

**WITNESSING A DISAPPEARING  
TURKIC LANGUAGE:  
THE DUKHAN LANGUAGE**

Selcen Küçüküstel





© Selcen Küçüküstel

### Introduction

The Dukha people, nomadic reindeer herders/hunters living in northern Mongolia, speak a Turkic language which belongs to the Sayan language group in the Siberian branch of the Turkic languages. According to the Unesco Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, the language of the Dukha is severely endangered. In this research, the present state of the Dukhan language, linguistic attitudes of the Dukha people towards their language and in case the language disappears, possible effects of such an outcome on the Dukhan culture are examined from an anthropological perspective. The data are based both on the interviews made with 16 Dukha families during the fieldwork carried out by the author in the summer of 2012 (July-August-September) and on the author's personal observations. The aim of this article is to emphasize, via the state of the Dukhan language today that once a language gets extinct, what is lost is not merely the words but the human cultural values as well.

In the southern foothills of the Sayan mountains, a branch of the Turkic language family, which has less than 500 speakers, is disappearing because it is no longer taught to children.

'In the last twenty years, our children don't want to learn our language and they run away when we try to teach them. They perceive the Dukha language as an irrelevant language that is spoken only by the elders. In the taiga, the young people speak Mongolian among themselves now. Soon, maybe in a generation, nobody will speak our language.'

The concern that Sodov, a 73 year old Dukha elder, expressed is unfortunately a situation that is experienced throughout the world now. Today linguists estimate that there are around 5,000-6,700 languages in the world. At least half of them, or maybe even more will disappear within the next century. Although there are many reasons for these languages to become extinct, all disappearing languages have one thing in common: they are not passed on to children at home by parents (Nettle ve Romaine 2001: 23-24).

Since language and culture are two inseparable components, we can easily say that when a language dies, a life style dies with it; taking along all the knowledge, experience, proverbs, and tales hidden in the language. When a language is erased from the memories of a people, just as when a library burns down, crucial knowledge for humanity vanishes.

The Dukha people, who live in the Sayan mountains of northern Mongolia, are one of those communities whose language is under threat of disappearing. The language of the Dukha, who have been living in the taigas of southern Siberia with their reindeers for centuries, belongs to the Siberian



© Selcen Küçüküstel

branch of the Sayan group of the Turkic language family (Ragagnin 2011: 23). The linguistic book published by Ragagnin in 2011 is the only extensive research done concerning the Dukha language.

The aim of this paper is to take a look at the situation of the Dukhan language today; what people think about this issue; and if the language disappears, evaluating the possible affects on the community from an anthropological perspective. The research is based on interviews with 16 households in the east taiga during my two-months of fieldwork, from July/August to September, in the summer of 2012. Later on, I went to the field again in 2015 and did some minor additions to my article. During the research, two basic methods of cultural anthropology were used: participant observation and in-depth interviews with at least one member of each household to learn their opinions on losing their language. I did some of the interviews with the help of a Mongolian translator and towards the end of the research, since my language skills improved, I also did some interviews in Dukhan.

In this paper, which gives voice to the opinions of the last speakers of a disappearing language, I will briefly mention who the Dukha are, their traditional knowledge, richness of their language, how much it is used today, the connection of language with their identity, the effect of the language on their spirituality, and what can be done to preserve it.

### 1. Who are the Dukha?

The Dukha people who traditionally herd reindeers, hunt wild animals, and maintain a nomadic life, live in the taiga, west of the Huvskol region. They have been herding reindeers in the east of the Sayan mountains for centuries and are among the four big communities in the region that have a similar life style. The other similar communities are the Tofu, the east Tuvan people (Tozhu) and the Oka Soyots who all live in Russia. However, today the Tofu and Oka Soyot no longer keep reindeers, and have established a settled life in villages.

The Dukha and Tozhu, who continue reindeer herding, have been native to the region between the borders of Tuva (Russia) and Mongolia for many years. During the Soviet period, when the Russian government collectivized reindeer, some families, who wanted to keep their reindeer, fled to Mongolia. When the Russian-Mongolian border closed and went through changes, between 1920-1950 they had been continuously going back and forth between the two countries, sometimes forced to leave by governments. In the end, when the borders were permanently closed, some stayed in Mongolian territory while the others stayed in Russian territory.

