given in Table 12 below:

2.3.4.2 Vowel sequences

The basic syllable structure of Jungar Tuva constricts vowel sequences. Therefore, such sequences across syllable boundaries are relatively rare, and only occur in some loan words.

/dialekti/ dialect

/šiwžan/	principal
/dašüe/	university

Table 12: Occurrence of word-final vowels

/daŋka/	deaf	/žaa/	new
/wädä/	promise		
/erte/	early	/kiree/	saw
/žedi/	seven		
/aldı/	bottom	/žalrı/	young man
/bo/	this	/boo/	gun
/tödö/	all		
/udu-/	sleep		
/bürgü/	flea		

2.3.4.3 Diphthongs

Jungar Tuva has many on- and off-glides (e.g., /koyug/ ‘thick’, /ay/ ‘moon’), which should be analyzed as sequences of a consonant /y/ plus a vowel. They are not analyzable as diphthongs, because stems ending in off-glides always take consonantal-type suffixes (i.e., vowel-initial suffixes). Taking nouns with possessive suffixation as an

example, we find that consonant-final nouns take the suffix *-i/-ɪ* in third person, while vowel-final noun stems take *-si/-sɪ*. (see Geng (1983) and Dwyer (1996)). For example: /xoy / 'sheep' and /xoy-ɪ / 'her/his/its sheep', not */xoysɪ / (cf. /kamʒɪ / 'whip' and /kamʒɪ-sɪ / 'her/his/its whip')

2.3.4.4 Vowel harmony

The most important phonological feature of Jungar Tuva is vowel harmony which is a common phonological process in Turkic languages. It is a kind of assimilatory process in that vowels within a word undergo changes that depend on the quality of other vowels in the word. There are two types of vowel harmony in Jungar Tuva: *palatal* harmony (where the tongue is back or front in the mouth.) and *labial* harmony (where the lips are rounded or unrounded). In palatal harmony, vowels within a word share the specification for backness and the prohibition on the cooccurrence of back vowels and front vowels. In labial harmony, vowels within a word share the specification for rounding and the prohibition on the cooccurrence of rounded vowels and unrounded vowels. Vowel Harmony applies within morphemes as well as across morpheme boundaries.

As noted above, the seventeen vowels in Junagar Tuva may be classified in terms of the following binary features of height, position and roundness. Characterization of the vowels according to these three features will help us understand the application of vowel harmony.

Four high vowels: /i/, /ɪ/, /ü/, /u/

Five low or non-high vowels: /e/, /ö/, /o/, /ä/, /a/,

The same list, rearranged according to front-back position, is as follows:

Four back vowels: /ɪ/, /u/, /a/, /o/

Five front vowels: /i/, /ü/, /e/, /ä/, /ö/,

The feature of rounding divides the same list in the following way:

Four rounded vowels: /u/, /o/, /ü/, /ö/

Five non-rounded vowels: /ɪ/, /a/, /i/, /e/, /ä/

After having established the inventory of vowels with their above mentioned distinctive features, we can deal with vowel harmony based on the features backness and rounding as they manifest themselves within word boundaries. The following is a description of the basic principles governing vowel harmony within the word, in terms of cooccurrences and cooccurrence restrictions between the vowels in different positions.

Vowel harmony within stems showing the feature of backness:

Back vowels

adıg bear

arım face

ırak far

Front vowels

ädil fair

erin lip

inek cow

oŋay easy*ösgüs* orphan*ula-* tie up*üle-* divide

Vowel harmony within stems the feature of rounding:

Rounded Vowels

orok road*örük* apricot*öböy* baby*uzun* long*üzün* thirty

Unrounded Vowels

aral island*edek* hem*ädet* habit*ında* there*izig* hot

The possible sequences of vowels patterned by the rules of backness and rounding are the following in Table 13:

2.3.4.5 Consonant distribution

Word-initial consonants:

All consonants may occur in word-initial position, freely, with eight noteworthy exceptions: *ç, l, n, ŋ, r, w, y, z*. However, liquid *r* and glides *y, w* occur in word-initial position in some borrowed words:

/çokum/ certainly (U. < M.)

/lama/ lama (M. < Tib.)

/nan/ bread (K. < P.)

/radio/ radio (R.)

/wagon/ railroad car

Loanwords beginning with nasals and liquids are often provided with prothetic vowels, e.g.; /lama/ [ɣlama] 'lama', and /radiyo/ [ɣrädijɔ] 'radio (set)'.

Table 13: The possible sequences of vowels

Front vowels		Back vowels	
Preceding vowels	Following vowels	Preceding vowels	Following vowels
	Front, unrounded		Back, unrounded
i	i, e, ä	ɪ	ɪ, a
	Front, unrounded		Back, unrounded
e	e, i, ä	a	a, ɪ
	Front, unrounded		
ä	i, e, ä		
	Front		Back
ü	ü, i, ä, ö, e	u	u, ɪ, o, a
	Front		Back
ö	ö, i, ä, ü, e	o	o, a, u, ɪ

Word-final consonants

Jungar Tuva has a phonological rule that devoices syllable final stops, fricatives, and affricates. Therefore, no word final voiced stops, affricates, and fricatives except stop /g/ are found in Jungar Tuva. However, most of the time [g] alternates with [x].

/sarɪg/	[sʌɾɾg]	~	[sʌɾɾx]	yellow
/ulug/	[^w ʊlʊg]	~	[^w ʊlʊx]	big, great
/biʃɪg/	[bɾʃɾg]	~	[bɾʃɾx]	solid

2.3.4.6 Consonant clusters

Jungar Tuva permits consonant clusters, but they are limited as to composition and to their position. No consonant clusters consisting of more than two consonants are permitted to occur within one syllable. Jungar Tuva only admits two consonant clusters. Consonant clusters are not found in word initially, but are admitted word-finally, and word-medially.

Word initial consonant cluster

Word initial consonant clusters are not permitted in general, except in a few words of foreign origin and in most cases are broken up by an epenthetic vowel, which usually undergoes vowel harmony with the stem. These initial clusters are only found in the pronunciation of some Kazak educated speakers. Thus, in copied lexical items such

clusters are split by means of prothetic or epenthetic vowels; e.g. /istantion/ 'station', /kulub/ 'club'.

/pɪlan/	'plan'	< plan
/kulup/	'club'	< club
/ɪstansiya/	'station'	< stantsia
/kiräm/	'gram'	< gramm

Word final consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are found word finally. The following types of consonant clusters are permitted in word final position. Some of these clusters are exclusive to monomorphemic (underived) words, other are exclusive to polymorphemic (derived) words, while others occur in both types of words.

/ajt-/	say
/žurt/	nation
börk	hat

The consonant clusters are only found within the syllable. The first member of the cluster is always a sonorant and the second member of the cluster is obstruent /t/ or /k/.

Word medial consonant clusters

Word medial consonant clusters are permitted if they are not tautosyllabic when each member of the cluster belongs to a different syllable. In other words, word medial clusters occur only across syllable boundaries.

1. Stops + Stops:

/pt/	<i>eptix</i>	dexterous
/pd/	<i>epdešdirip</i>	carefully
/pg/	<i>epgiš</i>	carrying pole, shoulder pole
/bt/	<i>abtomawel</i>	automobile
/tb/	<i>ketben</i>	hoe, mattock
/tk/	<i>satkm</i>	traitor, renegade
/tg/	<i>tutgun</i>	captive
/kb/	<i>gakbak</i>	lid
/kt/	<i>aktar</i>	wheat
/kd/	<i>dakday</i>	board
/gd/	<i>bogdu</i>	dam

The combinations of /bt/ and /tb/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /bt/ *abtomawel* automobile <R.

/tb/ *ketben* hoe, mattock <U.

2. Stops + Fricatives:

/p s/	<i>dapsırma</i>	homework, task
/pš/	<i>dopšr</i>	button
/pž/	<i>opžok</i>	rude, clumsy

/px/	<i>kitapxana</i>	library, bookstore
/bš/	<i>dobšuur</i>	<i>dombra</i>
/tž/	<i>šetžik</i>	sapling
/ks/	<i>aksak</i>	lame
/kš/	<i>akša</i>	money
/gš/	<i>bogšurga</i>	nightingale

The combination of /px/ occurs only in foreign words:

Example: /px/ *kitapxana* library, bookstore < P.

3. Stops + Nasals:

/km/	<i>akmak</i>	stupid
/tn/	<i>gatnas</i>	traffic, communication, relation

The combination of /tn/ occurs only in foreign words:

Example: /tn/ *gatnas* traffic <K.

4. Stops + Liquids:

/br/	<i>dobrak</i>	soil
/dr/	<i>adres</i>	address
/kl/	<i>doklat</i>	report
/gl/	<i>bagla-</i>	tie, bind
/gr/	<i>bugra</i>	male camel

The combinations of /dr/ and /kl/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /dr/ *adres* address <R.

/kl/ *doklat* report <R.

5. Stops + Glides:

/gw/ *agway* wife

6. Fricative + Stops

/sb/ *žosbar* plan

/st/ *bastır-* oppress

/sd/ *besder* we

/sk/ *askır* stallion

/sg/ *besgek* malaria, ague

/šp/ *nāšbut* pear

/šb/ *üšbü* stone partridge

/št/ *baštık* leader

/šd/ *ašday* early

/šk/ *aškryak* old man

/šg/ *bašgar-* manage

/xb/ *axbarat* news

/xd/ *boxda* Buddha

The combinations of /xb/ and /xd/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /xb/ *axbarat* news <K.

/xd/ *boxda* Buddha <M.

7. Fricative + Fricatives:

/xs/ *maxsat* goal, purpose

/xš/ *baxšr* teacher

The combinations of /xs/ and /xš/ occur only in foreign words:

8. Fricative + Nasals:

/xm/ *axmak* stupid

/xn/ *texnik* technician

The combination of /xn/ occurs only in foreign words.

9. Nasal + Stops:

/mb/ *ambar* storehouse

/mt/ *amtan* human being

/md/ *amdır* now

/mk/ *mümkün* possible

/np/ *kanpit* candy

/nt/ *ankılx* special

/nd/	<i>dündük</i>	skylight
/nk/	<i>banke</i>	bank
/ŋb/	<i>gaŋbi</i>	pen
/ŋk/	<i>daŋka</i>	deaf
/ŋg/	<i>doŋgurak</i>	razor

10. Nasal + Fricatives:

/ms/	<i>nomsaŋ</i>	library
/mš/	<i>nomšu-</i>	read
/mž/	<i>dumžuk</i>	nose
/ns/	<i>mänsäp</i>	post, official position
/nz/	<i>benzin</i>	gasoline
/nž/	<i>ganžaar</i>	how
/ŋs/	<i>dŋsıg</i>	tight
/ŋš/	<i>biŋši</i>	dumpling
/ŋž/	<i>aŋžr</i>	hunter

The combinations of /ns /, /nz/ and /ŋš/ occur only in foreign words.

11. Nasal + Affricates:

/mč/	<i>kemčilik</i>	shortcoming
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12. Nasal + Nasals:

/nn/	<i>eginne-</i>	shoulder
/ŋm/	<i>duŋma</i>	younger brother
/ŋn/	<i>aŋna-</i>	hunt

13. Nasal + Liquids:

/mr/	<i>amrak</i>	sweetheart, lover
/ŋl/	<i>čaŋlŋ</i>	salary

14. Liquid + Stops:

/lb/	<i>bolbasa</i>	or
/lt/	<i>altay</i>	Altay
/ld/	<i>aldr</i>	six
/lk/	<i>kalkak</i>	tea-spoon
/lg/	<i>algr</i>	broad
/rb/	<i>arba</i>	barley
/rt/	<i>artiš</i>	cypress
/rd/	<i>burdak</i>	muddy, turbid
/rk/	<i>kırkan</i>	elder, senior
/rg/	<i>arga</i>	way

15. Liquid + Fricatives:

/lʂ/	<i>älsis</i>	weak
/lʃ/	<i>bolʃug</i>	way of life
/lʒ/	<i>alʒir</i>	tablecloth
/rʒ/	<i>arʒalɒ</i>	lion
/rʃ/	<i>arʃr</i>	curd-cheese
/rʒ/	<i>mirʒak</i>	hail
/rx/	<i>sonirxa-</i>	like, be fond of

16. Liquid + Nasals:

/lm/	<i>alma</i>	apple
/rm/	<i>armiya</i>	army
/rn/	<i>murnuu</i>	south

17. Liquid + Liquids:

/lr/	<i>torla</i>	mountain grouse
/rl/	<i>arlr</i>	weight
/rl/	<i>erlik</i>	courage, heroism

18. Liquid + Glides:

/lw/	<i>alwatti</i>	the masses
------	----------------	------------

/ɾw/ *burwat* **measles**

19. Glide + Stops:

/wd/ *awdan* **county**

/yt/ *ayt-* **say**

/yd/ *aydagar* **dragon**

/yk/ *daykak* **slippery**

/yg/ *žayga-* **gargle, rinse**

20. Glide + Fricatives:

/ws/ *suwsun* **drinks**

/ysl/ *maysa* **meadow**

/yš/ *kayšılık* **contradiction**

21. Glide + Nasals:

/ym/ *aymak* **prefecture**

/yn/ *dayna -* **chew, masticate**

22. Glide + Liquids:

/yl/ *aylık* **wage**

/yr/ *ayrıpalan* **airplane**

The word medial clusters that are found in the corpus are shown in Table 14. The row indicates the first member of the cluster, the column lists the second member; '+' indicates that the cluster can occur, '-' indicates that it does not.

Table 14: Possible clusters in word medial position

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>p</i>	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>t</i>	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>k</i>	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>b</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>d</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>g</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
<i>s</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>š</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>x</i>	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>z</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>ž</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>č</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>m</i>	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>n</i>	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>ŋ</i>	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
<i>l</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
<i>r</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
<i>w</i>	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>y</i>	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-

As the above examples of consonant cluster clearly demonstrate, word-medial consonant clusters in Jungar Tuva are common and are constrained in a fairly systematic way. The consonant cluster in Jungar Tuva has the following structural limitations:

1. Because of the syllable structure constraint on voiced fricative and affricate occurring syllable finally, these consonants (z, ž, č) cannot occur as the first member of a cluster.
2. Voiceless fricative /x/ and glide /w/ cannot occur as the first member of a cluster in native word except for loan words.
3. The only candidates for the first member of a word medial cluster in native words are:
/p, t, k, b, d, g, s, š, m, n, ŋ, l, r, y/.
4. /s/ and /š/ can only be followed by stops as a second member of a cluster.
5. /p/ and /t/ cannot be followed by sonorant as a second member of a cluster.
6. /ŋ/ and /y/ can not occur as the second member of a cluster.
7. /p/, /č/ and /x/ can not occur as the second member of a cluster in native words but in loan words.
8. There are no geminate clusters: *pp, *tt, *kk, *bb, *gg etc.

2.4 Stress

Stress is important in Jungar Tuva, particularly because it interacts with syntactic phenomena like focus, back grounding and question formation. Furthermore, due to the

existence of cliticized elements in the language, stress helps distinguish between those and genuine suffixes, since the two behave differently with respect to stress.

Stress in Jungar Tuva is predictable and therefore non-phonemic. The standard rule is that stress is placed on the final syllable of any word, which means that stress shifts to the final syllable with the addition of suffixes.

2.5. Morphophonemics

2.5.1 Elision

2.5.1.1 Vowel Deletion

In certain bisyllabic stems, the second syllable of stems has an unstable vowel. The second vowel is deleted if the suffixes with initial vowel are added, e.g.:

/murun/ 'nose' + /-u/ '3rd.Poss.' → [murnu] 'his/her nose'

/moyun/ 'neck' + /-u/ '3rd.Poss.' → [moynu] 'his/her neck'

/murun/ 'nose' + /-um/ '1st.PL.Poss.' → [murnum] 'my nose'

/moyun/ 'neck' + /-um/ '1st.PL.Poss.' → [moynum] 'my neck'

In addition a suffix-initial vowel deletes if another a vowel precedes:

/nom/ 'book' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.' → [nom-um] 'my book'

/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-m/ '1sg.Poss.' → [öšgü-m] 'my goat'

/nom/ 'book' + /-uŋ/ '2sg.Poss.' → [nom-uŋ] 'your book'

/öšgü/ ‘goat’ + /-ŋ/ ‘2sg.Poss.’	→	[öšgü-ŋ] ‘your goat’
/nom/ ‘book’ + /-ubus/ ‘1pl.Poss.’	→	[nom-ubus] ‘our book’
/öšgü/ ‘goat’ + /-bus/ ‘1pl.Poss.’	→	[öšgü-bus] ‘our goat’
/nom/ ‘book’ + /-ukar/ ‘2pl.Poss.’	→	[nom-ukar] ‘your book’
/öšgü/ ‘goat’ + /-kar/ ‘2pl.Poss.’	→	[öšgü-kar] ‘your goat’

An intervocallic /k/, /g/, /l/ or /r/ is often deleted. This process affects the present indefinite participle -ar/ır or third person possessive suffix –ı which retain their vowels.

/dag/ ‘mountain’ + /ı/ ‘3sg. Poss.’	→	[da:] his/her mountain
/ buduk/ ‘branch’ + /u/ ‘3sg. Poss.’	→	[budu:] its branch
/suw/ ‘water’ + /u/ ‘3sg. Poss.’	→	[su:] his/her water
/öw/ ‘house’ + /ü ‘3sg. Poss.’	→	[ø:] his/her house
/kak-/ ‘put’ + /-ar/ ‘PresIndef.’	→	[qa:r] who puts
/gel-/ ‘come’ + /-ır/ ‘PresIndef.’	→	[ke:r] who comes
/bar-/ ‘go’ + /-ar/ ‘PresIndef.’	→	[ba:r] who goes

2.5.1.2 Consonant Deletion

By a productive process, suffix (or clitic) initial consonants delete after a preceding consonant:

/öŝgü/ 'goat' + /-zü/ '3sg.Poss.' → [öŝgüzü] 'his/her goat'

/alma/ 'apple' + /-zı/ '3sg.Poss.' → [almazı] 'his/her apple'

but

/nom/ 'book' + -u '3sg.Poss.' → [nomu] 'my book'

/xıl/ 'string' + -ı '3sg.Poss.' → [xılı] 'his/her string'

Note that the suffix-initial [z] surfaces after a stem-final vowel, but that it deletes after a stem-final consonant.

2.5.2 Contraction

There are two examples in the corpus of a contraction process:

/al-/ 'take' + /-ıp/ 'Ger' → [a-p] 'taking'

/bol-/ 'be' + /-ıp/ 'Ger' → [bo-p] 'being'

2.5.3 Assimilation

2.5.3.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony can be viewed as an assimilatory process and has been described above. Strong vowel harmony is one of the important features of Jungar Tuva. The distinctions front vs. back and rounded vs. unrounded are mostly neutralized in non-first syllables and both palatal and labial harmonies are applied in Jungar Tuva.

2.5.3.1.1 Palatal Harmony

Primary stems allow a free choice of front and back syllables. Palatal vowel harmony is a systematic neutralization of the phonological distinction of a vowel's backness in suffix syllables under the influence of a dominant vowel in immediate preceding syllable. This means that the front and back quality of the vowel in the last syllable of the stem determines the quality of a vowel or vowels in the following suffix. Therefore, front and back vowel harmony governs alternations between different forms of suffixes, e.g.:

/arga/ ‘forest’ + /-lar/ ‘pl.’	→	arga-lar ‘forests’
/elši/ ‘ambassador’ + /-ler/ ‘pl.’	→	elši-ler ‘ambassadors’
/at/ ‘horse’ + /-tar/ ‘pl.’	→	at-tar ‘horses’
/žıl/ ‘year’ + /-dar/ ‘pl.’	→	žıl-dar ‘years’
/bel/ ‘waist’ + /-der/ ‘pl.’	→	bel-der ‘waists’
/mešet/ ‘oven’ + /-ter / ‘pl.’	→	mešet-ter ‘ovens’

/aŋ/ ‘wild game’ + /-nar/ ‘pl.’ → aŋ-nar ‘wild games’

/kilem/ ‘carpet’ + /-ner/ ‘pl.’ → kilem-ner ‘carpets’

Palatal harmony can also affect the whole syllable in those suffixes with consonants that also alternates. Thus, the dative suffix shows variants such as [-q^hɑ], [-k^he], [-ɤɑ], [-ge]:

/at/ ‘horse’ + /-ka/ ‘Dat.’ → /at-ka/ → [atk^hɑ] ‘to horse’

/iš/ ‘work’ + /-ke/ ‘Dat.’ → /iš-ke/ → [išk^he] ‘to work’

/aal/ ‘village’ + /-ga/ ‘Dat.’ → /aal-ga/ → [ɑ:lɤɑ] ‘to village’

/ene/ ‘grandma’ + /-ge/ ‘Dat.’ → /ene-ge/ → [jⁱenege] ‘to grandma’

2.5.3.1.2 Labial Vowel Harmony

Labial vowel harmony implies neutralization of the distinction of vowel rounded vs. unrounded in suffix syllables. The principle of the labial harmony means that the rounded or unrounded quality of the vowel in the last stem syllable determines the suffix vowel. In Jungar Tuva, the labial harmony only affects high suffix vowels. Suffixes containing a high vowel have four possible realizations, because there is a choice between a rounded and an unrounded suffix-vowel (‘labial harmony’) as well as the front vs. back alternation. The following displays a fourfold harmony of the first-person possessive suffix:

/güš/ ‘strength’ + /-üm/ ‘1sg.Poss.’ → güš-üm ‘my strength’

/köl/ ‘lake’ + /-üm/ ‘1sg. Poss.’ → köl-üm ‘my lake’

/duz/ 'salt' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.'	→	duz-um 'my salt'
/don/ 'jacket' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.'	→	don-um 'my jacket'
/dil/ 'tongue' + /-im/ '1sg. Poss.'	→	dil-im 'my tongue'
/aal/ 'village' + /-im/ '1sg.Poss.'	→	aal-im 'my village'

Because of this restriction to suffix vowels, the rounded vs. unrounded harmony is not as general in Jungar Tuva as the palatal harmony. For example, the roundedness of the Jungar Tuva stem vowels /u/, /ü/ and /o/, /ö/ are not reflected in the plural suffixes which has an underlying [-high] vowel and this is exempt from the rounding harmony, as shown below:

/oruk/ 'road' + /-tar/ 'pl.'	→	oruk-tar 'roads'
/kün/ 'day' + /-ner/ 'pl.'	→	kün-ner 'days'
/ok/ 'bullet' + /-tar/ 'pl.'	→	ok-tar 'bullets'
/öw/ 'house' + /-ler/ 'pl.'	→	öw-ler 'houses'

2.5.3.2 Consonant assimilation

2.5.3.2.1 Progressive Assimilation

There is a general pattern whereby stops, fricatives, and affricates of different voicing quality do not combine in close juncture. This restriction holds both within and between morphemes. When suffixes or enclitics are added to stems of a particular phonological

make-up, alternation between voiced and voiceless occurs. A suffix- or enclitic-initial stop assimilates to an immediately preceding segment in terms of voice. In other words, a suffix- or enclitic-initial consonant is realized as voiced where it follows a vowel or a voiced consonant, and it is realized as voiceless where it follows a voiceless consonant.

2.5.3.2.2 Devoicing

A suffix- or enclitic-initial consonant is realized as voiceless where it follows a voiceless consonant $d > t$, $ž > č$, $g > k$, $d > t$, $d > t$, etc., e.g.

/dag/ ‘mountain’ + /-dar/ ‘pl.’ → dag-dar ‘mountain’

vs.

/oruk/ ‘road’ + /-tar/ ‘pl.’ → oruk-tar ‘roads’

/aal/ ‘village’ + /-ga/ ‘Dat.’ → aal-ga ‘to village’

vs.

/at/ ‘horse’ + /-ka/ ‘Dat.’ → at-ka ‘to horse’

In progressive assimilation process, a suffix-initial consonant /l/ is realized as [d], [t], and [n] etc., e.g. in the plural suffix /-lar/:

/bala/ ‘child’ + /-lar/ ‘pl.’ → bala-lar ‘children’

/žil/ ‘year’ + /-dar/ ‘pl.’ → žil-dar ‘years’

- /bel/ 'waist' + /-der/ 'pl.' → bel-der 'waists'
 /at/ 'horse' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → at-tar 'horses'
 /mešet/ 'oven' + /-ter/ 'pl.' → mešet-ter 'ovens'
 /aŋ/ 'wild game' + /-nar/ 'pl.' → aŋ-nar 'wild games'
 /kilem/ 'carpet' + /-ner/ 'pl.' → kilem-ner 'carpets'

All word-final stops are phonetically voiceless. However, because of the rule of intervocalic voicing, the consonants p, k, x and c are voiced between vowels:

- /at/ 'horse' + /ɪ/ '3sg. Poss.' → adɪ 'its horse'
 /kanat/ 'wing' + /ɪ/ '3sg. Poss.' → kanadɪ 'its wing'
 /esik/ 'door' + /i/ '3sg. Poss.' → esigi 'its door'
 /kap/ 'sack' + /ɪ/ '3sg. Poss.' → kabɪ 'its sack'
 /etik/ 'boots' + /i/ '3sg. Poss.' → etigi 'his/her boots'

2.5.3.2.3 Regressive assimilation

Final nasal consonant /n / assimilates in place [m] when it is placed before a suffix or clitic beginning in consonant /b/.

- /min-/ + /be/ 'do not ride' → /senbe/ → [mimbe]

/sen- / + /be/ 'do not trust' → /senbe/ → [sembe]

Final fricative /z/ assimilates in voice /s/ when it is placed before a suffix or clitic beginning in consonant /s/.

/tuz/ 'salt' + /suz/ '-less' → /tuzsus/ → [t^hussus] 'without salt'

/žaz/ 'write' + /sa/ 'if' → /žazsa / → [žassa] 'if somebody writes'

2.5.4 Free morphological variation

2.5.4.1 Consonantal alternation

This variation is quite limited, occurring only in a handful of words. It always involves two consonants characterized by the same manner of articulation. The more common alternation is listed here:

/šay/	~	[čay]	tea
/malšɪ/	~	[malčɪ]	herder

2.5.4.2 Vowel Alternation

As noted above, the rounded vs. unrounded harmony is not consistent in Jungar Tuva. The roundedness of the Jungar Tuva stem vowels /u/, /ü/ and /o/, /ö/ can be lost in second syllables sometimes. Thus there can be a phonetic alternation between round vowels and unrounded ones; the rule applies to both front and back vowels:

u → ɪ

/kodu/ → [kodu] ~ [kodi]

/olur/ → [olur] ~ [olır]

/bolur/ → [bolur] ~ [bolır]

ü → i

/ölür/ → [ölür] ~ [ölir]

/žödül/ → [žödül] ~ [žödil]

/öörür/ → [öörür] ~ [öörir]

ö → e

/tülöy/ → [tülöy] ~ [tüley]

/ötkör/ → [ötkör] ~ [ötker]

2.6 Extrasystemic phonology

There are some marginal sounds in Jungar Tuva which do not conform to the system described above. Such sounds are found in loan words, onomatopoeic forms, interjections and exclamations, and ideophones used for calling to animals.

2.6.1 Loan words

With few exceptions Jungar Tuva speakers are also fluent in the local lingua franca languages Kazak and Mongolian which provide the richest sources of loan words. At all levels – lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology – Jungar Tuva and Kazak share a great many features, so that Kazak words are frequently and easily assimilated into Jungar Tuva speech. A comparison of the phoneme inventories of both languages reveals that Jungar Tuva possesses all the vowel sounds of Kazak, but lacks the fricative /f/ and /h/. Borrowings containing these sounds are normally adapted to the phonemic (and where necessary, morphological) system in Jungar Tuva, although some speakers maintain the ‘original’ pronunciation. The following examples show the adaptation and pronunciation of Kazak borrowings into Jungar Tuva.

Kazak		Jungar Tuva
qarındas	→	/karındas/ [q ^h arındas] younger sister

2.6.2 Onomatopoeic forms

[šar - šar] (sound of water)

[pičir - pičir] (sound of whispering)

2.6.3 Exclamations and Interjections

[εkεkey] (expressing fear)

[ɪju] (sound of pain)

2.6.4 Animal calls

[ɤur - ɤur] (to call a horse)

2.7 Orthography used for examples and texts

I have attempted to transcribe the Jungar Tuva by following the phonological value of words for this adopted orthography. A traditional phonemic transcription is used in this study in order that the pronunciation of the examples will be maximally transparent. The orthography distinguished the vowel and consonant phonemes. Phonetically long vowels are represented as sequences of two vowels. The orthography does not distinguish the allophones of /š/, [ʃ] and [ʒ], /k/, [k] and [q], /g/, [g] and [ɣ]. The orthography uses symbols that in most cases correspond to the phonetic symbol of the IPA. The orthographic symbols proposed and used in this study are given in Table 17, with their corresponding phonemic symbol.

Table 15: Proposed Orthographic System

SYMBOLS	PHONEMES
a	[a]
aa	[a:]
ä	[ä]
b	[b]
č	[č]
d	[d]
e	[e]
ee	[e:]
g	[g]
x	[x]
i	[i]
ii	[i:]
ɾ	[ɾ]
ɾɾ	[ɾ:]
ž	[ž]
k	[k ^h]
l	[l]
m	[m]
n	[n]
ŋ	[ŋ]
o	[o]
oo	[o:]
ø	[ø]
öö	[ø:]
p	[p ^h]
r	[r]
s	[s]
š	[š]
t	[t ^h]
u	[u]
uu	[u:]
ü	[y]
üü	[y:]
w	[β]
y	[y]
z	[z]

CHAPTER 3

Morphology

This chapter describes the structure of the words and the various parts of speech and other preliminaries which are distinguished in Jungar Tuva. Typically this involves the addition of suffixes to roots and stems, though other word formation processes such as reduplication and compounding are found.

3.1 Word Structure

The complexities inherent in establishing a universal definition of the notion of 'word' are well-recorded in linguistic literature. Even within one language, it is often the case that no single criterion or set of criteria can be applied to identify and define all those structural units one wishes to call 'word'.

In this chapter the term 'word' will be used in the sense of 'grammatical word', as distinct from the notion of 'phonological word'. For instance, the utterance */güšübüz/* 'our strength' is a single phonological word, with characteristic stress on the last syllable, but is grammatically a sequence of two elements, */güš/* 'strength' and */-übüz/* 'our', the latter morpheme being a clitic form of the first person plural suffix. Since the construction */güšübüz/* 'our strength' expands a noun phrase analogous to *bistiŋ güš* 'our strength', it is analyzed as consisting of two grammatical words, not one.

Clitics are a special subset of words; they are monomorphemic, unstressed forms which never occur freely but are phonologically bound to an adjacent word. As the above example shows, they affect the stress placement of the word to which they are attached. Jungar Tuva has clitics for case, number, tense, voice, etc.

Suffixes are similar to clitics, in that they also are phonologically bound forms, but differ in that their structural domain is restricted to word formation. In the simplest cases, suffixes combine with roots to form words (e.g. *bil*-‘know’ + *-im*(nominalier)’ = *bilim* ‘knowledge’. However, since this resultant form is itself capable of being further suffixed to create an adjective, as in *bilim* ‘knowledge’ + *di* = *bilimdi* ‘knowledgable’, then it is also necessary to distinguish the level of Stem, intermediate between root and word.

Stems normally are constructions consisting of roots plus suffixes, but also may include reduplicated roots, compounds, and even phrases. In essence, a stem is a construction which has the potential for - and expectation of - further expansion via suffixation. Although it is possible for a morpheme to be simultaneously a root, a stem and a word, the term stem is used in this description to refer to some element which figures in a further morphological process. Recursion or layering of stems within stems is possible in Jungar Tuva.

Roots are forms which are morphologically unanalyzable. They differ from suffixes principally in that they constitute an open class (whereas suffixes are a closed set), and in that they are themselves capable of being suffixed. Structurally, a root constitutes the ‘core’ of a word. Semantically, roots carry the basic lexical information which is systematically modified by suffixes.

Suffixes can be classified into inflectional and derivational suffixes according to their function. Inflectional suffixes do not change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. Their function is to fit the stem for use in a syntactic frame, for example, voice marking for transitive verbs, or predicative and degree marking of adjectives. By contrast, derivational affixes create new words; that is, they change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. This usually involves a change in categorial status (e.g. from noun to verb, or vice versa), but in a number of cases the resultant form belongs to the same word class as the stem from which it is derived.

3.2 Word Classes

3.2.1 Parts of speech

There are seven parts of speech in Jungar Tuva, determined by the inflectional and distributional, as well as semantic characteristics of each word. Generally speaking, these classes are mutually exclusive: each root belongs to only one class, although with the use of derivational suffixes, it is possible for a root to move its membership from one class to another. These derivational suffixes are discussed in 4.6 (derivational nominal morphology) and 5.2 (derivational verb morphology).

The parts of speech in Jungar Tuva are:

(1) NOMINALS

- (i) nouns**
- (ii) adjectives**

(iii) pronouns

(iv) numerals

(2) VERBS

(3) ADVERBS

(4) POSTPOSITIONS

(5) PARTICLES

(6) INTERJECTIONS

(7) CONJUNCTIONS

Of these seven word classes, the main word classes of Jungar Tuva are nominal and verbs. These two classes have quite distinct morphological and syntactic characteristics. Nominals generally inflect for number by means of morphologically marked plural vs. unmarked singular and case and usually function as the arguments of the clause. The main nominal categories are nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals. Verbs on the other hand are inflected for tense, co-occur with an auxiliary and typically function as the predicate of the clause. Both nominals and verbs also have different derivational possibilities.

The word classes of Jungar Tuva can be divided into declinable (inflecting) word classes and indeclinable (non-inflecting) word classes. The declinable (inflecting) word classes comprise nominals and verbs, while the indeclinable (non-inflecting) word classes include the remaining parts of speech: adverbs, postpositions, particles, interjections, and conjunctions.

