

MARTI ROOS  
(Leiden)

## Recent developments in Western Yugur

Western Yugur, a Turkic language traditionally known as Yellow Uygur, is spoken within the nationality of the Yugur. The Yugur are one of China's 56 officially recognized nationalities, consisting of 12,297 persons according to the 1990 census.<sup>1</sup> The Yugur live primarily in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County in Gānsù Province. This County consists of three parts which are not contiguous: Míng huā District and Huángchéng District are separated from the main body of the County.

The Yugur live in an area where four different language groups, Turkic, Mongolic, Chinese and Tibetan converge. The Yugur nationality itself consists in fact of four linguistically different groups.

The largest of these are the Turkic speaking Western Yugur, comprising about 4,600 persons; they mainly live in the western part of the County, in Dàhé and Míng huā Districts. The Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur number about 2,800; they mainly live in the County's eastern part, in Kānglè and Huángchéng Districts. As both of these groups designate themselves as Yellow Uygur, the Turkic speaking Yugur as *sariγ yōγir*, and the Mongolic speaking Yugur as *šera yōkōr* (*šera* 'yellow', *yōkōr* 'Yugur'), they are distinguished as Western and Eastern Yugur in Chinese literature. A very small number of the Yugur living in Huángchéng District allegedly speaks Tibetan. The remaining Yugur speak Chinese, mainly the northwest Mandarin dialect.<sup>2</sup> Both Western and Eastern Yugur are non-written languages.

Western Yugur can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern subgroup of Turkic languages, and is most closely related to Khakas, and its sister languages Chulym and Shor, and to Tuva and its sister language Tofa; it is more distantly related to Yakut and Dolgan. This subgroup is characterized by the retention of a reflex of Common Turkic \**d*, either as *d* (Tuva and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yáng 1993:101-103.

<sup>2</sup> All estimates according to Chén & Léi 1985:1, based on the 1982 census which mentions a total number of 10,569 Yugur. Both the 1982 and the 1990 census do not distinguish between the different linguistic groups of the Yugur. However, the actual number of proficient speakers of Western Yugur may be lower.

Tofa), as *t* (Yakut and Dolgan), or as *z* (Western Yugur, Khakas, Chulym and Shor), as opposed to the *\*ayak* branch of Turkic languages, which features the development of CT *\*d* into *y*. Mostly for geographical reasons, Western Yugur has sometimes been considered a dialect of Modern Uygur, together with Salar. Salar and Modern Uygur, however, both belong to the *\*ayak* branch of Turkic languages, Salar to the Oghuz subgroup and Modern Uygur to the Chaghatay subgroup.

Western Yugur has been isolated from the main body of Turkic languages for about six centuries. It is a typical border language, retaining a number of archaic features on the one hand, like preaspiration and the anticipating counting system, and showing many innovations on the other hand.

At the moment the Western Yugur language changes rapidly in phonetic and lexical respect, which can be noted not only when comparing the older literature with today's speech, but even when comparing the speech of older and younger speakers.

Among the recent developments of Western Yugur phonology are the following. CT *\*i* and *\*ü* merged with their back vocalic counterparts *ĩ* and *u*, except when preceded by a palatal consonant *y-* or *ç-*, and CT *\*ĩ* and *\*u* developed into *i* and *ü* when preceded by these consonants. Now, *e*, and congruently *ö*, are in the process of disappearing as phonemes, raising to *i* and *ü*. Older speakers retain *e* in far more instances than younger speakers. The raising of *e* to *i* has been completed in suffixes. As a consequence, vowel harmony in Western Yugur is restricted to A<sup>2</sup> suffixes which are realized as *a* or *i*. Original high vowel suffixes do not feature vowel harmony at all, and have merged into *i*.

Under the influence of Chinese, voice disappeared as a distinguishing feature in plosives and affricates: instead there is an opposition of voicelessness versus aspiration. The CT apico-alveolar affricate *č* and sibilant *š* have split into a retroflex versus an alveolo-palatal series in Western Yugur.

