

SARIG YUGUR MATERIALS

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The Sarig Yugurs, or 'Yellow Uyghurs,' of the People's Republic of China are one of the components of the national minority called Yugur. Numbering only 10,569 people in 1982, the Yugurs live in the Sunan-Yugur Autonomous County (*Sunan Yuguzu Zizhixian*) created within the Zhangye Prefecture (*Zhangye Zhuangqu*) of Gansu Province in 1954. The 4500 Sarig Yugurs inhabit localities of the Minghua, Huangcheng, and Dahe districts in the western part of this county, and for the most part engage in livestock herding and small farming. The Turkic language of the Sarig Yugurs officially is designated 'Western Yugur' (西部裕固語) to distinguish it from 'Eastern Yugur' (東部裕固語), or the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs whose name also means 'Yellow Uyghurs'. The 3500 or so Shira Yugurs mainly reside in the Kangle, Minghua, and Huangcheng districts in the eastern part of this county and in Jiuquan City outside the county. In addition to those who speak Turkic or Mongol, small groups of Yugurs also speak only Chinese or Tibetan today.¹

Sarig Yugur poses a number of unsolved problems in its historical development and thus, for Turkologists, constitutes one of the most tantalizing languages of the Turkic family. In attempting to clarify its history and to define its position within this family, some specialists have treated Sarig Yugur as a kind of "museum of antiquities" that conserves "archaic" elements from an older stage of Turkic or "ancient" elements from early written forms of Turkic. At the same time, they have drawn comparisons between Sarig Yugur and Siberian Turkic languages which they also regard as conservatoires of older features, as well as between Sarig Yugur and modern Uyghur dialects because of their geography and common ethnonymy.

These historical and comparative researches on Sarig Yugur have not yielded confident results. On one hand, their focus on "archaic" or conservative aspects of this language neglects its substantial innovations. For example,

¹ See: Tenishev 1962; Henry G. Schwarz, *The Minorities of Northern China. A Survey* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, 1984), 57-68; Saguchi 1986, 17-18; Hahn 1987, 300-305.

Sergej Malov cited the lack of person markers on verb endings as an illustration of its "most ancient" nature:

<i>men</i>	} <i>pilti</i>	I	} knew
<i>sen</i>		you	
<i>ol</i>		he	
<i>mis</i>		we	
<i>seler</i>		you	
<i>olar</i>		they	

So alien was the idea of person marking to the Sarig Yugurs that when Malov, by force of habit, said *piltim* 'I knew,' his contacts heard the first person marker *-m* as the interrogative particle *+mi*. For Malov, this circumstance proved both that the definite past *-ti* was a participle in origin and that Sarig Yugur conserved a primitive state of Turkic in this regard (1957, 6-7). On the contrary, person marking of the verb is regular in Chuvash and thus must be at least as old as the reconstructed unitary stage of Turkic.² This means that, far from demonstrating its "archaic" character, impersonal conjugation in Sarig Yugur represents one of its several innovations, specifically one that in all likelihood arose under the influence of the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs.³

On the other hand, classifications that place Sarig Yugur within the Khakas group solely on the basis of its development of *-z* < **-d* (*azaq* < **adaq* 'foot'), or even within the Karluk (modern Uzbek and Uyghur) group, leave its historical trajectory in darkness.⁴ Its definition by Malov and Tenishev as an independent language derived from "Ancient Uyghur" and influenced by "Ancient Kirgiz" similarly obscures a number of important historical and linguistic issues (Malov 1957, 7; Tenishev 1970, 51; 1976, 165-167; 1978, 32).

² See: L. S. Levitskaja, *Istoricheskaja morfologija chuvashskogo jazyka* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka". Glavnaja redaktsija vostochnoj literatury, 1976), 57-58; Shcherbak 1981, 23-40.

³ Turkologists have taken into consideration both Chinese and Mongol as a source of the impersonal conjugation in Sarig Yugur and Salar (cf. Tenishev 1976, 268; 1976a, 137-138; 1989, 7; Shcherbak 1981, 23). For the original lack of person marking in Mongol, see: Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 110, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955), 251-252; G. D. Sanzheev, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skikh jazykov, II. Glagol* (Moskva: "Nauka", 1964), 82-90.

⁴ Khakas: A. N. Samojlovich, *The Turkish Languages*, *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4, 1934, 908; M. Räsänen, *Contributions au classement des langues turques*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17, 1953, 94; Thomsen 1959, 565-566; N. Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 40; N. A. Baskakov, *Vvedenie v izuchenie tjurkskikh jazykov* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaja shkola", 1969), 328. Karluk: K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 60; A. Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology* (Szeged: Attila József University, 1991), 32.

As evidence for these older affinities, Tenishev cites Sarig Yugur words that also occur in early written languages and thus, in his view, constitute "archaic" or "ancient" elements (1976, 168); for example, the root *ay-* 'to speak' (M13, T171), which is attested as early as the 8th century (C266 *ay-*) and contrasts with the modern causative form *ayt-* id., or the word *qurtqa* 'old woman' (M61, T204), which is found in early Uyghur texts (C648 *kurtğa*). However, it does not follow from cases like these that Sarig Yugur embodies an "archaic" stage of Turkic or that it reflects a continuation of classical Uyghur. Whatever their explanation, such isolates as *ay-* appear in other modern languages; for example, Turkish *büyü/büğü* 'spell, incantation, sorcery, witchcraft' is the only modern cognate to early Turkic *büğü* 'sage, wizard' (R83, C324). In the same way, common lexical items do not by themselves support the idea that Sarig Yugur descends from classical Uyghur, since other Turkic languages also attest such words; for example, modern cognates to the early Uyghur word include standard Tatar *körtka* id. (R304).

Tenishev's strongest claim regarding the historical development of Sarig Yugur is that, along with Khakas and other Siberian dialects, it borrowed elements from *spoken* ancient Kirgiz. He contends that written ancient Kirgiz was the *adaq*-language of the runic inscriptions in the Minusinsk and Tuva regions which he dates to the 8th–12th centuries, whereas spoken ancient Kirgiz was an *azaq*-language whose modern descendant he identifies as the language of the Kirgiz living in the Fu-yü district of Heilongjiang province in China (1989, 3–4). According to this scholar, not only did Sarig Yugur and Khakas adopt *-z- < *-d-* and other features from spoken ancient Kirgiz, but their lexicons also retain words borrowed from that language (1976, 168–169); for example, *qayaq* 'cream' (M50, T199) also occurs in Khakas dialects as *qayaq* 'butter'.⁵ However, Turkologists still have not formulated a clear distinction between spoken and written forms of the older Turkic languages, so that we cannot specify which older spoken language, if any, could have served as the source of such borrowings.⁶ Nor does a lexical item like *qayaq* by itself imply

⁵ Tenishev expressed these views regarding Sarig Yugur and ancient Kirgiz for a number of years (1962, 65–66; 1966a, 95–96; 1976, 166–167; cf. Hu and Imart 1987, 1–3), but only recently (1989) attempted to reconstruct spoken ancient Kirgiz from the modern languages, including Sarig Yugur.

⁶ To illustrate the complexity of this issue, we might recall that, according to the evidence of Chinese sources, the Kirgiz probably assimilated from a non-Turkic to a Turkic language in the 8th century and that they also used the same writing system as the Uyghurs (cf. Louis Ligeti, *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise*, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1, 1950, 150–151). Given the historical contact implied by the use of the same literary language and by the geographical proximity of Uyghur tribes to the Kirgiz, nothing precludes the possibility that it was the Uyghurs who assimilated the Kirgiz to Turkic — that is, that spoken ancient Kirgiz was spoken ancient Uyghur.

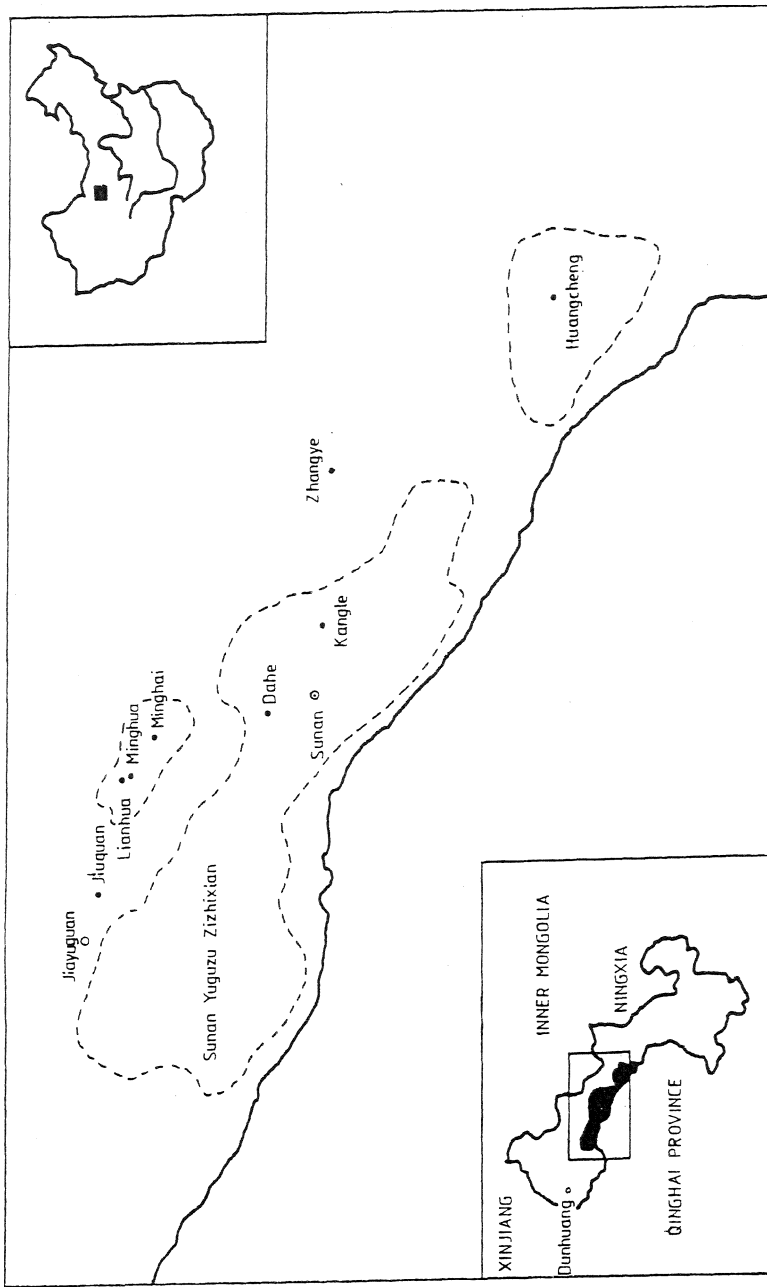


Fig. 1. Yugur settlements in Gansu province

borrowing, since it is known in various phonetic shapes throughout Turkic (R231, C636 **kañak*). What is striking about Tenishev's comparison is the development of *-y- < *-ñ-* just in the Sarig Yugur and Khakas reflexes of this word. This feature, along with such Sarig Yugur–Khakas isoglosses as *-z- < *-d-*, indicate historical connections between these languages that merit detailed investigation, but that do not entail descent from or contact with spoken ancient Kirgiz.⁷

Living languages like Sarig Yugur are not “archaic” or “ancient” languages, nor do such concepts possess validity in general linguistics. While Sarig Yugur unquestionably exhibits characteristics typical also of older Turkic written languages, it remains the task of historical linguistics to document which specific complex of features, if any, uniquely link it to one or more of these early forms. We need to define the relationship of Sarig Yugur to written *Türk tili* “the language of the Türks” which both the Uyghurs of Mongolia and the Kirgiz of South Siberia used in the 8th–9th centuries, as well as to the classical Uyghur language which developed in the northern Tianshan and Gansu regions and which the migrating Uyghurs adopted in the 9th century. At the same time, Sarig Yugur shares a number of features with Siberian Turkic languages, especially with the Khakas group, but only careful comparative studies can establish these correspondences and lay the groundwork for historical interpretation. Is Sarig Yugur most closely related to the Khakas group, or even to Tuva and Yakut as well? If so, what is the connection of this group to early Uyghur and ancient Kirgiz? These are the tantalizing questions. But their answers must await not only the analysis of available data, but also the collection of further evidence.

Only two major collections of linguistic data exist for Sarig Yugur. Potanin gathered some notes on this people and a small glossary of their language in the 19th century, and Mannerheim recorded some observations and a list of words during the two weeks he spent with them in 1907. Sergej Malov made extensive collections of linguistic and folkloristic materials in nearly all the villages of the Sarig Yugur in the course of the 14 months he lived with them in the years 1909–1911 and 1913–1915. Apart from language samples cited in articles, decades elapsed before his materials were published — his dictionary in 1957 and his texts and translations in 1967. In 1940–1941 P. Matthias Hermanns published a description of aspects of their culture that included several texts in Sarig Yugur with a substantial Chinese admixture. Edkhjam Tenishev collected a second body of materials during his participation in the joint Sino–Soviet linguistic expedition of 1956–1958, and specifically in the localities of Xihaizi and Minghua in July 1958 (Tenishev 1961, 183).