3.2.2 Declinable word classes

3.2.2.1 Nominals

Nouns

Nouns are inflected for case and number, and can receive possessive suffixes in the appropriate contexts. The case suffixes play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of nouns in Jungar Tuva and are the most productive way to express syntactic functions of noun phrases. Nouns can exhibit nominal agreement markers in possessive noun phrases and occur in the position of the possessed nominal. In addition, nouns have certain derivational suffixes that only attach to nouns. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

<i>mal</i>	livestock	<i>malči</i>	herdsman
<i>sıy</i>	respect	<i>sıylık</i>	gift, prize
<i>küre-</i>	shovel	<i>kürek</i>	shovel
<i>bas-</i>	press	<i>basım</i>	pressure

Adjectives

Morphologically, there is generally little formal distinction between nouns and adjectives. Adjectives also are inflected for case and number. For the most part, adjectives and nouns in Jungar Tuva can be considered the same. Nouns can, for instance, be used as attributes, and adjectives can function as nouns.

Besides these similarities, however, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and syntactic. A particular lexical item is classified as an adjective if it is dominantly used attributively, and is used with comparative and superlative markers. (For more detailed discussion, see section 4.1.3 in Chapter 4.)

Adjectives also have certain derivational suffixes that are only attached to adjectives. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

<i>şıdam</i>	endurance	<i>şıdamdıg</i>	durable
<i>yaş</i>	wood	<i>yaştıg</i>	woody
<i>aksa-</i>	limp	<i>aksak</i>	lame
<i>aş-</i>	open	<i>aşık</i>	clean, open

Syntactically, adjectives generally precede the noun which they modify. Adjectives do not take any agreement markers of the number of the noun which they modify. Adjectives, unlike nouns or numerals, can be modified by adverbs of degree. For example:

<i>eñ arık</i> 'the thinnest'	<i>dıka bedik</i> 'the tallest '
<i>eñ izig</i> 'the hottest'	<i>dıka ege</i> 'the best '

Pronouns

Pronouns belong to closed sets of lexical items. All pronouns substitute for entire noun phrases; further properties are given below. Pronouns consist of various types such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. These differ from one another in terms of lexical form and their distribution. Pronouns can act as proforms for noun phrases, can be the object of prepositions and verbs and can take on case morphology. Hence, any word that belongs to any of the mentioned closed sets of words and exhibit appropriate syntactic and morphological behavior is a pronoun. (For a detailed discussion of the pronoun morphology, see sections 4.1.4).

Personal pronouns distinguish first, second and third persons, and singular and plural numbers. Gender distinctions are lacking, e.g. of 'he, she' Personal pronouns form a morphologically distinct nominal subclass. The apparent root of reflexive pronouns is /bot/. Reflexive pronouns are inflected for number and person, and the resulting form for case. Demonstrative pronouns occur in place of noun phrases as well as in an initial position in them. In both instances they can be inflected for number and must be case-marked. Possessive pronouns are constructed from the base of a personal pronoun, the possessive marker, and are inflected for number and person, and possibly for case as well.

Numerals

Numerals do not have any specific morphological markers. They are defined semantically. Numerals precede the noun, when they are used as modifiers; however, in partitive constructions where they are used as nouns, they follow the noun:

/aldı nom/	/nomnuŋ aldızı/
six book	book-Gen. six-Poss.
'six books'	'six books '

Tuva has lexical cardinal numerals for the units one to nine, for the tens ten to ninety, for hundred, for thousand, etc. Ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing *-(ı)nč* to the cardinal numerals. For compound numerals, the last part is suffixed. (For a detailed discussion of the morphology of numerals, see sections 4.1.5).

3.2.2.2 Verbs

Jungar Tuva verbs have a complex morphology. They are associated with voice, possibility, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person, interrogation, etc., normally in the order given here. A conjugated verb form normally consists of a verbal stem, a thematic suffix and personal marker. There are two sets of personal markers, of possessive and pronominal origin. The former (possessive type) is used in the simple past and the conditional, the latter (pronominal type elsewhere) in other paradigms. The imperative lacks a common thematic suffix and has its own set of personal markers.

Both finite and non-finite verbs are marked for the tense and/or aspect. Verbs are uniquely determined by the inflectional suffixes for number and person they take, and in the case of nonauxiliary by suffixes for nonfinite forms, such as infinitive, or active, passive, gerund, participle. In nonfinite subordinate clauses verbs are inflected with case suffixes. (For a detailed discussion of the verb morphology, see sections 5.2 and 5.3 in Chapter 5).

There are many derivational possibilities for verbs. Verbs can be made into various voices such as transitive verbs, causative verbs etc through derivational processes. The verb derivational processes are discussed in 5.3.

3.2.3 Indeclinable word classes

3.2.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Jungar Tuva typically function to modify the clause and occur in noun phrases either as modifiers of adjectives in simple noun phrases, or as modifiers of verbs in nominalized clauses. Most adverbs in Jungar Tuva are not formally distinguished from adjectives, and adjectives and other nominals may be used adverbially. However, there are certain types of adverbs that are clearly marked as adverbs. These are adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns by special suffixes, e.g. -ša. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

bala	child	balaša	in a childish way
-------------	--------------	---------------	--------------------------

<i>kuš</i>	bird	<i>kušša</i>	like a bird
<i>ool</i>	boy	<i>oolša</i>	like a boy
mool	Mongol	<i>moolša</i>	in Mongolian

In Jungar Tuva, there are demonstrative adverbs such as *ıdık* 'like this/that', *mındık* 'thus'; space and direction adverbs such as *örü* 'upward', *kudu* 'downward', *murnuyı* 'ahead', *ilgeri* 'forwards', *artqaru* 'backwards'; manner adverbs such as *şuluday* 'fast' and *erey* 'slowly'; degree adverbs such as *eŋ* 'most, very', *tuŋ* 'extremely, very' and time adverbs such as *am* 'now', *düün* 'yesterday', *bögün* 'today', *üyide* 'always', *gaya* 'sometimes', *žaa* 'just now', and *dora* 'now'. Interrogative adverbs are *kandıx* 'how', *kaš* 'how much/many', *kay* 'which' *kayžer* 'what place', *kayda* 'to where', *kaynın* 'from where', *kašan* 'when' and *žü* 'why'.

Adverbs can be derived from nominal forms by means of suffixes. The frequent suffixes forming adverbs are *-lay/-ley*, *-day/-dey*, e.g. *bulay*, 'this way' *alay* 'that way', *suwday* 'like the water', *köldey* 'like a lake'. Some adverbs are fossilized nominal forms with case endings, e.g. *qišin* 'in winter'. Others are formed with productive markers, e.g. *mında ~ bunda* 'here', *mından ~ bundan* 'from here', *ında ~ onda* 'there'. There are adverbs that are formed by means of reduplication, e.g. *biči- biči* 'gradually', *erey- erey* 'slowly'.

3.2.3.2 Postpositions

Postpositions form a closed class of words. Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement. Postpositions are characterized by their position since they immediately follow the noun phrase which they govern. Their complement nouns or noun phrases are generally marked by a case-marker immediately following the noun or the noun phrase. Postpositions may be classified according to preceding case of the noun phrase they govern. Postpositions that govern the nominative case include /bilen/ 'with, through, by', /kodi/ 'towards', /ušun/ 'for, in order of'. The postpositions /udur/ 'opposed to, against', /žedir/ 'till, as far as, up to' govern the dative case. Postpositions such as /baška/ 'besides, other than', /öske/ 'with the exception', /burun/ 'before', /beer/ 'since', and /keyin/ 'after' govern the ablative case.

Some examples are:

onsoonda bo göktogay bilen šingil awdan-dar-ɪ-nda da bar.

then this Köktogay and Shingil county-Pl.-Poss.-Loc. also exist.
Then, there also are Tuvas in these Köktogay as well as in Shingil counties.

bir giši bol-ur ušun bodıbıs-dıŋ dıba ult-ıbrız-dı

one person be-Pr.Indef. for ourselves-Gen. Tuva nationality-2.pl.Poss.-Acc.

It would seem that we have to learn Mongolian in order to be people, in order to

sakta-p kal-ır uşun moolša öörön-e-büz kerek irgin.

preserve-Ger. remain-Inf. for Mongolian learn-Inf.-1.pl.Poss. need particle
preserve our own Tuva ethnic identity. (said sarcastically)

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or uşun sösžok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakša bil-ır kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle
along into society. (also said sarcastically)

men bodum-nıñ žurd-um-nıñ žer suw-ı ıyaş daş-ı žönünde

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. land water-Poss. tree stone-Poss. about
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the land and water,

bodum-nıñ bil-gen-im-še siler-ge ayt-ıp ber-e-yin.

myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger. give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
and the trees and stones pertain to my own hometown.

žurt-tı zorla-p kızıl üyök žük kodı göşür-di.

people-Acc. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök direction towards relocate-Pst.
They forced the people to move towards the Kızıl Uyök.

meen aga-m bodum-nın burun bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. myself-Abl. before this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school before myself.

mool dıl-ı-nen baška kazak dıl bil-er-meen.

Mongol language-Poss.-Abl. besides Kazak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

I know Mongolian, in addition to Kazak.

bulgun-nun baška tödö mončakša bil-er.

Bulgun-Abl. besides all Monchak know-Pr.Indef.

They all know Monchak, except Bulgun.

men düün-nün beer žaka biž-ip žid-men.

I yesterday -Abl. since letter write-Ger. lie-1sg.

I have been writing a letter since yesterday.

iyinči aga-m o-nun keyin ge-ep bütür-gen.

second elder brother-Poss. he-Abl. after come-Ger. finish-PPart.

My second brother came after him and graduated.

ol bis-tiņ öö-ge udur ke-e žid-ır.

he we-Gen. house-Poss.-Dat. towards come-Ger. lie-3sg.

He is coming towards our house.

ool-dar ürümži-ge žedir bar-gan.

child-Pl. Urumchi-Dat. till go-Ger.

The children went to (as far as) Urumchi.

3.2.3.3 Particles

There are only a few particles in the corpus e.g. the negative particles; the negative interrogative. Particles are attached freely to any constituent of the sentence or to the sentence as a whole unit. Particles have grammatical functions, such as marking yes/no interrogative clauses, marking negation in declarative and imperative clauses, linking two finite clauses into one single complex clause. They are not inflected. Some examples of the particles are as follows:

The negative particle *emes* is used as a free morpheme (For more discussion, see section 4.3 and sub-section thereof).

kiši tözü deŋ emes. eki-si de bar, bagay-sı da bar.

person every equal not good-Poss. also exist bad-Poss. also exist

Everyone is not equal. There is both good and bad.

There are also tense-indifferent indirective copula particles of the type *irgin* which combine with nominal stems. The particle *irgin* tends to convey the meaning 'as is/was obvious' 'as it turns/turned out'

olar erte ŝag-da bo orus-tıŋ säbet žaysaŋ göl-ü xommalga

they early time-Loc. this Russian-Gen. soviet Zaysang lake-Poss. Hommalga

It seems that in earlier times they came from a place called Hommalga (near) this

de-p žer-nen gel-gen irgin.

say-Ger. place-Abl. come-PPart. Particle.

Soviet Zaysang lake of the Russians.

žılqıǰı ašgıyak ge-ep kıy de-er irgin.

horseman old man come-Ger. call-Pr.Indef. particle

The old horseman comes and calls (the old lady).

kek-tiŋ daman-ı kızıl bulu olup bol-gan irgin.

cuckoo-Gen. leg-Poss. red this way be-PPart. particle

The soles of the cuckoo became red in this way.

The negated copula particle is /žok/ 'non-existing', the counterpart of /bar/ 'existing'.

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

The enclitic particle. -dA 'and, also' obeys the rules of front vs. back harmony, e.g. men

de 'me too', ol da 's/he too'

aldı sumun-nuŋ da belen-tügön-nüŋ de tözün dıba de-p ada-ar.

six sumun-Gen. also everything-Gen. also all Tuva say-Ger. name-Pr.Indef.

The six districts and everything else are called Tuva.

3.2.3.4 Interjections

As in any language, there are a number of interjections in Jungar Tuva. Interjections can constitute a complete utterance on their own and are therefore distinguished from word classes such as adverbs and particles. Interjections do not really participate in the grammar of the language but serve to convey concisely the speaker's emotions, attitude, and reactions. Examples are given below:

/paa/ expressing admiration, praise, wonder

/pa/ expressing annoyance, regret

/pii/ expressing scorn, contempt

/put/ expressing anger

/xaa/ expressing surprise

/ux/ expressing fatigue

/xey/ expressing moan

/oy bay/ "Oh my Good!"

3.2.3.5 Conjunctions

There are a few conjunctions in Jungar Tuva. In noun phrases, /baza/ 'and, also, again', *žäne* 'and', /bilen/ 'and, with', and *emeszs* 'or' indicate coordinative conjunctions, and the contrastive conjunctions is *birak* 'but'.

men-de az xoy bilen inek bar.

I-Loc. few sheep and cow exist

I have a few sheep and cows.

baza gongutu irgit de-p ayt-ir.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

örgün-in beš metir emeze dört metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

width-Acc. five meter or four meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make its width five meters or four meters.

üsd-ü-n xoyug ıyaš emeze sirgawbul-dın žon-ıp ka-ar.

top-Poss.-Acc. rafter wood or sirgawbul-Abl. plane-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make the top by planing the rafter wood and sirgawbul.

body-nuŋ dɪl-ɪ dɪba dɪl, bɪrak dɪba dɪl-dɪŋ body iʃ-ge
 self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.
 Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas. bis-diŋ nomna-d-ɪr žibe-biz žɪŋ mool dɪl-ɪ
 pass-Neg. we-Gen. teach-Caus.-Pre.Indef. thing-2.pl.Poss. true Mongol language-Poss.
 What we teach is pure Mongolian,

žäne ol dɪl-dɪ öröd-ür kerek.
 and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary
 and we have to teach that language.

CHAPTER 4

Nominal Morphology

This chapter describes the nominal morphology based on the distinction between inflectional and derivational features. The nominal inflectional suffixes include categories of number, person, and case. The derivational suffixes include morphemes which have a lexeme-deriving function and derive new nominals from nominals as well as verbs.

4.1 Inflectional Nominal Morphology

The main nominal categories are nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. Nominal categories can be declined for number by means of a morphologically marked plural vs. an unmarked singular. There are six possessive suffixes marking the person and number of the possessor. There are six cases; among them five are marked and one is unmarked nominative. Since there is no grammatical gender in Jungar Tuva, pronouns and pronominal suffixes are always ambiguous; thus the third person /ol/ can be interpreted as he, she or it.

Nominal suffixation

In Jungar Tuva, the nominal suffixation comprises a number suffix, a possessive suffix, and a case suffix. The ordering of the morphemes in the nominal phrase follows strict rules. The order of suffixes is derivation + number + possessive + case.

1. Plural marking precedes possession marking:

baxşı-lar -I

teacher-Pl 3Poss

'his/her teachers'

makazın-nar -ibis-

store-Pl. 1Pl.Poss

'our stores'

2. Plural marking precedes case marking:

baxşı-lar -ga

teacher-Pl. Dat.

'to the teachers'

makazın-nar -dan

store-Pl. Abl.

'from the stores'

3. Plural marking precedes possession marking and case marking:

baxşı-lar -I -na

teacher-Pl 3Poss- Dat

'to his/her teachers'

makazın-nar -ıbis- -dan

store-Pl 1Pl.Poss- Abl.

'from our stores'

4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns semantically belong to the class of words whose core members refer to concrete objects. Noun also is defined by syntactic criteria. Nouns may function as subject and object in a clause and as nominal predicate in equative clauses. They are marked for number and case. The case suffixes of nouns play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of noun phrases in Jungar Tuva. There is no morphological gender distinction.

4.1.1.1 Number

Jungar Tuva distinguishes singular and plural and has a number marking system in nouns. The singular is not marked overtly; the plural is marked with the suffix *-lar/-ler*. The plural suffix is *-lAr*, which undergoes changes according to vowel harmony as well as consonant assimilation. The vowel undergoes only backness harmony since it is non-high; in other words, the morpheme can alternate only between *-lar* and *-ler*, depending on the backness of the last vowel in the stem. Therefore, the plural markers in Jungar Tuva are *-lar/-ler* with their allomorphic variants *-tar/-ter*; *-dar/-der*; *-nar/-ner*

Nouns that end with vowels, glides /y/, /ü/ and liquid /r/ take the plural *-lar/-ler* marker .

<i>baxšr</i>	teacher	<i>baxšr-lar</i>	teachers
<i>torgu</i>	silk	<i>torgu-lar</i>	silks
<i>ene</i>	grandma	<i>ene-ler</i>	grandmothers
<i>bürgü</i>	flea	<i>bürgü-ler</i>	fleas
<i>öw</i>	house	<i>öw-ler</i>	houses
<i>dalay</i>	sea	<i>dalay-lar</i>	seas
<i>xoy</i>	sheep	<i>xoy-lar</i>	sheep
<i>šalbur</i>	pants	<i>šalbur-lar</i>	(pairs of) pants
<i>däkter</i>	notebook	<i>däkter-ler</i>	notebooks

Nouns that end with liquid // take the plural *-dar/-der* marker .

<i>ool</i>	boy	<i>ool-dar</i>	boys
<i>bal</i>	honey	<i>bal-dar</i>	honeys
<i>aal</i>	village	<i>aal-dar</i>	villages
<i>drl</i>	language	<i>drl-dar</i>	languages
<i>žrl</i>	year	<i>žrl-dar</i>	years
<i>bel</i>	waist	<i>bel-der</i>	waists

Nouns that end with voiceless consonants take the plural *-tar/-ter* marker .

<i>daš</i>	stone	<i>daš-tar</i>	stones
<i>belet</i>	ticket	<i>belet-ter</i>	tickets

<i>inek</i>	cow	<i>inek-ter</i>	cows
<i>diš</i>	tooth	<i>diš-ter</i>	teeth
<i>örük</i>	apricot	<i>örük-ter</i>	apricots

Nouns that end with liquid nasals take the plural *-nar/-ner* marker .

<i>kün</i>	day	<i>kün-ner</i>	days
<i>arzaŋ</i>	lion	<i>arzaŋ-nar</i>	lions
<i>bazım</i>	step	<i>bazım-nar</i>	steps
<i>em</i>	medicine	<i>em-ner</i>	medicines
<i>kulun</i>	colt	<i>kulun-nar</i>	colts

The system of marking number is obligatory whenever number marking is possible. In general, plural nouns refer to a counted or countable group of items, whereas the possible plural meaning of nouns unspecified for plural is more general and vague. However plurality is morphologically less consistently expressed, when the noun has numeral modifiers or certain quantifiers as modifiers; the plural marker does not usually combine with nouns that are quantified:

<i>on kulun</i>	<i>köp kiši</i>
ten colt	many person
'ten colts'	'a lot of people'

4.1.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness in noun phrases is not marked morphologically and nouns are not modified by means of definite or indefinite articles. Whether a noun is definite or indefinite can be only deduced from the context in which it is used. Definiteness can only be marked by means of the particular demonstratives: *bo* 'this/these', *sol* 'that/those' and *ol* 'that/those over there'. Therefore, nouns that co-occur with any one of these demonstratives can be interpreted as definite.

4.1.1.3 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is not marked morphologically in noun phrases in Jungar Tuva. However, the indefinite can be expressed via the indefinite determiner *bir* 'a', which is the same as lexical item, the number one *bir* 'one'. The lexical item *biraz* 'some' can be used as quantifiers for plural nouns to express indefinite. Nouns that are not overtly marked with the accusative markers express indefiniteness.

4.1.1.4 Possession Marking

Possession Marking

Nouns are marked for person and number, and may enter into phrases that express possession. Possession marking is indicated by means of person-specific suffixes of the

person/number of the possessor on the possessed nouns. The possessive markers are the following forms:

Table 16: The possessive markers

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1p.</i>	<i>-m -im/im -um/üm</i>	<i>-bıs/bis -bus/büs</i> <i>-ıbıs/i bis -ubus/übüs</i>
<i>2p.</i>	<i>-ŋ -ıŋ/iŋ -uŋ/üŋ</i>	<i>-ŋar/ŋer -ıŋar/iŋir -uŋar/üŋer</i>
<i>3p.</i>	<i>-zı/zi -zı/zü -ı/zü</i>	<i>-zı/zi -zı/zü -ı/zü</i>

As noted in above table, nouns ending in vowels receive consonant-initial suffixes, while nouns ending in consonants take vowel-initial suffixes and both alternate with vowel harmony -backness.

The paradigms for *akša* 'money', *ene* 'grandma', *töş* 'chest', *süt* 'milk', *bal* 'honey', *doy* 'wedding', *žej* 'sleeve', and *aldın* 'gold' as follows:

Table 17: The paradigms of possessive markers

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>1s.g</i>	<i>2s.g</i>	<i>3s.g.</i>
<i>akša 'money'</i>	<i>akšam</i>	<i>akšaŋ</i>	<i>akšazı</i>
<i>ene 'grandma'</i>	<i>enem</i>	<i>eneŋ</i>	<i>enezi</i>
<i>töš 'chest'</i>	<i>töžüm</i>	<i>töžüŋ</i>	<i>töžü</i>
<i>süt 'milk'</i>	<i>südüm</i>	<i>südüŋ</i>	<i>südü</i>
<i>bal 'honey'</i>	<i>balım</i>	<i>balıŋ</i>	<i>balı</i>
<i>doy 'wedding'</i>	<i>doyum</i>	<i>doyuŋ</i>	<i>doyu</i>
<i>žeŋ 'sleeve'</i>	<i>žeŋim</i>	<i>žeŋiŋ</i>	<i>žeŋi</i>
<i>aldın 'gold'</i>	<i>aldınım</i>	<i>aldınıŋ</i>	<i>aldını</i>
	<i>1p.pl.</i>	<i>2p.pl.</i>	<i>3p.pl.</i>
<i>akša 'money'</i>	<i>akšabıs</i>	<i>akšaŋar</i>	<i>akšazı</i>
<i>ene 'grandma'</i>	<i>enebis</i>	<i>eneŋer</i>	<i>enezi</i>
<i>töš 'chest'</i>	<i>töžübüs</i>	<i>töžüŋer</i>	<i>töžü</i>
<i>süt 'milk'</i>	<i>südübüs</i>	<i>südüŋer</i>	<i>südü</i>
<i>bal 'honey'</i>	<i>balıbıs</i>	<i>balıŋar</i>	<i>balı</i>
<i>doy 'wedding'</i>	<i>doyubıs</i>	<i>doyuŋar</i>	<i>doyu</i>
<i>žeŋ 'sleeve'</i>	<i>žeŋibıs</i>	<i>žeŋiŋer</i>	<i>žeŋi</i>
<i>aldın 'gold'</i>	<i>aldınıbıs</i>	<i>aldınıŋar</i>	<i>aldını</i>

The possessive relationship is expressed by using possessive noun phrases in which the personal possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed head noun. The possessor is marked with the genitive case suffix, while the possessed head noun of the phrase bears nominal agreement suffixes that alternate for the person and number features of the possessor.

kas-tɨŋʒumurga-zɨ

goose-Gen egg-Poss

'the goose's egg'

me-en ool-um

I-Gen son-Poss

'my son'

In Jungar Tuva, the case markers can be attached to possessive markers. The following is a case declension with possessive suffixes (see table 18):

Nouns ending in vowels receive consonant-initial suffixes, while nouns ending in consonants take vowel-initial suffixes.

Table 18: Case with possessive markers

	1sg.	2sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3sg./pl.
colt	my colt	your colt	our colt	your colt	their/his colt
nom.	<i>kulunum</i>	<i>kulunug</i>	<i>kulunubus</i>	<i>kulunugar</i>	<i>kulunu</i>
gen.	<i>kulunumnug</i>	<i>kulunugnug</i>	<i>kulunubustug</i>	<i>kulunugarnug</i>	<i>kulununug</i>
acc.	<i>kulunumnu</i>	<i>kulunugnu</i>	<i>kulunubustu</i>	<i>kulunugarnu</i>	<i>kulunun</i>
dat.	<i>kulunumga</i>	<i>kulunugga</i>	<i>kulunubuska</i>	<i>kulunugarga</i>	<i>kulunuga</i>
loc.	<i>kulunumda</i>	<i>kulunugda</i>	<i>kulunubusta</i>	<i>kulunugarda</i>	<i>kulununda</i>
abl.	<i>kulunumnan</i>	<i>kulunugnana</i>	<i>kulunubustana</i>	<i>kulunugarnana</i>	<i>kulununana</i>
he-goat	my goat	your goat	our goat	your goat	their/his goat
nom.	<i>tegem</i>	<i>tegeŋ</i>	<i>tegebis</i>	<i>tegeŋer</i>	<i>tegezi</i>
gen.	<i>tegemniŋ</i>	<i>tegeŋniŋ</i>	<i>tegebistiŋ</i>	<i>tegeŋerniŋ</i>	<i>tegeziniŋ</i>
acc.	<i>tegemni</i>	<i>tegeŋni</i>	<i>tegebisti</i>	<i>tegeŋerni</i>	<i>tegezin</i>
dat.	<i>tegemge</i>	<i>tegeŋge</i>	<i>tegebiske</i>	<i>tegeŋerge</i>	<i>tegezige</i>
loc.	<i>tegemde</i>	<i>tegeŋde</i>	<i>tegebiste</i>	<i>tegeŋerde</i>	<i>tegezinde</i>
abl.	<i>tegemnen</i>	<i>tegeŋnen</i>	<i>tegebisten</i>	<i>tegeŋernen</i>	<i>tegezinen</i>

Here, it may be pointed out that the consonant /n/ is inserted before four of the case suffixes when they appear after the 3 person possessive suffix -si/sı, /i .

Table 19: Case with 3 person possessive marker

	Case Marker	3 Possessive + Case marker
acc.	-nı	-(s)ın
loc.	-da	-(s)ında
abl.	-dan	-(s)ından
dat.	-gı	-(s)ına

There is also a form of the have-construction, which marks possession in Jungar Tuva as well. In the have-construction, the possessor is expressed with the genitive, and the possessed head noun with a possessive suffix corresponding to the possessor in person and number, while the predicate is expressed with the copula particle *bar* 'have, there is, existence' or *žok* 'there is not, non-existence'.

me-en ool-um-nuŋ nom-ı bar.

I-Gen son-Poss-Gen book-Poss have
'my son has a book'

koŋur-nuŋ göbey mal-ı žok.

Kongur-Gen many livestock-Poss not have
'Kongur does not have many livestock'

There is also another form of the have-construction, which marks possession in Jungar Tuva as well. In this have-construction, the possessor is expressed with a locative, and the possessed head noun is only marked with number, while the predicate is expressed with copula particle *bar* 'have, there is, existence' or *žok* 'there is not, non-existence'.

kādir-niŋ duŋma-zɪ-nda žaa nom-nar bar.

Kadir-Gen sister-Poss-Loc new book-Pl have

'Kadir's younger brother has new books'

4.1.1.5 Case Marker

The case suffixes, are the most productive way to express the semantic and syntactic function of words in Jungar Tuva. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals are marked for case. There are six morphologically marked cases expressed by case suffixes: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, locative, and ablative.

The following table summarizes the forms of case inflection with all types of stems, classified in terms of their stem-final segment.

Table 20: Case Inflections

	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.	Dat.	Loc.	Abl.
Final Vowel						
front rounded	ø	nüŋ	nü	ge, dübe	de	nin
front unrounded ø	niŋ	ni	ge, dibe	de	nin	
back rounded	ø	nuŋ	nu	ga, duba	da	nan
back unrounded ø	niŋ	ni	ga, drba	da	nan	
Final Voiced Consonant except /l/						
front rounded	ø	nüŋ	nü	ge, dübe	de	nin
front unrounded ø	niŋ	ni	ge, dibe	de	nin	
back rounded	ø	nuŋ	nu	ga, duba	da	nan
back unrounded ø	niŋ	ni	ga, drba	da	nan	
Final Liquid /l/						
front rounded	ø	düŋ	dü	ge, dübe		din
front unrounded ø	diŋ	di	ge, dibe		din	
back rounded	ø	duŋ	du	ga, duba		dan
back unrounded ø	diŋ	di	ga, drba		dan	
Final Voiceless Consonant except						
front rounded	ø	tüŋ	tü	ke, tübe	de	tin
front unrounded ø	tiŋ	ti	ke, tibe	de	tin	
back rounded	ø	tuŋ	tu	ka, tuba	da	tan
back unrounded ø	tiŋ	ti	ka, trba	da	tan	

Case suffixes

The cases are illustrated below by the forms of the nouns *bala* 'child', *ene* 'grandma', *kün* 'sun', *xol* 'hand', *kurt* 'worm', and *iš* 'work' for all cases.

Table 21: Examples of Case suffixes

	child	grandma	sun	hand	worm	work
nom.	bala	ene	kün	xol	kurt	iš
gen.	balanıñ	enenıñ	künnüñ	xolduñ	kurttuñ	ištiñ
acc.	balanı	eneni	künnü	xoldu	kurttu	išti
dat.	balaga	enege	künge	xolga	kurtka	iške
loc.	balada	enede	künde	xolda	kurtta	ište
abl.	balanan	enenen	künnen	xoldan	kurttan	išten

4.1.1.5.1 The Nominative Case

The nominative case always has zero-marking and basically functions to mark the subject of a verb as in examples below:

dıba-lar-∅ negizinen taraa tar-ıp žan ba-ar.

Tuva-Pl. basically grain grow-Ger. life care for-Pre.Indef.

The Tuvass basically get through life by farming (growing grain).

mončak-∅ iš-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Monchak inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak are divided into four.

malčr-lar-Ø xoy kadar-ır, inek kadar-ır.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

4.1.1.5.2 The Genitive Case

The genitive case is marked by the suffix *-nıŋ/nıŋ*, *-nuŋ/-nüŋ* after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, *-dıŋ/dıŋ*, *-duŋ/-düŋ* after nouns ending in a liquid, and *-tıŋ/tıŋ*, *-tuŋ/-tüŋ* after nouns ending in voiceless consonants. The genitive suffix marks the possessor of a possessive noun phrase and agrees in number and person with the possessed head noun. The genitive case denotes the possession.

alday-nıŋ žedi gožuun dıba-sı.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss.

The Altay Tuva have seven banners.

bo dıba ulut-u-nuŋ žalprı žagday-ı

Tuva nation-Poss.-Gen. general situation-Poss.

This is the general situation of the Tuva nation.

mool-dar-nıŋ žagday-ı eki de-yır.

Mongol-Pl.-Gen. situation-Poss. good say-FPart.

It seems that the situation of the Mongols is good.

4.1.1.5.3 The Accusative Case

The accusative case is marked by the suffix *-nı/ni*, *-nu/-nü* after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, *-dı/di*, *-du/-dü* after nouns ending in a liquid, and *-tı/ti*, *-tu/-tü* after nouns ending in voiceless consonants. The accusative case denotes the direct object of a transitive verb. Its primary function is to mark definiteness on direct objects.

akkaba-nı iyi kıstak-ka üle-er.

Akkaba-Acc. two Kistak-Dat. divide-Pr.Indef.

They divide Akkaba into two Kistaks.

bis-diñ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu mončak de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Monchak say-PresIndef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Monchaks.

keybir öw-lör üsd-ü-n daktayla-p al-ır.

some family-Pl. top-Poss.-Acc. lay board-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some families lay boards on top.

An Indefinite object is always marked with a zero suffix.

men sigen-Ø kax-tı-m, baza barg bagla-dı-m.

I grass cut-Pst.1p. and bundle tie-Pst.1p.

I cut the grass and bundled them up.

malčɨ-lar xoy-Ø kadar-ɪr, inek-Ø kadar-ɪr.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dɨba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

4.1.1.5.4 The Dative Case

The dative case is marked by the suffix *-ga/ge* after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, and *-ka/ke* after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The dative basically indicates the direction towards.

kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun sösžok kazakša bil-ir kerek.

society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely kazak know -Inf. need

We definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow along into society.

dɨba-lar-nɨ töziün gožuun-ga üle-p-dir.

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr.

They divided all the Tuvans into banners.

mončak iŝ-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Moncha inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak are divided into four

dedir göşür-üp akkaba-ga äkel-di.

backward relocate-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. bring-Pst.

They moved them back and brought them to Akkaba.

akkaba bis-diŋ kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.

Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.

Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

amdı demal-ı-ga ün-üp žet-tı-m men.

Now rest-Inf.-Dat. enter-Der. reach-Pst.-1.sg. I

Now I am retired.

The dative suffix can be used to mark location (although the locative suffix is more commonly used with this function).

bo žongo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

öw-niŋ iŝ-i-ŋge gene domakdan-ar-bız.

house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only speak-Pr.Indef

We only speak it at home.

4.1.1.5.5 The Locative Case

The locative case is marked by the suffix -da/de after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, and -ta/te after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The locative basically indicates position in space and time.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

eŋ bičii ga-ar-da dört bölmölüg ga-ar.

most small put-Pr.Part.-Loc. four room put-Pr.Indef. it-Gen.

When they put up the smallest (house) they make four rooms.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

buwiršin awdan-ı-nıñ xom-ı-nda, xanas-ı-nda bar.

Buwirshın county-Poss.-Gen. Kom-Poss.-Loc. Kanas-Poss.-Loc. exist

There are Tuvas in Kom and Kanas (villages) of the Buwirshın county.

4.1.1.5.6 The Ablative Case

The ablative case is marked by the suffix *-nan/nen* after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants except liquid /l/, *-dan/den* after nouns ending in liquid /l/, and *-tı/ti, -tu/-tü* after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The ablative case is used to indicate motion or direction away from a location or object.

žasdı mool-dan gel-gen tört tañma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

meen aga-m sezen aldınçı žıl bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. eighty sixth year this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school in 1986.

o-ñ üsd-i-nin čigen ka-ar.

it-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. hay put-Pr.Indef.