Those communities that had strong cultural and historical ties to the past, suddenly came under the influence of the dominant language of the country they ended up in, and today they struggle to keep their own languages alive. The Dukha are the only community in Mongolia that herds reindeer. They are also referred to as Uygur, Toha, or Duka in some sources (Wheeler 2000: 3, 6, 7, 41). They are known as ‘Tsaatan’ in Mongolian, which literally means ‘the one with the reindeer’. However, some Dukha find this name offensive and prefer to be called by the original name of their community, just like other communities. According to the 1994 census, their population is around 500 people.

Today the Dukha, who maintain a nomadic life with their reindeer in the taiga and stay in tepees, are around 200 people and this number is decreasing day by day. They live in two groups, one to the east of and the other to the west of Tsagaannuur village. The total number of nomadic households was 36 by the summer of 2012.

The Dukha, who live with their reindeer all year round, milking and riding the animals, have a special connection with them. Although they keep reindeers, their subsistence life style is based on hunting and gathering. In southern Siberia, the climate is harsh and the Dukha survive as hunter-gatherers as Danahue mentioned in his study (Donahue 2003). However, in recent years, while generally still keeping their old social relations, they have partially changed their livelihood and now also buy goods from the village.

The Dukha do not use reindeers for meat, their main forms of sustenance are game meat, fish, nuts and the berries they collect. They keep their reindeers for milk and transportation, especially while hunting in winters and moving camp. The reindeer are crucial for surviving in the harsh environment they live in. It is one of the only animals that can move easily in deep snow in winter and muds in summer. This situation makes the Dukha one of the rare communities that are hunter gatherers, but that also keep domesticated animals. This unique livelihood is reflected in many social and cultural aspects of their life; from the relations between people in the community to their relationship with the environment. For example, they can be considered an egalitarian society, as there are no leaders in the community that possess power or authority. Although they value the opinions of the elders, the decisions are usually made together. Since they do not have a hierarchical social structure, inequality between genders is almost non-existent. They share the game meat among all families in the camp, regardless of whether members of the community joined that hunt or not. The egalitarian relations among themselves are also reflected in the relations they establish with their environment, as they respect all living things. For the Dukha who still practice shamanism, all living things have a soul. They do not perceive themselves as the owners of the universe but rather as a part of it, in harmony with it. The Dukha; that do not even wash their hands in the rivers so as not to pollute the water and apologize to the souls of the animals they hunt; have many things to teach humanity, which has been losing its connection with the earth for a long time.

## 2. The situation of the Dukha language

With a declining population, the Dukha are a minority in Mongolia. Since they integrate into Mongolian society more and more, they have been having problems with preserving their language in recent years. According to the Unesco Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger, the Dukha language is severely endangered.

During my fieldwork, I talked to all 16 households one by one and asked them which language they speak at home. When asked, most families stated that they speak both languages. However, my observations were quite different, and I came to realize that little children do not know the language at all and speak only Mongolian, young people (15-25 years old) despite understanding the language, have difficulties using it, and speak Mongolian among themselves. People between 25-35 years old know the Dukha language but speak Mongolian in daily life and use the language in a limited way only when they speak to the elders. Only the people older than 40-45 speak the Dukha language among themselves and switch to Mongolian while talking to the young. I also observed that young people sometimes mix the languages and use Dukha words, especially when it comes to the words related to the reindeer and hunting.

For example, when I asked Boyuntuktuk, the woman I stayed with, which language she uses at home with her daughters, I remember she said:

‘We speak both languages, my daughters know Dukhan as well’

However, during the time I stayed in their tent, I observed that Boyuntuktuk always spoke Mongolian with her daughters who are 16 and 20 years old. She spoke Dukhan only while talking to me and her daughters did not seem to understand us most of the time, had difficulties answering me in Dukhan and asked their mother for help.

Similarly, in another household, when I asked Sensitik, a 47 year old woman, which language they speak more at home, she said:

‘Everyone at home knows both languages and we use them both. The first language I learned was Dukhan when I was a kid but now, the children know Mongolian better.’

Then when I asked more detailed questions like which language do they speak when they discuss something, she said that the children always speak Mongolian among themselves and while talking to her. It is because their knowledge of Dukhan vocabulary was pretty limited. Similarly, in other households, people who are 30 years old and over said the first language they learned was Dukha while it is Mongolian for the children now. When I asked why they learn and speak Mongolian now, they all explained that school is the reason.