⁷ Tenishev (1989) has provided a valuable treatment of the Sarig Yugur–Khakas comparative material. For another attempt to systematize the Sarig Yugur–Khakas isoglosses, see: Borgojakov 1976; 1981, 76–91.

In 1976, Tenishev published a grammatical description based on the texts which his Chinese colleague Chen Zongzhen had recorded in phonetic transcription. In the 1980s Chen Zongzhen and Lei Xuanchun carried out further fieldwork in Lianhua and the Sunan-Yugur county seat and published a grammatical description and other materials in 1985.

These collections of Sarig Yugur linguistic materials together could form the basis of more detailed research on various historical, comparative, and descriptive questions concerning this language. However, the corpus collected by Malov still awaits analysis, the texts recorded by Hermanns remain untouched by Turkologists, and some aspects of the materials gathered in 1958 and the 1980s require clarification. Since the history of Sarig Yugur studies demonstrates that every recording of this language is precious, the purpose of the present study is to provide Turkologists with additional Sarig Yugur texts, accompanied by a brief analysis of their grammar and a glossary.

Professor Geng Shimin of the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing spent a week in the Sunan-Yugur Autonomous County in October 1990 (see *Map, Fig. 1*). While at the county seat, located in the Qilian Mountains at the site of a former Buddhist temple called *Hongwan Si*, he took down in phonetic transcription the narratives of three Sarig Yugur individuals: 1. He Zihua, a 46-year old mother of five children and wife of the director of the county's agricultural bank, who was born in Huangtupo village of the Minghua district (= text 1); 2. He Xiyuan, the 50-year old brother of He Zihua and deputy chief of the county's court, who was born in the Minghua district (= text 2); 3. Ke Zaiyong, a retired 65-year old former cadre of the county's security bureau, and born in Jiucaigon village of the Dahe district (= text 3). During October 10–15, Geng Shimin stayed in the Lianhua township of the outlying Lianhua area of the county, where he transcribed a narrative by a 61-year old man named Ganjer Dunjil (Chinese name: Guo Bocheng). This man was born in Hubianzi village and tended sheep for a living (= text 4). While in Lianhua, Geng also recorded other narratives — not presented here — from Sarig Yugur individuals whose language essentially was Chinese with some remaining Turkic elements. In recording the texts published below, Geng used a broad phonetic transcription that took into account individual variants. He confirmed his transcriptions and translations with the speakers through the medium of Chinese.

Texts and Translations

1. He Zihua.

Men atqa Xi Zixua diyik. Men buyili diordon ahldi. Mende bes mula bar. Bezigi mula yigirmi ahldi. Šiginji mula yigirmi bes. Uŋinji mula yigirmi šiki. Diordinji mula sacis yigirmi. Besinji mula yidigirma. Men yuanlay Oyda dogan. Mende aŋam anam xosi bar. Mende uš aga bar. Šigi gızaga bar. Mende uš inı bar.

I am named He Zihua. I am forty-six this year. I have five children. The oldest child is twenty-six. The second child is twenty-five. The third child is twenty-two. The fourth child is eighteen. The fifth child is seventeen. Originally, I was born in Minghua. I have both father and mother. I have three older brothers. I have two older sisters. I have three younger brothers.

Ginñde agıñi iŝ bar didi. Yüsinde yogsıdı. Bezik agası giozi görü yoqdı. Şikinfi inisi kunts'en tikiñ çaxbadi. Bir kün yitkende, bezik agası talaya izet baryan. Bir yipdi tikinge palyu atqan. Miniya bezik agasına tutdır atqan. Agası yipdi tutsa bir joó booryanda gidiigende kisi yoqdu. Andaganda yipdi osiga baryanda kisi yoqdu. Tikinge pogaşdu. Soonda molei molei mañyan didi. Bir semige toq boptı dedi. Andaganda içinge kir baryan dedi. İçinde bir birqan oluryan edi. Andaganda birqan ardınyä çögi qapdı.

Formerly, they say, there were three brothers. They were poor people in that house. The big brother was blind. The second brother cut thornbushes (for firewood) everyday. One day, he led his big brother out to the fields. He tied a rope to a thornbush. Thereupon, he had his big brother hold (the other end of the rope). When his big brother had been (there) a while holding the rope, he called out, (but) there was no one. Then, he went along pulling(?) the rope, (but) there was no one. He tied (the rope) to the thornbush. After that, he went even farther, they say. He came upon a temple, they say. Then, he went inside, they say. An image of Buddha sat inside. Then, he sat down behind the image of the Buddha (1).

2. He Xiyuan

Meniñ yüy Ard Oyda barii. Ard Oy yaxşı yerii. Qomışte bir xayzi barii. Xayzi işde awut qus barii. Xayzi ortasında ırılıy çamuş barii. Xayziniñ yaga başında doğıs garaşın barii. garaşında bezik su un gege, xayziniñ qızıyında jünkin barii. Jünkinde goy uqarxaqii. Bohdı goy işdi, kuçalxaqii. Bo xayzida ginñde semi barii. Deñir yaymayanda bu semide lom unşit qışdı. Yaymur yaqışdı. Alvatı söyingeşii.

My home is in Lianhua. Lianhua is a good place. There is a lake in a desert depression. There are all kinds of birds in the lake. In the middle of the lake there are tall reeds. At the southern end of the lake there are nine springs. At the springs arises a big river and there is *jünkin*-grass on the shore of the lake. Sheep graze in the *jünkin*-grass. Sheep eat this grass and get strong. Formerly, there was a temple at this lake. When the sky did not rain, they had them read the sutras at this temple. It started raining. The people were happy.

3. Ke Zaiyong

Men Xanninggol kisi. Meniñ at Ke Zayyung. Xanninggol gumili Jorga şianğa Art Qırpaq ts'unda meniñ yüy varii. Tayda yaxşı ot barii. Mal yese, kuşul bolxaqii. Tayda dağı şers varii. Dağı arşa, guy barii. Dağı qarlıy tay barii. Qarlıy taydan guzi su gelgegii. Kisi, mal xosi bu suni işigegii. Tayda dağı suyun, şivar, yañyañ amtan barii. Şivarda şar varii. Suyunda muñus varii. Bu xosi guoñianiñ irimbooçi.

I am a person from Khanninggol. My name is Ke Zaiyong. My home is in Art Kirgak Village of the Gumili Valley Township of Khanninggol. There is good grass in the mountains. When animals eat it they become strong. There is also şers-grass in the mountains. There are also junipers and pines. There are also snowy mountains. Water comes down from the snowy mountains. People and animals both drink this water. There are also deer, musk deer and all sorts of creatures in the mountains. The musk deer have musk. The deer have horns. Both of them are national treasures.

Düysinde meniñ yüyde doğıs baş kisi varii. İndanla meniñ yüyde nimema yoq edi. Mal yooii. Ot qurol yooii. Biz şaldan kisi. Kun ma yaxşı emesii. Diordon doğıs yilda Maoñuşi Goñçandan gelge bizdi şiefañnayanii. Andan soñ, biz mal asrayan edi. Yaxşı kun geçirgenii. Men ganbu bolyanii. Bu dağıla Goñçandan Maoñuşiniñ yaxşı yeri.

Formerly, there were nine people in my home. Recently, there has been nothing in my home at all. There are no animals. There is no feed-pen. We are poor people. Life is not good. In the year Forty-Nine, Chairman Mao and the Communist Party came and liberated us. After that, we had raised livestock. Those were good days. I became a cadre. This also was one of Chairman Mao's good areas.

Üşün ahldi yilda Xoññun gelgenii. Meniñ bezik gogi Xoññunya yol izetgenii. Bayangol içi ir mañyanii. Oyniñ yusi kisi Sart şirigi depdro. Sart şirigi Xoññunni baoweyla vapidro. Xoññun Sart şirix wişin atışipdro. Xoññun piringa unalmeendro. Meniñ bezik goganı tutup gepdro. Oyniñ yusi kisi Sart şirige depdro: "Bu ma goñcan mula iir." Sart şirix meniñ goganı goy ülimeçiliş ülirogenii. Ol dügeyde men ahldi odış yas.

In the year Thirty-Six, the Red Army came. My big brother showed the way to the Red Army. It advanced into Bayangol. Bad people of the steppe told the Sart army. The Sart army encircled the Red Army. The Red Army and Sart Army fought. The Red Army was unable to gain victory. They captured my

big brother. Bad people of the steppe told the Sart army: "This one is a communist boy." The Sart army killed my brother just as one would kill a sheep. At that time, I was twenty-six years old (2).

Yuyur sözi varii. Jüglä pudıy yoq. Yuyurnıñ qarmanıñ dise Yuyur ard oydan gelgenii dedi. Čeji-yañi deme oydan gelgenii dedi. Juyola sowa sowanı yañıya yadaya, andaqqa ol oydan tezgen. Unap kelgen. Bo oyra yedik gelgenii. Bo oyra yedik kelgeş, ol dügeyde bo oyda Gızıl Bıq deme bo oyda çaylaya barii dedi. Yuyur Gızıl Bıq bıñın yañılasqan didro. Yuyur Gızıl Bıqñıñ pırnıñya ungen didro. Bu Gızıl Bıq qorqasız tezgen. Hanıyan didro. Andanla Yuyur bo oynı çaylapdro.

The Yugurs have a language. They never (?) had writing. As for the ancestors of the Yugurs, they say the Yugurs came from the western steppe. They say they came from the steppe called Cheji-Ghaji. Basically, clans became enemies with each other (?), and so (the Yugurs) fled from that steppe. They moved away. They reached this steppe. Upon reaching this steppe, they say, there was at that time in this steppe those called Red Caps living in this steppe. It is said the Yugurs fought with the Red Caps. It is said the Yugurs gained victory over the Red Caps. It is said the Red Caps were afraid and fled. It is said they ran away. Since then, the Yugurs have been living in this steppe (3).

4. Ganjer Dunjil

Boylı men ahdon bir. Men yüde sacıs kisi bar. Dört oylan bar. Şigi göz bar. Men diordan tohgıs yıldı kelin ahdi. Men Joyingıda bar. Joyingı yaxşı yer. Oht ba yaxşı. Su ma yaxşı. Mal ma yaxşı. Men yüde kun ma yaxşı. Men işgiş horuu yoq. Men gezgiş horuu yoq. Mis dañgar ça işiik. Taggan ça işiik. Sut guzgaq. çayag, çormi, yağ işiik. Mende goy yüz diordon bar. Mende gus dört bar. Mende işi şigi bar. Bir jigen bar.

This year I am sixty-one. I have eight people at home. There are four boys. There are two girls. I took a bride at the age of forty-nine. I am in Joyingi. Joyingi is a good place. The grass is good, the water is good, the animals are good. Life is good in my home. I am not lacking food. I am not lacking clothing. We drink tea in the morning. We drink tea with parched wheat. We pour in milk. We drink it with cream, curds and butter. I have one hundred and forty sheep. I have four oxen. I have two camels. There is a donkey.

Commentary

1. After searching through the folklore of other Turkic and Mongol peoples of China for parallels to this story told by He Zihua, we found a single, but rather close example in text 114 of Malov's collection. The relevant section appears in Malov's transcription as follows:

Tuyto aqiniške var nimidro. Lotası küzi tegiliq pidro. Lornın küzi açiq pidro. Men lotasınya ne giliin. Men lotasınya, ne gileen, men lotasınya tiken çaqqila pariin, deptro. Lotası tergenge elep paroo soqašte sav-adiptro. Sen pu kustın nüfanna tuto, deptro. Pu kelgeş sav-atqaş la tergeni alınyaş, yusunge yetip keptro. Pu yınır boptro, kün yayırtro, yaqqaş kétéptro. Yoq boptro. Andan la pı la maŋo, pır kise yoq yerge yetiptro. Kise yoq yerge yetkeş, qonjonın uzige çoquyuptro.

In olden times, it seems, there were two brothers. The older brother was blind. The younger brother could see. He (the younger brother) thought, "What can I do with my older brother? What can I do with my older brother? I will go out to cut thornbush with my older brother." Seating his older brother in a cart, he went off (to cut thornbush) and sat (the cart) in an area of mounds covered with feathergrass. He (the younger brother) said to him, "You hold the reins of this ox." He (the younger brother) came back and put (the thornbush in the cart), and then he took the cart and went home (without the older brother). It became evening and the sun fell. When it fell, he (the older brother) called out. There was no one. And so he went and he reached a deserted place. When he reached that deserted place, he sat down upon a *qonjo* (bench?). (Malov 1967, 114-115)

The remainder of this story concerns the regaining of his sight with the help of several animals, after which the older brother becomes important and gets married. He arrives home just as his funeral feast is being held. The younger brother is jealous of his older brother's stature, goes off to become important like his brother and reaches the *qonjo*, where he is eaten by the animals.