They put hay on top of it.

bes žüs žeže žıl-dan artık bol-gan.

five hundred many year-Abl. more be-PPart.

It has been more than five hundred something years.

dört dōn tozinčı žıl-dım bašta-p mektep-te mugalım bol-du-m.

forty ninth year-Abl. start-Ger. school-Loc. teacher be-Pst.-1.sg.

I have been a teacher at the school since 1949.

dört žüs sesen tın-nım kázır üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı.

four hundred eighty life-Abl. now three hundred ninety life remain-Pst.

Of 480 people of 1949, now 390 people remain.

žeņes-din üsd-ü-nün ryaš ga-ar.

moss-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. wood put-Pr.Indef.

They put logs on top of the moss.

The ablative case maker denotes the materials:

gidis öw-nıñ iš-i-n ryaš-dan žaza-ar.

felt house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Acc. wood-Abl make-Pr.Indef.

They make the inside of the felt house out of wood.

keybiresi ak doburak ka-aš-dm, tapda-p al-ir.

some one white earth put-Ger.-Abl. trample-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some of them, after putting down kaolin (clay), trample it (down).

The ablative case is sometimes used to indicate instrumental function:

songu žük kazakstan-nm šegäräli.

north side Kazakstan-Gen. share the border

The north side has a border along Kazakstan.(men)

key birei malčı-nm žan ba-ar.

certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.

Certain ones get through life as herders.

4.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are forms which express stative attributes to nouns and precede a nominal head in a noun phrase. Adjectives are not clearly distinguished from nouns in morphological respects. Many nouns can function as attributes. Besides these similarities, however, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and

syntactic. A particular lexical item is classified as adjective if it is dominantly used attributively, and is used with comparative and superlative markers.

The comparative degree of adjective in comparative constructions is marked by a comparative suffix *-kir/kir*, which may also simply signal a high degree of property, e.g. *gök –gökir* ‘more, very much’.

Intensive forms may be formed from adjectives and adverbs with a preposed reduplication of the first syllable. Reduplication is used in Jungar Tuva in a productive way. The reduplicated morpheme often carries a specific meaning which can be contrasted with the non-reduplicated form. Adjectives usually have reduplicated forms, being derived from unduplicated adjectives. Reduplication consists of the repetition of the initial (C) V of the stem. The reduplicant then is formed with this (C) V+ p and prefixed to the base. This process of prefixing reduplication has the function of intensification in adjectives and adverbs. It is particularly productive in adjectives.

<i>/ap/</i> ‘prefix’ + [ak] ‘white’	→	<i>ap - ak</i> ‘very white’
<i>/göp/</i> ‘prefix’ + [gök] ‘blue’	→	<i>göp - gök</i> ‘very blue’
<i>/nop/</i> ‘prefix’ + [nogan] ‘green’	→	<i>nop - nogan</i> ‘very green’
<i>/kırp/</i> ‘prefix’ + [kızıl] ‘red’	→	<i>kırp - kızıl</i> ‘very red’

Comparatives and Superlatives of adjectives also are formed analytically with the particles *dagi* 'very' and *enj* 'extremely', e.g. *tagi kedey* 'poorer', *enj kedey* 'poorest'.

There is a comparative construction in which the thing compared is in ablative case, e.g. *odan uzun* 'much longer than that'.

4.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns belong to closed sets of lexical items. All pronouns substitute for entire noun phrases; further properties are given below. Pronouns consist of various types such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. These differ from one another in terms of lexical form and their distribution. Pronouns can act as proforms for noun phrases, can be the object of postpositions and verbs and can take on case morphology. Hence, any word that belongs to any of the mentioned closed sets of words and exhibits appropriate syntactic and morphological behavior is a pronoun.

4.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Jungar Tuva personal pronouns inflect for case and can appear in all grammatical functions. The personal pronouns are usually optional when functioning as subject in an independent statement, because the person is indicated by the form of the verb. The verb agrees with the pronoun in number and person. The presence of the pronoun often leads to emphasis.

Jungar Tuva has first, second and third person pronouns singular and plural. There is no difference between feminine and masculine in the third person. A formal status is distinguished in formal, polite speech only in the second person. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are the following:

Table 22: Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
first	men	bis, bister
second (familiar)	sen	senner
second (polite)	siler	sileler
third	ol	olar, olalar

Case system in personal pronouns

As noted before, the person pronouns are inflected for the same case as nouns. The regular case system applies to pronouns, just as it does to regular nouns. The case of the personal pronouns is formed by attaching one of the allomorphs of the case suffix. In the following pronominal paradigms all pronouns have alternative forms with the nominative forms of the pronouns attached before them. The table in 23 shows the shapes pronominal forms take in all person and number combinations for all cases.

Table 23: Case marking of personal pronouns

Singular	I (first)	you (familiar)	you (polite)	he, she, It(Third)
nom.	men	sen	siler	ol
gen.	meenġ	seenġ	silerinġ	oonġ
acc.	meni	seni	silerni	onu
dat.	menge	senge	silerge	inga
loc.	mende	sende	silerde	inda
abl.	mennen	sennen	silernen	onun
Plural	we (first)			they (Third)
nom.	bis	senner	silerler	olar
gen.	bistinġ	sennerninġ	silelerninġ	olarninġ
acc.	bisti	sennerni	silelerni	olarnı
dat.	biske	sennerge	silelerge	olarga
loc.	biste	sennerde	silelerde	olarda
abl.	bisten	sennernen	silelernen	olarnan

Number marking for pronouns

The only number distinction made in pronouns is singular and plural, as can be seen in the above table. It should also be noted that the second person plural form *siz* can also be as a form of politeness for the second person singular as well.

4.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns mostly distinguish several deistic types for which features such as choice, distance and visibility seem to be relevant. Tuva has at least three-way systems: singular *bo*, *sol*, *ol*, 'near' vs. 'further away' and plural *bular solar olar*.

1. There are three demonstrative pronouns in Jungar Tuva.

bo 'this one' (closer to speaker)

sol 'that one' (farther away from the speaker)

ol 'that one' (far away from the speaker)

2. Demonstrative pronouns are marked for number; the distinction between singular and plural is marked as shown in the tables and examples of subsections 22, below:

bo 'this one' → *bular*

sol 'that one' → *solar*

ol 'that one' → *olar*

There are corresponding series of demonstrative nominals and adverbs, e.g. *mmdr* 'here, this place', *osıdan* 'from here', Corresponding interrogatives are *kayda* 'where', *kaydan* 'from where', *kayda* 'where to'.

Case marking in demonstrative pronouns:

Demonstrative pronouns can be marked with all of the case suffixes: (see below Table 24.) The cases are expressed in demonstrative pronouns by using the same suffixes as

those used to express case in nouns. The table and examples illustrate the various cases in demonstratives.

Table 24: Case marking of demonstrative pronouns

Singular	This one	That one	That one (yonder)
nom.	bo	sol	ol
gen.	bonıŋ	sonuŋ	onuŋ
acc.	bonı	sonu	onu
dat.	boga	sogan	inga
loc.	boda	sol	ında
abl.	bonan	sol	onun
Plural	This one	That one	That one (further)
nom.	bolar	solar	olar
gen.	bolarnıŋ	solarnıŋ	olarnıŋ
acc.	bolarnı	solarnı	olarnı
dat.	bolarga	solarga	olarga
loc.	bolarda	solarda	olarda
abl.	bolarnan	solarnan	olarnan

4.1.3.3 Possessive Pronouns

Absolute forms of possessive pronouns are formed by adding genitive case markers to the personal pronouns. The absolute possessive pronouns may be declined as nouns that have the 3rd possessive ending.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st.	meenii	bistii
2nd. (familiar)	seenii	sennernii
2nd. (polite)	silernii	silelernii
3rd.	oonii	olarnii

4.1.3.4 Reflexive Pronouns

Jungar Tuva does have a reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun is *bot* 'self', to which the possessive suffix is attached in its reflexive use to indicate the person of the subject to which the pronoun refers to and to express number. Below are the nominative forms of these pronouns.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	bodum	bodumbuz
2 nd	bodun	bodunar
3 rd	bodu	bottari

Reflexive pronouns are marked for case, as the table below shows.

Table 25: Case marking of reflexive pronouns

Singular	I (first)	you (Second)	he, she, it(Third)
nom.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
gen.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
acc.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
dat.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
loc.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
abl.	bodum	bodun̄	bodū
Plural	we (first)	you (Second)	they (Third)
nom.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄
gen.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄
acc.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄
dat.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄
loc.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄
abl.	bodubuz	bodun̄ar	bottar̄

Some examples are:

bodu-nun̄ dil-ɪ *dɪba dil.*

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language.

Their own language is Tuva.

men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaş daş-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-şe siler-ge
tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat.
the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones

ayt-ıp ber-e-yin.
say-Ger. give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
pertain to my own hometown.

bis bodubuz işd-ibiz-de dıba-bız.

we ourselves inside-1pl.Poss.-Loc. Tuva-we.

We call ourselves Tuva among ourselves.

4.1.3.5 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal Pronouns are formed with *birbir* + possessive suffix e.g. *birbirimiz* 'each other of us', There are also reciprocal pronouns, mostly of the type *bir(i)biri* 'each other'.

There are reciprocal pronouns which are formed by the duplicated morpheme *bir* 'one', to which appropriate possessive suffixes are attached. Reciprocal pronouns are marked for case.

4.1.3.6 Interrogative pronouns

The general interrogative pronouns in Jungar Tuva are *kim* 'who' and *žü* 'what', with the former being used in reference to humans and the latter to nonhumans. They are marked for plural and also marked for cases. Jungar Tuva has a number of interrogative pronouns; the most generally used ones are listed below:

<i>kim</i>	'who'
<i>žü</i>	'what'
<i>kayda</i>	where
<i>kaysi</i>	'which'
<i>nege</i>	'why'
<i>neden</i>	'why'
<i>kaylap</i>	'how'
<i>kayga</i>	'(to) where'
<i>kanša</i>	how many/much
<i>kašan</i>	when

4.1.4 Numerals

Tuva has lexical cardinal numerals for the units one to nine, for the tens ten to ninety, for hundred, and for thousand.

1. The cardinal numerals up to ten are:

1 bir	6 aldı
2 iyi	7 žeže
3 üš	8 ses
4 dört	9 tos
5 beš	10 on

2. The cardinal numeral from 11 to 19 are of the form 10 + unit.

11 on bir
12 on iyi
13 on üš
14 on dört
15 on beš
16 on aldı
17 on žedi
18 on ses
19 on tos

2. The 'twenty' is : žerbe

The tens from thirty to ninety are of the multiplicative type unit + ten, though there morphophonological changes.

30 üšün
40 dörtün

50 bešen

60 aldan

70 žeden

8 sesen

9 tosan, sesen

Higher numerals are žüs ‘hundred’ and mırı ‘thousand’. Complex numbers are formed by compounding, the highest decimal place being on the left. Hundreds, thousands, etc. are expressed multiplicatively, e.g. bir mırı alrı žüs aldan iyi ‘1662’.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the addition of *-(I)nşı* to the cardinal numerals:

bir	birinşı	‘1 st ’
iyi	iyinşı	‘2 nd ’
üş	üşinşı	‘3 rd ’
dört	dörtinşı	‘4 th ’
beş	beşinşı	‘5 th ’
aldı	aldınşı	‘6 th ’
žeže	žeženşı	‘7 th ’
ses	sesinşı	‘8 th ’
tos	tosınşı	‘9 th ’
on	onınşı	‘10 th ’

4.1.5 Personal Markers (on Nominal Predicates)

Copulas: The present copula is 1p.sg. -(y)Am, 2p.sg. sAn, 3p. sg. -0, 1p.pl. -(y)Ik, 2p.pl. -sIngiz, 3.p. pl.. The past copula particle consists of the simple past of the defective verb*i-. The copula particle irgin signals indirectivity. The conditional particle is -sa. The word emes is used for negation, e.g. emespiz 'we are not'. Existence is expressed by bar, non-existence by žok.

4.2 Derivational Nominal morphology

Derived Nouns

This subsection presents the derivation of nouns both from 'true nouns' and from nominal adjectives, since these categories are both morphologically and syntactically very similar, and the mechanism of derivation and the suffixes involved are often the same.

A number of the devices discussed here are also de-adjectival derivational suffixes and will reoccur in the appropriate section.

Nouns from Nouns

1. The suffix -žv/ži, -šv/ši

The suffix -žv/ži, -šv/ši is used to derive nouns from nouns that designate occupations (professional) or doer/agent (of the noun).

<i>mal</i>	livestock	<i>malči</i>	herdsman
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<i>temir</i>	iron	<i>temirši</i>	blacksmith
<i>aŋ</i>	game	<i>aŋži</i>	hunter
<i>yaš</i>	wood	<i>yašši</i>	carpenter
<i>dıl</i>	language	<i>dılšır</i>	journalist
<i>baš</i>	head	<i>baššır</i>	boss, leader
<i>žılgr</i>	horse	<i>žılgrıçı</i>	stable-man

2. The suffix *-žır/žır, -šır/šır*

The suffix *-žır/žır, -šır/šır* is borrowed from Mongolian to derive nouns from nouns which mean occupations, doer/agent (of the noun).

<i>mal</i>	livestock	<i>malčır</i>	herdmen
<i>ažır</i>	work	<i>ažırčır</i>	worker
<i>aŋ</i>	game	<i>aŋži</i>	hunter
<i>kulak</i>	ear	<i>kulakčır</i>	ear cover

3. The suffix *-ıškırar /ıškırer,*

The suffix *-ıškırar /ıškırer,* is used to derive nouns from nouns to mean kinship and association.

<i>eš</i>	friend	<i>ešiškırer</i>	friends
<i>aba</i>	mother	<i>abalıškırar</i>	mother and her children
<i>aža</i>	father	<i>ažalıškırar</i>	father and his children

egiže elder ister *egiželešgiler* sisters

4. The suffix *-lık/lik, dık/dik, tık/tik*

The suffix *-lık/lik, dık/dik, tık/tik* (abstractness suffix ‘-ness’) is used to derive abstract nouns from nouns:

<i>sıy</i>	respect	<i>sıylık</i>	gift, prize
<i>doy</i>	wedding	<i>doylık</i>	bride-price
<i>dos</i>	friend	<i>dostık</i>	friendship
<i>bas</i>	head	<i>basdık</i>	boss, leader

5. The suffix *-xana*,

The suffix *-xana* is used to derive nouns from nouns from which it has come to mean the place or institution of the noun. It is borrowed from Kazak, where it is Persian in origin. All the following examples represent Kazak words.

<i>doktur</i>	doctor	<i>dokturxana</i>	hospital
<i>kitap</i>	book	<i>kitapxana</i>	bookstore
<i>basba</i>	publication	<i>basbaxana</i>	publishing house

Nouns from Verbs

1. The suffix *-ık/ik, -uk/ük, -k*

The suffix *-ik/ik, -uk/ük, -k* is used to derive nouns from verbs which mean 'result of action':

<i>küre-</i>	shovel	<i>kürek</i>	shovel
<i>kada-</i>	nail	<i>kadak</i>	nail
<i>elge-</i>	sieve	<i>elgek</i>	sieve
<i>biži-</i>	write	<i>bižik</i>	letters
<i>budu-</i>	paint, decorate	<i>buduk</i>	paint
<i>ut-</i>	win	<i>uduk</i>	win, prize

2. The suffix *-iš/iš, -uš/üş, -š*

The suffix *-iš/iš, -uš/üş, -š* is used to derive nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

<i>tan-</i>	get acquainted	<i>tanış</i>	acquaintance, friend
<i>sok-</i>	fight	<i>soguş</i>	fight
<i>baylan-</i>	be attached	<i>baylanış</i>	relations

3. The suffix *-ıışkm/iışkin, -uuşkun/üüşkün,*

The suffix *-ıışkm/iışkin, -uuşkun/üüşkün,* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs from which it has come to mean result or product of an action.

<i>ber-</i>	give	<i>beriişgin</i>	offerings
<i>kör-</i>	see	<i>körüüşkün</i>	review, inspection
<i>a/-</i>	take	<i>alışkın</i>	taking
<i>bol-</i>	be(come)	<i>boluuşkun</i>	happening

4. The suffix *-ım/im, -um/üm, -m*

The suffix *-ım/im, -um/üm, -m* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

<i>bas-</i>	press	<i>basım</i>	pressure
<i>bil-</i>	know	<i>bilim</i>	knowledge
<i>tut-</i>	hold	<i>tudum</i>	handful
<i>öl-</i>	die	<i>ölüm</i>	death
<i>ak-</i>	flow	<i>akım</i>	current, course, flow

5. The suffix *-ı*

The suffix *-ı* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

<i>boda-</i>	think	<i>bodal</i>	thought
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<i>saktr-</i>	miss	<i>saktıl</i>	longing for
<i>kayka-</i>	look	<i>kayka/doubt</i>	
<i>makta-</i>	praise	<i>maktal</i>	praising
<i>komda-</i>	regret	<i>komdal</i>	remorse

6. The suffix *-ılga/ilge, -ulga/ülkge*,

The suffix *-ılga/ilge, -ulga/ülkge* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

<i>başda-</i>	start	<i>başdalka</i>	beginning
<i>boda-</i>	think	<i>bodalka</i>	thought
<i>biži-</i>	write	<i>bižilge</i>	handwriting
<i>žütkü-</i>	try	<i>žütkülge</i>	effort
<i>ul-</i>	connect	<i>ululka</i>	combination
<i>sin-</i>	test	<i>sinılkatest</i>	

7. The suffix *-eš/aš*

The suffix *-eš/aš* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem with the meaning 'result or product of an action', for example:

root	stem
------	------

<i>bilekte-</i>	put on the wrist	<i>bilekteeš</i>	bracelet
<i>sirlige-</i>	shake	<i>sirligeeš</i>	head shaking

The root *-eš/aš* seems to be a borrowing from Mongolian and it is not productive.
(recorded by Chen (1980)).

8. The suffix *-imal/imel, -umal/ümel, mal/mel*

The suffix *-imal/imel, -umal/ümel, mal/mel* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem meaning 'result or product of action', for example:

root		stem	
<i>žor-</i>	walk, go	<i>žorimal</i>	pedestrian
<i>biži-</i>	write	<i>bižimel</i>	document, manuscript
<i>žaza-</i>	make	<i>žazamal</i>	product, article
<i>kel-</i>	come	<i>kelimel</i>	comer
<i>darı-</i>	publish	<i>darımal</i>	publishing
<i>žur-</i>	paint	<i>žurumal</i>	painting
<i>tar</i>	plant	<i>tarımal</i>	growing

9. The suffix *-kiš/giš*

The suffix *-kış/gış* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem meaning 'result or product of an action', for example:

root		stem	
<i>guy-</i>	pour	<i>guygış</i>	funnel
<i>baş-</i>	step on	<i>başkış</i>	stair
<i>kış-</i>	press	<i>kışkış</i>	clip
<i>öžür-</i>	erase	<i>öžürgış</i>	eraser

Adjective

1. Adjectives from nouns

1. The suffix *-lıg/lig, dıg/dig, tıg/tig*

The suffix *-lıg/lig, -lık/lik, dık/dik, tık/tik* is used to derive adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'possessing the substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
<i>dag</i>	mountain	<i>daglıg</i>	mountainous
<i>xar</i>	snow	<i>xarlıg</i>	snowy
<i>šıl</i>	string	<i>šıldıg</i>	having string
<i>šıdam</i>	endurance	<i>šıdamdıg</i>	durable
<i>yaš</i>	wood	<i>yaštıg</i>	woody

2. The suffix *-kır/gır*,

The suffix *-kır/gır*, is used to derive adjective from nouns from which it has come to mean 'the substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
<i>kış</i>	winter	<i>kışkır</i>	of winter
<i>şas</i>	spring	<i>şaskır</i>	of spring
<i>dün</i>	night	<i>düngü</i>	nights
<i>dağ</i>	dawn	<i>dağır</i>	of dawn
<i>bögün</i>	today	<i>bögüngü</i>	today's

3. The suffix *-sak/sek*,

The suffix *-sak/sek*, is used to derive adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'the same substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
<i>oyun</i>	game	<i>oyunsak</i>	playful
<i>ağ</i>	game	<i>ağsak</i>	hunt-loving
<i>arakır</i>	alcoholic drink	<i>arakısak</i>	alcoholic
<i>at</i>	horse	<i>atsak</i>	horse-loving
<i>boo</i>	gun	<i>boosak</i>	gun-loving

4. The suffix *-ik/ik*,

The suffix *-ik/ik* is used to derive adjectives from verbs which have the meaning 'the result of action'.

root		stem	
<i>arr-</i>	lose flesh	<i>arık</i>	thin
<i>bus-</i>	break	<i>buzuk</i>	broken
<i>aksa-</i>	limp	<i>aksak</i>	lame
<i>aş-</i>	open	<i>aşık</i>	clean, open

CHAPTER 5

Verb Morphology

This chapter describes the verb and the construction of verbal expressions, aspects of inflectional verb morphology and derivational verb morphology. The verb inflectional suffixes include categories of voice, tense, aspect, mood, person and number. The derivational suffixes include morphemes, which derive new verbs from nominals as well as other verbs.

5.2 Inflectional Verb Morphology

The verb is a morphological complex comprising productive markers of actants, voice, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person, and number. Only verbs can function as the head of a VP; other classes require derivational suffixes in order to function as verbs. The suffixation of a verb is normally in the following order.

verb stem ± voice ± negation ± aspect ± mood ± tense ± person ± number

5.1.1 Personal markers

The suffixal string of a verb form normally consists of a verbal stem, a thematic suffix and a personal marker. There are two sets of verb personal markers that are used as verb inflectional markers. They are of possessive and pronominal origin. The first is a

possessive type, which is expressed by suffixation of personal possessive endings, fusing person and number markers. The second is a pronominal type, which is expressed by adding personal pronoun enclitics.

Table 26: Inflection of personal markers

Person	First Type	Second Type
1 sg.	-m -ım -im -um -üm	men
2 sg.	-ņ -ıņ -iņ -uņ -üņ	sen
3sg.	zero or -ı -i -u -ü	zero
1pl.	-bis -bis -ıbis -ibis -ubus -übüs	bis
2pl.	-ņgar -ņger -ıņar -iņer	senner/siler
3pl.	-lar -ler	-lar -ler -nar -ner

The possessive type is used in the simple past and the conditional. The past tense personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs *žit-* 'lose' and *ula-* 'connect'. (See Table 27)

Some examples are:

soņında bir ay-ıņı iŝ-i-nde sook bagay bo-(l)-gan,

at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.

The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

bičii aldan ool öl-di.

small sixty child die-Pst.

and sixty small children died.

mga äkel-gen soñında bičii eki bol-di.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

Table 27: Personal endings with simple past tense

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitim	uladim
2 sg.	žitij	uladıj
3sg.	ižiti	uladı
1pl.	žitibis	uladıbis
2pl.	žitinger	uladıjar
3pl.	žitiler	uladılar

The personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs žit- 'lose' and ula- 'connect' for the present tense the conditional.

Table 28: Personal endings with conditional

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitsem	ulasam
2 sg.	žitseŋ	ulasaŋ
3sg.	žitse	ulasa
1pl.	žitsebis	ulasabis
2pl.	žitseŋger	ulasaŋar
3pl.	žitse	ulasa

Some example are:

oygurša domakdan-saŋ eki gör-ör.

Uygur speak-2nd.Cond. good consider-Pr.Indef.

They will like you if you speak Uygur.

šaa-m bol-sa gee-p dur-ur men.

time-Poss. be-3rd.Cond. stand-Pr.Indef. I

I will come if (whenever) I have time.

bis gel-be-sebis kumda-ma.

we come-Neg.- 1Pl.Cond. angry-Neg.Imp.

Don't be angry if we don't come.

The pronominal type is used in all other main clauses. The imperative lacks a common thematic suffix and has its own set of personal markers. The present-future tense personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs *žit-* 'lose' and *ula-* 'connect'.

Table 29: Personal endings with present-future tense

Person	<i>žit-</i> 'lose'	<i>ula-</i> 'connect'
1 sg.	<i>žitser men</i>	<i>ulaarmem</i>
2 sg.	<i>žiter sen</i>	<i>ulaarsen</i>
3sg.	<i>žiter</i>	<i>ulaar</i>
1pl.	<i>žiterbis</i>	<i>ulaar bis</i>
2pl.	<i>žitersiler</i>	<i>ulaar siler</i>
3pl.	<i>žiter</i>	<i>ulaar</i>

Some examples of different clauses are:

egiči-m tozanči žil gel-gen. bodum tozan üšünči žil gel-gen-men.

elder sister-Poss. ninetieth year come-PPart. myself ninety third year come-PPart.-I

My elder sister came here in 1990. I, myself came here in 1993.

käzir men bodum mıysalı, mončak dıl bil-er-men.

now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

Now, taking my own example, I know Monchak.

5.1.2 Tenses:

Tuva has developed a rather complicated system of tense marking, mostly using compounding rather than simple suffixation. Most tense markers in Jungar Tuva also have aspectual functions. Some also function as mood markers. These dual or triple functions will be noted when individual tense markers are discussed. Jungar Tuva distinguishes between two tenses: past and present-future.

5.1.2.1 Past

Jungar Tuva has three simple past tenses. They are the definite past, the indefinite past and the narrative past. All these tenses are expressed by suffixation.

Definite Past Tense:

The simple past tense is formed by attaching the suffix -d to the verb stem and followed by the respective personal possessive marker. The definite past tense paradigms are illustrated by the forms the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come' in the following table 30.

The past tense in Jungar Tuva refers to an action which took place before the moment of speaking or started in the past and was completed before the moment of speaking. It carries a more assertive connotation and may be also refer to a definite or relatively

recent time in the past. It also denotes an action which took place often or habitually in the past.

soñında bir ay-nıñ iç-i-nde sook bagay bo-(l)-gan,

at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.

The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

bičii aldan ool öl-di.

small sixty child die-Pst.

and sixty small children died.

mga äkel-gen soñında bičii eki bol-dr.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

käzir barr üš žüs tozan tın kal-dr. ebeešed-di.

now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.

Now 390 people remained altogether. It's declined.

Table 30: Definite past tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bildim	geldim	soktadım	aytdım
2p.sg.	bildiņ	geldiņ	soktadıņ	aytdıņ
3p.sg.	bildi	geldi	soktadı	aytdı
1p.pl.	bildibis	geldibis	soktadıbis	aytdıbis
2p.pl.	bildiņer	geldiņer	soktadıņer	aytdıņer
3p.pl.	bildi(ler)	geldi(ler)	soktadı(ler)	aytdı(ler)

Indefinite Past Tense:

The indefinite past tense is expressed by means of the participial suffix **-gan**. Personal marking may be optionally accomplished by means of a pronominal enclitic, in the case of the third person by means of the enclitic **-dur**. The indefinite past tense paradigms are illustrated by the forms the verbs **bil-** 'know', **gel-** 'come', **sokta-** 'beat', and **ayt-** 'come' in the following table 31.

Table 31: Indefinite past tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bilgen men	gelgen men	soktagan men	aytkan men
2p.sg.	bilgen sen	gelgen sen	soktagan sen	aytkan sen
3p.sg.	bilgen	gelgen	soktagan	aytkan
1p.pl.	bilgen bis	gelgen bis	soktagan bis	aytkan bis
2p.pl.	bilgen siler	gelgen siler	soktagan siler	aytkan siler
3p.pl.	bilgen (ler)	gelgen (ler)	soktagan(lar)	aytkan (lar)

Generally, the indefinite past refers to a point in the past that is indefinite, unspecified, or more distant from the speech event.

Some of examples are:

iyinči aga-m sezenči žıl ge-ep bütür-gen.

second elder brother-Poss. eightieth year come-Ger. finish-PPart.

My second brother came here in 1980 and graduated.

teginde biz-di başgar-ıp dur-gan bey-ebiz ol gökdogay-da dur-gan.

formerly we-Acc. govern-Ger. stay-PPart. Bey-1pl.Poss. that Köktogay-Loc. stay-PPart.

In the past, our governing Bey lived in that Köktogay (county).

bortta gel-gen-men miŋ tos žüs dörtön sesinči žil gel-gen-men bo.

here come-PPart.-1st. thousand nine hundred forty eighth year come-PPart.-1st. this.

I came here, I came here in 1948, it was.

ard-ɪ-nin dɪba ulut-u göž-üp akkaba-ga gel-gen.

stay-PPart. back-Poss.-Abl. Tuva nation-Poss. move-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. come-PPart.

After that, the Tuva nation migrated and came back to Akkaba.

žasdr mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

inŋa äkel-gen soŋında bičii eki bol-di.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

Narrative Past Tense:

The narrative past tense is formed with gerund -p plus personal markers. When the speaker does not know whether the statement is true or not and s/he makes this clear by using the narrative past. The implication is that the action or event depicted by such a statement has been reported to the speaker.

dıba-lar-nı töziin gožuun-ga üle-p-dir.

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr.

They divided all the Tuvas into banners.

aba-m burun bis bičii tur-ar-da žok bo-p ka-l-ıp-dur.

father-Poss. early we small stay-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Neg.exist be-Ger. stay-Ger. Pr.Indef.

My father passed away when we were very small.

erte burun šaa-da bir kara xalžan attı dege xalžan attı dektene

early before time-Loc. one black blaze with horse goat blaze with horse Dektene

A long time ago, there is an old lady named Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a

xoočın de-p bir xoočın bol-up-tur.

old lady say-Ger.one old lady be-Ger-Be.

black blaze.

5.1.2.2 Present

Present-future tense:

The present-future tense is formed with the present-future suffix *-ar/-er/-ir* and a pronominal marker. The present-future is the general present tense and expresses habitual actions and general events. The present tense can be expressed in all three Jungar Tuva moods, the indicative, the conditional, and the imperative. The present tense personal

suffixes of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come'.

Table 32: Present-future tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	biler men	geler men	soktaar men	aytar men
2p.sg.	biler sen	geler sen	soktaar sen	aytar sen
3p.sg.	biler	geler	soktaar	aytar
1p.pl.	bilerbis	geler bis	soktaar bis	aytar bis
2p.pl.	biler siler	geler siler	soktaar siler	aytar siler
3p.pl.	biler(ler)	geler (ler)	soktaar (ler)	aytar (lar)

The present-future form has both present and future meanings, depending on context.

al bis bo akkaba-da-ǵı olur-gan dıba žurt-ı-n mončak da

well we this Akkaba-Loc.-Rel.Cl. live-PPart. Tuva people-Poss.-Acc. Monchak also

Well, we also call the Tuva people who live in this Akkaba Monchak.

de-er bis.

say-Pr.Indef. 1pl.

baza gongutu irgit de-p ayt-ir.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

akkaba bis-dij kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.

Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.

Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

bis-dij bo dıba dıl tek akkaba-nıñ iş-i-nde öw-niñ

we-Gen. this Tuva language only Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. house-Gen.

We speak this Tuva language of ours only in Akkaba

iş-i-ñge gene domakdan-ar-bız.

inside-Poss.-Dat. only speak-Pr.Indef.-2.pl.

and in the home.

bis-dij bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

ol tözü žeerbe alrı sumun bol-ur.

it all twenty six sumun be-Pr.Indef.

Altogether, there are twenty-six districts.

bo alday-nıñ žedi goşuun dıba-zı de-p sana-l-ar.

this Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. consider-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are considered to be the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

key birei malčı-nın žan ba-ar.

certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.

Certain ones get through life as herders.

Present progressive

The present progressive is marked by gerund *-p*, and the auxiliary verbs *dur-* 'stand', *žid-* 'lie', *olur-* 'sit', and *žor-* 'walk' and *-plus* personal markers,

Present progressive tense denotes a present action, which is in progress.

mžalsa dibaša domaktan-ıp dur. olar dıba.

but Tuva speak-Ger. stand. they Tuva

Instead, they are speaking Tuva. They are Tuvas.

mäselen o-ŋ dıba bol-t-nı dıl-ga negizdel-ıp ayt-ıp dur-mm.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.

Well, now we study Mongolian.

5.1.3 Aspect

Aspect is expressed primarily through the use and syntactic positioning of the suffixes in Jungar Tuva. The main markers of aspect in Jungar Tuva are suffixation and their syntactic positions in the sentence.

Perfective aspect:

The perfect aspect is expressed for the present, past, and future tenses. However, there is no form that distinctly and exclusively expresses the present perfect; this function is usually expressed by the (definite) past morpheme:

käzir barı üš žüs tozan tın kal-dr. ebeešed-di.

now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.

Now 390 people remained altogether. It has declined.

Habitual aspect:

Habitual aspect indicates a situation which is characteristic of a considerable stretch of time. The typical expression of this aspect in Jungar Tuva is the present-future suffix *-ar/-er/-ir* and a pronominal marker, expressing present habitual actions:

giši-ler daḡnıḡ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

bis-diḡ akkaba-nıḡ öw-lör-i-niḡ güp-ü daḡnıḡ žayın

we-Gen. Akkaba-Gen. house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. many-Poss. always summer

Always when it is summer, most of our households in Akkaba

bol-ır-da gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

Be-Pr.Part.-Loc. felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

live in felt homes.

on-ı kündölö ži-p žor-ur.

it-Acc. everyday eat-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.

She eats this everyday.

Progressive aspect:

The progressive aspect is expressed by the present progressive tense which is marked by gerund -p, and the auxiliary verbs dur- 'stand', žıd- 'lie', olur- 'sit', and žor- 'walk' and - plus personal markers,

al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.

Well, now we study Mongolian.

5.1.4 Mood:

There are three moods in Jungar Tuva: the indicative, the conditional, and the optative-imperative.

