

The Western Yugur (Yellow Uygur) Language.

Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary.

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One learns as long as one lives and still dies a fool
(Bulgarian proverb)

Preface

The Western Yugur (or Yellow Uygur) language is a Turkic language, spoken by a small community of some 4,600 people, living in the province of Gānsù in China. Western Yugur is an unwritten language. The Western Yugur are part of the Yugur nationality, one of China's 56 recognized nationalities.

This study presents a concise description of the grammar, a small corpus of texts, as well as a vocabulary with etymological notes.

The phonemic system of the Western Yugur language has eight vowels and twenty eight consonants. Obstruents display an opposition of aspiration versus non-aspiration, and affricates and fricatives between retroflexion and alveolo-palatality, as in Chinese. Also operating within the system as a distinguishing feature is the phenomenon of preaspiration. Vowel harmony, otherwise typical of the Turkic languages, is operative in a limited set of suffixes only.

The morphology of Western Yugur is based on agglutination by means of suffixes, as in other Turkic languages.

Nouns are inflected for number, possession, and case. The possessive system, however, has been abraded considerably. There are six cases; three spatial clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes. Western Yugur is the only Turkic language that has preserved the anticipating counting system to some extent.

Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood. In contrast to many other Turkic languages, Western Yugur does not have personal markers on the verb, except for the imperative. Several Western Yugur paradigms have grammaticalized the notion of evidentiality, reminiscent of the Tibetan verbal paradigm.

Thus, these paradigms comprise an evidential and a non-evidential form; the evidential expresses an action that happens without the speaker controlling it ('accidentally, it turned out that'), or an action that is non-volitional. The second and third person take the evidential form by default, and the first person the non-evidential form. Disjunct use of the evidential (e.g. a first person taking the evidential, or a second or third person taking the base form) marks special circumstances with regard to the control of the action by the speaker.

Furthermore, there are converbal and participle (nominalizing) suffixes. Suffixes expressing aktionsart usually have arisen as a fusion product of a converb and following verb.

The Western Yugur language can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern Turkic languages, a peripheral group that has retained some archaic features. Most notable are the retention in some way of Common Turkic **d*, and the correspondence between Western Yugur preaspiration, Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization, and Yakut short vowels, while absence of preaspiration and pharyngealization corresponds to Yakut long vowels.

Currently, Western Yugur is under strong influence of the Chinese language. There is a large influx of Chinese loanwords, at the expense of the vernacular lexicon and older Tibetan and Mongolic loanwords. Calquing from Chinese is frequent.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Yugur people

The Yugur ('Yellow Uyгур') are one of China's 56 officially recognized nationalities, consisting of 12,297 persons according to the 1990 census. The Yugur live primarily in Gānsù Province, in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County. This County, the capital of which is called Hóngwānsì Town, was established 20 February 1954, and is subordinate to Zhāngyè Prefecture. A small number of the Yugur live in Huángnǐbǎo Yugur Township, which is subordinate to Jiǔquán City. The Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County's area is about 24,007 square kilometres, and consists of three parts which are not contiguous: both Mínguā District, situated in the plains, and the mountainous Huángchéng District are separated from the main body of the County¹.

The total population of Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County numbers 35,500 people, about half of whom are Chinese; the Yugur people number 8,820, and the Tibetans 8,390; a small number of Hui, Monguor and Mongols are resident in this County as well. The Yugur living in Huángnǐbǎo Yugur Township number 924, constituting about half of the Township's total population of 1629².

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 groups are the Turkic speaking Western Yugur (in Chinese: Xībù Yùgù), comprising about 4,600³ persons; they mainly live in the western part of the County, in Dàhé and Mínguā Districts, especially within the latter's Míngǎi and Liánhuā Townships⁴. Míngǎi Township, which is the most isolated of the two, is considered to have preserved the Western Yugur language best; Liánhuā Township is situated closer to Jiǔquán City, where Chinese is spoken. An older name for Míngǎi is Dōnghǎizi ('Eastern Lake'), and for Liánhuā Xībǎizi ('Western Lake').

The Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur (in Chinese: Dōngbù Yùgù) number about 2,800⁵; they mainly live in the County's eastern part, in Hóngshíwō and Qīnglóng Townships in Kānglè District, and in Běitān and Dōngtān Townships in Huángchéng District⁶.

¹ Cf Yáng et al. 1993: 101-103.

² Figures from Yáng et al. 1993: 103, 581, based on the 1990 census.

³ 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.

⁴ Cf Tenišev 1976: 4, Chén & Léi 1985: 1.

⁵ Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1; Ĵunast 1981: 1 estimates that the number of Turkic, Mongolic and Chinese speaking Yugur is more or less equal. He does not account for the Tibetan speaking Yugur.

⁶ Cf Ĵunast 1981: 1; Tenišev 1976: 4 mentions Kānglè and Mǎtì Districts as main places of residence of the Eastern Yugur.

Population of the Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County

	total	Yugur	Chinese	Tibetan	Hui	Monguor	Mongol
total	35500	8825	16976	8393	614	356	316
Hóngwānsì	5637	1193	3568	754	48	38	24
Huángchéng							
Běitān	1504	456	818	168	49	2	11
Dōngtān	2052	578	1333	36	100	4	
Huájīān	1509	29	928	477	33	38	
Mǎyíng	650	419	215	16			
Yāngxiáng	1693	4	236	1340	11	101	1
Mǎtí							
Dàquángōu	1974	8	1442	524			
Dàdōumá	2034	21	1142	815	8	35	13
Xīshuǐ	1257	14	217	1004	20		2
Kānglè							
Báiyín	831	28	556	29	9		218
Hóngshíwō	1655	1156	404	45	4	8	38
Qīnglóng	1456	267	889	98	146	55	
Yánggē	524	380	108	24	11		1
Dàhé							
Jiǔcàigōu	1729	1103	561	28	32	1	4
Lǎmawān	1149	74	1038		29	8	
Shǔiguān	618	336	170	111	1		
Xuěquán	2306	618	1404	121	100	63	
Míng huā							
Míng hǎi	1052	1002	47	1			1
Lián huā	890	779	93	17			1
Qián tān	476	307	167	1		1	
Qí fēng							
Qí lián	1088	3	77	1007		1	
Qí lín	654	7	67	580			
Qí wén	1181	40	374	760	4	1	2
Qí qing	485		40	440	4		
nomads	1096	3	1082	6	5		

Distribution of the nationalities within Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County, according to its six Districts and their respective subordinate Townships (cf Yáng et al. 1993: 106).

A limited number of the Yugur living in Dàhé and Huángchéng Districts is bilingual in both Western and Eastern Yugur⁷.

A very small number of the Yugur living in Huángchéng District speak Tibetan⁸. They are most likely Tibetans who married into the Yugur community, especially into the Mongolic speaking part, as they consider themselves as belonging to the Eastern Yugur⁹.

The remaining Yugur of the Autonomous County, living mainly in Qiántān Township in Míngguā District and in Jīnzitān and Xīchéng Villages in Mǎyíng Township of Huángchéng District, and the Yugur of Huángnǐbǎo Yugur Township, lost their respective Yugur language and speak Chinese¹⁰. Chinese is the language of contact between the different linguistic groups, and functions as written medium. Both Western and Eastern Yugur are unwritten languages.

The Western Yugur's autonym is *yoyūr* or *sariy yoyūr* (*sariy* 'yellow', *yoyūr* 'Yugur'). It is uncertain whether the designation 'yellow' refers to the Buddhist-Lamaist religion, which the Yugur traditionally adhered to. The Western Yugur living in the plains of Míngguā District designate themselves as *oy kīsī* (*oy* 'steppe', *kīsī* 'person'), and they designate the Eastern Yugur as *thay kīsī* (*thay* 'mountain')¹¹. The Western Yugur call the Tibetans *taht*¹². The same designation *taht* is currently used for the the Eastern Yugur. The Western Yugur denote the language of the Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur as *ījkar*¹³. They call the Muslim Uyghur and Hui *sart*¹⁴.

The Eastern Yugur's autonym is *šera yɔɓɔr* (*šera* 'yellow', *yɔɓɔr* 'Yugur')¹⁵. The Mongolic speaking Yugur designated the Turkic speaking Yugur as *qara yögür*¹⁶ (*qara* 'black'), but this designation is not confirmed in modern sources.

The Tibetans considered the Yugur as Mongols, designating them as *hor*, the Turkic speaking Yugur as *hor (gur) nag* ('black (tent) Mongols'), and the Mongolic speaking Yugur as *hor (gur) ser* ('yellow (tent) Mongols')¹⁷.

⁷ Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1, Jūunast 1981: 1.

⁸ Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1; Tenišev 1962: 59-60, and 1965: 647 reports a total of 4000 Yugur, of whom 2000 Turkic, 1500 Mongolic, 400 Chinese, and 200 Tibetan speaking (figures of 1953); he mentions a place called Yugej, close to lake Kuku Nor as the place of residence of the latter.

⁹ Cf Tenišev 1962: 60.

¹⁰ Cf Tenišev 1976: 4, Chén & Léi 1985: 1, Jūunast 1981: 1.

¹¹ Tenišev 1976: 3 mentions the terms *oylīy* 'steppe dweller' and *thaylīy* 'mountain dweller'.

¹² Cf Tenišev 1976: 3, Chén & Léi 1985: 37; according to the latter, the Tibetan speaking Yugur are also designated by the term *taḥcoyur* < *taht yoyur*.

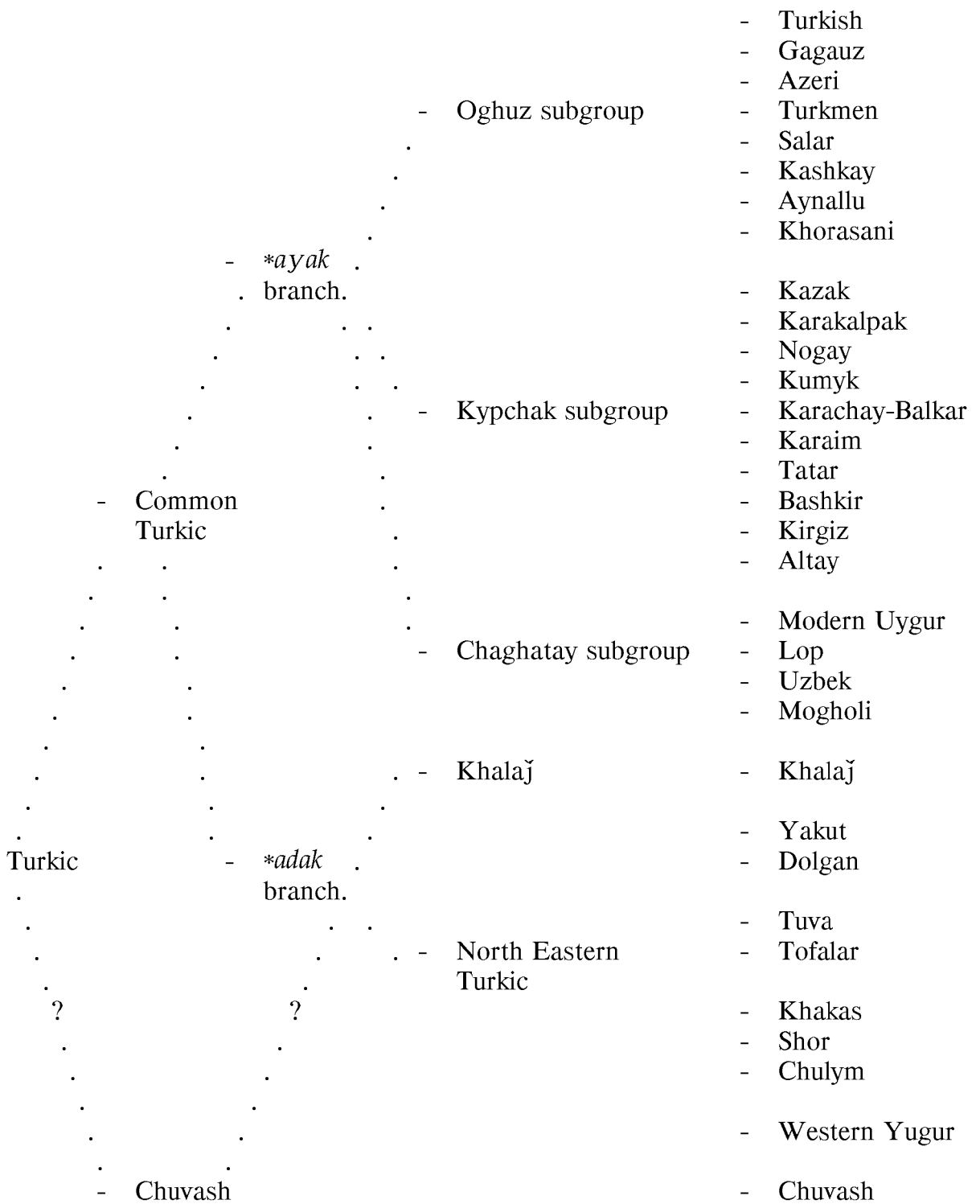
¹³ Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 2.

¹⁴ Malov 1957: 18a and Tenišev 1976: 3 mention the term *arīq* meaning 'Chinese; Muslim Turk'; it is more likely that *arīq* refers to the local Tibetan population and language, cf Literary Tibetan a-rig 'name of a country of nomad herdsmen situated to the west of Amdo' (Das 1991: 1346a).

¹⁵ Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 2.

¹⁶ Cf Potanin 1893: 440, Mannerheim 1911: 32, Hermanns 1940: 80; this ethnonymic problem is further discussed by Clark (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Hermanns 1940: 80; cf Western Yugur *Xor* (Tenišev 1962: 64) and Eastern Yugur *ᠬᠣᠷ* (Boščuluu 1984: 159) 'a Yugur clan name' < Literary Tibetan Hor 'a Mongol' (Jäschke 1958: 598a), 'a herdsman of Northern Tibet' (Das 1991: 1330a), Amdo Tibetan *Xor* 'Turk of Central Asia, Mongol' (Roerich 1958: 157), *hor* 'Monguor' (Mǐn & Gěng 1992: 486).



Classification of the Turkic languages.

An older Chinese name for the Yugur was Huángfān (huáng 'yellow', fān 'foreigner, barbarian')¹⁸. Today, the official designation of the nationality is Yugur (in Chinese: Yùgù), coined on the basis of the autonyms *yoyïr* and *УОБОР*.

It is difficult to determine when exactly the Western and Eastern Yugur peoples came to live together in the same area. The Western Yugur are considered to be the descendants of a group of Uygurs that fled southwards to Gānsù¹⁹ after the collapse of the Uygur Empire in 840 A.D. The Eastern Yugur are most likely the descendants of one of the Mongolic speaking groups invading northern China during the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century²⁰. During the Míng dynasty (1368-1644) the Gānsù area eventually came under the sovereignty of China, and the Western and Eastern Yugur peoples were settled on the border of the Chinese Empire. From this it may be conjectured that the Yugur people have been living together for about six centuries.

1.2. The Western Yugur language

1.2.1. The classification of Western Yugur

Western Yugur can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern Turkic languages, together with Khakas and its sister languages Shor and Chulym, Tuva and its sister language Tofalar, and Yakut and its sister language Dolgan. Together with Khalaĵ (and perhaps also Chuvash), the Northeastern Turkic languages constitute the **adak* branch of Turkic languages²¹. This branch is characterized by the retention of a reflex of Common Turkic²² **d*, either as *d* (Khalaĵ, Tuva and Tofalar), as *t* (Yakut and Dolgan), or as *z* (Western Yugur, Khakas, Shor, and Chulym)²³, as opposed to the **ayak* branch which developed Common Turkic **d > 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 subgroup²⁴ and Modern Uygur to the Chaghatay subgroup.

¹⁸ Cf Potanin 1893: 440, Mannerheim 1911: 5, Hermanns 1940: 80; this name is analogous to Hēifān (hēi 'black'), the designation for the Tibetans.

¹⁹ For the older history of the Uygur of Gānsù, cf Hamilton 1955, Pinks 1968, and Yang 1994.

²⁰ There is no linguistic evidence for Tenišev's assumption (1976: 3) that the Eastern Yugur are mongolized Turkic speakers, as Hermanns (1940: 80) already noted.

²¹ For the division of the Turkic languages in two main branches, **ayak* and **adak* Turkic (both meaning 'foot'), see Nauta 1989: 258-259. Though most classifications of the Turkic languages are roughly based on the one devised by Samoĭlovič in 1922 (cf Poppe 1965: 34), there is still no consensus and many items remain to be investigated.

²² Common Turkic is the traditional designation in Turkology for the reconstructed language to which all Turkic languages can be traced back, except the aberrant Chuvash (cf Poppe 1965: 33).

²³ Cf Räsänen 1960 for some examples of Western Yugur words containing *Z* <Common Turkic **d*.

²⁴ Cf Hahn 1988.

1.2.2. The status of Western Yugur

Western Yugur is spoken as a language of daily communication in Míngǎi and Liánhuā Townships of Mínguā District. Children learn Western Yugur at home as their first language, and Chinese is learned as a secondary language in primary school²⁵. In Hóngwānsì Town, the seat of the local administration, Chinese is in fact the language of daily usage.

The Yugur living in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County are mainly employed in animal husbandry. As the economical conditions are strenuous, young people try to find a living elsewhere. There are no compact language communities outside the County, and leaving the area implies that speaking Western Yugur as a language of daily communication is largely given up.

Outside the County, language retention is lower in men than in women. Women spontaneously shift to speaking Western Yugur, though switches between Yugur and Chinese occur frequently, whereas men prefer to speak Chinese. Children of mixed marriages usually learn Chinese, and not Western Yugur. Chinese functions as a secondary language throughout the Western Yugur language community, and its influence on Western Yugur is considerable.

1.3. Earlier research on the Yugur languages

The first to report on the languages of both the Western and Eastern Yugur were the explorers Potanin and Mannerheim. During his expedition in northern China in 1884-1886, Potanin recorded a small glossary of some 200 Western and 200 Eastern Yugur words, along with some short information on the administrative and geographical situation²⁶. Mannerheim visited the Yugur in 1907, during his 1906-1908 expedition through Central Asia and northern China. He collected more extensive information on the customs and material culture of the Yugur people. During his anthropological research he also took some craniometrical measurements, which are included in his article, besides pictures of landscapes, people, clothing and objects of daily usage. He recorded some 150 Western and 250 Eastern Yugur words (1911)²⁷.

The first linguist to visit the Yugur was Malov; during his linguistic expeditions in northern China in 1909-1911 and 1913-1915, he visited the Yugur at several occasions, in the periods of February-June, and October-December 1910, in January-March 1911, and from the end of August until mid December 1913²⁸.

²⁵ This information was pointed out to me by Mr. Zhōng Jīnwén. There is no information available on the status of the language in Dàhé and Huángchéng Districts.

²⁶ Cf Potanin 1893: 440-444 (volume I) for his his travel account, and 1893: 435-437 (volume II) for the Western Yugur vocabulary; the Eastern Yugur words are included in the Mongolian vocabulary section. Potanin's Western Yugur language materials are discussed by Clark (forthcoming).

²⁷ Reviewed by Malov 1912c, in which some of Mannerheim's words are corrected, e.g. *turvaq* meaning 'earth', not 'horse'. The mistake apparently arose from a confusion of Chinese *mǎ* 'horse' and Finnish *maa* 'earth'.

²⁸ Cf Malov 1967: 5.

During his research he made recordings by means of a phonograph. The 76 wax rolls with the recordings from his first expedition to Xīnjiāng and Gānsù are kept in the archives of the Institute of Russian Literature in Saint Petersburg²⁹. Malov collected mainly materials on Western Yugur, a part of which were published in several articles³⁰. It was only in 1957 when his first monograph was published, comprising a vocabulary of more than 5500 words and small grammatical sketch, followed by the second volume in 1967 dealing with his rich collection of texts of diverse content. Both monographs were published with the assistance of Malov's student Teniřev. The eventual publication of his materials was impelled by a sense of scholarly competition, since by this time, Chinese scholars had started to research the Western Yugur language (see below).

Hermanns, who as a missionary of the Roman Catholic congregation *Societas Verbi Divini* (founded in 1875 in Steyl in the Netherlands) was mainly active among the Tibetans of the Amdo region in the 1930s, provided some information on the culture and religion of the Western Yugur, including a small number of texts (Hermanns 1940-1941). He was also the first to collect an extensive comparative vocabulary of both Western and Eastern Yugur (Hermanns 1951), containing some 750 words of both languages. His language materials, however, are presented in a rather distorting orthography³¹.

A short survey of the Western Yugur language was compiled by Thomsen for the *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (1959).

In the late 1950s several Sino-Russian research expeditions were organized in Gānsù and Qīnghǎi Provinces; the language materials collected were published in subsequent years. The main participants researching the Western Yugur language were the Russian linguist Teniřev, and the Chinese linguists Chén and his wife Léi. Malov's vocabulary, which had just been published, 'facilitated the field work considerably'³².

Teniřev visited the Western Yugur during three weeks in July 1958, together with a Chinese linguist of the Institute of Nationality Languages, who wrote down most of the texts. In his travel report, Teniřev indicates that the research team consisted of himself, and four students and a staff member of the Institute of Nationality Languages, none of whom are mentioned by name, however. In fact, this linguist was Chén, and Léi was one of the other participants. Teniřev himself collected one Western Yugur tale and eight songs, together with some Eastern Yugur words. In all, the Western Yugur material from the expedition amounted to 110 pages of texts.

²⁹ Numbered FV 2926-3001.

³⁰ Malov 1912, 1912a, 1914; these articles do not include Western Yugur language samples.

³¹ Note for example the inconsistent use of *r* for *ɽ* [ʁ], e.g. *yirax* ~ *yirax* for *yíyax* 'wood', while *ɽ* is also used for [ʒ], e.g. *sartax* for *řaztīy* 'wife', and of *X* representing [X], [ř] and [ks], e.g. *Xe* ~ *kse* for *kīsī* 'person', and *taŋxa* for *tħaŋša* 'advise'. Nouns are often suffixed with the evidential particle *dro* ~ *ter*, and verbs mostly appear in the first person plural of the imperative. Word boundaries are often incorrectly noted, e.g. *būriö* for *pīr yū* 'one house', *Xsegaip̄ter* 'guest', actually *kīsī kiptī* 'a person came', and *bu dox d'asine* 'to write' for *pīhtīy tīzinī* 'let's write letters'. Some Western and Eastern Yugur words seem to have been switched, e.g. *tarden* 'wolf' is noted as an Eastern Yugur instead of a Western Yugur word.

³² Cf Teniřev's travel report (1961: 183).

The first publication to appear from this expedition was an article by Tenišev on the Yugur clan names (1962), and a short survey of both Western and Eastern Yugur, jointly edited by Tenišev and Todaeva (1966). A more detailed monograph on Western Yugur, consisting of a grammar, vocabulary (some 2250 words) and texts was published by Tenišev in 1976, followed by a small article on Mongolic loanwords in Western Yugur (1976a).

Apparently due to political circumstances, it was only in the 1980s that the Chinese participants of the 1958 expedition started to publish on these languages. Chén and Léi jointly published a grammar with vocabulary (some 1000 words) of Western Yugur (1985)³³. Chén wrote a substantial number of articles on this language³⁴, among which a treatise on preaspiration, and Léi conducted a comparative study of Western Yugur and Modern Uygur (1992a).

A Western Yugur-Chinese dictionary, containing some 7000 words was compiled by Léi³⁵. It may not be surprising that the data in these recent Russian and Chinese publications show a considerable amount of overlap. No reference, however, is made to Tenišev's 1976 publication³⁶. It should further be noted that Léi also included language materials from Malov in her dictionary without stating so explicitly.

An article on Western Yugur kinship terms was prepared by Wú (1992).

A concise article on the Western Yugur language was prepared by Gěng and Clark (1992-1993), including a small number of texts collected by Gěng³⁷.

An article dealing with Yugur proverbs, excerpted from the older sources as well as recently collected ones, is to be published by Roos, Nugteren and Zhōng.

³³ Reviewed by Hahn 1987.

³⁴ Chén 1982 and 1987 constitute an overview of the Western Yugur language; Chén 1985 deals with Chinese loanwords in Western Yugur, and Chén 1986 with preaspiration in Western Yugur; in Chén 1992 and 1993 some words from the Dīvān Lugāt at-Turk that have survived in Western Yugur are discussed; Chén 1994 discusses a number of religious terms.

³⁵ Léi 1992, proofread by Chén, reviewed by Hahn 1994, Roos 1994, and Dwyer 1995.

³⁶ The interpretation and translation of some words in Tenišev that are erroneous, however, are corrected in Léi. *kītik* 'rooster' (Tenišev 1976: 188b) is correctly translated as 'puppy' in Léi 1992: 147. *popesīn al=* 'to ask pardon' (Tenišev 1976: 171b, 241b), should be 'to take his treasure' (*pope* 'treasure' + POS3ACC), from Chinese *bǎobèi* 'treasure' (Léi 1992: 62a). *sōk perek* 'kidney' (Tenišev 1976: 175b, 245), is in fact a compound *ōhkpe erek* 'internal organs' (*ōhkpe* 'lung', *erek* 'heart') (Chén & Léi 1985: 103); the *s* is a reflex of preaspiration. The analysis of the form *perek* by 'kidney' may have been inspired by forms like Khakas *pūrek*, actually < **bōgūrek* <CT **bōgūr* 'kidney' + a denominal noun suffix -Ak. The Western Yugur word for 'kidney' is *phēyūr*. *sawu* 'pancake' (Tenišev 1976: 210b) is an incorrect derivation of *sawune* 'relentless' (cf Tenišev 1976: 251 and Léi 1992: 240b).

³⁷ The transcription of the texts, however, is not quite accurate. Some items presented as new findings (cf Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 213) can be analyzed differently, e.g. *mīniya* 'then' consists of *mīni* 'this' (ACC) + the clause particle *-ya*; *awut* 'all kinds of' is the first part of a compound *awut qus*, to be read as *añit* 'a species of duck' + *qus* 'bird'. *horuu* 'lacking' (Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 211) is a converb in *-v* from *hora=* 'to lack'; *qomiš* 'desert depression' (Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 219) should be analysed as *qhom* 'sand' followed by the clitic *-(i)ški* 'into'.

A short encyclopaedic article on the Yugur people and culture was compiled by Tenišev in 1965, and in China two small monographs appeared, dealing with the culture (Fán 1986) and history of the Yugur (Lí 1983). A synopsis of Yugur studies was published by Zhōng (1995), containing an extended bibliography. Zhōng also wrote an article on shamanistic elements in Yugur folktales (1995a), provided with linguistic notes (Zhōng & Roos 1997).

The Eastern Yugur materials are less extensive. Kotwicz (1950) compiled an article on the Eastern Yugur materials collected by Potanin, Mannerheim and Malov. Apart from some 350 Eastern Yugur words, Malov also noted down a song. Ĵuunast published a concise grammar with vocabulary of Eastern Yugur (1981)³⁸, as well as a short article (1987), and Bolčuluu (1984) compiled an Eastern Yugur vocabulary of some 3750 words. Bolčuluu and Ĵalcan together published a collection of texts (1988) and a grammar (1990). To this can be added the Eastern Yugur materials included in the Mongolic dictionary by Sūn (1990). Róna-Tas (1962) conducted research on some Tibetan loanwords in Eastern Yugur, based on the older language materials.

Finally, two etymological studies of the Turkic and Mongolic, and the Tibetan loanwords in Western and Eastern Yugur, also based on the earlier published language materials were prepared by Nugteren and Roos (1996, 1998).

There is no information available on the language of the Tibetan and Chinese speaking Yugur.

1.4. The present research

The present research is based on two periods of recording. The first recordings were made in August 1994 with Mr. Zhōng Jīnwén (*qoŋil yakħir*), native speaker of Western Yugur, when he visited Germany and the Netherlands. Mr. Zhōng was born in 1963 in Liánhuā; he has been living in Běijīng for 14 years, and is currently employed as a deputy research fellow within the Institute of Literature and Arts of the Central University for Nationalities. Throughout my research, Mr. Zhōng was my main source of information, with whom I could carefully check and discuss all tape recordings.

In August and September 1995, I was able to conduct more extensive research in China. As the Sūnán Yugur Autonomous County unexpectedly remained closed to foreigners, all recordings had to take place outside the County, in Zhāngyé, Lánzhōu, and Běijīng.

Several people were interviewed by means of an elicitation list (vocabulary and grammar):

Mr. Hè Xīyuán³⁹ (*xoraŋqat serin-tonçip*), born in Liánhuā, and Mr. Suǒ Guǒwěi (*soqalīy inçin-torçī*), born in Míngǎi, now both in their fifties, were recorded in Zhāngyé. They are both employed as leading cadre in Hóngwānsì. Mr. Hè Xīyuán, who had also been detached in Dàhé District, provided me with some words typical of Dàhé speech;

³⁸ Reviewed by Hahn 1987a.

³⁹ Mr. Hè Xīyuán was also interviewed by Gěng, cf Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 194.

Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi (*coŋil norcis*), born in 1965 in Liánhuā, was recorded in Lánzhōu, where she has been living since 1983, and is now working as a teacher;

Mrs. Hè Yínxìng (*xoraŋqat insiqcis*), born in 1960 in Liánhuā, was recorded in Běijīng, where she has been living since 1981, and is working as a singer within the Central Song and Dance Ensemble of Nationalities.

Miss Xuèlián (*khunçis*) is a young *lomaqçi* (storyteller) who learned many folk tales from her grandparents. She was born in 1977 in Liánhuā, and spend her holidays in Míngǎi with her family. She has been living in Běijīng since 1993. She told me four tales, and taught me two recipes. She also provided me with some words typical of Míngǎi speech.

All other tales presented here were recorded on tape by Mr. Zhōng in 1992 from speakers living within Míngǎi District, and generously put at my disposal by him. The storytellers are all women in their fifties: Mrs. Guō Jīnlán (*qoŋirat nayiq̄tay*), elder sister of Mr. Zhōng, Mrs. Ān Xiūzhēng, mother of Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi, originally from Míngǎi, and Mrs. Zhōng Yùzhēn.

Though several linguists, Malov, Tenišev, and Chén and Léi, have researched the Western Yugur language, it appears that they all differed considerably in their phonological and grammatical interpretations.

Malov lacks a number of phonemically distinctive features, and his grammatical section is limited⁴⁰.

Tenišev contains a lot of inconsistencies and erroneous interpretations in the reading of his texts, thus giving rise to a number of ghost words and incorrect translations⁴¹. In his grammatical section, he fails to recognize the role of the evidential.

Chén and Léi are accurate in distinguishing all the phonemic distinctions, though they put considerable weight on Chinese phonetics. However, it appears that their publications, even the most recent ones, do not match today's speech, and that they do not account for a great number of changes that have taken place in the language.

⁴⁰ E.g. the distinctive features of aspiration and preaspiration are lacking; the allophonic feature of voice of the plosives and affricates is transcribed as phonemic and the voiced allophones of *k* and *q* are rendered by means of the fricative graphemes *ʃ* and *ʒ*. Furthermore, Malov does not consider the velar and the uvular plosives as phonemes but interprets them as allophones, nor does he make a distinction between the retroflex versus alveolo-palatal affricates and sibilants, or between *h* and *x*.