2. The term Sart generally referred to the Muslims of Turkestan, but here specifically designates the army of the Dungan or Hui Muslims whose administration of Gansu and Southern Xinjiang was terminated in 1937; see Andrew D.W. Forbes, *The Role of the Hui Muslims (Tungans) in Republican Sinkiang, Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, Edited by Shirin Akiner (London: Kegan Paul, 1991), 361-371, and Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986).

3. This historical legend regarding the origin of the Sarig Yugurs shares with those summarized by early observers and those recorded by Malov and

Tenishev the designation Cheji-Ghaji (Sijo-Khajo, Siji-Khaji, etc.) for their settlement prior to moving to Gansu; (cf.: Potanin 1950, 482, Mannerheim 1911, 5-6, Malov 1967, 211, 213, Tenishev 1976, 226-227, Saguchi 1986, 11-14). However, none of the other versions cite clan conflict as the stimulus for migration, and most of them speak of other settlements between Cheji-Ghaji and Gansu. Despite a few preliminary studies, research on the history of the Sarig Yugurs has not arrived at any firm conclusions regarding the identity of these places (cf. Tenishev 1962, 1971, 1976; Saguchi 1986).

The other versions of this legend do not refer to a war with the *Gizil Biq* which, according to the Sarig Yugur speaker, means 'Red Caps'. The form *bīq* is a possible development from C362 *börk* id, even though Malov (91) records this word as *perk/perik* and Tenishev (198) as *perik/perik*. Tenishev (30) cites several Sarig Yugur examples of the same structure in which *-r-* disappears (*k'ö'ki* < **körkit*- 'to show' and *o'k* < **ürk*- 'to be startled'), and there are forms without *-r-* in Uygur dialects (cf. J59 *börk/bök*). On the basis of this explanation of *bīq* (by no means firm), it is possible to suggest an identification with an obscure group whom Mannerheim recorded as the former inhabitants of this region of Gansu:

According to a statement made by the Chinese mandarin in Li-yen, the country now inhabited by the Yögurs had been earlier peopled by a tribe called *Hung maotzü* (the red-haired) or *Huang fan* (the red barbarians) who were in bad repute as robbers. By the command of the emperors they had been quite exterminated. To this desolate country, where wild beasts began to thrive in startling numbers, were sent at the request of the *t'idu* in Kanchow, by *Chiangsh'ün* (a kind of Governor General) in 1116 six *tshi Huang-fan* from the district of Urumtchi. The Chinese Government provided them with cattle. This movement is supposed to have taken place during Yungch'eng's reign. The Saro and Shera Yögurs are the remnant of these six *tshi* and the Chinese military authorities consider them even yet a kind of irregular troop which can be called upon in case of need (1911, 32-33).

Mannerheim's report is riddled with errors in the transcription and translation of Chinese words. Of those relevant to this question, *Hung maotzü* (= 紅帽子, *màozi* 'cap') must be translated as 'the red-capped' or 'Red Caps' and not as 'the red-haired' (紅毛子, *màozi* 'hair (other than on the head)'), while *Huang fan* (黃番) must be translated as 'the yellow foreigners' and not as 'the red barbarians'. According to Saguchi, Chinese sources have applied the latter term to the Yellow Uyghurs since the 16th century (1986, 4-13). Our purpose is not to resolve this obvious historical contradiction, but to suggest that the *Gizil Biq* 'Red Caps' of Sarig Yugur legend may be identified as Mannerheim's *Hung maotzü* 'Red Caps'.

Phonology

These recordings provide only limited data for the analysis of the phonological system of these Sarig Yugur speakers. Therefore, we confine ourselves to drawing some descriptive and historical generalizations of its main features, and to comparing these conclusions with those made by Tenishev (1976, 7-46)⁸.

Vowels. The language of these recordings reflects an eight-vowel system with a few allophonic variants (cf. T7-10):

- (a) [a] back unrounded: *ana* 'mother', *oɣan* 'boys'.
- [ah] pharyngealized: *ah-ahl-* 'to take', *ahldi* 'six', *ahdon* 'sixty'.
- (e) [e] high front unrounded: *emes* 'not', *yese* 'when they eat'.
- (i) [i] high back unrounded: *inī* 'younger brother', *gizil* 'red'.
- (i) [i] high front unrounded: *išgiš* 'food and drink', *kisi* 'person'.
- (o) [o] mid back rounded, non-final: *odis* 'thirty', *ahdon* 'sixty';
- [oh] pharyngealized: *oḥt/ot* 'grass', *tohg̣is/doc̣is* 'nine'.
- (u) [u] high back rounded: *un-* 'to rise', *qus* 'bird', *gōru* 'seeing'.
- (ö) [ö] mid front rounded, non-initial and non-final: *söz* 'word';
- [io] [iö] diphthongs, non-initial and non-final: *gioz* 'eyes', *dört* 'four'.
- (ü) [ü] high front rounded, non-final; *ülir-* 'to kill', *yüz* 'hundred';
- [ü̥] reduced in word-initial position: *üš* 'three', *üjin̄ji* 'third', *üjun* 'thirty'.

The pharyngealization (or "squeaky voice") in the vowels [ah] and [oh] in Sarig Yugur may arise in the environment of originally aspirated stops, especially in 4: 1 *ahdi/ahldi* < *al'ti* 'he took', 1,3 *ahldi* < *ahl'ti* 'six', 4 *ahdon* < *al'ton*, 4 *bohdi* < *bo oh'tni* 'this grass', 4 *tohg̣is* < *to'quz* 'nine'. In his grammar of Sarig Yugur, Tenishev records these forms as *al-* 'to take' (171), *al'ti/halṭi* 'six' (172), *al'ton/halton* 'sixty' (172), and *o't* 'grass' (194 only *ot* 'fire', but 201 *o't quran* 'barn for hay'), and *to'q̣is* 'nine' (213). Thus, he treats what others perceive as pharyngealization as a feature of aspiration that spreads from an aspirated voiceless stop to a preceding vowel or that surfaces as initial (*h*)⁹.

The diphthongs [io] and [iö] occur in only three words, one of them in the same environment as *gōru* 'seeing', and thus may be nonfunctional speech variants.

⁸ Sergej Malov (1880-1957) did not prepare for publication the grammatical section that appeared in his 1957 book, which presumably accounts for its chaotic organization and unanalytical nature.

⁹ Pharyngealization also occurs in the Salar vowels [ah], [eh], [oh] (cf. Tenishev 1962a, 264). György Kara connected the Sarig Yugur and Salar phenomena to the pharyngealized vowels in Tuva and Tofalar, where they regularly appear in place of original short vowels and non-pharyngealized vowels in place of original long vowels (cf. his review in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27, 1973, 241-249; Thomsen 1959, 567).

The several occurrences of long vowels in these texts may be explained as emotional nuances (*śūdiigende*, *qapdūi*, *yaqūšdūi*), contractions (*booyanda* < *bolyanda*, *-ii/iir* < *erür*, *išik* < *iškeg*, *unalmeendro* < *-meyin* < *-medin*), or compensatory lengthening (*soonda* < *soŋda*) (cf. T10–11).

The vowels of words in these recordings conform to the rule of palatal harmony, with the exception of loan words, *gīnīŋde* 'formerly', certain suffixes, and other cases explained below (*gōru*, *išde*, *ūlirmečīliŋ*) (cf. T39–41; M6; Thomsen 1959, 567).

Historically, this material reflects the reduction of initial **ü* (*uš*, *ūjinji*, *ūjun*), with the exception of *ūlir* 'to kill', and its merger otherwise with (*u*) (*gōru* < *gōrū* 'seeing', *kučal-/kušul-* < *küčel-* 'to get strong', *kun* as well as *kün* 'day', *muŋus* < *mūŋüz* 'horn', *sut* < *süt* 'milk', *un-* < *ün-* 'to rise'). After initial (*y*) this vowel is retained (*yüŋ/yü* 'home', *yüz* 'hundred').

Etymologically, the (*u*) in *guzi* 'downwards' and *uqar-* 'to graze' originates from **o* (C596 *kodi*, 48 *oŋar-*). In *pudiŋ* 'writing' (C303 *bitig*), however, the (*u*) probably reflects the vowel in Shira Yugur *pučig* and Monguor *pudzig* 'script, letter' (S153). Original **u* is unrounded in *pīrīn* < *burun* 'front', *bīrgan* < *burqan* 'image of the Buddha', and *minīya* < *munuya* 'thereupon', as well as in the second syllable of *dočis/tohčis* < *toquz* 'nine' and *odis* < *otuz* 'thirty'.

In addition, original **ö* becomes high back unrounded (*ï*) in *bīq* < *börk* 'cap', *ir* < *örü* 'upwards', *irliŋ* < *örülüg* 'high', and a diphthong in *diort* < *tört* 'four', *diordon* < *törton* 'forty', and *gioz* < *köz* 'eyes'.

In several cases, the front vowel **i* becomes a back vowel that may simply reflect a "schwa" in rapid speech: *mīs* beside *biz* 'we', *inī* < *ini* 'younger brother', *gīnīŋde* < *kēninde* 'formerly', *pudiŋ* < *bitig* 'writing', and in the suffix of *ūlirmečīliŋ* (cf. T21–24 for other examples of these changes).

Consonants. The sound system of these Sarig Yugur speakers includes the following consonants, several with allophonic variants (cf. T11–18):

- (p) [p] voiceless bilabial stop: *pīrīn* 'front', *vapdro* 'becomes', *yip* 'rope'.
- (t) [t] voiceless dental stop: *tay* 'mountain', *atīs-* 'to fight', *sut* 'milk'.
- (k) [k] voiceless front velar stop: *kisi* 'person', *tiken* 'thornbush', *bezik* 'big';
- [q] voiceless back velar stop: *qus* 'bird', *uqar-* 'to graze', *gayaq* 'cream';
- [ɕ] lenis back velar stop, non-final: *guz gay* 'we pour in'.
- (b) [b] voiced bilabial stop, non-final: *bes* 'five', *čaxba-* 'to cut';
- (d) [d] voiced dental stop: *diort* 'four', *odis* 'thirty', *ard* 'western, back'.
- (g) [g] voiced front velar stop: *gus* 'ox', *ŋigen* 'donkey', *ŋirig* 'army';
- [ɣ] voiced back velar fricative: *yaŋi* 'Ghaji', *yaŋi* 'enemy', *yaŋ* 'butter';
- (x) [x] voiceless back velar fricative, non-final: *xosī* 'all', *yaxši* 'good';
- (s) [s] voiceless dental-alveolar sibilant: *su* 'water', *yusī* 'bad', *muŋus* 'horn'.
- (š) [š] voiceless palatalsibilant: *šiki* 'two', *kušul-* 'to get strong', *gamuš* 'reed'.
- (č) [č] voiceless palatal stop, non-final: *či* 'camel', *kučal-* 'to get strong';

- (z) [z] voiced dental-alveolar sibilant, non-initial: *güzil* 'red', *güz* 'girl'.
 (j) [j] voiced palatal stop, non-final: *jar* 'musk', *üjun* 'thirty'.
 (v) [v] voiced labial-dental fricative, non-final: *var* 'there is', *šivar* 'musk deer'.
 (w) [w] bilabial semivowel, non-initial and non-final: *avut* 'all kinds of', *sowa* 'clan'.
 (y) [y] palatal semivowel: *yoq* 'there is not', *gayaq* 'cream', *goy* 'sheep'.
 (l) [l] lateral glide: *lom* 'sutra, book', *kelin* 'bride', *yol* 'road'.
 (r) [r] rolled flap, non-initial: *göru* 'seeing', *yer* 'place'.
 (m) [m] voiced bilabial nasal stop: *men* 'I', *deme* 'named', *anam* 'my mother'.
 (n) [n] voiced dental nasal stop: *nimema* 'anything', *meniñ* 'my', *kun/kün* 'day'.
 (ŋ) [ŋ] voiced velar nasal stop, non-initial: *muñus* 'horn', *soñ* 'after'.

The affricate (*ts*') appears only in the Chinese loan *ts'un* 'village' and unexpectedly in *kunts'en* < *kün sayin* 'everyday'. In addition, the aspirate [*h*] may be only a variant of (*x*) in the two words *hanī-* 'to run away' and *horuu* 'lacking', while [*x*] and [*w*] are nonfunctional variants in the pairs *ñirix/ñirig* 'army' and *wiñin/biñin* 'with'.

Other phenomena encountered in these recordings include metathesis (*olyan* < *oylan* 'boys', *palyu-* < *bayla-* 'to tie', *šiki/šigi* < *iški* < *iki* 'two'), anticipation (*taqgan* < *talgan* 'wheat', *yedik kel-/gel-* < *yetip kel-* 'to reach'), loss of vowel (*bohdi* < *bo ohtni* 'this grass'), and loss of consonant (*ahdi* < *ahldi* 'he took', *ahdon* < *ahldon* 'sixty', *biq* < *börk* 'cap', *booyanda* < *bolyanda* 'when it became', *gege* < *kelge* 'coming', *meñ* < *meniñ* 'my', *yoqsidi* < *yoq kisi erdi* 'they were poor people', and *gepdro*, *qapdri*, *qišdri*, *vapdro*).