A middle age parent described the conflict between school and language like this:

‘I learned the Dukhan language as my first language, but our children learned Mongolian. They need to know Mongolian well because they will go to school when they grow up.’

Another Dukha elder said: ‘We speak Mongolian with the little children because they will go to school and have to learn Mongolian. I had to learn Mongolian at school for the first time and it was really hard for me. I don’t want my children to go through the same difficulties.’

Many young couples thought the same but they also expressed their concern about the loss of their native language. This reality, the fact that the Dukha language is dying, created a general feeling of discontent in the community.

An elder named Gambat said:

‘Some children know our language and others do not. This is an alarming and horrible situation for us.’

Gala who is 33 years old expressed the same worry saying:

‘I think it is important for us to preserve our native language, unfortunately most of the younger people speak Mongolian among themselves. Only the elders speak Dukhan with each other. And we use it while talking to the elders. I don’t know what will happen when they pass away.’

However, despite this opinion, young parents did not seem to show any effort in teaching their children the Dukhan language. The general idea is that they would learn the Dukhan language somehow while growing up. Most people also mentioned that their language was taught at school in the past and although not actively taught at the moment, this could hopefully be a method of saving the language in the future.

The reason they kept saying they speak both languages at home, while it was not really the case, could be because they did not want to accept the situation and to deny the loss of their language. Most families, despite realizing that their children cannot speak the language, hoped that this would magically change.



© Selcen Küçüküstel

The situation of the Duha, who have settled in the village, was even more critical. The ones who married a Mongolian or Darhad could almost not speak the language at all. Intermarriages were one of the major factors for language loss (Inamura 2005: 129).

### 3. The richness of the Dukha language

The Dukha have been leading a life connected to nature for many years and this life style was naturally reflected in their language. According to one theory, the Sayan mountains are thought to be the area where the reindeer were domesticated for the first time (Vitebsky 2005: 25-40); thus, it is not hard to estimate that the Dukha have been living together with the reindeer for a long time. This close and unique relationship has a long history that has helped to shape the language in great detail. For instance, the word ‘reindeer’, which is expressed with only one word in English, has many variants in the Dukha language describing the age and sex of the animal. Some of the words I recorded during my fieldwork are as follows:

In the Dukha language: a domesticated male reindeer that is older than 3 years old is ‘ehter’; a domesticated female reindeer that is older than 3 years old is ‘miend’; a domesticated one year old reindeer of both sexes is ‘dasvan’; a domesticated male reindeer that is 2 years old is ‘gootay’; a domesticated female reindeer that is 2 years old is ‘dungiy’; a castrated domesticated reindeer that is older than 3 years old is ‘cari’; a young domesticated male reindeer is ‘dongur’; domesticated reindeer of both sexes that are younger than one year old are ‘hokkash’ (Gül ve Danuu 2012: 183; Seren 2003:109). The general name for reindeer is ‘ibi’.

In addition to these names, the Dukha have many detailed words to describe different actions while herding. The action to gather the reindeer together to a place is called ‘ibi böler’, while bringing them to the camp is called ‘havruggeer’.

These examples alone are enough to show the richness of the Dukha language, how the language is shaped by their way of life according to their needs. Which other language could be so practical and rich for their way of life. Similar examples can be observed among other societies whose lives depend on nature. For instance, the Inuits who live near the North Pole have to find ways to survive in this cold climate. Thus, knowing the types of ice and snow that are hard enough to carry people, dogs, and kayaks is crucial for the Inuit to survive, and they named all these types of ice and snow differently. Likewise, a traditional fisherman who lives in Palaulu in the Pacific Ocean can name more than 300 types of fish, and the number of fish that he knows the breeding cycle of more than exceeds the world literature. (Nettle ve Romaine 2001: 16).



© Selcen Küçüküstel

Today linguists have proved the link between ecological and language diversity (Nettle ve Romaine 2001: 135-166). The traditional life style of the Dukha enabled them to make close connections with wild animals and nature. Unlike the general opinion that views unwritten languages as ‘low and simple’, the languages of the Dukha and similar societies possess valuable knowledge that can be an asset to humanity. For instance, although disappearing rapidly today, the herbal healing practices of the Dukha are quite developed, and they can easily recognize and identify many plants in their region. These traditional medicines are used for both people and reindeer.