⁴¹ E.g. *çaŋq̄iftpaq̄h* 'hobble' (Tenišev 1976: 176a, 230) should be translated as *ça^hq̄irt^hpaq̄h* 'Chinese iris' (Léi 1992: 284a), *ʃorʃo^hç̄in* 'fly swatter' (Tenišev 1976: 210a, 252) as 'ant', *pra* 'wedding kerchief' (Tenišev 1976: 252) as *p̄ira* 'conch'. *ara=* (Tenišev 1976: 173b, 254) and *χra=* (Tenišev 1976: 219b) 'to look for, search' are a misinterpretation of *qara=* 'to look'. The translation of *ʃu* 'that' (Tenišev 1976: 78, perhaps inspired by Turkish *ʃu* 'that') or even 'small' (interpreted as a Chinese loanword *xiǎo* 'small' (Tenišev 1976: 210a)) are incorrect readings of *uʃ* 'three'. *χuqar=* 'to look well after' (Tenišev 1976: 250) should be read as *o^hqar=* 'to pasture livestock', and not be analysed as a contraction of *χu qara=* (*χu* is erroneously interpreted as a Chinese loanword *hǎo* 'good'). *uɣur haç̄iye* 'herd of mares' (Tenišev 1976: 273), 'herd of stallions' (Tenišev 1976: 179) should be read as *uɣ̄ir aht̄iʃki* 'into the herd of horses', and is not a Mongolic loanword. The phrase *ž̄iŋkesin qhanahte* 'I saw her relative' (Tenišev 1976: 232) is to be read as *yiq̄n̄i s̄iŋq̄han̄iht̄i* 'the needle has broken'.

At the moment the Western Yugur language changes rapidly, not only when comparing the older literature with today's speech, but even when comparing the speech of older and younger speakers.

The most salient phonetic changes are the raising of *e* to *i* and, similarly, of *ö* to *ü*. Older speakers retain *e* in far more instances than younger speakers. Furthermore, numerous contractions and crases (here: a contraction involving more than one word) can be noted⁴², and irregular variant forms occur⁴³. Idiolectal pronunciations are frequent⁴⁴.

In the lexical field, specific terms are lost⁴⁵, and a large influx of Chinese loanwords, both established and nonce loans can be noted⁴⁶.

This study presents first a grammatical description of the Western Yugur language. Special attention will be paid to historical developments, notably the vowel shifts which led to the deterioration of the vowel harmonic system (which is otherwise considered typical of Turkic languages), and the role of preaspiration, which links Western Yugur to Tuva and Tofa, languages which have the corresponding feature of pharyngealization.

As for the morphology, it can be noted that suffixes marking person are lost and replaced by analytic structures: the Western Yugur system of possessive noun suffixes is reduced considerably compared to other Turkic languages, and the system of subject marking on the verb was lost completely, though Western Yugur developed a dichotomy, based on evidentiality, in the verbal paradigm to distinguish between the first person on the one hand and the second and third on the other.

The second part of this study consists of Western Yugur texts with interlinear and English translation. These texts form the main body of this research.

The last part consists of an etymological vocabulary.

⁴² Some contractions and crases are already noted in the older sources, e.g. *qarq* 'nose' < *qarjir̥iq*, *mos* 'horn' < *moj̥is*, *antaqanta* 'then' < *antay qilyanta* 'when doing like that'; others seem to be recent, e.g. *qhar*= ~ *qhay̥ir*= 'to bake', *khazaq* 'the foot end of the kang' < *khay̥ azaq*, *üsi* 'its upside' < *üzisi*.

⁴³ E.g. younger people pronounce *tahq*= 'to find' for older speakers *tahp*=, and *qhanaq* 'wing' for *qhanat*. The irregular form *qolanqe* 'rainbow' has replaced *solanqa*.

⁴⁴ E.g. Xuělián pronounces *khun̥sin* 'every day' for *khun̥sin*, *tuaš̥i* 'very' for *quaš̥i*, *uzin* 'with' for *učin*, *qurziq* 'tail' for *quzir̥iq*, and *qhowan* 'pig' for *qhawan*, and Mr. Zhōng *mion* 'neck' for *moyn*, *uliy̥* 'hand' for *il̥iy̥*, and *qilas̥* 'reed' for *qil̥is̥*. Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi pronounces *ü^hker* 'friend' for *nü^hker*, *örin* 'man' for *yerin*, *öyin* 'nephew' for *iyin*, *conay* ~ *coyun* 'bee' for *cona*.

⁴⁵ E.g. the anticipating counting system is known until the number 30 by older speakers, but only until the number 20 by younger speakers; the word *oya* 'egg' (cf Léi 1992: 36a) has been replaced by the Chinese loanword *çitan*.

⁴⁶ Though in careful speech, the influence of Chinese is less noted, as Xuělián pointed out to me. Text № 2, which she word for word dictated to me, contains only few established loans from Chinese, and no nonce loans. Of the vocabulary items collected in this study, about 60% of the words is of Turkic and about 15% of Chinese origin, 15% is of mixed, unclear or unknown etymology, 9% of Mongolic and 1% of Tibetan etymology. There are also a few words of Arabic and Iranian origin.

2. Phonetics and phonology

2.1. Vowels

Western Yugur has eight vowels *i e ĩ a ü ö u o*, which can be divided according to the three oppositions of palatality, opening, and rounding. The vowels occur in all positions in the word, but the occurrence of rounded vowels is restricted beyond the first syllable.

	front	rounded	back	rounded
high	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>u</i>
non-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>

Vowel phonemes of Western Yugur.

2.1.1. The phoneme /i/ is realized as a closed high front unrounded vowel [i]; /i/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *ĩht* 'meat', *khip* 'custom', *ahti* 'small', *ĩhtikti=* 'to carry in one's skirt'.

2.1.2. The phoneme /e/ is realized as a closed mid front unrounded vowel [e]; /e/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *eht=* 'to arrive', *sen* 'you', *pezik* 'big', *temir* 'iron', *çhoqe=* 'to sit', *semen* 'food', *theke* 'male goat', *kheleke* 'shade'.

The phoneme /e/ is now in the process of merging with /i/, as its pronunciation [e] by more and more speakers, especially the younger generations, is being raised to [i], e.g. *kehp* ~ *kĩhp* 'much, many', *çhe* ~ *çhi* 'camel', *eht=* ~ *ĩht=* 'to reach', *ehrkək* ~ *ehrkik* 'male', *thejilik* ~ *thijilik* 'blind'¹.

The pronunciation [e] is usually retained when /e/ precedes *r l ʏ ŋ* or follows *s*, consonants that are either pronounced in the velar region (*ʏ ŋ*) or contain a velar element like retroflexion (*r, s*) or velarization (*l*), e.g. *kel=* 'to come', *phəy* 'chief', *mey* 'my', *naɣse* 'what to do?', *ezer* 'saddle', *ewer* 'ghost'.

The raising of [e] to [i] can be noted morphologically in the word *kel=* 'to come' when *-l* is dropped (see 6.2.1.), e.g. *kel* ~ *ki* 'come!'

2.1.3. The phoneme /ĩ/ is realized as an open high back unrounded vowel [ĩ]; /ĩ/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *ĩst* 'dog', *pĩt* 'leg', *tĩhk=* 'to sow', *tĩrlĩ=* 'to revive', *kuziyĩ* 'husband'.

Near *q*, as in e.g. *tahqĩ* 'yet', *qĩhrq=* 'to shave', *qĩhqĩr=* 'to shout', /ĩ/ tends to be pronounced lower², approaching [a].

¹ Apparently the raising of *e > i* is a very modern process. It is noted by Malov in very few words only (e.g. *pĩs* 'five') and not at all in suffixes; it is indicated briefly by Tenišev, Chén and Léi.

² In the literature variants with *a* appear in *qïhqiïr*= (see the vocabulary section).

The /i/ in the noun *ĩs* 'inside' and the verb *ĩs*= 'to drink' morphologically becomes /i/ when a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, e.g. *ihcinti* 'in it', *ihci* 'drinking' (see further 3.1.3.).

2.1.4. The phoneme /a/ is realized as an open low back unrounded vowel [a]; /a/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *at* 'name', *ah̄t* 'horse', *thar* 'narrow', *qhulaq* 'ear', *payaca* 'bucket'.

The phoneme /a/ is realized as an open low front unrounded vowel [ɛ] when following a palatal consonant *y ç ç^h s* and preceding *n*, e.g. *yan* 'side' [yɛn], *marcan* 'coral' [marçɛn].

Furthermore, [ɛ] occurs as an allophone of /a/ in the sequence /ay/, e.g. *yay* ~ *e* 'summer', *qhaynaq* ~ *qhenaq* 'ox'. Note also *ay* 'moon; month', but *pïr e* 'January', a compound consisting of *pïr* 'one', and *ay* 'month'³.

2.1.5. The phoneme /ü/ is realized as an open high front rounded vowel [y̥]; /ü/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *üñkpi* 'lung', *kük* 'blue', *cüümü*= 'to pluck'. However, the occurrence of /ü/ beyond the first syllable is restricted (see 2.1.10.).

2.1.6. The phoneme /ö/ is realized as an open mid front rounded vowel [y̥], or as a closed mid front rounded vowel [ö]. Except for a few words (see 2.1.10.), /ö/ does not occur beyond the first syllable, e.g. *örçi* 'things', *köhp* 'much, many', *köz* 'eye', *köztı*= 'to appear as', *söz* 'word', *tös* 'chest', *khöm*= 'to bury'.

Congruently to /e/, the phoneme /ö/ too is now in the process of being raised, as its pronunciation [y̥ ~ ö] is shifting to [y̥], e.g. *kös*= ~ *küs*= 'to migrate', *kök* ~ *kük* 'blue', *örek* ~ *yürük* 'heart', *köhkis* ~ *kühkis* 'loin'.

Raising is rare when /ö/ precedes *r l ɲ*, e.g. *kör*= 'to see', *khöl* 'lake', *köñil* 'heart, emotion'.

In the following words, an alternation of /e/ and /ö/ occurs⁴, depending on the speaker: *köhp* ~ *keh̄p* (~ *kih̄p*) 'much, many', *thörin* ~ *therin* '(at) midnight' and the idiolectal *yörin* 'man' for *yerin*, and *öyin* 'nephew' for *eyin* ~ (*iyin*).

2.1.7. The phoneme /u/ is realized as an open high back rounded vowel [u̥]; /u/ occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. *un*= 'to come out', *uhk*= 'to fly', *khul*= 'to laugh', *qhantampu* 'terrific', *şuku* 'goat'. However, the occurrence of /u/ beyond the first syllable is restricted (see 2.1.10.).

The /u/ in *us* 'three' morphologically becomes /ü/ in the following instances: *ühcüz* 'three hundred', and *ühcüsi* 'the three of them' (see further 3.1.7.).

Near *q*, the /u/ in the completive suffix *-uh̄t* (see 6.3.1.) is lowered to [ɔ], compare e.g. *ah̄cuht*= 'to open', and *sïh̄qoh̄t*= 'to squeeze out'.

³ In a number of words, e.g. *çhoqe*= 'to sit', *tale* 'sea', *maqhe* 'camel foal', the phone [ɛ] has no currently attested variant [aY], but as these words are back-vocalic, the front vowel [ɛ] can be assumed to have arisen from a historical sequence [aY] (see further 3.1.35.).

⁴ For other examples from the literature, see the vocabulary entries *khemzi*, *khempis*, *kheleke*,

khəjər, pezik, pheyir, pherik, khöm=, khömir, örli=, örliy, törtiy; see also 3.1.29.

2.1.8. The phoneme /o/ is realized as an open mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. Except for a few words (see 2.1.10.), /o/ does not occur beyond the first syllable, e.g. *ot* 'fire', *oht* 'grass', *qol* 'arm', *phorn* 'before'.

Raising of [ɔ] to [ʊ] can be noted morphologically in *pol=* 'to be, to become' when -l is dropped (see 6.2.1.), e.g. the past tense *pottī* ~ *puttī* 'became'.

2.1.9. The status of the closed mid back rounded vowel [o], transcribed here as *ʊ*, is difficult to determine. *ʊ* occurs in few words only: *çʊ* 'Lhasa', *qharʊ* 'letter', *kvkhe* 'pancake' (all loanwords), and *kʊ* 'this, that, s/he, it'; *ʊ* occurs as the result of a contraction in *vka* < *awaka* 'grandfather'; *ʊ* also occurs in the following suffixes: the vocative case -*v*, the simultaneous converb -*v*, the tense auxiliary -*v*, the progressive -*vtī*, the evidential particle -*trʊ*, and in the stressed variants -*tʊ* and *mʊ* of the evidential particle -*tī* and the question particle *mī*.

The demonstrative *kʊ*, the converb -*v* and the progressive -*vtī* have an allophonic open high back rounded vowel [ʊ] occurring in free variation; the declensional forms of *kʊ* have either /u/, as in *kunij* 'of him/her', or /o/, as in *koya* 'to him/her'.

2.1.10. The occurrence of rounded vowels is restricted beyond the first syllable.

Rounded high vowels beyond the first syllable usually require a rounded vowel in the first syllable, e.g. *şuku* 'goat', *uzun* 'long', *thutuqus* 'peacock'.

Rounded high vowels beyond the first syllable often have unrounded alternants, e.g. *örçü* ~ *örçi* 'stuff', *çümü=* ~ *çümi=* 'to pluck', *oçul* ~ *oçil* 'son', *untur=* ~ *untir=* 'to take out', *qhulum* ~ *qhulim* 'foal'.

The following words have a rounded vowel beyond the first syllable that is not preceded by a rounded vowel in the first syllable: *qhantampu* 'terrific', *azur* 'a bit', *antur* 'that much', *niçor* 'how much', *niyor* 'how', *pihtior* 'quite', *kvyoq* 'not done, inconceivable', *aşköz* 'mosquito', *qharʊ* 'letter'.

Furthermore, the following suffixes have a rounded vowel: the vocative case -*v*, the simultaneous converb -*v*, the tense auxiliary -*v*, the progressive -*vtī*, and the completive suffix -*uht*.

2.1.11. High vowels preceding a sibilant tend to be reduced and whispered (devoiced) in initial position, as in e.g. *iskinni=* 'to scrape with the hoof', *isī* 'self', *is* 'smoke', *isīy* 'warm', *ista=* 'to resemble', or when preceded by a plosive, e.g. *kiş* 'late', *pisek* 'lump', *pīs=* 'to cook', *tīs* 'tooth; cauldron', *qīs* 'winter', *tīsī* 'female', *kūtīs=* 'to itch', *yiltīs* 'star', *kīsī* 'person', *saqīs* 'eight', *yañqīs* 'alone', *pīrsī* 'one of them', *tus=* 'to descend', *kus* 'bovine', *qus* 'bird', *qus=* 'to vomit', *kustiy* 'fat', *küsi=* 'to chew'.

The same applies to high vowels when occurring between a voiceless sibilant and a plosive, as in e.g. *sik* 'door', *örlisik* 'belt', *şuku* 'goat', *şukti=* 'to load', *şuq=* 'to glue', *tawasīq* 'bladder'.

Reduction is not noted in *sītik* 'urine', *şitīq* 'wet', *uş* 'three', *üsinti* 'upon it'⁵.

⁵ In the speech of younger speakers *uş* is pronounced [Wʊʂ] (see 2.5.), but in the speech of older speakers [ʊʂ] occurs as well; *üsinti* 'upon it' is a haplologic form of *üzisinti* (see 2.8.).

2.1.12. All vowels are phonemically short, but phonetic length occurs as a technique in storytelling to indicate a transgression to the next episode in a narrative, e.g. *maŋv*: ~ *mv*: 'walking on', *pīr khu:nki ehtkinti* 'one day', or to highlight an item or event, e.g. *ca:ŋ* 'just as', *a::q qhantampu kizkī* 'white, splendid clothes'.

If an intervocalic consonant is elided (see 2.8.), e.g. *menīŋ* ~ *meŋ* 'my', *alīn*= ~ *an*= 'to take along', the two adjacent vowels are contracted into a short vowel.

2.1.13. No high back vowels /i/ and /u/ occur following the palatal consonants *y* *ç* *ç^h* *s*; in this position, only the high front vowels /i/ and /ü/ occur.

Likewise, no high front vowels /i/ and /ü/ occur following *q* *q^h* *ç* *ç^h* *s*; in this position, only the high back vowels /i/ and /v/ occur. Following one of these consonants, a suffix containing /i/ is often lowered to /e/, e.g. *nayse?* 'what to do?'.⁶

2.1.14. Below follow a number of examples of minimal pairs.

/i/ - /ī/:

<i>tis</i> = 'to discuss'	<i>tīs</i> 'tooth; cauldron'
<i>kim</i> 'disease'	<i>khīm</i> 'who'
<i>yerin</i> 'man'	<i>yirīŋ</i> 'snot'
<i>ōrli</i> = 'to stand'	<i>yōrlī</i> = 'to turn'
<i>eni</i> 'again'	<i>īnī</i> 'younger brother'
<i>yimis</i> 'does not eat'	<i>yimīs</i> = 'to suckle'

/u/ - /o/:

<i>un</i> = 'to come out'	<i>on</i> 'ten'
<i>thul</i> = 'to cook'	<i>thol</i> = 'to become full'
<i>tuz</i> 'salt'	<i>toz</i> = 'to eat one's fill'

/u/ - /ü/:

<i>uŋ</i> 'three'	<i>ūsīnti</i> 'on it'
<i>kus</i> 'bovine'	<i>kūsi</i> = 'to chew'
<i>tuki</i> 'heifer'	<i>tühk</i> = 'to pour'

2.2. Sequences of vowels

Sequences of vowels are not typical of Turkic languages, and in Western Yugur, they almost exclusively occur in Chinese loanwords (see 2.11.). However, there are a few vernacular words which contain a sequence of vowels⁶: *piayūr* 'a few days ago', *tīat*= 'to send', *entiaq* 'the east', *mion* 'neck', *pīhtior* 'quite', *çiuti* 'jujube', *yīuti* 'many, much', *suaq* 'crumbs', *yūat*= 'to be shy, ashamed', *thearīn* ~ *therīn* '(at) midnight'. The vowel sequences with initial high vowel are realized as rising diphthongs [*ia iō iv va üa*].

Furthermore, a vowel sequence *iŋ* occurs when the simultaneous converb *-v* is suffixed to a verb ending in a high vowel *-i* (see 6.2.2.), e.g. *kīpti-v*. This sequence is usually realized as a rising diphthong [*iō*], but an allophonic falling diphthong occurs as well (written *-iŋ*, e.g. *kīpti-w*, see 2.4.28.).

⁶ Historically, these vowel sequences arose from the elision of a phoneme, or from a crasis, or a metathesis; see the vocabulary section.

2.3. Vowel harmony

Western Yugur has a vowel harmonic system based on palatality, which is operative in one class of suffixes only; the vowel harmonic system tends to become further reduced as even suffixes of this class lose their vowel harmonic variants. Vowel harmony is not observed in word stems. The suffixes in Western Yugur can be classified in three groups, A-suffixes, *ĩ*-suffixes, and a group of diverse composition.

The A-suffixes have a back-vocalic variant *a* and a front vocalic variant *i*. The back-vocalic variant is used in words containing the vowels *a o*, and the front-vocalic variant in words containing the vowels *e ö*. The vowel harmonic category of words having a high vowel *i ü ĩ u* is lexically determined⁷. Idiolectal variants concerning the harmonic class occur, e.g. *pīs=* (*pīski ~ pīsqa*) 'to cook', *u^hk=* (*u^hkki ~ u^hkka*) 'to fly', *tiġirtaqĩ ~ tiġirtiki* 'being in the sky'.

<i>ya^ht=</i> 'to lie'	<i>ya^htqa</i> 'lying'
<i>qoz=</i> 'to pour'	<i>qozya</i> 'pouring'
<i>per=</i> 'to give'	<i>peryi</i> 'giving'
<i>kör=</i> 'to see'	<i>kör^yi</i> 'seeing'
<i>ti=</i> 'to say'	<i>tiyi</i> 'saying'
<i>yi^y=</i> 'to gather'	<i>yi^yqqa</i> 'gathering'
<i>ç^hük=</i> 'to kneel'	<i>ç^hükki</i> 'kneeling'
<i>yü=</i> 'to wash'	<i>yüya</i> 'washing'
<i>pĩl=</i> 'to know'	<i>pĩlyi</i> 'knowing'
<i>ĩšt=</i> 'to push'	<i>ĩštqa</i> 'pushing'
<i>un=</i> 'to come out'	<i>unki</i> 'coming out'
<i>qus=</i> 'to vomit'	<i>qusqa</i> 'vomiting'

A-suffixes that are on the verge of losing their vowel harmonic variant are the plural suffix -*LA^r* (see 4.1.), and the verbalizer -*LA* (see 4.5.6.); the verbs belong to the vowel harmonic class indicated by the verbalizer.

The *ĩ*-suffixes do not have vowel harmonic variants and are always realized as *ĩ^s*, but are transparent to vowel harmony: a following A-suffix takes the vowel harmonic form required by the stem.

<i>al-ĩn-qa</i>	'taking along' (take-RFL-CCO)
<i>un-tĩr-yi</i>	'taking out' (come.out-CAUS-CCO)

⁷ In the vocabulary section, the vowel harmonic class is indicated by the dative suffix -*GA* for nouns, and the coordinative converb suffix -*GA* for verbs. Stems that historically contained a front vowel retain a front vowel in the suffix, and stems that historically contained a back vowel retain a back vowel in the suffix. Some high vowel words that historically belonged to the front-vocalic class, however, now have shifted entirely to the back-vocalic class, as the dative forms of e.g. *ĩnĩ* (*ĩnĩya*) 'younger brother', *sĩġnĩ* (*sĩġnĩya*) 'younger sister' indicate.

⁸ Though following *ç*, *ĩ > i*, e.g. *i^hçinti* 'in it' (see 2.1.13.).

The third group of suffixes consists of a small group that cannot be subsumed under any of the above; these suffixes do not have vowel harmonic variants.

i-suffixes: the future participle *-ir* (see 6.4.3.), the imperative of the first person singular *-in* and plural *-inī* (see 6.1.8.), the future *-Gimis* (see 6.1.2.), and the negative converb *-min* (see 6.2.5.)⁹. The suffix *-ir* is transparent to vowel harmony, compare e.g. the dativ forms *pezir̥yi* 'in order to be big' (*pezī=* 'to be big'), *alir̥ya* 'in order to take' (*al=* 'to take').

e-suffixes: the third person imperative *-Ge¹⁰* (see 6.1.8.).

v-suffixes: the simultaneous converb *-v* (see 6.2.2.), and the progressive *-vtī* (see 6.1.3.).

The aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes (see 6.3.), which historically mostly derive from independent verbs, do not have vowel harmonic variants either, nor are they transparent to vowel harmony; they all happen to take back-vocalic suffixes.

2.4. Consonants

Western Yugur has 28 consonants (see the table below).

The occurrence of consonants in the word is centred around the vowel: a consonant may precede or follow a vowel, e.g. CV *pu* 'this', *tha=* 'to guess', VC *at* 'name', CVC *pīt* 'foot', *khun* 'day', (C)VCV(C) *aqa* 'father', *enik* 'cow', *hora=* 'to coil', *soyīl=* 'to bake'.

The occurrence of the aspirated obstruents, *p^h t^h k^h q^h ɕ^h ʧ^h* and the approximant *h* is limited to word initial position¹¹. *ɣ ʝ* do not occur in initial position, and the affricates, *c ɕ ɕ^h ʧ ʧ^h*, do not occur in final position.

Consonant clusters occurring finally are of limited inventory (see 2.6.), e.g. (C)VCC *art* 'west', *tört* 'four'. There is only one case of an initial consonant cluster, viz. the obsolescent evidential particle *-trv* (see 7.3.2.).

⁹ Historically, the suffix *-ir* has lost its back-harmonic variant completely; the imperatives and the negative converb have contracted from a sequence of the vowel *-A* followed by *-Y(ī)*.

¹⁰ Historically a contraction of **-GAY*. Some speakers now realize this suffix as *-Gi*, e.g. *kelye* ~ *kiyi* 'may s/he come'.

¹¹ With the exception of the following words: *pat^hir* 'hero', *yikhī* 'rib', *čünk^hin* 'meadow', *maq^he* ~ *mah^qe* 'camel foal', *khēch^hin* 'guest', *yükhīch^her* 'often'. In the material of Chén and Léi, final consonants are indicated as aspirated, but in intervocalic position, these consonants become unaspirated, e.g. *aq^h* 'white', *aqar=* 'to become white', *tia^h* 'to send', *tia^hip* 'sending' (Léi 1992: 349). In the present material, final aspirated consonants rarely occur, and only as allophones in free variation with unreleased consonants.

Two-member consonant clusters in intervocalic position occur frequently, e.g. *alma* 'fruit', *soqpa* 'millet', but are susceptible to the restraint that sonants never follow plosives¹². For consonant clusters on a morpheme boundary, arising from suffixation, and the assimilation processes that take place here, see 2.6. and 2.7. Geminate clusters occur as a result of suffixation¹³.

Three-member consonant clusters in intervocalic position are not very frequent; they consist of a final cluster followed by a third consonant that is susceptible to the same restraints that applies to two member clusters, e.g. *ezertpi* 'leader', *arslan* 'lion'.

It furthermore appears that in words with an initial aspirated consonant, the consonant following the vowel (C^2 in a structure C^hVC^2-) is generally voiced (i.e. a sonant or voiced fricative), e.g. *q^har* 'snow', rather than voiceless (i.e. a plosive, affricate, or voiceless sibilant), e.g. *q^haq* 'dry'.

	labial	apical	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal

plosives							
aspirated	<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>			<i>k^h</i>	<i>q^h</i>	
unaspirated	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	

affricates							
aspirated		<i>(c^h)</i>	<i>ç^h</i>	<i>ç^h</i>			
unaspirated		<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>ç</i>			

fricatives							
voiceless	<i>(f)</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>x</i>	
voiced		<i>z</i>	<i>ʐ</i>			<i>ɣ</i>	

nasals							
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		

liquids							
vibrants		<i>r</i>					
laterals		<i>l</i>					

approximants							
				<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>		<i>h</i>

Consonant phonemes of Western Yugur; loan phonemes are placed in parentheses.

¹² With the exception of unassimilated cases of -M suffixes (see 2.7.), e.g. *temür soqpa* ~ *temür soqma* 'smith' (*temür* 'iron', *soq*= 'to hit'), apparently a very modern development.

¹³ These are *pp tt kk qq mm nn ll*. Geminates of /ʃʃ/ are realized as *kk* OR *qq*. As a result of compounding, geminates with an aspirated consonant as a second member occur, e.g. *akk^her*= 'to bring' (< *ap k^heyir*=), *yoqq^ha*= 'to die' (< *yülip q^hal*=), *untïqq^ha*= 'to forget' (< *untip q^hal*=).

2.4.1. The phoneme /p/ is realized as a voiceless bilabial stop [p]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /p/ is unreleased [p⁻]; near voiced phonemes, /p/ has a devoiced [b̥] as an allophone.

The phoneme /p/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *paş* 'head', *pīr* 'one'.

final: *tīp* 'bottom', *kīlap* 'strong', *soŋkap* 'hammer', *kōhp* 'much'.

intervocalic (three instances only): *qhapaq* 'lid', *soपाq* 'mud', *papa* 'uncle'.

cluster (geminate): *appar*= 'to take to'.

cluster (p first member): *kīpti*= 'to fasten', *cahpçiyīr* 'hoe'.

cluster (p second member): *qortpaq* 'seminal fluid', *ūhkpi* 'lung', *soपा* 'millet', *qhantampu* 'terrific'.

Final p > w when a suffix with initial vowel is added, e.g. *tīp* 'base', *tīwīnti* 'at the base'; *qhap*= 'to take with the mouth', *qhawīttī* 'took with the mouth'; *kīhp* 'much', *kiwi*= 'to increase'; *qohp*= 'to rise', *qowar*= 'to cause to rise'.

Compounds with *paş* 'head' as a second element show p > w following vowels, liquids and fricatives: *yūwaş* 'roof', *çoziwaş* 'table top', *çoryawaş* 'Chorghawash', *īŋkarwaş* 'stupid person', *tijīrwaş* 'heaven's top', *thoywaş* 'bald', *thaywaş* 'mountain top', *tīzwaş* 'kneecap', *qīşwaş* 'face'. Following nasals, p is retained: *thaqaŋpaş* 'fool'.

In rapid speech, an initial p > w following vowels, liquids and fricatives as a result of sandhi; this is especially notable in the frequently used existential noun *par* 'present' and the verb *pol*= 'to become' (which even has variants w ~ ø¹⁴).

For assimilations of the compounding converb suffix -(i)p, see 6.2.1.

Though in general w occurs in complementary distribution with p (in intervocalic position and following sonants other than nasals), the three instances of intervocalic p decide against considering w as an allophone of p.

2.4.2. The phoneme /p^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [p^h], and occurs in initial position only.

Examples of minimal pairs /p/ - /p^h/:

<i>paqa</i> 'frog'	<i>p^haqa</i> = 'to defecate'
<i>per</i> = 'to give'	<i>p^her</i> = 'to hit'
<i>pehrk</i> 'courageous'	<i>p^herik</i> 'hat'
<i>payīr</i> 'liver'	<i>p^heyīr</i> 'kidney'
<i>piçin</i> 'monkey'	<i>p^hi</i> 'mare'

2.4.3. The phoneme /t/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar stop [t]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /t/ is unreleased [t⁻]; near voiced phonemes, /t/ has a devoiced [t̥] as a free variant.

¹⁴ E.g. *kīhçiy pīt* 'lower leg' [kī^hçiy̥ h̥ūt ~ kī^hçiy̥ wūt]; *maḡa par* 'I have' [maḡa ḡaɹ], *yer war-e* 'has songs' [yeɹ ware]; *pozḡa pottī* 'became pregnant' [pɔzḡa ḡɔt:ī ~ pɔzḡa wɔt:ī], *kiş pottī* 'it became late' [kiş pɔt:ī ~ kiş ut:ī].

The phoneme /t/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *tī*= 'to say', *toḥqīs* 'nine'.

final: *at* 'name', *ḥowat*= 'to thank', *aḥt* 'horse'.

intervocalic: *otīy* 'firewood', *ḥīta*= 'can', *sūtīk* 'urine', *iḥtik* 'skirt', *oḥtīs* 'thirty'.

cluster (geminate): *ortta*= 'to slurp', *attīy* 'famous', *ayūtīr*= 'to cause to stop'.

cluster (t first member): *satpa* 'merchant', *eḥtkīr*= 'to let arrive', *aḥtqī* 'horseherd'.

cluster (t second member): *thuktis*= 'to meet', *toḥqtī* 'lamb', *īsta*= 'to resemble', *aḥstī*= 'to clear', *qīmtan* 'axe', *khīntīk* 'navel', *soḥtaqī* 'last', *altam* 'quick', *aḥltī* 'six', *tōrtīy* 'wolf', *oḥrta* 'middle', *thayta*= 'to throw', *poztas*= 'to moo', *uztīy* 'sharp', *ḥīyṭī* 'jujube'.

2.4.4. The phoneme /t^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated apico-alveolar stop [t^h], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the word *paḥīr* 'hero'.

