SPEECH FORMULAS OF FOLKLORE OF THE TURKIC AND MONGOLIAN PEOPLES OF RUSSIA

Lyudmila EFIMOVA[*]

Nurgun AFANASIEV[**]

Abstract: *This article explores speech patterns or formulas of – algys tyllara 'algys speech formulae' (prayers) by Mongolian People in Russia. The authors reveal characteristics of speech formulae which allowed them to consider the initial form of the Yakut algyses as they are thought to be the basis for the formation of the genre. They found similarities to the Yakut speech formulae in the verbal expression of the Turkic peoples of Siberia, the Volga region; the Kalmyks and the Turks.*

Keywords: *algys, alkysh, algys speech formulas, ritual poetry*

Rusya'daki Türk-Moğol Halklarının Folklorunda Konuşma Kalıpları

Öz: *Algıs tıllara (dua sözleri) konuşma kalıpları (formelleri) bu makalede ilk kez ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmamızda adı geçen türün oluşumunun temeli olan ve Yakut algıslarının başlangıç biçimi sayılabilecek olan konuşma kalıplarının özellikleri belirlenmiş, Türk folklorundaki sözlü ifadeler ile Sibirya, Volga bölgesi Türkleri ve Kalmıklardaki Yakut konuşma kalıplarına yakın olan sözlü ifadeler tespit edilmiştir.*

Anahtar Kelimeler: *algys, alkış (hayır dua), algıs konuşma kalıpları (formelleri), ritüel şiiri.*

In the Yakut language and in the language of folklore there are frequently used speech formulas, spoken on special occasions or before the decisive moments in the life of a person. It is composed of one or more sentences and can form a short stanza; it is concise and easily memorized. In functional terms, sentences are used to express good wishes.

Folklorist N.V. Emelyanov first became interested in them while he was studying Yakut proverbs and sayings. In his remarks, "in the Yakut language, except proverbs and sayings, there are other sayings that have become traditional formulas in popular speech and folklores." He called them *algys tyllar* 'good wishes' or 'words of blessing'. As examples, the following expressions were given: '*Охтоохтон охтума, саалаахтан самныма (Okhtokhton okhtuma, salakhtan samnyma)*' 'Do not be defeated by those, shooting arrows, be invincible for them' '*Иэримэ дьиэлэн, аал уоттан (Ierime d'ielen, aal uottan)*' 'Build a comfortable home, kindle the unquenchable fire', '*Иннигэр үүрүүлэн, кэннигэр сэтиилэн (Inniger üürüülen,*

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[*] Prof.Dr., North-Eastern Federal University, Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Peoples of the Russian Northeast, Department of Folklore and National Culture, RUSSIA. E-mail: ludmilaxoco@mail.ru

[**] Assist., North-Eastern Federal University, Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Peoples of the Russian Northeast, Department of Folklore and National Culture, RUSSIA. E-mail:nv.afanasiev@s-vfu.ru

kenniger setiilen)' 'Let the one, who is driven away be ahead of you, and the one, who is being led by you, go behind'. "Next, the researcher noticed that *algys tyllar* are different from algys - a type of ritual poetry of the Yakuts, which is an integral part of the ritual culture of the Yakut people. He suggested that *algys tyllar* are "formed from these ceremonial *algys,* individual expressions, which began to be used in colloquial speech for good wishes. Such expressions of ancient *algys* became common knowledge, traditional and often quoted "(Emelyanov 1962: 14). N.V. Emelyanov emphasized that they were often used at weddings and before long journeys, etc. He left few but good comments on the identification of *algys tyllar* with folkloristic perspective, although he treated them in the varieties of Yakut sayings.

Folklorist G.U. Ergis had a different opinion and wrote that "the formulas of some *algys* sayings became widely used proverbs for wishes and greetings" (Ergis 2008: 158). He considered *algys* formulas themselves as "sayings".