Indicative:

The indicative is not marked overtly in finite verbs, rather, it is inferred from the absence of mood markers. The indicative mood is expressed by zero marking on the verb. The indicative occurs in all tenses.

giši-ler daŋnıŋ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

men-iŋ at-ım torgun. bo žıl on žedi žaštıg-men.

I-Gen. name-Poss. Torgun. this year seventeen year-I

My name is Turgun. I am seventeen years old this year.

Condition:

The conditional mood occurs in the present tense and the past tense in Jungar Tuva. In the present tense the conditional is marked by the *-sa* suffix, which is attached to the verb stem before the suffix expressing person and number. The personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs *žit-* 'lose' and *ula-* 'connect' for the present tense of the conditional in the table 33.

Examples for simple combinations involving conditional forms follow:

kázir bo žurt burungu-zı-nan ebeeše-en bol-ba-sa göböy-gön

now this people before-Poss.-Abl. decline-PPart. be-Neg.-if increase-PPart.

Now, this hometown has gone from what it was, or anyway there's no way

žer-i žok. dörtön tosmıñı žıl-ğı dört žüs sesen tın-nın

place-Poss. Neg. exist forty ninth year-Rel. four hundred eighty life-Abl.

it went up, no way. Of 480 people of 1949,

al ürumži-ge bar-sa , oygur dıl-ı-n bil-be-se de

well Urumchi-Dat. go-Cond. Uygur language-Poss.-Acc. know-Neg.-Cond. also

Well, if someone goes to Urumchi, it won't do if s/he doesn't know the Uygur language.

bol-bas. inžangaš kázir men bodum mıysalı, mončak dıl bil-er-meen,

be-Neg. therefore now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

Therefore, now, taking my own example, I know Monchak,

am uluu giši bol-sa žagarı-nan bir materiyal xužat gel-se,

now big people be-Cond. above-Abl. one material document come-Cond.

Now, as for the adults, if an official document comes from above (the government),

ol kazakša. o-oñ bilen bis-der kazı-p bil-e sal-ı-bız ödü aar.

it Kazak. it-Gen. with we-Pl. read-Ger. know put-Inf.-1.pl. very difficult

it is in Kazak. Therefore, it is very difficult for us to read and understand it.

žügö de-seŋ, ürümži-ge bar-gan-da oygurša domaktan-ba-saŋ,

why say-2nd.Cond. Urumchi-Dat. go-Ger.-Loc. Uygur speak-Neg.-2nd.Cond.

If you ask why, (it is because) if you do not speak Uygur when you go to Urumchi,

kazak dil domaktan-saŋ olar baza taar-ıp, žaktır-bas žagday bar.

Kazak language speak-2nd.Cond. they also rebuke-Ger. like-Neg. circumstance exist

[and]if you speak Kazak, there will be a situation where they rebuke and do not like you.

Table 33: Personal endings with conditional

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitsem	ulasam
2 sg.	žitseŋ	ulasaŋ
3sg.	žitse	ulasa
1pl.	žitsebis	ulasabis
2pl.	žitseŋger	ulasaŋar
3pl.	žitse	ulasa

Optative-Imperative:

The imperative has no tense marking in Jungar Tuva. The second person singular has no special suffix, it only consists of the bare stem, e.g. gut 'Pour!' nomšu 'Read!' kiyin 'Get

dressed!' Optative-imperative markers may be followed by suffixes expressing voice or negation, but without tense/aspect and mood markers or agreement markers.

The Optative-imperative personal suffixes of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come'.

Table 34: Optative-imperative

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bileyin	geleyin	soktayin	aytayin
2p.sg.	bil	gel	sokta	ayt
3p.sg.	bilzin	gelzin	soktazın	aytsın
1p.pl.	biligey	geligey	soktagay	aytagay
2p.pl.	biliger	geliger	soktagar	aytagar
3p.pl.	bilzin(ner)	gelzin(ner)	soktazın(nar)	aytsın(nar)

Some examples are:

ool-dar öw-de mončakša domakdan-zınnar.

child-Pl. house-Loc. Monchak speak-3pl.Imp.

Let children speak Monchak at home.

siler gidis öw-ge olur-Ø.

you felt house-Dat. live-2pl.Imp.

You sit in the felt houses

men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how

Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaş daş-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-şe siler-ge ayt-ıp

tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger.

the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones pertain to

ber-e-yin.

give-Pr.Part.-1 sg. Imp.

my own hometown.

5.2 Derivational Verb Morphology

Derivational suffixes are divided into two distinguished classes: those which attach to a verb stem and derive a new verb stem (deverbal verb derivation), and those which derive verbs from nominals. The first class includes the voice derivational suffixes and other deverbal derivational suffixes. The second class includes all the other denominal derivational suffixes. Those derivational suffixes which are most productive are described below.

5.2.1 Deverbal verb derivation

5.2.2.1 Voices:

Voice suffixes constitute an important aspect of Jungar Tuva verb derivation. The voices are cooperative-reciprocal, causative, reflexive and passive.

The term 'voice' has been used to cover functions of the verb that change or strongly mark its transitivity or intransitivity. The transitivity of Jungar Tuva verbs is determined by their semantic nature. There are however a number stem-forming suffixes that affect the semantic content and the transitivity of verb; these are the set of intercombinable voice suffixes such as causative, passive, reflexive, cooperative-reciprocal, and compound voice suffixes which modify the meaning of the preceding verbal stem and affect the subject performance of the action of sentence.

Causative voice

The causative verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-dir/-dur, -dir/-dür* to verb stems ending in a vowel and a voiced consonant, or adding the suffix *-tir/-tur, -tir/-tür* to verb stems ending in a voiceless consonant. e.g. *aldir-* 'make somebody take' < *al-* 'take', *žuwdur-* 'make somebody wash' < *žuw-* 'wash'.

Passive voice

The passive verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-il/-ul, -il/-ül* to verb stems ending in any consonant except *-l*, or adding the suffix *-l* to verb stems ending in vowels. e.g. *dıbil-* 'be found' < *dıb-* 'take', *žazal-* 'to be made' < *žaza-* 'make'.

Reflexive voice

Reflexive verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-ın/-un, -ın/-ün* to verb stems ending in any consonant except *-l*, adding the suffix *-n* to verb stems ending in a vowels and the suffix *-n* to verb stems ending in *-n*. e.g. *šattan-* 'take pleasure in' < *šat-* 'happy', *žuwın-* 'wash oneself' < *žuw-* 'wash'

Cooperative-reciprocal voice

The cooperative-reciprocal verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-ış/-uş, -ış/-üş* to verb stems ending in a consonant, adding the suffix *-ş* to verb stems ending in a vowel. e.g. *görüş-* 'see each other, meet' < *gör-* 'see'.

5.2.2 Denominal verb derivation*Verbs from Nouns*

1. The suffix *-la/le, -da/de, -na/ne, -ta/te*

The suffix *-la/le, -da/de, -na/ne, -ta/te* is the most productive suffix which is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the primary meaning of the noun'; for example:

root		stem	
<i>ır</i>	song	<i>ırla-</i>	sing
<i>aη</i>	game	<i>aηna-</i>	hunt
<i>baš</i>	head	<i>bašla-</i>	start
<i>ügüt</i>	propaganda	<i>ügütte-</i>	propagandize
<i>uya</i>	nest	<i>uyala-</i>	make a nest
<i>töl</i>	newborn animal	<i>tölde-</i>	give birth to a <i>toel</i>
<i>šoožr</i>	lock	<i>šoožila-</i>	lock up

2. The suffix *-sıra/sire, -zıra/zire*,

The suffix *-sıra/sire, -zıra/zire* is added to a noun or adjective root to produce a verb stem meaning 'a desire or feeling or tendency connected to the primary meaning of the noun', for example:

root		stem	
<i>mün</i>	soup	<i>münsire-</i>	want to drink soup
<i>et</i>	meat	<i>etsire-</i>	want to eat meat
<i>uykr</i>	sleep	<i>uykısıra-</i>	want to sleep
<i>äl</i>	force	<i>älsire-</i>	become weaker

kan blood *kansera-* ooze

3. The suffix *-kar/ker, -gar/ger,*

The suffix *-kar/ger* is added to a noun or adjective root producing a verb stem meaning

'an action connected to the primary meaning of the noun ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>baš</i>	head	<i>baškar-</i>	manage, lead
<i>sıw</i>	water	<i>suwgar-</i>	water
<i>žm</i>	food	<i>žemger-</i>	feed
<i>gut</i>	luck	<i>gutgar-</i>	save, rescue
<i>žem</i>	food	<i>žemger-</i>	feed

4. The suffix *-ar/er,*

The suffix *-ar/er* is added to a noun or adjective root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an

adoption of the quality of connected adjective or noun ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>ak</i>	white	<i>akar-</i>	whiten
<i>žaš</i>	young	<i>žašar-</i>	become younger
<i>gök</i>	blue	<i>göger-</i>	become blue

5. The suffix *-sa/se, za/ze,*

The suffix *-sa/se* is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'to desire or to experience something associated with the noun', for example:

root		stem	
<i>ıyar</i>	shame	<i>ıyatsa-</i>	feel shame
<i>suw</i>	water	<i>suwsa-</i>	be thirsty

6. The suffix *-a/e/vi /u/ü /*

The suffix *-a/e/vi /u/ü* is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>bay</i>	rich	<i>bayr-</i>	become rich
<i>dus</i>	salt	<i>duza-</i>	salt
<i>san</i>	number	<i>sana-</i>	count
<i>dün</i>	night	<i>düne-</i>	stay over night
<i>oyın</i>	game	<i>oyna-</i>	play
<i>žaš</i>	young	<i>žaža-</i>	live

7. The suffix *-š/vši, ž/vži*

The suffix is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>širik</i>	sod, turf	<i>širikši-</i>	become sod
<i>kılaŋ</i>	flat	<i>kılaŋžx-</i>	become flat
<i>elbek</i>	rich	<i>elbekši-</i>	become rich
<i>erge</i>	old	<i>ergeži-</i>	grow old

8. The suffix *-ra/re*

The suffix is added to an onomatopoeic noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>möö</i>	moo of cow	<i>mööre-</i>	to moo
<i>mee</i>	bleat	<i>meere-</i>	to bleat
<i>kıškı</i>	shout	<i>kıškır-</i>	shout
<i>šülü</i>	melting snow	<i>šülüre-</i>	melt

9. The suffix *-ıksa/ikse*

The suffix *-ıksa/ikse* is added to a verb root to produce a verb stem meaning 'indicate a desire to carry out the action expressed by the primary verbs ', for example:

root		stem	
<i>ber-</i>	give	<i>berikse-</i>	want to give
<i>a/-</i> bleat	take	<i>allksa-</i>	want to take

<i>ayt-</i>	say	<i>aytiksa-</i>	want say
<i>žan-</i>	return	<i>žaniksa-</i>	want to return

5.2.2.2 Negation

Verb stems are marked by adding the suffix negation marker *-ma/me*.

men de bil-bes-ben.

I also know-Neg.-1sg. Cop.

I don't know either.

bis-diŋ nak bo dıba-nıŋ bod-ı alday-ga dur-gan dıba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

dile-p bol-ap gel-be-en.

seek-Ger. be-Ger. come-Neg.-Ppart.

seeking (= migrating to) the Altay.[i.e. we are original inhabitants.]

šungur sөөk böl-bös.

Shungur clan divide-Neg.

They do not divide the Shungur clan.

body-nuŋ dıl-ı dıba dıl, bırak dıba dıl-dıŋ body iŝ-ge

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.

Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas.

pass-Neg.

5.2.2.3 Actional modifications

One of the most significant features of Jungar Tuva is that the verb suffixes expressing aspectual and modal values commonly derive from full lexical verbs. A number of lexical verbs in the Jungar Tuva act as auxiliaries, and all follow the main verb marked by the gerund in *-(I)p* or *-A/y* express the actional modifications. The auxiliaries carry the tense, negation, person and number markers.

al- 'take', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses own benefit, e.g.

oruk-nu solungu-nan sura-p al-d-ım.

direction-Acc. *Solungu*-Abl. ask-Ger. take-Pst.-1sg.

'I asked Solungu for direction.'

nom-nu zad-ıp al-d-ım.

book-Acc. buy-Ger. take-Pst. 1sg.

'I bought the book (for my benefit).'

zasık žurt-tıñ bütgön mal-nar-ın gidis öw-i bilen

government people all livestock-Pl.-Acc. felt house-Poss. with

The government confiscated all the livestock and felt homes of the people

tart-ıp al-ıp, zorla-p kızıl üyök-ge göşür-di.

drag-Ger. take-Ger. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök-Dat. relocate-Pst.

and forced them to relocate to Kızıl Uyök.

žiber- 'send, let go', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses intensive, sudden action, e.g.

urug aba-zı-n gör-üp ıgla-p žiber-d-i.

girl mother-Poss.-Acc. see-Ger. cry-Ger. send-Pst.-3sg.

"The girl burst out when she saw her mother"

kör- 'see, watch' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses tentative action or denotes a polite request, e.g.

dibaša rrla-p gör-be-gen men.

Tuva sing-Ger. see-Neg.-PPart. I

'I never tried to sing in Tuva.'

gezet-ter-ni nomšu-p gör.

newspaper-Pl.-Acc. read-Ger. see

'Please try to read the news paper.'

alma-nı ži-p gör-d-im.

apple-Acc. eat-Ger. see-Pst.-1sg.

'I tried the apple'

bar- 'go and arrive' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progress, e.g.

ool tez ös-ip ba-ar.

child fast grow-Ger. go-Pr.Indef.

'The child is growing fast.'

kel- 'come, arrive' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progress or simultaneous action, e.g.

šuurkan gattı šuurda-p ke-er.

wind hard blow-Ger. come-Pr.Indef.

'The wind becomes stronger.'

ber- ‘give’ when used as an auxiliary, it expresses benefit to others or action without restraint or continuation of action.

ol bister-ge moolša irla-p ber-d-i.

he we-Dat. Mongolian sing-Ger. give-Pst.-3sg.

‘He sang for us in Mongolian.’

žaaškın ža-a ber-d-i.

precipitation fall-Ger. give-Pst.-3sg.

‘It continued raining.’

bol- ‘become, be’ when used as an auxiliary, it expresses completion, e.g.

men šay iš-ip bol-d-um.

I tea drink-Ger. be-Pst.-1sg.

‘I finished drinking tea.’

šik- ‘emerge, go out’ when used as an auxiliary, it expresses thoroughness or to finish doing, e.g.

surukši-lar nom-nı nomšu-p šik-d-i.

student-Pl. book-Acc. read-Ger. go out-Pst.-3pl.

‘The students read the book carefully from beginning to end’

otur- 'sit, settle' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses continuing or frequent action, e.g.

biz moolša nomšu-p otur biz.

we Mongolian study-Ger. sit- we

'We are studying Mongolian.'

kal- 'remain', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses finite state, e.g.

zadık erte şıpıl-ıp kal-d-ı.

store early close-Ger. remain-Pst.3sg.

'The store (suddenly) closed early.'

tur- 'stand', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses brief or repetitive action, e.g.

siler bižii dur-up dur-kar.

you a little stand-Ger. stand-2pl.Imp.

'Please for a moment.'

men on-ı bodan-ıp dur-men.

I it-Acc. think-Ger. stand-I

'I am thinking about that.'

ol daŋ bilen geep dur-ur.

he morning with come-Ger. stand-Pr.Indef.

'He comes every morning.'

žat- 'lie down' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progression, regular action, e.g.

ol men-ge bižik biži-p žad-ir.

S/he I-Dat. letter write-Ger. lie-Pr.Indef.

'S/he is writing a letter for me.'

žor- 'proceed', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses continuous or regular action,

sen künde žüme ažiŋda-p žor-sen.

you everyday what do-Ger. lie-you

'What are you doing everyday?'

5.3 Verbals

5.3.1 Infinitive

The general present tense is formed with the suffix *-ar/er*

bo xom bile xanas-da-ɣɪ dur-gan dɪba-lar, bis dɪba emes-biz

this Kom with Kanas-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. we Tuva Neg.Cop.-1pl.

The Tuvas who live in these Kom and Kanas (villages), when they say they are

de-er-i mege ol.

say-Inf.-Poss. false 3rd.Col.

not Tuvas, they are wrong.

žäne ol dɪl-dɪ öröd-ür kerek.

and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary

We also have to teach that language.

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun sösžok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakša bil-ir kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle

along into society. (also said sarcastically)

dɪbaša nom nomšuurnı ege gəribis.

"We like read Tuva books."

5.3.2 Participles

Participles are adjectival forms of verbs, are marked by adding the suffix -kan/-ken, -gan/-gen e.g. oturgan '(who is) sitting' <- otur- 'sit, live,' žegen '(who is) eating' <- že- 'eat'. Participles refer to entities participating in actions, and can be used as attributes or without a head.

Some of the examples are:

bis-diŋ nak bo dıba-nıŋ bod-ı alday-ga dur-gan dıba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

žasdı mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

issued (the seals). There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

bis-diŋ moolša nomšu-un ool-ubuz tek mektep-tiŋ iŝ-i-ŋge gene

we-Gen. Mongol study-Ger. child-2.pl.Poss. only school-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only

Our kids who study Mongolian only speak it at school. We only teach the kids by

domakdan-ir. ol ool-dar-ga awdar-ip gene nomšud-ur-biz.

speak-Pr.Indef. that child-Pl.-Dat. translate-Ger. only teach-Pr.Part.-2ndPl.

Translating (from Mongolian into Tuva).

5.3.3 Gerunds

Gerunds are adverbial forms of verbs, is marked by adding the suffixes *-(i)p*, *-a/-y* or

-gaš. Gerunds are adverbial forms of the verb signaling various semantic relations to the

content of the superordinate clause.

Some of the examples are:

art-ɛ-nin mool-diŋ iŝd-i-ŋge žor-ry žor-ry eki

back-Poss.-Abl. Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. walk-Ger. walk-Ger. good

Later, being among the Mongols again and again, I was able to speak

domaktan-ir bol-du-m.

speak-Pr.Indef. be-Pst.-1.pl.

good Mongolian.

art-ı-nın bir iyi üç ay-nın sonğar öörön-e bar-dı-k.

after-Poss.-Abl. one two three month after learn-Ger. go-Pst-1st.Pl.

Later, after one, two, three months we began to learn.

mäselen o-ŋ dıba bol-ı-nı dıl-ga negizdel-ip ayt-ıp dur-mın.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

ol xom-ga öŋgä tügöl moolča domaktanba-y dıbaša domaktan-ıp odır.

that Kom-Dat. friend? all mongolian speak-Neg.-Ger. Tuva speak-Ger. sit-3rd.Col.

Our friends in Kom, all are speaking in Tuva, but not in Mongolian.

oygır dıl-ı da biči -biči öörön-üp žoroor-meen.

Uygur language-Poss. also gradually learn-Ger. walk- Pr.Indef.-I

I have been learning a little bit of Uygur.

gidis-di xoy-nıŋ dük-ü-n sawa-aş teresin-ge ka-ap bas-ar.

felt-Acc. sheep-Gen. wool-Poss.-Acc. strike-Ger. grass mat-Dat. put-Ger. make-Pr.Indef.

They make the felt by striking the sheep's wool and putting it on a grass mat.

teresin-niŋ üsd-ü-ge ka-aš izig suw žaš-ip bas-ar.

grass mat-Gen. surface-Poss.-Dat. put-Ger. hot water pour-Ger. press-Pr.Indef

After putting it on top of the grass mat, pour hot water on it and press it.

bir saat emeze iyi saat kireli dirt-gaš dedir. žuw-gaš kurga-t-ir.

one hour or two hour about pull-Ger. backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

After pulling it back and forth for around one or two hours, they wash and dry it.

žuw-gaš kurga-t-ir.

backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

they wash and dry it.

kur-u-ŋga oraa-p al-gaš xara xatti xaan-ga

sash-3sg.-Poss.-Dat. wrap-Ger. take-Ger. black with berry khan-Dat.

Having wrapped it up in his sash, he takes it and brings it to the Khan

apar-ip be-er irgen.

take-Ger. give-Pr.Indef. participle

with a black berry.

Appendix A

Texts

This chapter contains ten texts, including both narrative and procedural (folkloristic) texts by several informants, nine natives of the village of Akkaba and one native of the village Kanas. The collection of texts consists of the following kinds of narration:

- 1. The history of Altay Tuva.**
- 2. The clans of Jungar Tuva.**
- 3. The distribution of Jungar Tuva.**
- 4. The population and forced migration of Jungar Tuva in Akkaba.**
- 5. “My hometown Akkaba”.**
- 6. A personal history.**
- 7. A personal history.**
- 8. The language of Jungar Tuva.**
- 9. The House Building in Akkaba.**
- 10. A short folktale.**

All the stories were told in Jungar Tuva in their entirety with a tape recorder running and the narrators did not give me a free translation into Kazak. Later Solungu and Turoun helped me with a free translation into Kazak of “The Altay Tuva” and the

unit of text. In the English translation, I have tried to be more faithful to the Jungar Tuva text than one would normally be if one were simply translating the text into English. Division into lines is generally based on pauses, which tends to produce lines which consist of a single clause (although this is not the case for every line). The texts are punctuated with ‘,’ representing pause and with ‘.’ representing a pause which also appears to correspond to a semantic closure. In deciding where to place full stops I have been guided solely by my own intuition; Turkic mother-tongue speaker judgments have been used. The sentence divisions are reasonably accurate. Quotation marks are used for reported speech and direct quotations, where appropriate.

In a very few places, I was not quite satisfied with my original analysis, but did not have a better one to propose. Those places are appropriately marked and commented upon.

The abbreviations used in the texts are the same as those used in the grammar.

1. The Altay Tuva

Narrated by Temir of Kanas Village in September 1995

alday-nıŋ žedi gožuun dıba-sı.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss.

The Altay Tuva have seven banners.

žedi gožuun dıba-nıŋ biri-si bo taŋdı ooršak.

seven tribe Tuva-Gen. one-Poss. this Tangdi Orshak.

The Tangdi Orshak is one of Tuva's seven banners .

ol aldr sumun. meyren gožuun üš sumun.

it six district. Meyren banner three district

It has six districts. The Meyren banner has three districts.

ak soyan iyi sumun. kara soyan iyi sumun. mončak dört sumun.

white Soyan two district. black Soyan two district. Monchak four sumun.

White Soyan has two districts. Black Soyan has two districts. Monchak has four districts.

sarın beš sumun. berese dört sumun .

Sarın five district. Berese four sumun.

Sarın has five districts. Berese has four districts.

ol tözü žeerbe alrı sumun bol-ur.

it all twenty six sumun be-Pr.Indef.

All together, there are twenty-six districts.

žeerbe aldr sumun-nı erte-de burun čingis xaan-nan soŋgaar, on-ı dıba

twenty six sumun-Acc. early-Loc. before Chingis Khan-Abl. after it-Acc. Tuva

A long time before, after Chingis Khan, however, two Ambil, four Berese, one

de-p bırak iyi ambıl, dört berese, bir möyireŋ, bir tayži žagır-ıp-dır

say-Ger. however two Ambil, four Berese one Möyireng, one Tayzhi rule-PNarr.

Möyireng, and one Tayzhi ruled the twenty six districts calling them Tuva.

erte-de čingis xaan-nan soŋgaar manžu čin xaan šaa-nda inžanğaš

early-Loc. Chingis Khan-Abl. after Manchu Qing Khan time-Poss.-Loc. so

So, a long time ago, after Chingis Khan, during the time of Manchu Qing Khan,

dɪba-lar-nɪ tözün gožuun-ga üle-p-dir. ooson tözün dɪba-lar-nɪ

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr. after that all Tuva-Pl.-Acc.

They divided all the Tuvas into banners. After that, they also named all the

alday-nɪŋ žedi gožuun dɪba-zɪ de-p da ada-an.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. also name-PPart.

Tuvas the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

altay dɪba gožuun uraŋxa.

Altay Tuva banner Uriyangkhai

The Altay Tuva banners are the Uriyangkhai.

bo alday-nɪŋ žedi gožuun dɪba-zɪ de-p sana-l-ar.

this Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. consider-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are considered to be the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

aldɪ sumun-nuŋ da belen-tügön-nüŋ de tözün dɪba de-p ada-ar.

six sumun-Gen. also everything-Gen. also all Tuva say-Ger. name-Pr.Indef.

The six districts and everything else are called Tuva.

bis-diŋ nak bo dɪba-nɪŋ bod-ɪ alday-ga dur-gan dɪba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

dile-p bol-ap gel-be-en.

seek-Ger. be-Ger. come-Neg.-Ppart.

seeking (= migrating to) the Altay.[i.e. we are original inhabitants.]

aldı sumun-nuŋ žedi gožuun dıba-sı bo alday-ga dur-gan dıba.

six district-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. this Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva.

The seven banner Tuva of the six districts are the Tuvas who have lived in this Altay.

2. The Clans of Jungar Tuva

Narrated by Sendish Ergin-ool of Akkaba Village in August 1987.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

al bis bo akkaba-da-ŋı olur-gan dıba žurt-ı-n mončak da

well we this Akkaba-Loc.-Rel.Cl. live-PPart. Tuva people-Poss.-Acc. Monchak also

Well, we also call the Tuva people who live in this Akkaba Monchak.

de-er bis.

say-Pr.Indef. 1pl.

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

mončak iŝ-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Monchak inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak is divided into four.

köyük, irgit, žag dıba, šungur de-p dört-ge ül-en-er.

Koyuk, Irgit, Zhag Tuva, Shungur say-Ger. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are divided into four (clans) called Koyuk, Irgit, Zhag Tuva, and Shungur.

mžalgašdın on-ı dört sumun da de-er bo.

therefore it-Acc. four district also say-Pr.Indef. this

This is why they also call them (the Monchak) the Four Districts.

köyük-tiñ iŝ-i-nde kara köyük, ak köyük, žanagaš köyük,

köyük-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. Kara köyük, Ak köyük, Zhanagash köyük

Within the Köyük, they divide them into the Kara Köyük, Ak Köyük,

gongutu köyük de-p üle-er.

Gonggutu Köyük say-Ger. divide-Pr.Indef.

Zhanagash Köyük and Gonggutu Köyük.

baza gongutu irgit de-p ayt-ır.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

irgit-tiñ iŝ-i-nde ak irgit, kara irgit, botbum, suk, möndügöy

Irgit-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. Ak Irgit Kara Irgit Botbum, Suk, Mondugoy

Within the Irgit, they divide (them) into the Ak Irgit, Kara Irgit, Botbum, Suk,

de-p üle-er.

say-Ger. divide-Pr.Indef.

and Mondugoy.

žag dıba iŝ-i-nde kara žag dıba, sarı žag dıba, xadar žag dıba
 Jagda Diba inside-Poss.-Loc. Kara Jag Diba, Sari Jag Diba, Khadar Jag Diba
 Within the Zhagda Tuva, they are divided into three (clans) called the Kara Zhag

de-p üŝ-ge üle-n-er. ŝunğur söök böl-bös.
 say-Ger. three-Dat. divide-Pass.-PrIndef. Shungur clan divide-Neg.
 Tuva, Sari Zhag Tuva, and Khadar Zhag Tuva. They do not divide the Shungur clan.

3. Distribution of Jungar Tuva

Narrated by Solungu of Akkaba Village in September 1995

kazır bo dıba bis-diŋ žongo-da men bil-er-de iyi mıŋ-ga žook.
 now this Tuva we-Gen. China-Loc. I know-Pr.Part.-Loc. two thousand-Dat. near
 As far as I know, there are about two thousand Tuvas in China.

bo žongo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-t-nda dur-ar.
 this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.
 These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

bo xaba awdan-t-nıŋ akkaba kıstak-t-nda bar.
 this Kaba county-Poss.Gen. Akkaba village-Poss.-Loc. exist
 There are Tuvas in Akkaba village of this Kaba county.

buwırŝın awdan-t-nıŋ xom-t-nda, xanas-t-nda bar.
 Buwirshın county-Poss.-Gen. Kom-Poss.-Loc. Kanas-Poss.-Loc. exist
 There are Tuvas in Kom and Kanas (villages) of the Buwirshın county.

alday awdan-ı-nıñ gök suw alagak de-p žer-i-nde bis-diñ
 Altay county-Poss.-Gen. Kök Suw Alagak say-Ger. place-Poss.-Loc. we-Gen.
 There are our Monchaks in the place called Kök Suw Alagak of

mončak-tar bar.

Monchak-Pl. exist

Altay county.

onsoonda bo göktogay bilen šingil awdan-dar-ı-nda da bar.
 then this Köktogay and Shinggil county-Pl.-Poss.-Loc. also exist.
 Then, there also are Tuvas in these Köktogay as well as in Shinggil counties.

göktogay-da temeki awıldık de-p žer bar, ında mončak-tar bar.
 Köktogay-Loc. Temeki awıldık say-Ger. place exist there Monchak-Pl. exist
 There is a place called Temeki Awıldık in Köktogay, and there are Monchaks there.

teginde biz-di başgar-ıp dur-gan bey-ebiz ol gökdogay-da dur-gan.
 formerly we-Acc. govern-Ger. stay-PPart. Bey-1pl.Poss. that Köktogay-Loc. stay-PPart.
 In the past, our governing Bey lived in that Köktogay (county).

tañma moš gas-ında mındıg dörbölžin tañma-sı bar.
 seal mosh? side-Loc. such square seal-Poss. exist
 Beside the moš (?) seal, he had a square seal like this.

kümüs tañma tut-kan arzalañ tutkıšdık. teginde mänčiq tarat-ıp
 silver seal hold-PPart. lion holder before Man-Qing issue-PPart.
 He had a silver seal, and one that held a lion. Formerly, the Manchu Qing (government)

žasdr mool-dan gel-gen tört taᅇma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

issued (the seals). There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

bo xom bile xanas-da-ᅇr dur-gan dıba-lar, bis dıba emes-biz

this Kom with Kanas-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. we Tuva Neg.Cop.-1pl.

The Tuvas who live in these Kom and Kanas (villages), when they say they are

de-er-i mege ol.

say-Inf.-Poss. false 3rd.Col.

not Tuvas, they are wrong.

moolča žügä domaktan-ba-sın.

Mongolian why speak-Neg.-3rd.Imp.

Why would they not be speaking Mongolian?

ınžalsa dıbaša domaktan-ıᅇ dur. olar dıba.

but Tuva speak-Ger. stand. they Tuva

Instead, they are speaking Tuva. They are Tuvas.

mäselen o-ᅇ dıba bol-t-nı dıl-ga negizdel-ıᅇ ayt-ıᅇ dur-mın.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

ol xom-ga öᅇᅇä tüᅇöl moolča domaktanba-y dıbaša domaktan-ıᅇ odr.

that Kom-Dat. friend? all mongolian speak-Neg.-Ger. Tuva speak-Ger. sit-3rd.Col.

Our friends in Kom, all are speaking in Tuva, but not in Mongolian.

4. Population and Movements of Tuvas in Akkaba

Narrated by Solungu of Kanas Village in September 1995

mıŋ tos žüs bešen sesinči žıl-dıŋ baš-ı
 thousand nine hundred fifty eighth year-Gen. beginning-Poss.
 At the beginning of 1958,

zasık žurt-tıŋ bütgön mał-nar-ın gidis öw-i bilen
 government people all livestock-Pl.-Acc. felt house-Poss. with
 the government confiscated all the livestock and felt homes of the people

tart-ıp al-ıp, zorla-p kızıl üyök-ge göšür-di.
 drag-Ger. take-Ger. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök-Dat. relocate-Pst.
 and forced them to relocate to Kızıl Uyök.

ol gez-de zor sekiriw de-p, ösgörtüw de-p
 that time-Loc. big leap say-Ger. reform say-Ger.
 At that time, saying it is the Great Leap Forward and saying it is reform,

büdün akkaba-da-ırı dur-gan dıba-nı ayda-p olur-ıp
 entire Akkaba-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Acc. drive-Ger. sit-Ger.
 they drove away the entire Tuva population that lived in Akkaba , and

kızıl öyök-ge apar-dı.
 Kızıl Oyök-Dat. take-Pst.
 took them away to Kızıl Uyök.

soŋında bir ay-nıŋ iŝ-i-nde sook bagay bo-(ı)-gan,
 at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.
 The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

bičii aldan ool öl-di.
 small sixty child die-Pst.
 and sixty small children died.

onsoŋ bo boł-bas irgin de-p dedir žalaŋaš de-p
 then this be-Neg. particle say-Ger. backward Zhalangash say-Ger.
 Later, saying this won't work, they brought them back there to a place

žer-ge mda äkel-di. žalaŋaš agm suwlu žer.
 place-Dat. there bring-Pst. Zhalangash flow water place.
 called Zhalangash. Zhalangash is a place with running water.

mga äkel-gen soŋında bičii eki bol-di.
 there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.
 After they brought them there, it was a little better.

mga bir žıl tur-gan soŋında, žurt talapta-an soŋgar
 there one year stay-PPart. after people request-PPart. after
 After they lived there for a year, and after the people made an appeal,

dedir göšür-üp akkaba-ga äkel-di.
 backward relocate-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. bring-Pst.
 they moved them back and brought them to Akkaba.

al aldan iyinči žıl-ga gel-er-de, oy, bo dıba šiwžinžuyi de-p
 well, sixty second year-Dat. come-Fut.Part.-Loc. oh, this Tuva revisionist say-Ger.
 Well, coming to 1962, they made false statements, saying hey, these Tuvas are

söwet bilen žašdıǵı mool-ga öt-öp ba-ar dep mege ayt-ıp
 soviet with outer mongol-Dat. cross-Ger. go-FutPart. say-Ger. lie say-Ger.
 revisionists, and saying they will cross over to the Soviets and to Outer Mongolia, and

bis-diŋ dıba-lar-nı ayda-p olır-ıp bo xara oy de-p žer-ge äkel-gen.
 we-Gen. Tuva-Pl.-Acc. drive-Ger. sit-Ger. this Kara oy say-Ger. place-Dat. bring-PPart.
 they began to drive our Tuvas away and brought them to this place called Kara Oy.

xara oy-ga äkel-gen soŋında, ol žer-de on žıl-ga žook dur-gan.
 Kara Oy-Dat. bring-PPart. after that place-Loc. ten year-Dat. near stay-PPart.
 After they brought them to Kara Oy, the Tuvas lived almost ten years in that place.

bir mıŋ dos žüs sesen iyinči žıl akkaba žer-i-ŋge žurt
 one thousand nine hundred eighty second year Akkaba place-Poss.-Dat. people
 In 1982, the people moved back to

bodı-nıŋ talab-ı boyınša göš-üp bar-di.
 self-Gen. demand-Poss. according move-Ger. go-Pst.
 their Akkaba country on their own.