Further, Western Yugur shows numerous cases of elision of intervocalic consonants and consequent contractions, e.g. the present-future suffix *-(Gi)š* elides *G* when following liquids, and *Gi* in intervocalic position.

Assimilations are frequent: note *n* > *ŋ* when preceding *q*, and *p* in the converb suffix *-(i)P* > *t k q* when preceding these consonants, and > *w* when preceding vowels.

Assimilation of a suffix' initial *m-* > *p-* when following plosives, however, is mainly observed by older speakers, as opposed to younger speakers.

As for the lexicon, Western Yugur contains a considerable number of loanwords, not only from Eastern Yugur and other Mongolic languages, but also from Tibetan, both classical as well as Amdo dialect forms, and especially from Chinese, both standard Chinese as well as northwest Mandarin dialect forms. It contains a number of words of unknown etymology, some of which are shared by Eastern Yugur.

Below follows a text sample of Western Yugur.<sup>3</sup> It is the story of the “Old Woman and the Cow”, told by Xuéliǎn (aged 18), recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng, and transcribed with the help of Zhōng Jīnwén. The story is followed by an etymological word list, and a list of suffixes.

#### Abbreviations

B	Bolčuluu	LM	Literary Mongolian
Ch	Chinese	Meng	Měng-Hàn Cídiǎn
CT	Common Turkic	NE	Northeastern Turkic
CZW	Chén, Zhōu & Wáng	NwM	Northwest Mandarin
EDPT	Clauson	Sev	Sevortjan
EYu	Eastern Yugur	WYu	Western Yugur
Les	Lessing	ZW	Zhōu & Wáng

#### *The Old Woman and the Cow* told by Xuéliǎn

1. *p<sup>h</sup>iṭirki pīr anika par-i-titi, yanqīqa par-i-titi.*
2. *mīla-ma yɔq, qiztar-ma yɔq, tuaʃɪ qīliʃ-i-titi.*
3. *ta<sup>h</sup>qī pīr enik par-i-titi. pu enik-ya xau p<sup>h</sup>əŋjəusi<sup>4</sup>-i-titi.*
4. *k<sup>h</sup>unsi:n taxsiŋqa yanqīqa ziʃi layaq-i-titi.*

<sup>3</sup> The transcription system used here is based on IPA, with some adaptations. Single graphemes *ç* *ɕ* are used in stead of IPA double graphemes [*tʃ* *tɕ*], and *ʃ* is used for IPA [*ç*]. Preaspiration is indicated by a superscript *h*; its allophones are *ɣ* (preceding *q* and *s*), *ʃ* (following *i*) and *ɕ* (following initial *u-*). The alphabetical order is *a ç ç<sup>h</sup> ɕ ɕ<sup>h</sup> e f ɣ h i j k k<sup>h</sup> l m n ŋ ɔ ɔ̃ p p<sup>h</sup> q q<sup>h</sup> r s ʃ s̃ t t<sup>h</sup> u ü w x y z z̃*. *z̃*- occurs as an allophone of *y*-preceding high vowels, and *-o* as an allophone of *-u* in the converb. Allophones are not indicated in the vocabulary.

<sup>4</sup> The Yugur equivalent is *ya<sup>h</sup>ʃ nū<sup>h</sup>keri*.