The next scholar who thoroughly studied *algys tyllara* was philologist V.S. Fedorova. Observing them in the context of Yakut speech etiquette, she was the first to give a scientific definition to them. The researcher believes that "*algys tyllar* - are small speech formulas dating back to the oral culture of *oloñkho*, used in speech to make wishes and to bless people on some occasions, such as journey preparation, marriage, etc." (Fedorova 2003: 15). She described them as formulas of speech etiquette and analyzed them from a philological point of view. The researcher considers the genesis of these formulas in the same way as N.V. Emelyanov in spells and prayers to the supernatural forces – the spirits of the gods. In her opinion, beliefs, rituals, ceremonies and the occupation of the population influenced the majority of the wishes over time and developed them. They acquired features of traditional formulas of peremptory speech and turned into proverbs, sayings and idioms, entrenched in etiquette. However, by distinguishing nine groups of *algys* words by their function, she wrongly introduced the genre *algys* to these groups and confused the functionality and features of the genre. The first group included edifying and instructing algys sentences, the second was for wedding, the third was for farewell and the fourth for gratitude. Only the fifth group included *algys tyllara* for requests. The sixth group includes wishes for health, the seventh - wishes for wealth, the eighth – wishes for special events (*yhyakh algyha, uot algyha, Bayanay algyha*, etc.) and the ninth group includes *algys* created by authors. Among the above mentioned algys sentences, those for weddings, included in the second group, form an integral part of wedding ceremonies and is a separate genre of *algys*. The eighth group includes so-called "event *algys* sentences", with indicated separately *algys* - *yhyakh algyha*, *uot algyha, Bayanay algyha*, etc. However, despite the inaccuracies in the classification, the novelty of this work can be undertaken to recognize the linguistic analysis of rhetorical formulas produced by the following parameters: by lexical-semantic, by morphological, by syntactic, and by functional levels. Among them, there are morphological and syntactic analyses of algys tyllar presented more in details.

In the 6-th decade of the XX-th century, due to little research of *algys tyllara* the first compiler of the Yakut-Russian Phrasebook, N.S. Grigoriev included *algys tyllara* in the dictionary of Yakut phraseology (Grigoriev, 1974). Later, another

researcher A.G. Nelunov classified the same speech formulas as idioms. In N.S. Grigoriev's dictionary, we found thirty *algys tyllara* (Efimova, 2013: 43).

Algys tyllara "algys speech formulas" have certain characteristics. The first characteristic is specific syntactic features, i.e. kind of sentences. Among them two-part sentences dominate (16 sentences - 53.3%), there are also definitely personal sentences but there are also simple ones. They have a syntactic feature; thirty examples in eighteen cases demonstrate definite complex personal sentences. For example, let us explain the phrase: *Быарың манньыйдын (Вyaruŋ mannyydyn)*. 'Let the liver not get upset', where there is no subject, it is only implied by "en"- 'you'. The full sentence might look like this: "*Эн быарың манньыйдын (En byaruŋ mannyydyn)*" 'Let your liver not be upset', but in our example the sentence is simple and definitely personal -"*Быарың манньыйдын (Вyaruŋ mannyydyn)*". Here, the predicate – "*манньыйдын (mannyydyn)*"-'let' is in the imperative mood of the third person singular, positive form.