5. My hometown - Akkaba

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September 1995

dıba ulut-u-nuŋ žalprı žagday-ı

Tuva nation-Poss.-Gen. general situation-Poss.
The general situation of the Tuva nation

men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaş daş-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-şe siler-ge ayt-ıp
tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger.
the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones pertain to

ber-e-yin.

give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
my own hometown.

akkaba bis-diŋ kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.

Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.
Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

o-ŋ iş-i-nde terekti awıldık akkaba kıstak de-p ayt-ır.

it-Gen. inside-Poss. Terekti Awıldık Akkaba Kistak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.
Within it, they called it Akkaba Kistak (of) Terekti Awıldık (of Kaba county).

akkaba-nı iyi kıstak-ka üle-er.

Akkaba-Acc. two Kistak-Dat. divide-Pr.Indef.
They divide Akkaba into two Kistaks.

birisi-n kazak kıstak, birisi-n mool kıstak de-er.

one-Acc. Kazak Kistak one-Acc. Mongol Kistak say-Pr.Indef.
One of them is Kazak Kistak, and they call the other Mongol Kistak.

dıba-nıŋ žan san-ı dört žüs-dön ardık.

Tuva-Gen. person number-Poss. four hundred-Abl. more
The population of the Tuvas is more than four hundred.

kazak-tıñ žan san-ı üš žüs-dön ardik.

Kazak-Gen. person number-Poss. three hundred-Abl. more
The population of the Kazaks is more than three hundred.

akkaba säbet-ge žook. säbet-tiñ šegärä-si-niñ üsd-ü-nde.

Akkaba soviet-Dat. near soviet-Gen. border-Poss.-Gen. top-Poss.-Loc.
Akkaba is close to the Soviets. It is on the Soviet border.

o-ñ moyun-da zan bar. zan-niñ üsd-ü-nde ulug dag bar.

it-Gen. neck-Loc. station exist. station-Gen. top-Poss.-Loc. big mountain exist
There is a (frontier) station on its neck. Above the station, there is a big mountain.

ol dag-nı bolbaday da-a de-p ayt-ır.

that mountain Bolbaday mountain-Poss. say-Gen. say-Pr.Indef.
They call that mountain Bolbaday Mountain.

oola-p ıngay on ses kilometr žor-uu-nda kanas bar.

ascend-Gen. only ten eight kilometer walk-PPart.-Loc. Kanas exist
When you walk only eighteen kilometers down (from there), there is Kanas.

dıba ulut-u bolbaday da-a-niñ ede-e-nde kazakstan-niñ

Tuva nationality-Poss. Bolbaday mountain-Poss.-Gen. foot-Poss.-Loc. Kazakstan-Gen.
The Tuva nation is located on both sides of the Akkaba river above the border of

šegärä-si-niñ üsd-ü-nde akkaba suw-ı-niñ iyi žü-ü-nde

border-Poss.-Gen. upper-Poss.-Loc. Akkaba water-Poss.-Gen. two side-Poss.-Loc.
Kazakstan at the foot of Bolbaday Mountain.

ornalaş-gan. murnuu žük bolbaday da-a-nın edig al-gan,

be located-Gen. south side Bolbaday mountain-Poss.-Abl. foot take-Gen.
The south side (of their location) foots along Bolbaday Mountain.

songu žük kazakstan-nın šegäräli.

north side Kazakstan-Gen. share the border
The north side shares a border Kazakstan.

burun dıba ulut-u xaba awdan-da-ğı xara oy de-en žer-ge

earlier Tuva nation-Poss. Xaba county-Loc.-Rel. Kara Oy say-PPart. place-Dat.
Before, the Tuva nation lived in a place called Kara Oy in Kaba county.

dur-gan. ard-ı-nın dıba ulut-u göž-üp akkaba-ga gel-gen.

stay-PPart. back-Poss.-Abl. Tuva nation-Poss. move-Gen. Akkaba-Dat. come-PPart.
After that, the Tuva nation migrated and came back to Akkaba.

diba kɨstak-tɨŋ ʒan san-ɪ dɔrt ʒüs ʒeʒe-niŋ üsd-i-nde.
 Tuva Kɨstak-Gen. people number-Poss. four hundred some-Gen. above-Poss.-Loc.
 The population of the Tuva Kɨstak is over four hundred something.

eŋ bašday bar-ɪp dur-ar-da alɔr ʒüs ʒeʒe. kəzir dɔrt ʒüs-diŋ
 the very at first go-Gen. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. six hundred some. now four hundred
 When they first arrived, it was six hundred something. Now, it is over four hundred.

üsd-i-nde. eŋ bašday bar-ɪp dur-ar-da indɨg göböy giši,
 above-Poss.-Loc. the very at first go-Gen. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. that many people
 I do not know why there were so many people when they first arrived and

kəzir ʒügö ebeešde-p gal-gan, men de bil-bes-ben.
 now why decline-Gen. remain-PPart. I also know-Neg.-1sg. Cop.
 now I don't know [why](the population) has declined.

üytgönü akkaba-da-gɨ giši-ler kaba awdan-da-gɨ xara oy de-gen
 so Akkaba-Loc.-Rel. people-Pl. Kaba county-Loc.-Rel. Kara Oy say-PPart.
 So, the people in Akkaba lived in the place called Kara Oy in

ʒer-ge dur-gan burun.
 place-Dat. stay-PPart. before
 Kaba county before.

mool-dar-niŋ ʒagday-ɪ eki de-yir. ʒem-i eki dur-gan.
 Mongol-Pl.-Gen. situation-Poss. good say-FPart. food-Poss. good stay-PPart.
 It seems that the situation of the Mongols is good. They have enough food.

osında sezen üšünči ʒıl ɨŋgay göš-üp bar-gan.
 here eighty third year only move-Gen. go-PPart.
 They only moved here in 1983.

göš-üp bar-ɪp dur-ar-da öw ʒibe ʒok dur-gan.
 move-Gen. go-Gen. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. house thing no stay-PPart.
 When they moved (here) to live, no houses or anything existed.

osonda ɨyaš gez-ɪp öw gaʒa ga-ap, mal azɨra-p,
 there wood cut-Gen. house enclosure build-Gen. livestock raise-Gen.
 Here they subsisted by cutting down trees and building houses and pens,

taraa tarɨ-p, tɨn azɨra-n-ɪp dur-gan.
 grain plant-Gen. life raise-Ps.-Gen. stay-PPart.
 tending livestock and farming (growing grain).

dıba-lar negizinen taraa tar-ıp žan ba-ar.

Tuva-Pl. basically grain grow-Ger. life care for-Pre.Indef.
The Tuvas basically get through life by farming (growing grain).

key birei malčr-nm žan ba-ar.

certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.
Certain ones get through life as herders.

baza turmuž-ı indıg eki emes.

also life-Poss. that good no

And their life is not so good.

6. A Personal History

Narrated by Kongir of Akkaba Village in September 1995

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu mončak de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Monchak say-PresIndef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Monchaks.

olar erte šag-da bo orus-tıŋ säbet žaysaŋ göl-ü xommalga

they early time-Loc. this Russian-Gen. soviet Zaysang lake-Poss. Hommalga

It seems that in earlier times they came from a place called Hommalga (near) this

de-p žer-nen gel-gen irgin.

say-Ger. place-Abl. come-PPart. Particle.

Soviet Zaysang lake of the Russians.

ol mırŋ tos žüs on žedinči žıl-dar-ı kōnō šar patča-zı oylat-ıp

it thousand nine hundred ten seventh year-Pl.-Poss. old tsar king-Poss. chase-Ger.

In 1907, the old Tsarist emperor chased them

bo žer-ge äkel-ıp ka-an. oson bortta gel-geli buruŋı ulug

this place-Dat. bring-Ger. leave-PPart. later here come-since previous old

and brought them to this place. According to the old folks,

ulus-tar-nıŋ ayt-ır-ı-nda bes žüs žeže žıl-dan artık bol-gan.

people-Pl.-Gen. say-PresIndef.-Poss.-Loc. five hundred many year-Abl. more be-PPart.

it has been more than five hundred something years since after they came here.

bortta gel-gen-men mırŋ tos žüs dōrtōn sesinči žıl gel-gen-men bo.

here come-PPart.-1st. thousand nine hundred forty eighth year come-PPart.-1st. this.

I came here, I came here in 1948, it was.

ol gel-gen žıl-dın bašta-p mektep gag-dırd-ıp nom örōt-dı-m

that come-PPart. year-Abl. start-Ger. school build-Caus.-Ger. lesson teach-Pst.-1.sg.

Starting from the year I came, I had them (the Tuva) build a school and I have taught

bolar-ga.

they-Dat.

there.

dōrtōn tozinči žıl-dın bašta-p mektep-te kızımet iste-p mugalım bol-du-m,

forty ninth year-Abl. start-Ger. school-Loc. job do-Ger. teacher be-Pst.-1.sg.

I have been a teacher employed at the school starting in 1949, and I have been principal,

šiwžan bol-du-m bo. amdı demal-ı-ga ün-üp žet-tr-m men.
 principal be-Pst.-1.sg. this. Now rest-Inf.-Dat. enter-Der. reach-Pst.-1.sg. I
 it was. Now I am retired.

käzir bo žurt burungu-zı-nan ebeeše-en bol-ba-sa göböy-gön
 now this people before-Poss.-Abl. decline-PPart. be-Neg.-if increase-PPart.
 Now, this hometown has gone from what it was, or anyway there's no way

žer-i žok. dörtön tosmçı žıl-ı dört žüs sesen tın-nın
 place-Poss. Neg. exist forty ninth year-Rel. four hundred eighty life-Abl.
 it went up, no way. Of 480 people of 1949,

käzir barr üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı. ebeešed-di.
 now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.
 now 390 people remain altogether. It's declined.

bo-oŋ göb-ü aarıg sırgak.
 this-Gen. most-Poss. sick ill
 Most of them are sick and ill.

käzir bičii eki bo-p olur-gan-ı bo.
 now little good be-Ger. sit-PPart.-Poss. this
 Now, they've been getting a little better.

bir žer-de žıgıl-ıp nom ertem mektep-i de ortalaw-ga žed-ir.
 one place-Loc. gather-Ger. book learning school-Poss. also middle-Dat. reach-Pre.Indef.
 They gather together (in one school) and reach school in the educational system.

bodu-nuŋ dıl-ı *dıba dıl,* *bırak dıba dıl-dıŋ* *bodu iş-ge*
 self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.
 Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas. bis-diŋ nomna-d-ır *žibe-biz* *žıŋ mool dıl-ı*
 pass-Neg. we-Gen. teach-Caus.-Pre.Indef. thing-2.pl.Poss. true Mongol language-Poss.
 What we teach is pure Mongolian,

žäne ol dıl-dı *öröd-ür kerek.*
 and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary
 and we have to teach that language.

dıba-nıŋ ool-dar-ıŋga *bolşug-ı* *kün ötkür-üp olur-gan bo*
 Tuva-Gen. child-Pl.-Poss.-Dat. way of life-3Poss. day pass-Ger. sit-PPart. this
 This way of life is lived by the Tuva people.

maldıg bay-ı da bar, žo-o *da bar.*
 with livestock rich-Poss. also exist, Neg.exist -Poss. also exist
 There are both rich and poor in livestock.

kişi tözü deŋ emes. eki-si *de bar, bagay-sı da bar.*
 person every equal not good-Poss. also exist bad-Poss. also exist
 Everyone is not equal. There is both good and bad.

bo akkaba-nıŋ žurd-u-nıŋ *žalpr beedi-i.* *baška žok.*
 this Akkaba-Gen. people-Poss.-Gen. general condition-Poss. other Neg exist
 This is the general situation of these people of Akkaba. There is nothing else (to say).

7. The Tuva Language

Narrated by Solungu of Akkaba Village in September 1995

amdr bo dɪba žönnün ayt-kar-da, dɪba dɪl özgör-e
 now this Tuva as far as say-PPart.-Dat. Tuva language change-Ger.
 Now, speaking about this Tuva language, it is true that Tuva has changed.

bara-a šındık. özgör-e bar-a-ı bis-diŋ bo dɪba dɪl tek
 go-Ger. truth. change-Poss. go-Ger.-Poss. we-Gen. this Tuva language only
 It is changing (because) we only speak this Tuva language of ours

bo akkaba-nıŋ iş-i-nde öw-niŋ iş-i-ŋge gene
 this Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only
 in this Akkaba

domakdan-ar-bız.
 speak-Pr.Indef.-2.pl.
 and in the home.

kogam-ga ün-ör-de iş aızılda-ar-da kazakša materiyal
 society-Dat. enter-Pr.Indef.-Loc. work do-Pr.Indef.-Loc. kazak material
 When we go into society or when we are at work, we speak Kazak when it comes

gel-er-de kazakša domaktan-ar-bız. onun ıŋgay awdan ürümži
 come-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Kazak speak-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. then always county Urumchi
 to Kazak subject matter. Then they always have to speak Chinese when they go to

žešey žer-ge bar-gan-da xanzuša domaktan-ır bol-ba-sa kazakša da
 like place-Dat. go-Ger.Loc. Han speak-Ger. be-Neg.-Cond. kazak also
 places like the county (town) or Urumchi, since Kazak has no status (there in Urumchi)

güš-ü-nen kal-ır. al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.
 might-Poss.-Abl. left-Pr.Indef. well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.
 either. Well, now we study Mongolian.

išdi mool-dırj xudma üzü-ü-n nomšu-p, moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.
 inside Mongol-Gen. hudma letter-Poss.-Acc. study-Ger. Mongol study-Ger. stand-1.pl.
 Among ourselves, we study the Hudma (Mongolian) script and we study Mongolian.

bis-dırj moolša nomšu-un ool-ubuz tek mektep-tırj iš-i-ıge gene
 we-Gen. Mongol study-Ger. child-2.pl.Poss. only school-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only
 Our kids who study Mongolian only speak it at school. We only teach the kids by

domakdan-ır. ol ool-dar-ga awdar-ıp gene nomšud-ur-bız.
 speak-Pr.Indef. that child-Pl.-Dat. translate-Ger. only teach-Pr.Part.-2ndPl.
 Translating (from Mongolian into Tuva).

onson bol-gan-nan geder on-ı ganžaar de-seı.
 after be-PPart.-Abl. up to it-Acc. how say-2ndCond.
 Since this is so, how much can you expect from them.

kogam-ga ün-gön-nen geder öw-ü-ge bar-gan-aan
 society-Dat. turn-PPart.-Abl. up to home-Poss.-Dat. go-PPart.-Abl.
 When they go home until they go back out into society,

gederi dıba dıl domaktan-ır.

until Tuva language speak-PrIndef.

they speak Tuva.

ada-ene-si-nen olar moolša domaktan-gan bilen mool bil-bes ol.

grandparents-3rd Poss.-Abl. they mongolian speak-PPart. with Mongol know-Neg. he

Even though they want to speak to their grandparents in Mongolian but they (grandparents) don't know Mongol.

baxşı-lar-ı ool-dar-ga moolša domaktan-gan bilen men

teacher-Pl.-Poss. child-Pl.-Dat. Mongolian speak-PPart. with Instr.

Even though their teachers speak to the kids in Mongolian, no matter what

öw-gö bar-gan soñ da olar ganžaar de-diñiz dıbaša domaktan-ar.

home-Dat. go-PPart. after also they how say-2nd. Tuva speak-Pr.Indef.

you say (to them), after they go home they speak in Tuva.

am uluu giši bol-sa žagarı-nan bir materiyal xužat gel-se,

now big people be-Cond. above-Abl. one material document come-Cond.

Now, as for the adults, if an official document comes from above (the government),

ol kazakša. o-oñ bilen bis-der kazı-p bil-e sal-ı-bız ödö aar.

it Kazak. it-Gen. with we-Pl. read-Ger. know put-Inf.-1.pl. very difficult

it is in Kazak. Therefore, it is very difficult for us to read and understand it.

bir giši bol-ur uşun bodıbıs-dır dıba ult-ıbiz-dı

one person be-Pr.Indef. for ourselves-Gen. Tuva nationality-2.pl.Poss.-Acc.

It would seem that we have to learn Mongolian in order to be people, in order to

sakta-p kal-ır uşun moolşa öörön-e-büz kerek irgin.

preserve-Ger. remain-Inf. for Mongolian learn-Inf.-1.pl.Poss. need particle

preserve our own Tuva ethnic identity. (said sarcastically)

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or uşun sösžok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakşa bil-ır kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle

along into society. (also said sarcastically)

ulug iyik-ten ab ayt-kan-da, memleket-tiñ dıl-ı

broad aspect-Abl. take say-PPart.-Loc. state-Gen. language-Poss.

Speaking from a broad perspective, we have to learn Chinese because

xanzu bol-gan uşun xanzuşa öörön-er kerek-dir.

Chinese be-PPart. for Chinese learn-Inf. need-3.sg.

Chinese is the state language.

al ürümži-ge bar-sa, uygur dıl-ın bil-be-se de

well Urumchi-Dat. go-Cond. Uyghur language-Poss.-Acc. know-Neg.-Cond. also

Well, if someone goes to Urumchi, it won't do if s/he doesn't know the Uyghur language.

bol-bas. inžangaš kázir men bodum mıysalı, mončak dıl bil-er-meen,
 be-Neg. therefore now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I
 Therefore, now, taking my own example, I know Monchak,

mool dıl bil-er-meen, kazak dıl bil-er-meen, xansuša
 Mongol language know-Pr.Indef.-1st Kazak language know-Pr.Indef.-I, Chinese
 I know Mongolian, I know Kazak, (and) I know Chinese.

bil-er-meen. oygır dıl-ı da biči -biči öörön-üp žoroor-meen.
 know-Pr.Indef.-I. Uygur language-Poss. also gradually learn-Ger. walk- Pr.Indef.-I.
 I have also learned a little bit of Uygur.

žügö de-señ, ürümži-ge bar-gan-da oygurša domaktan-ba-sañ,
 why say-2nd.Cond. Urumchi-Dat. go-Ger.-Loc. Uygur speak-Neg.-2nd.Cond.
 If you ask why, (it is because) if you do not speak Uygur when you go to Urumchi,

kazak dıl domaktan-sañ olar baza taar-ıp, žaktır-bas žagday bar.
 Kazak language speak-2nd.Cond. they also rebuke-Ger. like-Neg. circumstance exist
 [and]if you speak Kazak, there will be a situation where they rebuke and do not like you.

o-oñ bilen bis-dı mindıg mindıg da žägday bar. kazakša domaktan-sañ,
 it-Gen. with we-Acc. such such also situation exist. Kazak speak-2nd.Cond.
 Moreover, we have experienced such kinds of situations where they will say to you Hey

olar oy koñkabay de-er. oygurša domakdan-sañ eki gör-ör.
 they hey Kongkabay say-PrIndef. Uygur speak-2nd.Cond. good consider-Pr.Indef.
 Kongkabay if you speak Kazak. They will like you if you speak Uygur.

ol iyik-nen gel-gen-de bisder mıysalı, am ol žer-ge
 that respect-Abl. come-Ger.-Loc. we for example now that place-Dat.

When it comes to that aspect, for example, now, when it comes to that place, in all

gel-gen-de ärkandık ädet-de pukara-nıñ bodu da üš türlü dıl
 come-Ger.-Loc. any kind situation-Loc. mass-Gen. self also three kind language
 sorts of situations, the common people have to know three different languages.

bil-er kerek. mončakta-sa o-nı bodu burun-nın bil-er.
 know-Inf. need speak Monchak-Cond. it-Acc. itself before-Abl. know-3rd.Pr.Indef.
 As far as speaking Monchak, one knows it already.

onsoñ, kazak bilen kansu bil-er kerek. keybiresi mool dıl
 also Kazak with Chinese know-Inf. need some of them Mongol language
 Also, they have to know Kazak and Chinese. Some of them don't know Mongolian.

bil-bes uluu amtan-nar-nıñ keybiresi gene bil-er.
 know-Neg. big people-Pl.-Gen. some of only know-3rd.Pr.Indef.
 Only some of the older people know it.

8. House Building

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September 1995 in Urumchi

dıba-lar-nıñ öw-lör-i tuwralı xoçu.

Tuva-Pl.-Gen house-Pl.-Poss. about story

A story about the Tuvas' houses.

bis-diñ akkaba-nıñ öw-lör-i-niñ güp-ü dañniñ žayın

we-Gen. Akkaba-Gen. house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. many-Poss. always summer

Always when it is summer, most of our households in Akkaba

bol-ır-da gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

Be-Pr.Part.-Loc. felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

live in felt homes.

malčr-lar xoy kadar-ır, inek kadar-ır.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

giši-ler dañniñ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

gidis öw-nıñ iŝ-i-n ıyaŝ-dan žaza-ar. baza iŝ-i-n

felt house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Acc. wood-Abl make-Pr.Indef. and inside-Poss.-Acc.

They make the inside of the felt house out of wood. Also they paint it all inside. It is

sırla-p ka-ar böörünke žibe-ŝibi-i bol-ur.

paint-Ger. put-PresIndf globular something-3rd.Poss. be-Pr.Indef.

something that is round.

sırakayla-y sırakayla-y ŝar-ıp žütüülik žep-penin ŝar-ıp ka-ar.

tighten-Ger. tighten-Ger. wrap-Ger. strong rope-Instr. wrap-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They wrap it up real tight. They wrap it with strong ropes.

duguruk kelberlig gıdır ka-ar. keybir öw-lör-ni

round shape as put-Pr.Indef. some house-Pl.-Acc.

They put it up so that it is round in shape. Just look at some of the houses,

gör-de, üsdü böörünke bağına kelberlig ka-ar.

look-Prt. up spherical pillar shape put-Pr.Indef.

they put them up in the shape of a spherical top on the top.

žibe-šibi töbe ka-ar. gidis-di xoy-nıñ dük-ü-n sawa-aş

something roof put-PresIndef. felt-Acc. sheep-Gen. wool-Poss.-Acc. strike-Ger.

They put on some sort of roof. They make the felt by striking the sheep's wool and

teresin-ge ka-ap bas-ar. teresin-niñ üsd-ü-ge ka-aş

grass mat-Dat. put-Ger. make-Pr.Indef. grass mat-Gen. surface-Poss.-Dat. put-Ger.

putting it on a grass mat. They put it on top of the grass mat, pour hot water on it

izig suw žaš-ıp bas-ar. izig suw žaš-gan-nan songar dedir

hot water pour-Ger. press-Pr.Indef. hot water pour-PPart.-Abl. after backward

and press it. After they have poured hot water over it, they tie a rope around it and pull

argamžr-nın šar-ıp dırt-ar. bir saat emeze iyi saat kireli dırt-gaš

lasso-Instr. wrap-Ger. pull-Pr.Indef. one hour or two hour about pull-Ger.

it back and forth. After pulling it back and forth for around one or two hours,

dedir. žuw-gaš kurga-t-ır.

backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

they wash and dry it.

bir ay-nın songar bızır-ır de-p izig suw kud-up bızır-ır.

one month-Abl. after cook-Pr.Part. say-Ger. hot water pour-Ger. boil-Pr.Indef.

After a month, when it's ready, they prepare it by pouring hot water on it.

soson on-ı kurga-t-ır. kes-ip böörünke

after it-Acc. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef. cut-Ger. spherical

Then they dry it. They cut it up,

bagına kelberlig on iyi žü-ü-n kes-ip ka-ar-da debiyür

pillar shape twelve edge-Poss.-Acc. cut-Ger. put-Pr.Part.-Loc. fan

and when they finish cutting twelve feathers in the shape of a spherical top,

kelberlig bop kal-ır. oson on-ı dara-ar, dara-ar-nın songar

shape as stay-Pr.Indef. then it-Acc. unwrap-Pr.Indef. unwrap-Pr.Part.-Abl. after

it takes the shape of a fan. Then they unwrap it, and after unwrapping it,

gidis öw kıl-ıp žaylaw-ga ün-ör. kıstak-tır

felt house make-Ger. summer pasture-Dat. move out-Pr.Indef. village-Gen.

they make a felt house and move to summer pasture.

iş-i-nde-gi keybir malçr ewes gişi-ler ryaş öw-ge olur-ur.

inside-Poss.-Loc.-Rel.Cl. some herder Neg.Cl. person-Pl. wood house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

Some persons in the village who are not herders live in wood houses.

ryaş öw-niñ urtu uzun aldı metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

wood house-Gen. length long six meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make the length of a piece of wood six meters long.

örgün-in beş metir emeze dört metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

width-Acc. five meter or four meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make its width five meters or four meters.

üsd-ü-n xoyug ıyaş emeze sirgawbul-dın žon-ıp ka-ar.

top-Poss.-Acc. rafter wood or sirgawbul-Abl. plane-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make the top by planing the rafter wood and sirgawbul.

o-ŋ üsd-i-nin čigen ka-ar.

it-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. hay put-Pr.Indef.

They put hay on top of it.

oson doburak ka-ar. širikte-er.

then dirt put-Pr.Indef. smooth out-Pr.Indef.

Then they put dirt, and they smooth it out.

keybir öw-lör üsd-ü-n daktayla-p al-ır.

some family-Pl. top-Poss.-Acc. lay board-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some families lay boards on top.

üş dörbülžinnig gıldır ka-ar.

three square (room) as put-PresIndef.

They make it so it has three rooms.

dört dörbülžın-nıg gıldır ka-aş-dın daktayla-p al-sa da

four square (room) as put-Ger.-Abl. lay board-Ger. take-Cond. also

After making it so it has four rooms, they may lay boards.

bol-ur. ald-ı-n ka-ar-da gaz-ıp al-ır.

be-Pr.Indef. under-Poss.-Acc. put-Pr.Part.-Loc. dig-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

When they put in the floor, they dig it (they level the ground).

keybiresi daş ka-ap ka-ar. ald-ı-nga daş ka-ap

some of stone lay-Ger. put-Pr.Indef. under-Poss.-Dat. stone put-Ger.

Some of them put down stone. If they put down stone on the floor, it will

kag-sa bişig bol-ur. keybir žagday-ı gel-bes

put-Cond. solid be-Pr.Indef. some condition-Poss. come-Neg.

be solid. People without certain possibilities do not put down stone.

gişi-ler daş gag-bas. dašta-y al-bas. äydew ald-ı-n

person-Pl. stone put-Neg.Pr.Indef. lay stone-Ger. Abil.-Neg. anyhow under-Poss.Acc.

They are unable to lay stone.

tegiste-en şigi bol-gaş-dın üsd-ü-nün ıyaş-ın ga-ap ga-ar.

smooth-Ger. like be-Ger.-Abl. top-Poss.-Abl. wood-Acc. put-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

After it appears to be smoothed, they put the wood on top of it.

bir ıyaş-m kird-ıp žoŋ-gaş üsd-ü-nün žeŋes ga-ap epdeşdirip

some wood-Acc. cut-Ger. plane-Ger. top-Poss.-Abl. moss put-Ger. carefully

They cut up and plane some logs and carefully put moss on top of them.

ga-ar. žeŋes-diŋ üsd-ü-nün ıyaş ga-ar.

put-Pr.Indef. moss-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. wood put-Pr.Indef.

They put logs on top of the moss.

bir öw-nüň tuwırğa-zı-n ka-ar-da on dört ıyaş bol-ur.

one house-Gen. wall-Poss.-Acc. put-Ger.-Loc. fourteen wood be-Pr.Indef.

When they build the walls of some houses, there will be fourteen logs.

eň biçii ga-ar-da dört bölmölüg ga-ar. o-ň daşında

most small put-Pr.Part.-Loc. four room put-Pr.Indef. it-Gen. next to

When they put up the smallest (house) they make four rooms. They also

bir bölmö gıldır ga-ar. daşında bir bölmöge kışın et žem žibe

one room as put-Pr.Indef. close to one room-Dat. winter meat foods thing

build another room next to them. They put the winter meat and provisions in that

ka-ap al-ır. kışın ži-ir žem žibe-si-n ka-ar.

put-Ger. take-PrsIndf. winter eat-Pr.Part. food thing-Poss.-Acc. put-Pr.Indef.

next room. They put their provisions which they eat in the winter there.

žayın bol-ır-da işd-i-n šeberle-p žem kıl-ıp iš-er.

summer become-Ger.-Loc. inside-Poss.-Acc. clean-Ger. food make-Ger. eat-PrsIndf.

When it becomes summer, they clean up the inside of it (that room), make food and eat it.

žayın gerbiš gıldır mešit ka-ap baza žem kıl-ıp iš-er.

summer brick as oven put-Ger. and food cook-Ger. eat-Pr.Indef.

In the summer, they make an oven out of bricks, and make food and eat it.

bıžır-ıp al-ır. žibe ka-ap al-ır. ka-an

cook-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. something put-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. put-PPart.

They cook it. They put things on it (the food). In the insides of the houses

öw-lör-i-niŋ iŝd-i-nge keybiresi xonak öw žit-ar öw
 house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. some of guest room lie-FutPart. room
 some of them make a guest room,

urug-tar-f-niŋ žit-ar öw-ü gıl-ıp al-ır. keybiresi
 child-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. lie-FutPart. room-Poss. make-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. some of
 a bed room, and a children's bedroom.

daktayla-p al-ır. keybiresi ald-ı-n semontta-p al-ır.
 lay boards-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. some of under-Poss.Acc. cement-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.
 Some of them lay boards. Some of them put down cement floors.

men boda-sa-m ald-ı-n semontta-p al-sa bıŝıg tamaŝa
 I think-Cond.1sg. under-Poss.-Acc. cement-Ger. take-Cond. solid wonderful
 I would think it would be something solid and perfect if one makes a cement

žibe -ŝibi bol-ur. keybiresi ak doburak ka-aŝ-dın, tapda-p
 something be-PrsIndf. some one white earth put-Ger.-Abl. trample-Ger.
 floor. Some of them, after putting down kaolin (clay), trample it (down).

al-ır. oŋ iŝ-i-nde baza žem gıl-ır, žit-ar xonak
 take-Pr.Indef. it-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. also food make-Pr.Indef. lie-FutPart. guest
 Inside of it (this room) they also prepare food. It will be a bedroom or guest room.

öw bol-ur. keybir amtan-nar bodu-nuŋ žagday-ı gel-be-se
 room be-Pr.Indef. some people-Pl. self-Gen. condition-Poss. come-Neg.-Cond.
 If some people do not have the possibilities,

iyi öw üš öw-nin žor-iy be-er.

two house three house-Instr. go-Ger. give-Pr.Indef.

they get by with a two or three (room) house.

9. Personal History

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September 1995 in Urumchi

men-iŋ at-ım torgun. bo žıl on žedi žaštıg-men.

I-Gen. name-Poss. Torgun. this year seventeen year-I

My name is Torgun. I am seventeen years old this year.

akkaba-nıŋ işd-i-nde bis-di monča de-p ayt-ır.

Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. we-Acc. Monchak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They call us Monchak in the Akkaba.

baška giši-ler mončak de-p ayt-ır. bis bodubuz işd-ibiz-de

other people-Pl. Monchak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef. we ourselves inside-1pl.Poss.-Loc.

Other people call us Monchak. We call ourselves Tuva among ourselves.

dıba-bız. men tarangay de-en giši-niŋ uru-u-men. bis-diŋ

Tuva-we. I Taranggay say-PPart. person-Gen. daughter-Poss.-I. we-Gen.

I am the daughter of Taranggay. There are seven people in our family.

öw-de žedi giši bar. men dördünči-si bol-ur-men.

house-Loc. seven person exist. I fourth-Poss. be-Pr.Indef.-I.

I am the fourth in the family.

aba-m burun bis biči tur-ar-da žok bo-p kal-ıp-dur.

father-Poss. early we small stay-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Neg.exist be-Ger. stay-Ger. Pr.Indef.

My father passed away when we were very small.

men-nin ulug iyi aga-m bar. eñ ulug egiči-m at-ı külžün,

I-Gen. big two brother-Poss. exist. most big elder sister-Poss. name-Poss. Kulzhung

I have two older brothers. My eldest sister's name is Külzhüng.

iyinči aga-m-nıñ at-ı tärbiye, üşünči aga-m at-ı

second brother-Poss.-Gen. name-Poss. Tarbiye, third brother-Poss. name-Poss.

My second brother's name is Tarbiye and my third brother's name is Altıncha.

altınča. xoñ osında-men torgun. meen çonggar, buyun, buyunbat.

Altıncha. hey all here-I Torgun. my Chonggar, Buyun, Buyunbat,

Hey, and here I am, Torgun. I have younger brothers named Chonggar, Buyun,

ulanbayır, çinggis de-en duñma-lar-ım bar.

Ulanbayır, Chinggis say-PPart. younger brother-Pl.-Poss. exist.

Buyunbat, Ulanbayır and Chinggis.

meen aga-m sezen aldınči žıl bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. eighty sixth year this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school in 1986.

iyinči aga-m sezenči žıl ge-ep bütür-gen.

second elder brother-Poss. eightieth year come-Ger. finish-PPart.