5. *ziyīlayanta ayka-ma ɔxqarmas, nappa nalmas; ɔ uzi kiyik-i-titi, yū<sup>h</sup>sīŋki.*
6. *antaqanta pīr k<sup>h</sup>ʊ:nki e<sup>h</sup>tkinti enik taxsīŋqa haŋi ya yɔq pɔxaniyan-titi.*
7. *antaqanta yiŋir qara tuxsyinti pu anika nayo telisi-ma yɔq-i-titi.*
8. *“pu nayo telisi-ma yɔqti. pu qarɣan-i? men pīr teliyīlayn”, tiyi maŋqan-titi.*
9. *mo: yɔlya e<sup>h</sup>tkinti-ya pīr zilan t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi.*
10. *“pu yilanni t<sup>h</sup>eryi mayn”, t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi, eni maŋqan-titi.*
11. *maŋqanta iŋki ɕitan tɔqiroyan-titi: “ey, mīni-ma t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyīlayn”, eni maŋqan-titi.*
12. *eni pīr mɔs t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi: “ey, pu kustīŋ mɔsīn t<sup>h</sup>eryi mayn”, maŋqan-titi.*
13. *mo: nayo telisi-ma taxqmayan-titi.*
14. *“ey, am zūyi mayn. mīni amsa tɔrtiŋ ziwatqan pɔŋto”, tiyin-titi.*
15. *antaqanta yū<sup>h</sup>sīŋki kiyin-titi.*
16. *kiyinti-ya am pu kus-ma yɔqti, iŋciŋiŋti aɕisya.*
17. *“am mīntaqas-ya uziyn, amsa nayse?” antaqas-ya uziyan-titi.*
18. *uziyanta-ya yiŋi:r pɔyanta pīr tɔrtiŋ anikanī ziyīla kiyin-titi.*
19. *“men puŋin pu aykanī ziyīlayn”, tiyin-titi.*
20. *ɕəŋxɔ-ya pu anika apparɣan ɔ zilan, ɔ ɕitan, ɔ kustīŋ mɔsīn iɕ<sup>h</sup>i apparɣa ləuzanīŋ ūsīŋki suwatqan-titi. antaqanta uziyan-titi.*
21. *pu tɔrtiŋ kiloyanta-ya pu ɕitan-ya ləuzanīŋ ūsinti piski ɔliryan-titi.*
22. *antaqanta pu mɔs-ya qaylap parya aykanīŋ paŋŋinta ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
23. *ɔh, ta<sup>h</sup>qi pu q<sup>h</sup>ayci t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-tito.*
24. *ɔ q<sup>h</sup>ayci-ya qaylap parya aykanīŋ azaqīnta ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
25. *antaqanta pu zilan-ya qaylap parya keimən sīkti ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
26. *ɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋɣ pu zilan-ya kustīŋ iŋciŋisito, mɔs-ya ɔ kustīŋ mɔstī, ɔ q<sup>h</sup>ayci-ya kustīŋ tīmsiyti.*
27. *antaqanta-ya pu tɔrtiŋ-ya ɕia:ŋ sīktin k<sup>h</sup>iroyanta-la k<sup>h</sup>iŋip paryan-titi.*
28. *k<sup>h</sup>iŋip parya ɕiaŋ-ya aykanīŋ pa<sup>h</sup>ɕīn yiyn tio ɕiaŋ-ya pa<sup>h</sup>ɕīn ziyi tioyanta pu kustīŋ mɔs sanɕo sayan-titi.*
29. *ɕia:ŋ azaqīn yiyn tio azaqīŋqa ɔsyi tioyanta pu q<sup>h</sup>ayci tīmsiyīn q<sup>h</sup>aycilo sayan-titi.*
30. *“ay, am zio yataŋti, men mayn!” qaylawatqan-titi.*
31. *qaylawatqanta pu ləuzanīŋ yanqa e<sup>h</sup>tkinti pu ɕitan piski ɕəŋɕəŋ kɔzīn “pa<sup>h</sup>rs” e<sup>h</sup>tki yarɔ<sup>h</sup>tqan-titi.*

32. *antaqanta eni qaylayan-titi. qaylo keimən sikki e<sup>h</sup>tkinti pu zilan hōraq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
33. *antaqanta yōqq<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi. antaqanta aykanī zio yatayan-titi.*

*The Old Woman and the Cow*<sup>5</sup>  
told by Xuéliān

A long time ago there was an old woman, she was alone. She had neither son nor daughter, she was really pitiable. There was also a cow. This cow was her good friend. Every day it went out to eat by itself. When it went to eat, the old woman did not pasture it, she did nothing at all, it came home by itself.