We may draw attention to three historical aspects of this material. First, the language of these materials presents a strong tendency toward the retention of **b-* and the voicing of **t-* and **k-*, in contradistinction to the materials of Malov and Tenishev, where occurrences of voiced initials are a rarity. Here, the environments for the voiceless: voiced opposition of initial stops are not mutually exclusive:

- (1) initial (*p*) occurs before (*d*), (*g*), and (*l*), and once before (*r*) (*pudriy* 'writing', *poq-* 'to tie', *palyu-* 'to tie', and *pürin* 'front'); initial (*b*) occurs before other consonants, including (*r*).
- (2) Initial (*t*) occurs before (*t*), (*k*), (*l*), (*z*), and once before [*γ*] and [*σ*] (*tut-* 'to capture', *tikin* 'thornbush', *toq* 'meeting', *tala* 'field', *tez-* 'to flee', *tay* 'mountain', and *toñais* 'nine' (conditioned by [*oh*]?)); initial (*d*) occurs elsewhere, including before [*σ*].
- (3) Initial (*k*) occurs before (*p*), (*s*), (*z*), (*š*), (*č*), (*l*), (*r*), (*m*), and (*n*), and its allophone [*σ*] before (*d*), (*s*), (*z*), (*y*), (*r*), and (*m*); initial (*g*) occurs before (*p*), (*g*), (*s*), (*z*), (*č*), (*y*), (*l*), (*r*), (*n*), and (*ŋ*).

It may be that the devoicing of *b- and the voicing of *t- and *k- are due to allophonic, combinatory and other phenomena, but the material is too limited to justify such conjectures¹⁰.

Secondly, we call attention to the treatment of Turkic *š and *č in these recordings. Whereas *š is retained in 3 *doğıs baş kisi* 'five (head of) people', 2 *başında* 'at the end (head) of', and 2 *gamuŝ* 'reed', in all other cases it merges with (s): *atıs* < *atış*- 'to fight', *bes* < *beš* 'five', *besinji* < *bešinči* 'fifth', *yas* < *yaš* 'year', etc. We cannot suppose that this retention of *š is dialectal, since the speaker in 2 also has *qus* < *quš* 'bird'. By the same token, *č is retained as (č) in initial position always and elsewhere in most cases, but merges with (š) in several other cases, both within the speech of single individuals:

1 *uš* < *uč* 'three'

2 *iŝde* < *ič(i)de* 'within'

3 *kuŝul*- < *küčel*- 'to get strong'

iŝi- < *ič*- 'to drink'

uŝinji < *učünči* 'third'

kučal- < *küčel*- 'to get strong'

gečir- < *kečür*- 'to live, pass'

iči < *iči* 'inside'

The materials of Malov (cf. Thomsen 1959, 565) and Tenishev (1976, 26) reflect a similar status. Until further investigation, we cannot say more than that in Sarig Yugur *š and *s show a tendency to merge into (s) and *š and *č into (š)¹¹.

Finally, original *-d regularly appears in these and all other Sarig Yugur materials as (z), a feature that links this language to those of the Khakas group: *bezik* < *bedük* 'big', *izet*- 'to show, to lead' < *id*- 'to send', *gezgiš* 'clothing' < *ked*- 'to wear', *qiziy* < *qidiy* 'edge', *guz*- < *qud*- 'to pour', *guzi* < *godı* 'downward' (cf. M162, T36, Räsänen 1960, Thomsen 1959, 565).

Morphophonology

In such a small corpus it is difficult to establish rules of assimilation of the initial consonants of suffixes to stem final consonants. Malov only proposed a few tentative rules for some suffixes, while Tenishev formulated them for

¹⁰ Gerhard Doerfer has pursued such explanations for similar developments in Tuva (cf. *Bemerkungen zu den sojonischen Anlautsklusilen*, *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 45, 1973, 254–260). Tenishev establishes a fortis: lenis opposition of stop consonants in Sarig Yugur, so that the occurrence of initial voicing is relegated to the allophonic level (1976, 11–14; same for Salar, Tenishev 1976a, 44–48, 57).

¹¹ Tenishev suggested that the ancestors of the Sarig Yugurs moved to the southern Tarim Basin, by which time *š and *s already had merged into (s), so that cases of the retention of *š reflect borrowings from a southern Uygur dialect (1971, 90). However, it seems implausible that the speaker of 2 might have retained *qus* 'bird', but borrowed *baş* 'head' in *başında* 'at the end (head) of' and *gamuŝ* 'reed'.

most suffixes. Generally, the dialects in these recordings do not conform to their rules; in particular, here we find far more cases of suffix consonants becoming voiced after stem final voiceless consonants. Without attempting to reformulate this question, we note the following distribution:

Genitive: +*nîŋ* except 3 *bîqdiŋ* (M165-166, T55 +*diŋ* only after -*r*, +*tiŋ* after voiceless -*C*, +*nîŋ* otherwise).

Definite object: +*nî* in 3 *Xoŋjûnnî*, *sowanî*, *sunî*, *oynî*, and +*di* in 1 *yîpdi*, 2 *bohdi* (< *bo oht* + *nî*), 3 *bizdi* (M167, T56 + *di* only after -*z*, +*ti* after voiceless -*C*, +*nî* otherwise).

Dative: +*ya* in 1 *talaya*, *ardînya*, 3 *yayîya*, *pîrnîŋya*, +*ga* in 1 *agasînga*, 3 *pîrînga*, +*ge* in 1 *tîkinge*, *içinge*, 3 *ŋirige*, and +*qa* in 1 *atqa* (M168-169, T55 +*ka* after voiceless -*C*, +*ga* otherwise).

Locative: +*da*/+*de* except 2 *qomîšte* (but 2 *işde*) (M169-170: +*ta* after -*V*, -*y*, -*r*, -*l*, -*n*, -*ş*, but +*da* after -*y*, -*r*, -*m*, -*n* is not a rule; T56: +*ta* after voiceless -*C*, +*da* otherwise).

Ablative: only +*dan* noted (M170, T57 +*tan* after voiceless -*C*, +*dan* otherwise).

Definite past: -*dî* in 1 *ahldî*, *čaxbadî*, 2 *qîşdî*, 4 *ahdî*, -*dî* in 1, 3 *dedî*, *dîdî*, -*dîi* in 1 *qapdîi*, 2 [*qîşdîi*], -*tî* in 1 *bopîi* (cf. M190, T92).

Past predicate: -*yan* in 1 *baryan*, *maŋyan*, *oluryan*, *booyanda*, 2 *yayma-yanda*, 3 *asrayan*, *hanîyan*, *ŋiefañnayanîi*, *bolyanîi*, *maŋyanîi*, -*gan* in 1 *andaganda*, -*gen* in 1 *çidiigende*, 3 *tezgen*, *kelgen*, *ungen*, *geçirgenîi*, *gelgenîi*, *izetgenîi*, *ülirgenîi*, -*qan* in 1 *doqan*, *atqan*, 3 *yayîlasqan*, -*ken* in 1 *yitkende* (cf. M184, T111).

Present participle: -*gaq* in 4 *guzgaq*, -*geg* in 3 *gelgegîi*, *işigegîi*, -*xaq* in 2 *uqarxaqîi*, *kuçalxaqîi*, 3 *bolxaqîi* (cf. M185, T110).

Coordinative gerund: -*gaş* in 1 *poqgaşdu*, 3 *qorqgaş*, -*geş* in 2 *söyingeşîi*, 3 *kelgeş*, -*ya* in 3 *yadaya*, *čaylaya*, -*ga* in 1 *tutga*, *oşîga*, -*ge* in 2 *gege* (cf. M185, 187, T112).

Morphosyntax

In the following, we provide a summary of the main morphosyntactic features of the language of these recordings. This summary is restrained not only by the limited corpus, but also by the viewpoint and structure of the texts themselves in the sense that they do not attest certain grammatical distinctions and categories.

Number. No instance of the plural marker +*lar* was recorded.

Possession. Sarig Yugur has several means of expressing possession that conform to those typical of Turkic languages, including constructions with a possessive pronoun plus the unmarked noun: 3 *meniŋ at* 'my name', *meniŋ yüy* 'my home', *meniŋ goga* 'my brother'. A clipped form of this pronoun also

appears in the speech of one informant: 4 *meŋ yü* 'my home', *meŋ işgiş* 'my food', *meŋ gezgış* 'my clothing'.

A second common means of indicating possession is that of adding the locative +*da/*+*de* to the possessor and ending with *bar* 'there is': 1 *mende bes mula bār* 'I have five children', 3 *šivarda jar varii, suyunda muŋus varii* 'the musk deer have musk, the maral deer have horns', 4 *mende gus diort bar* 'I have four oxen', etc.

Sarig Yugur has lost first and second person possessive suffixes (M177-178; T51-52), although occasionally the Turkic first person possessive suffix -*m* appears in narratives, as here in 1 *aŋam anam* 'my father and my mother'. No other examples of these person markers occur in these texts.

Third person possession is expressed through the typical Turkic construction: Noun 1 +*niŋ* (optional) + Noun 2 +(*s*)*i*: 1 *yüsinde* 'in their home', *bezik aŋası giozi* 'the eyes of his big brother', 2 *xayziniŋ yaqa başında* 'at the southern end (head) of the lake', *xayziniŋ qızıyında* 'on the shores of the lake', 3 *guoŋianinŋ irimbooci* 'treasures of the country = national treasures', *Maoŋuši-niŋ yaxşı yeri* 'one of Chairman Mao's good areas', *gizil biqdiŋ pürniŋya* 'in front of the Red Caps', 3 *Yuyur sözi* 'Yugur language', *Sart jirigi* (but same text: *Sart jirix*) 'Sart army'. However, we note that in several cases the third person possessive suffix +(*s*)*i* is not added to a word ending in the vowels /i, i/: 3 *men Xanniŋgol kisi* 'I am a person of Khanninggol', *oyniŋ yusi kisi* 'bad people of the steppe', *Yuyurniŋ qarmanŋi* 'the ancestors of the Yugurs'.

Case. These recordings attest markers for the definite object and for the dative, locative, and ablative cases. The genitive suffix +*niŋ* also occurs in possessive constructions (above).

Recorded instances of the definite object are: 1 *yipdi* 'the rope', 2 *bohdi* (<*bo ohtni*) 'this grass', 3 *sunı* 'the water', *bizdi* 'us', *xoŋjünni* 'the Red Army', *meniŋ gogaŋi* 'my brother', *sowaŋi* 'the clan', and *oyni* 'the steppe'.

Examples of the dative are: 1 *atqa* 'to/by name', *talaya* 'to the fields', *tikiŋe* 'to the thornbush', *semiŋe* 'to the temple', 3 *xoŋjünya* 'to the Red Army', *pürinŋa* 'to the front', *jirige* (<*jirix* + *ge*) 'to the army', *yayıya* 'to the enemy', *oyya* 'to the steppe'. After the possessive suffix +(*s*)*i* the element +*n* is added before the dative: 1 *aŋasınŋa* 'to his older brother', *içinŋe* 'to its inside', *ardıŋya* 'to its back, behind', and 3 *pürniŋya* 'to its front' (+*ŋ* < +*n* by sandhi).

Examples of the locative, including those with the element +*n* after the possessive +(*s*)*i*, are: 1 *yüsinde* 'in their home', 1,4 *mende* 'on/by me', 3 *oyda* 'in the steppe', 2 *gomište* 'in a desert depression', *başında* 'at the end (head) of', *saraşında* 'at the springs of', *qızıyında* 'on the shores of', *jünkinde* 'on the jünkin-grass', *xayzida* 'in the lake', *semiŋe* 'in the temple', 3 *şıaŋda* 'in the township', *ts'unda* 'in the village', *tayda* 'in the mountains', *šivarda* 'on/by the musk deer', *suyunda* 'on/by the maral deer', *yüyde* 'at home', 4 *yilda* 'in the year', *yüde* 'at home'. The locative also occurs on postpositions and adverbs:

1 *içinde* (but 2 *işde*) 'inside', 2 *ortasında* 'in the middle of', 1 *ginişde* 'formerly', *soonda* 'after that', 3 *düysinde* 'formerly', *ol dügeyde* 'at that time'. The locative also forms part of dependent clauses added to the predicate: 1,2 *-gende* 'when ..'

Occurrences of the ablative are: 3 *taydan* 'from the mountains' and *oydan* 'from the steppe'.