My second brother came here in 1980 and graduated.

egiči-m tozanči žıl gel-gen. bodum tozan üšünči žıl gel-gen-men.

elder sister-Poss. ninetieth year come-PPart. myself ninety third year come-PPart.-I
My elder sister came here in 1990. I, myself came here in 1993.

gel-gen songaar, men mool dıl domaktan-ıy al-bas-bın

come-PPart. after, I Mongolian language speak-Ger. able-Neg.-I
After I came, they said I was from the Tuva nation, since I could not speak

de-p tur-ar-da dıba ündüsüten de-p ayt-dı.

say-Ger. stay-Pre.Indef.-Loc. Tuva nationality say-Ger. say-Past.

Mongolian.

art-ı-nın mool-dın işd-i-nge žor-ıy žor-ıy eki

back-Poss.-Abl. Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. walk-Ger. walk-Ger. good

Later, being among the Mongols again and again, I was able to speak good Mongolian.

domaktan-ır bol-du-m. bis-di eñ bašday ge-ep dur-ar-da kazak

speak-Pr.Indef. be-Pst.-1.pl. we-Acc. most first come-Ger. stay-Pr.Part.-Loc. Kazak

When we first came here, they would call us Kazaks. Other students would say that

de-p ayt-dı-r. baška okuwşı-lar bis-di alday-nın žibi-ler-i kazak

say-Ger. say-Pst.-3.pl. other student-Pl. we-Acc. Alaty-Gen. thing-Pl.-Poss. Kazak

those who came from Altay are Kazaks. However, when they say we are Kazaks and we

de-p ayt-dı-r. bırakta ayt-ır-da bisder kazak de-er-de iye

say-Ger. say-Pst.-3.pl. but say-Ger.-Loc. we Kazak say-Pr.Part.-Loc. yes

simply acknowledge it and say “Yes, (we are Kazaks.)”

de-y sal-ır-biz. bırakta bisder bālen-tügön de-p žibe-le-bes-biz.
 say-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. however we so and so say-Ger. say s.th.-Neg.-1.pl.
 And we would not argue about it.

bolar uk-bas bis-diŋ dıl-ıbiz-dı osında. bister bakış-lar
 they understand-Neg. we-Gen. language-1.pl.Poss.-Acc. here. we teacher-Pl.
 Here, they do not understand our language. We do not understand some of the lessons

nomšu-ur-da keybir nom-nar-nı şala-mužuk bil-ip tur-ar-bız.
 read-Pr.Part.-Loc. some lesson-Pl.-Acc. insufficient know-Ger. stand-Pr.Indef.-1.pl.
 completely while the teachers are teaching.

art-ı-nın bir iyi üş ay-nın sonğar öörön-e bar-dı-k.
 after-Poss.-Abl. one two three month after learn-Ger. go-Pst-1st.Pl.
 Later, after one, two, three months we began to learn.

bisder žeže mončak bol-sa-da, bisder mool-dıŋ işd-i-ŋge
 we how much Monchak be-Cond.-Dat. we Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat.
 No matter how many Monchaks there are, we are not inferior from other students

gir-ip öörön-üp kadıŋ žor-up dur-ar-da baška okuwış-lar-nan
 enter-Ger. learn-Ger. hard walk-Ger. stand-Pr.Part.-Loc. other student-Pl.-Abl.
 among the Mongols when we are trying to study very hard.

kem kal- ba-yın žor-or-bız. keybir baxış-lar bil-ir, keybir
 worse remain-Neg.-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. some teacher-Pl. know-Pr.Indef. some
 Some teachers know this and others do not know.

baxşı-lar bil-bes. bil-er baxşı-lar elik gıl-gan žibe-šibi
 teacher-Pl. know-Neg. know-Fut.Part. teacher-Pl. good make-Ppart. something
 Those teachers who know say something

domaktan gıl-ar.

speak make-Pr.Indef.
 nice (something like a deer).

10. Folktale: "Old Lady Dektene"

Narrated by Bawang-Bolat of Akkaba Village in September 1995

erte burun šaa-da bir kara xalžan attr dege xalžan attr dektene
 early before time-Loc. one black blaze with horse goat blaze with horse Dektene
 A long time ago, there is an old lady named Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a

xoočm de-p bir xoočm bol-up-tur.

old lady say-Ger.one old lady be-Ger-Be.

Black blaze, who has a horse with a goat (-shaped) blaze.

dektene xoočm-niŋ dege-si-n sag-sa, sidi-i süt bol-ur,

Dektene old lady-Gen. he-goat-Poss.-Acc. milk-Cond. urine-Poss milk be-Pr.Indef.
 When Old Lady Dektene milks her goat (-blazed horse), its urine is milk, and its dung

mıya-a aarşı üs bol-ur.

dung-3Poss. curd-cheese butter be-Pr.Indef.

is cheese and butter.

on-ı kündölö ži-p žor-ur.

it-Acc. everyday eat-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.

She eats this everyday.

bir žilgıži aškıyak dege xalžan attı dektene xoočın-ga gel-ip,

one horseman old man goat blaze with horse Dektene old lady-Dat. come-Ger.

An old horse-herder, comes to Old Lady Dektene who has the horse with a goat blaze,

dege xalžan attı xoočın-nıñ üs-ü-n ži-ir. üs-ü

goat blaze with horse old lady-Gen. butter-Poss.-Acc. eat-Pr.Indef. butter-Poss.

and eats the butter of the old lady who has the horse with a goat blaze. Its butter is so

ındıg taptıg. aarşı-sı-n ži-ir. aarşı-sı ındıg taptıg.

such sweet cheese-Poss.-Acc. eat-Pr.Indef. cheese-Poss. so sweet.

tasty, and its cheese is so sweet.

üy bo-nı gaylap al-dı-gar gaday de-p sura-ar irgin.

hey this-Acc. how take-Pst.-1.pl. auntie say-Ger. ask-Pr.Indef. particle

"Hey, auntie! How did you get this?" he asks her.

oy äkem bo men-in tege-m-niñ sidi-i süit bol-ur, mıya-a

oh, my dear that I-Gen. he-goat-1sgPoss.-Gen. urine-Poss. milk be-Pr.Indef. dung-Poss.

"Oh, my dear, the urine of this goat of mine becomes milk, and its dung becomes

aarşı bol-ur. oo de-p, kur-u-nga oraa-p al-gaš xara

cheese be-Pr.Indef. oh say-Ger. sash-3sg.-Poss.-Dat. wrap-Ger. take-Ger. black

cheese." Saying "Oh!", he wraps it up in his sash, takes it and brings it to the Khan

xattı xaan-ga apar-ip be-er irgen.

with berry khan-Dat. take-Ger. give-Pr.Indef. participle
with a black berry.

xara xattı xaan dörtön šeri-i-n edert-ip gel-ir.

black with berry khan forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. lead-Ger. come-Pr.Indef.
The Khan with a black berry comes leading his forty soldiers.

bödöne mun-up gel-geš-din xoošm-ı kırı de-p ıtta-ar irgin.

quail ride-Ger. come-Part-Abl. old lady-Acc. call-Ger. emit-Pr.Indef. particle
After he mounts his quail and comes, the Khan emits a cry :”Bring the old lady”

žılgızı ašgıyak ge-ep kırı de-er irgin.

horseman old man come-Ger. call-Pr.Indef. particle
The old horseman comes and calls (the old lady).

žüü bol-du uglu-m de-er-de xaan siler-ni kırı de-p žıd-ır.

what be-Pst son-1sg.-Poss. say-Pr.Part.-Loc. khan you-Acc. call-Ger. lie-Part.
When she says “What is it, my son?”, he says “The Khan is calling you.”

ol žügö de-er. ol men-iŋ dege-m-ni kırı de-p dur ba, de-š-din

he why call-Pr.Indef. he I-Gen. he-goat-Poss.-Acc. call-Ger. stay Q. say-Part.-Abl.
Why he is calling me. After she thinks “Probably he is calling my goat (-blazed horse),”

kızıl tıt-tıŋ žardı-sı-nın seleme žaza-ar.

red pine tree-Gen. sliver-Poss.-Abl. sword make-Pr.Indef.
she creates a sword from the needles of a pine tree.

dörtön šeri-i-n tögöle-p ortu-su-ŋga tur-ar-da dege

forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. surround-Ger. middle-Poss.-Dat. stand-Part.-Loc. goat

When she surrounds the forty soldiers and stands in the middle of them, she goes

xalžan at-ı-nın bar-gaš-dan dörtön šeri-i-n gır-a gag-gaš,

blaze horse-Poss.-Abl. go-Part.-Abl. forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. kill-Part. vanquish-Part.

(among them) on the horse with a goat blaze, and cuts down the forty soldiers and kills

tük žok ölü-e gag-gaš.

any no kill-Part. vanquish-Part

them until none remain.

xara xattı xaan-nı gag-ar-da xara xattı xaan-nıŋ tayžı-sı

black with berry khan-Acc. knock-Part.-Loc. black with berry Khan-Poss. prince-Poss.

When she knocks down the Khan with a black berry, the crown prince of the Khan with

des-er irgin.

flee-Pr.Part. particle

a black berry runs away.

des-e olur-ıp des-e olur-up xara kattı xaan-nıŋ tayžı-sı-nıŋ

run-Ger. sit-Ger. run-Ger. sit-Ger. black with berry Khan-Gen. prince-Poss.-Gen.

He runs and he runs, and because the boots of the crown prince of the Khan with a

edi-i tüš-göš-tin kek bo-p uš-a ba-ar irgin.

boot-Poss. fall-Ger.-Loc. cuckoo be-Ger. fly-Ger. go-Pr.Part. participle

black berry falls off, he becomes a cuckoo and flies away.

kek-tiŋ daman-ı kızıl bulu olup bol-gan irgin.

cuckoo-Gen. leg-Poss. red this way be-PPart. particle

The soles of the cuckoo became red in this way.

o-niŋ gatin-ı-niŋ ala torga bo-p uş-a ba-ar irgin.

he-Gen. wife-Poss.-Gen. colored woodpecker be-Ger. fly-Ger. go-Part. particle

His (the crown prince's) wife becomes a multicolored woodpecker and flies away.

tit sokta-p xara kattı xaan-niŋ bodu des-ip olur-up des-ip

pine tree pound –Ger. black with berry Khan-Gen. self. run-Ger. sit-Ger. run-Ger.

She (the wife who is a woodpecker) pounds the pine tree and the Khan with a black

olur-up suwlu žer-ge gel-ir-de gara bodañ bol-gaş-dın gara

sit-Ger. watery place-Dat. come-Part.-Loc. black wild boar be-Ger.-Loc. black

berry runs and runs, and when he comes to a place with water he becomes a black

žer-ni gadır-ıp bodañ bo-p žo-y ba-ar irgin.

place-Acc. dig-Ger. wild boar be-Ger. walk-Ger. go particle

boar, and digs at the ground and goes along as a boar.

dege xalžan attr dektene xoočın-niŋ murnuu-ŋga bir meyge

goat blaze with horse Dektene old lady-Gen. front-Poss.-Dat. one meyge

In front of Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a goat blaze, a meyge takes a

xaya-niŋ üst-ü-ŋge olur-up al-gaş-dın žıyt žıyt de-p ed-er irgin.

cliff-Gen. top-Poss.-Dat. sit-Ger. take-Ger.-Abl. chirp chirp utter-Ger. make-Part. particle

seat on a boulder, and begins chirping.

žeder-iŋ-ge žed-ip al-gaš-tın men-i elek gıl-ır-ga žežžik be
 reach-2Poss.-Dat. reach-Ger. take-Part.-Abl. I-Acc. fun make-Fut.Part.-Dat. reach Q.

So she says “You’ve already reached as far as you want to reach, and now we’ve reached

de-š-din, tit žartı seleme-si-nin meyge-ni ga-ar-da meyge-m-niŋ
 say-Ger.-Abl.pine tree sliver sword-Poss.-Instr. Meyge-Acc. hit-F.Part. Meyge-Poss.-Gen
 making fun of me?” When she knocks down the *meyge* with her sword made of pine

kuduru-u-nın üs-düş-din dege xalžan at-ı-n žar-a gag-gaš
 tail-Poss.-Acc. tear-Part.-Abl. Tege Kalzhan horse-Poss.-Acc. kill-Ger. hit-Ger.
 needles, she tears off the tail of my *meyge* and (with it) splits in two the horse

bodun-niŋ žaban žar-a gag-gaš.

self-Poss. colt kill-Ger. hit-Ger.

with a goat blaze. She splits in two the quail’s colt (?).

ol žer-ge de-p dektene xoočın öl-üp-dür.

that place-Dat. say-Ger. Dektene old lady die-Ger.-Pr.Indef..

Old Lady Dektene dies saying “To there!”(?)

osunm meyge-niŋ kuduru-u šolak bo-p gal-gan irgin.

after this Mege-Gen. tail-Poss. short be-Ger. remain-PPart. particle

And so the tail of the *meyge* became short.

meyge-niŋ kuduru-u šolak bo-p, xara gattı xan-niŋ bodu bodan bo-p,

Meyge-Gen. tail-Poss. short be-Ger. Kara Kati khan-Poss. self. wild boar be-Ger.

The tail of the *meyge* became short, the body of the Khan with a black berry became a

tayžısı kek bo-p, daman-ı gızıl bo-p irgin.

crown prince cuckoo be-Ger. leg-Poss. red be-Ger. particle

wild boar, the crown prince became a cuckoo, and its soles became red,

gatın-ı torga bol-up ıyaş sogda-p uş-a bar-dur.

wife-Poss. woodpecker be-Ger. wood hit-Ger. fly-Part. go-3Pre.Indef.

his wife became a woodpecker, and flies around pounding on trees.

Appendix B

Lexicon

This chapter contains a working dictionary of Jungar Tuva based on data collected during our field work in 1987, and my own field work in 1993 and 1995. The words in this glossary of Jungar Tuva are alphabetized as follows: a, aa, ä, ää, b, c, č, d, e, ee, g, x, i, ii, ı, ıı, ž, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, oo, ö, öö, p, r, s, š, t, u, uu, ü, üü, w, y, z. Each entry contains the following elements: Jungar Tuva form, English equivalent and Standard Tuva source form e.g., “aas mouth (aas).” When there is no standard form, but the etymology of a form is known, this origin is given in parentheses. In the etymologies, K. = Kazak, Kr. = Kirgiz, M. = Modern Mongolian, WM. = Written Mongolian, O. = Modern Oirat, WO. = Written Oirat, KW. = Kalmuk, U. = Uygur, C. = Chinese, R. = Russian, P. = Persian, and A. = Arabic; e.g., “ozat advanced (K ozat), saasın paper (M čarasun), alwatti the masses (cf. M. albatu), žaŋ wall (C qiang), almas diamond (almaz < R¹).

Concerning the Jungar Tuva forms, when more than one form is given, this means that consultants differ or vary in their pronunciation of the word. Verbs are listed in their stem form and hyphens are used to indicate the stem in entries for verbs. In some cases, there might be two or three words for one concept. These are cross-listed under each alternate form; e.g., xačı scissors, shears (xačı) (see kayčı). According to the Standard Tuva orthography, we use the sign (‘’) to indicate the 'pharyngealized vowels'.

¹ For those Russian loan words where Standard Tuva form is known, no etymology is given.

a

aal homeland, village (**aal**)

aalda- visit, go as guest (**aalda-**)

aar heavy, serious, difficult, expensive

(**aar**)

aar- ache, pain (**aar-**)

aarig illness, pain (**aarig**)

aarık thin, lean, skinny (**arık**)

aarlıg weight

aarşı a kind of dried curd-cheese

(**aarşı**)

aas mouth (**aas**)

aas žay- rinse the mouth, gargle

aasıg mountain range, pass (K.asuw)

(see **aşıg**)

ab- take (**ab-** < **alıp**)

aba mother (**ava**)

abay (vocative)

abtamawel automobile, car

(**avtomobil**)

ada grandpa, father, ancestor (**ada**)

ada-ene grandparents

ada- call, name, mention (**ada-**)

adaš mistress, lover, comrade (U **adaš**)

adıg bear (**adıg**)

adıł- to be(come) separated (**adırlı-**)

adıš palm, handful (**adıš**)

adres address (**adres**)

aga older brother (**akı**) (K. **aga**)

agaar air, weather, atmosphere (**agaar**)

agart- whiten, whitewash (**agart-**)

agay father's younger brother, uncle

see **biži** **aga**

agım current, flow (**agım**)

agım current, flow (K. **agım**)

agım suw running water

agway wife (**agvay** 'dear, darling')

aža father (**ača**)

ažil work (**ažil**)

ažılđa - work (**ažılđa-**)

ak white, pale (**ak**)

ak-kök light blue (**ak-kök**)

ak žigir cube sugar, lump sugar,

refined sugar (**ak čigir**)

akbag- take off (e.g. one's hat) (cf.

alıp kag- >**apkag-** >**akbag-**)

akkaba Akkaba (place name)

akmak stupid, foolish, idiotic (K.

aqmaq)

aksak lame (**askak**)

akša money (**akša**)

ak-taraa wheat (ak-taraa)	amır-mendi health
al well, now, but (K. al)	ambar storehouse, storeroom
al- take, acquire, obtain, get, buy (al-)	(ambar)
ala multicolored, colored, variegated, motley (ala)	ambir still, again (am+bir)
ald under, floor (ald)	ambil Ambil (title)
aldan sixty (aldan)	amdı now, nowadays (see am)
alday Altay (alday) (see altay)	amırak sweetheart, lover (amırak)
aldı six (aldı)	amtan human being, the common people, populace (amıtan)
aldmžı sixth (aldmčı)	amtanar people (< amıtan+lar)
aldmžı ay June (cf. aldı ay) (see žaynıŋ soŋ ay)	aŋ wild game (aŋ)
aldı bottom, below, the lower part of something (aldı)	aŋgılıŋ special, particular (cf. aŋgı 'class; special')
aldm gold (aldm)	aŋžı hunter (aŋčı)
aldm-togos peacock (aldm-doos)	aŋna- hunt, hunt wild game (aŋna-)
algı broad, wide (algıŋ)	aptonomdık autonomous (avtonomnuk)
alıs distant (alıs)	aptowuz bus (avtobus)
alžır scarf, kerchief, tablecloth, refreshment (alžır) (see dasdarxan)	aptor author (avtor)
alma apple (K. alma)	ara interval (ara)
almas diamond (almaz)	aragı alcoholic drink, liquor, wine, vodka (araga)
altay Altay (altay) (see alday)	aral island (K. aral)
altmča Altıncha (personal name)	aralaš- mix, mingle with, associate with, socialize with (aralaš-)
alwatti the masses (WM. albatu)	aralaštır- stir, mix together, shuffle (cards) (aralaštır-)
am now (am)	
amır peace (amır)	

aralıg distance (aralıg 'different, dissimilar')	aš hungry, hunger (aš)
arba barley (arbay)	ašda- be hungry (ašta-)
ardda- step over, stride (artta-)	ašda- smear, spread, rub, wipe (a''šta-)
ardık more (K artık)	ašdaš hungry, hunger (cf. aš)
arga forest (a''rga)	aşıg mountain range, mountain pass (ažıg) (see aasıg)
arga way, means, measure (arga)	aşıg temperament, disposition (WM. asıx M. aşıg)
argamži lasso, noose, lariat (argamči)	aşıg acid, sour, tart, bitter (ažıg)
arı bee, bumblebee (arı)	aşıg suw vinegar
arıg clean, pure (arıg)	ašık clear, fine, open (ažık)
arm face, person (arın)	aškryak elder, old man (cf. ašak)
armiya army (armiya)	ašıl worker (ažil)
art backward, back (cf. atkaar)	ašılđa- work, do (ažılđa)
artımın later, afterward (K.artıman)	ašılžım worker (ažilčım) (see išbäkši)
artda kal- leave behind (arta xal-)	ašrtkı yeast, leaven (ažrtkı)
artiš cypress, Turkestan juniper (artiš)	at name, title (at)
artık more than, in excess of (artık)	at horse (a''t)
arzalaj lion (arzalaj)	at- throw, shoot (at-)
as few, little (as)	awal- (alıp al-) take, pick up
as sandık minority	awdan county (K. awdan)
as- hang (as-)	awdar- translate, turn over (K. awdar-)
askır stallion, stud (askır)	ay moon, month (ay)
askabak~ asqawaq pumpkin (K. askabak)	ay-kün date (ay-xün)
aš food (a''š-žem)	ayak bowl, cup, drinking glass (ayak)
aš- open, uncover, tear off, lift (the lid, etc.) (aš-)	

ayas clear (weather), fine (as a day)

(ayas)

ayda- drive

aydakar dragon (K. aydagar)

ayınkı thunderclap, thunder

aylık wage, pay, salary (aylıq

'monthly')

aymak prefecture (K aymak)

ayrıplan airplane (aeroplan)

ayt- say, state, indicate, explain, show,

talk (ayıt-)

azar surprise, amazement, wonder

azat liberation (K. azat < P.)

azıq salı beard, whiskers (azıq salı)

azıra- raise, rear, bring up (children),

breed, tend (animal) (asıra-)

ä

ädebiyet literature (K. ädebiyet < A.)

ädiyal blanket (cf. K. adiyal < R.)

ädil fair (K. ädil < A.)

ädis way, method, procedure

ädet habit, custom (K. ädet < A.)

ägel- bring, (K. äkel- < alıp kel-)

äžim wrinkle

äkem my dear (K äkem)

äktip active (aktiv < R.)

äl cliff, precipice (el)

äl power, strength

äli bižii weak, powerless

älsis weak, powerless

ämdı žıl next year (kelir čılm)

änäy kid, young goat (eney)

äräy slow (ayar)

äreket movement (K. äreket < A.)

ärkandık any, any kind (K. ärqanday)

äytew anyhow (K. äytew)

b

baalık mountain pass (baalık)

baar liver (baar)

baatır hero (maadır)

badık poem (O. badak)

bagay ugly, bad, severe (of weather)

(bagay)

bagma pillar (bagana)

bagla- tie, bind, bundle up (bagla-)

baxşı teacher (baškı)

bak luck (K. baq)

bal honey (K. bal)

bala child (K. bala)

balaw pilaf, palaw (K. palaw)

baldı ax (baldı)

balık fish (balık)

baldır calf of leg (baldır)	bawırsaq
balgaš clay (cf. K balšık)	bay rich, rich man (bay)
banke bank (banke)	baylık riches, wealth (baylık)
bar- go, arrive (bar-)	baza or (conjunction), and,
bar there is, there exists (bar)	again, more, also (baza) (see basa)
baraan property (baraan)	bazar market, fair (K. bazar < P)
baraban drum (baraban)	bädenke a leather shoe (cf. R. botinki)
baranala- rake, harrow	bälen tügön so and so, such and such,
barı all (K. bäri)	everything
barım west, right (barım)	be mare (be)
bas- press, depress, step on, tread,	bede Lucerne, alfalfa (K. bede)
trample, crush, suppress, make (felt)	bedel authority, prestige (K. bedel)
(bas-)	bedik high; tall (bedik)
basa or (conjunction), and, again, more	beedil condition, situation (cf. O. bääd ,
(baza)	cf. M. bayilda)
basım step, pace (basım)	beižij Beijing (C. Beijing)
bastır- oppress, run down (bastır-)	bel waist (bel)
baš head, chief, top, beginning (ba''š)	belek betrothal gift, present, bride-price
bašday early, before (bašday)	(belek)
bašdik leader, chief (cf. baštmčı ~	belen ready, prepared, ready-made
baštm)	(belen)
bašdük hair on the head (see dük)	belet ticket (bilet)
baška other, besides (baška)	benzin gasoline, benzene (benzin)
bašgar- manage, direct, administer,	ber- give, afford (ber-)
govern, rule, reign (baškar-)	berese Berese (one of the banners); title
bašta- direct, regulate (bašta-)	(corresponds to Manchu <i>beyise</i> ,
bawursak bread, fritter (K.	prince)

beskek malaria, ague (K. bezgek)	bir dora in a short while, all at once,
beš five (beš)	all of a sudden
bešenži fifth (cf. beški)	bir žeše several (bir čeže)
bešenži ay May (cf. beš ay) (see	bir žime something
žaynıŋ orta ay)	bis blade (of a knife, ax, etc.) (bis)
bešen fifty (bežen)	bis we (bi''s)
bey judge. Old official title (K. biy)	bisder we (bisder)
beyin happiness, well-being	bistiŋ our (bistiŋ)
biče little (biče)	biš- cut, trim, castrate, spay (biš-)
biče kalkak teaspoon	biy dance (K. biy)
(beče kalgak)	biyle- dance (K. biyle-)
biči- write (biži-)	biyir pen (biyir)
bičii small, little (bičii)	biłgaar leather (bulgaar)
bičeči secretary (bižeeči)	biłži- strike fire (e.g. from a flint),
bišek knife (bižek)	kindle (see šak-)
biči-biči gradually	birak but (K. biraq)
bil- know (bil-)	birakta but, however (K. biraqta)
bilim knowledge (cf. bilig)	biš- cook, boil, bake, ripen (biš-)
bilin- to be known (bilin-)	bišgan ripe, cooked (pišgan)
bilen with, together with (bile)	bišig tight, taut, secure, solid, hard,
bilek forearm (bilek)	durable (bižig)
bilekdes bracelet (bilekteš)	bišigla- close, shut, make it firm
bilen with, by means of, and (bile)	(bižigla-)
bilin easy, easily (belen)	bišir- cook, boil, bake, roast (bižir-)
biŋši dumpling (O. beŋši)	bo this (bo)
bir one, some (bir)	bo žer here (bo čer)
biri one of them	bo žıl this year (bo čıl)

bo žilim this year (bo čilim)	bolbas- it is not possible, not allowed
bo kišim this winter (bo kižim)	bolar these (bolar)
bod reflexive pronoun, oneself (bot)	bolat steel (bolat)
bodum myself (bodum)	bolat kort- smelt (steel)
boduŋ yourself (boduŋ)	bolbaday Bolbaday (name of a mountain)
bodü himself, herself (bodü)	bolbasa or, if not (< bol-ma-sa)
boduwus, bottarwıs, bodubız ourselves (boduwus, bottarwıs)	bolgan üžün because (see mžanğaš)
boduŋar, bottarıŋar yourselves (boduŋar, bottarıŋar)	bolganı bilen though, although, whereas
bottarı themselves. (bottarı)	bolsada though, although, whereas (< bolsa-da)
boda- think (boda-)	bolšug way of life
bodagan baby camel (bodagan)	bolur de- promise, agree, reply, respond, answer
bodal idea, opinion, view, objection (bodal)	bonkit station (punkt)
bodaŋ wild boar (M. bodaŋ)	boo gun, rifle (boo)
bog- tie up, close by tying, tie around, bind (bog-)	boos pregnant, conceived (boos)
bogdu dam	boos throat (boos)
bogša bundle, bunch (bogča)	bor chalk (bor)
bogšurga nightingale, lark (cf. M. bogsirga ‘sparrow’)	boraan snow storm (boraan)
boxda Buddha (WM. bogda)	boriř debt (borř)
boxša satchel, schoolbag (K. boxša)	borta here
bože dustpan (C. boji)	bosaga threshold (bozaga)
bol- be, become, come into being, be done, be possible (bol-)	boř loose, slack (boř) (see koxřak)

bot stature, height, size, reflexive pronoun (bot)	buga ox (buga)
botbum Botbum (clan name)	buluk wooden plow
bödölgö bottle (butılka)	buluŋ corner (buluŋ)
bödöne quail (bödene)	bulut cloud (bulut)
bögew dam	burdak muddy, turbid
bögün today (bögün)	burgan sage, God, deity (burgan) burgan ornı paradise, heaven
böl- divide (böl-)	burgwat measles, small pox
bölek piece, lump, cube, chunk, (used of a slice or chunk of something) (bölük)	burşak hail (K. burşaq)
bölmö room (K. bölme)	burun before, ago, formerly (burun)
bölmölüg with ... room (K. bölmeli)	buruŋı former, previous, ancient (buruŋu)
böörünke round, spherical, globular (börü)	buruŋı kün the day before yesterday
börü wolf (börü)	buruŋı žıl the year before last
bört hat, cap (bört)	buruu mistake, error (buruu)
bös cloth, cotton-type fabric (bös)	bus steam, vapor (bus)
bu this (see bo)	bus- demolish, destroy (bus-)
bu žıl this year	buşar dirty, filthy (buşar)
buura male camel (buura)	but leg, feet, paws (but)
buda grain (K. biyday)	buyun Buyun (personal name)
budu- paint, dye (budu-)	buyunbat Buyunbat (personal name)
buduk branch, twig, knot (bu''duk)	buza calf (of cow) (bızaa)
buduk color, paint, dye, ink (buduk)	büdün whole, entire, all (büdün)
budukşı painter	bürgök fog, mist, cloudy (bürgeg)
buga canal (buga)	bürgüt golden eagle (bürgüt)
	bürke- cover, fill (bürke-)

bürkü flea (K. *bürge*)
büt- end, be finished (*büt-*)
bütür- finish, terminate, spend, used
 up, graduate (*bütür-*)
büürök kidney (*büüre*k)

č

čanlın salary, wage (*šanlın*)
čeček flower (*čeček*)
čigen hay
čingis Chinggis (personal name)
 čingis *xaan* Chinggis Khan
čokum certainly (U. *čokum*)
čongar Chonggar (personal name)
čürü- shave (*čülü-*)
čürür- have one's head shaved, have a
 haircut (cf. *čülüttün-* shave oneself)

d

da also, and, too, (particle: sentence
 connective clitic)
daan very, only, always, all the time
 (*daan*)
daara- sew (*daara-*)
daaran- do needle-work (*daaran*)
daaranžı tailor, dressmaker
 (*daaranikči*)

daaren officer (C. *da ren*)
daay uncle, mother's brother (*daay*)
dag mountain (*dag*)
daga chicken (*dagaa*)
 gız *daga* hen (*kız dagaa*)
daga horse shoe (*daga*)
 daga *kada-* nail, shoe (a horse, etc)
dagala- shoe (a horse, etc) (*dagala-*)
dakša wooden bowl (*daška*)
daktay board, plank (K. *taqtay*)
daktayla- lay board (K. *taqtayla-*)
dala plain, valley (K. *dala*) (see
een dala)
dalay sea (*dalay*)
dalgan flour made from roasted wheat
 or millet, parched flour (*dalgan*)
daman sole (of the foot or a shoe)
 (*davan*)
daman *kep* shoes (see *šakay*)
damdı drop (*damdı*)
 suw *damdı* drop of water
damdı- drip (*damdı-*)
damır arteries, veins, pulse (*damır*)
 (see *sudasın*)
damžıd- transport, transfer (*damčıt-*)
daŋ dawn, daybreak (*daŋ*)
 daŋ *bilin* at dawn, in the morning

daŋ only; always, consistently (daŋ)	debazı a stretcher, matting stretched
daŋka deaf	between two poles used for carrying
daŋnıŋ always	earth, etc. (C. tai ba zi)
dara- comb; unwrap (dıra-)	debežeŋ paradise, heaven (dırwaažaŋ)
baš dügün dara- comb one's hair	debiyür fan (WM. debiyür , M.
(baš dügün dara-)	dewüür)
darakıŝı tailor, dressmaker	dedir backward, reverse, invert (dedir)
darga village, settlement (darga)	deg- reach, touch, hit (deg-)
darı-darı repeatedly; again and again,	dege he-goat (dege)
over and over again	degeler they (dööler)
das vulture; male moose (das)	deget very good (M. deged~deed)
dasdarxan tablecloth, refreshments (K.	dektene Dektene (personal name)
dasdarxan)	dekteŋ note-book (depteŋ) (O. dekteŋ)
daš stone (daš)	delgeren flourishing, prosperous,
daš-oruk highway, road	booming (M. delgere- spread,
daša- cast, throw, abandon (daža-)	flourish)
dašdımda next to	dem exterior
daŝı- carry, transport (daža-)	deme- support, prop up
daŝıdır- move (house) (dažıdır-)	demekorot democracy (demokrat)
dašta- lay stone	deŋ equal, even, same (deŋ)
datar Tatar (datar)	depse feeding trough, wooden basin
dayak stick (cf. K tayak)	(M. tebsi)
dayna- chew, masticate (dayna-)	der sweat (der)
dazıl root (dazıl)	deresin mat, straw mat (teresin)
de- say, mention, name (de-)	des - run away, flee, escape (dege-)
dee that, that one (döö)	deš- pierce, perforate, drill, bore (deš-)
dee žer there, that place (döö çer)	deŝik hole (dežik)