Examples of minimal pairs /t/ - /t^h/:

<i>tar</i> = 'to cultivate land'	<i>thar</i> 'narrow'
<i>toz</i> = 'to eat one's fill'	<i>thoz</i> = 'to meet'
<i>tey</i> = 'to touch'	<i>they</i> = 'to gallop'
<i>tara</i> = 'to comb'	<i>thara</i> = 'to go apart'
<i>taqa</i> 'uncle'	<i>thaqaṇ</i> 'flour'
<i>tuki</i> 'heifer'	<i>thuki</i> = 'to finish'
<i>tōrīm</i> 'the year after next'	<i>thōrīn</i> 'midnight'

2.4.5. The phoneme /k/ is realized as a voiceless dorso-velar stop [k]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /k/ is unreleased [k⁻]; near nasals and z, /k/ has a devoiced [k̥] as a free variant.

The phoneme /k/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *kel*= 'to come', *kūy* 'pine'.

final: *yūrik* 'heart', *yūtīrīk* 'cough', *ōrlisīk* 'belt', *tīhk*= 'to sew'.

intervocalic: *theke* 'male goat', *suku* 'goat', *aḥka* 'uncle', *thamaḥkī* 'tobacco'.

cluster (geminate): *tīhkkī* 'sewing'.

cluster (k first element): *ūhkpī* 'lung', *sukti*= 'to load', *ḥīmīkqī* 'thief', *yūkḥer* 'often'.

cluster (k second element): *kuḥtkī* 'throat', *īškīṣ* 'food', *unkīn* 'female camel', *ezeṅkī* 'stirrup', *thulkī* 'fox', *kiseḥlkī* 'lizard', *arkan* 'box', *eḥrkīk* 'male', *ayka* 'grandmother', *uzki* 'else'.

2.4.6. The phoneme /k^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated dorso-velar stop [k^h], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the words *yīk^hī* 'rib', and *ḥūnk^hīn* 'meadow'.

Examples of minimal pairs /k/ - /k^h/:

<i>ker</i> 'bowl'	<i>k^her</i> 'yellow (of an animal)'
<i>kim</i> 'disease'	<i>k^hīm</i> 'who'
<i>kel</i> = 'to come'	<i>k^heln</i> 'wife'
<i>kīrmīk</i> 'eyebrow'	<i>k^hīntīk</i> 'navel'

2.4.7. The phoneme /q/ is realized as a voiceless uvular stop [q]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /q/ is unreleased [q⁻]; following nasals, /q/ has a devoiced [q̥] as a free variant, and following voiceless sibilants, /q/ has a voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x] as a free variant, e.g. *oſqa* 'old man' [ɔſqa ~ ɔſxa], *qīsqa* 'short' [qīsqa ~ qīsxa], *tusqan* 'hare' [tusqan ~ tusxan].

The phoneme /q/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *qara* 'black', *qus* 'bird'.

final: *qhaq* 'dry', *orq=* 'to be impatient', *olyaq* 'kid goat', *tīhq=* 'to thrust into'.

intervocalic: *qīzaqa* 'elder sister', *chīqan* 'cousin', *yaqin=* 'to cover', *ya^hqin* 'near'.

cluster (geminate): *yeqqal=* 'to shake', *toqqan* 'family home'.

cluster (q first element): *soqpa* 'millet', *tacaqta=* 'to waddle', *to^hqti* 'lamb', *lomaqci* 'story-teller'.

cluster (q second element): *qu^hrtqa* 'old woman', *yanqis* 'alone', *q^holqici* 'beggar', *arqaş* 'bag', *a^hrqa* 'back'.

2.4.8. The phoneme /q^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated uvular stop [q^h], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the word *maq^he* (alternating with *ma^hqe*) 'camel foal'. Following voiced consonants and vowels, /q/ has a voiceless uvular fricative [x] as a free variant in sandhi¹⁵.

Examples of minimal pairs /q/ - /q^h/:

<i>qol</i> 'arm; river'	<i>q^hol=</i> 'to want to have, to ask for something'
<i>qayta</i> 'where'	<i>q^hay</i> 'shoe'
<i>qoŋqir</i> 'buttock'	<i>q^hoŋqira</i> 'bell'
<i>qiti=</i> 'to call'	<i>q^hiti</i> 'Chinese'

Examples of minimal pairs /k/ - /q/:

<i>sik</i> 'door'	<i>sī^hq=</i> 'to squeeze'
<i>tī^hk=</i> 'to sew; to erect'	<i>tī^hq=</i> 'to insert'
<i>kus</i> 'bovine'	<i>qus</i> 'bird', <i>qus=</i> 'to vomit'
<i>kō^hp</i> 'many'	<i>qo^hp=</i> 'to stand up, to rise'

Examples of minimal pairs /k^h/ - /q^h/:

<i>k^hun</i> 'day'	<i>q^hun=</i> 'to seize'
<i>k^hir=</i> 'to enter'	<i>q^hir=</i> 'to scrape, to peel'

2.4.9. The phoneme /c/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar affricate [c]. /c/ occurs in one word only, *cona* ~ *zona* 'wasp'. /c/ further occurs in Chinese loanwords (see 2.11.), but it is usually replaced by /z/, especially word-internally.

¹⁵ E.g. *yikhī qhaqtama* 'lazybones' [zik^hi qhaq⁻tama ~ zikhī χaq⁻tama], *köz qhalaq* 'eyelid' [köz qhalaq⁻ ~ köz χalaq⁻].

2.4.10. The phoneme /ç/ is realized as a voiceless retroflex affricate [ç̣].

The phoneme /ç/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *çal*= 'to pray', *çowat*= 'to thank'.

intervocalic: *açĩ*= 'to be worried', *quçaqta*= 'to hug', *yañqıça* 'alone', *qaħçan* 'when'.

cluster (ç second member): *çahpçıyır* 'hoe', *ahtçı* 'horseherd', *çhımıķçı* 'thief', *poħçça* 'bag', *kusçı* 'cowherd', *çhamça* 'shirt', *törtınçı* 'fourth', *qılçıqħ-qalçıqħ* 'crooked and bent', *ehıçı* 'shaman', *temırçı* 'smith', *qoyçı* 'shepherd'.

2.4.11. The phoneme /ç^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate [ç^h], and occurs in initial position only.

Examples of minimal pairs /ç/ - /ç^h/:

<i>çotta</i> = 'to scold'	<i>ç^hotta</i> = 'to libate'
<i>çıl</i> 'sheep droppings'	<i>ç^hıla</i> = 'to be angry'
<i>çalım</i> 'hoar frost'	<i>çhamça</i> 'shirt'
<i>çoqı</i> = 'to pinch'	<i>ç^hoqe</i> = 'to sit'

2.4.12. The phoneme /ç/ is realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal affricate [ç].

The phoneme /ç/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *cara* 'hedgheg', *cüyer* 'healthy'.

intervocalic: *mıca* 'little', *uçın* 'with', *peçin* 'monkey', *iħçır*= 'to give to drink'.

cluster (ç second member): *sukçi* 'Süzhōu', *örçi* 'thing', *aħrça* 'juniper', *qhayçı* 'shears'.

2.4.13. The phoneme /ç^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated front-prepalatal affricate [ç^h]; /ç^h/ occurs in initial position only, and in the words *kheçhin* 'guest', and *yükçher* ~ *yükhıçher* 'often'.

Examples of minimal pairs /ç/ - /ç^h/:

<i>çiyın</i> 'donkey'	<i>çhi</i> 'camel'
<i>çit</i> 'meagre'	<i>çhük</i> = 'to kneel'

The front-prepalatal affricates mainly occur preceding front vowels, but there are many exceptions¹⁶, e.g. *çazı* 'family', *çar* 'meagre', *çhala*= 'to hold a child', *mıca* 'little', *qorçaq* 'short', *marçan* 'coral', *ırçalıñ* 'flute', *niçor* 'how much', *arçaq* 'the west', the diminutive suffix -çAr.

¹⁶ Often loanwords or contracted forms, see the vocabulary section. The cluster rç does not occur in Western Yugur monomorphemic words, only rç is found here (see 2.7.). Concerning the loanwords from Chinese, the following may be noted: in Chinese orthography the front-prepalatals, ç ç^h s, only occur preceding the front vowels *i ü*, reflecting a historical development. In the present day Chinese phoneme system, this feature may be regarded as redundant, e.g. Western Yugur *çazı* ← Chinese *jiāzi*, phonemic- ally /çazı/.

2.4.14. The phoneme /s/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar fricative [s].

The phoneme /s/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *saqal* 'beard', *soq=* 'to knock'.

final: *as=* ~ *a^hs=* 'to cross', *o^htis* 'thirty', *sanīs* 'cheap', *oynas=* 'to play together'.

intervocalic: *īsīy* 'warm', *pulisik* 'thimble', *o^hsīriq* 'fart', *ya^hsīl* 'green'.

cluster (s first member): *īsta=* 'to resemble', *kuscī* 'cowherd', *a^hs^laq* 'lid', *q^harslaŋ* 'gun'.

cluster (s second member): *tīmsīy* 'mouth', *sarīmsaq* ~ *sa^hsīriq* 'garlic', *pa^hrsī* 'tiger', *pīrsī* 'one of them', *qaysī* 'which (one)'.

2.4.15. The phoneme /ʂ/ is realized as a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ].

The phoneme /ʂ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *saʂ* 'hair', *ʂuku* 'goat'.

final: *paʂ* 'head', *kiʂ* 'late', *a^hʂ=* 'to open', *qīliʂ* 'sword', *qamiʂ* 'reed'.

intervocalic (two instances only): *o^hʂaq* 'crumbs', *thoʂan* 'gruff'.

cluster (ʂ first member): *qīʂta=* 'to chase after', *kūkiʂkin* 'pigeon', *quʂqala=* 'to singe', *ya^hʂqa* 'completely', *īʂsi* 'if drinks', *qīʂwaʂ* 'face'.

cluster (ʂ second member) (two instances only): *oŋʂī=* 'to read', *thaŋʂa* 'idea'.

When a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, final *ʂ* > *ɕ* preceding back vowels, e.g. *paʂ* 'head', *pa^hɕīnta* 'on its head', *a^hʂ=* 'to open', *a^hɕu^ht=* 'to open', *uʂ* 'three', *u^hɕun* 'thirty', and final *ʂ* > *ɕ* preceding front vowels, e.g. *a^hʂ=* 'to open', *a^hɕit=* 'to open quickly', *ū^hɕūiz* 'three hundred', *ū^hɕūsī* 'the three of them' (irregular formations derived from *uʂ* 'three'). The noun *īʂ* 'inside', and the verb *īʂ=* 'to drink' always have *ʂ* > *ɕ* when a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, e.g. *i^hɕinti* 'in it', *i^hɕvtī* 'is drinking' (see further 3.1.3.).

Examples of minimal pairs /s/ - /ʂ/:

sart 'Uygur' *sa^hrt=* 'to break'

ya^hs= 'to hide' *ya^hʂ* 'good'

kis= 'to cut dough' *kiʂ* 'late'

2.4.16. The phoneme /s/ is realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal fricative [s̪].

The phoneme /s/ does not occur frequently: apart from Chinese loanwords, there are only six instances of initial /s/: *siki* 'slender', *sor=* 'to sweep', *soz* 'word', *sozīr=* 'to drag', *soyīl=* 'to bake', *sīnan* 'Sùnán', and two instances in which /s/ occurs as the second member of a cluster: *kansū* 'Gānsù', *kunsin* ~ *kunsin* 'every day'.

Example of a minimal pair /s/ - /s̪/:

sor= 'to suck' *sor=* 'to sweep'

Example of a (near) minimal pair /s/ - /s̪/ - /ʂ/:

siki 'goat' *siki* 'slender' *sīkī* 'two'

2.4.17. The phoneme /z/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar fricative [z].

The phoneme /z/ does not occur initially, except for *zona* ~ *cona* 'wasp', and *zīk* ~ *sīk* 'door'¹⁷, nor does /z/ occur beyond the first syllable, except for *ühçüz* 'three hundred' (an irregularly formed crasis of *uş* 'three' + *yüz* 'hundred').

The phoneme /z/ further occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: *mīz* 'we', *yüz* 'face', *suz*= 'to butt', *kiz*= 'to get dressed'.
intervocalic: *azaq* 'foot', *uzaq* 'far', *qozī* 'lamb', *uzīriq* 'fist', *ezenkī* 'stirrup'.
cluster (z first member): *qhaztīq* 'cover', *uzki* 'else', *thazmaq* 'riddle', *qazna* 'mother-in-law', *tīzwaş* 'kneecap', *azyīr* 'stallion'.
cluster (z second member) (two instances only): *khemzī* ~ *khenzī* 'bun', *quzīriq* ~ *qurzīq* 'tail'.

Examples of minimal pairs /z/ - /s/:

<i>yaz</i> = 'to spread'	<i>yahs</i> = 'to hide'
<i>az</i> 'few'	<i>as</i> = 'to exchange'
<i>kiz</i> = 'to get dressed'	<i>kis</i> = 'to cut (dough)'

2.4.18. The phoneme /z/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar retroflex [z̠].

The phoneme /z̠/ does not occur frequently: apart from Chinese loanwords, /z̠/ occurs only in the following seven stems: *zīq* 'bad', *uz* 'point', *şaz* ~ *szaz* 'hair', *şaz*= 'to sprinkle', *uzyağ* 'grease', *qozyar* 'ram', *thozyīr*= 'to fill'¹⁸.

When a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, *z* > *ç*, e.g. *uz* 'point', *uçi* 'its point', *şaz*= 'to sprinkle', *şaçuh*= 'to sprinkle out'.

Example of a minimal pair /z/ - /z̠/ - /s/ - /s̠/:

<i>uz</i> = 'to rip'	<i>uz̠</i> 'point'	<i>uş</i> 'three'	<i>uş̠</i> 'bird'
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2.4.19. The phoneme /ɣ/ is realized as a voiced dorso-velar fricative [ɣ]; near low back vowels, /ɣ/ has a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] as an allophone. Both allophones are realized with very little friction, approaching a voiced dorso-velar or uvular approximant [ɣ̠, ʁ̠].

The phoneme /ɣ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: *thay* 'mountain', *phey* 'chief', *sariy* 'yellow', *antay* 'thus', *kisiliy* 'inhabited'.
intervocalic: *ciyin* 'donkey', *şıyan* 'mouse', *ayirliy* 'expensive', *kuziyi* 'husband'.
clusters (ɣ first member): *ciyti* ~ *ciuti* 'jujube'¹⁹, *yaymür* 'rain', *qiziyla*= 'to walk past', *tayras*= 'to murmur', *thaywaş* 'mountain top'.
clusters (ɣ second member): *yülyin* 'tamarisk', *halyar* ~ *harya* 'bovine dung', *uzyan*= 'to wake up', *qozyar* 'ram', *qoyyantir*= 'to cause to wear in the bosom'.

¹⁷ According to Xuéliǎn, *zīk* is used instead of *sīk* [s̠ik̠] to enhance the audibility.

¹⁸ And the derived words *unkin-zīq* 'ugly', *uztīy* 'sharp', *şaztīy* '(married) woman'.

¹⁹ This is the only instance of ɣ followed by a plosive; in *kheti* 'paper', ɣ has been elided.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -G (having *k q ɣ* as allophones), see 2.7.

Examples of minimal pairs /q/ - /ɣ/:

<i>taq̄iŋ</i> 'uncle' (+ POS1/2)	<i>taȳin</i> 'next day'
<i>toq̄ir</i> 'round'	<i>toɣ̄ir</i> 'other'
<i>puqa</i> 'bull'	<i>puɣa</i> 'hither'

Example of a near minimal pair /k/ - /ɣ/:

<i>kik̄irt=</i> 'to burp'	<i>kheȳir=</i> 'to bring'
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2.4.20. The phoneme /x/ is realized as a voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x]. /x/ occurs in *xos̄i* 'all', and *xor* 'time, instance' and further in Chinese loanwords only.

2.4.21. The phoneme /h/ is realized as a voiceless glottal approximant [h]. /h/ occurs in initial position only, e.g. *halyar* 'bovine dung', *han̄i=* 'to go', *hapta=* 'to step (over)', *hora=* 'to lack'.

Examples of (near) minimal pairs /h/ - /x/:

<i>haç̄i</i> 'nephew'	<i>siç̄i xaç̄i</i> 'Sizhı Khazhı (legendary place name)'
<i>hora=</i> 'to lack'	<i>xor</i> 'time, instance'

2.4.22. The phoneme /m/ is realized as a voiced bilabial nasal [m].

The phoneme /m/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *man=* 'to wear', *moyn* 'neck'.

final: *yüm* 'trousers', *tör̄im* 'the year after next', *ah̄lt̄im* 'gold'.

intervocalic: *tam̄ir* 'vein', *s̄im̄ik* 'bone', *aramaq* 'ring finger', *thamah̄ki* 'tobacco'.

cluster (geminate): *kh̄im-ma* 'whoever'.

cluster (*m* first member): *kh̄empist̄iy* 'woman', *samt̄iq* 'tattered', *çhamça* 'shirt', *t̄ims̄iy* 'mouth'.

cluster (*m* second member): *alma* 'fruit', *k̄irm̄ik* 'eyebrow', *yaym̄ir* 'rain', *thazmaq* 'riddle', *qayma* 'vagina (vulgar)'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -M (having *p* as an allophone), see 2.7.

2.4.23. The phoneme /n/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar nasal [n]. Preceding a velar or uvular plosive, /n/ is realized as a voiced dorso-velar nasal [ŋ].

The phoneme /n/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *ni* 'what', *nü^hker* 'friend'.

final: *sen* 'you', *yoȳin* 'thick', *tu^ht̄irqan* 'rice'.

intervocalic: *ana* 'mother', *han̄i=* 'to go'.

cluster (geminate): *enn̄iy* 'broad', *iskinni=* 'to scrape with the hoof'.

cluster (*n* first member): *thaqanpaş* 'fool', *yant̄ir=* 'to vomit', *sanc̄i=* 'to stab'.

cluster (*n* second member): *ilimni=* 'to glue', *yijni* 'needle', *qazna* 'mother-in-law', *oyna=* 'to play'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -N (having *t* as an allophone), see 2.7.

Examples of minimal pairs /m/ - /n/:

<i>tirma</i> 'turnip'	<i>tirna=</i> 'to scratch'
<i>q^hom</i> 'sand'	<i>q^hun=</i> 'to seize'

In final position, the following words show an alternation *m* ~ *n*: *alim* ~ *alın* 'forehead', *çalım* ~ *çalın* '(hoar)frost', *q^haryım* ~ *q^haryın* 'frost', *q^hulım* ~ *q^hulın* 'foal'.

2.4.24. The phoneme /ŋ/ is realized as a voiced dorso-velar nasal [ŋ].

The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

final: *oŋ* 'right side', *maŋ=* 'to walk', *yaŋ* 'naked', *aytīŋ* 'moonlight', *ırcaŋ* 'flute'.

intervocalic: *yanaŋ* 'jaw', *yaŋi* 'new', *theŋi* 'deaf'.

cluster (ŋ first member): *ezeŋki* 'stirrup', *q^harmaŋqı* 'ancestor', *oŋsı=* 'to read', *aŋna=* 'to understand', *maŋras=* 'of sheep to bleat together'.

cluster (ŋ second member) (one instance only): *tırŋaq* 'nail'.

Examples of minimal pairs /n/ - /ŋ/:

<i>man=</i> 'to wear (clothes)'	<i>maŋ=</i> 'to go'
<i>yerin</i> 'man'	<i>yirīŋ</i> 'snot'

Examples of minimal pairs /m/ - /n/ - /ŋ/:

<i>yim</i> 'medicin'	<i>yın</i> 'sheep dung'	<i>yıŋ</i> 'sleeve'
<i>am</i> 'now'	<i>an=</i> 'to take along'	<i>aŋ</i> 'joint'

2.4.25. The phoneme /l/ is realized as a voiced velarized apico-alveolar lateral approximant [ɭ].

The phoneme /l/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

final: *tıl* 'tongue', *yol* 'way', *yotal* 'work', *theyl=* 'to be blind'.

intervocalic: *qhulaq* 'ear', *yülir=* 'to kill', *theylık* 'blind'.

cluster (geminate): *mällir* 'livestock'.

cluster (*l* first member): *taltaqı* 'ghost', *q^haltıq* 'armpit', *thulkı* 'fox', *kisehłkı* 'lizard', *qhölqıçı* 'beggar', *ehłcı* 'shaman', *alma* 'fruit', *alno* 'taking', *yalya=* 'to lick'.

cluster (*l* second member): *ayırlıy* 'expensive', *olyan* ~ *oylan* 'boy', *tımsıylıy* 'having a mouth', *seyli* 'motherless', *qayla=* 'to run', *ahslaq* 'lid', *qırısla=* 'to munch'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -L (having *t n* as allophones), see 2.7.

2.4.26. The phoneme /r/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar trill [r]. Preceding obstruents and in word-final position, /r/ has a voiced retroflex approximant [ɻ] as an allophone; in word-final position, /r/ also has a strongly trilled, nearly syllabic, voiced apico-alveolar trill [r̥] as a free variant.

The phoneme /r/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial (one instance only): *rīzaqta*= 'to be troublesome'.

final: *yōr*= 'to untie' *yūntar*= 'to gather together', *tukicer* 'small heifer'.

intervocalic: *ara* 'between', *yūrik* 'heart', *yütirik* 'cough'.

cluster (*r* first member): *širti*= 'to curse', *tahrtiy* 'rope', *arkan* 'box', *tuhirki* 'rat', *arqaş* 'bag', *ahrqa* 'back', *qorcaq* 'short', *ahrca* 'juniper', *temirci* 'smith', *pahrsi* ~ *parsi* 'tiger', *tarmaq* 'finger', *surnik*= 'to stumble', *tirnaq* 'nail', *qirlaş* 'swallow', *qharyim* 'frost', *terwi*= 'to shake'.

cluster (*r* second member) (one instance only): *tayras*= 'to murmur'.

In the following words (perhaps under influence of the allophone [r^h]), alternants with and without final vowel occur: *ther* ~ *theri* 'skin; sweat', *qhar* ~ *qhari* 'old', *ewer* ~ *eweri* 'ghost'.

2.4.27. The phoneme /y/ is realized as a voiced centro-palatal approximant [y]. Preceding *i* and *ü*, /y/ has a voiced front-prepalatal fricative [ʝ] as a free variant.

The phoneme /y/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial: *yay* 'grease', *yol* 'road'.

final: *ay* 'moon', *tey* 'foal', *qoy* 'sheep'.

intervocalic: *ayar* 'slowly', *ayaq* 'bowl', *haya* 'palm of the hand'.

cluster (*y* first member): *thayta*= 'to throw', *ayka* 'grandmother', *qoyci* 'shepherd', *qhayci* 'scissors', *qaysi* 'which (one)', *qayma* 'vagina (vulgar)', *qhaynat*= 'to cook', *qayla*= 'to run', *seyli* 'motherless'.

cluster (*y* second member) (one instance only): *uzyay* 'grease'.

2.4.28. The phoneme /w/ is realized as a voiced labialized dorso-velar approximant [w].

The phoneme /w/ occurs in the following positions in the word:

initial (in Chinese loanwords only): *wu* 'dance'.

intervocalic: *thawaq* 'robber', *šiwira*= 'to whisper', *ewer* 'devil'.

cluster (*w* second member): *terwi*= 'to shake', *harwa* 'highland barley', *hirwa*= 'to be worn out', *çholwan* 'Big Dipper'.

In the following words, an epenthetic vowel *u* ~ *ʊ* occurs preceding *w*: *terwi*= [teruwɪ] 'to shake', *thaywaş* 'mountain top' [thabʊwʌʃ], *qışwaş* 'face' [qışʊwʌʃ].

The falling diphthong [iʊ], allophone of the rising diphthong [io], which arises when the simultaneous converb *-v* is added to verbs ending in *-i* will be written *iw* here, e.g. *kıpti-v* ~ *kıpti-w* 'fastening' (*kıpti*=), *tılı-w* 'searching' (*tılı*=), *qiti-w* 'calling' (*qiti*=) (see 2.2. and 6.2.2.).

For instances of *w* < *p*, see 2.4.1.

2.5. Secondary features: palatalization and labialization

In Western Yugur, allophonic palatalization and labialization occur as follows.

In a number of words, palatalization of the initial plosive [Cʏ] occurs when a non-high front vowel *e* *ö* is followed by a liquid *r* *l*, as in e.g. *ther* 'sweat', *ther* 'skin', *ther*= 'to gather', *theryin* 'car', *thermin* 'mill', *per*= 'to give', *pher*= 'to beat', *kher* 'cup', *akkher*= 'to bring', *thelk* 'hole', *kel*= 'to come', *pel* 'waist'; *tört* 'four', *törtiŋ* 'wolf', *törim* 'the year after next', *thörin* '(at) midnight'. Palatalization also occurs in *temir* 'iron', *thenay* 'fat', *tös* 'chest', *köz* 'eye'.

The sequence *sö* has an allophonic rendering *so* in the following words: *söz* ~ *soz* 'word', *söyil*= ~ *soyil*= 'to bake' (see also 3.3.1.).

In initial position, /*u*/ is realized as [w*u*] by some speakers in e.g. *učin* 'with', *uy*= 'to grind', *ulyaq* 'kid goat', *uli*= 'to share', *uŋ* 'three', *usila*= 'to be unhappy' (see also 2.11.).

Some speakers pronounce [wey] as an allophonic rendering of the sequence *oy* in the words *oy* 'quick', *qoy* 'sheep', *soy*= 'to peel', *oyna*= 'to play'²⁰.

2.6. Consonant clusters

Final consonant clusters are few in Western Yugur, and generally consist of a sonant followed by a stop or voiceless fricative *s*. The cluster *st*, consisting of two obstruents, and the clusters *rn* *ln* *yn*, consisting of two sonants, are exceptional in Turkic languages. There is only one instance of an initial consonant cluster: the obsolescent evidential particle *-trv*.

rt: *tört* 'four', *sart* 'muslim', *qurt* 'prick', *art* 'west', *art*= 'to rub', *šart*= 'to cut up', *surt*= 'to smear', *yu^hrt* 'camp', *qu^hrtqa* 'old woman', *kisertkī* 'lizard', *a^hrt*= 'to remain', *ta^hrt*= 'to pull', and causative verbs in *-t* following *r*, e.g. *ezert*= 'to lead', *sizirt*= 'to cause to beat'.

rk, *rq*: *pe^hrk* 'courageous', *i^hrktīy* 'loud', *qarq* 'nose', *a^hrq* 'shit', *i^hrq* 'omen', *orq*= 'to be impatient', *qo^hrq*= 'to fear', *qī^hrq*= 'to shave'.

rn: *q^harn* 'stomach (of an animal)', *phorn* 'before; front'.

rs: *arslan* 'lion', *q^harslaŋ* 'gun', *pa^hrs* 'pang'.

lk, *lq*: *thelk* 'hole', *palq* 'wall'.

ln: *k^heln* 'bride'.

yt: *söyt* 'bucket', *ayt*= 'to ask'.

yn: *moyn* 'neck', *qoyn* 'bosom', *söyn*= 'to be glad', *eynta* 'in summer', and the first person imperative suffix following vowels, e.g. *mayn* 'let me go'.

št: *īšt* 'dog', *īšt*= 'to push', *pīšt* 'louse'.

²⁰ An older example of a Chinese triphthong /uei/ rendered *oy* is *qoydašī* ~ *qoytašī* 'rogue' (Malov 1957: 56b) ← Northwest Mandarin *k^fuei⁵¹ta²¹³* 'have a whole bag of tricks' (Chén, Zhōu & Wáng 1990: 215).

Below follows a tabel of intervocalic consonant clusters that occur as a result of suffixation, taking into account the assimilations that the suffix-initial consonants undergo (outlined in 2.7.). The consonants in the left column represent a stem's final consonant, the consonants in the upper row represent a suffix' initial consonant.

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>pt</i>	<i>pk</i>	<i>pq</i>	?	<i>ps</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>t</i>	<i>tp</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>tk</i>	<i>tq</i>	<i>tç</i>	<i>ts</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>kt</i>	<i>kk</i>	--	<i>kç</i>	<i>ks</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>q</i>	<i>qp</i>	<i>qt</i>	--	<i>qq</i>	<i>qç</i>	<i>qs</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>s</i>	--	<i>st</i>	<i>sk</i>	<i>sq</i>	<i>sç</i>	?	--	<i>sm</i>	--	--
<i>ʃ</i>	--	<i>ʃt</i>	<i>ʃk</i>	<i>ʃq</i>	<i>ʃç</i>	<i>sʃ</i>	--	<i>ʃm</i>	--	--
<i>z</i>	--	<i>zt</i>	<i>zk</i>	--	?	?	<i>zɣ</i>	<i>zm</i>	--	--
<i>ʒ</i>	--	<i>ʒt</i>	?	--	?	?	?	?	--	--
<i>m</i>	--	<i>mt</i>	<i>mk</i>	<i>mq</i>	?	<i>ms</i>	--	<i>mm</i>	<i>mn</i>	--
<i>n</i>	--	<i>nt</i>	<i>nk</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>nç</i>	<i>ns</i>	--	<i>nm</i>	<i>nn</i>	--
<i>ŋ</i>	--	<i>ŋt</i>	<i>ŋk</i>	<i>ŋq</i>	?	<i>ŋs</i>	--	<i>ŋm</i>	<i>ŋn</i>	--
<i>ɣ</i>	--	<i>ɣt</i>	--	--	?	--	--	<i>ɣm</i>	<i>ɣn</i>	<i>ɣl</i>
<i>r</i>	--	<i>rt</i>	--	--	<i>rç</i>	<i>rs</i>	<i>rɣ</i>	<i>rm</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>rl</i>
<i>l</i>	--	<i>lt</i>	--	--	<i>lç</i>	<i>ls</i>	<i>lɣ</i>	<i>lm</i>	<i>ln</i>	<i>ll</i>
<i>y</i>	--	<i>yt</i>	--	--	<i>yç</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>yɣ</i>	<i>ym</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>yl</i>

Intervocalic consonant clusters arising from suffixation; the question mark indicates a probable, but not attested combination.

Apart from these, the following intervocalic consonant clusters occurred in Western Yugur monomorphemic words (with number of instances): *rç* (10), *rk* (10), *rq* (7), *sl* (5), *mp* (3), *rw* (3), *zɣ* (2), *kç* (2), *ŋs* (2), *ns* (2), *nz* (2), *lq* (1), *lw* (1), *ɣr* (1), *ŋr* (1), *yk* (1), *yç* (1), *zn* (1), *mz* (1), *rz* (1), *rŋ* (1).

The cluster *rç* does not occur in monomorphemic words, only *rç* is found here.

Furthermore, a cluster *sl* that is not tolerated in suffixation (it is assimilated to *st*) does occur in a small number of monomorphemic stems.

The cluster *zn*, occurring only *qazna* 'mother-in-law', is not tolerated in suffixation (it is assimilated to *zt*): it results from a (recent) contraction of *qazīna*.

The cluster *ɣr* occurs only in the onomatopoeic verb *tayras*= 'to murmur'; generally, this cluster has been metathesized (see 3.3.6).

The cluster *ŋr* occurs only in the verb *maŋras*= 'to bleat together'; generally, a presonantal *n* > *ŋq* (see 3.2.32).