Then one day, the cow went out and disappeared. So when it became dark in the evening, how[ever much] this old woman looked for it, it was not there. "How[ever much] I looked, it is not there. Whither has it gone? Let me go to have a look for it", she said and set off.

While she was walking, on the way, she picked up a snake. She picked it up: "Let me go and pick up this snake", and she walked on again. When she was walking, [she noticed that] two eggs had fallen: "Eh, let me also go and pick them up", and she walked on again. She picked up a horn too: "Eh, let me go and pick up this cow horn", and she walked on. While walking, how[ever much] she looked, she did not find [her cow]. "Eh, now let me walk home. As for now, probably a wolf has devoured it", she said. Then she came [back] to her house. When she came [home], this cow was not there now, and she felt anxiety gnaw at her heart. "Now then let me sleep, now what to do?" after that she went to sleep.

When she slept it became evening, and a wolf came to eat the old woman. "Let me go and eat this old woman today", he said. Just in time this old woman had taken that snake, those eggs, that cow horn, that she had taken altogether, and put them on the stove. Then she went to sleep. When this wolf came, this egg was boiled on the stove. Then this horn went running and sat down at the old woman's head. Oh, she had also picked up this pair of

<sup>5</sup> A similar story appears in Tenišev 1976 N<sup>o</sup> 8, and another version was recorded by Malov 1967 N<sup>o</sup> 101. The story of the helpful objects is widespread: it occurs in Chinese, cf. Eberhard N<sup>o</sup> 14, and Ting N<sup>o</sup> 210, in Tibetan, cf. Ting N<sup>o</sup> 210, in Mongolian, cf. Lőrincz N<sup>o</sup> 106, and in Salar, cf. Tenišev 1964 N<sup>os</sup> 25 and 56.

shears. That pair of shears went running and sat down at the old woman's feet. Then this snake went running and sat down at the gate door. Actually this snake was the cow's gut, the horn was that cow's horn, that pair of shears was that cow's mouth.

So just as this wolf had entered through the door, he entered. He entered and just while he said: "Let me eat the old woman's head", just when he was about to eat her head, this cow horn started to stab him. Just while he said: "Let me eat her feet", when he was about to grab her feet, this pair of shears started to clip his mouth. "Ay, now I will not be able to eat, I'm off!" and he ran away.

When he ran away and got near this stove, this egg was boiled, and with a bursting sound, it truly smashed his eye. Then again he ran. When he ran and got at the gate door, this snake strangled [him]. Then he died. So he could not eat the old woman.

### Vocabulary

- açis**= 'to feel anxious, to be sad; to have pent-up feelings of sadness, to be weighed down with anxiety' <CT \*ha:çiš= (cf. EDPT 31b).
- al**= 'to take, to take away; to buy; to want; to get, to obtain; to receive' <CT \*al= (cf. EDPT 124b, SevI:127).
- am** 'now; just now, just then; a moment ago, an instant ago' <CT \*am (cf. EDPT 156b s.v. *amti*, SevI:357). The back vocalic form seems to be typical of NE.
- amsa** 'now, as for now, at this moment'. Contraction of *am palsa*.
- anika** 'old woman, grandmother', probably CT \*ana (cf. EDPT 169b, SevI:278) + *-ka*.
- antay** 'like that: such; thus, as follows' <CT \*antay (cf. EDPT 123a, SevI:149).
- antaqanta** 'when doing or having done like that: then, afterwards; thus, in that way, so'. Contraction of \**antay qilyanta*.
- antaqaş** 'after having done like that: thus, then, afterwards; in such a way, therefore'. Contraction of \**antay qilyaş*.
- appar**= 'to take to, to take away'. Contraction of \**alip par*= (cf. SevI:128).
- ayka**, contraction of *anika*.
- azaq** 'foot' <CT \*hadak (cf. EDPT 45a, SevI:103).