- dile-** look for, seek (**dile-**)
- dilig** request, wish, desire, need (**dileg**)
- dilge** fox (**dilgi**)
- din** religion (K. **din** > P.) (see **süzük**)
- diŋ** resemble, like
- disgek** knee (**deskek**)
- diš** tooth (**diš**)
- dizig** string, cluster, chain, row (**dizig**)
- dıba** Tuva (**trıva**)
- dıba dıl** Tuva language (**trıva dıl**)
- dıbaša** Tuva, in Tuva (K. **tuwaša**)
- dıbalaša-** speak Tuva (cf. **trıvala-**)
- dıbıřık** riddle, conundrum (**trıwızık**)
- dınbas** blunt, dull (**dınmas**)
- dıl** tongue, language (**dıl**)
- dılřı** linguist, philologist, journalist
(**dılčı**)
- dınıř** breath, rest; quiet, peaceful
(**tınıř**)
- dıŋna-** hear, listen (**dıŋna-**)
- dıŋsıg** tight, taut, secure (**dıŋzig**)
- dıp-** obtain, get, gain; find,
discover (see **trıp-**)
- dıp al-** find, discover (**trıp al-**)
- dıra-** comb (**dıra-**) (see **dıra-**)
- dırbnıř** rake (**dırbaař**)
- dırdık** pigeon-toed, bow-legged
- dırgak** claw, talon, nail (**dırbak**)
- dırgak** comb (**dırgak**)
- dırt-** pull, drag (**dırt-**)
- diř** peace, quiet (**diř**)
- diřdan-** rest, have a break (**diřtan-**)
- dıt** larch (tree) (**dıt**)
- dıym** squirrel (**dıiŋ**)
- dobřuur** *dombra* (two-stringed, long
necked lute played by plucking or by
strumming). (cf. M., O. **topřıgur**)
- doburak** soil, dirt (**dowurak**)
- dodı** parrot (**dodı**)
- dog** ruler, a unit of length (1/3 of a
meter)
- dogu-** knit, weave (cf. K. **toqr-**)
- doklat** report (**doklad**)
- doldur-** fill (**doldur-**)
- dolga-** twist, wring, squeeze, compress
(**dolga-**)
- dolu** filled to the brim, packed full
(**dolu**)
- dolug** plump, chubby, packed full
(**dolı**)
- domak** word, speech (**domak**)
- domaktan-** speak, converse
(**dowurak**)
- don** fur-lined jacket, outer lambskin

garment with wool lining (ton)	dördünži fourth (dördünči)
doᅅgılak sogna onion	dördünži ay April (cf. dört ay) (see
doᅅgırak razor, shaving knife	žaynıᅅ başıᅅ ay)
(doᅅgırak)	dört žüs four hundred (dört čüs)
doᅅgırak baki penknife	dörtön forty (dörtön)
doora horizontal, transverse, across	dörtüᅅ biri one-fourth
(doora)	döšök bed, cotton-padded mattress
doora- cut, slice (doora-)	(döžek)
dopan chaff, husk (e.g. from threshed	döšök kirlik bed sheet
grain) (topan)	dudum bundle, bunch, sheaf (tudum)
dopžılap briefly, concisely, succinctly	duguruk round (duguruk)
(dopşı)	dumaa nasal mucus, snivel (dumaa)
dopşı button (dopşı)	dumžuk nose (dumčuk) (see xaay)
doš ice (doš)	dumžuk gırı bridge of the nose
doy wedding, joyous occasion, happy	(dumčuk kırı)
event, feast, banquet (doy)	dunᅅulak grain (measure used of
doyla- feast; arrange a feast (doyla-)	grain-like things)
doylık betrothal, gift, bride-price	dunᅅulak yaš rolling pin
dödö directly (M. döte)	dunᅅön Hui (Chinese Muslim) (K.
dökörök the monetary unit of	dunᅅön)
Mongolia, used as equivalent of	dunᅅma younger brother (dunᅅma)
Chinese <u>yuan</u> (M. tögöriᅅ)	dur- stand, be on one's feet, live, dwell,
dölgüür key, wrench (dölgüür)	be placed, stay (dur-)
dönön four-year old horse (dönen)	dušak hobbles (e.g. horses) (dužak)
dörbölžin square (dörbelčın)	dut ~ tut- seize, grab, grasp, take, hold
dörbölžinnig square (room)	(tut-)
dört four (dört)	duyura crane (duruyaa)

duyug hoof (duyug)	(eweežet-)
duz salt (dus)	ed betrothal gift, bride-price, property,
duzdu salty (dustug)	goods (et)
düün yesterday (düün)	edek hem, flap (of a skirt), flap (of a
dük wool, fur, hair (of animals) (dük)	garment), foot (of a mountain or a
dükür- spit (dükpür-)	hill), edge, rim brink (edek)
dükürük spittle, spit	edek köylön skirt
dül- stew (dül-)	edert- lead, bring (edert-)
dün night (dün)	edik boot, shoe, footwear (idik)
düne at night (düne)	edikši shoemaker, cobbler
dündük skylight (dündük)	ee owner (ee)
düñmök hip, thigh (döñmek)	öw eesi host, house owner
düñnülge experience	ee bol- possess (become the
dür- roll up (dür-)	owner) obtain, get, gain
düş noon, midday (dü''š)	eemese or
düş dream (düş)	een empty, uninhabited (een)
düş- fall, drop, come down (düş-)	een dala unowned, uninhabited,
düşten muruun in the morning, before	wilderness, the wilds (cf. WM. tala)
noon	een šöl unowned, uninhabited,
düşten songaar afternoon	wilderness, the wilds, desert (šöl)
	eer curved, lop-sided, crooked, askew,
	slanting (eer)
e	eer- twist, spin (eer-)
ebeeš little, not much, few, not many	eešigey cheese (eežegey)
(eveež)	egiči elder sister (WM. egeči)
ebeešde- decrease, diminish, decline,	egennet- nod
go down (eveeže-)	egin shoulder (egin)
ebeešed- reduce, decrease, lessen	

eginne- carry on the shoulder, shoulder

(eginne-)

ežey grandpa (see **ulux aža**)

ežey uncle, father's elder brother

(see **ulux ana**)

ekeli merit, strong point, virtue

eki good (**eki**)

eki gör- like, love

elder comrade

elek fun, mockery (M. **eleg**)

elek gıl- make fun of, poke fun at

elektir electric (**elektrik**)

elektir žirtıkı electric light

elge- sift, sieve, screen, riddle (**elge-**)

elgek sift, sieve (cf. **elgeeš**)

elik roe deer (**elik**)

elžedir- look after, take care, feed

elžigen donkey (**elčigen**)

elši ambassador (**elži**)

eltiri lambskin

em medicine (**em**)

em got- drip, put drops (in the eyes)

emes not, negative copula (**ewes**)

emese or (K. **nemese**)

emil pit, stone

emig breast (**emig**)

emži (medical) doctor, physician

(**emči**)

ene grandma (**ene**)

ener žıl last year (**enir čılm**) see

ötken žıl

eṅ most (indicating the superlative degree), the very (**eṅ**)

eṅ ada last

epdešdirip carefully, by any means necessary

er man, husband (**er**)

er kiši man, male (**er kiži**)

erbenžik spider (**eeremčik**)

erde ~ erte early (**erte**)

erge free will, will, freedom (**erge**)

erge- free, give freedom (**erge-**)

erig edge, fringe (**erig**)

erin lip (**erin**)

eripiše companion, mate, partner

erke old (**erki**)

erken threshold, doorstep (**erken**)

erkin unconstrained, free (K. **erkin**)

erkindik liberty, freedom (K.

erkindik)

erlig courage heroism (cf. K. **erlik**)

erlik kan hell, inferno (the country of **Erklig Khan**, the underworld) (**erlik**

oranı)

erte early (erte)	pave, apply (to a surface) (gag-)
ertem learned, scholarly, knowledge, studying, learning (ertem)	gaža enclosure, corral, livestock pen (kažaa)
erten tomorrow (erten)	gak- knock, hit, pound, bang, defeat, conquer, vanquish, win, throw (xak-)
esep account (K esep)	gakda- toast, bake (kakta-)
esepdä- calculate (K esep-)	galbak flat, sheet (kalbak)
eš friend (eš)	gal- remain, stay, be left (cf. kag-)
eši one's friend	galbr leaf
eš- twist, spin; row, paddle (eš-)	galži lunatic, madman (cf. kalčaa)
ešik door; room (measure word) (ežik)	galgak dustpan (kalgak 'ladle, scoop')
bir ešik öy one room	ganžaar 1. no matter how much, how many, much; 2. how, in what way (kančaar)
ešter- take a bath, swim (ešter-)	ganbi pen (C. gangbi)
et- make, do (et-)	gapšagay quick, nimble, agile (M. κapsigai , WM. gabsigai)
et meat (e''t)	gara spring, source (of water)
eteš cock, rooster (K. äteš)	gara aη marten
ezep calculation, arithmetic (see esep)	garbiz watermelon (arbiz)
ezep šot abacus	gariš span (measure by hand-spans) (kariš)
ezer saddle (ezer)	gašžir scarf, kerchief
ezir eagle (ezir)	gatm wife (kadm 'lady, queen')
	gawlen Chinese sorghum (K. gäwlen <C.)
g	gayganžig surprise, amazement,
gabay cradle (kavay)	
gada- place, build, sew on (a button, etc.), nail (kada-)	
gadak- nail (kadag)	
gaday auntie	
gag- lay, put, place, build, erect, leave,	

wonder (kaygamčık)	gir- enter, enroll (kir-)
gaylap how	gırbik eyelash, eyelid (kirbik)
gaz- dig, excavate (kaz-)	gišen hobbles (e.g. horses) (kižen)
gāzet newspaper (K. gāzet <R.)	giši human being, man, person, people (kiži)
gedel pail, bucket	gıl- do, make, perform (kıl-)
geder until, up to	gıldır as
gel- come, come here (kel-)	gır edge (kır)
geler coming (kelir)	gır- kill, destroy, annihilate, massacre, wipe out (kır-)
geler žaym next summer (kelir čaym)	gırm belly, stomach, abdomen (xırm)
geler žil next year (kelir čilin)	giškırm (unit of length equal to 1067 meters) (cf. K. šakırm)
gene only, just (K. ɣana)	gız female (e.g. animal) (kıs)
geŋkirge drum (cf. M. keŋgerge)	gız- bite, snap at (kıs-)
geŋsirik bridge of the nose (see xaaymıŋ gırı and dumčuk gırı)	gožuun banner (the common people), populace, administrative unit (košuun)
gerbiš brick (K. kerpiš)	goŋgutu Gonggutu (place name)
gerel light, sun light (xerel)	gorbılday parrot (cf. M. gurguldai 'nightingale')
gereldig light, radiant (xereldig)	gorgala- carry on the shoulder, shoulder
ges- cut, slice, saw (kes-) (see kes-)	gorža- surround, encircle, enclose, shut in a pen (K. korša-)
geš skin (keš)	goržaar fence, circle, pen, fold, sty sheepfold
geše difficult, hard (kežee)	
get- wear, put on (clothes or hat), dress (ket-)	
gez time, instance (K. kez)	
gidis felt (kidis)	
gilem carpet, rug (K. gilem) (see kilem)	

gorga- dry (kurga-)	göšür- relocate, cause to migrate
gort- dry (kurgat-)	(köžür-)
goš per two, twin, pair (koš)	gulak ear (kulak)
got- put (kut-) (see em got-)	gurmustu God of heaven, God of sky;
göbörünj ~ göwörünj bridge	sky (kurbustu) (see kurmusdu)
(kövürüg)	guša armful (kužak)
göböy ~ göwey many, much, more,	gušakda- put one's arms around, take
a lot (köp)	in, embrace, encompass, hug
gödür- lift, raise, carry, promote	(kužakta-)
(ködür-)	gut- pour, pour out, cast (kut-)
gögüže- grind	gürün country, state (kürüne)
gök blue (of sky, eyes, paper, etc.),	güdää son-in-law (küdää)
green (grass, leaves, hay etc.) (kök)	güs autumn, fall (küs)
göp-gök very blue	güsdün başıg ay July
gök suw alagak Kök Suw Alagak	güsdün orta ay August
(place name)	güsdün soň ay September
gölžürgenë pigeon, dove (M.	güse- wish (küze-)
kögüljirgene)	güske mouse (küske)
göp many, most, a lot	güsöl desire, wish (küzel)
göpü most of	güš force, strength, might (küš)
gör- see, look at, read, watch, consider	güš-bile with force, forcefully (küš
(kör-)	- bile)
duš kör- have a dream, dream	güzün in autumn, in (the) fall (küzün)
görünžük mirror, looking glass,	
window (körünčük) (see terize)	x
göš- leave, go away, move to (köš-)	xaan khan, emperor (xaan)
göšöge curtain (göžege)	xaay nose (xaay) (see dumžuk)

- xaba** Kaba (county name)
xaba awdanı Kaba County
- xabık** ~ **xawık** skin, peel, shell
 (**xavık**)
- xablan** leopard, panther (K. **qabılan**)
- xaçı** scissors, shears (**xaçı**) (see **kayçı**)
- xadaq** balance, scales, Chinese unit of weight (1/2 kilogram) (see **žiq**)
- xadıır** sickle, scythe (**kadıır**)
- xadık** health, healthy (**kadık**)
xadıkšıl health (**kadıkšıl**)
- xadıır** straight, vertical
- xa-duŋma** relatives (**xa-duŋma**)
- xak-** strike, beat, knock, crush, pound (**xak-**) (see **gak-**)
- xak** ski (**xaak**)
- xalay** tin (K. **xalay**)
- xalga** door (M. **xaalga**)
- xalı-** jump, leap, sprint, bounce (**xalı-**)
- xalžan** birth mark, blaze, (horse) with a white blaze on the forehead (**kalčan**)
- xan** blood (**xan**)
- xanas** Kanas (lake name) (K. **xan**)
xanas awıldık Kana village
- xandala** bedbug (K. **qandala**)
- xanzu** Han Chinese (C. **Han zu**) (see **kıdat**)
xanzuša Chinese, in Chinese
- xap** bag, sack (**xap**)
- xar** snow (**xar**)
- xarakan-gurt** centipede
- xaramži** stinky, miserly, mean (WM. **xaramči**)
- xarayaš** ~ **karayaš** elm
- xarkanoru** the Milky Way
- xarııl** planer, plane scraper (M. **xaruul**)
- xarııg** sturdy; robust
- xaržak** drawer (**xaaržak**) (see **suwurma**)
- xarlıkaš** swallow (K. **qarlıkaš**)
- xars** loan (K. **qarız**)
- xartıga** falcon, hawk (**xartıga**)
- xaš** jade (**xaš**)
- xašar** mule (K. **qašar**)
- xawak** eyelid (**xavak**) (see **kabak**)
- xawan** swine, pig (**xavan**) (see **qaqay**)
- xaya** cliff, precipice, rock (**xaya**)
- xayık** boat (K. **qayık**) (see **xeme**)
- xayım-** boil (**xayım-**)
- xayımdır-** boil, bring to a boil

(xayındır-)	konak üy)
xeme boat (xeme) (see xayık)	xoŋ after all
xıl string (of a musical instrument), bowstring (xıl)	xoran sogna garlic (M sogna)
xıraa frost (xıraa)	xorganıs national defense (K qorganıs)
xıyır slanting, tilted, inclined (xıyır)	xortaŋ a meat and potato stew
xoo ~ goo straight, vertical (M goo)	xošuun tribe, entity, region, military or administrative unit (UM qosıjun)
xoočm old lady (xuučun 'old')	xoy sheep (xoy)
xobm melon (see kawen)	xoyug rafter (roof poles of a yurt)
xobogan butterfly (xowagan) (see köbelek)	xuul law (xooylu) (see zaŋ)
xoču story, tale (see tool)	xubıskal revolution (M qubısqa) (see kimiŋ)
xožu žikir granulated sugar	xuda parents of one's daughter-in-law or son-in-law; relatives by marriage (kuda)
xol hand (xol) xoldm xolga from hand to hand	xudma Hudma (Mongolian alphabet)
xolga geldir- obtain, get, gain	xudurga crupper, strap which passes under the tail of a horse (M qudurga)
xolžadır umbrella (qolšatır)	xužat document (K. kužat)
xom Kom (village name)	xulur flour (M. gulir)
xomgan pitcher, jug (kumgan)	xulur buda noodles, scraps
xommalga Hommalga (place name)	xulur daktay kneading or chopping board
xon- spend the night, stay overnight, settle, perch (e.g. birds) (xon-)	xunaža guest, visitor (see xonak)
xonak guest, visitor (K xonak) (see xunaža)	xuškaš house sparrow, skylark (kuškaš)
xonak bol- be a guest (K. konak bol-)	
xonak öw guest room (K.	

- (see **kuškaš**)
xūn sun; day (**xūn**)
- i**
- iile-** use, make use of, employ,
 apply
ižen belly, stomach (**ižin**)
ikanomika economy (**ekonomika**)
ině needle (**ine**)
inek cow (**inek**)
inelik dragonfly (**inelik**)
ini younger brother (**K ini**)
iṅä cry of a baby or an infant
iṅgen female camel (**iṅgin**)
ippök hoopoe (**itpik**)
irbiš leopard, panther (**irbiš**)
irgin apparently, it would seem that,
 particle (**irgin**)
irgit Irgit (clan name)
ak irgit white Irgit
kara irgit black Irgit
iste- do, make, perform (**iste-**)
istet- use, make use of, employ, apply
 (**iste-**)
iš work, labor, job (**iš**)
iš gıl- do physical labor, work
išge as- work (**K. iske as-**)
- iš** inside (**iš**)
iš- drink, eat (**iš-**)
išdäkši worker (see **ažilčim**)
išdi inside, within (**išti**)
iškeer inward, inside (**iškeer**)
it- push, shove (**it-**)
iye yes (**iye**)
iyi two (**iyi**)
iyinči second (**iyinči**)
iyineṅ biri half
iyigat pregnant (**iyi kat**)
iyik aspect, respect, side
izig hot (**izig**)
izir- bite, bite off (**IZIR-**) (see **IZI-**)
- I**
- ixtisat** economy (**U. iqtisa**)
ııt sound, voice (**ııt**)
ııtta- make sound, emit, utter (**ııtta-**)
ıında there (location) (**ıında**)
ııdıg that, of that kind, like that, such,
 so (**ııdıg**)
ııdıg bolsa da but (**ııdıg bolza-
 daa**)
ııdıg użun so, therefore, for that
 reason
mžalsa but (**mčalza**)
mžalsada but (**mčalza-daa**)

mžangaš therefore, so, and so, thus,
then, because (**mčangaš**)

mžangašdm therefore, so

mḡgay always, only (K. **mḡgay**)

ir song (**ir**)

irak far, distant, remote (**irak**)

irila- sing, sing the praises of, extol,
eulogize (**irila-**)

imīraa mosquito (**imīraa**)

iš smoke (**iš**)

it dog (**it**)

ryaš tree, wood (**ryaš**)

ryaš measurement of capacity (10 liters)

ryašši carpenter (**ryašči**)

izī- bite, snap at (**izīr-** 'bite')

(see **izīr-**)

ž

žaa new, tender, delicate (**čaa**)

žaa žīl New Year's Day (**čaa čīl**)

žaaḡay pretty, beautiful, very
satisfactory (**žaaḡay**)

žaaḡay žem condiment, seasoning,
flavoring

žaar wound, injury (**čaar**)

žaaškm rain (**čaaškm**)

ža bow (**ča**)

žabaa ~ **žawaa** one-year old horse
(**čabaa**)

žabis-žawus low, short (**čawis**)

žadır tent (**čadır**)

žag dība Zhag Tuva

kara žag dība Kara Zhag Tuva

sarı žag dība Sari Zhag Tuva

kadar žag dība Kadar Zhag Tuva

žagarī high, top, government (K.
žokarı)

žagday situation, condition,
circumstance (K. **žakday**)

žagı post, pillar (**ča''gı**)

žagır- rule, govern, reign, wield power,
conquer (**čagır-**)

žašır- hide, conceal (**čažır-**)

žažırın stealthily, secretly, on the sly (K.
žasırın) (see **oorlana**)

žaktır- like, approve (K. **žaktır-**)

žalbar- pray, prostrate oneself before
the image of Buddha, worship Buddha
(**čalbar-**)

žalder- repair, mend (cf. **čalda-** 'build')

žalgaa lazy, indolent, slothful (**čalgaa**)

žalgı- wave (**čalgı-**)

žalgıg wave (**čalgıg**)

žalıı young fellow, young man (**čalıı**)

žalrı general, common (K. žalrı)	žardık half (čartık)
žama- mend, darn, patch, repair (čama-)	žas spring, springtime (čas)
žamag patch (čamaški)	žazım in the spring (čazım)
žamak trash, dirt (cf. čam 'speck of dust')	žastıŋ orta ay ortay February
žamdıkda sometimes (čamdıkta)	žastıŋ soŋ ay soŋay March
žan soul, life, person, people (K. žan < P.)	žastıŋ šag ay~ baški ay January
žan sanı population, people (čon)	žas nickel silver (čas)
žanr- sharpen, polish (čanr-)	žasa- make, construct, repair (čaza-)
žanır whetstone, grindstone (čanır)	žasdı nickel silver
žan wall (C qian)	žası bud (see soyaa)
balkaş žan wall make of dirt	žaskı bat (časkı)
žan attitude, manner, deposition, character (žan)	žaş tears (čaš)
žanğak walnut (K žanğak)	žaş age (čaš)
žanğıs one, single, alone; isolated (čanğıs)	žastıg age of ...
žanğık lightning (čanğık)	žaş tender, delicate (čaš)
žap- shut, close (K. žap-)	žaş- sprinkle, spray, spill, splash, spurt, pour, spurt, sputter, sow (čaš-)
žap žaa just now; brand new (čap žaa)	žáša- scatter, sprinkle, strew (čaža- 'become soft')
žapšır- paste, stick, glue (čıpšır-)	žášdıgı outer
žar- break off, strip off, peel (čar-)	žášdıń outer, exterior, outside
žaraa porcupine, hedgehog (čaraa)	žášdır hide-and-seek (čaštır)
žardı thin stick, sliver (of kindling wood), chip (čartı)	žáštıń~daštıń exterior, appearance, surface, outside (daštıń)
	žáštıńda ~ daštıńda near, close to, about, around, along side, side by side, next to, nearby, beside

(daštında)	žedinči ay the seventh month, July
žawus low, short (čavis)	žedip al- reach, arrive (čedip al-) (see čet-)
žay- rinse, wash away, erode (čay-)	žeerbe twenty (čeerbi)
žay summer (čay)	žeerin antelope, gazelle (čeerin)
žaynıñ başıg ay April (see dörtinži ay)	žegde narrow-leaved oleaster (M. žegde)
žaynıñ orta ay May (see bešenči ay)	žeše how many, much, several, some (čeže)
žaynıñ soñ ay June (see aldmči ay)	žeše šag how long (čeže šag)
žayga- rinse the mouth, gargle, brush (cf. čay-)	žeše bolsa-da no matter how many \ much
žaym in the summer (čaym)	žeksurun disgraceful, shameful (K. žeksurun)
žaylak summer pasture, summer camp (čaylak) (see žaylaw)	žem food (čem)
žaylaw summer pasture, summer camp (K. žaylaw) (see žaylak)	žem gıl- cook
žaysaŋ Zhaysang (place name)	žem-sigen forage, fodder, feed
žaysaŋ gölü Zhaysang Lake	žemis fruit (čemis)
žaza- make, do, repair, mend (čaza-)	žeŋ sleeve (čeŋ)
žazm in spring (čazm)	žeŋ boo pistol (see maabazır)
žäne and (K. žane)	žeŋes moss (čiŋgis)
žärmeŋke market, fair (yarmarka)	žeŋib al- win, beat (K. žeŋip al-) (see utıb al-)
že- eat (ži-)	žeŋil- lose, be beaten, be defeated (K. žeŋil-) (see utul-)
žeden seventy (čeden)	žeŋgey wife of father's younger brother, elder-sister-in-law (čeŋgey)
žedi seven (čedi)	
žedinči seventh (čedigi)	

žep thread, string, wire, rope (čep)	židdıg fragrant, scented (of flowers, etc.) (čittıg)
žešek flower (čeček)	žıdıg foul, stinking, odor (čıdıg)
žer land, earth, place (čer)	žıg- pile, stack, pile up, heap up (čıg-)
žer žar- cultivate, till, plough (e.g. land)	žıg- pick up (from the ground), collect (čıg-)
žes copper (čes)	žıgıl- gather, assemble
žesir widow (K. žesir)	žıgsıg fishy smell
žešey alike	žıl year (čil)
žet- reach, arrive, attain (čet-)	žılan snake (čılan)
žibe- šibe thing, object, item, article, something (čüve) (see žübe)	žılga- lick (žılga)
žibe- say something	žılğı horse, herd of horses (čılğı)
židir- till, up to, until (čedir)	žılğızı horse man, herdsman (čılğızı)
žig unripe, green, raw, uncooked (čig) (see pišpaan)	žılıg warm, lukewarm (čılıg)
žige correct, right (čige)	žımžak soft, flexible (čımčak)
žixtig unusual, abnormal, strange, doubtful (čixtig)	žıñ true, real (C. zhen)
žiik cheap, inexpensive, light (čiik)	žıpžır- paste, stick, glue (čıpsır-)
žıñ balance, scales (čıñ) (see xadaq)	žır- cut off, sever, cut through, pick (K. žar-)
žıñge thin, slender (čıñge)	žırık light, bright, shiny (čırık)
žıñmir- cut, trim, castrate, spay	žırık xün bright day (čırık xün)
žıñne- ram, tamp, pound (čıñne-)	žırtıkı lamp, light, lighting (čırtıkı)
žit- lose (čit-)	žit- lie down, rest, be situated (čıt-)
žige askew, crooked, inclined, slanting	žitır öw bedroom
žıgır candy, sugar, sweet (čıgır)	žitdı säy parsley
žıda dagger (čıda)	žırt de- chirp
žıdı- smell (čıdı-)	žok no, without, Neg. exist (čok)

žokdug poor, needy (K žoqtıq)	žuga thin, flimsy (čuga)
žon- plane, scrape (čon-)	žul- pull out, wrinkle out, uproot, weed, pick (e.g. flower, fruit) (čul-)
žonak saddle flap, wool saddle-pad (čonak)	žumurga egg (čuurga)
žon moyın yellow weasel	žurt the masses, people, homeland, hometown, native land, country, yurt (čurt)
žongo China (C. zhong guo)	žurtta- live, dwell, reside (čurtta-)
žook near, close, beside; relatives (žook)	žuru- draw, paint (čuru-)
žoon big, large, massive, think, fat (žoon)	žuruk drawing, painting, picture (čuruk)
žor- walk, set out, stroll, move (čor-)	žurukži painter, artist (čurukču)
žoruk march, excursion (čoruk)	žuuga stream, brook (čooga)
žot- smear, spread, rub, wipe (čot-)	žüü what (čüü)
žotuw hoe (M ĵeetüü < C)	žüü bolsa-da whatever
žosbar plan (K žospar)	žübe thing (čüve) (see žibe)
žödöl cough (čödül)	žügäär woman, female
žölen- lean upon, rely on (čölen-)	žügäär duŋma younger sister
žön meaning, point, turn, order, direction (K. žön)	žügäär it bitch
žönnün as far as, with regard to, concerning (K. žönninen)	žügö why (čüge)
žönnünde about, concerning, pertaining to (K. žönninde)	žügür- run (čügür-)
žu- wash, launder (čug-)	žügön bridle (čügen)
žudan a sweet dish made from sugar, sheep fat, and flour (čudan)	žüžüme what
žuduruk fist (čuduruk)	žük luggage, baggage (čük)
	žük bundle, bunch (of flowers, etc.)
	žük side, direction, edge (čük)
	barım žük west, the west

(barım čük)	brother (kaday ‘wife’)
čöön žük east, the east	kadıg hard, stiff, tough (kadıg)
(čöön čük)	kadıñ lady, queen (kadın)
murnuu žük south, the south	kadır cadre, boss (kadr)
(murnuu čük)	kadıñ birch (xadıñ)
soñgu žük north, the north	kažan when (kažan)
(soñgu čük)	kakay swine, pig (M qağay) (see xawan)
žülü- scrape, shave (čülü-)	kakba gate (K qağpa)
žürök heart (čürek)	kalbak flat (kalbak)
žüs hundred (čüs)	kalbır tin can, flask, box (K qalbır)
žüs tümen million (see miliyon)	kalkak scoop, ladle (kalgak)
žütkelžiñ hardworking, diligent, industrious (M žütkülčin)	bič kalkak spoon
žüktüülik strong, firm	kalıpda- steam (xalıpda- ‘cover the pot’)
žüü what, what kind of, what sort of (čüü)	kalta pocket, sack (K qalta)
žüzdük (finger) ring, thimble (čüstük)	kandıg how, which (kandıg)
žuwak ditch (WM. žubak)	kandıg bir anything, anyone
	kanča how many
	kančanda whenever
	kansu Han Chinese (C. han zu) (see xansu)
	kapsı- light a fire (kipsır-)
	kara black (kara) (see xara)
	kara kat black cherry
	kara oy Kara Oy (place name)
	kara soyan Kara Soyán (tribe name)

k

kaaršak trunk, box, case (kaaršak)

kabak eyelid (xavak) (see xawak)

kada- nail, sew on, fasten with a pin or clip (kada-)

kadar- herd, graze, look after, take care, feed (kadar-)

kaday aunt, wife of father's elder

kansu Han Chinese (C. han zu) (see xansu)

kapsı- light a fire (kipsır-)

kara black (kara) (see xara)

kara kat black cherry

kara oy Kara Oy (place name)

kara soyan Kara Soyán (tribe name)

kara when (kara)	kayım from where (kayım)
kara- belong to, be part of (K. kara-)	kaylap how
karak eye (karak)	kaynaar where (kaynaar)
karak žaši tears (karak čaži)	kaysı which (K kaysı)
karak örümžük glasses	kayči scissors, shears (xači) (see xaysı)
karangı dark, dim, dull (karangı)	kazak Kazak (kazax)
karındaš pencil (karandaš)	kazakša Kazak, in Kazak
karaktıñ tökörüü eye socket, orbit	kazakstan Kazak (kazaxstan)
kas goose (kas)	kazı fat under a horse's ribs (kazı)
kaskan food steamer (K qasqan)	kazı- read, learn, find out (by reading), proofread (kazı-)
kaš how much/many (kaš)	käleš rubbers, overshoes (galoša)
kašaa courtyard (kašaa)	käresin žirtıkı kerosene lamp (kerosin čirtkı)
kašan when (kažan)	käzir now, at present, soon, at once, right away, immediately (K qazir)
kašanda whenever, always (kažanda)	kebek bran (K kebek)
kat berry, cherry (kat)	kebis carpet, rug (xewis) (M. kebis)
kat wife's relatives, in-laws (kat 'father- in-law)	kek cuckoo (xek)
kat aba mother-in-law	kelberlig shape, having a from (xevirlig)
kat aža father-in-law	kele grave clothes, shroud, cerements (Kr. kele 'an expensive fabric')
kat aga elder brother-in-law	kelin daughter-in-law (kelin)
kat ata father-in-law	kem river (xem)
kawap kebab, roasted meat (U kawap)	
kawen melon (kawen)	
kayda where (kayda)	
kayga- look at, watch (kayga-)	
kayı which (kaya)	
kaym- boil (xayım-)	

- kem** few, less, worse, lack (**kem**)
- kemčilik** shortcoming, weakness, shortage, defect, deficiency (**kemšilik**)
- keme** ship, vessel (**xeme**)
- kemir-** gnaw, nibble (**xemir-**)
- kemži-** measure, estimate (**xemči-**)
- kenderbe** back (of a human being), vertebrae (**xendirbe**)
- kendir** hemp (**xendir**)
- kenerten** suddenly, unexpectedly (**xenerten**)
- kenži** youngest child, youngest offspring (of cattle) (**kenče**)
- kep** set, suit, suite (**xep**)
- kep** clothes, clothing (**xep**)
- kes-** cut, slice (**kes-**) (see **kes-**)
- ketbe** hoe, mattock (**ketpe**) (see **ketmen**)
- ketmen** hoe, mattock (K. **ketpen**) (see **ketpe**)
- kerek** need, require, have need of, be in need (**kerek**)
- key** some, certain (K. **key**)
- keybiresi** some, some of
- kiži** siege, encirclement, surrounding
- kikile** stutters, stammerer
- kilem** carpet, rug (K. **kilem**) (see **gilem**)
- kiliŋ** velvet cloth (**xiliŋ**)
- kin** navel, belly button (**xin**, **xindik**)
- kino** movie, film (**kino**)
- kinoxana** cinema (K. **kinoxana**)
- kiree** saw (**xiree**)
- kireli** about, approximate (**xire**)
- kirelik** slow, stupid, thick
- kirlik** dirty (**kirlik**)
- kirsawaŋ ~ kirsabiŋ** soap (**sawaŋ**)
- kirt-** ~ **girt-** cut, notch
- kitapxana** bookstore (see **nom zadar**)
- kıdat** Han Chinese (**kıdat**) (see **xanzu**)
- kıdıŋ** thimble
- kıl** horsehair (**xıl**)
- kılım** science (K. **kıılım**)
- kılım** thick (**kılım**)
- kılım bört** a warm winter cap with ear-muffs
- kım** who (**kım**)
- kım bolsa-da** whoever (**kım-daa bolza**)
- kımda kım** anyone
- kımıŋ** revolution (C. **gemıŋ**) (see **xubıskal**)

kımıs kumiss (fermented mare's milk)	kıy- cut, slice (kıy-)
(xımıs)	kıyar cucumber (K. qıyar)
kımıskayak ant (kımıskayak)	kızıl red (kızıl)
kımžı whip, lash (kımčı)	kızıl üyök Kızıl Uyök (place name)
kırgan old man (kırgan)	kızmet work, job (K. kızmet)
kırgı- shear, clip, shave (kırgı-)	kodan rabbit (kodan)
kırgıyak pheasant	kodu stomach (kodu)
kırgız Kirkiz (kırgız)	kodu city (M qota)
kırıkayak centipede (K qırıqayaq)	kogam society (K. qoғam)
kırım belly, abdomen (xırım)	koxşak loose, slack (see boş)
kıržek small hoe	kolduk armpit (kolduk)
kıska short, brief (kıska)	komut horse-collar, yoke (xomut)
kıska narrow, close, tight (of clothes)	koŋga bell (koŋga)
(kıska)	koŋkabay Kongkabay (a derogatory
kıstak village, settlement, (Chinese	term used by Uygurs when they refer
administrative unit)(K. qıstaq)	to Kazaks) (U. qoŋkabay)
kıš winter (kış)	koša neighbor (koža)
kıštın baškay October (cf. on ay)	koškar ram (koškar) (see kuša)
kıšdın orta ay November (cf.	koyu thick, dense (xoyug) (see
on bir ay)	koyug)
kıšdın suŋkay December (cf.	koyug thick, dense (xoyug) (see
on iyi ay)	koyu)
kıšm in the winter (kışm)	köbelek butterfly (K. köbelek) (see
kıškı winter (attrib.), wintry (kışkı)	xobogan)
kıškır- shout, yell (kışkır-)	köbünj ~ köwöŋ cotton (xöveŋ)
kıy hey	kök blue (kök) (see gök)
key de- call to, invite, hail	köktogay Köktogay (place name)