The second characteristic is the morphological character or their verbal constructions.Twenty-eight of the thirty examples are characterized by the prevalent use of the imperative mood (93.3%).Verbs of the speech formulas were expressed in the imperative mood (**soruyar kiep**).The imperative mood of the verb expresses varying degrees of the subject's motivational modality: order, dictation, appeal, request, wish, advice, etc. For example, *«Антах көрөн күлүм аллайың, Бэттэх көрөн мичик аллайың! (Antax körön külüm allajuň, Bettex körön mičik allajuň!)* 'Look there, break out laughing, Look here, shine with a smile!'.In this example, compound verbs *күлүм аллайың (külüm allajuň)* – 'break out laughing', *мичик аллайың (mičik allajyng)* –'shine with a smile' are used in the imperative mood 3rd person plural. Next, let us consider an example: *«Охтоохтон охтума, Саалаахтан самныма! (Okhtookhton okhtuma, Saalaakhtan samnyma!)»* literally: 'Do not fall to the one without a bow, do not be defeated by the one who shoots', consisting of two simple definitive-personal sentences which are in effect a two-member sentence, where the first sentence – *охтоохтон охтума*, and the second sentence accordingly – *саалаахтан самныма*. The predicates – *охтума* and *самныма* are in the imperative of the second person singular, but this time in the negative way. Such speech formulas are fully incorporated in the texts of the *wedding ceremony algyses*. At the blessing of the couple getting married, people used to say: "*Охтоохтон охтумаң, Саалаахтан самнымаң! (Oxtooxton oxtitaň, Saalaaxtan samnytaň!)*" (Samples of folk literature of the Yakuts, 1910: 309).These formulas are also found in the algyses of military rituals: *"Саалаахтан самныбат Саргылардаах буолаарың, Охтоохтон охтубат Оңоруулаах буолаарың! (Saalaaxtan samnybat Sargylardaax buolaaruň, Oxtooxton oxtubat Oňoruulaax buolaaruň!)"* 'Take luck, which does not fade to those with bows, Have the fate which does not fall to those who shoot!' (Erilik Eristiin, 1994: 136). The excerpt from a single algys consists of two sentences where the first is expressed by *Саалаахтан самныбат Саргылардаах буолаарың* 'Take luck which does not fade to those with bows', the second – *Охтоохтон охтубат Оңоруулаах буолаарың* 'Have the fate which does not fall from those who shoot'. In the first sentence *Саалаахтан самныбат Саргылардаах буолаарың* we find one of the parts of the speech formula "*саалаахтан самныма*". But the verb *самныбат (samnybat)* in the

algys texts is in the third person singular, however in the negative, it takes a very similar form to the verb of the speech formula *самныма-*, which is also used in the negative form.It can be assumed that the speech formulae form the syntactic structure of the Yakut *algyses*. Let us take another example of speech formulae: "*Татаар тыллаах таба эппэтин (Tataar tyllaax taba eppetin)*" "May the ill-tongued (he who knows how to curse) fail to hit the mark." The phrase *матар тыллаах* should signify a man who knows how to curse. Ye.S. Sidorov gives the word *tatari* which is very close in the meaning to 'curse' (Sidorov 1997: 39). In this case, the sentence is simple, mononuclear the subject – *татаар тыллаах* 'the ill-tongued (he who knows how to curse)' is expressed by the attribute. The predicate – *таба эппэтин* – 'may fail to hit the mark' is in the imperative mood third person singular and in the negative form. *Algyses* often use the common expression: "*Уу харахтаах утары көрбөтүн, Татаар тыллаах таба эппэтин! (Uu xaraxtaax utary körbötün, Tataar tyllaax taba eppetin)* 'May he who has eyes fail to look straight, may he who curses fail to hit the mark'" (Ritual poetry of the Sakha (Yakuts), 2003:286), in which the speech formula *Татаар тыллаах таба эппэтин* 'May the ill-tongued (he who knows how to curse) fail to hit the mark' is extended to the variation – *уу харахтаах утары көрбөтүн* 'may he who has eyes fail to look straight', forming a two-part sentence. Of the thirty speech formulae we examine here, twenty-eight use predicates in the imperative mood.The verbal forms of predicates in the speech formulae are similar to the forms of verbs of the poetic syntax of *algyses*. Probably, the speech formulae were primary in relation to the birth of the genre of the Yakut folklore - *algys*.

The third of distinguishing characteristic speech formulae is their poetic characteristic . In spite of their shortness and laconic, they have highly developed poetic, which is subject to the basic rules of the Yakut language - vowel harmony, consonantisms and is framed in the alliterative-assonant system.