Predicates. The predicates *bar* 'there is' and *yoq* 'there is not' are frequent in these recordings. Full and clipped forms of the present and past tenses of the Turkic verb *er-* 'to be', often added to *bar* or *yoq*, are also characteristic. Tenishev did not isolate any of these forms, whereas Malov (184, 189) noted only *emes* (<*ermez*) and *er* (<*erür*). The forms attested in the present texts are:

<i>iir</i> (< <i>erür</i>):	3 <i>bu ma goñcan mula iir</i> 'This is a communist boy'.
+ <i>ii</i> (< <i>erür</i>):	2 <i>Ard Oy yaxşı yerii</i> 'Lianhua is a good place'.
	2,3 <i>barii</i> 'there is', <i>yoqii</i> 'there is not', <i>emesii</i> 'it is not'
	3 <i>-genii</i> (past predicate)
	2,3 <i>-xaqii/-gegii</i> (present participle)
<i>edi</i> (< <i>erdi</i>):	1 <i>olurıyan edi</i> '(had) sat', 3 <i>asrayan edi</i> '(had) raised', <i>yoq edi</i> 'there was not'
+ <i>di/+du</i> (< <i>erdi</i>):	1 <i>yoqsıdı</i> (< <i>yoq kisi erdi</i>) 'they were poor people', <i>yoqdı</i> 'there was not', <i>kisi yoqdu</i> 'there was no one', <i>poğaşıdu</i> 'he tied'
<i>emes</i> (< <i>ermez</i>):	3 <i>kun ma yaxşı emesii</i> 'life is not good'

The predicate +*dro* (<*turur*) 'is' occurs with the past gerund *-p* and the subordinative gerund *-y* (see *Past gerund* below).

Definite past. The definite past tense marker *-di* occurs in 1,3 *didi/dedi* 'they said = they say', 1 *çaxbadi* 'he cut', 4 *ahdi* 'I took', etc. In 2 *bohdi goy işdi kuçalxaqii* 'sheep eat this grass and get strong', the element *-di* may reflect a dissimilation of the *-ge* gerund.

Past predicate. These recordings attest a number of examples of the past predicate in *-gen*: 1 *doqan* 'born', *palyu atqan* 'tied', *tutdir atqan* 'gave it to hold', *baryan* 'went along', *mayyan* 'went', 3 *tezgen* 'fled', *kelgen* 'came' *yayılas-qan* 'fought one another', *pırnıya ungen* 'gained victory', *hanıyan* 'ran away'.

Addition of the predicate *edi* may indicate the perfect past tense in 1 *olurıyan edi* '(had) sat' and 3 *asrayan edi* '(had) raised'.

The construction *-gen+ii* typifies the narrative in 3 *ñiefarıyananii* 'liberated', *gelgenii* 'came', *ülirgenii* 'killed', *gelgenii* 'came', etc.

With the locative suffix, the past predicate *-gende* forms a dependent clause indicating that an action is committed at the same time or just before a second action is committed: 1 *bir kün yitkende* 'when it reached a day = the next day (he led his brother)', *bir joq booyanda gidiigende* 'when he was (there) a while and when he called out = when he had been (there) a while, he called

out (but there was no one)', *yipdi osıga baryanda*, 'when he went along pulling (?) the rope (there was no one)', *deñir yaymayanda* 'when it did not rain (they had them read)'.

Present-future participle. The Sarig Yugur speakers of 1 and 4 use the suffix *-gek* as a marker of the present-future tense, indicating an action completed habitually and consistently (cf. T110): 1 *men atqa Xi Zixua diyik* (<*tegek*) 'I, by name, they say = I am named He Zihua', 4 *ça işiik* (<*işgek*) 'we drink tea', *yay işiik* 'we eat butter', *sut gızgaq* 'we pour in milk'¹².

Unique to the Sarig Yugur speakers of 2 and 3 is the use of this form with the predicate +*ii* (<*erür*): 2 *goy ugarxaqii* 'sheep graze', *goy ... kuçalxaqii* 'sheep get strong', 3 *mal ... kuşul bolxaqii* 'animals become strong', *su gelgegii* 'a river comes' (note the similar construction in *-gek+tro* (<*turur*) cited in M185, T85).

Other participles. The relativizing suffix *-me* occurs twice in 3 *deme* 'which one says = named' (note M184 *taruma yer* 'arable land', *time* 'named'). An expansion of this suffix appears in the unique 3 *ülirmeñiliy üliirgenii* 'they killed in a manner of one who kills = they killed as one would kill'.

Past gerund. In these recordings the gerund in *-p* is used only in conjunction with predicates and the aspectual verb *kel-*, and not to link coordinative sentences together. With the predicate +*dro* (<*turur*), the following examples occur in the speech of one individual: 3 *depdro* 'it has been said = it is said', *vapdro* (<*bolip turur*) 'it has become = it is', *atıspdro* 'fought one another', *tutup gepdro* (<*kelip turur*) '(finally) caught = captured', *çaylapdro* 'have lived'¹³. The negative of this construction appears in a single example: 3 *unalmeendro* (<*un almeen turur*) 'was unable to gain (victory)' (note M192 *sinmindro* 'did not break', and T113 *-meen*). With the predicate +*di* (<*erdi*), the following examples occur: 1 *toq bopıi* (<*bolip erdi*) 'came upon', *çogı gapdıi* (<*qalıp erdi*) 'sat down', 2 *unşit qışdıi* (? <*qalıp erdi*) 'had them read', *yag işdıi* (= *qışdıi* ? <*qalıp erdi*) 'it started raining'.

¹² In early Turkic, the suffix *-yag/-gek* forms nouns reflecting habitual or repeated action; cf. *oryaq* 'sickle (that mows < or- 'to mow')' (C216), *tamyaq* 'throat (that constantly drips < tam- 'to drip')' (C505), etc. In the Khotan dialect of Uygur, this suffix functions as a present-future tense: *Aski adämgä män qetilmıyag* 'I don't belong to the old people', *män öygä kähkäh* 'I will go home' (Tenishev 1963, 146). Tenishev contended that this suffix was borrowed from Sarig Yugur into the Khotan dialect and that this contact reflected a temporary migration of the ancestors of the Sarig Yugurs into the southern region of the Tarim Basin (1971, 89–90; cf. note [11] above).

¹³ Baskakov (1976) argued that the Sarig Yugur construction *-p tro* derives from **-p turur ol*, and compared the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that; he, she, it' as a copula in such early Turkic examples as *ol tarıy tarıtyan ol* 'he is constantly ordering cultivation' (C123, 536), etc. However, he did not cite any cases of the use of **-p turur ol*. On the contrary, occurrences only of the formation *-p turur* are attested as early as the Uygur civil documents (cf. C529–530 *tur-*).

The addition of this gerund to the first verb of compounds with the aspectual verb *kel-* 'to come' indicates completion of an action, again in one individual's speech: 3 *tutup gepdro* (< *kelip turur*) '(finally) captured', *unup kelgen* '(finally) moved away', *yedik gelgenii* (< *yetip kelgen erur*) '(finally) reached', *yedik kelgeš* (< *yetip kelgeš*) 'upon (finally) reaching' (for the aspectual use of *kel-*, see below).

Several of the Sarig Yugur speakers employed a construction that involves the disappearance of the gerund *-p*, leaving only the verb stem before an aspectual verb. We have not noted a similar construction in the materials of Malov and Tenishev, but of course it is possible that in casual speech such forms occur in some of their texts¹⁴. We may presume that this process is similar to that which transforms *al-* 'to take' or *bil-* 'to know' into abilitative suffixes *-al-* and *-bil-* in modern Turkic languages, just as in 3 *unalmeendro* < *ün-* 'to rise' + *al-* 'to take' = 'to be able'. But whether the aspectual verbs in the examples cited below ought to be treated as verbal suffixes is a question requiring further examination. We present the occurrences of this construction according to the aspectual verbs employed:

at- 'to throw' (Y531: completion of an intentional action [Mongol *orki-* 'to throw']; note that the examples cited for the aspectual use of *yat-* 'to lie down' in T104 actually are cases of *at-*):

1 *palʸu atqan* 'tied' < *payla-* 'to tie' + *at-*, *tutdir atqan* 'gave to hold' *tutdir-* 'to have someone hold' + *at-*.

bar- 'to go along' (T104: action is progressing toward a goal; H612: action is progressing uninterruptedly with an anticipated result; Y530: the continuance of an action irrespective of time [Mongol *yabu-* 'to go']):

1 *izet baryan* 'led' < *izet-* 'to lead' + *bar-*, *kir baryan* 'entered' < *kir-* 'to enter' + *bar-*.

bol- 'to become' (H613: completed or accomplished action; Y535: passage of time or an action reaching termination or decision [Mongol *bol-* 'to become']):

3 *kušul bolxaqū* 'they become strong and . . .' < *kušul-* 'to get strong' + *bol-*, 3 *baoweyla vapdro* (< *bolip turur*) 'encircled' < *baoweyla-* 'to encircle' + *bol-*.

kel- 'to come' (T104: action is being completed gradually as it approaches the speaker; H614: action performed persistently and continuously until a point in time; Y531: motion towards the speaker or the person addressed [Mongol *ire-* 'to come']):

2 *un gege* (< *kelge*) 'rises and . . .' < *ün-* 'to rise, come up' + *kel-*.

¹⁴ Tenishev recorded this construction in Salar: *čax keymiš* 'he came out, left' (< *čiqip kelmiš*), *kir paamiš* 'he went in, entered' (< *kirip barmiš*), *iṅ kiymiš* 'he came down, descended' (< *inip kelmiš*), etc. (1962a, 269; 1976a, 177).

gal- 'to stay' (T105: action performed repetitively or permanently once; H616: unexpected or accidental action with a permanent or temporary result; Y528: action in progress or a state maintained at the time expressed or understood [Mongol *bayi-* 'to be, to stay']):

1 *čooi qapdri* 'sat down' (< *qalip erdi*) < *čooi-* 'to sit down' + *gal-*, 2 *unšit qišdi* (? < *qalip erdi*) 'had them read' < *unšit-* 'to have someone read' + *gal-*, 2 *yaq išdri* (= (*q*)*išdri* ? < *qalip erdi*) 'it started raining' < *yaq-* 'to rain' + *gal-*; also note 1 *čaxbadri* 'he cut' (< *čaxbadri*) < *čap-* 'to cut' + *gal-*.

Coordinative gerund. The gerund in *-geš* and its clipped form *-ge* (M187, T112) serves to connect sentences together in several of these texts: 1 *tutga* 'holding (the rope)', *osięa* 'pulling(?) (the rope)', 2 *un geęe* 'arises and . . .', 3 *gelęe* 'came and . . .', *yedik kelęeš* 'upon reaching', *qoręaš* 'were afraid and . . .', and the enigmatic verb phrase *yayıya yadaya* '(?)'¹⁵.

This gerund also is used in constructions with predicates: 1 *tikingę poęašdu* (< *paęyaš erdi*) 'he tied (the rope) to the thornbush', 2 *alvatı söyingeši* (< *söyingeš erür*) 'the people were ('are') happy', 3 *čaylaya barıi* 'they were living'.

Subordinative gerunds. The gerunds *-u* and *-y* are used in constructions with predicates twice in these recordings: 1 *giozi göru yoędi* 'his eyes did not see = he was blind' and 3 *didro* (< *tęy turur*) 'it is said'.

Conditional mood. Two examples of the conditional suffix *-se* (M189, T100) occur in these texts: 3 *mal yese* 'if/when animals eat (this grass)' and *Yuyurniņ garmanıři dise* 'if one says = as for the ancestors of the Yugurs'.

Lexicon

Pronouns. Only the pronouns for the first and third persons occur in these recordings: 1,3,4 *men* 'I', 3 *biz* and 4 *mıs* 'we', and 3 *ol* 'he/she/it'. The oblique forms 2,3 *meniņ*, 4 *meņ*, 1,4 *mende*, and 3 *bizdi* also occur. Here, as in other Sarig Yugur collections, there is no personal agreement between pronominal subjects and verbs. The vowel of the demonstrative pronoun varies between (o) and (u) in these texts and within the speech of a single individual (as M92, T77): 1,2,3 *bu* and 2,3 *bo*.

Numerals. These recordings attest the numerals 1 through 9 and the decades *yigirmi* '20', *odis*, *uřun* '30', *diordon* '40', and *ařdon* '60', in forms close to those heard by Malov and Tenishev. Both Malov (178–179) and Tenishev

¹⁵ The gerund in **-kač* occurs in numerous Kipchak and some Oguz Turkic languages, as well as in Tuva; see: Shcherbak 1981, 131–132; *Sravnitel'noistoricheskaja grammatika tjurkskikh jazykov. Morfologija* [Edited by E. R. Tenishev] (Moskva: "Nauka", 1988), 480–481 (where the Sarig Yugur form is not cited).

(71–73) found that the staircase ('X-number of steps on the way to 20 or 30') method was used for counting in the 10s and 20s, while the additive ('30, 40 . . . plus a number') method was used for the 30s and above. Examples of the staircase method for counting in the 10s are found in 1 *yidiğirma* (< *yidi yigirmi*) '17' and *sağıs yigirmi* '18', while examples of both additive and staircase methods for counting in the 20s are found in 1 *yigirmi šiki* '22', *yigirmi bes* '25', *yigirmi ahldi* '26', but 3 *ahldi odıs* '26'.

The ordinal suffix +*inji* that occurs in 1 *šiginji* 'second', *uñinji* 'third', *dördinji* 'fourth', and *besinji* 'fifth' is also noted by Tenishev (74), who, along with Malov (179), recorded the expanded suffix +*injiq*.