2.7. Consonant assimilations

Progressive assimilation of consonants occurs in suffixes: suffixes having an initial consonant assimilate this consonant to the final consonant of the stem as follows.

When suffixes having as an initial consonant N (e.g. the genitive suffix *-N̄iŋ*) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive or sibilant, N is assimilated to *t*; elsewhere N is realized as *n*.

<i>ah̄t-tiŋ</i>	'of the horse'
<i>q̄iz-tiŋ</i>	'of the girl'
<i>k̄is̄i-n̄iŋ</i>	'of a person'
<i>th̄ay-n̄iŋ</i>	'of the mountain'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant L (e.g. the verbalizer *-LA*) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive or sibilant, L is assimilated to *t*; when affixed to stems ending in a nasal, L is assimilated to *n*; elsewhere L is realized as *l*.

<i>th̄uk-ti-s=</i>	'to meet' (+ REC)
<i>t̄is-ti=</i>	'to bite'
<i>paŋ-na-s=</i>	'to help' (+ REC)
<i>kh̄u-la=</i>	'to cover with a cup'
<i>oy-la=</i>	'(of the sun) to set'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant M (e.g. the negative suffix *-MA*, or the deverbal noun suffix *-MA*) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive, M is assimilated to *p*, though assimilation is not often observed by younger speakers; elsewhere M is realized as *m*.

<i>qoh̄rq-pa ~ qoh̄rq-ma</i>	'don't fear!'
<i>yiz soqpa ~ yiz soqma</i>	'weaver'
<i>š̄iyaqta-ma</i>	'don't get diarrhoea!'
<i>ah̄s-ma</i>	'don't open!'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant G (e.g. the dative suffix *-GA*, or the converb suffix *-GA*) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive, voiceless sibilant or nasal, G is assimilated to a plosive *k q*; words ending in *-z* take a plosive *k* in the front-vocalic variant of the suffix and a fricative *ɣ* in the back-vocalic variant; elsewhere G is realized as *ɣ*.

<i>īšt-qa</i>	'to the dog'
<i>īš-ki</i>	'drinking'
<i>kh̄un-ki</i>	'to a day'
<i>kh̄aŋ-qa</i>	'to the kang'
<i>q̄iz-ya</i>	'to the girl'
<i>m̄iz-ki</i>	'to us'
<i>uz-ki</i>	'tearing'
<i>k̄is̄i-ɣi</i>	'to a person'

A word-stem's final consonant *ɣ* followed by a suffix having as an initial consonant G is assimilated to *k q*:

<i>th̄aq-qa</i>	'to the mountain' (<i>th̄ay</i>)
<i>yiq-qa</i>	'collecting' (<i>yiy=</i>)
<i>tek-ki</i>	'touching' (<i>teɣ=</i>)

Regressive assimilation, due to sandhi, occurs in the following instances.

The compounding converb suffix $-(\ddot{i})p$ (see 6.2.1.) is extremely susceptible to sandhi. It assimilates p to t k q when preceding these plosives: *unĭp par=* 'to go out', *unĭk kel=* (< *un-ĭp kel=*) 'to come out', *uzĭq qhal=* (< *uzĭ-p qhal=*) 'to fall asleep', *pottĭ* (< *po-p-tĭ*) 'became'.

Final $-n$ preceding a velar or uvular plosive assimilates to $-ŋ$, e.g. *yaŋqa* (< *yan-qa*) 'to the side', *arkanqa* (< *arkan-qa*) 'to the box', *siŋqharttĭ* (< *sĭ-n-qhar-t-tĭ*) 'broke', *aŋqan* (< *an-qan*) 'took along', *maŋqan* (< *man-qan*) 'wore'²¹.

In rapid speech, final $-m$ may assimilate to a following apico-dental, e.g. *khemzĭ* ~ *khenzĭ* 'bun', *khĭm-nĭŋ* ~ *khĭn-nĭŋ* 'whose', or to a velar, e.g. *manĭŋ-kizkĭ* ~ *manĭm-kizkĭ* 'outfit'.

Stem final $-y$ is realized as a plosive before a velar or uvular, e.g. *kĭhçik qĭz* (< *kĭhçiy qĭz*) 'small girl', *ĭsĭk khaŋ* (< *ĭsĭy khaŋ*) 'hot kang', or before a voiceless sibilant, e.g. *tekse* (< *tey-se*) 'if touches'.

In the word *ta^hq=* (younger speakers) ~ *ta^hp=* (elder speakers) 'to find', the final consonant has changed $p > q$, apparently as a result of sandhi.

2.8. Consonant elisions

Modern elisions of intervocalic sonants y n $ŋ$ l r w occur in the following words²²:

y : *kheyĭr=* ~ *kher=* 'to bring', *theyermin* ~ *thermin* 'mill', *qhayĭr=* ~ *qhar=* 'to bake', *yiyĭş* ~ *yış* 'food', *yüyĭş* ~ *yüş* 'towel'.

n : *anika* ~ *ayka* 'grandmother', *menik* ~ *mek* 'money', *menĭŋ* ~ *men* 'my', *senĭŋ* ~ *sen* 'your'.

$ŋ$: *yaŋaq* ~ *yaq* 'jaw (of a sheep)', *theŋĭlik* ~ *thelk* 'blind', *maŋĭttĭ* ~ *mattĭ* 's/he went', *maŋĭn* ~ *mayn* 'let me walk', *maŋo* ~ *mo* 'walking'.

l : *alĭn=* ~ *an=* 'to take along', *palĭq* ~ *palq* ~ *paq* 'wall', *tĭlĭsti=* ~ *tĭsti=* 'to dream', *theŋĭlik* ~ *thelk* 'deaf; blind', *salĭwat=* ~ *suwat=* 'to put down'.

r : *sarĭmsaq* ~ *samsaq* 'garlic', *mĭrĭş* ~ *mĭş* 'cat'.

cluster: *saylĭq* ~ *saq* 'ewe'.

In the sequences $-sĭsĭ$ and $-zĭsĭ$ haplology is usually applied, e.g. */pĭr kĭsĭsĭŋki/* 'to each one person' is realized as *[pĭr kĭsĭŋĭ]*, */üzisĭnti/* 'upon it' as *[üsĭndĭ]*, */qozĭsĭnta/* 'below it' as *[qosĭnda]*, */qozĭsĭn/* 'his/her lamb' as *[qosĭn]*, and */sunzĭsĭŋqa/* 'to his/her grandson' as *[sunsĭŋga]*.

The verbs *pol=* 'to become, to be', *kel=* 'to come', *qhal=* 'to fall; to remain', *sal=* 'to put, to release', *niyĭl=* ~ *nil=* ~ *nal=* 'to do what', and *q^hop=* 'to rise' usually have clipped forms when a suffix is added (see further 6.2.1.).

²¹ But cf *maŋqan* (< *maŋ-qan*) 'went'.

²² For historical elisions still recorded by the older sources, see 3.3.18. - 3.3.20.

2.9. Preaspiration

Also operating as a distinguishing feature within the Western Yugur phonemic system is preaspiration, a rather rare phenomenon in languages. It is mainly described for Gaelic and Icelandic. Preaspiration possibly occurs only in languages that have lost voice as a distinguishing feature in consonants (cf Ó Murchú 1985: 197).

Phonetically, preaspiration can be described as an *h*-like element, or as a palatal or velar fricative, occurring between a vowel and a consonant, typically a plosive, but also an affricate, or even a sibilant (cf Shuken 1979: 452, and Ó Dochartaigh 1981: 235).

In the phonological transcription here, preaspiration will be indicated by a superscript *h*, accounting for the following phonetic realizations.

In Western Yugur, preaspiration is realized as a short, whispered (devoiced) continuation of the vowel in careful speech [V^h], e.g. *aht* 'horse' [aht^h], *eht*= 'to sound' [eht^h], *oht* 'grass' [ɔht^h], *köhp* 'much' [kɔhp^h], *pīht*= 'to suffice' [pīht^h], *ih̄t* 'meat' [ih̄t^h], *tuht*= 'to hold' [tuht^h], *soht*= 'to release' [sɔht^h], *thaytuht*= 'to throw away' [thayduht^h]. This is especially observable when the vowel is preceded by a sonant, e.g. *çowatmahtī* 'you're welcome' [çowat^hmahtī], *arahkī* 'liquor' [arahkī], *nūhker* 'friend' [nūhkeɹ].

In general however, notably in polysyllabic words, preaspiration spreads over the entire vowel, resulting in a completely whispered (devoiced) vowel [V̥], e.g. *ahtīs*= 'to make war' [ahtīs], *ehtīs*= 'to overtake' [ehtīs], *pīhtīr* 'last year' [pīhtīr], *kuhtkī* 'throat' [kuhtkī], *ūhkpi* 'lung' [ūhk^hpi], *kūhkīs* 'loins' [kūhkīs].

In the literature, these completely whispered (devoiced) vowels are inconsistently treated²³: they are recorded as a vowel preceding a preaspirated consonant, as a vowel following an aspirated consonant, or as a vowel having aspiration on both sides²⁴. Vowels following an aspirated consonant, however, are not whispered (devoiced), e.g. *khip* 'custom' [khip^h], not [*k^hip^h], *thaqan* 'flour' [thaqan], not [*^htaqan].

When preceding /q/ preaspiration is realized as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ], e.g. in *o^hqal*= 'to smell' [ɔ^χqal], *sī^hq*= 'to squeeze' [sī^χq], *to^hqtī* 'lamb' [tɔ^χq^htī], *qo^hqas* 'bird' [qɔ^χqas]. Preaspiration is also realized as [χ] in the following words, where it occurs between a low back vowel and /s/: *tahs* 'stone' [taχs], *ohs*= 'to be thirsty' [ɔχs], *yahs* 'year of age; tear' [yaχs], *yahs*= 'to hide' [yaχs], *tahsī*= 'to spill' [taχsī]. A uvular fricative is also pronounced in *tah̄t* 'Tibetan' [taχ̄t], and *ahtīm* 'gold' [aχ̄tīm ~ aχ̄tīm].

²³ E.g. *qaht* 'side' is recorded as *qaht^h*, *qhath^h*; *qahs* 'a few' as *qahs^h*, *qhas^h*, *qas^h*; *qīhrq*= 'to shave' as *qīhrq^h*=, *qhīrq^h*=, *qhīhrq^h*=; *quhrtqa* 'old woman' as *quhrtq^ha*, *qhurthqa*, *qhuhrthqa*; *qahçan* 'when' as *qahçan*, *qhaçan*, *qha^hçan*; *kuhtkī* 'throat' as *kuhtkī*, *khuthkī*; *pīhrqan* 'deity' as *pīhrqan*, *phurqan*, *phīhrqan*, *phīhrqhan*; *qohqa* 'chest', as *qohqa*, *qhoqa*, *qho^hqa*; *tahrt*= 'to tear', as *tahrt^h*=, *thahrt^h*=; *tahqayī* 'chicken' as *tahqayī*, *thaqayī*, *thahqayī*.

²⁴ In the case of *kīhçiy* 'small', *pīhtīy* 'book', *pīhçaq* 'knife', *tīhkin* 'thorn', *tuhtīn* 'tobacco', the same whispered (devoiced) vowel is recorded solely as *kīhçiy*, *pīhtīy*, *phuçaqh*, *tīhkin*, *thutīn* in the literature.

When following a high front vowel, preaspiration may be realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal fricative [ʃ], e.g. *iht* 'meat' [iʃt̪⁻], *yihp* 'rope' [ziʃp⁻], *ihciki* 'intestines' [iʃciḡi], *pihko* 'very' [piʃko], *ihcinti* 'in it' [iʃcindi], *ihcvti* 's/he drinks' [iʃcodi], *yih̄ti* 'I ate' [ziʃti], *ühcüz* 'three hundred' [ȳʃcüz]. In *töhr̄cin* 'village; chief', preaspiration is realized as [t̪ʃcin].

When following an initial /u/, preaspiration may be realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ʰ], e.g. *uhk=* 'to fly' [ʰʊk⁻], and *uht̪ir* 'frontside' [ʰʊt̪ir].

Preaspiration in Western Yugur only occurs preceding voiceless obstruents. However, the consonant may be preceded by a liquid, which is then devoiced; here too, preaspiration may spread over the entire vowel, e.g. *ahlt̪i* 'six' [aʰlt̪i ~ aʰlt̪i], *ahlt̪ir* 'underside' [aʰlt̪ir ~ aʰlt̪ir], *ahrqa* 'back' [aʰqa ~ aʰqa], *ehl̪ci* 'shaman' [eʰl̪ci], *qohlt̪iq* 'armpit' [qʰolt̪iq ~ qʰolt̪iq], *ih̄rq* 'omen' [iʰrq], *eh̄rti* 'early' [eʰrti], *eh̄rkik* 'male' [eʰkik], *qoh̄rq=* 'to fear' [qʰx̄q ~ qʰx̄q], *pah̄rsi* 'tiger' [pax̄si].

High vowels preceding a voiceless sibilant ((C)V_s, (C)V_s), or high vowels occurring between a voiceless sibilant and a plosive (sVC, ʃVC) tend to become reduced and whispered (devoiced) (see 2.1.11.); in this position, preaspiration is neutralized, except when it manifests itself as [x], e.g. as in *s̄ihq=* 'to squeeze' [s̄ixq], preceding *q*.

The following words with a low vowel preceding a voiceless sibilant show variation in preaspiration: *as=* ~ *ahs=* 'to cross', *tas* ~ *tahs* 'stone', *tas* ~ *tahs* 'outside', *pars̄i* ~ *pah̄rsi* 'tiger'.

In the case of *paš* 'head', preaspiration occurs in oblique forms, but not in the stem: *pah̄ci* 'his head', *pah̄c̄inta* 'at the beginning', *pah̄šta* 'on the head'.

In the following words, preaspiration occurs in oblique forms when a stem-initial suffix is added: *iš* 'inside', *iški* 'to the inside', *ih̄cinti* 'in it'; *iš=* 'to drink', *iški* 'drinking', *ih̄cvti* 's/he drinks', *uš* 'three', *uh̄cun* 'thirty', *üh̄cüz* 'three hundred'; *küš=* 'to migrate', *küh̄c̄ip par=* 'to go migrating'.

Preaspiration occurs predominantly in monosyllables, or in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word. In the following words, preaspiration occurs in the second syllable of the stem: *arah̄ki* 'liquor', *thamah̄qi* 'tobacco', *qhurah̄qe* 'insect', *am̄ihtan* 'animal', *khejkihr̄ki* 'drum', *šoryih̄l̪c̄in* ~ *sorih̄c̄in* 'ant', *surih̄c̄in* ~ *sereh̄ci* 'wild goose', *kiseh̄l̪ki* 'lizard', *amih̄ki* 'immediately', *sirah̄kin* 'three days from now', *untih̄rk̄in* 'four days from now', *orih̄kin* 'the day before yesterday', *orih̄kel* 'the year before last'.

Furthermore, preaspiration occurs in the completive suffix *-uht* (see 6.5.1.).

The past tense suffix *-(h)t̪i* (see 6.2.5.) is realized as *-ht̪i* following vowels, liquids, and *y*, e.g. *qaramah̄ti* [qaramah̄ti] 'I did not look' (*qarama=* 'not to look'), *pih̄lt̪i* [pih̄lt̪i] 'I knew' (*pil=* 'to know'), *peh̄rti* [peh̄rti] 'I gave' (*per=* 'to give'), *peh̄rti* [peh̄rti] 'I beat' (*p̄her=* 'to beat'), *soyh̄ti* [soyh̄ti] 'I peeled' (*soy=* 'to peel').

The third person possessive *-s̄i(n)* (see 4.2.) is occasionally realized with preaspiration, e.g. *yüs̄i* ~ *yüh̄s̄i* 'his/her house'.

Phonemically, the phenomenon of preaspiration is ambiguous; it can be interpreted either as a component of the preceding vowel or of the following consonant, as a separate phoneme, or as prosodic element.

Chén (1986) analyses preaspiration as belonging to the vowel system. Apart from the eight simplex vowels, he distinguishes a series of six aspirated vowels²⁵. He further assumes that the vowel and the aspiration element may undergo metathesis, with subsequent devoicing of the vowel²⁶; no conditions for this phenomenon are formulated. Perhaps this metathesis may simply be interpreted as a spreading of the preaspiration over the vowel. This analysis, however, does not account for the preaspiration that originates from affixation of the past tense suffix *-(h)tī*.

Tenišev (1976: 11-18) analyses preaspiration as belonging to the consonant system, in which e.g. /t/ is distinctive from /*ht*/. Depending on its position in a word, /*ht*/ is realized as [*t^h*] initially, as [*h^t*] medially, and as [*h^t ~ ht^h*] in final position. However, this analysis does not account for the aspirated consonants in intervocalic position, even though they are rare.

Here, preaspiration will be considered prosodic, as it cannot be ascribed to one phoneme, but its occurrence depends on the cooccurrence of two phonemes. Furthermore, it may take in its scope the entire vowel, to the extent that aspiration of the consonant preceding the vowel is neutralized (e.g. in *ph^{eh}rtī* 'I beat' [*pe^g.tī*]), and it renders a liquid between a vowel and consonant voiceless.

Below follow some (near) minimal pairs indicating the distinctiveness of simplex vowels versus preaspiration versus vowels preceded by aspirated consonants.

/e/ - /e^h/:

et= 'to do'

eht= 'to arrive; to sound'

/i/ - /i^h/:

kip 'coming'

kih^p 'much'

khip 'custom'

yit= 'to lead'

iht 'meat'

/ü/ - /ü^h/:

üsinti 'on it'

yühsinti 'at home'

/a/ - /a^h/:

at 'name'

ah^t 'horse', *ah^t*= 'to shoot'

yaqin= 'to cover'

yah^qin 'near'

yaq 'side'

yah^q 'no'

aq 'white'

ah^q= 'to flow'

art= 'to rub'

ah^{rt}= 'to be left over'

harti 's/he was tired'

arqas 'bag'

ah^{rqa} 'back'

aq^a 'elder bother'

ah^{ka} 'monk'

pathir 'hero'

pah^{tir}= 'to lose'

qaqa= 'to gnaw'

qah^{qan} 'when'

qh^{aca} 'too much'

qap 'bag'

qah^{qis}= 'to quarrel'

qh^{aq} 'dry'

taqa 'uncle'

tah^{qi} 'still', *tah^{qqan}* 'found'

t^{haqqan} 'flour'

²⁵ According to Chén (1986), preaspiration does not occur following the high front vowels.

²⁶ According to Chén & Léi (1985: 8), *V^{hC} > h^YC*, e.g. *ohth ~ hoth* 'grass', *ahth ~ hath* 'horse', and *CV^{hC} > C^hY^C*, e.g. *tehp^h ~ thep^h*= 'to kick'.

/o/ - /o^h/:

ot 'fire'

os= 'to seize'

otīŋ 'firewood'

orq= 'to be impatient'

/i/ - /i^h/:

sīk 'door'

pīt 'leg'

/u/ - /u^h/:

učin 'with'

tut= 'to pluck wool'

oht 'grass'

ohs= 'to be thirsty'

ohtīs 'thirty'

qo^hrq= 'to fear'

sī^hq= 'to squeeze'

pī^ht= 'to suffice'

uh^hcun 'thirty'

tu^ht= 'to hold'

q^hort= 'to make dry'

p^huti= 'to blow'

t^huti= 'to spit'

Below follow some (near) minimal pairs indicating the distinctiveness of simplex consonants versus preaspiration versus geminates.

parotī 's/he goes'

polotī 's/he becomes'

perotī 's/he gives'

yitī 'seven'

portaş 'fodder'

pa^hrtī 'I went'

po^hltī 'I became'

pe^hrtī 'I gave'

i^htik 'skirt'

o^hrta 'middle'

partī 's/he went'

pottī 's/he became'

per^htī 's/he gave'

i^httī 'meat' (ACC)

ortta= 'to slurp'

su al-ma-tī

su al-ma-^htī

thorla-p par-tī

men koya pa^hr-tī

's/he is a water-taker' (water take-VN-EV)

'I did not take water' (water take-NEG-PAST)

'I am starving' (be.hungry-CON present-EV)

'I went there' (I DEM/DAT go-PAST)

2.10. Word stress

Stress is on the final vowel of the word; if a suffix containing a vowel is added to a word, the stress shifts to this vowel.

The evidential particle *-tī* (see 7.3.2.) is usually unstressed, but the pronunciation changes to *-tv* when it bears emphatic stress. The same applies to the question particle *mī* (see 7.3.8.) which is realized *mw* when stressed.

2.11. Chinese loanwords

Most Western Yugur speakers are bilingual in Chinese and frequently employ Chinese words in their speech, both established loanwords and nonce loans. These loanwords originate not only from standard Chinese, but also from the Northwest Mandarin dialect. They are adapted to the Western Yugur phoneme system as follows. Chinese tones are not retained in Western Yugur.

The phoneme /f/ has been introduced from Chinese and occurs in Chinese loanwords only. It is realized as a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f], e.g. *fu* 'rich' <Ch fū.

The phoneme /*c^h*/ has been introduced from Chinese, and is realized as an aspirated apico-alveolar affricate [*c^h*]. Usually, however, /*c^h*/ is rendered /*s*/ in Western Yugur, e.g. *chay* ~ *sey* 'vegetables' <Chinese *cài*, *chunzǐ* ~ *sunzǐ* 'village' <Ch *cūnzi*.

Likewise, the Chinese phoneme /*c*/ is usually rendered /*z*/ in Western Yugur (see 2.4.9.), e.g. *can* ~ *zan* 'station' <NwM *can*²¹³, *luzǐ* 'oven' <Ch *lúzi*.

Chinese [ɛ]²⁷ is retained in Western Yugur (see also 2.1.4.), e.g. *ichen* 'before' <Ch *yǐqián*, *yüenwey* 'an official' <Ch *yuánwài*, *cekuo* 'as a result' <Ch *jiéguǒ*, *phenzǐ* 'tray' <Ch *pánzi*.

Chinese apical [ʎ] and retroflex [ʎ], allophones of the phoneme /*i*/ following the apical and retroflex phones respectively, are generally rendered /*ĩ*/ in Western Yugur²⁸, e.g. *sanzǐ* 'fan' <Ch *shànzi*, *lošǐ* 'teacher' <Ch *lǎoshī*.

The Chinese phoneme /*e*/, phonetically [ə], is generally rendered /*ĩ*/ in Western Yugur, e.g. *zǐli* 'to harass' <Ch *rě*; [ə] is retained in e.g. Western Yugur *ər* 'two' <Ch *èr*, *kar* 'song' <Ch *gē*, *phəŋyou* 'friend' <Ch *péngyou*.

The Chinese diphthong /*ai*/ is usually rendered /*ey*/ in Western Yugur (see also 2.1.4.), e.g. *keyzǐ* 'lid' <Ch *gàizi*, *seyli* 'to stuff in' <Ch *sāi*.

Currently, Chinese vowel sequences are generally retained in Western Yugur, but in older loanwords, they tend towards monophthongization, e.g. *kovke* 'pancake' <NwM *ku²⁴⁴k^huei*, *kuke* 'ankle' <NwM *ku²¹³kuai⁵¹*, *sü* 'boot' <Ch *xuē*, *yünzǐ* 'kitchen garden' <NwM *üen⁵⁴c₁*, *cuŋna* 'to put into a pocket' <Ch *zhuāng*, *khuy* 'basket' <Ch *kuāng*, *lotila* 'to talk nonsense' <Ch *láo dao*, (NwM *l⁵¹t⁴⁴*)²⁹, *cula* 'to rescue' <Ch *jiù*, *khula* 'to place a cup or bowl upside down' <Ch *kòu*, *chili* '(of an animal) to hold in the mouth' <NwM *ç^hie⁵¹*, *nili* 'to knead' <Ch *niē*.

Chinese syllable initial /*i*, *ü*/ have [*yi*, *yü*] as free allophones; this allophony is reflected in Western Yugur in e.g. *iyay* ~ *yiyay* 'similar' <Ch *yīyàng*, *yür* 'fish' <Ch *yúr*, and may even have [ʐ] as an allophone (see 2.4.27.), e.g. *yimīyiyay* [*zimīziyay*] 'exactly alike' <Ch *yīmú-yīyàng*.

Chinese syllable initial /*u*/ has [*wu*] as a free allophone, reflected in e.g. Western Yugur *wu* 'dance' <Ch *wǔ* (see also 2.5.).

The Chinese syllable initial vowel sequences /*ia*, *iau*, *iou*, *üe*, *ua*, *uai*, *uei*/, all starting with a high vowel, are rendered *y*-, *w*- in Western Yugur, e.g. *yayzǐ* 'form' <Ch *yàngzi*, *yola* 'to shake' <Ch *yáo*, *youpinzǐ* 'oil cake' <Ch *yóubǐng*, *yüe* 'month' <Ch *yuè*, *wala* 'to gouge out' <Ch *wā*, *yüenwey* 'an official' <Ch *yuánwài*, *weyla* 'to heat (the kang)' <Ch *wēi*.

Typical of the Northwest Mandarin dialect is the pronunciation *ŋ*, *x* for standard Chinese *n*, *s*, which is occasionally reflected in Western Yugur, e.g. *küŋpŋ* 'at all' <NwM *kəŋ²¹pəŋ⁵²*, *ixa* ~ *yixa* 'all of a sudden' <NwM *i²¹³x^{a213}*, for standard Chinese *gēnběn* and *yīxià*.

²⁷ The phone [ɛ] occurs in Chinese as an allophone of /*a*/, or as a component of the diphthongs /*ie* *üe*/ or the triphthong /*üüe*/.

²⁸ Chén and Léi, however, usually follow the Hànyǔ Pīnyīn convention here and spell *ĩ*.

²⁹ The Northwest Mandarin dialect has /*o*/ corresponding to standard Chinese *ao* /*au*/.

3. Historical phonology

Before embarking on the historical phonology of the Western Yugur language, some problems concerning Turkic historical linguistics will be outlined.

The proto-system that is generally constructed for the Turkic languages starts out from the oldest Turkic language materials, the Orkhon runic inscriptions of the 8th century, carved on steles found in Mongolia, and the linguistically very similar Old Uygur manuscripts of subsequent centuries, found predominantly in Xīnjiāng. One of the most comprehensive sources of information is Mahmud Kashgari's 'Compendium of Turkic dialects', composed in the 11th century. All these older language materials have been compiled by Clauson in his 'Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish' (1972). In the 13th century, the conquests of the Mongols put an end to the writing tradition of this so called Old Turkic period. Later documents are written in Turkic languages different from Old Turkic.

Reconstructing a proto-language from these older materials is complicated by the fact that the Old Turkic documents were written in a variety of scripts which often only imperfectly render the phonemic system of the language, thus allowing for different readings. Furthermore, not much is known about other Turkic dialects and/or languages of this period, apart from a few indications by Mahmud Kashgari.

A second source of information for reconstructing the proto-system of the Turkic languages are the Turkic languages spoken today. Modern materials are being compiled in the 'Etymological Dictionary of Turkic Languages' (Sevortjan 1974-). Especially Turkmen, Yakut and Khalaj have attracted attention as they display vowel length, and, in the case of Khalaj, also *h*- which is almost not existent elsewhere.

The development of the aberrant Chuvash and its classification (whether forming a separate, very archaic, branch of Turkic languages, or a more recent departure from a Turkic language not unlike the present day **adak* languages (Nauta 1997, personal communication) has not been satisfactorily solved yet. Thus, Chuvash is generally not taken into consideration when reconstructing Turkic proto-forms, and therefore these reconstructed forms are traditionally labeled Common Turkic (CT), not Proto-Turkic.

Many details concerning the subgrouping of the Turkic languages, especially of the peripheral languages, have not been solved yet.

The phonemic system reconstructed for Common Turkic (CT) so far consists of eight¹ vowels *i e ü ö ĩ a u o* and vowel length, and 18 consonants, *p b t d k g č s z š m n ñ ŋ l r y h*.

Vowel length will be assumed here only if attested in Turkmen and/or Yakut, and not solely on the basis of the older Turkic sources. The distribution of the plosives remains problematic.

¹ There is no basis for reconstructing a ninth vowel **é*, as Nauta 1994 convincingly argues.

3.1. Developments of the vowels

The Common Turkic (CT) vowel system contains eight vowels, four front vowels, *e i ö ü*, and four back vowels, *a ĩ o u*. The development of the CT quantitative feature of vowel length will be treated separately (see 3.4.).

3.1.1. In general, CT *i > WYu ĩ:

CT *iĉ	> WYu ĩş 'inside'
CT *ĩni	> WYu ĩnĩ 'younger brother'
CT *kiři	> WYu kĩsĩ 'person'
NE *iliġ	> WYu ĩliġ 'hand'
CT *ki:r=	> WYu khĩr= 'to enter'

3.1.2. CT *i is retained as WYu i when preceded by *y:

CT *yig	> WYu yiy 'raw'
CT *yin	> WYu yin 'dung'
CT *yigıt	> WYu yiyıt 'young man'
CT *yip	> WYu yihp 'rope'

3.1.3. CT *i is retained as WYu i when preceded by *ĉ:

CT *iĉinte	> WYu iĉinti 'inside of it' ²
CT *iĉekü > *iĉiki	> WYu iĉikĩ 'intestines' ²
CT *iĉür= > *iĉir=	> WYu iĉir= 'to give to drink' (see also 3.1.16.)
CT *ĉikenek	> WYu ĉhikinik 'elbow'
CT *kiĉig	> WYu kĩhĉiy 'small'

3.1.4. There are a few irregular developments of CT *i (see also 3.1.22.):

CT *kigür=	> WYu kheyĩr= 'to bring' (not *khĩyĩr=)
CT *inek	> WYu enik 'cow' (not *ĩnik)
CT *senler > *seler ~ *siler	> WYu selir 'you (PL)'
CT *elĉi	> WYu ehĩĉĩ 'shaman' (not *ehĩĉi ³)

3.1.5. In general, CT *ĩ > WYu ĩ:

CT *altĩ	> WYu ahltĩ 'six'
CT *tamĩr	> WYu tamĩr 'vein'
CT *aġĩrlĩġ	> WYu ayĩrlĩġ 'expensive'
CT *kĩliĉ	> WYu qĩliş 'sword'
CT *kĩ:z	> WYu qĩz 'girl'

² The CT simplex stems *iĉ 'inside', *iĉ= 'to drink' developed regularly into WYu **ĩş**, **ĩş=**; the WYu declensional and derived forms, however, retained initial **ĩ-** and developed CT *ĉ > ĉ when the stem is followed by a vowel.

³ The CT agent suffix *-ĉĩ always developed into WYu **-ĉĩ**, not *-ĉĩ.

3.1.6. CT **ī* > WYu *i* when preceded by **y*:

CT * <i>yīq</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yīq</i> = 'to collect'
CT * <i>yīl</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yīl</i> 'year'
CT * <i>yūdī</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yizī</i> = 'to rot'
CT * <i>yīlan</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yīlan</i> 'snake'
CT * <i>yīlīg</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yīlīg</i> '(luke)warm'

CT high rounded vowels **u* **ü* have developed according to the same pattern as CT **i* **ī*, but in non-first syllables, CT rounded vowels are generally not retained.