Researchers consider alliteration to be a rhythmic compositional means (Stebleva, 1965:29) and recognize it as the most ancient stylistic device (Korogly, 1976: 195). E.K. Pekarsky, who correctly understood the role of alliteration in the folklore of the Yakuts, wrote: "the most striking thing is the strictly consistent alliteration of the words. Yakuts distinguish a good singer from a bad one not only by the quality of voice, but also by the diversity of successful expressions, the clever selection of alliterations and spectacular comparisons" (Pekarsky, 1908: 14).

In Yakut speech formulae alliteration serves as a rhythmic and compositional tool.Take, for example, the speech formula we have already discussed: "*Охтоохтон охтума, саалаахтан самныма (Oxtooxton oxtuta, Saalaaxtan samnyma)*, literally: 'Do not fall from to the one with a bow. Do not be defeated by the one who shoots'". It consists of two independent clauses that allowed it to make two strophic formations:

(1) **Ох-**тоохтон **ох-**тума,

        Саа-лаахтан **сам-**ныма

In the two lines we observe the alliteration, in the first line the first syllables of both cords are alliterated – *ох: **ох-тоохтон ох-тума***. In the second line we see that the syllables – *саа* and – *сам* are alliterated. Here we deal with an example of the

horizontal syllable alliteration of the –*aa* model. Let us consider the example of *Алтан уҥуоҕун араҥастаа, Көмүс уҥуоҕун көтөх (Altan uñuoγun arañastaa, Kömüs uñuoγun kötöx)*, literally: 'Put (his) gold bones on the storage shed, lift (his) silver bones', the meaning of which can be summarized as the respectful attitude towards one's parents, honourable, respectable people. In former times, the dead were laid in the storage sheds. The formula consists of two parts, the first portion of which *Алтан уҥуоҕун араҥастаа* 'Put (his) gold bones in the storage shed' consists of three words. Of these, the first word – *altan* and the third one – *араҥастаа*– demonstrate horizontal syllabic alliteration (**ал-тан** and **a-раҥастаа**) consisting of the syllables –*ал* from *алтап*, –*a* from the word *араҥастаа*–. Let us arrange its model in the following order – *aba*. The second part of the formula *Көмүс уҥуоҕун көтөх* also demonstrates the horizontal syllabic alliteration (*кө-мүс* and *кө-төх*) according to the same model – *aba*. Of the thirty selected speech formulae 40% demonstrate horizontal syllabic alliteration. Let us consider an example of vertical syllabic alliteration.It consists of three sentences composed of six lines.

(2)

1. *Сэт тэ үүккүнэн (Set-te üükkünen)*	With seven holes
2. *Си-тэри ихит (Si-teri ihit),*	You'd better listen,
3. *То-ҕус үүккүнэн (To-ğus üükkünen)*	With nine holes
4. *То-лору болҕой (To-loru bolγoy),*	Listen carefully,
5. *Үүт-тээх хайаҕаскынан (Üüt-teex xajaγaskynan)*	With the opening of your hole
6. *Өй-дөөн ихит (Öy-döön ihit)* (Grigoryev, 1974: 82)	Listen attentively!

Of the six lines, the first two of them alliterate the first syllables –*сэт* of 1. *сэт-тэ* and the syllable – с*u* 2. *си-тэри*. The subsequent lines have the same horizontal syllabic alliterations, so, 3. **То-ҕус үүккүнэн** 4. **То-лору болҕой,** here the syllables coincide. The fifth and sixth syllables **Үүт-тээх хайаҕаскынан Өй-дөөн ихит** present a more complex form of alliteration. One of the distinguishing features of the Yakut alliterative system is the prominence of the first syllable (Pokatilova, 1999:24), as evidenced by the poetics of speech formulae. The poetic tissue of speech formulae demonstrates a variation which consistently conveys the same idea by different verbal poetic means. The familiar formula: *"Охтоохтон охтума, Саалаахтан самныма (Oxtooxton oxtuta, saalaaxtan samnyta)»*, literally: 'Do not fall to the one without a bow, Do not be defeated by the one who shoots'" is a simple, two-fold type of artistic variation. It repeats in the same syntactic position two notional formations in the form of separate sentences that contribute to the formation of the lines. The meaning of the first part of *Охтоохтон охтума* can be understood as parting words before a battle of before a long journey in the sense of 'do not fall to the one with a bow'.The same idea is repeated in the second part of the formula *Саалаахтан самныма* 'do not be defeated by the one who shoots'. The grammatical forms of the words are identical, the adjectives *охтоох, саалаах* as subordinate parts of the sentence are repeated in the same syntactic position.They are followed in the same order by the predicates *охтума-* and *самныма-*. In most