The word *baş* 'head' is used as a classifier in the expression in 3 *doğıs baş kisi* 'nine (head of) people'.

Mongol Elements. The vocabulary of each of the Sarig Yugur speakers recorded here includes Mongol elements. Expectably, the phonological shape of these elements conforms for the most part to that of the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs, with whom the Sarig Yugurs have shared a close relationship for the past centuries¹⁶. In the following list, we limit our documentation of the Mongol forms to Shira Yugur and other Mongol languages spoken in China (cited after B, S) and to Written Mongol (cited after L)¹⁷:

aga 'older brother' ← B3, S126 *aga*, L59 *aga* id.

ağa 'father' ← B6, S90 *adza*, (Chahar) *aadze*, (Barin) *eedze*, (Khorchin) *aadzaa*, (Dagur) *ačaa* id.¹⁸

alvatı 'people' ← B3 *alβatə*, S117 *alwatə*, L28 *albatu* id.

¹⁶ There are also specifically Sarig Yugur loans in Shira Yugur; as samples, cf. S193 *xanad* 'wing' ← M52 *qanat* id., S360 *aarta* 'north, back' ← M17 *art* 'west, back', S395 *mela* 'children' ← M77 *mla/mila* id., S610 *dzoəgqi* 'to sit' ← čokuy- id., S693 *yeldes* 'root' ← M47 *yiltis* id., etc. It should be noted that, despite its title, Tenishev 1976b actually deals with Mongol loans in Sarig Yugur, which he mistakenly terms "Šir-a Uighur". There, he cites from his materials *amitan* 'creature', *jigen* 'ass, donkey', *lom* 'book, manuscript', *yata* 'to be unable', and 16 other words not attested in the present recordings. For Mongol loans in Salar and Uygur dialects, see: V. Drimba, Remarques sur les mots d'emprunt mongols de la langue salare, *Revue Roumaine du Linguistique* 21, 1976, 417–427; A. Róna-Tas [Review of Jarring 1964], *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16, 1966, 431–435.

¹⁷ We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Professor György Kara with Mongol and Chinese sources.

¹⁸ The word *ağa* 'father' is isolated in Sarig Yugur, Lobnor, and Tuva (cf. L. A. Pokrovskaja, *Terminy rodstva v tjurkskikh jazykakh, Istoricheskoe razvitiie leksiki tjurkskikh jazykov* [Edited by Je. I. Ubrjatova] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1961), 28–29). Within Mongol, *ača/ağa* also occurs as 'father' in the Mongol glosses of Jamāladdin Ibn Muḥannā's manual (cf. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar'. Mukaddimat al-adab, I–II* (Moskva–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1938, 432). Whatever its ultimate origins, the word perhaps reflects a contamination with L292 *ečiğe* 'father'.

- amtan* 'creature' ← B6 *amtan*, L38 *amitan* id.
arʃa 'juniper' ← S120 *ardʒa*, L50 *arča* id.
asra- 'to raise' ← B60 *hsəra-*, S122 *asara-* 'to take care of', L56 *asara-* id.¹⁹
čormi 'curds' ← B138, S247 *čörme* 'curds'²⁰
dügeyde/düysinde 'formerly, at that time' ← **dügey*; cf. Monguor *deeii* 'formerly, of old, in the past', L242 *degedü* 'higher, upper . . . preceding, previous'²¹
garašin 'spring' ← **garašin*, S119 (Ordos, Alashan) *aragšaan*, (Barin, Khorchin, Oirat) *aršaan*, L650 *rasiyan/arasiyan*, Khalkha *rašaan/aršaan* id.²²
goga/gogü 'older brother' ← S126 *googo*, (Barin) *göög*, (Khorchin) *gægə*, (Santa) *gaga*, (Baoan) *gagə* id.
hanü 'to run away' ← B55 *hanə* 'to go away'
horuu 'empty, lacking, poor' ← **horuu*; cf. S355 *xuusən* 'empty, vacant', L953 *qoʒosun*, Khalkha *xooson* 'vacuum, emptiness . . . poor, hungry', L953 *qoʒorundu* 'between, in the middle'
irimboči 'treasure' — S265 *ərənbruče*, (Baoan) *rəmbotče*, (Monguor) *rəmbu* ← Tibetan *rim po che* 'great value, treasure'
jar 'musk' ← B141, S397 *dʒaar*, L1023 *ʃayar* id.
ʃers 'a grass' ← S569 (Chahar, Barin, Sunit, Khalkha, Oirat) *čiirs*, L179 *čigir-sü(n)*, 'straw or rush mat; straw, rush'
ʃigen 'donkey' ← B10 *eldʒigen*, S256 *əndziyen*, (Monguor) *dʒige*, L311 *elʃigen* id.
ʃorga 'valley' ← B146 *dʒorqə* 'gorge, ravine', B144 *dʒelga*, S301 *dʒilga*, S428 *dʒalga* id., L1055 *ʃilya/ʃilaya* 'ravine, dell, hollow, basin, ditch'
lom unšit- 'to have someone read sutras (Turkic causative -t-)' ← B88, S611 *lom ɛŋšə-* 'to read sutras', L877 *nom ungsi-* 'to recite the scripture'
ot qurol 'feed-pen (Turkic *ot* 'grass')' ← **qurol*, cf. L967 *qoriʔyl* 'enclosure for feeding livestock'
šaldan 'poor' ← B105 *šaltan* id., L750 *šaldang* 'nude, naked, bare'
semi '(Buddhist) temple' ← **semi*, S617 (Monguor) *smeen*, L743 *süme* id.

¹⁹ See: A. Róna-Tas, *The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loan Word in Chuvash*, *Researches in Altaic Languages*, Edited by L. Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 201–211.

²⁰ Róna-Tas derived both Yugur words from Tibetan **chur-ma* 'a kind of cheese or curd' (1962, 266). On the other hand, Kara regarded the Shira Yugur word as a borrowing from Sarig Yugur; cf. *Le dictionnaire étymologique et la langue mongole*, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18, 1965, 15. It should be noted that Tibetan *č'u-ra* is reflected directly in S247 (Monguor) *tquraa* (Baoan) *tqüra* 'curds'.

²¹ A. de Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les mongols du kansou occidental, III. Dictionnaire monguor-français* (Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie de l'Université Catholique, 1933), 48.

²² The word is originally Sanskrit *rasāyana* and also occurs in classical Uyghur *rasayan* (cf. *Drevnetjurkskij slovar*) [Edited by V. M. Nadelʒajev and others] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka". Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1969), 476). Here, the *a-* element of the Sarig Yugur form may be due to a perceived connection with a geographical name like J239 *Qara Su* 'black water'.

šivar 'musk deer' ← B105 *šabar*, S396 *šbar* id. (cf. C878 *yipar*)
tala 'field, plain, steppe' ← B115, S371, L771 *tala* id.

The immediate origins of certain Sarig Yugur words with Mongol counterparts are unclear. Some could be reflexes of originally Turkic words that have been borrowed into Mongol or reverse borrowings from Shira Yugur: *širix/širig* 'army' ? ← B136, S567 *čerag*, L173 *čerig* id. ← Turkic *čerig* id. (cf. C428); *taggan* 'parched wheat' ? ← B115 *talgan* id., L773 *talqan* 'powder, flour, meal, bread' ← Turkic *talkan* id. (cf. C496); *ča* 'tea' ? ← S559 *ča*, (Monguor, Santa, Baoan) *tça* id. ← Turkic (or Chinese) *čay* (cf. R95); and *čayla* 'to live < pass the time (with Turkic +*la*-)' ? ← S556 *čeg*, L156 *čay* 'time' ← Turkic *čağ* (cf. R95).

Chinese Elements. There is a substantial Chinese component in the Sarig Yugur lexicon that also is reflected in these recordings. This influence is due both to the cultural intermixture of Turks and Chinese in this area and to the modern sociopolitical realities. Not only is Chinese the official language of administration and education today, but nearly all of the Yugurs in Gansu are bilingual in Chinese and use this language as a *lingua franca* (cf. Tenishev 1962, 59–60).

Malov (1957, 5–6) pointed out that Chinese words are treated as an integral part of Sarig Yugur vocabulary, to the degree that such loans can be made into verbs with the Turkic suffix +*la*-: M73 *lotola* 'to speak rapidly, chatter (Chinese 羅嗦, *luosuo*)', M75 *maŋla-/maŋna-* 'to arrange, contrive (Chinese 忙, *mang*)', etc. This process is attested in these texts as well: 3 *šiefan-na-* 'to liberate (Chinese 解放, *jiefang*)' and 3 *baoweyla-* 'to encircle (Chinese 包圍, *baowei*)'. It also appears that the particle +*la* may be added to Chinese words, at least in 3 *šuyola* 'basically'. The following Chinese loans have been identified in these recordings:

baoweyla- 'to encircle (with Turkic +*la*-) ← 包圍 *baowei*, see above
ganbu 'cadre' ← 幹部 *ganbu*
goŋčan 'communist' ← 共產 *gongchan*
Goŋčandan 'Communist Party' ← 共產黨 *Gongchandang*
guojia 'country, state' ← 國家 *guojia*
šiefan-na- 'to liberate (with Turkic +*na*- < +*la*-)' ← 解放 *jiefang*, see above
šuyola 'basically' ← 主要 *zhuyao*
Maošušī 'Chairman Mao' ← 毛主席 *Mao zhuxi*
šian 'township' ← 鄉 *xiang*
ts'un 'village' ← 村 *cun*
xayzi 'lake' ← 海子 *haizi*
Xoŋjun 'Red Army' ← 紅軍 *Hongjun*
yaŋyaŋ 'all sorts of' ← 樣樣 *yangyang*
yuanlay 'originally' ← 原來 *yuanlai*

Other Lexical Elements. Other aspects of the vocabulary of these Sarig Yugur speakers command interest. Several of their Turkic words are not attested in the materials of Malov and Tenishev, including *gečir-* 'to live, to pass the time', *ır* 'upwards', and *mīnīya* 'thereupon, then', as well as the unique form *awut* 'all kinds of, variety < handful' and derivations *gezgiš* 'clothing', *išgiš* 'food and drink'. The origins of a few isolated words cannot be identified: *joo* 'while(?)', *time(?)*, and *jugla* 'never(?)'.

Among the lexical items that occur here and in the collections of Malov and Tenishev, several cannot be identified as certainly Turkic, Mongol, or Chinese in origin: *guy* 'pine tree', *qarmanyi* 'ancestors', *sowa* 'clan' (cf. S98 [Baoan] *sova* 'tribe, clan'), *xosi* 'all, both' (M137, T220: Chinese), and *yusi* 'bad'. At the same time, the Sarig Yugur words for certain domesticated animals appear in clipped forms: *či* 'camel' (C447 *tevey*), *gus* 'ox' (C120 *öküz*), and *jiŋen* 'donkey' (←Mo *eljiŋen*).

Glossary

In this glossary, nominals and verbals are cited in their stem or root forms and accompanied by references (s. = see) to their occurrences in other forms. Loanwords are marked as Mongol (Mo) or Chinese (Ch), with a few elements marked as Turkic (Tk) or Tibetan (Tib). Several comparisons for Mongol loanwords are cited from the language of the Lobnor Turks (Ln, after Malov 1956).

aga 1 older brother (Mo), M13 *aga*, T172 *aga/aya*, Ln79 *aya*, s. *gizaga*, *agīnī*
agīnī 1 brothers (Mo + Tk), M14, T173 *agīnī*, Ln80 *ayaine*, s. *aga*

ah- (= *ahl-*) 1 to take, M14, T171 *al-*

ahdon (< *ahldon*) 4 sixty, *a. bir* sixty-one, M14 *alton*, T172 *al'ton*

ahl- (= *ah-*) 1 to take

ahldī 1,3 six, 1 *diordon a.* 46, *yigirmi a.* 26, 3 *a.odīs* 26, *uğun a.* 36, M14 *alta/altī*,
 T172 *al'ti*

aġa 1 father (Mo), M19 *aġa*, T171 *aġa*, Ln88 *aġa*

alvatī 2 people, subjects (Mo), M14 *alvatī*, T171 *alva'ti* subject (to taxes)',
 Ln 84 *alvan/alman* 'tax', *alvanči* 'subject (to taxes)'

amtan 3 creature (Mo), T171 *amī'tan/amīl'tan*

ana 1 mother, M15, T172 *ana*

andaqanda (< *anday* 'thus' + *qilyanda* 'when done') 1 then, M63 *andaq qanda*,
 T235 *antaqqanta*, s. *andaqsa*

andan 3 from that, *a. soŋ* after that, recently, M16 *andan*, T172 *antan*

andanla (= *indanla*) 3 since then, after that, T172 *antanla*

andaqsa (< *anday* 'thus' + *qilya* 'doing') 3 and so, s. *andaqanda*

- ard* (= *Art*) 3 back, west, *a. oy* western steppe, M17, T173 *art*, s. *Ard Oy*, *Art Qiryaq*
Ard Oy 2 Lianhua, s. *ard*
ardinya 1 behind, M17 *artinya*, T173 *artiŋya*
arja 3 juniper (Mo), M17 *arča*, T173 *a'rča/harža*, Ln85 *arča/arša*
Art Qiryaq 3 Art Kirgak, s. *ard*
asra- 3 to raise, tend, take care of (Mo), M18 *asra-/asira-*, T180 *hasira-*, Ln86
asya-/asiya-
at 1,3 name, M19, T173 *at*
at- to throw (*aspectual verb*), M19, *at-*, T173 *a't-/at-/hat-*, s. *pal-yu-*, *tutdir-*
atīs- 3 to shoot one another, fight, T174 *a't'is-*
awut 2 all kinds of, variety < 'handful', M84 *oš*, T194 *oš'* 'palm of the hand' (cf.
C44 *adut*, with the dialect form *awut* 'handful' and variants of *avuč* 'palm')