**çəŋçəŋ** ‘really, truly’ ←Ch *zhēnzhèng*, NwM çəŋ<sup>44</sup> CZW361a + çəŋ<sup>213</sup> CZW380a.

**çəŋxə** ‘just in time’ ←Ch *zhēnghǎo*, NwM çəŋ<sup>213</sup> CZW380a + xə<sup>51</sup> CZW333b.

**çuasɿ** ‘really, very, severely, vehemently, extremely, in a high degree’ ←NwM çuə<sup>213</sup> sɿ<sup>51</sup> ZW130 ‘really, indeed; well-done’, cf. Ch *zhuóshí* ‘really, indeed, severely’. The development of *a* < ə seems to be peculiar of WYu.

**ç<sup>h</sup>ɔqe=** ‘to sit, to sit down’. Of unknown etymology, also EYu.

**çianɿ** ‘just at that moment, just now’ ←NwM çiar<sup>44</sup> CZW171a ‘just now’, cf. Ch *jiāng* ‘to be about to’.

**çitan** ‘egg (of a chicken)’ ←Ch *jīdàn*, NwM çɿ<sup>44</sup> CZW308a + tan<sup>213</sup> CZW345b.

**ç<sup>h</sup>iʂɿ** ‘in fact, actually’ ←Ch *qíshí*, NwM ç<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup> CZW309b + sɿ<sup>51</sup> CZW305a.

**eni** ‘again, another time; too’ <CT \**yene* (cf. SevIV:115) ~ \**yana* (cf. EDPT 943a, SevIV:114). Not elsewhere in NE.

**enik** ‘cow’ <CT \**ingek* (cf. EDPT 184a, SevI:358).

**e<sup>h</sup>t=** ‘to arrive, to reach, to get at a place’ <CT \**yɛt=* (cf. EDPT 884b, SevIV:193).

**e<sup>h</sup>t=** ‘to make a sound’, perhaps from CT \**ɔt=* ‘of birds to sing’ (cf. EDPT 39a, SevI:556). The unrounded vowel seems to be typical of NE.

**hanɿ=** ‘to go, to go away, to leave’. Of unknown etymology, also EYu.

**həra=** ‘to coil, to twist; to strangle’ ←EYu xərɔɾ= B50, cf. LM orɔɾa= Les 621b.

**i<sup>h</sup>çiki** ‘intestines, entrails; abdomen, belly’ <CT \**ičegü* (cf. EDPT 25b, SevI:392). WYu points at \*-*k*-.

**iç<sup>h</sup>i** ‘together, altogether’ ←Ch *yīqǐ*, NwM i<sup>213</sup> CZW310b + ç<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup> CZW 309b.

**ɿʂki** ‘two’ <CT \**ikki* < \**ekki* (cf. EDPT 100b, SevI:337).

**keimən** as in *keimən sɿk* ‘gate’ ←NwM kaɿ<sup>44</sup>məŋ<sup>51</sup> CZW201b, cf. Ch *jiē* ‘street’ + *mén* ‘door’.

**kel=** ‘to come; to come to, to arrive; to return’ <CT \**kɛl=* (cf. EDPT 715b).

**ki-**, clipped form of *kel=*.

**köz** ‘eye; source, well’ <CT \**köz* (cf. EDPT 756b, SevIII:60).

**kus** ‘bovine’ <CT \**höküz* ‘ox’ (cf. EDPT 120a, SevI:521).

**k<sup>h</sup>un** ‘day; sun’ <CT \**kün* (cf. EDPT 725a).

**k<sup>h</sup>unsen** ‘daily, every day’, from *k<sup>h</sup>un* + the clitic *-sen*.

**k<sup>h</sup>unsín**, idiolectal for *k<sup>h</sup>unsen*.

*ləuz* ‘stove, furnace’ ←Ch *lúzi*, cf NwM *ləu*<sup>51</sup> CZW313b, *cɹ*<sup>51</sup> CZW 303a.