3.1.7. In general, CT **iī* > WYu *u*:

CT * <i>iīč</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>uŝ</i> 'three' ⁴
NE * <i>tūl</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>thul</i> = 'to cook, to boil, to braise'
CT * <i>tütün</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>tuhtün</i> 'to smoke'
CT * <i>küidegü</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>kuziyi</i> 'bridegroom'
CT * <i>iī:n</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>un</i> = 'to come out'

3.1.8. CT **iī* is retained as WYu *ü* when preceded by **y*:

CT * <i>yü:z</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yüz</i> 'hundred; face'
CT * <i>yürek</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yürek</i> 'heart'

3.1.9. There are a few irregular developments of CT **iī* (mostly occurring near a labial consonant, see also 3.1.12):

CT * <i>büt</i> = > * <i>but</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>pñt</i> = 'to suffice'
CT * <i>bük</i> = > * <i>bök</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>phək</i> = 'to bend' (not * <i>phuk</i> =)
CT * <i>tü:l</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>tīl</i> 'dream' (not * <i>tul</i>)

3.1.10. In general, CT **u* > WYu *u*:

CT * <i>kuš</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>qus</i> 'bird'
CT * <i>tut</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>tuht</i> = 'to hold'
CT * <i>tulum</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>thulim</i> 'bag'
CT * <i>tuturkan</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>tuhtirgan</i> 'rice'
CT * <i>bulgar</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>pulyar</i> 'leather'
CT * <i>bu:ka</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>puqa</i> 'bull'

3.1.11. CT **u* > WYu *ü* when preceded by **y*:

CT * <i>yu</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yü</i> = 'to wash'
CT * <i>yilgun</i> > * <i>yulyun</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yülyin</i> 'a kind of tree'
CT * <i>uyat</i> = > * <i>yuat</i> =	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yüat</i> = 'to be shy'
CT * <i>yabiz</i> > * <i>yus</i>	> WY <u>u</u> <i>yüs</i> 'bad' (see also 3.3.2.)

⁴ The CT simplex stem **iīč* developed regularly into WYu *uŝ*, but in the derived forms *ühcüs* 'three hundred' (a crasis of *uŝ* 'three' + *yüz* 'hundred'), and *ühcüsī* 'the three of them', *ü* is retained.

3.1.12. CT *u > WYu ĭ near a labial consonant:

CT *bulut	> WYu <i>pulit</i> ~ <i>pilit</i> 'cloud'
CT *buğra	> WYu <i>pīrya</i> 'camel stallion'
CT *bu:t	> WYu <i>pīt</i> 'leg'
CT *bu:z	> WYu <i>pīz</i> 'ice'
CT *burkan	> WYu <i>pīhrqan</i> 'deity'
CT *tumšuk	> WYu <i>tīmsiy</i> 'mouth'
CT *turma	> WYu <i>tirma</i> 'turnip'

3.1.13. CT *u > WYu o, mainly preceding *r and *g, or near *k, e.g.:

CT *ur=	> WYu <i>or=</i> 'to saddle'
CT *urug	> WYu <i>orīy</i> ~ <i>oruy</i> 'relative'
CT *burun	> WYu <i>phorn</i> 'before; front'
CT *kur	> WYu <i>qhor</i> 'girdle'
CT *kurīt=	> WYu <i>qhort=</i> 'to make dry'
CT *tug=	> WYu <i>toy=</i> 'to be born'
CT *kum	> WYu <i>qhom</i> 'sand'
CT *kuškač	> WYu <i>qohqaš</i> 'bird'
CT *kuzī	> WYu <i>qozī</i> 'lamb'
CT *us=	> WYu <i>ohs=</i> 'to be thirsty'
CT *ubšak	> WYu <i>ohšaq</i> 'crumb'
CT *udgan=	> WYu <i>uzyan=</i> ~ <i>ozyan=</i> 'to wake up'
CT *suktu	> WYu <i>soqtī</i> 'sausage'

In non-first syllables, CT high rounded vowels generally have developed into WYu high unrounded vowels.

3.1.14. CT non-initial *u > WYu ĭ:

CT *altun	> WYu <i>ahltīm</i> 'gold'
CT *a:zuk	> WYu <i>azīq</i> 'food'
CT *yagmur	> WYu <i>yaymīr</i> 'rain'
CT *bođu=	> WYu <i>pozī=</i> 'to paint, to dye'

3.1.15. CT non-initial *ü > *u > WYu ĭ:

CT *bi:ndür=	> WYu <i>mīntīr=</i> 'to cause to mount'
CT *yetkür=	> WYu <i>ehtkīr=</i> 'to cause to arrive'
CT *bedü=	> WYu <i>pezī=</i> 'to be large'
CT *köküz	> WYu <i>kūhkīs</i> 'loins'
CT *kō:kerčkün	> WYu <i>kūkiškīn</i> 'pigeon'

3.1.16. CT non-initial *ü > WYu i when preceded by *č (see also 3.1.3.):

CT *üčün	> WYu <i>učin</i> 'with; using'
CT *ičür=	> WYu <i>ičir=</i> 'to give to drink'

3.1.17. Only rarely is a rounded vowel in the non-first syllable retained; usually there is a rounded vowel in the first syllable.

CT **uzun* > WYu *uzīn* ~ *uzun* 'long'
 CT **ečkü* > **öškü* > **üškü* > WYu *şuku* 'goat' (see also 3.1.18., 3.1.25., 3.3.14.)
 CT **öŋgüč* > **oŋguč* > WYu *oŋkuş* 'Adam's Apple'

3.1.18. In the following words, unrounding of the vowel in the second syllable took place after causing rounding of the vowel of the first syllable:

CT **yılgun* > **yulyun* > WYu *yülyin* 'kind of tree'
 CT **sıgun* > **sugun* > WYu *suyin* 'deer'
 CT **tilkü* > **tülkü* > WYu *thulkı* 'fox'
 CT **ečkü* > **öškü* > **üškü* > WYu *şuku* 'goat' (see also 3.1.25., 3.1.17., 3.3.14.)

3.1.19. The development of CT high vowels is complicated by the fact that in several words a prosthetic **y* arose, or aphaeresis of **y* took place (after the development CT **yī* > *yi* and **yu* > *yü*) (see further 3.2.34.). It seems not possible to establish conditions for these developments⁵.

	prosthesis	vowel fronting	aphaeresis	
CT <i>*yi:nčke</i>			> <i>*işke</i>	> WYu <i>siki</i> 'slender' ⁶
CT <i>*yımşak</i>		> <i>*yimşak</i>	> <i>*imşak</i>	> WYu <i>imsaq</i> 'soft'
CT <i>*yımşa=</i>		> <i>*yimşa=</i>	> <i>*imşa=</i>	> WYu <i>imsa=</i> 'to use' ⁷
CT <i>*ü:ze</i>	> <i>*yüze</i>		> <i>*üze</i>	> WYu <i>üzi</i> 'upside'
CT <i>*ığaç</i>	> <i>*yığaç</i>	> <i>*yığaç</i>		> WYu <i>yıyaş</i> 'wood'
CT <i>*i:gla=</i>	> <i>*yığla=</i>	> <i>*yığla=</i>		> WYu <i>yilya=</i> 'to cry'
CT <i>*iñjir</i>	> <i>*yıñjir</i>	> <i>*yıñjir</i>		> WYu <i>yıñjir</i> 'evening'
CT <i>*ır</i>	> <i>*yır</i>	> <i>*yır</i>		> WYu <i>yer</i> 'song'
CT <i>*iriñ</i>	> <i>*yiriñ</i>	> <i>*yiriñ</i>		> WYu <i>yiriñ</i> 'snot'
CT <i>*igne</i>	> <i>*yigne</i>			> WYu <i>yigni</i> 'needle'
CT <i>*üm</i>	> <i>*yüm</i>			> WYu <i>yüm</i> 'trousers'

3.1.20. In the following two words, aphaeresis of CT **y* took place prior to the development of **yī* > *yi* and **yu* > *yü*.

CT **yütig* > **ütig* > WYu *ıştīy* 'sharp'
 CT **yu(m)duruk* > **udürük* > WYu *uzürük* 'fist'

⁵ No prosthetic **Y* occurred in WYu *iħçikī* 'intestines', *iħçir=* 'to give to drink', *inī* 'younger brother', *ısıy* 'warm', *iħrq* 'omen', *ıs* 'smoke; work', *iş* 'inside', *iş=* 'to drink', *işt* 'dog', *işt=* 'to push', *enik* 'cow'; CT words with an initial rounded high vowel *ü* usually do not show prosthetic **Y* in WYu, and CT **Y* preceding a rounded high vowel *ü* is not very susceptible to aphaeresis in WYu.

⁶ See also 3.3.14.

⁷ A WYu variant *yimsa=* exists as well.

3.1.21. In general, CT *e > WYu i:

CT *et	> WYu <i>ih̄t</i> 'meat'
CT *ye:=	> WYu <i>yi=</i> 'to eat'
CT *kem	> WYu <i>kim</i> 'disease'
CT *yel	> WYu <i>yil</i> ~ <i>yel</i> 'wind'
CT *etek	> WYu <i>ih̄tik</i> 'skirt'

3.1.22. CT *e is often retained as WYu e when preceding *r *l *g or *ŋ in the first syllable:

CT *eren	> WYu <i>erin</i> 'man'
CT *yer	> WYu <i>yer</i> 'place'
CT *kel=	> WYu <i>kel=</i> 'to come'
CT *teg=	> WYu <i>tey=</i> 'to touch'
CT *ke:ŋ	> WYu <i>kh̄eŋ</i> 'wide'

3.1.23. CT *e is irregularly retained as WYu e when preceding *n or *m in the first syllable:

CT *e:nlig	> WYu <i>enn̄iy</i> 'broad'
CT *ermez > *emez	> WYu <i>emis</i> 'is not'
CT *temir	> WYu <i>tem̄ir</i> 'iron'

3.1.24. Other exceptions in which CT *e is retained as WYu e are:

CT *eder=	> WYu <i>ezer=</i> 'to follow'
NE *ezenqi	> WYu <i>ezenk̄i</i> 'stirrup'
CT *teke	> WYu <i>theke</i> 'male goat'
CT *bediik	> WYu <i>pez̄ik</i> 'big'

3.1.25. Irregular developments of CT *e are:

CT *beŋi	> WYu <i>mune</i> 'brain' (not *meŋi)
CT *bek > *pik	> WYu <i>ph̄ik</i> 'force' (not *pik ~ *ph̄ik)
CT *ečkü > *öškü > *üškü	> WYu <i>suku</i> 'goat' (see also 3.1.17., 3.1.18., 3.3.14.)
CT *ezük > *özüik > *üzük	> WYu <i>uz̄ik</i> 'lie'

3.1.26. In general, CT *ö > WYu ü:

CT *öpke	> WYu <i>üh̄kpi</i> 'lung'
CT *kō:k	> WYu <i>kük</i> 'blue'
CT *čömken	> WYu <i>ch̄ünkh̄in</i> 'meadow'

3.1.27. CT *ö is retained as WYu ö when preceding *r *l or *ŋ in the first syllable:

CT *kör=	> WYu <i>kör=</i> 'to see'
CT *kō:l	> WYu <i>kh̄öl</i> 'lake'
CT *köŋül	> WYu <i>köŋül</i> 'heart, emotion'

3.1.28. Other exceptions in which CT *ö is retained as WYu ö are:

CT *köz	> WYu <i>köz</i> 'eye' (probably by analogy with <i>kör=</i> 'to see')
CT *köp	> WYu <i>köh̄p</i> 'much, many'
CT *köm=	> WYu <i>kh̄öm=</i> 'to bury'.

3.1.29. In the following words, delabialization CT *ö > WYu *e* occurred (most often, but not exclusively, near a labial consonant):

CT *köp	> WYu <i>köh̥p</i> ~ <i>keh̥p</i> ~ <i>kīhp</i> 'much, many'
CT *börk	> WYu <i>pher̥k</i> 'hat'
CT *bögiür	> WYu <i>ph̥ey̥ir</i> 'kidney'
CT *köleke	> WYu <i>kheleke</i> 'shade'
CT *töjü	> WYu <i>thej̥i</i> 'deaf'

3.1.30. Irregular developments of CT *ö > WYu *o* occur in:

CT *ögür	> WYu <i>oy̥ir</i> 'herd' (not *öy̥ir ~ *üy̥ir)
CT *öngüç	> WYu <i>on̥kuş</i> 'Adam's apple' (not *öng̥k̥iş ~ *üng̥k̥iş)

3.1.31. In the following words (mainly preceding *z*), CT *ö > *ü > WYu *u*:

CT *ö:z	> WYu <i>uz̥i</i> 'self' (+ a POS3 *i)
CT *özge	> WYu <i>uzki</i> 'otherwise'
CT *özüt	> WYu <i>uz̥it</i> 'devil'
CT *öñdün	> WYu <i>unt̥in</i> 'east'
CT *ö:riük=	> WYu <i>uh̥k=</i> 'to fly'

3.1.32. The development of CT low front vowels is complicated by the fact that in several words a prosthetic **y* arose, or aphaeresis of **y* took place (see further 3.2.34.). It seems not possible to establish conditions for these developments⁸.

	prosthesis	vowel raising	
CT *öl=	> *yöl=	> *yül=	> WYu <i>yül=</i> 'to die'
CT *öt:t	> *yöt	> *yüt	> WYu <i>yüt</i> 'bile'
CT *eb ⁹	> *yö	> *yü	> WYu <i>yü</i> 'house'
CT *örü	> *yörü	> *yür̥i	> WYu <i>yür̥i</i> 'upwards'
CT *ögren=	> *yögren=		> WYu <i>yöry̥in=</i> 'to learn'
CT *ör=	> *yör=		> WYu <i>yör=</i> 'to plait'
CT *ebiril= ⁹	> *yöril=		> WYu <i>yör̥l̥i=</i> 'to turn'
NE *egeş	> *yegeş	> *yig̥iş	> WYu <i>yiy̥iş</i> 'female dog'
CT *egin	> *yegin	> *yig̥in	> WYu <i>yiy̥in</i> 'shoulder'
CT *egir=	> *yegir=	> *yig̥ir=	> WYu <i>yiy̥ir=</i> 'to twist'
CT *em	> *yem	> *yim	> WYu <i>yim</i> 'medicin'
CT *em=	> *yem=	> *yim=	> WYu <i>yim=</i> 'to suck'
CT *eṅ	> *yey̥	> *yiy̥	> WYu <i>yiy̥</i> 'SUP'
CT *eriür	> *yeriür		> WYu <i>yer</i> 'right'

⁸ No prosthetic **y* occurred in WYu *enik* 'cow', *eh̥lç̥i* 'shaman', *emis* 'is not', *eneht=* 'to sound', *enn̥iy̥* 'broad', *eh̥rk̥iş* 'wether', *eh̥rk̥ik* 'male', *eh̥rk̥i* 'old', *eh̥rk̥is* 'twin', *eh̥rt̥i* 'early', *et=* 'to make', *ezen̥k̥i* 'stirrup', *ezer* 'saddle', *ezer=* 'to follow', *iç̥i* 'aunt', *iḥ̥ki* 'elder sister', *iş̥in* 'peace', *iş̥i* 'self', *iş̥ir=* 'to be drunk', *iş̥k̥inni=* 'to scrape the hoof', *iḥ̥tik* 'skirt', *üḥ̥k̥pi* 'lung'.

⁹ CT **ebi* > WYu *ö* (see 3.3.3.).

CT <i>*yene</i>	> <i>*yeni</i>	> <i>*eni</i>	> WYu <i>eni</i> 'again'
CT <i>*yet=</i>	> <i>*yit=</i>	> <i>*it=</i>	> WYu <i>eht=</i> ~ <i>ih̄t=</i> 'to arrive'
CT <i>*yegen</i>	> <i>*yiqin</i>	> <i>*iqin</i>	> WYu <i>iyin</i> 'nephew'
CT <i>*yelim</i>	> <i>*yilim</i>	> <i>*ilim</i>	> WYu <i>ilim</i> 'glue'

3.1.33. The following two WYu words have a variant with and without initial *y*, though in the case of *ih̄t* 'meat', the form with *y* occurs only very rarely.

CT <i>*et</i>	> <i>*yet</i>	> <i>*yit</i>	> WYu (<i>y</i>) <i>ih̄t</i> 'meat'
CT <i>*eren</i>	> <i>*yeren</i>	> <i>*yerin</i>	> WYu (<i>y</i>) <i>erin</i> 'man'

3.1.34. In general, CT **a* > WYu *a*:

CT <i>*a:t</i>	> WYu <i>at</i> 'name'.
CT <i>*a:č̄i=</i>	> WYu <i>ač̄i=</i> 'to be or become worried'
CT <i>*ana</i>	> WYu <i>ana</i> 'mother'
CT <i>*ya:g</i>	> WYu <i>yay</i> 'oil'
CT <i>*uzak</i>	> WYu <i>uzaq</i> 'far'

3.1.35. CT **ay* > WYu *ey* ~ *e*, or, in the non-first syllable, *i*:

CT <i>*tay</i>	> WYu <i>tey</i> 'two-year-old foal'
CT <i>*yay</i>	> WYu <i>e</i> 'summer'
CT <i>*atay</i>	> WYu <i>ahti</i> 'small'
CT <i>*kitañ</i> > <i>*kitay</i>	> WYu <i>qh̄iti</i> 'Chinese'

3.1.36. In general, CT **o* > WYu *o*:

CT <i>*kol</i>	> WYu <i>qol</i> 'arm'
CT <i>*kop=</i>	> WYu <i>qoh̄p=</i> 'to get up'
CT <i>*oglan</i>	> WYu <i>olyan</i> 'boy'
CT <i>*bog=</i>	> WYu <i>phoy=</i> 'to tie with a rope'

3.1.37. CT **o* > WYu *u* in the following instances only:

CT <i>*oglak</i>	> WYu <i>olyaq</i> ~ <i>ulyaq</i> 'kid goat'
CT <i>*kod̄i</i>	> WYu <i>quz̄i</i> 'downwards'
CT <i>*toprak</i> > <i>torwak</i>	> WYu <i>turaq</i> 'soil' (see also 3.2.4.)
CT <i>*čomak</i>	> WYu <i>čumaq</i> 'stick'

Irregular vowel developments are the following:

3.1.38. Loss of an initial vowel¹⁰:

CT <i>*ökǖz</i>	> WYu <i>kus</i> 'bovine'
CT <i>*id(d)iš</i>	> WYu <i>tīs</i> 'cauldron'
CT <i>*ešik</i>	> WYu <i>sik</i> 'door'
CT <i>*eyekǖi</i>	> WYu <i>yikh̄i</i> 'rib'

¹⁰ The older sources still record *uh̄kus* and *ih̄tīs* with initial vowel as well.

3.1.39. Loss of a final high vowel, often following *r, maybe motivated by suffix reanalysis:

CT *tarī=	> WYu <i>tar=</i> 'to sow'
CT *karī	> WYu <i>qhar</i> 'old'
CT *yakšī	> WYu <i>yahş</i> 'good'
CT *teri	> WYu <i>therī</i> ~ <i>ther</i> 'skin'
CT *üigi=	> WYu <i>uyī=</i> ~ <i>uy=</i> 'to grind'
CT *taŋkaru	> WYu <i>taŋqar</i> 'morning'
CT *taşkaru	> WYu <i>taşqar</i> 'outside'

3.1.40. Addition of a final vowel *ī* maybe motivated by suffix reanalysis as well:

CT *öz	> WYu <i>uzī</i> 'self' (+ a POS3 * <i>ī</i>)
CT *taş=	> WYu <i>tahsī=</i> 'to overflow'
CT *sanč=	> WYu <i>sancī=</i> 'to pierce' (see also 3.3.5.)
CT *bars	> WYu <i>pahrsī</i> 'tiger'
CT *ter	> WYu <i>ther</i> ~ <i>therī</i> 'sweat'

3.1.41. Examples of irregular rounding of CT **i* and **e* (perhaps induced by a retroflex *r*¹¹) are:

CT *ilersük > *irelsük	> WYu <i>örlisik</i> 'belt' (not * <i>ir</i> lisik) (see also 3.3.9.).
CT *ters	> WYu <i>töhrsraq</i> 'reverse' (? + <i>yaq</i> 'side')

3.1.42. Other irregular vowel developments are:

CT *yonak	> WYu <i>inaq</i> 'blanket'
CT *yuntak	> WYu <i>intaq</i> ~ <i>imtaq</i> 'equine dung'
CT *ča:nak	> WYu <i>činaq</i> 'cup'
CT *inken	> WYu <i>unkin</i> 'female camel'
CT *sekiz	> WYu <i>saqīs</i> 'eight' ¹²

3.1.43. Vowel sequences in Western Yugur are few, and usually arose through ellipsis:

CT *baya	> WYu <i>piayir</i> 'a few days ago' (? + <i>khun</i> 'day') ¹³
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3.1.44. WYu developed a number of final consonant clusters through ellipsis of a high vowel:

CT *karin	> WYu <i>qharn</i> 'belly'
CT *kelin	> WYu <i>kheln</i> 'bride'
CT *arīt=	> WYu <i>art=</i> 'to whipe'
CT *kurīt=	> WYu <i>qhort=</i> 'to dry'
CT *ayīt=	> WYu <i>ayt=</i> 'to ask' ¹⁴

¹¹ Cf also the loanword *örçü* 'stuff' <LT rgyu, with epenthetic vowel *ö*, not *ī*.

¹² Elsewhere front vocalic, except for Yakut.

¹³ A similar example from the literature is *pia* 'wormwood' (Léi 1992: 60b) <*biya <*buya <CT *buda 'liquorice' (cf EDPT 299a), with an irregular development of CT **d* here.

¹⁴ In this word, the high vowel was apparently elided early, as the form **ayt=* occurs in several Turkic languages.

3.2. Developments of the consonants

The phonemic system generally reconstructed for CT consists of the consonants *p b t d k g ċ s š z m n ñ ŋ l r y h*. The WYu plosive and affricate system cannot directly be connected with the CT opposition of a voiced versus a voiceless series, due to its distributional peculiarities. Apparently the CT plosives **b *t *k*, and affricate **č* in initial position split into a voiceless series *p t k q ç ċ* and an aspirated series *p^h t^h k^h q^h ç^h ċ^h*, without any apparent conditions, and the CT plosives **p *d *g*, which only occurred non-initially, became fricatives *w z ɣ*; following sonants, however, **d* is retained as a plosive.

The vowel harmonic opposition between front and back vowels (which is much reduced in WYu as a result of the vowel shifts) is partly replaced by a consonant opposition, *k k^h ç ç^h* occurring in originally front vocalic words, and *q q^h ċ ċ^h* in originally back vocalic words, as a result of a phonemic split of CT **k* into WYu *k* and *q*, and **č* into WYu *ç* and *ċ*.

Furthermore, CT **š *z *l *r *m *ñ *ŋ* did not occur initially, and **n* only in a limited class of words, all related to the interrogative pronoun **ne*: 'what'. CT **h* was almost completely lost at an early date.

3.2.1. In initial position, CT **b* > WYu *p* or, less frequently, *p^h*:

CT <i>*bagır</i>	> WYu <i>payır</i> 'liver'
CT <i>*bar</i>	> WYu <i>par</i> 'present'
CT <i>*ba:ɣla=</i>	> WYu <i>phalya=</i> 'to bind'
CT <i>*bog=</i>	> WYu <i>phoy=</i> 'to tie with a rope'

3.2.2. CT initial **b* > WYu *m* in words that contain a nasal:

CT <i>*ben</i>	> WYu <i>men</i> 'I'
CT <i>*ba:n=</i>	> WYu <i>man=</i> 'to wear'
CT <i>*boyun</i>	> WYu <i>moyn</i> 'neck'

A plosive **b* in this initial position is only preserved in WYu *phorn* 'before; front' < CT **burun* 'nose'.

WYu *mız* 'we' < CT **biz* most likely developed an *m-* under influence of the first person of the personal pronoun paradigm *men* 'I'. WYu is the only Turkic language having initial *m-* in this word.

3.2.3. In intervocalic position and following liquids, CT **b*, **p* merged into WYu *w*:

CT <i>*tabar</i>	> WYu <i>tawar</i> 'silk'
CT <i>*či:pın</i>	> WYu <i>çiwın</i> 'mosquito, fly'
CT <i>*čolpan</i>	> WYu <i>çholwan</i> 'Big Dipper'
CT <i>*harpa</i>	> WYu <i>harwa</i> 'barley' (see also 3.2.37.)

WYu *kirmik* 'eyelash' (not **kırwık*) <CT **kirpik* shows an irregular development **p* > *m* here.

The exceptional intervocalic plosive in WYu *qhapaq* 'lid' arises from a cluster CT **kapkak* > **kappak* (see also 3.3.10.).

3.2.3a. In final position, CT **p* is preserved as such, and CT **b* has disappeared:

CT <i>*ti:p</i>	> WYU <i>tīp</i> 'base'
CT <i>*kōp</i>	> WYU <i>kōhp</i> 'many, much'
CT <i>*su:b</i>	> WYU <i>su</i> 'water'
CT <i>*ubšak</i>	> WYU <i>ohšaq</i> 'crumbs'

3.2.4. CT **p* irregularly developed **w* > \emptyset :

CT <i>*tapuzmaq</i>	> WYU <i>thazmaq</i> 'riddle'
CT <i>*toprak</i> > <i>*torwak</i>	> WYU <i>turaq</i> 'soil' ¹⁵ (see also 3.3.5., 3.1.37.)

3.2.5. In initial position, CT **t* > WYU *t* or, less frequently, *th*:

CT <i>*tarī=</i>	> WYU <i>tar=</i> 'to sow'
CT <i>*temir</i>	> WYU <i>temir</i> 'iron'
CT <i>*ta:r</i>	> WYU <i>thar</i> 'narrow'
CT <i>*tōjü</i>	> WYU <i>thejü</i> 'deaf'

WYU *çhi* 'camel' < CT **tebe* is exceptional.

3.2.6. In intervocalic position, or when following a liquid, CT **t* > WYU *t*:

CT <i>*o:tuj</i>	> WYU <i>otij</i> 'firewood'
CT <i>*ka:tun</i>	> WYU <i>qatın</i> 'wife'
CT <i>*katir</i>	> WYU <i>qhatir</i> 'mule'
CT <i>*kötür=</i>	> WYU <i>kühtir=</i> 'to carry'
CT <i>*tütün</i>	> WYU <i>tuhtin</i> 'tobacco'
CT <i>*altun</i>	> WYU <i>ahltim</i> 'gold'

3.2.7. CT intervocalic, final, or preconsonantal **d* > WYU *z*.

CT <i>*adak</i>	> WYU <i>azaq</i> 'foot'
CT <i>*udī=</i>	> WYU <i>uzi=</i> 'to sleep'
CT <i>*kuduruk</i>	> WYU <i>quzirüq</i> 'tail'
CT <i>*ked=</i>	> WYU <i>kiz=</i> 'to dress'
CT <i>*tod=</i>	> WYU <i>toz=</i> 'to eat one's fill'
CT <i>*udgan=</i>	> WYU <i>uzyan=</i> 'to wake up'
CT <i>*udgar=</i>	> WYU <i>uzyar=</i> 'to cause to wake up'
CT <i>*adgür</i>	> WYU <i>azyir</i> 'stallion'

3.2.8. Following a sonant or liquid, CT **d* > WYU *t*:

CT <i>*kündüz</i>	> WYU <i>khuntus</i> 'daily'
CT <i>*yıldız</i>	> WYU <i>yiltis</i> 'star'
CT <i>*bi:ldür=</i>	> WYU <i>piltir=</i> 'to notify'

The development of **d* in CT **idiš* ~ **iddiš* > WYU *tis* 'cauldron', and CT **sidiik* ~ **siddük* > WYU *sitik* 'urine' is irregular, as in many Turkic languages.

¹⁵ Apparently a very recent development, as the older literature still records *turwaq^h* (Léi 1992: 116b).

3.2.9. The CT phoneme **k* comprised two conditioned allophones: velar **k* in front vocalic words and uvular **q* in back vocalic words. As a result of the shifts of the high vowels (see 3.1.), these allophones became phonemic in WYu:

CT * <i>kii</i> :z	> WYu <i>kuz</i> 'autumn'
CT * <i>kud</i> =	> WYu <i>quz</i> = 'to pour'
CT * <i>ki</i> :r=	> WYu <i>khür</i> = 'to enter'
CT * <i>kür</i> =	> WYu <i>qhür</i> = 'to scrape'

3.2.10. In initial position, CT velar **k* > WYu *k* or, less frequently, *kh*:

CT * <i>kem</i>	> WYu <i>kim</i> 'disease'
CT * <i>kel</i> =	> WYu <i>kil</i> = 'to come'
CT * <i>kim</i>	> WYu <i>khim</i> 'who'
CT * <i>kelin</i>	> WYu <i>kheln</i> 'bride'

3.2.11. In initial position, CT uvular **q* > WYu *q* or, less frequently, *qh*:

CT * <i>kara</i>	> WYu <i>qara</i> 'black'
CT * <i>kol</i>	> WYu <i>qol</i> 'arm'
CT * <i>kar</i>	> WYu <i>qhar</i> 'snow'
CT * <i>kol</i> =	> WYu <i>qhol</i> = 'to ask for'

3.2.12. In intervocalic position and following liquids, CT velar **k* is preserved in WYu as *k*, and not, as elsewhere in NE, > γ (or \emptyset beyond the first syllable).

CT * <i>ičekii</i>	> WYu <i>ihçikī</i> 'intestines'
CT * <i>eke</i> + * <i>siñil</i>	> WYu <i>ihki-siñni</i> 'elder and younger sisters'
CT * <i>erkeč</i>	> WYu <i>ehrkis</i> 'wether'

The non-initial aspirated plosives in WYu *yikhī* 'rib' < CT **eyekii*, and (following a nasal) WYu *çhünkhin* 'meadow' < CT **çömken* are exceptional.

3.2.13. Likewise, CT uvular **q* is preserved in WYu as *q*, and not, as elsewhere in NE, > γ (or \emptyset beyond the first syllable).

CT * <i>sakal</i>	> WYu <i>saqal</i> 'beard'
CT * <i>takaqu</i>	> WYu <i>ta^hqayī</i> 'chicken'
CT * <i>yakīn</i>	> WYu <i>ya^hqīn</i> 'near'
CT * <i>arka</i>	> WYu <i>a^hrqa</i> 'back'

3.2.14. CT **g* is preserved in WYu as γ , and is not elided in intervocalic position as elsewhere in NE.

CT * <i>ta:g</i>	> WYu <i>thay</i> 'mountain'
CT * <i>yalga</i> =	> WYu <i>yalya</i> = 'to lick'
CT * <i>ogul</i>	> WYu <i>oyil</i> 'son'
CT * <i>bagīr</i>	> WYu <i>payīr</i> 'liver'
CT * <i>yigīt</i>	> WYu <i>yiyūt</i> 'young man'

The only exceptions are WYu *a^hs* 'opening' < CT **agīz*, WYu *qīrlaş* 'swallow' < CT **kīrlaguč*, and (very recently only), WYu *khēti* 'paper' < CT **kegde*.