cases, simple artistic variations use the same words in the same syntactic position. Let us consider a formula which is commonly used in these simple variations:

(3)   *Өрөөбут уоскун өһүл (Örööbüt **uoskun** öhül),*

        *Хоммут уоскун хоҥнор (Хottut **uoskun** хоñnor)* (Grigoryev, 1974: 66; 116)

The word *уоскун* is repeated in the same syntactic position, in the middle of both lines. The semantic and lexical repetition of the main word – *уоскун* contributes to the functioning of the artistic variation. Of the thirty speech formulae thirteen (43.3%) use a synonymous repetition of words and are the simplest type of artistic variation. There are seven speech formulae with the main repeating word (23.3%).So, the speech formulae of Yakuts, as *algyses*, are characterized by a simple artistic variation, consisting of fair lines and four, or sometimes more, words. This type of variation is characteristic of them as an organizing factor to enhance the emotional and aesthetic impact of the words, which may be evidence of archaic speech formulae.

The fourth characteristic of speech formulae can be expressed in their public functions. First of all, according to V.S. Fyodorova, they are used as parting words, and to offer good wishes in the system of speech etiquette. So, the speech formulae fulfill a moral and ethical function. For example, before a man set off on a long journey, Yakuts used to say: *"Айаныҥ аартыга арылыннын, Тоһойуҥ суола тобулуннун! (Ajanуñ aartyүa arylynnyn, Toүoyuñ suola tobulunnun!!»,* literally: 'May the doors of your way open up, may the roads lay before you along your way!", thus expressing moral and psychological support for him.They also perform the regulatory or evaluate function in which through the penetration of *algys tyllara* the person forms rules and regulations for everyday social and practical activities. They serve as a moral code, an expression of the specific behaviour of the Yakuts. For instance, the following speech formula stimulates human behaviour *"Сыҥааҕыҥ сыаланнын, Айаҕыҥ арыыланнын! (Syñaaүуñ syalannyn, Ayaүуñ aryylannyn!)»,* literally: 'May your jaws fatten, may your mouth fatten!'(Grigoryev, 1974:80), indicating an expression for telling of news of a man to his companion. He likes the news and enjoys it. This function is close to the communicative function, which is able through the use of speech formulas to form certain value orientations. Let us take the formula: *"Сүһүөхтээх бэйэҥ сүгүрүй, Хоолдьуктаах бэйэҥ хоҥкуй! (Sühüöxteex beуeñ sügürüi, Xoolžuktaax beуeñ xoñkui!)»* 'You who have veins, bow down, You who have joints, bend over!' which suggests a respectful attitude and behaviour of young people to the forces of nature and to other people.

We have found very few verbal utterances among the Turkic peoples of Siberia that are close to the Yakut speech formulae. Although this does not mean that these peoples did not have them. In Bashkir folklore there are *algyshes* 'good wishes', which have the same characteristics as the Yakut speech formulas.