According to Boyuntuktuk, whom I interviewed during my fieldwork, ‘bözü othu’ is boiled and drunk when people or reindeers have a high fever. They boil and drink the leaves of a tree called ‘coygan’ and it is good for a fever, chest infection, or headache. When the reindeer give birth, there is a membrane covering the calf. This membrane falls off when they boil the ‘ardıç’ plant and give it to the new-born reindeer. This plant is also good for high fevers and limb aches. When people or reindeer are in pain or break a limb, the ‘alhtan goknur’ plant is boiled and drunk. Another plant the ‘mıygak othu’ is good for womb pain in women. It can either be boiled and drunk or eaten. For chest pain, ‘gök chichcek’ is boiled and drunk. For coughing, the ‘ban sümbül’ flower is good. This flower is also good for the lungs. As it can be seen, the Dukha know their surroundings very well and the whole healing potential of their land is hidden in their language.

Likewise, the Dukha language is like an encyclopaedia in terms of animal diversity. I recorded more than 30 birds during my fieldwork among them:

‘teeldigen guş, gusgun, gökdegene guş, şaatzay guş, saylık guşgaş, heg guş, ak huş, uşbil, baarşık, kas, geerhen, hugu, haraal, onguk, kuşgaçcı, hamnar guş, torga, kargan, dişilik, duha guş, angır, cahlaş guş, deydey guş, ötürek, ciir guş, garabaşlı guşgaş, aylan, baarşık, esiri, dalgıy, ehtciir guş, geerhen, deher guş, gulaar, hugu, sogurha’ etc.

These words for bird species are a valuable ecological treasure, and maybe some of them are unknown in other languages.

All these examples prove the richness of the Dukha language and show how misguided it is to assume that unwritten languages are simple. Besides, these are just some of the secrets of the Dukha language that show how the disappearance of a language is not simply about the loss of words. When a language dies, all traditional knowledge within it disappears; it is clear that when the Dukha language dies, the traditional life style will slowly vanish with it.

#### 4. If the Dukhan dies

In the Dukha language, just like other languages, valuable knowledge, which can be considered part of our world heritage, is hidden. If the language dies, a nomadic life style that has been going on for centuries, the detailed information about the reindeer, and everything they know about nature and animals may be lost forever. The language, which is a means of keeping the society together and reminding them of who they are, will take away many traditions with it. For instance, the songs and tales that the Dukha keep singing and telling today are of great importance for their identity. If we study the meaning of a song I recorded during my fieldwork, we can see the importance of language and songs in their culture. The lyrics of a song called ‘The North is My Homeland’ which was sung in the eastern taiga by Ponsul, who was 80 years old, are as follows:

The taigas of the north  
Are interesting and beautiful  
The children of the north  
Are interesting, healthy and happy  
The taigas of the north  
Are clean and cool  
The people of the north  
Are comfortable and calm. (Translated by Hayat Aras Toktaş)

This song describes the longing of the Dukha for their homeland of Tuva which is in the north. When these songs disappear with the language, the identity of the society will fade slowly and maybe, after a couple of generations, the children will hardly remember where they come from.

There are also many songs about the reindeers. One of those songs called ‘Little Reindeer’ that I recorded during my fieldwork in 2015 spring shows the joy people feel living in the taiga with their reindeers. Since the spring is calving season and especially important for reindeers, it was possible to hear this song more often.

I have beautiful reindeers as livestock  
I am in my sunny taiga homeland  
I have beautiful little reindeers as livestock  
I am in my stony taiga homeland  
I have the amazing taiga homeland  
It is full of juniper and smell of grass  
I have the Ötügen taiga homeland  
It is full of smell of berries (Recorded and translated by Selcen Kucukustel)

Besides these songs, when the Dukha language disappears, one of the most fundamental elements of the society, shamanism, will be at risk. In Dukha society, when people have serious trouble they go to the shaman and the shaman performs a ritual for that person at an appropriate time to find the source of the problem. During this ritual the shaman connects with the spirits, especially the ancestor spirits with the aid of their helping spirits. Only the ancestor spirits can tell them what to do. During the ritual, which only starts after dark and lasts many hours, the shaman wears a special costume and beats a holy drum, usually made of reindeer skin. At the same time as playing the holy drum, the shaman goes into a trance and whispers some words in Dukhan. The shaman can only communicate with the ancestor spirits in the Dukha language. If the language dies, a tradition and belief long practiced in the region where the word shamanism was born can become threatened.