3.2.15. The following WYU words have an unexpected fricative instead of a plosive:

- CT **tumšuk* > WYU *tīmsiγ* 'mouth'
CT **tok* > WYU *thoy* 'blunt'

3.2.16. The following WYU words have an unexpected plosive instead of a fricative:

- CT **ta:ga* > WYU *taqa* 'maternal uncle'
CT **tüge* > WYU *tuki* 'heifer'
CT **saγižgan* > WYU *saqisqan* 'magpie'
CT **kolquči* > WYU *qholqiči* 'beggar'

3.2.16a. The CT phoneme **č* split into WYU *ɕ* preceding back vowels, and *ç* preceding front vowels.

- CT **a:či=* > WYU *açi=* 'to be worried'
CT **ke:če* > WYU *kici* 'yesterday evening'
CT **be:čin* > WYU *picin* 'monkey'

3.2.17. Exceptions are:

- CT **čanak* > WYU *činaq* 'bowl' (not **çanaq*).
CT **purčak* > WYU *pīhrčaq* 'bean' (not **pīhrçaq*)¹⁶

3.2.18. In initial position, CT **č* > WYU *ɕ* and *ç* or, less frequently, *ɕ^h* and *ç^h*.

- CT **čog* > WYU *çoy* 'glowing piece of dung'
CT **čolpan* > WYU *çholwan* 'Big Dipper'
CT **čömken* > WYU *çünk^hin* 'meadow'
CT **čök=* > WYU *çhük=* 'to kneel'

3.2.19. In final position, CT **č* > WYU *ʂ*:

- CT **ič=* > WYU *iʂ=* 'to drink'
CT **ač=* > WYU *a^hʂ=* 'to open'
CT **ke:č* > WYU *kis* 'late'

3.2.20. In the following words, CT final **č* developed irregularly into WYU *z*.

- CT **kočkar ~ *kočnar* > WYU *qozɣar* 'ram' (not **qosqar*) (see also 3.3.15.)
CT **u:č* > WYU *uz* 'tip' (not **uʂ*)

3.2.21. In the following words, this same irregular development is probably motivated by the initial sibilant:

- CT **sač* > WYU *ʂaz* 'hair'
CT **sač=* > WYU *ʂaz=* 'to sprinkle'

3.2.22. In the following words, the CT final affricate *č* was lost altogether (probably over a voiced cluster):

- CT **sičkan* > **šižgan* > WYU *šiyan* 'mouse' (see also 3.3.16.)
CT **sičkak* > **šižgak* > WYU *šiyaq* 'diarrhoea' (see also 3.3.16.)

¹⁶ In the present material, a cluster *rç* does not occur in monomorphemic words, only *rç* is found here; unless *pīhrčaq* is perhaps a borrowing from EYu *p^hērč^haq*, and *rč* is rendered *rç* in WYU.

3.2.23. In general, CT *š > WYu s:

CT *ta:š	> WYu <i>tas</i> 'stone'
CT *be:š	> WYu <i>pis</i> 'five'
CT *kiši	> WYu <i>kīsī</i> 'person'
CT *a:šur=	> WYu <i>a^hsīr=</i> 'to overturn'

3.2.24. In the following words, CT *š is irregularly retained in WYu as š¹⁷:

CT *baš	> WYu <i>paš</i> 'head'
CT *bašla=	> WYu <i>pa^hšta=</i> 'to begin'
CT *kamīš	> WYu <i>qamīš</i> 'reed'
CT *yakšī	> WYu <i>ya^hš</i> 'good'
CT *ubšak	> WYu <i>o^hšaq</i> 'crumbs'
CT *yubaš ~ *yabaš	> WYu <i>yüwaš</i> 'calm'

3.2.25. Irregular developments of CT final *š are:

CT *si:š=	> WYu <i>sīz=</i> 'to swell' (not *sīs=)
CT *toškur= > *tožgīr=	> WYu <i>t^hozgīr=</i> 'to fill' (not *t ^h osqīr=) (see also 3.3.15.)

3.2.26. CT *z is preserved in WYu as z.

CT *ka:z	> WYu <i>qaz</i> 'goose'
CT *kīzar=	> WYu <i>qīzar=</i> 'to become red'

3.2.27. Beyond the first syllable, CT *z > WYu s:

CT *ekiz	> WYu <i>e^hrkīs</i> 'twin'
CT *otuz	> WYu <i>o^htīs</i> 'thirty'

3.2.28. The CT nasals *m *n *ŋ are generally retained as such.

CT *yama=	> WYu <i>yama=</i> 'to repair (clothes)'
CT *kum	> WYu <i>q^hom</i> 'sand'
CT *kūn	> WYu <i>k^hun</i> 'day; sun'
CT *ne:	> WYu <i>ni</i> 'what'
CT *a:ŋla=	> WYu <i>a^hŋna=</i> 'to hear'
CT *ke:ŋ	> WYu <i>k^heŋ</i> 'broad'

WYu *sīmīk* 'bone' < CT *sūŋīk is irregular in many languages.

3.2.29. CT final *n > WYu m in the following words:

CT *altīn	> WYu <i>a^hltīm</i> 'gold'
CT *alīn	> WYu <i>alīm</i> ~ <i>alīn</i> 'forehead'
CT *kulun	> WYu <i>qulīm</i> ~ <i>qulīn</i> 'foal'
CT *yuntak	> WYu <i>imtaq</i> ~ <i>intaq</i> 'equine dung'

3.2.30. In the following two words, the original nasal cannot be decided:

NE *čalīm ~ *čalīn	> WYu <i>čalīm</i> ~ <i>čalīn</i> 'dew; frost'
CT *kalīm ~ *kalīŋ	> WYu <i>q^halīm</i> 'dowry'

¹⁷ Cf also *ešek^h* 'donkey' (Léi 1992: 29a) < *ešek < CT *ešgek (cf EDPT 260a).

3.2.31. CT *ñ > WYu y:

CT *koñ	> WYu <i>qoy</i> 'sheep'
CT *kañak	> WYu <i>qayaq</i> 'cream'
CT *tuñug ~ *tuñag	> WYu <i>tu yïy</i> 'hoof'
CT *kitañ > *kitay	> WYu <i>qhïti</i> 'Chinese'

3.2.32. In the following words, a CT intervocalic or presonantal *ŋ > WYu *ŋk* ~ *ŋq*:

WYu <i>khun(nïŋ) + yinjir</i>	> WYu <i>khunïŋkïr</i> 'evening'
CT *siŋek	> WYu <i>sïŋkik</i> 'horsefly'
CT *maŋra=	> WYu <i>maŋqïra=</i> 'to talk' ¹⁸
CT *koŋragu	> WYu <i>qhoyqïra</i> 'bell' ¹⁹

3.2.33. CT liquids are retained as such.

CT *a:la	> WYu <i>ala</i> 'multicoloured'
CT *a:ra	> WYu <i>ara</i> 'the space between'

3.2.34. CT initial *y > WYu y, and did not develop into an affricate as elsewhere in NE²⁰. For instances of prosthesis and aphaeresis of CT *y, see 3.1.19. and 3.1.32.

CT *yo:l	> WYu <i>yol</i> 'road'
CT *yagmur	> WYu <i>yaymïr</i> 'rain'
CT *yanjï	> WYu <i>yanjï</i> 'new'

3.2.35. CT *y > WYu *ʃ* in the following three instances:

CT *yükle=	> WYu <i>sukti=</i> 'to load' (see also 3.3.17.)
CT *yuk=	> WYu <i>suq=</i> 'to stick' (see also 3.3.17.)
CT *ku ykala=	> WYu <i>quşqala=</i> 'to singe'

3.2.36. CT *h is preserved in the following word:

CT *ha:r=	> WYu <i>har=</i> 'to become tired'
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3.2.37. In the following two words, *h is only attested in WYu and not elsewhere:

CT *harpa	> WYu <i>harwa</i> 'highland barley' (see also 3.2.3.)
CT *ha:ya	> WYu <i>haya</i> 'palm of the hand'

3.3. Developments of phoneme sequences

3.3.1. CT *sö > WYu *sö* ~ *so* (see also 2.2.1.)²¹:

CT *söz	> WYu <i>söz</i> ~ <i>soz</i> 'word, language'
CT *sögiil=	> WYu <i>söyïl=</i> ~ <i>soyïl=</i> 'to bake'
NE *södiir=	> WYu <i>sozïr=</i> 'to drag'

¹⁸ However, in *maŋras=* '(of sheep) to bleat together' < CT *muŋra= (+ RFL), no *q* developed.

¹⁹ Apparently a clipped form of *qhoyqïrayï* (Léi 1992: 214a).

²⁰ In the literature a few instances of CT *Y > WYu *ç* are recorded, e.g. *çüyïr=* 'to run' (Léi 1992: 234a) < CT *Yügiir= (cf EDPT 914b).

²¹ Examples from the literature are *söyïl* ~ *soyïl* 'wart', and *söyït* ~ *soyït* 'willow' (Léi 1992: 336b, 243b).

3.3.2. CT **abī* and **abu* > **aw(i)* > WYU *o ~ u*²²:

CT <i>*abīčka</i>	> WYU <i>oḥsqa</i> 'old man'
CT <i>*aburtla=</i>	> WYU <i>ortta=</i> 'to slurp'
CT <i>*tabīškan</i>	> WYU <i>tusqan</i> 'hare'
CT <i>*yabīz</i> > <i>*yus</i>	> WYU <i>yūs</i> 'bad' (see also 3.1.11.)

3.3.3. CT **ebi* and **eb* > **ew(i)* > WYU *ö > ü*:

CT <i>*sebin=</i>	> WYU <i>söyn=</i> 'to be glad'
CT <i>*ebiril=</i> > <i>*yöril=</i>	> WYU <i>yörli=</i> 'to walk around' (see also 3.1.32.)
CT <i>*eb</i> > <i>*ö</i> > <i>*yö</i>	> WYU <i>yü</i> 'house' (see also 3.1.32.)
CT <i>*ke:bše=</i> > <i>*köše=</i>	> WYU <i>küsi=</i> 'to chew'

3.3.4. CT final **nč* > WYU sibilant²³:

CT <i>*yi:nčke</i> > <i>*yiške</i> > <i>*iške</i>	> WYU <i>siki</i> 'slender' (see also 3.3.14.)
CT <i>*kīlīnč</i>	> WYU <i>qīlīs</i> 'poor'

Western Yugur shows a number of metatheses in CT consonant clusters involving liquids:

3.3.5. Metathesis of CT **pr* > **rp* > WYU *rw*:

CT <i>*tepre=</i>	> WYU <i>terwi=</i> 'to shake'
CT <i>*toprak</i> > <i>*torwak</i>	> WYU <i>turaq</i> 'earth' (see also 3.2.4.)

3.3.6. Metathesis of CT **gr* > WYU *rɣ*:

CT <i>*bugra</i>	> WYU <i>pīrya</i> 'camel stallion'
CT <i>*ögren=</i>	> WYU <i>yōryin=</i> 'to learn'
CT <i>*ögret=</i>	> WYU <i>yōryit=</i> 'to teach'

3.3.7. Metathesis of CT **gl* > WYU *ly*²⁴:

CT <i>*yī:гла=</i>	> WYU <i>yilya=</i> 'to cry'
CT <i>*ba:гла=</i>	> WYU <i>phalya=</i> 'to tie'
CT <i>*oglan</i>	> WYU <i>oɣlan ~ oɣan</i> 'boy'
CT <i>*oglak</i>	> WYU <i>olyaq</i> 'kid goat'

3.3.8. Metathesis of CT **lɣ* > **ɣl* > **ɣn* > WYU *ɣq*:

CT <i>*yalɣīs</i>	> WYU <i>yanqīs</i> 'alone'
<i>*salɣula=</i>	> WYU <i>sanqīla=</i> 'to hang down' (see also 3.2.31.)

²² An example from the literature is *oŝ* 'handful' (Léi 1992: 37a) **abuč* <CT **abuč* < **aduč* (cf EDPT 44b).

²³ In *sanqī=* 'to pierce', the final cluster *nč* (see 3.1.40.), has been dissolved by an epenthetic vowel. Likewise, the development of the CT cluster **nt* > WYU *t*, as examples from the literature show: *ath* 'oath' (Léi 1992: 2b) < CT **ant* (cf EDPT 176a), *yūt* 'horse' (Léi 1992: 278a) < CT **yunt* (cf EDPT 946a).

²⁴ On the other hand, *ijnek* 'sieve' < **eglek* < CT **elgek*.

3.3.9. Other metatheses involving liquids are²⁵:

CT * <i>ilersük</i> > * <i>irelsük</i>	> WYU <i>örlišik</i> 'belt' (see also 3.1.41.)
CT * <i>kargülač</i> > * <i>kürlagač</i>	> WYU <i>qırlaş</i> 'sparrow'
NE * <i>keleski</i>	> WYU <i>kisehlikı</i> 'lizard'

3.3.10. Metathesis of CT *-*il* and *-*il* > WYU -*li*:

CT * <i>adüril</i> =	> WYU <i>azirli</i> = 'to divide'
CT * <i>a:šürul</i> =	> WYU <i>ahsirli</i> = 'to trip'
CT * <i>ebiril</i> = > * <i>öril</i> =	> WYU <i>yörlı</i> = 'to turn'
CT * <i>ti:ril</i> =	> WYU <i>tirli</i> = 'to be revived'
CT * <i>ačil</i> =	> WYU <i>ahstı</i> = 'to clear' (+ assimilation <i>l</i> > <i>t</i>)
CT * <i>siñil</i>	> WYU <i>siñni</i> 'younger sister' (+ assimilation <i>l</i> > <i>n</i>) ²⁶

3.3.11. Metathesis of CT **pk* > WYU *pk*²⁷:

CT * <i>öpke</i>	> WYU <i>ühkpi</i> 'lung'
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3.3.12. Metathesis of CT **uy* > **yu* > WYU *yü* ~ *yo*:

CT * <i>uyat</i> = > * <i>yuat</i> =	> WYU <i>yüat</i> = 'to be shy'
CT * <i>uygur</i> > * <i>yugur</i>	> WYU <i>yoyır</i> 'Yugur'

In an older stage of Western Yugur, the sequence **šk* apparently was unstable, and several ways of dissolving this cluster have occurred. In modern Western Yugur, the clusters *šk* and *şq* are tolerated; the uvular plosive *q* occurs in free variation with a uvular fricative (see 2.4.8.).

3.3.13. Elision of the sibilant from the cluster **šk* occurred in:

CT * <i>kuškač</i>	> WYU <i>qohqaş</i> 'bird'
CT * <i>küčkür</i> = > * <i>küškür</i> =	> WYU <i>qihqır</i> = 'to invite'

3.3.14. Metathesis of **Všk* > WYU *şVk* ~ *sVk* occurred in the following words:

CT * <i>ečkü</i> > * <i>öškü</i> > * <i>üškü</i>	> WYU <i>şuku</i> 'goat' (see also 3.1.17., 3.1.18., 3.1.25.)
CT * <i>yı:nčke</i> > * <i>yıške</i> > * <i>iške</i>	> WYU <i>siki</i> 'slender' (see also 3.1.19., 3.3.4.)

3.3.15. Voicing of **šk* > **žg* occurred in:

CT * <i>toşkur</i> = > * <i>tožgür</i> =	> WYU <i>thozyır</i> = 'to fill' (see also 3.2.25.)
CT * <i>koçkar</i> ~ * <i>koçnar</i>	> WYU <i>qozyar</i> 'ram' (see also 3.2.20.)

3.3.16. Voicing of **šk* > **žg* and subsequent elision of the sibilant occurred in:

CT * <i>sičkan</i> > * <i>sişkan</i> > * <i>sižgan</i>	> WYU <i>siyan</i> 'mouse' (see also 3.2.22.)
CT * <i>sičkak</i> > * <i>sişkak</i> > * <i>sižgak</i>	> WYU <i>siyaq</i> 'diarrhoea' (see also 3.2.22.)

²⁵ An example from the literature is *qałtar* 'bird of prey' (Tenišev 1976: 199b, Malov 1957: 51b) <CT **kartal* (cf EDPT 648b). The loanword *halıyar* ~ *harya* 'bovine dung' <EYu *harbal* also underwent metathesis.

²⁶ Unless perhaps a reanalysis of a third person possessive form **siñli* < **siñili*.

²⁷ Another example is *qhapaq* 'lid' < **kappak* < **kakpak* <CT **kakpak* (see also 3.2.3.).

3.3.17. In the following words, the WYu sibilant *ʃ* perhaps developed as a reflex of preaspiration (see 3.4.)²⁸, and was subsequently metathesized.

CT **yükle*= > **yü^hkte*= > WYu *sukti*= 'to load' (see also 3.2.35.)

CT **yuk*= > **yuhk*= > WYu *suq*= 'to stick' (see also 3.3.35.)

NE **iki* > **ihki* > WYu *ışki* ~ *şikī* 'two'

Historical elisions of consonants that were still recorded by the older Western Yugur sources are the following²⁹.

3.3.18. Attested historical elision of intervocalic sonants *ŋ n l r w* and fricative *ɣ*:

ŋ: *oy* (< *oŋey*) 'quick', *mus* ~ *mos* (< *moŋīs*) 'horn', *qarq* (< *qaŋīriq*) 'nose', *soşikīn* (< *soŋışkīn*) 'the next day, the other day'.

n: *khortī* (< *khuno^hrtī*) 'noon, midday'.

l: *as*= (< *alīs*=) 'to exchange'.

r: *naqī* (< *narīqī*) 'yonder'; *uhk*= (< *uruq*=) 'to fly'.

w: *chük* (< *çhüwükh*) 'braid'.

ɣ: *a^hs* ~ *as* (< *aɣīs*) 'opening'.

3.3.19. Attested historical elision of pre-consonantal sonants *l r*:

l: *t^haqan* (< *t^halqan*) 'flour', *şopaq* (< *şolpaq*) 'mud', *q^haq^a* (< *q^halqa*) 'too much'.

*r*³⁰: *uhk*= (< *uhrk*=) 'to be frightened', *kōhkīt*= (< *kōhrkīt*=) 'to show', *qusan*= (< *qursan*=) 'to put on a girdle', *qu^hqīra*= 'to snore' (< *qu^hrqīra*=).

3.3.20. Other elisions:

t: *o^hqar*= (< *o^htqar*=) 'to pasture'.

y: *q^hantīr*= (< *q^hayintīr*=) 'to cook'.

w: *turaq* (< *turwaq*) 'earth'.

clusters: *ciyin* (< *elciyen*) 'donkey' (a loanword from Mongolic)

final *l*: *o* (< *ol*) 'that'

3.3.21. Secondarily insertions of *r* occur in³¹:

CT **ekiz* > WYu *ehrkīs* 'twin'

3.3.22. In the following two words, WYu sibilant + affricate > affricate:

WYu *yaŋqīs* + ADV *-qa* > WYu *yaŋqīqa* 'alone'

WYu *ehrkīş* + DIM *çik* > WYu *ehrkicik* 'young ram-goat'

²⁸ The sibilant is tolerated in the cluster *št*: *ışt* 'dog', *pışt* 'louse', *ışt*= 'to push', *ıştīy* 'sharp'.

²⁹ For modern elisions, see 2.2.4.

³⁰ In an older stage, elision of *r* also occurred in *kūkişkīn* 'pigeon' <CT **kō:kerčkün*.

³¹ In the loanword *amīhtan* ~ *amīrtan* 'animal', a secondary insertion of *r* occurs as well.

3.4. Preaspiration

The phenomenon of preaspiration in Western Yugur corresponds to Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization, and Yakut short vowels; absence of preaspiration and pharyngealization corresponds to Yakut long vowels.

The first to observe preaspiration in Western Yugur was Malov³²; he also pointed to a correspondence between Western Yugur preaspiration and Yakut short vowels on the one hand, and absence of preaspiration in Western Yugur and Yakut long vowels on the other (Malov 1957: 163).

Janhunen (1980) established a relationship between Tuva and Tofa pharyngealized (or glottalized, as he denotes it)³³ vowels and Yakut short vowels on the one hand, and between the absence of pharyngealization and Yakut long vowels on the other. Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization only occur before a consonant, as is the case with preaspiration in Western Yugur.

All three phenomena, preaspiration, pharyngealization and vowel length are distinctive.

Preaspiration may have developed as follows. It is generally assumed that CT had vowel length as a distinguishing feature, and that vowel length was of influence on the development of a following voiceless obstruent (see the table below).

In the Oghuz subgroup of Turkic languages, voiceless plosives and affricates in intervocalic position became voiced when following a long vowel, as. After vowel length was lost (except in Turkmen), these voiced consonants maintained the former distinction (e.g. in Turkish).

In the Kypchak and Chaghatay subgroup of Turkic languages, no such sonorization of consonants took place, and the former distinction of vowel length was lost entirely.

Yakut retained vowel length in monosyllables only. The other NE Turkic languages all lost vowel length; instead, voiceless obstruents following short vowels became preaspirated (Western Yugur) or pharyngealized (Tuva and Tofa), thus maintaining the former distinction.

Subsequently, simple obstruents in intervocalic position became voiced (as in Tofa), and eventually all obstruents, also the one following pharyngealized vowels (as in Tuva), were pharyngealization carries the full load of the distinction.

In Khakas, the former distinction of vowel length is preserved imperfectly as an opposition between voiced plosives (following a former long vowel) and voiceless ones (following a former short vowel) in some polysyllabic stems³⁴. Otherwise, all intervocalic plosives are voiced.

Thus, preaspiration and pharyngealization apparently developed in a system that lost vowel length, to uphold a former distinction.

³² Apart from some incidental notations in Mannerheim, e.g. *aXltõ* 'six' (Mannerheim 1911: 62).

³³ Janhunen 1980: 24.

³⁴ Compare e.g. Khakas *odïŋ* 'firewood' <CT *o:tuŋ, but *otïs* 'thirty' <CT *otuz, or *alda=* 'to comfort' <CT *a:lta=, but *altï* 'six' <CT *altï.

Oghuz *at, *atĩ *a:t, *a:dĩ	Turkmen at, atĩ aat, aadĩ	Turkish at, atĩ at, adĩ
Kypcak, Chagatay *at, *atĩ *at, *atĩ	Kazak, New Uygur at, atĩ at, atĩ	
CT *at, *atĩ *a:t, *a:tĩ	Yakut at, atĩ aat, aatĩ	
	Western Yugur a ^h t, a ^h tĩ at, atĩ	
	Tofa a ^h t, a ^h tĩ at, adĩ	Tuva a ^h t, a ^h dĩ at, adĩ
	Khakas at, adĩ at, adĩ	

Development of preaspiration and pharyngealization, illustrated with CT *at 'horse' and *at 'name', followed by the third person possessive.

Regular correspondences between the languages are demonstrated in the tables below (table 1 and 2). However, this historical correspondence is less consistent for Western Yugur words having an initial or final voiceless sibilant (table 3 and 4). Also synchronically, irregular manifestations of preaspiration occur in this environment (see 2.9.).

Another group of exceptions is formed by words having an initial aspirated consonant, instead of expected preaspiration (see table 5). It is uncertain whether the initial aspirated consonant here may be considered as a reflex of preaspiration.

In the case of *ĩst* 'dog', *ĩst=* 'to push', *pĩst* 'louse', *ĩskĩ* 'two', and *ĩstĩy* 'sharp', the phoneme /s/ reflects a CT short vowel instead of the expected preaspiration.

A small number of Western Yugur words developed preaspiration after a consonant was elided: *a^hs* 'opening' (<CT *a:gĩz), *ya^hs* 'good' (<CT *yakšĩ), *u^hk=* 'to fly' (<CT *ö:rũk=), *o^hsaq* 'crumbs' (<CT *ubšak).

Finally, there are a number of words in which preaspiration and pharyngealization developed irregularly in the different languages (see table 6).

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>a^hlt-ir</i>	<i>a^hld-ï</i>	<i>a^hlt-ï</i>	<i>al'in</i>	* <i>alt</i>	underside
<i>a^hš=, a^hç-</i>	<i>a^hš=</i>	<i>a^hš=</i>	<i>as=</i>	* <i>ač=</i>	to open
<i>a^hq=</i>	<i>a^hk=</i>	<i>a^hq=</i>	---	* <i>ak=</i>	to flow
<i>a^hrq</i>	---	---	---	* <i>ark</i>	shit
<i>a^hrt=</i>	<i>a^hrt=</i>	<i>a^hrt=</i>	<i>ort=</i>	* <i>art=</i>	to remain
<i>a^ht</i>	<i>a^ht</i>	<i>a^ht</i>	<i>at</i>	* <i>at</i>	horse
<i>a^ht=</i>	<i>a^ht=</i>	<i>a^ht=</i>	<i>it=</i>	* <i>at=</i>	to shoot
<i>e^ht=</i>	<i>e^ht=</i>	<i>e^ht=</i>	<i>et=</i>	* <i>et=</i> ~ * <i>öt=</i>	to sound
<i>e^ht=</i>	<i>č^het=</i>	<i>č^het=</i>	<i>sit=</i>	* <i>y^het=</i>	to arrive
<i>ïš, i^hç-</i>	<i>iž-in</i>	<i>i^hš-ti</i>	<i>is</i>	* <i>ič</i>	inside
<i>ïš=, i^hç-</i>	<i>iš=</i>	<i>i^hš=</i>	<i>is=</i>	* <i>ič=</i>	to drink
<i>i^ht</i>	<i>e^ht</i>	<i>e^ht</i>	<i>et</i>	* <i>et</i>	meat
<i>i^hrk-ti^y</i>	---	---	---	* <i>erk</i>	power
<i>i^hrq</i>	---	<i>i^hrt</i>	---	* <i>irk</i>	omen
<i>išt</i>	<i>i^ht</i>	<i>i^ht</i>	<i>it</i>	* <i>it</i> ~ * <i>it</i>	dog
<i>išt=</i>	<i>i^ht=</i>	<i>i^ht=</i>	<i>iüt=</i>	* <i>it=</i> ~ * <i>it=</i>	to push
<i>köh^p</i>	<i>köh^p</i>	<i>köh^p</i>	---	* <i>köp</i>	much, many
<i>küš=, kü^hç-</i>	<i>köhš=</i>	<i>köhš=</i>	<i>kös=</i>	* <i>köč=</i>	to migrate
<i>o^ht</i>	<i>o^ht</i>	<i>o^ht</i>	<i>ot</i>	* <i>ot</i>	grass
<i>o^hq</i>	<i>o^hk</i>	<i>o^hq</i>	<i>ox</i>	* <i>ok</i>	arrow
<i>paš, pa^hç-</i>	<i>ba^hš</i>	<i>ba^hš</i>	<i>bas</i>	* <i>baš</i>	head
<i>pa^ht=</i>	<i>ba^ht=</i>	<i>ba^ht=</i>	---	* <i>bat=</i>	to go down
<i>pe^hk=</i>	<i>pök=</i>	<i>pök=</i>	---	* <i>bök=</i>	to eat fat food
<i>pe^hrk</i>	<i>bert</i>	<i>be^hrt</i>	<i>bert</i>	* <i>berk</i>	power
<i>pışt</i>	<i>bīt</i>	<i>bī^ht</i>	<i>bīt</i>	* <i>bīt</i>	louse
<i>pī^ht=</i>	<i>bī^ht=</i>	<i>bī^ht=</i>	<i>būt=</i>	* <i>bit=</i> ~ * <i>būt=</i>	to suffice
<i>qa^ht</i>	<i>ka^ht</i>	<i>qa^ht</i>	<i>xat</i>	* <i>kat</i>	layer
<i>qī^hrq=</i>	---	---	<i>kī^hrt=</i>	* <i>kī^hrk=</i>	to shave
<i>qo^hp=</i>	---	---	---	* <i>kop=</i>	to get up
<i>qo^hrq=</i>	<i>ko^hrt=</i>	<i>qo^hrt=</i>	<i>xort=</i>	* <i>kork=</i>	to fear
<i>sī^hq=</i>	<i>sī^hk=</i>	<i>sī^hq=</i>	<i>ik=</i>	* <i>sik=</i>	to squeeze
<i>suq=</i>	---	<i>čohq=</i>	---	* <i>yuk=</i>	to stick (see 3.3.13.)
<i>šuk-ti=</i>	<i>čī^hk-te=</i>	<i>čī^hk-te=</i>	---	* <i>yū^hk-le=</i>	to load (see 3.3.13.)
<i>tahp=</i>	<i>tī^hp=</i>	<i>tī^hp=</i>	<i>tap=</i>	* <i>tap=</i>	to find
<i>tahrt=</i>	<i>tī^hrt=</i>	<i>tī^hrt=</i>	<i>tart=</i>	* <i>tart=</i>	to pull
<i>taht</i>	---	---	---	* <i>tat</i>	stranger
<i>tī^hk=</i>	---	---	<i>tik=</i>	* <i>tik=</i>	to sew
<i>tī^hk=</i>	<i>tik=</i>	---	<i>tik=</i>	* <i>tik=</i>	to erect
<i>tī^hq=</i>	<i>tik=</i>	---	---	* <i>tik=</i>	to thrust into
<i>tu^ht=</i>	<i>tu^ht=</i>	<i>tu^ht=</i>	<i>tut=</i>	* <i>tut=</i>	to hold
<i>tū^hk=</i>	<i>tō^hk=</i>	<i>tō^hk=</i>	<i>tox=</i>	* <i>tök=</i>	to pour
<i>u^hk=</i>	---	---	<i>ürt=</i>	* <i>ürk=</i>	to be frightened
<i>uš, ü^hç-</i>	<i>üş</i>	<i>üş</i>	<i>üs</i>	* <i>üč</i>	three
<i>ya^ht=</i>	<i>čī^ht=</i>	<i>čī^ht=</i>	<i>sīt=</i>	* <i>yat=</i>	to lie down
<i>yī^hp</i>	<i>čē^hp</i>	<i>čē^hp</i>	<i>sap</i>	* <i>yip</i> ~ * <i>yep</i>	thread
<i>yo^hrt</i>	<i>čū^hrt</i>	<i>čū^hrt</i>	<i>su(u)rt</i>	* <i>yurt</i> ~ * <i>yu:rt</i>	camp