Note that Ch *c* is rendered as *z* in WYu; Ch *c<sup>h</sup>* is rendered as *s*.

*ɔ* ‘that; he, she, it’ <CT \**ɔl* (cf. EDPT 123a, SevI:444).

*maŋ*= ‘to go, to set off, to walk, to be on one’s way, to go on walking’ <CT \**maŋ*= (cf. EDPT 767a) < \**baŋ*= ‘to walk’ (cf. EDPT 348a).

*mayn*, contraction of \**maŋin*. See *maŋ*=.

*men* ‘I’ <CT \**ben* (cf. EDPT 346a).

*mila* ‘child; boy’, probably <CT \**bala* ‘the young of an animal’ (cf. EDPT 332b).

*mīnī* ‘this’ (accusative).

*mīntay* ‘like this: such’ <CT \**buntag* (cf. EDPT 349b).

*mīntaqas* ‘after having done like this: thus, then, afterwards; in such a way, therefore’. Contraction of \**mīntay qilyas*.

*mo*, contraction of *maŋo*. See *maŋ*=.

*mos* ‘horn’ <CT \**būñüz* (cf. EDPT 352a).

*nayo* ‘while doing what; how, so’. Contraction of \**ni qilo*.

*nayse* ‘what to do? what should one do?’. Contraction of \**ni qilyiš-i*.

*nalmas* ‘doesn’t do what’. Contraction of \**ni qilmas*.

*nappa* ‘what is [one] doing?’. Contraction of \**ni qilip par*.

*ni* ‘what; what kind of, which’ <CT \**ne* (cf. EDPT 774a).

*nó<sup>h</sup>ker* ‘friend’ ←EYu *nök<sup>h</sup>ör* B26, cf LM *nökör* Les593b.

*ɔlir*= ‘to stay; to live, to dwell; to be situated; to wait’ <CT \**ɔlur*= ‘to sit’ (cf. EDPT 150a, SevI:492).

*ɔ<sup>h</sup>qar*= ‘to pasture, to tend cattle’ <CT \**ɔtgar*= (cf. EDPT 48a, SevI:483). WYu points at \*-*k*-.

*ɔs*= ‘to seize, to grab’. Of unknown etymology.

*par* ‘there is’ <CT \**ba:r* (cf. EDPT 353a, SevII:61).

*par*= ‘to go, to leave’ <CT \**bar*= (cf. EDPT 354a, SevII:64).

*pa<sup>h</sup>rs* ‘onomatopoeic for a bursting sound: pang’.

*paš* ‘head; top, summit; tree top, crown; upper end; beginning’ <CT \**baš* (cf. EDPT 375a, SevII:85). Note the irregular development -*š* < \*-*š*, instead of -*s* < \*-*š*.

*pīr* ‘one, a; once, a time’ <CT \**bir* (cf. EDPT 353b, SevII:146).

*pīs*= ‘of something to boil, to cook; to become ripe’ <CT \**biš*= ~ \**biš*= (cf. EDPT 376b, SevII:161).

*pɔ*-, clipped form of *pɔl*=.