- köl lake (xöl)**
- köldüg grand, solemn, ceremonious, populous (xöldüg)**
- kölör paš big kettle, cauldron**
- köm- bury (xöm-)**
- kömür coal (xömür)**
- kömüsge eyebrows (M. kömüske) (cf. xavak kirbii)**
- könžül quilt (M. könjile) (see körpe)**
- könö old, ancient (K. köne)**
- könösün food, grain (könezin)**
- körekde- recite from memory (körekde-)**
- köröŋkö oyun film, movie (köröŋkö oyun)**
- körpe quilt (K köpe) (see könžül)**
- körüm arrogant, vain**
- köylöŋ shirt (xöylöŋ)**
- köyük Koyuk (clan name)**
- ak köyük Ak Koyuk**
- žanagaš köyük Zhanagash Koyuk**
- gongutu köyük Gonggutu Koyuk**
- kara köyük Kara Koyuk**
- kud- pour (kut-) (see gut-)**
- kuday heaven, sky (kuday)**
- kuduk well (kuduk)**
- kuduruk tail (kuduruk)**
- kulaš arm spread, span (unit of length measuring from between the ends of both arms, extended horizontally to the sides) (kulaš)**
- kulun colt, foal, pony (kulun)**
- kunan three-year old stallion (kunan)**
- kundus beaver (kundus)**
- kur belt, sash (kur)**
- kuragan lamb (M quragan)**
- kuržok wife**
- kurga- dry, become dry, dry up (kurga-)**
- kurgag dry (kurgag)**
- kurgat- dry, make dry (kurgat-)**
- kurmusdu heaven, sky (kurbustu) (see gurmusdu)**
- kurt worm (kurt)**
- kus- vomit, throw up (kus-)**
- kusgun raven (kuskun)**
- kusku vomiting (kusku)**
- kuša ram (kuša) (see koškar)**
- kuškaš house sparrow, skylark (kuškaš) (see xušgaš)**
- külžün Kulzhung (personal name)**
- kümüs silver (K. kumis) (see möngün)**

kün day, sun (xün)	malči herdsman (malčm)
kün žayı sun light	mančiŋ Manchu Qing (C. man qing)
kündölö everyday	manžu Manchu (C. man zu)
kündüs daytime, during the day	manžu čiŋ Manchu Qing (C.
(xündüs)	man qing)
kürää temple (xüree)	maŋnay forehead (maŋnay)
küreŋ crimson, dark-red (color of	marga bızaa two-year old ox
horses) (xüreŋ)	materiyal material (material)
kürüş rice (K küriš)	maymıl monkey (K maymıl)
küürük shovel (xüürek)	mäži soft leather boots worn inside the
l	house (K mäsi)
lama lama (lama)	mändi meat dumplings, steam stuffed
lay mud, silt (M. lai)	bun (K mänti < C)
läŋmān noodle and vegetable dish (U.	mäselen for example (K. maselen)
läŋmān)	mäšine car (mašina)
luu dragon (M. luu)	mäyke vest, singlet, T-shirt (mayka)
lökür proverb, saying (WM. üliger)	mečin monkey (meči)
m	mee brain (mee)
maabazır pistol (see žeŋ boo)	mee žok brainless, stupid
mada fabric, cloth (K mata)	meen my (meen)
magamut stature, height, size	mege false, lie, fake, wrong, sham,
(magabot)	phony, artificial (mege)
mažak stalk (wheat), specula, ear (of	megele- lie, make false statement
corn) (mažak)	(megele-)
mal livestock (mal)	megeši liar (megeči)
maldıg with livestock	mektep school (K. mektep <A.)
	men I (men)

mendi safe and sound, healthy (mendi)	mıŋgaštın curb, rein, halter (mıŋgaštın)
mes steep, precipitous	mıršak hail, beans (K. buršak) (see möndür)
mešbet jacket (K. bešpet < R)	mıs cat (K. mısıq)
mešel backward, less developed (K. mešel)	mıyık excrement, dung, droppings
mešit oven (K. mešit)	mıyıs horn (mıyıs)
metir meter (metr)	mıysalı for example (K. mısalı)
meyge <i>Meyge</i> (name of an animal or a bird)	moma steamed bun, steamed bread (K. moma)
meyräm holiday, festival, celebration, ceremony (K. meyräm)	monža public bath (K. monša)
meyren Meyren (one of the banner); originally a Manchu title/rank.	mončak Monchak (ethnonym and banner name)
meyren gožuun Meyren banner	mončakta- speak Monchak
miliyon million (million <R) (see žüs tümen)	monšuu this much, as much as this (K. munša)
milgire- throw	mool Mongolian, Mongol (mool)
min- mount, ride (mun-)	moolša Mongolian, in Mongolian
mindet duty (mindet)	moyun neck (moyun)
mmaar here(direction) (mmaar)	möndügöy Mondugoy (clan name)
mmaartan thence (mmaartan)	möndür hail (M. möndör) (see mıršak)
mmda here (mmda)	möngün silver (möngün) (see kümüs)
mmday such, one such, this kind (K. mmaday)	mör seal, stamp (K. mör < P)
mmdıg this kind (mmdıg)	möyireŋ Moyireng (title)
mıŋ thousand (mıŋ)	mu <i>mu</i> , a unit of area equal to
mıŋ bir one thousand and one	

0.0667 hectares (C. mu)
mugalım teacher (K. muḳalim < A.)
muşuk snub-nosed (cf. K. puşık)
mun- ride, horseback, ride a horse
 (mun-)
muḅgara- be sad, be distressed
 (muḅgara-)
muḅgaranžig sadness, melancholy
 (muḅgarančig)
muḅgak stupid, foolish, idiotic (cf.
 muḅgak 'sensitive, touchy')
murgu drill, auger (K. burgu)
murnuu front, south (murnuu)
murun nose (murnu)
mün soup, broth (mün)

n

nagan hand gun, revolver (nagan)
nak exactly, precisely (K. naq)
nan bread (K. nan < P)
nar one-humped camel, dromedary (K.
 nar)
narın pastry and meat dish with broth
 (K. narın)
nasos pump (nasos)
negä marriage, matrimony (K. neke)
negis base, basis, foundation (K. negiz)

negisgi main, basic, fundamental (K.
 negizgi)
negizdel- be found, based, established
 (K. negizdel-)
nemire grandchild (K. nemere)
nerbe nerve (nerv)
nogaan green (nogaan)
noxta halter (i.e. for animals) (K.
 noqta)
nom book, lesson (nom)
 nom-erdem education
 nom zadar bookstore (see
 kitapxana)
nomna- read, study (cf. M. nomla- <
 nomna- 'teach, preach')
nomnad- teach, preach (M. nomla-)
nomşu - read, study (nomču-)
nomşud- teach (nomčut-)
norma norms, standards (norma)
nota music notes (nota)
nöl zero (nöl)
nömür number (e.g. room, phone) (K.
 nömür)
nürlüg glory, honor, credit (nürlüg)

o

obulıs region, district (oblast)

obur attitude, manner, bearing (ovur)	onun then, and
oda- weed, hoe (K. ota-)	oŋ right (oŋ)
oda- heat (oda-)	oŋ- fade, lose color (oŋ-)
odun- wake up (odun-)	oŋay easy, simple (K oŋay)
odur- cut, chop, hack (odur-)	oŋžala- count (oŋčala-)
ok bullet, arrow (o'k)	oo oh
okša- kiss, love (oška-)	ool son, boy, child, kids (ool)
okuwši pupil, student (K. okuwši)	oglu his/her son (oglu)
ol he, she, it (ol)	oola - ascend, rise up, walk (oola-)
olar they (olar)	ooŋ his, hers, its (ooŋ)
olža a find, loot, booty (olča)	oor thief, burglar (oor)
olur- sit down, sit, settle down, live (olur-)	oorga back (oorga)
oluruš traditional banquet, gathering (K. otiris)	oorlana stealthily, secretly, on the sly (see žazırım)
olšu this kind	ooršak Orshak (tribe name)
on ten (on)	oorši thief, burglar (ooržu)
on bir eleven (on bir)	ooson after that (oosoon) (see onson)
on iyi twelve (on iyi)	or- cause to tear, tear up, break (or-)
on üš thirteen (on üš)	oraa- roll up, wrap up, bandage, encircle, surround (oraa-)
on dört fourteen (on dört)	oraalaŋ sly, crafty, cunning, tricky (M oraalaŋ)
on aldı sixteen (on aldı)	oraam bundle, spool (e.g. thread) (K oram)
on žedi seventeen (on čedi)	oray toward evening, at nightfall, at dusk (oray)
on ses eighteen (on ses)	
on tos nineteen (on tos)	
on mır ten thousand (see tümän)	
onson then, after, also (onson)	

ornalaš- be settled, placed, be located, situated, lie (K. ornalas)	(K. ökül)
ornat- establish, install (ornat-)	öžin forearm (öžin)
ortu middle, half (ortu)	öl- die, pass away (öl-)
oruk road, way (oruk)	ölbes immortal (ölbes)
oruk torn (oruk)	ölim death (ölim)
oru place, bed (orun)	ölür- kill (ölür-)
orus Russian (orus)	önörkäsip industry (K. önerkäsip)
ot fire (ot)	öη color (öη)
ot grass, herb (o''t)	öηgä friend
oy hey	öηnü colored, beautiful, pretty (öηnüg)
oygur Uygur	öörönökšr apprentice, disciple, pupil, student (öörenikçi)
oylat- chase away, drive, chase (oylat -)	öörün- learn, study (öören-)
oyna- play (oyna-)	ööret- teach (ööret-)
oyun game, joke, prank (oyun)	öörü- be happy, glad (öörü-)
oyunžuk toys (K. oymšik)	öörüškü happy, glad, pleased, cheerful, joy (öörüškü)
ozat advanced (K. ozat)	ööš gullet, throat (ööš)
	örgün width
ö	öröme cream, curd (öreme)
öböy infant, baby (cf. öpey 'lullaby')	ört fire (ört)
ödö very, too, quite (K. öte)	örtök price, cost (örtek)
ödürük duck (ödürek)	örü vertical, upright, perpendicular, upward (örü)
ögü eagle owl (ügü)	örü- braid, plait one's hair, weave (ört-)
ökpe lung (ökpe)	örük apricot (ürük)
ökpe-baar giblets (ökpe-baar)	
ökül injector, injection (K. ölkil)	
ökül deputy, delegate, representative	

ös- grow, grow up, increase, rise, go up

(ös-)

ösküs orphan (ösküs)

öš spite, malice, resentment, offence,

revenge, vengeance (öš)

öš- dissipate, be extinguished (e.g. fire),

die out, fade away, go out (öš-)

öšür- erase, extinguish (öšü-)

öšürgüš eraser (K öširgiš)

öškü goat (öškü)

öt bile, gull (öt)

öt- penetrate, get into, leak (into), seep

(into), pass, cross (öt-)

ötkür- pass, live

ötkür sharp, acute, keen (ötkür)

öw home, house (ög)

özbek Uzbek (özbek)

özgör- change (ösker-)

özüm interest (özüm)

p

paga frog (paga)

pamidor tomato (pamidor)

par tiger (par)

par two, twin, pair (K. par)

partiya party (partiya)

paska hammer (paska)

pasport passport (pasport)

paš bowl (iron), kettle, cauldron (paš)

pašši cook, chef (paštanči)

patša emperor, king, czar, tsar (K.

patša)

payda profit (K. payda)

pilosopiya philosophy

piš- cut, trim, castrate, spay (biš-)

pis- boil, cook, bake, ripen (K. pis-)

pišpaan unripe, green, raw, uncooked

(čig)

pryma felt boots (prymı)

pozatsıya attitude, manner, bearing

(pozitsıya)

pukara masses, people, populous (K.

buqara)

s

saadak quiver (saadak)

saaskan magpie (saaskan)

saasın paper (saazın)

saasın kuš kite

saat~sagat hour, time (K. saǵat)

saba- strike, hit (sava-) (see sawa-)

sabil wooden bowl, big wooden vessel

(sawıl)

sabıñ ~ sawıñ straw (savañ)

sadıǵ commerce, trade (sadıǵ)

sadıǵ öw shop, store	sarus butter, margarine (cf. saržag)
sadıǵşı trader, businessman, merchant, dealer (sadıǵži)	sat- sell, sell out, betray (sat-) satıb al- buy, purchase
sag- milk (sag-)	sawa- strike, hit (sava-)(see saba-)
sagat~saat watch, clock, hour (K. sak̄at)	sawar finger, claw, hand (WM. sabar)
sagm- remember, recall, recollect (sagm-)	sawıñ ~ sabıñ soap (sawañ) sawıñ ~ sabıñ straw (sawañ) sawıñna- ~ sabıñna- soap, lather (sawañna-)
sak grain (sak)	sayasat police, politics (K. sayasat)
sakta- keep, protect, maintain, preserve	sayasry political (K. sayasry)
sal- fill, ladle, put, place (sal-)	sazıg smelly, stinking, foul
sal moustache	säbet soviet, USSR (sovet)
samawur samovar (samovar)	säwis carrot (K säbiz)
sambar hand (cf. M. sabar)	seek fly (seek)
san count, number, numeral, numerate (san)	seenj your (seenj)
sana consciousness, awareness (K. sana)	seleme sword, saber (seleme)
sana- count, consider (sana-)	semis fat (semis)
sanal- be considered (sanattm-)	semont cement (tsement)
sanday chair (sanday)	semontta- cement, put cement
sarıg yellow (sarıg)	sen you
sarm Sarın (one of the banners)	sen- break, be fractured (sen-)
sarıš idea, opinion, view, objection	serenke matches (serenji)
sarlıg yak (sarlıg)	sergek light (of sleep), alert, clear- headed, sane (sergek)
sarxoy sheep	seriin cool, cold (seriin)
sart Uygur	ses eight (ses)

sesinži eighth (seski)	seske sieve, sifter
sezen eighty (sezen)	sogna green Chinese onion (soguna)
sezenži eightieth (sezengi)	sogum horse, cattle or sheep for winter slaughter (sogum)
sidik urine (sidik)	sogur blind (sogur)
sidikte- urinate, make water (sidikte-)	sogus fight (soguš)
sigen grass, hay (sigen)	sok- beat, strike, hit (sok-)
siir tendon, sinew (siir)	soksok thimble (cf. čüskük)
siler you (pl.) (siler)	sokta- beat, strike, hit (sokta-)
siŋ- absorb, soak up (siŋ-)	solanġı rainbow (solanġı)
siŋmir- blow one's nose (siŋmir-)	solgay left (sol)
sirge nit (sirge)	solagay left, left-hand (solagay)
siwe Sibo (ethnonym)	soŋ end (soŋ)
sırık shallow (sırık)	soŋında at the end (K. soŋında)
sım deer (sım)	soŋgaar backwards, back, after (soŋgaar)
sırır- swallow, absorb, gulp down (sırır-)	soŋgu last, past, recent, northern (soŋgu)
sıry bladder (sıry)	soŋgu žük north
sır paint (K. sır)	soŋgu kün day after tomorrow
sırakayla- tighten	soo- get cold, turn cold (soo-)
sırğa earrings (sırğa)	sook cold (sook)
sırġak ill, sick (K. sırġat)	sor- keep in the mouth, suck (sor-)
sırġawbul long tapered pole, part of a yurt frame (K. sırġawıl)	soson after, then
sırkıš diphtheria	soy- strip, tear off, remove, slaughter, butcher (soy-)
sırıla- paint, cover with paint (K. sırıla-)	soyaa bud (of a plant) (M soyaa)
sırnay fife, a woodwind instrument, trumpet (K. sırnay < P)	
sırdık pillow, cushion (cf. sırtık)	

soyan Soyán (one of the banners)	suw water (K. suw)
ak soyan Ak Soyán	suwar- water (cattle), irrigate, give sb.
kara soyan Kara Soyán	or sth. to drink (K. suwar-) (see
soyul culture (soyol)	suggar-)
soyuwşı butcher	suwlu watery, wet (K. suwlı)
sögöde- kneel, sit on one's knees	suwsa- to be thirsty, thirst (K. suwsa-)
(sögedekte-) (M. sögöd-)	suwurma drawer (see xaržak)
söök bone, clan (söök)	sür- drive, cultivate, till, plough (e.g.
sööl wart (sööl)	land) (sür- 'drive (cattle), chase')
sös word (sös)	sürgü planer, plane (sürgü)
sös žok certainly, definitely (K.	süt milk (süt)
sös žoq)	süttü milky, with milk (süttüg)
söwet soviet (see säbet)	süttü šay milk tea (süttüg šay)
sudasm arteries and veins, pulse (M.	süür hill or mountain with a rounded
sudasun)	summit, peak, spur; sharp, pointed
suggar- irrigate, water (e.g. cattle)	(süür)
(suggar-)	süzük religion (süzük)
suk Suk (clan name)	
sulu oats (sula)	š
sulug pretty, beautiful (K. suluw)	šaa collar (čaga)
sumun district (sumun)	šaažan bowl, drinking glass (šaažan)
sun- drag out, extend, stretch, lengthen,	šaakay shoes (šaakay) (see
delay (sun-)	daman kep)
sura- ask, inquire, request (sura-)	šag time, time period (šag)
surugžu pupil, student, apprentice,	šagaa the New Year, the Chinese
disciple (surukču)	Spring Festival (šagaa)
suuk liquid, fluid, watery, thin (suuk)	šagaala- visit friends during the New

- Years festival (šagaala-)
- šažm religion (šažm)
- šak- strike fire (e.g. from a flint), kindle
(šak-)
- šala inadequate, half, lacking,
incomplete, insufficient (šala)
- šala-mužuk inadequate, half, lacking,
incomplete, insufficient (K. šala
-pušiq)
- šalbur pants, sheepskin pants (K.
šalbur)
- šalɨɨ dew, dew drop (šalɨɨ)
- šalɨɨ wake, pay, salary, rate of pay
(šalɨɨ)
- šalma lasso, noose, lariat (K šalma)
- šana sleigh, sled (šana)
- šanžɨ- prick, stab (šanč-)
- šap- gallop (on horseback), run (of a
horse) (šap-)
- šaq dust, dust particles (K šaq)
- šar tsar, czar
- šar- tie, fasten, bind, bundle up, wrap
- šarak millet
- šarɨ ox (šarɨ)
- šaš- sprinkle, spray, spill, splash, scatter
(K šaš-) (cf. čaš-)
- šaš- prick, stab (šaš-)
- šay tea (šay)
- šaya scorpion (K šayan)
- šäškiš egret
- šeber 1. craftsman, mastery, artistic,
masterful, smart; 2. clean ,pure,
mastery, accurate (šever) (see šewer)
- šeberle- clean, make clean (ševerle-)
- šedow kitchen knife (C caidao)
- šeešile- recite from memory
(šeežile)
- šegärä border, frontier, boundary,
border area (K. šekara)
- šegäräli bordered, having frontiers (K.
šekaralık)
- šemešey little finger, little toe
- šerge grasshopper, locust (šerge)
- šerig soldier, army (šerig)
- šeš- untie, undo, take off(a garment),
solve (problems) (češ-)
- šewer 1. craftsman, mastery, artistic,
masterful, smart; 2. clean ,pure,
mastery, accurate (šever) (see šeber)
- šiwžaq head of a school (headmaster,
principal, president, chancellor) (C.
Xiao zhang)
- šigi like
- šim- shut, close (one's eyes) (šim-)

širbiiš broom (širbiiš)	(šöyündü)
širbi- sweep, clear away (širbi-)	šugun rule, line, a unit of length (1/3 of a meter) (šugum)
širä table (M širä)	šuurgan wind, wind storm (šuurgan)
širikte- smooth out (širikte-)	šulgak a cloth wrapped around the feet, worn inside boot-top footwear (šuglak)
šišde- toast, bake (šište-)	šuluun fast, quick, rapid, right now, immediately (šuluun)
šiwžinžuyi revisionist (C. xiuzheng zhuyi)	šulmus treacherous, crafty, deceitful (šulbus)
širak hard working, diligent, industrious (širak 'strong')	šungur Shungur (clan name)
šik moist, moisture, meadow, wet, damp, humid (šik)	šüür strainer, sieve (šüür)
šimžr- pinch (šimčr-)	
šimžim a smidgen, a pinch (šimčim)	
šin true, real, genuine, actual, authentic (šin)	
šindik truth, truthfulness (K. šindik)	
šinnda actually, as a matter of fact (K. šinnda)	
šip- close, shut (šip-)	
šokr summit (of a mountain) (K. šoqr)	
šookar pockmarks (šokar)	
šooži lock, padlock (šooča)	
šot abacus	
šoylaškan earthworm (šrylaškan)	
šögün kettle, teapot (K šägim)	
šöl desert, plateau, plain (šöl)	
šöyündö intestines, bowels, guts	
	t
	taar large bag, sack (taar)
	taar- rebuke, bawl out (taar-)
	tabažak (lined or lined outer garment with wool or cotton)
	tabak~tawak dish, plate (tawak)
	tabak sole of the (foot), base, foundation (tabak)
	tažik Tajik (tažik)
	tal willow (tal)
	talap request, demand, wish (K. talap)
	talaptan- seek, demand, require (K. talaptan-)

talda- choose, select, pick (dalda-)	tart- pull, draw out, drag (K. tart-)
taldab al- choose, select, pick	tartıp al- confiscate, expropriate (K. tartıp al-)
tamaša wonderful, perfect (K. tamaša)	tas bald, hairless (scrubby infection on the head) (tas)
tanı- know, recognize, find out, get to know, identify (tanı-)	tawak dish, plate (tavak)
tanıs- get acquainted, familiar, acquaint with, familiarize with (tanızar-)	tawaša gur cloth belt
tanış acquainted, familiar (tanış)	tawar niche, a built-in cupboard
taŋdı dıba Tangdı Tuva (tribe name)	tawar satin, fabric, goods (K. tawar)
taŋdı ooršak Tangdı Orshak (tribe name)	tayga it hunting dog, hound (M. tayiga)
taŋma brand, seal (taŋma)	tayži crest comb, crown prince, Tayzhi (title) (C. tai zi)
tapta- trample (K. tapta-)	taylak 1 or 2 year-old camel foal (taylak)
taptıg sweet, honeyed (taptıg)	tärbiye Tarbiye (personal name)
tar narrow, close, petty (tar)	tebe camel (teve)
tarangay Tarangkay (personal name)	tebek shuttlecock (cf. M tebeg)
tarat- issue, distribute, disseminate (tarat-)	tebene big needle (tevene)
taraa grain, flour (taraa)	tegdeš hairpin
taraa žer field, farmland	tegene basin, pot (K tegene)
taraalaŋ field, farmland (taraalaŋ)	teginde before, in the past, formerly (K. teginde)
taraanči peasant, farmer (taraančın)	tegis flat, smooth, even (K. tegis)
tarı- plant, grow (tarı-)	tegiste- make even, flat, smooth (K. tegiste-)
tarmal planted (tarmal)	texnik technician (texnik)
tarmal guzuk sunflower (tarmal tooruk)	

texnika technology (texnika)	trb al- find, discover
tek only, just (tek)	trit pine tree (drt)
tep- kick (tep-)	trym coin, cent (K. tiyin)
teyle- prostrate oneself before the image of Buddha, worship Buddha (teyle-)	toduu full, content (having eaten one's fill of food) (todug)
temeki 1. tobacco; 2. Temeki (place name) (K. temeki)	tool story, tale (tool) (see xoču)
temeki awıldık Temeki encampment	toola- to tell, to tell tales (toolda-)
temir iron (demir)	toosun dust (doozun)
temir xak- forge iron	tor net (K. tor)
temir oruk railway, railroad	torga woodpecker (torga)
ten thorn, splinter (ten)	torgu silk, silk cloth (torgu)
teŋge money (K. teŋge)	torgu kurt silkworm
terek poplar (terek)	torgun Torgun (personal name)
terej deep, profound, in-depth, thorough (terej)	torlaa mountain grouse, snow cock (torlaa)
teresin splendid achnatherum, feather grass, grass mat (terezin)	tos nine (tos)
tergen cart, wagon (terge)	tosan ninety (tozan)
termek earrings	tosanži ninetieth (tozangi)
teerme mill (deerbe)	tosnži ninth (tosku)
tizgide- kneel, sit on one's knees (cf. K tizele-)	tozi personal seal, signet (C. tozi)
tıgbak short in stature (tokpak)	töbe roof (K. töbe)
tm life (tm)	tödö all (tödü)
tm azıran- live	tödü bis all of us
tıp- find, discover (tıp-)	tögörök round, circular, wheel (tögerik)
	tögöle- surround, encircle, gather round
	töleligçi deputy, delegate,

representative (töleelekçi)	u
tölöy (used for a bunch of hair) tuft	uur thyroid gland
töökö dictionary (töökü 'history')	uurak colostrum (uurak)
töör- go around (M. töör-)	udasm thread, string, wire (udazım)
töröl relatives (törelı)	udu- sleep, spend the night, stay overnight (udu-)
töş chest (töş)	ugaan wisdom, intelligence, intellect (ugaan)
tözün~tözü all, every	ugaannıg intelligent, bright, clever (ugaannıg)
tuuži epic, long poem, a narrative genre (tooži)	ugut- preach, propagate (ugut-)
tug banner, flag (tuk)	uk socks, stockings (uk)
tugšaš- stick in, thrust, impale	uk- understand, comprehend (K. uk-)
tut- seize, grab, grasp, take, hold, hold up, support (tut-)	ula- join, link, connect, tie up (ula-)
tutkan xulur dough	ulanbayır Ulanbayir (personal name)
tutkıš holder, handle (K. tutkıš)	ulug big, huge, great, major, older, elder, senior, adult, grown up (ulug) (see uluu)
tutkıšdı with a handle	ulug ulus senior, elder, adult, grown up
tuwırğa wall (M. tugurğa)	ulus nationality, nation, state, people (ulus)
tuwralı about, concerning (K. tuwralı)	ulut nation, nationality (K. ult)
tügöl all, whole, entire (K. tügel)	uluu big, huge, great (ulug)
tük any, whatever	uluu aža grandpa
tükür- spit (dükpür-)	unun then, after that, and
tür variety, kind (tür)	unuu roof
türlü various, different, assorted (türli)	
türgen fast, quick, rapid (dürgen)	
türüşgen compatriot, blood relatives	

uraŋxa Uriangkhai (proper name)	uzak long, far, far away, distant (uzak)
urgumul plants (M urɣumal)	uzat- lengthen, make longer, extend, prolong (uzat-)
urunzokaal literature (M uranʃokiyal)	uzun long (uzun)
uru child, girl, daughter (urug)	uzun badık epic, long poem
uru duŋma younger sister	
uru-tarıg family members, dependents (urug-darıg)	ü
urug child, girl, daughter (urug)	üčü fur coat, any outer garment made of animal hide
urtu length	ügüt propaganda, dissemination (K. ügüt)
uš tip, point (uš)	ügütewe propaganda, dissemination
uš- fly (uš-)	üžen thirty (üžen)
ušar mäžinä airplane	üžüür active (üžüür)
ušun because of, for, for the benefit of (užun)	üle- divide, detach, distribute, assign, shuffle (card, etc.) (üle-)
ut- ladle out, spoon up (out), scoop up	ülegerči poet, story teller (M üligerči)
ut- win, beat, beat, gain (ut-)	ülös- follow along, catch up
utıb al- win, beat (K. utıp al-) (see žeŋib al-)	ün sound, voice (ün)
uttur- acquainted, familiar (uttur-)	ün- go out, enter, go into, emerge, move (out) (ün-)
utul- lose, be beaten, be defeated (K. utul-) (see žeŋil-)	ündüsüden nationality, belonging to a certain ethnic group (ündüsüden)
uušda- knead, limber up, rub with hands, shell, peel, pare (uušta-)	ünüwe mute, dumb (ünü čok) (see dıl žok)
uygur Uygur (uygur) (see oygur)	ünge- crawl, creep, climb, scramble (ünge-)
uza- lengthen, become (or get) longer (uza-)	

üñgür hole, cavity, burrow (of an animal) (üñgür)

ür- blow, exhale (ür-)

ürgülži often (ürgülči)

ürösün seed (ürezin)

ürümži Urumchi (city name)

üs oil, butter (üs)

üs-müs oils

üsd top, surface (see üsdü)

üsdü top, above (üstu)

üs- ram, bump against, strike, tear (üs-)

üş three (üş)

üşünži third (üşkü)

üürge duty (üürge)

üytgönü because, the reason is that (K. üytkeni)

üzük break, rupture, gap (K. üzük)

üzük letter, alphabet, word (üzük)

Z

zakı chopsticks (M. sabqa)

zal assembly hall, auditorium (zal)

zan station, frontier station (C. zhan < M.)

zañ law, rule (K zañ) (see xuul)

zaan elephant (čaan)

zasık government (O. zasaq)

zawot factory, plant (zavod)

zıgır linseed (K zıgır)

zıldız star (sıldıs)

zıpda- thread (e.g. a needle) (sıpta-)

zoga wooden plow (cf. soxa)

zor big, hug, great, enormous, strong

zor sekiriw the Great Leap Forward

W

wagon railroad car (vagon)

waliybol volleyball (voleybol)

wanna tub, bathtub (vanna)

wañ king, prince (C wañ)

wobo pestilence, cholera, epidemic (K. oba)

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Ph.D. Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999
Dissertation Defense, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, June 1998
Qualifying exams completed, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, July 1995
Doctoral studies, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, September 1991- July 1995
Doctoral studies, University of Southern California, Department of History, September 1991-May 1992
M.A., Xinjiang University, Department of China's Languages, June 1988 (Major: Turkic Linguistics)
B.A., Xinjiang University, Department of Foreign Languages, June 1983 (Major: English)

Employment

Lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Department of Slavic Languages, August 1998-date
Contract translator, Department of State, Washington, D.C. October, 1998-date
Translator, U.S.-Uzbekistan Joint Commission, Department of State, Washington, D.C. February, 1998
Translator, U.S.-Kazakhstan Summit, White House, Washington, DC. November, 1997)
Contract Translator, Logos Group, Italy, July 1997-date (Kazak and Uzbek)
Registered Translator, Translation Services, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada September 1993-date (Kazak, Uzbek)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, 1995-date (Introductory Kazak only in summer)
Instructor, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, September 1992-May 1994 (Introductory Uygur and Intermediate Uygur)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, June-August 1994 (Introductory Kazak)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, June-August 1993 (Introductory Kazak)
Visiting lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Summer Institute for Central Asian Studies, June-August 1992 (Introductory Kazak)
Associate Instructor, University of Southern California, Department of History, September 1991-May 1992 (Japanese History)

Associate Instructor, University of Washington, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, June-July 1991 (Introductory Kazak)
Research Fellow and Lecturer, Xinjiang University, Institute for Central Asian Cultural Studies, October 1988-March 1991

Scholarships and Awards

Kazak Language Web Grant, University of Wisconsin, 1998-1999
Indiana University International Programs Fee Assistance Award, 1996-1997
Starr Fellowship, 1996-1997
Starr Fellowship, 1995-1996
Indiana University Graduate Fellowship, 1992-1995
University of Southern California Graduate Fellowship, 1991-1992

Research

The Consonant Cluster and Syllables in Turkic Languages, In Zhongguo minzu yuyan xuehui, (eds.) *Minzu yuwen yanjiu xintan (A New Survey of National Languages Studies)*, 274-290 Sichuan: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1992.
A Study in Comparative Turkic Phonology, *Tujueyu yanjiu tongxun (Turkic Languages Studies)* 2, 21-27, 1991
Vowel Harmony in Turkic Languages *Yuyan yu fanyi (Language and Translation)* 1, 48-54, 1990
Consonantism in Turkic Languages, *Gelmey maqalalar jiyngage (Collection of Scientific Articles)* 1, 43-54, 1990
A Comparative Study of the Sound Combination in Turkic Languages, *Hashi shifan xueyuan xuebao (Journal of Kashgar Teachers College)*, 3, 69-79

Collaboration

Department of China's Languages, Xinjiang University: *Hazirqi Zaman Uygur Tili (Modern Uygur Grammar.)* Urumchi: Xinjiang People's Publish House, 1996
Department of China's Languages, Xinjiang University: *Tujue bijiao yuyan xue (Comparative Turkic Linguistics)*, Urumchi: Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 1997

Editing work

Kazakh (Qazaq) - English Dictionary, Maryland: Dunwoody Press, 1994

Lectures

"Language and Ethnicity in Altay Tuva Region" Second Annual Workshop on Central Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 10, 1997.

"Language Maintenance and Shift within an Altay Tuva Community" Department of Central Eurasian Studies and Inner Asian & Uralic National Resource Center, Indiana University, December 2, 1996.

"Lexical Reflections of Sociopolitical Changes in Kazak: A Study of Borrowing" Workshop on Central Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 5, 1996.

"Language Shift in Kazakstan" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July , 1996.

"Status and Interrelations in Turkic Languages" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July 20, 1995.

"Language Choice of the Kazaks in Multiethnic Societies" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July 23, 1994

"Eighteenth Century Kazak Glossary." The Permanent International Altaic Conference, 36th Meeting, Almaty, June 12, 1993.

"The Consonant Clusters and Syllables in Turkic Languages." China's 5th National Linguistic Conference, Sicuan, July, 1990.

"The Vowel System in Turkic Languages" China's 5th Turkic Linguistic Conference, Beijing, October, 1985.

Applied Experience

Founder and Director, The Kazak Society of America, Inc.

Organizer of the annual Nawriz Festivals in US, 1994-date

President, Kazakstan Students Association at Indiana University, 1994-1998

Vice-president, Tengri-Tagh Overseas Students and Scholars Association, 1994-1995

Professional Memberships

American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages

Association for Central Asian Studies

American Association of Applied Linguistics