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>a^hlti</i>	<i>a^hldi</i>	<i>a^hlti</i>	<i>alta</i>	<i>*alti</i>	six
<i>a^hltim</i>	<i>a^hldin</i>	---	---	<i>*altun</i>	gold
<i>a^hrqa</i>	<i>a^hrya</i>	<i>a^hrha</i>	<i>арҕаа</i>	<i>*arka</i>	back
<i>a^hti</i>	---	---	---	<i>*atay</i>	small
<i>ya^hqa-l=</i>	<i>čayya=</i>	<i>čahyha=</i>	---	<i>*yayka-l=</i>	to shake
<i>e^hlči</i>	<i>elči</i>	---	---	<i>*elči</i>	ambassador
<i>e^hrkik</i>	<i>iryek</i>	<i>i^hrhek</i>	<i>iryex</i>	<i>*irkek ~ *erkek</i>	male
<i>e^hrkiš</i>	---	---	---	<i>*erkeč</i>	wether
<i>e^hrki</i>	<i>eryi</i>	<i>e^hrhi</i>	<i>erye</i>	<i>*erki</i>	old
<i>e^hrkis</i>	<i>iyis</i>	<i>i^hhis</i>	---	<i>*ikiz ~ *ekiz</i>	twin
<i>e^hrti</i>	<i>erte</i>	<i>e^hrte</i>	<i>erde</i>	<i>*erte</i>	early
<i>i^hki</i>	<i>iye</i>	<i>i^hhe</i>	---	<i>*eke</i>	elder sister
<i>i^htik</i>	<i>e^hdek</i>	<i>e^htek</i>	---	<i>*etek</i>	skirt
<i>i^hski</i>	<i>i^hyi</i>	<i>i^hhi</i>	<i>ikki</i>	<i>*iki < *ikki</i>	two
<i>i^hštij</i>	<i>čidiy</i>	<i>č^hti</i>	<i>sitii</i>	<i>*yitig ~ *yütig</i>	sharp
<i>k^hčiy</i>	---	---	---	<i>*kičig</i>	small
<i>k^hhkis</i>	---	---	<i>köyüs</i>	<i>*köküz</i>	breast
<i>k^hhtir=</i>	<i>ködür=</i>	<i>köhtür=</i>	---	<i>*kötür=</i>	to carry
<i>o^hsiriq</i>	<i>ozuruk</i>	---	<i>uturuk</i>	<i>*osuruk</i>	fart
<i>o^hrta</i>	<i>o^hrta</i>	<i>o^hrta</i>	<i>orto</i>	<i>*orta</i>	middle
<i>o^htis</i>	---	---	<i>otut</i>	<i>*otuz < *ottuz</i>	thirty
<i>p^hčaq</i>	---	---	<i>bihax</i>	<i>*bičak</i>	knife
<i>p^hrčaq</i>	---	---	---	<i>*burčak</i>	bean
<i>p^hrqaⁿ</i>	<i>buryan</i>	---	---	<i>*burkan</i>	Buddha
<i>p^htij</i>	---	---	---	<i>*bitig</i>	book
<i>p^htir</i>	---	---	---	<i>*piltir</i>	last year
<i>qa^hčan</i>	<i>ka^hyan</i>	<i>qa^hhan</i>	---	<i>*kačan</i>	when
<i>qa^hqis=</i>	---	---	---	<i>*kakış=</i>	to quarrel
<i>qa^htij</i>	<i>ka^hdij</i>	<i>qa^htij</i>	---	<i>*katig</i>	hard
<i>q^hqir=</i>	<i>kiskir=</i>	<i>q^hšqir=</i>	---	<i>*kičkir=</i>	to shout
<i>qo^hltiq</i>	<i>kolduk</i>	<i>qo^hltuq</i>	---	<i>*koltuk</i>	armpit
<i>qu^hrtqa</i>	<i>kuru yak</i>	<i>qo^hrhiñaq</i>	---	<i>*kurtka</i>	old woman
<i>ta^hqayⁱ</i>	---	<i>taqqiñaq</i>	---	<i>*takagu</i>	chicken
<i>ta^hqi</i>	---	---	---	<i>*taki</i>	still
<i>ti^hkin</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>te^hhen</i>	---	<i>*teken ~ *tiken</i>	thorn
<i>to^hqi=</i>	---	---	---	<i>*toki=</i>	to beat
<i>to^hqis</i>	<i>tos</i>	<i>to^hhos</i>	<i>toBus</i>	<i>*tokuz < *tokkuz</i>	nine
<i>to^hqti</i>	<i>toydu</i>	---	---	<i>*tokli</i>	lamb
<i>tu^hki=</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tüke=</i>	to end
<i>tu^htin</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tütin</i>	smoke
<i>tu^htirqaⁿ</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tutirkan</i>	rice
<i>u^htir</i>	<i>udur</i>	<i>u^hturu</i>	<i>utari</i>	<i>*uturu</i>	opposite
<i>ü^hkpi</i>	<i>ökpe</i>	<i>ö^hkpe</i>	---	<i>*öpke</i>	lung
<i>ya^hqa</i>	<i>čaya</i>	<i>čahha</i>	<i>saba</i>	<i>*yaka</i>	collar
<i>ya^hqin</i>	---	---	---	<i>*yakin</i>	near

Table 1: Correspondence preaspiration - pharyngealization - short vowels.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>aq</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>aq</i>	---	*a:k	white
<i>art</i>	<i>art-ï</i>	<i>a^hrt-ï</i>	---	*a:rt	back, west
<i>at</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>aat</i>	*a:t	name
<i>et=</i>	<i>et=</i>	---	---	*e:t=	to do
<i>kük</i>	<i>kök</i>	<i>kök</i>	<i>küöx</i>	*kö:k	blue
<i>ot</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>uot</i>	*o:t	fire
<i>püt</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>buut</i>	*bu:t	leg
<i>qap</i>	<i>xap</i>	<i>qap</i>	---	*ka:p	bag
<i>tip</i>	<i>düp</i>	<i>düp</i>	---	*ti:p ~ *tü:p	base
<i>tört</i>	<i>dört</i>	<i>dört</i>	<i>tüört</i>	*tö:rt	four
<i>tut=</i>	<i>düt=</i>	<i>tüt=</i>	<i>tüt=</i>	*tü:t= ~ *tī:t=	to pluck wool
<i>uz, uc-</i>	<i>uš</i>	<i>uš</i>	<i>uh-uk</i>	*u:č	tip
<i>yaq</i>	---	---	---	*ya:k	side
<i>yit=</i>	<i>čet=</i>	<i>čet=</i>	<i>siet=</i>	*ye:t=	to lead along
<i>yoq</i>	<i>čok</i>	<i>čoq</i>	<i>suox</i>	*yo:k	not present
<i>yüt</i>	<i>öt</i>	<i>öt</i>	---	*ö:t	gall, bile
<i>ači=</i>	<i>aži=</i>	<i>aži=</i>	<i>ahiy=</i>	*a:či=	to be worried
<i>aqā</i>	<i>akī</i>	<i>a^hha ~ aha</i>	<i>aḡa</i>	*a:ka	elder brother
<i>kici</i>	<i>kežee</i>	<i>keže</i>	<i>kiehe</i>	*ke:če	(yesterday) evening
<i>kikirt=</i>	---	---	<i>keyert=</i>	*ke:kir=	to burp
<i>kükiskün</i>	---	---	---	*kö:kerčkün	pigeon
<i>otiŋ</i>	---	---	---	*o:tun	firewood
<i>paqa</i>	<i>payā</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>baḡa</i>	*ba:ka	frog
<i>pičin</i>	---	---	---	*be:čin	monkey
<i>puqa</i>	<i>buḡa</i>	<i>bu^hha</i>	<i>buḡa</i>	*bu:ka	bull
<i>qatın</i>	<i>kadın</i>	---	---	*ka:tun	queen
<i>quçaqta=</i>	<i>kužakta=</i>	<i>qužaqta=</i>	---	*ku:čakla=	to embrace
<i>tatī=</i>	---	---	---	*ta:t=	to taste
<i>taqa</i>	<i>daay</i>	<i>daay</i>	<i>taay</i>	*ta:qay	uncle

Table 2: Correspondence lack of preaspiration and pharyngealization - long vowels.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>as= ~ a^{hs}=</i>	<i>aš=</i>	<i>aš=</i>	<i>aas=</i>	<i>*a:š=</i>	to pass
<i>a^{hs}-ta=</i>	<i>aš-ta=</i>	<i>aš-ta=</i>	---	<i>*a:č-la=</i>	to be hungry
<i>īs</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>iis</i>	<i>*i:š</i>	matter, work
<i>īs</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>iš</i>	---	<i>*iš ~ *iš</i>	smoke
<i>kis=</i>	<i>ke^{hs}=</i>	<i>ke^{hs}=</i>	---	<i>*kes=</i>	to cut
<i>kiš</i>	---	---	---	<i>*ke:č</i>	late
<i>kuš-tiγ</i>	<i>küš-tiγ</i>	<i>küš-tiγ</i>	---	<i>*kü:č-lüq</i>	strong
<i>o^{hs}=</i>	---	---	---	<i>*us=</i>	to be thirsty
<i>pa^{hs}=</i>	<i>ba^{hs}=</i>	<i>ba^{hs}=</i>	---	<i>*bas=</i>	to press
<i>pis</i>	<i>beš</i>	<i>beš</i>	<i>bies</i>	<i>*be:š</i>	five
<i>pīs=</i>	<i>bī^{hs}=</i>	<i>bī^{hs}=</i>	<i>bus=</i>	<i>*bīš= ~ *biš=</i>	to boil
<i>pos-a-t=</i>	<i>bož-u-t=</i>	<i>bo^h-u-t=</i>	---	<i>*boš-a-t=</i>	to untie
<i>~ po^{hs}-a-t=</i>				<i>~ *boš-u-t=</i>	
<i>qa^{hs}</i>	<i>ka^hš</i>	<i>qa^hš</i>	<i>xas</i>	<i>*kač</i>	how much
<i>qīs</i>	<i>kī^hš</i>	<i>qī^hš</i>	<i>kīh-īn</i>	<i>*kīš</i>	winter
<i>qīs=</i>	<i>kī^{hs}=</i>	<i>qī^{hs}=</i>	---	<i>*kīs=</i>	to pinch
<i>qus</i>	<i>ku^hš</i>	<i>qu^hš</i>	<i>kus</i>	<i>*kuš</i>	bird
<i>qus=</i>	<i>kus=</i>	<i>qu^{hs}=</i>	---	<i>*kus=</i>	to vomit
<i>tas ~ ta^{hs}-</i>	<i>daš-tī</i>	<i>ta^hš-tī</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>*taš</i>	outside
<i>tas ~ ta^h</i>	<i>daš</i>	<i>taš ~ daš</i>	<i>taas</i>	<i>*ta:š</i>	stone
<i>tīs</i>	<i>dīš</i>	<i>dīš</i>	<i>tiis</i>	<i>*tī:š</i>	tooth
<i>tös</i>	<i>töš</i>	<i>döš</i>	<i>tüös</i>	<i>*tö:š</i>	chest
<i>tus=</i>	<i>dü^hš=</i>	<i>tü^hš=</i>	<i>tüs=</i>	<i>*tüš=</i>	to descend
<i>yas ~ ya^{hs}</i>	---	---	<i>saas</i>	<i>*ya:š</i>	age
<i>yas ~ ya^{hs}</i>	<i>čaš</i>	<i>češ</i>	---	<i>*ya:š</i>	tear; soft; young
<i>ya^{hs}=</i>	<i>čaž-īr=</i>	<i>ca^h-ir=</i>	<i>sas=</i>	<i>*yaš=</i>	to hide
<i>isīn</i>	---	---	---	<i>*esen</i>	healthy
<i>isīr=</i>	<i>eziri=</i>	<i>e^hsiri=</i>	<i>itir=</i>	<i>*esūr=</i>	to be drunk
<i>īsīγ</i>	<i>iziγ</i>	<i>i^hsiγ</i>	<i>itii</i>	<i>*isiq ~ *isīg</i>	warm
<i>kīsī</i>	<i>kī^hži</i>	<i>kiši</i>	<i>kihi</i>	<i>*kiši</i>	person
<i>küsi=</i>	<i>keyže-n=</i>	<i>keyže=</i>	---	<i>*ke:bše=</i>	to chew
<i>o^hšaq</i>	---	---	---	<i>*ubšak</i>	crumbs
<i>pa^hrsī ~ parsī</i>	<i>par</i>	---	---	<i>*bars</i>	tiger
<i>ta^hsī=</i>	<i>daži=</i>	<i>ta^hš=</i>	---	<i>*ta:š=</i>	to overflow

Table 3: Irregular preaspiration patterns preceding voiceless sibilants.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>sat=</i>	<i>sat=</i>	<i>saht=</i>	---	<i>*sat=</i>	to sell
<i>sart</i>	---	---	---	<i>*sart</i>	merchant
<i>sīp</i>	---	---	---	<i>*sīp</i>	foal
<i>sīz=</i>	<i>īš=</i>	<i>īš=</i>	<i>is=</i>	<i>*si:š= ~ *sī:š=</i>	to swell
<i>soq=</i>	<i>sok=</i>	<i>sohq=</i>	<i>oB-us=</i>	<i>*sok=</i>	to knock
<i>sut</i>	<i>süt</i>	<i>süt</i>	<i>üüt</i>	<i>*sü:t</i>	milk
<i>surt=</i>	---	<i>sürt=</i>	---	<i>*sürt=</i>	to smear
<i>şaz</i>	<i>čahš</i>	<i>čehš</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>*sač</i>	hair
<i>şaz=, şač-</i>	<i>čaš=</i>	<i>čehš=</i>	<i>īs=</i>	<i>*sač=</i>	to sprinkle
<i>saqal</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>sahhal</i>	---	<i>*sakal</i>	beard
<i>saqin=</i>	<i>sayin=</i>	<i>sabın=</i>	<i>abın=</i>	<i>*sakin=</i>	to think
<i>saqis</i>	<i>ses</i>	<i>sehhes</i>	<i>abis</i>	<i>*sekiz < *sekkiz</i>	eight
<i>soqtı</i>	---	---	---	<i>*suktu</i>	sausage
<i>şuku</i>	<i>öhškü</i>	<i>ehškı</i>	---	<i>*eckü</i>	goat (see 3.3.12.)

Table 4: Lack of preaspiration following voiceless sibilants.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>čhıqan</i>	---	---	<i>sıyan</i>	<i>*čikan</i>	cousin
<i>čhikinik</i>	<i>šenek</i>	<i>čehhenek</i>	---	<i>*čikenek</i>	elbow
<i>čhiik=</i>	---	---	---	<i>*čök=</i>	to kneel
<i>phək=</i>	---	<i>böhk=</i> <i>~ bühk̄=</i>	---	<i>*biik= ~ *bökö=</i>	to bend
<i>phik</i>	<i>bek</i>	<i>behk</i>	---	<i>*bek</i>	strong
<i>qhəp=</i>	<i>kap=</i>	<i>qəhp=</i>	<i>xəp=</i>	<i>*kap=</i>	to bite
<i>qhaq</i>	---	---	---	<i>*kak</i>	dry
<i>qhəpaq</i>	<i>kəpkək</i>	<i>qəhpəq</i>	<i>xəppəx</i>	<i>*kəpkək</i>	lid, cover
<i>qhətir</i>	---	---	---	<i>*katir</i>	mule
<i>qhiti</i>	---	---	---	<i>*kitañ</i>	Chinese
<i>thuki</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tüge</i>	calf
<i>thəqan</i>	<i>tahlıyan</i>	<i>tahlhan</i>	---	<i>*talkan</i>	flour
<i>theke</i>	<i>dəye</i>	<i>tehhe</i>	---	<i>*teke</i>	male goat
<i>thulkı</i>	<i>dilyi</i>	<i>dilyi</i>	---	<i>*tilkü</i>	fox
<i>thutuquş</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tutukuş</i>	peacock

Table 5: Western Yugur initial aspirated consonant instead of expected preaspiration.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
<i>a^hsirt=</i>	<i>azir=</i>	<i>azir=</i>	<i>itirt=</i>	<i>*asurt=</i>	to sneeze
<i>ici</i>	---	---	---	<i>*eče</i>	aunt
<i>uçin</i>	<i>užun</i>	---	<i>isin</i>	<i>*üčün</i>	with
<i>qort</i>	<i>kurt</i>	<i>qu^hrt</i>	---	<i>*ku:rt</i>	worm
<i>qozyar</i>	<i>qo^hšqar</i>	---	---	<i>*kočkar ~ *kočjar</i>	ram
<i>yitī</i>	<i>čedi</i>	<i>čedi</i>	<i>sette</i>	<i>*yeti ~ *yetti</i>	seven
<i>yiltis</i>	---	<i>siltis</i>	<i>silis</i>	<i>*yildiz ~ *yıldiz</i>	root
<i>yiltis</i>	<i>dihldis</i> ~ <i>sildis</i>	<i>siltis</i>	<i>sulus</i>	<i>*yilduz</i>	star
<i>yüqa</i>	<i>čuyā</i>	<i>čuba</i>	---	<i>*yuka < *yubka</i>	thin
<i>yütür=</i>	<i>čödür=</i>	<i>čödür=</i>	---	<i>*yötür=</i>	to cough

Table 6: Other irregular patterns.

Preaspiration does not occur beyond the first syllable, apart from a small number of words which apparently are compounds, e.g. *amihkī* 'immediately', *sīrahkīn* 'three days from now', *untīhrkīn* 'four days from now', *orihkīn* 'the day before yesterday', *orihkel* 'the year before last'. The completive suffix *-u^{ht}* probably derives from a lexical verb which contained preaspiration. Preaspiration of the past tense suffix *-(^h)tī* is only noted in Western Yugur, and has no correspondence in Tuva and Tofa.

In loanwords from Eastern Yugur³⁵ and Tibetan, aspirated consonants in medial position gave rise to preaspirated consonants in Western Yugur.

<i>a^hrça</i> 'juniper'	←EYU <i>arč^ha</i> ~ <i>hrč^ha</i>
<i>a^hčīyīr</i> 'scarf'	←EYU <i>alč^hu:r</i>
<i>amīhtan</i> 'animal'	←EYU <i>amt^han</i>
<i>arahkī</i> 'liquor'	←EYU <i>arahkē</i> ~ <i>arak^hē</i>
<i>t^hamahqī</i> 'tobacco'	←EYU <i>t^hamahkē</i> ~ <i>t^hamak^hē</i>
<i>k^heykīhrkī</i> 'drum'	←EYU <i>k^heykerk^hi:</i>
<i>nū^hker</i> 'friend'	←EYU <i>nōk^hör</i>
<i>po^hqça</i> 'bag'	←EYU <i>pōkč^hɔ</i>
<i>q^hurahqe</i> 'insect'	←EYU <i>χoroχqui</i> ~ <i>χɔɔq^hɔi</i>
<i>qu^hqīra=</i> 'to snort'	←EYU <i>q^hurq^hura=</i>
<i>soryīhlqīn</i> ~ <i>sōrīhčīn</i> 'ant'	←EYU <i>šɔɔɔlčēn</i> ³⁶
<i>a^hka</i> 'uncle'	←Arik <i>a-k^hē</i> (→EYU <i>ak^hē</i>)
<i>q^hqça</i> 'chest'	←LT <i>khog-pa</i>

In a number of other languages of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù area, phenomena reminiscent of preaspiration occur³⁷, e.g. Salar *χalqašur* 'honour', *e^{ht}=* 'to do', *kō^hp* 'much', Bao'an of Tónggrén *òχkōr* ~ *òk^hör* 'bull', Dongxiang *t^hiχqa* ~ *t^hiqa* 'chicken'.

Especially the following, Salar and Modern Uygur instances are noteworthy, as they led to the classification of Western Yugur and Salar as dialects of Modern Uygur. However, in Modern Uygur and Salar, preaspiration phenomena are not distinctive.

Western Yugur	Salar ³⁸	Modern Uygur ³⁹	meaning
<i>īšt</i>	<i>īšt</i>	<i>īšt</i>	dog
<i>īšt=</i>	<i>īšt=</i>	<i>īšt=</i>	to push
<i>pīšt</i>	<i>pīšt</i>	<i>pīšt</i>	louse
<i>īškī</i>	<i>īski</i>	<i>īške</i>	two
<i>īštīy</i>	--	<i>īštik</i>	sharp

³⁵ Preaspiration in Eastern Yugur is limited to the velar and uvular consonants, and occurs in free variation with aspirated consonants.

³⁶ According to Ĵunast (1981: 7), *l* preceding a plosive or affricate may be realized as [*l̥*]. Chén & Léi (1985: 12) describe a similar realization [*l̥*] for [*hl*].

³⁷ For Salar, cf Tenišev 1976b: 546, 328, 393; for Bao'an of Tónggrén, cf Chén Nǎixióng 1985: 16; for Dongxiang, cf Bökh 1983: 139.

³⁸ Cf Tenišev 1976b: 341, 450, 340.

³⁹ Cf Nadžip 1968: 169c, 170a, 266a, 172a (dialect form), 170c.

3.5. Western Yugur as a Northeastern Turkic language

The traditional classification of the Turkic languages was formulated by Samoïlovič (Poppe 1965: 34) in 1922. Though most of the criteria proposed are still valid, this classification does not elaborate on the relations between the subgroups.

Apparently the *ayak* or central Turkic languages split off as a group, after which the **adak* or periferal languages, that retained a reflex of *d*, developed into separate ways⁴⁰. Although Western Yugur and Khakas both developed **d > z*, the languages differ in many respects and cannot be grouped together in one subgroup.

Western Yugur shares a small number of probably archaic characteristics with the other Northeastern Turkic languages, Khakas, Tuva, Tofa, and Yakut, but it also has characteristics that are typical of the central Turkic languages.

Western Yugur characteristics that are typical of the NE Turkic languages are the following:

Lexicon that is typical of NE: *ehrkī* 'old (of things)', *yiyiş* 'female dog', *yizi=* 'to go bad, to rot', *çalım* '(hoar)frost', *ahsta=* 'to be hungry', *tül=* 'to cook'.

Of the following words, the form is typical of NE: *kisehlikī* 'lizard' (NE **keleske*, elsewhere **keslinčü*, **kesertki*, the latter also occurring in Western Yugur), *sozır=* 'to haul' (NE **södür=*, elsewhere **söyre=*), *yimiy* 'female breast' (NE **emig*, elsewhere **emček*), *olır=* 'to stay' (NE **olur=*, elsewhere **o(l)tur=*), *yülür=* 'to kill' (NE **ölür=*, elsewhere **öldür=*), *iliy* 'hand' (NE **ilig*, elsewhere **elig* prevails).

Typical of NE are the unrounded vowels in *eht=* 'to sound' and *ezenkī* 'stirrup' (elsewhere **öt=*, **üzenğü*), and the back vowel in *am* 'now' (elsewhere front-vocalic **imdi*).

A number of words occurring in the Turkic languages have a rounded and an unrounded form near a labial: *im um*; in the NE languages the unrounded variants prevail (though they are not exclusive for NE), as in Western Yugur *imsa=* 'to use', *imsaq* 'soft', *imsart=* 'to make soft', *yim=* 'to close the eyes'.

The privative suffix **-siz* 'without' was lost in Western Yugur and replaced by *yoq* 'not present' (see 5.7.), as elsewhere in NE. A petrified form of the privative suffix, however, occurs in *ennīs* 'narrow' <CT **e:nsiz*, and probably also in *sanīs* 'cheap' (perhaps <CT **sa:nsiz*).

Also typical of NE is the analytic structure of the lower decads (unit + 'ten'), e.g. *törtun* 'forty' (*tört* 'four', *on* 'ten'). Western Yugur and Tofa have the full array of analytic decads, Tuva from 'thirty' onwards, Yakut from 'forty', and Khakas from 'sixty'; the more western Turkic languages lack the lower analytic decads.

However, Western Yugur also shows characteristics which are not shared by the other NE languages.

Western Yugur has a number of words or forms that are typical of the central Turkic languages, e.g. *tirlit=* 'to revive' (NE **tirgüz=*), and *tusqan* 'hare' (NE **kodan*).

⁴⁰ For the most recent discussions on the classification of the Turkic languages, see Schönig 1997.

Western Yugur retained *rm* <CT **rm*, whereas Siberian NE developed **rb* here.

CT <i>*yegirmi</i>	> WYU <i>yiyirmi</i> 'twenty'	NE <i>*čegirbi</i>
CT <i>*tarmak</i>	> WYU <i>tarmaq</i> 'finger; claw'	NE <i>*tarbak</i>
CT <i>*tegirmen</i>	> WYU <i>theyirmen</i> 'mill'	NE <i>*te:rben</i>

In the following words, CT has variants with a non-high vowel *a* and a high vowel *u*⁴¹ in the second syllable, following an **o* in the first syllable; together with the central Turkic languages and the peripheral languages Chuvash and Khalaĵ, Western Yugur has *a*, whereas the Siberian NE languages have *u*:

CT <i>*odgan=</i> ~ <i>*odgun=</i>	> WYU <i>uzyan=</i> 'to wake up'	NE <i>*odgun=</i>
CT <i>*odgar=</i> ~ <i>*odgur=</i>	> WYU <i>uzyar=</i> 'to let wake up'	NE <i>*odgur=</i>
CT <i>*orta</i> ~ <i>*ortu</i>	> WYU <i>ohrta</i> 'middle' ⁴²	NE <i>*ortu</i>
CT <i>*bošat=</i> ~ <i>*bošut=</i>	> WYU <i>posat=</i> 'to untie'	NE <i>*pošut=</i>
CT <i>*kopar=</i> ~ <i>*kopur=</i>	> WYU <i>qowar=</i> 'to erect'	NE <i>∅</i>

In the following words, however, Western Yugur has *u*, not *a*.

CT <i>*boda=</i> ~ <i>*bodu=</i>	> WYU <i>pozī=</i> 'to paint' (not <i>*poza=</i>)	NE <i>∅</i>
CT <i>*yoqan</i> ~ <i>*yoqun</i>	> WYU <i>yoyin</i> 'thick' (not <i>*yoqan</i>)	NE <i>*čo:n</i>

⁴¹ These variants may have developed from an older form with **o* in the second syllable.

⁴² But cf. Western Yugur *khortī* 'noon' <CT **kiin ortu*.

4. Morphology of the noun

The morphology of the noun consists of derivational and inflectional suffixion. The inflectional suffixes consist of plural, possessive and case suffixes, which are attached to the noun in this order. The spatial clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes. The clitic *-Kī* follows some of the case suffixes as well as the spatial clitics to form an attributive noun. The derivational suffixes include denominal noun and denominal verb suffixes. Reduplication is dealt with here. Special noun classes (pronouns, numerals, existentials, and postpositions) are treated separately in chapter 5. Thus, the following suffix scheme can be presented:

stem + derivation + plural + possessive + case or (spatial) clitic + *-Kī*

Nouns do not show a sharp distinction between substantives and adjectives, e.g.:

<i>ahti</i>	young, small; the young of an animal
<i>ya^hqin</i>	near, nearby, close; friend
<i>yiyaş</i>	wood; wooden
<i>şaz-tiy</i>	(married) woman (hair-ADJ)

Nor do nouns show a sharp distinction between adjective and adverb, e.g.:

<i>oy</i>	quick; quickly
<i>mica</i>	little, small; a little, a bit
<i>q^huriy</i>	empty; in vain

4.1. The plural (PL)

The plural suffix is *-LAR*. Younger speakers often do not observe vowel harmony in this suffix, and in their speech, *-Lir* is the predominant form¹. The plural suffix is used mainly with nouns denoting humans.

<i>qiztar-lir</i>	girls (girl-PL)
<i>q^harmaŋqā-lir</i>	ancestors (ancestor-PL)
<i>kheln-nir</i>	wives (wife-PL)
<i>īs tu^hpa-lar</i>	workers (work hold-VN-PL)

When the plural suffix is attached to other nouns, it indicates a collective.

<i>khir-lir</i>	refuse, garbage (dirt-PL)
<i>mal-lir</i>	livestock (livestock-PL)
<i>yer-lir</i>	places; fields (place-PL)
<i>ih^t-tir</i>	meat, all kinds of meat (meat-PL)
<i>yim-nir</i>	medicines (medicine-PL)
<i>qiziy-lir-ti</i>	around, in the surroundings (side-PL-LOC)
<i>ih^ç-in-ti-kī-lir</i>	contents, everything that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL)

¹ This tendency was already noted by Teniřev (1976: 50).

yaymür yay-ma khun-nir-ti yaymür yaq-qışti

rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC rain rain-FUTev

during the rainy days (season), it will rain

The plural is always used in connection with the indefinite pronoun *xosî* 'all, every, everybody, everything, all of it, all of them'.

kisî-lir xosî all of the people, everybody (person-PL all)

selir xosî all of you (you/PL all)

No plural suffix is used after numerals.

uş qîz three girls (three girl)

îşkî yörin xosî both of the two men (two man all)

When a noun indicates a general category, or when plurality is understood from the context, the plural suffix is not obligatory.

sart (~ *sart-lar* ~ *sart-tir*) *qhawan iht yi-yîmistî*

muslim (~ muslim-PL) pig meat eat-FUTNev

a muslim does not eat pork, muslims do not eat pork

khempıştîy yerin (~ *khempıştîy-lir yerin-nir*) *uçin pür îs tuht-otî-m?*

woman man (~ woman-PL man-PL) with one work hold-PROGev-Q

are a woman and a man (~ women and men) doing the same work?

4.2. The possessive suffixes (POS1/2, POS3, POS3ACC)

The possessive suffixes are *-(î)ŋ* for the first and second person², and *-(s)î(n)* for the third person.

The occurrence of the possessive suffix of the first and second person *-(î)ŋ* is limited to the following kinship terms: *ana-ŋ* 'mother', *aça-ŋ* 'father', *awa-ŋ* 'father', *papa-ŋ* 'uncle (father's younger brother)', *kuŷi-ŋ* 'aunt (mother's sister)', *kuna-ŋ* 'aunt (father's sister)', *tayîni-ŋ* 'aunt (mother's brother's wife)', *ıcı-ŋ* 'aunt (father's brother's wife)', *vka-ŋ* 'grandfather', *anika-ŋ* ~ *ayka-ŋ* 'grandmother'³, *qazna-ŋ* 'mother-in-law', *qazta-ŋ* 'father-in-law', *kuziyî-ŋ* 'husband', and *küy-iŋ* 'uncle (mother's sister's husband)'. Irregular forms are *aqîŋ* 'elder brother' (*aqa*), *qîzaqîŋ* 'elder sister' (*qîzaqa*), *taqîŋ* 'uncle (mother's brother)' (*taqa*), and *ahkîŋ* 'uncle (father's elder brother)' (*ahka*)⁴.

In folk tales, there are still a few instances where *-(î)ŋ* is attached to other nouns.

uzî-ŋ-ki to myself/yourself/ourselves/yourselves (self-POS1/2-DAT)

ahî-iŋ my/our/your horse (horse-POS1/2)

khama-ŋ my/our/your power (power-POS1/2)

² In Malov (1957: 177), Tenišev (1976: 52) and Chén & Léi (1985: 61), a separate first person suffix *-(î)m* is still noted, but considered obsolete.

³ In Chén & Léi (1985: 61) the form is *anikîŋ*.

⁴ In the present material, the suffix *-(î)ŋ* does not occur with e.g. *sîŋnî* 'younger sister', *înî* 'younger brother', *mîla* 'child', *kheln* 'wife', *şaztîŋ* 'married woman, wife', *erîn* 'man, husband'.

The possessive suffix $-(i)\eta$ is often added automatically when eliciting kinship terms. In the following examples, the suffix seems to function as a term of endearment, as it does not refer to a first or second person.

<i>taqīŋ-ma ki-ttī</i>	and Uncle came (uncle/POS1/2-PCL3 come-PAST _{ev})
<i>ana-ŋ yoq mīla</i>	a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)
<i>ana-ŋ mīla sut imīs-otī</i>	the mother is suckling the child
mother-POS1/2 child milk suckle-PROG _{ev}	

The difference between the first and second person possessive is expressed analytically by means of the genitive of the pronoun⁵. There may be no pronoun when the possessor is understood from the context.

<i>menīŋ aqa-ŋ</i>	my father (me/GEN father-POS1/2)
<i>senīŋ aqa-ŋ</i>	your father (you/GEN father-POS1/2)
<i>mīz-tīŋ ana-ŋ-nar</i>	our mothers (we-GEN mother-POS1/2-PL)
<i>meŋ aqīŋ</i>	my elder brother (me/GEN elder.brother/POS1/2)
<i>aqa-ŋ-ana-ŋ</i>	our father and mother (father-POS1/2 mother-POS1/2)

Apart from the abovementioned kinship terms, nouns express possession of the first and second person analytically by means of a pronoun. Sometimes the possessive is dropped from kinship terms, though usually not from parental kinship terms.