**pɔl=** 'to become, to be, to happen, to occur' <CT \*bɔ:l= (cf. EDPT 331a, SevII:185).

**pʊ** 'this; he, she, it' <CT \*pʊ (cf. EDPT 291b, SevII:225).

**pʊyʷn** 'today'. Compound consisting of \*pʊ 'this' and \*kʷn 'day', already attested in Kāshgārī (cf. EDPT 725b).

**pʰəŋiəu** 'friend' ←Ch *péngyou*, NwM pʰəŋ<sup>51</sup> CZW377b + iəu<sup>51</sup> CZW 343b.

**pʰitir** 'last year' <CT \*bildir (cf. EDPT 334a, SevII:139).

**qaya** 'whither'. Dative of the older interrogative base \*ka- (cf. EDPT 632b, s.v. *kañu*).

**qar=** 'to go whither'. Contraction of *qaya par=*.

**qara** 'black; dark(ness)' <CT \*kara (cf. EDPT 643b).

**qayla=** 'to run'. Of unknown etymology.

**qil=** 'to do' <CT \*kił= (cf. EDPT 616a), now obsolete and occurring only in compounds, see *antaqanta*, *antaqaş*, *mintaqaş*, *nayo*, *nayşe*, *nalmas*, *nappa*.

**qilış** 'pitiableness'. Of unclear etymology, perhaps CT \*kilinč 'deed, act, action; karma' (cf. EDPT 623a).

**qiz** 'daughter, girl' <CT \*kiz (cf. EDPT 679b).

**qiztar** 'girl, little girl'. Diminutive of *qiz*. Not attested elsewhere.

**qʰa-**, clipped form of *qʰal=*.

**qʰal=** 'to remain; to fall' <CT \*ka:l= 'to remain' (cf. EDPT 615b). The meaning 'to fall' seems to be peculiar of WYu.