Typical for Kalmyks are so-called *short formulae*, consisting of two or more lines, although the researcher of ritual poetry T.G. Basangova for some reason relates them to arcane rites.Possibly, they were not arcane rites, but verbal formulae similar to the Yakut *algys speech formulae*. Good-wishing words – *beleg dembereliyn үgs* are typical for the Mongols as well. For the Kalmyks these *short formulae* do not act

as arcane rites, but as auspicious words similar to Mongolian ones. T.G. Basangova writes that when a ritual removal of an evil spell was performed on a sick child, "the ceremony was accompanied by a brief formula, amplifying the effect of the treatment: "May the eyes of the person go blind, may the eyes of the person goggle out!"(Basangova, 2012: 33). In this case, on the face of it, these brief formulas are similar to curses. But the Yakuts could say to the spirit of the disease or to the bad person: *«Баһың саллайдын, Кутуругуң суптуйдун! (Bahyñ sallaidyn, Kuturuguñ suptuidun!)»* 'May your head expand, May your tail contract!' – which is said to the one whose return is not welcome. Apparently, these formulae were necessary to expel the dark forces, evil spirits, for such purposes formulae containing curses were applied with the meaning of good wishes. In folk medicine, speech formulae of the "*эм-дом*" type were used. For example:

(4)

In the Kalmyk language	Translation into English
Malyntolhadeegshən,	The cow's head - up,
Övchnə tolhadorogshan.	The disease's head - down.
Em-dom!Em-dom! (Basangova, 2012: 41)	Em-dom! Em-dom!

The purpose of the formula is to save the cow from the disease. The Mongols have *beleg dembereliyn ɣgs,* or 'auspicious words', similar in form and content, which were "short poems, spoken on the occasion of a celebration, holiday, rite, and embodying wishes for success in a given job" (Sampildendev, 1993: 17). They have the form of an invariable formula consisting of 2-4 lines which are free in their construction. Unfortunately, the Kalmyk *short formulae* did not find a more comprehensive examination in T.G. Basangova's work.

In Turkey, the researcher Erman Artun described two opposite genres – *alkış* 'alkysh' and *kargış* 'curse' (Erman Artun 1999), which are employed in the everyday practice of the people. Of these, *alkysh* are notable for their laconism, semantic integrity and brevity. So, for example, let's consider a few examples of *alkysh* in the original Turkish and for comparison we have added semantic translations into the Yakut and Russian languages:

(5)

In Turkish	Approximate translation into Yakut	Approximate translation into English
Tutunacak dal olasın	lit. Tugtullar salaa (kihi) buollar	lit. Become a useful person
Gonca gonca gül olasın	lit. Tyllan erer sibekki čömčötün kurduk buollar	lit. Become up-and-coming
O cennete mal olasın	lit. Ür ay sorɣoto buollar	lit. Be a good person

The Turkish *alkysh*es are semantically close to the Yakuts' *algys* speech formulas, they are integral sentences. *Tutunacak dal olasın* – is a definitive-personal sentence where the subject – *sen* 'you' is only implied. Similar proposals are typical for the Yakut speech formulas: *«Быарың манньыйдын (Вуаруñ mannyydyn)»,*

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literally: 'May the liver not get upset', where the subject is only implied by – *en* 'you'. Next, morphologically, the verbs in Turkish *alkyshes* and Yakut speech formulae are in the identical form, Turkish *olasın*, Yakut *буолаар (buolaar)* - second-person singular. So, the genre of Turkish folklore - *alkiş* is close to the genres of ritual poetry of the Turkic peoples of Russia, Altaian *alkysh*, Tuvinian *alğysh*, Khakas *alğys* and it Yakut *algys,* and it retained its inherent traits.

Thus, the *algys speech formulaes* of the Yakuts have certain characteristics that allow us to consider them as the initial form of the Yakut *algyses*. Genetically, they came into existence before the a'gys genre and became the basis for its formation. *Algys tyllara*, or 'Yakut speech formulae, are close to the *alkysh* of the Turkish people, to the auspicious words – *beleg dembereliyn ɣgs* of the Mongolians, to the *short formulae* of the Kalmyks. They may have had a single source of origin.

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