During my fieldwork in the east taiga, I asked the two shamans, one woman and man, about their opinions on the issue. When I asked if someone who doesn’t know the language can become a shaman or not, the general view was that it wasn’t possible. An incident I observed while in the field also proved this point. At the end of the summer, a Dukha woman whose grandfather used to be a shaman and who wanted to maintain this heritage visited the taiga. Although she had all the other qualities needed to become a shaman, according to the people of the taiga, the fact that she doesn’t know the Dukhan language was a major obstacle for her. The female shaman in the camp who is 45 years old said:

‘It is very important to speak Dukhan during the ritual because the spirits only know that language. If the new generation do not learn our language, nobody can be a shaman. So they have to learn it. They can not communicate with the spirits if they don’t know Dukhan.’

The 52-year-old male shaman in the camp, when asked also said:

‘The spirits talk to me in only Dukhan, it has been this way since our ancestors. I can not talk to the spirits in Mongolian. This is not possible.’

When I asked how the new shamans will be trained if the young do not learn the Dukha language, he jokingly replied:

‘I guess they will need a translator then.’

In summary, the language and shamanism are strongly tied in Dukha culture. When the language dies, the essence of shamanism, which has been practiced for many years, is jeopardized. Of course like in many other cultures, people can adapt to new conditions and still maintain their shamanic beliefs. However, as most people in the society believe that the shaman needs to speak Dukhan, a shaman who doesn’t know the language will not be totally convincing or trustworthy. When the Dukha language dies, a lot of terms related to shamanism will disappear.

### 5. What can be done

The most important step to keep the Dukha language alive would be to make the children learn the language again. In past years, Dukhan was taught at school and people in the society viewed this as a solution. However, it needs to be discussed if teaching a language at school as a selective course just for a couple of hours would be enough to keep it alive. The person with whom I discussed the issue of teaching the language at school and what can be done to encourage children to learn it was Oyunbadam, who lived in the capital at the time. When I went back to the field in the spring of 2015, she had moved to the village and became the head of the school. She studied in Tuva, and thus has a good mastery of the language, and she had been teaching Dukhan at the school in Tsagaannuur in the past. Oyunbadam explained her experiences at school and whether it was useful for the children or not like this:

‘Between 1990-1991, two teachers came from Tuva with an exchange program and they taught standard Tuvan at school. I was a student in Russia then. I taught Dukhan only for a year between 1998-1999 at school. It was a hard year because we had many problems with the Mongolians. Only the Dukha children took the class as a selective course but the Mongolian students kept interrupting the class, disturbing us. They made fun of the Dukha students, laughing that the reindeer herders learn their funny language, imitating it. It was almost impossible for the children to learn the language under those circumstances. Later on, in 2005-2006 they added the Dukha language to the curriculum at school, but this time it was also mandatory for the Mongolian students, and they caused trouble in class since they did not want to learn that language. The Dukha children naturally could not learn anything in that kind of an atmosphere. In summary, all these efforts were in vain and they all ended in failure.’

When I asked Oyunbadam if the children were reluctant to learn the language or not, she said:

‘When we tried to teach the language at school, none of the students wanted to learn it, as the Mongolian students at school made fun of them. In the summer of 2003, I tried to teach the language in the taiga to see how they would react. Unlike at school, they were pretty enthusiastic as I taught them tales about the reindeers, songs, etc. Their native language had aroused their interest by then. They were eager to learn in a relaxed atmosphere. They learned the language better since there was no influence or distraction from outside the taiga. This period of one month in 2003 in the western taiga, where I taught the language, was the most productive time I had in terms of teaching the language.’

As can be understood from this story, the main reason for the disappearance of the Dukha language, just like in other parts of the world, is the pressure of a dominant language, and the fact that people are ashamed to speak their native language. According to linguists; most of the languages that have few speakers are abandoned by their speakers as they choose to use the known, dominant, and prestigious language (Harrison 2007: 5). Thus, the reason why parents do not teach Dukhan to their children could be related with this. I asked Oyunbadam what she thinks about this issue:

‘The parents do not take responsibility for teaching the language and it is a mistake. They do not speak Dukhan with their children. However, this situation also has a historical background. Since we moved to Mongolia, we have been forced to speak Mongolian, always feeling discriminated, and this has been engraved in our memories. People were ashamed to speak the Dukha language, and maybe they still carry this shame subconsciously.’