**qʰayci** 'scissors, shears' ←EYu *xaičʰé* B42, cf LM *qayiči(n)* Les912a.

**qʰayčila=** 'to clip, to cut' ←EYu *xaičʰla=* B42, cf LM *qayičila=* Les 912a.

**sa-**, clipped form of *sal=*.

**sal=** 'to put; to release' <CT \*sał= (cf. EDPT 824b).

**sançij=** 'to stab, to pierce, to poke, to jab' <CT \*sanč= 'to pierce, to transfix' (cf. EDPT 835b).

**sarıy** 'yellow' <CT \*sarıg (cf. EDPT 848a).

**-sen** 'every', a development of CT \*sarıyn (cf. EDPT 858b s.v. *sarıyu*).

**sik** 'door' <CT \*ε:sik 'threshold' (cf. EDPT 260a, SevI:396).

**suvat=** 'to put, to put down, to lower'. Contraction of *salıwat=*.

**taʰq=** 'to find' <CT \*tap= (cf. EDPT 435b).

**taʰqı** 'still, yet; also, moreover; or' <CT \*takı (cf. EDPT 466a, SevIII:122).

**taʰs** 'outside' <CT \*taš (cf. EDPT 556b, SevIII:164).

**teli=** 'to look for, to search for, to seek' <CT \*tilə= (cf. EDPT 492a, SevIII:231).

- tī=** 'to say; to tell; to reply, to answer' <CT \*tē:= (cf. EDPT 433b, SevIII:221).
- tīmsīγ** 'mouth; lip; beak' <CT \*tumšuk (cf. EDPT 509b).
- təqīra=** 'to fall (to the front), to topple down' ←EYu *tuqura=* B131, cf. LM of Inner Mongolia *duγura=* Meng764b 'to take turns'.
- törtiγ** 'wolf'. Of unknown etymology.
- tuaşı**, ideolectical for *çuaşı*.
- tu<sup>hs</sup>=** 'to descend, to go down; to fall' <CT \*tüş= (cf. EDPT 560a, SevIII:330).
- tu<sup>ht</sup>=** 'to hold; to catch, to catch hold of; to do' <CT \*tuv= (cf. EDPT 451a).
- t<sup>her</sup>=** 'to gather, to pick up' <CT \*te:r= (cf. EDPT 529a, SevIII:204).
- uzi** 'self' <CT \*öz 'self' (cf. EDPT 278a, SevI:506) + -(s)i(n).
- uzi=** 'to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep' <CT \*udī= (cf. EDPT 42b, SevI:579).
- üsü(n)-** 'its upside'. Contraction of *üzisi(n)-* <CT \*üze 'above' (cf. EDPT 280b, SevI:622) + -(s)i(n).
- xau** 'good' ←Ch *hǎo*.
- yan** 'side; near; hip' <CT \*yam (cf. EDPT 940a, SevIV:113).
- yanqıça** 'alone, only, by oneself'. Contraction of *yanqıs* + -ça.
- yanqıs** 'alone' <CT \*yalıus 'alone, only, solitary' (cf. EDPT 930b, SevIV:97).
- yar=** 'to smash, to split, to break, to cleave' <CT \*yar:= (cf. EDPT 954b, SevIV:135).
- yata=** 'cannot, not to be able to, to be incapable of; cannot stand or bear, cannot endure' ←EYu *yita=* B155, cf. LM *yada=* Les422a.
- ya<sup>hş</sup>** 'good' <CT \*yaxši (cf. EDPT 908a, SevIV:63).
- yi=** 'to eat' <CT \*yē:= (cf. EDPT 869b, SevI:332).
- yilan** 'snake' <CT \*yīlan (cf. EDPT 930a, SevIV:277).
- yıñır** 'evening' <CT \*iñır ~ \*ıñır 'dusk' (cf. EDPT 188b, SevI:354).
- yöγır** 'Yugur' <CT \*uygur.
- yöl** 'way, road, path; journey' <CT \*yō:l (cf. EDPT 917a, SevIV:217).
- yöq** 'there is not; without; poor' <CT \*yō:k (cf. EDPT 895b, SevIV:211).
- yöqq<sup>h</sup>a=** 'to die' (impolite). Contraction of \*yölip q<sup>h</sup>al=.
- yü** 'house; family' <CT \*hēb (cf. EDPT 3b, SevI:513).
- yül=** 'to die' <CT \*hö:l= (cf. EDPT 125b, SevI:525).

*List of suffixes*

-ça	adverb suffix
<i>i</i>	defective verb <i>i</i> - 'is'
-GA	dative
-GA	converb connecting two clauses, or a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -GA ɔlir=
-GAK	habitual
-GAN	past tense as used in stories
-GAN	present/past participle
-GAntA	temporal clause 'when' (< -GAN + -tA)
-GAş	unclipped form of the converb -GA, occurring only with following clause particle
-Gĩ	converb occurring only connected with <i>ti</i> =: 'to be on the verge of'
-Gĩla	purpose auxiliary
-Gĩla	purpose converb
-(Gĩ)ş	present/future
-in	1st person singular imperative (following consonants)
-(s)i(n)	3rd person possessive
-(s)in	3rd person possessive accusative
-ka	affective suffix
-Kĩ	case neutralizer
-la	clause particle indicating focus
-ma	clause particle indicating 'also'
-mA	negative verb
-mAs	negative habitual
-Nĩ	accusative
-Nĩŋ	genitive
-(i)P	converb connecting a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -(i)p par=, -(i)q q <sup>h</sup> al=, -(i)wal, -(i)wat
-o	converb connecting two clauses ('during'), or a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -o yata=, -o sa=; elides stem final vowel <i>a</i> <i>ĩ</i>
-o-	contraction of -o + pɔ-
-o sal=	inchoative
-(i)p par	progressive

-sA	conditional
-sA-ma	concessive
-(i)ṣti	clitic 'in' (*iç 'inside' + -tA)
-tA	locative
-tAn	ablative
-tar	diminutive, occurring only in <i>qiztar</i>
-titi	narrative (<tiytī <ti= + converb -y + -tī )
-tī	particle 'is'
-to	emphatic -tī
-(i)ttī	past tense of the 2nd and 3rd person; inferential (< -(i)P + -tī )
-u <sup>ht</sup>	auxiliary suffix (elides stem final vowel)
-xani	auxiliary suffix 'to go' (< hani= )
-ya	clause particle, indicating focus, but often used as a filling element
-yn	1st person singular imperative (following vowels)

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