- ba* (= *ma*) 4 emphatic particle
baoweyla- 3 to encircle (Ch + Tk + *la-*)
bar (= *var*) 1,2,3,4 there is, M21 *var*, 87 *par*, T195 *par/var*
bar- 1 to go along (also *aspectual verb*), M87 *par-*, T195 *par-/bar-*
bas 2 end < head, 3 head (*classifier*), M88 *pas/paš*, T195 *paš/pa's*
Bayangol 3 Bayangol, M90 *Peyan gol* locality west of Sakhkys, T195 *peyan*
rich (Mo)
bes 1 five, *yigirmi bes* 25, M91 *pes/piš/peš/bes*, T196 *pes/peš*
besinji 1 fifth, M92 *pisinči*, T196 *pesinži*
bezigi 1 oldest, s. *bezik*
bezik 1,2,3 big, 1 *b. aga* big brother, M89 *pezik*, T196 *pezek/pezik*
bišin (= *wišin*) 3 with, M94 *pušin/vušin/vošin/vešin/velin*, T197 *puzin/ozin/uzin*
biq 3 cap, *gizil b.* red caps, M91 *perk/perik/perük*, T198 *perik/perik*
bir 1,2,4 one, a, 4 *ahdon b.* 61, 1 *b'joo* a while(?), M91 *per*, 92 *pir*, T196 *per/pir*
birqan 1 image of the Buddha, M96 *pirqan*, 95 *purqan*, T198 *p'urqan/p'irqan*
biz (= *mis*) 3 we, M95 *piz/miz/mis*, T191 *mes/mis/miz*
bo (= *bu*) 2,3 this, M92 *po/pu*, 95 *pī*, T197 *pu*
bohdī (< *bo ohtnī*) 2 this grass
bol- (= *boo-*) 3 to become (also *aspectual verb*), M93 *pol-*, 20 *bol-*, 21 *vol-*, T196
pol-/bol-/vol-/ol-, s. *bopti*, *vapdro*
boo- (= *bol-*) 1 to become, *bir joo booyanda* after a while(?), M191 *voyanda*
bopti (< *bolip erdi*) 1, s. *bol-*
boyili (= *buyili*) 4 this year
bu (= *bo*) 2,3 this
buyili (= *boyili*) 1 this year

- ča* 4 tea (Mo?), M138, T177 *ča*
čayla- 3 to live (Mo? + Tk + *la-*), M139, Ln187 *čayla-*, T177 *ž'ayla-/žayla-*,
Ln188 *čag*, 187 *čayliq* 'belonging to time'

čaxba- (< *čabxa-* < *čap qal-*) 1 to cut, chop, root out, M140 *čap-* 'to root out',
tiken čap- 'to root out thornbush for firewood', T176 *zap-* 'to cut, chop,
 pull up', Ln189 *čap-* 'to chop, strike, beat'

Čeji-yaŋi 3 Cheji-Ghaji; name of original habitat according to Yugur legends,
 M102 *Sijo-Xaŋo*, T206 *Sizi|Šizi|Šizi-Xazi*, s. *Commentary* 3

či 4 camel, M118 *tü|te|či*, T222 *z'i|ti*

čoči- 1 to sit down, kneel down, M143 *čoči-/čoqu-/čoquy-/čöki-*, T222 *z'öki-/*
z'ük-/z'üke-/z'ükü-/zoqe-/zoqüy-, Ln192 *čök-* 'to kneel down (of camels)'
 (C413 *čök-* 'to kneel down (of camels)')

čormi 4 curds, cheese (Mo/Tib), M145 *čörme*, T222 *z'örme|č'örme*

daŋi 3 also, M110 *tago|taqi|taqa*, T211 *ta'qi|taŋe*

daŋila 3 also

daŋgar 4 in the morning, M112 *taŋgar|taŋŋar*, T211 *taŋgar*

dedi (= *didi*) 1,3 said, they say

deme 3 named, M119 *time*

deŋir 2 sky, M117 *teŋir|teŋre*, T212 *teŋer|teŋir*

depdro (< *tép turur*) 3 it is said

+*di* = +*dü* = +*du* s. *edi*

didi (= *dedi*) 1 said, they say

didro (< *téy turur*) 3 it is said

diordan (= *diordon*) 4 forty, *d. tohŋis* 49, M123 *törtön*, 24 *dürtön*, T214 *törtön*

dördinŋi 1 fourth, T214 *törtinzi*

diordon (= *diordan*) 1,3 forty, 1 *d. ahldi* 46, 3 *d. doŋis* 49, 4 *yüz d.* 140

dört 4 four, M123 *tört|türt|dürt*, T214 *t'ört|t'ort*

dise 3 as for

diyik (< *tégek*) 1 *men atqa* ... *diyik* 1 am named ...

do- 1 to be born, M119 *toŋ-tuŋ-*, 123 *tuy-* id., T214 *tuy-* 'to give birth to'

doŋis (= *tohŋis*) 2,3 nine, 3 *diordon d.* 49, M120 *toŋus|toŋis*, T213 *to'qis*

+*dro* s. **tur-*

dügeyde 3 at that time, formerly (Mo), M124 *tuyto|tuyti* 'in the old days, long
 ago, formerly; this word usually begins Yugur stories (Chinese *tou li*)', s.

düysinde

düysinde 3 formerly (Mo), s. *dugeyde*

edi (< *erdi*) 1,3 was

emes 3 is not

**er-* to be, s. **di*, *edi*, *emes*, +*ii*, *iir*

yaŋi 3 Ghaji, M134 *xaŋo|xaŋin|qaŋi*, T219 *Haŋi|Haŋi|Xazi*, s. *Čeji*.

gamuš 2 reed, M52 *gamış*

garašin 2 mineral spring (Mo)

çayaq 4 cream, M50, T199 *qayaq*
vidii- 1 to call out, cry, M62 *qide-*, T200 *qetee-/qite-* 'to call out, invite'
çiz 4 girl, daughter, M62, T201 *qiz*
çizaga 1 older sister (Tk + Mo), M62 *qiz-aya*, T172 *qiz aqa*, s. *aga*
çizil 3 red, M63, T201 *qizil*
Çizil biq 3 Red Caps, s. *Commentary* 3
çoy 2,3,4 sheep, M56, T200 *qoy*
Gumili 3 Gumili
çuz- 4 to pour, M60, T201 *quz-*
çuzi 3 down, M60 *quzi/qozu/çozi*, T201 *quzi/quzu*

ganbu 3 cadre (Ch)
ge- (< *gel-*) 2 to come, s. *gepdro*
geçir- 3 to pass, to live (cf. C698 *keçür-* id.)
gel- (= *kel-*) 3 to come (also *aspectual verb*), M65 *kel-*, T187 *kel-/gel-/kil-/ki-*, s. *un-gepdro* (< *kelip turur*) 3, s. *ge-*
gezgiş 4 clothing, cf. M65 *kezi/kezu/kezi*, T187 *kezi/kezi*
giniñde 1,2 formerly, before, T116,222 *qiniñte* 'basically' (Tenishev bases his definition on T201 *qin* 'root, base (Chinese)'; however, context requires the meaning 'formerly', which indicates that the root of *giniñde* is C724 *kén* 'behind, after')
giz 1 eyes, *gizi göru yoqdi* he was blind, M68 *köz/kös*, 70 *küz*, T187 *köz/küz*
goga = *gogi* 3 older brother (Mo), T188 *kuka* 'brother'
goñcan 3 communist (Ch)
Goñcandañ 3 Communist Party (Ch)
gör- 1 to see, M69 *kör-/kür-*, T187 *kör-*
guoñia 3 country, state (Ch)
gus 4 ox, M70 *kus/qus*, 81 *oqus* (Mountain Yugur), T189 *k'us/kus* (C120 *öküz* id.)
guy 3 pine tree, M71 *kuy* '(Mountain Yugur) spruce(?), fir(?), pine(?)'

hanı- 3 to run away (Mo), M135 *xanı-/xana-*, T180 *hana-/han(i)-*
horuu 4 empty, lacking (Mo), *h. yoq* not lacking

indanla (= *andanla*) 3 since then, after that
ini 1 younger brother, M154 *ini/ene/eni*, T220 *ini/inüy*, s. *agini*
ir 3 upward, *ir mañ-* to advance, M133 *ür/ürü* 'upward' (C197 *örü*), s. *irliş*
irimbooci 3 treasure (Mo/Tib), M26 *Erjerim Boçi* 'name of the Buddha'
irliş 2 tall, high, M84 *örlex/örliş*, 133 *ürlex*, T194 *örliş/örleg/yörleg/irliş*

içi 3 within, M32 *iç*, 33 *iş*, T181 *hiş/siş/şi*
içinde (= *işde*) 1 inside, in, M32 *içinte*
içinge 1 inside

+*i* s. *ür*

ür (< *erür*) 3 is

iš- (= *išti-*) 2,4 to drink, eat M33 *iš-/eč-/ič-*, T181 *ič'-/ič'-/i'č-/iš-/hiž-/hiž'-*

išde (= *ičinde*) 2 in, inside, M33 *gun ište* 'inside this'

işgiš 4 food, M33 *iške/iški/iški*, T209 *šikā*

iši- (= *iš-*) 3 to drink

izet- 1 to lead, 3 to show, M31 *izit-/izit-*, T220 *izit-* 'to send, let go'

jar 3 musk (Mo)

fers 3 name of a grass (Mo)

šiefanna- 3 to liberate (Ch + Tk + *la-*)

šigen 4 donkey (Mo), M29 *šigen*, T176 *zigin*

širig = *širix* 3 army, soldiers (Mo?), M142 *čeriy/čerig*, T221 *zereg/ziriy*, Ln190 *čelik*

šo 1 while(?), time(?), *bir š.* a while(?) (cf. L1026 *šai* 'space between, interval, time between; free time')

šorga 3 valley (Mo)

šoyingä 4 Joyingi, M30 *Joyingo* 'a locality around Yanchen'

šuyola 3 basically (Ch + Tk + *la particle*)

šügla 3 never(?) (? cf. M35 *yaq* 'no (negative used only in some cases, e.g. in refusing food or drink, *emphatic negative*), J149 *yaq* 'no', C869 *ya/yah* id.)