Looking into the situation of the Dukha, we can deduce that teaching the language as a selective course at school is a minor step towards rekindling a disappearing language. Introducing the more appealing sides of a language such as tales, stories, and songs, thus arousing the interest of the children for the language is much more important. And in the end, it is also important to keep in mind that a language is bound to die out unless it is taught to and used by the children at home.

### Result

Today in many parts of the world the languages of communities, whose native languages differs from the dominate language of the nation state where they live, are at risk of disappearing. Those languages which are not learnt at home by children are considered to be under threat. Most languages today die out over time due to suppression by a dominant language and culture, as people abandon their native languages in exchange for the dominant language. Sometimes this transition can be voluntary as the dominant culture provides many advantages to young people in social or economical terms and they stop learning their own language. However, this transition is not always voluntary. For instance, the speakers of the Tofa language remember how the government forbid the talking Tofa in the past and forced the people to speak only Russian (Harrison 2007: 8) Similarly, natives stopped talking their own language after the massacres following a villager uprising in El Salvador in 1932 (Nattle ve Romaine 2001: 6). It is possible to give many other examples of both voluntary and non-voluntary abandonment.

The Dukha, just like other similar societies, are also about to lose their language. Their language is under serious threat as it is not learnt by children at home. Today most families use Mongolian and only the elders speak the Dukha language among themselves. A fast language transition to Mongolian is observed in the society. Most people I interviewed find this situation alarming and when asked, they explain school is the reason. The fact that children have to learn Mongolian well enough to go to school holds the families back from teaching Dukha to their children at home.

The native language of the Dukha is crucial for the continuation of the livelihood they have been maintaining for many years. They have close connections with their environment and animals and this is reflected in their language.

All this traditional knowledge will disappear if the Dukha language dies, and their connection to the past will fade. Besides, their language is also crucial for maintaining their shamanic beliefs since the shamans speak in Dukha language during rituals. This is why it is necessary to compile a book on the Dukhan language, to teach children, and have a nomadic school set up in the summers in the taiga, like Oyunbadam suggests. There have been some projects going on concerning the language book and nomadic school in 2014 summer but the outcomes can be observed in long term.

The way a Dukha elder expressed his opinions on this issue shows the vital importance of their language:

‘Our children have to realize that we are a society with our own unique traditions, life style, and history and they should learn our language. Otherwise, we are doomed to vanish. If we forget our language, we lose all our traditions, reindeer, and livelihood. If we don’t learn our own language, how would other people believe in us?’

Preserving the Dukha language, just like preserving other languages, is the responsibility of all members of humanity, not just the members of the Dukha society. When a language dies, a life style disappears with it.



© Selcen Küçüküstel

### Resources

- Donahue, Brian (2003). 'The Troubled Taiga'. *Cultural Survival*. Issue 27, 1 Spring.
- Gül, B. ve Danuu, A. (2012). 'Erimekte Olan Türk Boyu: Moğolistan Duhalarının (Tsaatanlar) Kültürüne Dair'. Ankara: TKAE *Türk-Mogol Araştırmaları*. s. 177-192.
- Harrison, K. David (2007). *When Languages Die, The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press, s. 292.
- Inamura, Tetsuya (2005). 'The Transformation of the Community of Tsaatan Reindeer Herders in Mongolia and Their Relationships with the Outside World.'. *Senri Ethnological Studies* 69, *Pastoralists and Their Neighbours in Africa and Asia*.
- Nettle, Daniel ve Romaine, Suzanne (2001). *Kayıbolan Sesler, Dünya Dillerinin Yok Oluş Süreci*. (Çev. Harun Özgür Turgan). İstanbul: Oğlak Bilimsel Kitaplar, s. 353.
- Ragagnin, Elisabetta (2011). *Dukhan, a Turkic Variety of Northern Mongolia*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH, s. 23.
- Seren, P. (2003). 'Tsaagan-Nur Tuvaları'. *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*. 143, s. 105-112.
- Vitebsky, Piers (2005). *The Reindeer People, Living with Animals and Spirits in Siberia*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, s. 496.
- Wheeler, W. Alan (2000). 'Lord of the Mongolian Taiga: An Ethnohistory of the Reindeer Herders'. *Master of Arts, Department of Central Eurasian Studies*. Indiana University, December, s. 69.