šünkin 2 name of a grass, M147 *čüngen* 'name of a grass, place where this grass grows', T175 *čünk'in/čünk'in/zünken/zühk'en* 'name of a grass; steppe, pasture, meadow' (cf. C423 *čimgen* 'meadow, peat', 421 *čim* 'peat')

Ke Zayyung 3 Ke Zaiyong

kel- (= *gel-*) 3 to come

kelin 4 bride, M66 *kel'in/kelin*, T188 *k'elin/k'elin/kelin*

kir- 1 to enter, M67 *ker-*, T189 *k'er-/kir-/k'ir-/qir-*

kisi 1,3,4 person, M67 *kisi/kise/kese*, T188 *k'isi*

kučal- (= *kušul-*) 2 to get strong (cf. C697 *küçel-*, citing Turkmen *güüşel-* 'to get strong'; other Turkic languages have formations from *küčle-* or *küče-* in the meaning of 'to get strong', cf. R306, C695,697)

kun (= *kün*) 3,4 days = life, M71 *kün/kun/xon*, T190 *k'ün/k'un*

kunts'en (< *kün sayin*) 1 everyday, M101 *kün säin*, T206 *k'unсен*

kušul- (= *kučal-*) 3 to get strong, fat

kün (= *kun*) 1 day

la 2,3 *emphatic particle*, s. *andanla*, *dağıla*, *indanla*, *šuyola*, *šügla*, *molei molei*
lom 2 sutra (Mo), *l. unšit-* to have someone read the sutras, M73 *lom* 'scripture',
 T190 *lom* 'book of Buddhist content'

ma 3,4 emphatic particle, s. *nimema*

mal 3,4 animals, M74, T191 *mal*

maŋ- 1,3 to go, 3 *ir m.* to advance, M75 *maŋ-*, T191 *maŋ-/mīŋ-*
Maoŋuši 3 Chairman Mao (Ch)

men 1,3,4 I, M76 *men*

mende 1,4 on me

meniŋ (= *meŋ*) 2,3 my

meŋ (= *meniŋ*) 4 my

mīnīya 1 thereupon, then

mīs (= *biz*) 4 we

molei molei 1 even farther(?), M77 *mo la . . . mo la* 'still . . . and still'

mula 1 child, 3 boy, M77 *mīa/mīla*, T192 *mula/mīla*

muŋus 3 horn, M77 *moŋus*, 78 *muŋīs/mus*, T192 *moŋīs*

nimema 3 anything, cf. T193 *nime ma oŋšimayantro* 'and he did not read anything at all'

oḏis 3 thirty, *ahldī o:* 26, M84 *oḏis/otus*, T194 *o'tīs*

oht (= *ot*) 4 grass, M83 *ot*, T201 *o't quran*, s. *bohdi*

ol 3 that, M81 *ol/ul*, T193 *ol/o/ö/vol/vu* 'he, she'

oŋyan (< *oŋlan*) 4 sons, M81 *oŋlan*, 82 *oŋyan/ulyan*, T217 *ulyan* 'youths, boys',

Ln 150 *oŋyan* 'son, young man', 199 *oŋlad/oŋlat* 'children'

olur- 1 to sit, M82 *olur-/olir-*, T193 *olir-/ulir-* 'to settle, live, be located'

ortasinda 2 in the middle of, M83 *orta/orto*, T181 *horta/ur'ta/u'rta* 'middle'

osī- 1 to pull(?) (cf. C241 *es-* 'to stretch (a rope), to pull', citing Tuva *es-* 'to pull (meat off a bone, a pot off the fire)', C248 *esin-* 'to pull on (a rope)')

ot (= *oht*) 3 grass, *ot qurol* feed-pen

oy 1 Minghua, 3 steppe, M81, T193 *oy* 'valley, steppe, plain, populated place', s.

Ard Oy

pal-yu- (< *payla-*) 1 to tie, *p. at-* 'to tie', M85 *payla-*, 86 *palya-*, T195 *palya-* 'to tie', 194 *payla-* 'to castrate (horse)' (the final *-u* is unclear)

pīrīn 3 fore, front, *pīrīŋa un-* to gain victory, M96 *pīrīn*, T199 *p'īrīn* 'former, previous' (C366 *burun* 'nose; preceding, previous')

poa- 1 to tie, M92 *poγ-*, T198 *p'oγ-/poγ-*

pudīγ 3 writing, M96 *pītiγ/pītiq/pīciγ*, T198 *p'utiγ/pītiγ*

**qal-* to stay (aspectual verb), M50 *qal-*, T202 *q'al-/qal-/xal-*, s. *qapdīi*, *qīšdī*

qapdīi (< *qalip erdī*) 1, M53 *qap-tro* < *qalip-turur*, s. **qal-*

qarliγ 3 snowy, M53 *qar* 'snow'

qarmanyī 3 ancestor, M53 *qarmanyī/qarmanyī*, 59 *qorman* 'old, previous', T199

qarmanyī 'ancestors'

qışdı = *qışdırı* (? < *qalıp erdi*) 2 *unşit q.*, *yaq [q]*., s. **qal-*
qızıy 2 shore, M62 *qızıy/qızıq*, T201 *qızıq* 'edge, shore'
gomış 2 a desert depression (cf. R229, C626 *kamış* 'ladle, spoon'; thus, 'a depression or hollow like that of a spoon?')
gorq- 3 to be afraid, to fear, M59 *gorq-*, T204 *q'u'rq-/qorh-*
qurol 3 enclosure, pen (Mo), *ot qurol* feed-pen (cf. M59 *gora* 'fenced yard',
 T201 *o't quran* 'barn for hay', Ln59 *goyo* < *gora* 'a wall of reeds to the
 left of the door in a reed hut' ← S366 (Ordos, Alashan, etc.) *xoroo*, L967
goriya/qoruya 'enclosure, courtyard')
qus 2 bird, M62 *qus/qos*, T204 *q'us/qus/qos*

sasıs 1,4 eight, 1 s. *yigirmi* 18, M99 *saqıs*, T206 *sekes/sak'ıs*
Sart 3 Sart = Chinese Hui Muslims, M100, T205 *sart* 'Dungans', s. *Com-*
mentary 2
semi 1,2 temple (Mo), M101 *seme/semey/semi/semii*, T206 *seme*
soη 3 after, *andan* s. after that, M104, T207 *soη*
soonda 1 after that, M104 *soηda*
sowa 3 clan, M103 *sova* 'bone (clan)', T207 *sova* 'clan, generation' (the con-
 nection of *sowa* to C838 *süñük* 'bone, clan', M104 *soηuk/simiq/sunug* 'bone,
 clan, generation', T207 *sumik/sumuk/sumik*, 208 *simiq* 'bone', is not a
 direct one; possibly *sowa* is a borrowing that has blended the meaning of
 the Turkic word due to similar phonetic shapes — note that this word is
 isolated in S98 (Baoan) *sova* 'tribe, clan')
söyin- 2 to be happy, M105 *söyön-/söyün-/söön-*, T207 *sön-*
söz 3 word, *Yuyur sözi* Yugur language, recently, M104 *söz/sös/süz*, T207 *söz/şoz*
su 2,3,4 water, M105 *su*
suyun 3 maral deer, M105 *suyun*, T207 *suyin* 'a kind of deer with large antlers'
sut 4 milk, M107 *süt/sut/söt/sot*, T208 *süt/söt/sut*

şaldan 3 poor (Mo)

şian 3 township (Ch)

şigi (= *şiki*) 1,4 two, M33 *iške*, T209 *şike/şiki/iški/şki*

şiginji = *şikinji* 1 second, M33 *işkenji/işkenji/işkenje/işkenjel*, T209 *şikenzi/*
şkinzi

şiki (= *şigi*) 1 two

şivar 3 musk deer (Mo), M153 *şivar* 'name of an object that reeks'

tay 3 mountain, M109 *tay*, T215 *t'ay/tay*

tala 1 field (Mo), M110 *tala*, T215 *t'ala/tala*, Ln168 *tala* 'steppe, field'

tagaan (< *talqan*) 4 parched wheat (Mo?), M110 *talqan*, T215 *t'alqan/t'aqan*,
 Ln 168 *talqan* (cf. Mannerheim 1911, 11: 'roasted wheaten flour is often
 mixed with tea')

tez- 3 to flee, T213 *teez-*

tikin 1 thornbush, M118 *tiken*, 119 *tikken*, T216 *t'iken*

toħəis (= *doħəis*) 4 nine, *diordan t.* 49

toq 1 obstacle, *toq bol-* to come upon, meet, M121 *toq pol-*, 124 *tuq pol-*, T196 *t'uq pol-*, M123 *tupla-* 'to find at home, to meet' (cf. C463 *toğ* 'obstacle, obstruction')

**tur-* to stand, s. +*dro*

tut- 1 to hold, 3 to capture, M126 *tut-*, T214 *tut-/t'ut-*

tutdīr- 1 to have someone hold, hand over, M126 *tuttur-/tuttir-*, T217 *t'uttur-*

ts'un 3 village (Ch)

un- 2,3 to come up, rise, 3 *pīringa un-* to gain victory, 3 *u. gel-* 'to move away'
M132 *ün-/on-/un-*, T218 *ün-/ün-/un-*

unšit- 2 to have someone read (Mo + Tk causative -*t-*), *lom u.* to have someone read the sutras, M130 *unšit-* 'to have someone read', *lom unši-* 'to recite a prayer', T193 *onši-/unši-/uṇši-* 'to read'

uqar- 2 to graze, M129 *qoy uqar-* 'to graze sheep', M81 *oqar-*, 83 *otqar-* 'to graze, pasture' (cf. C48 *otğar-* 'to pasture')

üjinji 1 third, M133 *üčünjü/üşünčö*, T218 *ü'čünzi/züžünzi*

üjun 3 thirty, *u. ahlđi* 36, M133 *üčon/üčön*, T218 *ü'čon/üžon/u'čon*

üş 1 three, M132 *uš/üş*, T218 *ü'č/üş/viš*

ülir- 3 to kill, *üirmečiliy u.* to kill as one would kill, M132 *ülür-*, T184 *yolür-/yulur-/yülür-/yülir-*

vapdro (< *bolip turur*) 3, s. *bol-*

var (= *bar*) 3 there is, M87, 21, T195 *par/var*

wišin (= *bišin*) 3 with

Xanningol 3 Khanninggol

xayzi 2 lake (Ch), M134 *xayzi* 'sea'

Xi Zixua 1 He Zihua

xosī 1,3 both, all (Ch?), M137 *xosa/xosan/xosin*, T220 *xosī/hosī/hosin*, M56 *qo* 'all'

Xonjun 3 Red Army (Ch)

yada- 3 (?), *sowa sowanī yayıya yadağa* 'clans became enemies with each other' (this translation was provided by the Sarig Yugur speaker, but the verb phrase *yayıya yada-* is otherwise unknown (cf. M34 *yayı bol-* 'to become enemies'); phonetically, *yada-* can be compared only with M38, T183

yata- 'to be unable, to not be in a position to', Ln116 *yada-* 'to get tired'
 ←S731 *yida-*, L422 *yada-* 'to have no strength . . . to be in need, to suffer, to be unable'; an example of the use of Mongol *yada-* as a transitive verb preceded by a noun with the definite object marker is cited by Henry Serruys: *Nančung kümün jolyaqu-yi yadaysan metü* 'Nanchung evidently had failed to meet with many people...' (The Mongol Verb *yada-* and Its Syntax, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, 1985, 221); a similar usage has been noted for its Monguor cognate (*ada-*): *Bu nieni yuuua adawa* 'I could not overtake this one by walking' (A. de Smedt—A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les mongols du kansou occidental, II. Grammaire*. Peking: The Catholic University, 1945, 143); in this light, *sowanī* could be the definite object of *yadaya* or of the phrase *yayīya yadaya* with a meaning something like '(clan) hated (clan)')

yay 4 butter, M34, T181 *yay*

yay- (= *yaq-*) 2 to rain, M34, T181 *yay-*

yayī 3 enemy, hostility, M34, T181 *yayī* 'hostility, quarrel, fight, war', s. *yada-*

yayīlas- 3 to fight with one another

yaymur 2 rain, M34, T181 *yaymür*

yaynaŋ 3 all sorts of (Ch)

yaq- (= *yay-*) 2 to rain

yaqa 2 south, M35 *yaxqa* 'name of all the mountains lying south of the Yugur steppe', T182 *ya'qa* 'south' (cf. C898 *yaqa* 'edge, frontier; collar')

yas 3 year (of age), M37 *yas*, T183 *yas/ya's*

yaxši 2,3,4 good, M38 *yaxši*, T183 *yaxši/yahši*

ye- 3 to eat, M38 *ye-*, T184 *yī-*

yed- (= *yit-*) 3 to reach, M39 *yet-/yit-*, T184 *ye't-/e't-/het-/hit-*

yer 2,4 place, 3 area, M39, T183 *yer*

yil 3,4 year (of calendar), M47 *yil*, 48 *yel*, T186 *yil/yel/zil*

yidigirma (< *yidi yigirmi*) 1 seventeen, Mannerheim 1911, p. 62: *žitigerma*

yigirmi 1 twenty, *sagis* y. 18, y. *šiki* 22, y. *bes* 25, y. *ahldi* 26, M40 *yigirmi/*

yigirma/yigirmi, T72 *yīyirmo/yīyirmo/zīyirmo*

yip 1 rope, M39 *yep/yip*, T175 *č'ip/še'p/šip/šip*

yit- (= *yed-*) 1 to reach

yol 3 road, M42, T185 *yol*

yoq 1,3,4 there is not, does not exist, M42 *yoq*, T185 *yoq/yoq'*, s. *yoqdī*, *yoqsidi*

yoqdī = *yoqdu* (< *yoq erdi*) 1, s. *edi*

yoqsidi (< *yoq kisi erdi*) 1 they were people with nothing = poor people

yuanlay 1 originally (Ch)

Yuyur 3 Yugur, M43 *yuyur/yoyur*, T184 *yoyur/yoyür* (M3, 43, 162: metathesis of *Uygur*, just as in M45 *yü* < *üy* 'home')

yusi 3 bad, M45 *yus* 'bad, evil' (cf. Clauson 881 *yavız* id.?)

yü (= yüy) 1,4 home, house, M45 yü/yüe/yu/jüe, T185 yü/yüy/yüö/iyo/šü
 yüy(= yü) 2,3 home, house
 yüz 4 hundred, y. diordon 140, M45 yüz/yöz/yuz, T186 yüs/yüz

Abbreviations

- B = Bulchilagu 1985
 C = Clauson 1972
 H = Hahn 1991
 J = Jarring 1964
 L = Lessing 1960
 M = Malov 1957
 R = Räsänen 1969
 S = Sun Zhu 1990
 T = Tenishev 1976
 Y = Yoshitake 1928–1930

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