<i>menīŋ yū</i>	my house (me/GEN house)
<i>senīŋ yū</i>	your house (you/GEN house)
<i>mīz-tīŋ yū</i>	our house (we-GEN house)
<i>selir-nīŋ pīhtīy</i>	your book (you/PL-GEN book)
<i>meŋ aqa</i>	my elder brother (me/GEN elder.brother)

The possessive suffix of the third person is $-(s)i(n)$. A buffer consonant s is required if the noun ends in a vowel; the s may be preaspirated when following words ending in a high front vowel. The so-called nominal n (realized as η before a velar or uvular plosive) is required when a case suffix (except for the genitive) is added. The third person possessive followed by the accusative combines into a portmanteau suffix $-(s)in$. The pronouns *qaysī* 'which one', *xosī* 'all, every', *pīrsī* 'one of them', and *iškīsī* 'the two of them, both', contain a third person possessive suffix, and consequently form the accusative in $-(s)in$ (see further 5.4., 5.5. and 5.6.).

<i>aqa-sī</i>	his/her/their father (father-POS3)
<i>aqa-sīŋ-qa</i>	to his/her/their father (father-POS3-DAT)
<i>yū-^hsīŋ-ki</i>	to his/her/their house, home (house-POS3-DAT)
<i>mīla-sīn</i>	his/her/their child (child-POS3ACC)

In the case of kinship terms, the third person possessor is often expressed by both a possessive suffix and a genitive pronoun, though the pronoun may be omitted.

<i>kunīŋ aqa-sī</i>	his/her father (DEM/GEN father-POS3)
<i>kunīŋ inī-sī</i>	his/her younger brother (DEM/GEN younger.brother-POS3)
<i>kunīŋ iškī mīla-sīn</i>	his/her two children (DEM/GEN two child-POS3ACC)

⁵ In the present material, no examples of kinship terms possessed by the second person plural occur: a group of people is often addressed with the second person singular.

In the case of other nouns, the possessive suffix of the third person may occur, though it is generally omitted when a genitive pronoun is present.

<i>kunīŋ yü ~ kunīŋ yü-^{hsī}</i>	his/her house (DEM/GEN house ~ DEM/GEN house-POS3)
<i>anīŋ ^{kheln} ~ anīŋ ^{kheln-ī}</i>	his wife (that/GEN wife ~ that/GEN wife-POS3)
<i>anīŋ qol ~ anīŋ qol-ī</i>	his/her arm (that/GEN arm ~ that/GEN arm-POS3)
<i>anīŋ išt-tī ~ anīŋ išt-īn</i>	his/her dog (that/GEN dog-ACC ~ that/GEN dog-POS3ACC)

The possessive relation between two nouns is expressed by attaching a possessive suffix to the head noun and a genitive case suffix to the modifying noun (see further 7.1.). The head noun's possessive suffix, however, is not obligatory, and actually is often omitted.

<i>mīla-nīŋ poz ~ poz-ī</i>	a child's body (child-GEN body ~ body-POS3)
<i>çhi-nīŋ moyn ~ moyn-ī</i>	a camel's neck (camel-GEN neck ~ neck-POS3)

The third person possessive usually occurs attached to the spatial noun in spatial noun constructions (see further 7.1.2.).

<i>ta^{hs}-īŋ-qa</i>	out of it, outside (outside-POS3-DAT)
<i>üzi-sīn-ti</i>	on top of it (upside-POS3-LOC)

The third person possessive refers to a member of a category or group.

<i>kī^hçiq qīz^{tar}-ī</i>	the youngest daughter (small girl-POS3)
<i>īškī-ncī qīz-ī</i>	the second daughter (two-ORD girl-POS3)
<i>pezīk-ī</i>	the eldest child (big-POS3)
<i>sen ni-sīn ti-^vtī?!</i>	you are saying what?! (you what-POS3ACC say-PROG _{EV})

The third person possessive refers to a mutual relationship between two people.

<i>k^v <u>kuziyī-sī</u> <u>kheln-īŋ-ki</u> antay ti-^yintī</i>	DEM husband-POS3 wife-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NAR _{EV}
	this husband of hers said thus to his wife

4.3. The cases

4.3.1. The unmarked case

The unmarked case is used as the subject, the predicate and the indefinite object.

<i><u>miz</u> <u>yoyir</u></i>	we are Yugur (we Yugur)
<i><u>miz</u> <u>yoyir</u> <u>kisī-lir</u></i>	we are Yugur people (we Yugur person-PL)
<i><u>k^v</u> <u>mīs-tī</u></i>	it is a cat (DEM cat-EV)

<i>thoyin <u>men</u> <u>miça</u> <u>tarīy</u> a^hl-tī, tarīy-nī ak^hher-^yi meŋ <u>khelŋ-ki</u> pe^hr-tī</i>	yesterday I little grain take-PAST grain-ACC bring-CCO my/GEN wife-DAT give-PAST
	yesterday I bought some grain, brought the grain home and gave it to my wife

Compounds are formed by juxtaposing nouns in the unmarked case (see 7.1.)

<i>yil theryin</i>	car (wind cart)
<i>tahqayī ohsiriq</i>	egg (chicken fart)
<i>chi yū</i>	tent (camel house)
<i>pīra timsīy qīwīn</i>	mosquito (conch mouth mosquito)
<i>qoy yūŋ</i>	sheep wool (sheep wool)

Adverbs indicating a point in time (see 5.8.) and measure nouns (see 7.1.) also take the unmarked case.

<i>yil theryin thoyīn mīntan hanī-ttī</i>	the car left from here yesterday
wind cart yesterday this/ABL go-PAST _{Ev}	
<i>men seni pīr tun p̄her-in saqīn-atī</i>	I want to give you a beating
I you/ACC one beating beat-IMP1 _{sg} think-DUB	

The following verbs often take an indefinite object by default:

<i>kizkī kiz=</i>	to get dressed (clothes dress)
<i>san sana=</i>	to count (number count)
<i>yer yerla=</i>	to sing (song sing)
<i>u phoqīr=</i>	to dance (dance dance)
<i>semen iṣ=</i>	to eat (food eat)
<i>semen q̄haynat=</i>	to cook (food cook)
<i>poz yū=</i>	to wash oneself (body wash)
<i>īs tu^{ht}=</i>	to work (work hold)
<i>p̄htīy tīz=</i>	to write (writing write)
<i>sut imīs=</i>	to suckle (milk suckle)

The following collocations consist of a verb and a noun in the unmarked case.

<i>ṣopaq pa^{hs}=</i>	to be or become stained with mud (mud press)
<i>iḥçikī thorla=</i>	to be or become hungry (belly be.hungry)
<i>qara tus=</i>	to be or become dark; of bad luck to occur (black descend)

4.3.2. The accusative case (ACC)

The accusative case suffix is -Nī; the accusative denotes the definite direct object.

īṣt menī tīsti-yi yazīr-it-ittī

dog me/ACC bite-CCO run-QUI-PAST_{Ev}

the dog bit me and dashed off

men semen q̄hantīr-īppar; pu semen-nī appar

I food cook-PROG this food-ACC take.to

I am cooking food; take this food away

thoyīn men miça tarīy aḥl-tī, tarīy-nī akk̄her-yi meṣ khelḥ-ki p̄hr-tī

yesterday I little grain take-PAST grain-ACC bring-CCO my/GEN wife-DAT give-PAST

yesterday I bought some grain, brought the grain home and gave it to my wife

khīm sen chunzī-ya par-yan-nī kōhr-tī?

who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

who saw that you went to the village?

The verb *īsta=* 'to resemble' requires the accusative case; *çor=* 'to point at' may take either the accusative or the dative case; the verbs *mīn=* 'to mount'⁶ and *ayt=* 'to greet, to send one's greetings; to ask about' take a (definite or indefinite) direct object, not an indirect object.

<i>men menī īsta-yaq</i>	I resemble myself (I me/ACC resemble-HAB)
<i>pīr kīsī-nī çor-ma!</i>	do not point at people! (one person-ACC point-NEG)
<i>aht-īn mīn-ki</i>	after mounting his/her horse (horse-POS3ACC mount-CCO)
<i>kv senī ayt-vtī</i>	s/he sends you his/her greetings (DEM you/ACC greet-PROGev)

4.3.3. The genitive case (GEN)

The genitive case suffix is *-Nīŋ*; the genitive expresses a possessive or qualifying relation between two nouns. A third person possessive suffix may be attached to the qualified head noun, but the possessive suffix is usually omitted (see 7.1.).

<i>qol-nīŋ su</i>	the water of the river (river-GEN water)
<i>coryawas-tīŋ lomaq</i>	the story of Chorghawash (Chorghawash-GEN story)
<i>īškī yahs-tīŋ sat</i>	a two-year-old calf (two year.of.age-GEN calf)
<i>mīz-tīŋ tōhrçin-nīŋ kīsī-lir</i>	the people of our village (we-GEN village-GEN person-PL)
<i>mal-lir-nīŋ halyar</i>	the dung of livestock (livestock-PL-GEN bovine.dung)

Spatial nouns in spatial noun constructions are also qualified by a noun in the genitive case; the third person possessive is generally attached to the spatial noun (see 7.1.2.).

<i>luzī-nīŋ üsīn-ti</i>	on top of the stove (stove-GEN upside/POS3-LOC)
<i>tīs-tīŋ ahtīr-īŋ-qa</i>	under the cauldron (cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT)
<i>sīk-tīŋ uhtīr-īn-ta</i>	in front of the door (door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC)
<i>terik-tīŋ ihç-in-ti</i>	in the forest (tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC)
<i>su-nīŋ ihç-in-tin</i>	from within of the water (water-GEN inside-POS3-ABL)
<i>qhor-nīŋ ohrta-sīn-ta</i>	at the middle of the girdle (girdle-GEN middle-POS3-LOC)

The genitive case of the demonstrative and interrogative pronoun preceding an adjective functions as an equative.

<i>mīnīŋ pezīk</i>	this big, so big (this/GEN big)
<i>nī-nīŋ uzun</i>	how long (what-GEN long)

4.3.4. The dative case (DAT)

The dative case suffix is *-GA*; the dative indicates a motion or direction towards.

<i>theryin thoyīn mīntan hanī-ya tayīn lençou-ya eht-kīstī</i>	car yesterday this/ABL leave-CCO tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT arrive-FUTev
	the car left from here yesterday and will arrive in Lánzhōu tomorrow

⁶ The verb *mīn=* requires a dative case in e.g. Khakas.

The dative case expresses the indirect object.

ah̄ti mīla yilya-sa sen aya miça sut per if the baby cries, give him/her some milk
small child cry-COND you that/DAT little milk give
men mīla-lar-ya miça su ih̄çih̄r-tī I let the children drink some water
I child-PL-DAT little water give.to.drink-PAST
k̄v uzi-niñ kizki-nī kīsī-yi pozī-t-ittī s/he had his/her clothes dyed by someone
DEM self-GEN clothes-ACC person-DAT die-CAUS-PAST_{Ev}

The dative case expresses a benefactive.

meñ nü^hker maya yū qhala-h̄tī my friend built a house for me
me/GEN friend me/DAT house build-PAST
men tayin aya is tuht-qış I will work for him/her tomorrow
I tomorrow that/DAT work hold-FUT
arah̄kī is-si mīla-ya ziq-tī it is bad for a child if s/he drinks liquor
liquor drink-COND child-DAT bad-EV
maya kherik par I need it (me/DAT need present)

The dative expresses an instrumental.

pu thujzi-nī ni-yi ims-otī? su al-ir-ya ims-otī
this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROG_{Ev} water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROG_{Ev}
what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water
sen naqī yotal-ya eh̄lçī-nī qara-yīla par-yimis mi?
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-CPUR go-FUT Q
will you not go and see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?
saqal-ta-qī semeñ-ki toz-mas
beard-LOC-KI food-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
one does not eat one's fill by the food in one's beard
k̄v lap kim-ki ayir-ttī s/he was really ill because of a disease
DEM really disease-DAT be.ill-PAST_{Ev}
k̄v kunñ kizki-sin qara-ya pozī-ttī s/he dyed his/her clothes black
DEM DEM/GEN clothes-POS3ACC black-DAT die-PAST_{Ev}
k̄v eni kunñ yū-sin aq-qa surt-ittī s/he repainted his/her house white
DEM again DEM/GEN house-POS3ACC white-DAT coat-PAST_{Ev}

The dative case indicates a period of time.

pu qah̄s yil-ya tiñir isiy muli-tī
this few year-DAT sky warm very-EV
during these past few years the weather has been very warm

In possessive constructions ('to have'), formed with the existentials *par* 'present' and *yoq* 'not present' (see 5.7.), the possessor can be expressed by the dative or by the locative (see 4.3.5.), though the dative is more generally used.

saya niçi mīla par-i? maya yoq how many children do you have? I have none
you/DAT how.many child present-COP me/DAT not.present

The verbs *çowat*= 'to oblige, to thank', *yalwar*= 'to beg, to request', *çhïla*=, *çhï kel*= 'to be or become angry with', *açis*= 'to worry (about)', *miyil*= 'to give a kiss, to kiss', *paɣnas*= 'to help', *thuktis*=, *thuk pol*= 'to meet with', *os*= 'to grab' all require a dative case; *çor*= 'to point at' may take either the accusative or the dative case.

<i>sen maya çowat-tï</i>	I thank you (you me/DAT oblige-PAST)
<i>miz saya yalwar-in</i>	let us beg of you, please (we you/DAT beg-IMP1pl)
<i>men saya çhïla-htï</i>	I am angry with you (I you/DAT be.angry-PAST)
<i>men saya açis-qan</i>	I was worried about you (I you/DAT worry-PNAR)
<i>maya pïr miyil!</i>	give me a kiss! (me/DAT one give.kiss)
<i>men saya paɣnas-qv</i>	I will help you (I you/DAT help-FUT)
<i>pïr kisi-yi thuktis=</i>	to meet with a person (one person-DAT meet)
<i>azaq-iñ-qa os=</i>	to grab his/her feet (foot-POS3-DAT grab)
<i>pïr kisi-yi çor-ma!</i>	do not point at people! (one person-DAT point-NEG)

The collocations *atqa ti*= 'to be called', *pozya mïla pol*= 'to be or become with child, pregnant', *közïñki yara*= 'to like, to be or become pleased about' contain a dative case.

<i>menïñ at-qa yakhïr ti-yik⁷</i>	my name is Yakhïr (me/GEN name-DAT Yakhïr say-HAB)
<i>mïla po-ttï, poz-ya</i>	she was pregnant (child become-PASTev body-DAT)
<i>köz-iñ-ki yara-ma-sa</i>	if s/he does not like (eye-POS3-DAT be.pleased-NEG-COND)

4.3.5. The locative case (LOC)

The locative case suffix is *-tA*; the locative indicates a location in space or time.

<i>sen ayïl-ta khïm-nï köhr-tï?</i>	whom did you see in the village?
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST	
<i>puyïn menïñ yü-ti yüyal-yış</i>	today I will rest at home
today me/GEN house-LOC rest-FUT	
<i>kv terik-tïñ ihç-in-ti anïñ išt-tï pabtïr-iwat-ittï</i>	s/he lost his/her dog in the forest
DEM tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PASTev	
<i>kv puyïn yiqïr-ta ki-stï</i>	s/he will come tonight
DEM today evening-LOC come-FUTev	
<i>sen ni sat-ta ki-ş-i?</i>	at what time will you come?
you what time-LOC come-FUT-COP	

In possessive constructions ('to have'), formed with the existentials *par* 'present' and *yoq* 'not present' (see 5.7.), the possessor can be expressed by the locative, though the dative is more generally used (see 4.3.4.)⁸.

<i>men-ti uş qïztar par</i>	I have three daughters (I-LOC three girl present)
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⁷ A similar construction exists in Eastern Yugur: *munë nere-të tvya kë-tek pe* my name-DAT Tuya say-HAB AUX 'my name is Tuya' (cf Bolçuluu & Ĵalcan 1988: 4).

⁸ This seems to be an areal feature, as the possessor is not commonly expressed by the dative in Turkic languages. The possessor is also expressed by the dative in Salar (Lïn 1985: 83) and by the dative/locative case in e.g. Eastern Yugur (Bolçuluu & Ĵalcan 1990: 159), Monguor (Slater 1998: 210), Dongxiang (Field 1997: 333-334) and Tibetan (Jäschke 1958: 539b).

When the locative case is attached to a present/past participle, a temporal converb is formed (see 6.4.1.).

pîr khun-ki eht-kinti (< *eht-kin-ti*)
 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP (< arrive-PP-LOC)
 one day, on a certain day

xue'i thuki-yinti (< *thuki-yin-ti*) *sunçaŋ mîz-tî maŋ-tîr-îştî-m?*
 meeting end-CTMP (< end-PP-LOC) chief we-ACC go-CAUS-FUTev-Q
 will the chief let us go when the meeting is over?

A number of adverbs historically contain a locative case suffix (see 5.8.).

kv halta ki-ptî s/he came just now (DEM just.now come-PASTev)
sen narsînta uzkit-îttî you actually lied (you actually lie-PASTev)
phornta ki-ştî s/he will come first (before come-FUTev)

4.3.6. The ablative case (ABL)

The ablative case suffix is *-tAn*; the ablative indicates a motion away from, or through a place.

anîŋ îliy-tin qol-ya içhi qara nîmi pol-xar-ttî
 that/GEN hand-ABL arm-DAT altogether black thing become-RES-PASTev
 from his hand to his arm, it had become black all over

theryin thoyîn couchüen-tan hanî-ya puŷîn puŷa eht-kîştî
 car yesterday Jiüquán-ABL go-CCO today this/DAT arrive-FUTev
 the car left from Jiüquán yesterday and will arrive here today

pu yiyas-tî men-tin sozîr-îp par drag this log away from me!
 this wood-ACC I-ABL drag-CON go

terik-tin tus-îk kel! come down from the tree!
 tree-ABL descend-CON come

sîk-tin khîr-ŷintî s/he entered through the door
 door-ABL enter-NARev

o mîntan yoz-îp par-otî s/he is passing through here
 that this/ABL pass-CON go-PROGev

The ablative case functions as a comparative.

kv men-tin örliŷ-tî s/he is taller than me (DEM I-ABL tall-EV)
men-tin toyîr kîsî another person than me (I-ABL other person)

The ablative case followed by the numeral *pîr* 'a, one', or by a noun indicating a measure, functions as a partitive.

maya ker-tin pîr per, tan-nî sal-in give me a bowl to put the eggs in
 me/DAT bowl-ABL one give egg-ACC put-IMP1sg

mîz-tir su-tan miça al-w ihç-inî let us take some water to drink
 we-PL water-ABL little take-CSIM drink-IMP1pl

îşt-qa iht-tin antîraq yitîr-ŷi ayîr-îştî
 dog-DAT meat-ABL that.much feed-CCO be.ill-FUTev

because s/he fed the dog that much meat, it may become ill

The verb *qohrq=* 'to fear' requires the ablative case.

miz-tin qohrq-pa! do not fear us! (we-ABL fear-NEG)

The ablative case is used in the adverbial expressions *mica miçatan* 'little by little, by and by', *pîr pîrtin* 'one by one, one after the other', *pîr khun pîr khuntin* 'day by day, from day to day'⁹, *pîr chî pîr chitan* 'from time to time, more and more', and *pîrtin pîr* 'more and more'.

men am mica mica-tan selir-nîy pîhtîy-nî qara-ppar

I now little little-ABL you/PL-GEN book-ACC look-PROG

I am now reading your book little by little

antaqanta-ya pu saqîs-yiyîrmî cozî pîr pîr-tin un-îk kel-yintî

then-PCL1 this eight-twenty sedan one one-ABL come.out-CON come-NARev

then these eighteen sedans came out one after the other

qol su pîr khun pîr khun-tin yûraq-qa un-vtî

river water one day one day-ABL upside-DAT come.out-PROGev

from day to day, the river's water is rising higher

anîy inî-sî pîr-tin pîr-ya semîr-vtî

that/GEN younger.brother-POS3 one-ABL one-PCL1 be.fat-PROGev

his/her younger brother is getting fatter and fatter

4.3.7. The equative case (EQU)

The equative case suffix is *-tAy*; the occurrence of the equative is limited to the personal and demonstrative pronouns.

men-tiy kîlap kîsî yoq there is no person as strong as I

I-EQU strong person not.present

mîntay tukîcer such a calf, a calf like this (this/EQU calf)

antay tukîcer such a calf, a calf like that (that/EQU calf)

antay po-q q^{ha}-ttî it has become thus (that/EQU become-CON fall-PASTev)

antak k^v yok-tî it is not done thus (that/EQU not.done-EV)

The equative *antay* 'like that, such, thus' may also be used adverbially, indicating reported speech.

antay ti-yin s/he said thus (that/EQU say-NPAR)

4.3.8. The vocative case (VOC)

The vocative case occurs in the following four kinship terms only¹⁰, and is used when calling out loudly: *aqv* 'elder brother!' (*aqqa*), *qîzaqv* 'elder sister!' (*qîzaqa*), *açv* 'father!' (*aça*), *anv* 'mother!' (*ana*).

⁹ Occurs as *pîr khuntin pîr khun* 'day after day' in Tenišev (1976: 65, 234); cf further *pîr yil pîr yilten* 'from year to year' in Léi (1992: 161b).

¹⁰ But cf *aniko* in Tenišev (1976: 234). Usually the final vowel is lengthened.

4.4. Clitics

4.4.1. The spatial clitics (IN-DAT, IN-LOC, IN-ABL)

The spatial clitics *-(i)ski* 'into', *-(i)sti* 'in' and *-(i)stin* 'out of (the inside)' actually consist of the dative, locative and ablative case of the spatial noun *ĩs* 'inside'. These clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes, as the spatial noun *ĩs* takes no third person possessive, and connects closely to the preceding noun by eliding its initial vowel.

<i>su-s-ki</i>	into the water (water-IN-DAT)
<i>yü-s-ti</i>	in the house (house-IN-LOC)
<i>qarq-ĩs-tin</i>	from within the nose (nose-IN-ABL)

The spatial clitics apparently are in the process of replacing the construction in which a spatial noun takes a third person possessive and is preceded by a qualifying noun in the genitive (see 7.1.2.).

ciŋ-ĩs-tin un-ik ki come out of the well!
well-IN-ABL come.out-CON come

ciŋ-niŋ ihç-in-tin un-ik ki come out of the well!
well-GEN inside-POS3-ABL come.out-CON come

kw aniŋ išt-in terik-ĩs-ti pah̄tir-ĩwat-ittĩ
DEM that/GEN dog-POS3ACC forest-IN-LOC lose-FIN-PASTev
s/he lost his/her dog in the forest

kw terik-tiŋ ihç-in-ti aniŋ išt-ti pah̄tir-ĩwat-ittĩ
DEM forest-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PASTev
s/he lost his/her dog in the forest

4.4.2. The attributive noun clitic (KI)

The clitic *-Kĩ* is attached to nouns in the unmarked case, to adverbs, or to nouns that already have a case suffix, and allows the attributive use of such a noun. Such an attributive noun can be used independently as well. Several case suffixes may follow the clitic *-Kĩ*.

There is actually no term that covers all the functions of the clitic *-Kĩ*; traditionally it is called an attributive noun suffix, or adjectivizer¹¹.

The clitic *-Kĩ* turns a noun in the unmarked case into an adjective.

<i>puyĩn-kĩ</i>	today's (today-KI)
<i>yaz-kĩ</i>	of the spring, spring- (spring-KI)
<i>qis-qĩ</i>	of the winter, winter- (winter-KI)

¹¹ It is called 'correlational suffix' by Schönig (1997: 124).

The clitic *-Kī* turns an adverb into an adjective. It is lexicalized in *naqī* 'yonder', and *pīhtīrkī* 'once upon a time'.

ehrti-kī yil-ta in earlier years (early-KI year-LOC)
thurti-kī yil next year's year (next.year-KI year)

When the clitic *-Kī* is attached to a noun or pronoun in the genitive case, a substantive 'the one of' is formed. This construction can be followed by the accusative case suffix; when a dative or locative case suffix is attached, it denotes a place of dwelling.

uzī-nīḡ-kī-nī the one of him/herself, his/her own (self-GEN-KI-ACC)
menīḡ-kī-ḡi to mine, to my house (me/GEN-KI-DAT)
senīḡ-kī-ti at yours, at your house (you/GEN-KI-LOC)
anika-nīḡ-kī-ḡi to an old woman's (house) (old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT)

When the clitic *-Kī* is attached to a noun to which a locative case suffix or a spatial clitic is attached, it turns this noun into a substantive or adjective 'the one in, at, belonging to'.

iḥç-in-ti-kī-lir contents, everything that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL)
iḥç-in-ti-kī örci the thing that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI thing)
menīḡ yü-ti-kī my spouse (lit. the one in my house) (me/GEN house-LOC-KI)
yü-ti-kī kīsī-lir family (lit. the people in the house) (house-LOC-KI person-PL)
seḡ yü-ti-kī išt the dog in your house (you/GEN house-LOC-KI dog)
tiḡir-ti-kī khun the sun in the sky (sky-LOC-KI sun)
qhora-ş-ti-kī intaq the equine dung in the pen (pen-IN-LOC-KI equine.dung)

4.4.3. The coordinative clitic (AND)

The coordinative clitic *-nī* is used to connect two nouns; in the present material it only occurs in folk tales. The nouns thus connected may be followed by an additional *işkīsī* 'the two of them, both; together with, and'. In ordinary speech, the postposition *uçin* 'together with, and' (see 5.9.) is commonly used instead of this clitic.

aça-ḡ-nī ana-ḡ our father and our mother (father-POS1/2-AND mother-POS1/2)
kumpinso-nī ahltimso Kumpinso and Ahltimso (Kumpinso-AND Ahltimso)
törtiḡ-nī thulki işkī-sī both the wolf and the fox (wolf-AND fox two-POS3)

4.4.4. The clitic 'every'

The clitic *-sin* indicates 'every', and occurs in the present material only in combination with the noun *khun* 'day' as *khunsin* 'every day'¹².

¹² In Léi (1992: 325a) also occurring in *eY sen* 'every month', and *yil sen* 'every year'.

4.5. Derivational noun suffixes

Except for the verbalizer -LA, most derivational noun suffixes do not seem to be productive; the agent suffix -*çī* and the adjective suffix -L̥y occur with some frequency.

4.5.1. Diminutive and affective suffixes

The diminutives -*çAr* and -*çik* are attached to animal nouns to indicate a young animal: *tukiçer* 'small three-year-old calf' (*tuki* 'three-year-old calf'), *puqaçar* 'a bull calf' (*puqa* 'bull')¹³, *ehrkicik* 'small castrated ram or male goat' (*ehrkis* 'wether'). The suffix -*çAr* also occurs in *osqaçar* 'old man' (*osqa*).

The affective suffix -*ka* occurs in two words only: *anika* 'old woman, grandmother' (*ana* 'mother'), *awaka* ~ *vka* 'old man, grandfather' (*awa* 'father')¹⁴.

The affective suffix -*tar* occurs only in *qiztar* '(little) girl'. The suffix should not be confused with the plural, cf *qiztarlir* '(little) girls', *iški qiztar* 'two (little) girls'.

The affective suffix -*qaş* occurs in *milaqaş* 'boy' (*mila* 'boy; child'), and *qiztarqaş* 'girl' (*qiztar* '(little) girl')¹⁵.

4.5.2. The agent suffix

The agent suffix -*çī* typically forms professions, e.g. *qoyçī* 'shepherd' (*qoy* 'sheep'), *malçī* 'herdsman' (*mal* 'livestock'), *kusçī* 'cowherd' (*kus* 'bovine'), *çhiçī* 'camelherd' (*çhi* 'camel'), *ahtçī* 'horseherd' (*aht* 'horse'), *phoçī* 'hunter' (*pho* 'gun'), *temirçī* 'smith' (*temir* 'iron'), *lomaqçī* 'story-teller' (*lomaq* 'story'), *uzikçī* 'liar' (*uzik* 'lie; false'), *aryaçī* 'lazybones' (*arya* 'laziness').

It also occurs in the following formations: *toyçī* 'wedding guest', *yörinçī* 'spider', *çhimikçī* 'thief', *yaryičī* 'chief, official'. Currently, agent nouns are generally derived from verbs by the verbal noun suffix -MA (see 6.6.).

4.5.3. Adjective suffixes (ADJ, COMP)

The adjective suffix -L̥y is attached to substantives to form an adjective expressing a possessive quality of the head noun, e.g. *tahstiy* 'stony' (*tahs* 'stone'), *kisiliy* 'inhabited' (*kisi* 'person'), *attiy* 'famous' (*at* 'name'), *parliy* 'having' (*par* 'present').

Some of these adjective formations also function as substantives, e.g. *uztiy* 'sharp; the sharp of a knife' (*uz* 'point, tip'), *ahttiy* 'horseman' (*aht* 'horse'), *sažtiy* '(married) woman' (*saž* 'hair'), *khempistiyy* 'woman' (*khempis* 'type of headgear').

The suffix -L̥y also occurs in the following formations: *ayirliy* 'expensive', *enniy* 'broad, wide'.

¹³ Another example is *thekeçer* 'young male goat' (Léi 1992: 124); cf perhaps also Eastern Yugur *nasçar* 'getting on in years', *khokšecer* 'in the prime of one's life' (Boščuluu 1985: 24, 69).

¹⁴ In the speech of Dàhé the form *sunzika* 'grandchild' (Wú 1992: 318) occurs.

¹⁵ In Léi (1992: 16a) (speech of Dàhé) also occurring in *açiqqaş* 'daughter-in-law'.

The comparative suffix $-(i)rAK$, expresses a relative comparison 'more, rather', e.g. *azīraq* 'a little bit' (*az* 'few, little'), *naqīraq* 'more to yonder side, further' (*naqī* 'yonder'), *sotiñraq* 'slower' (*sotiñ* 'slow'), *oyraq* 'quicker' (*oy* 'quick'), *pezikirik* 'louder' (*pezik* 'big'), *īsīyraq* 'warmer' (*īsīy* 'hot').

In general, comparison is expressed analytically by means of *mīca* 'a bit, a little', e.g. *mīca pezik* 'a bit larger, rather large'.

4.5.4. Adverb suffixes (ADV)

The adverb suffix $-Kv^{16}$ is attached to adjectives to form adverbs of manner: *yahsqv* 'well' (*yahs* 'good'), *tançinqv* 'seriously, very' (*tançin* 'serious, awesome, extreme'), *pihkv* 'very, extremely' (*pehrk* 'courageous'), *pezikirikkv* 'in a bigger, louder way' (*pezikirik* 'bigger, louder'). It also occurs in *ohqtahrqv* 'suddenly'.

The suffix $-qa$ is attested in *yanqīqa* 'alone, on one's own' (*yanqīs* 'alone'), and *yahsqa* 'complete' (*yahs* 'good'). When $-qa$ is attached to the present/past participle, a converb expressing 'by means of, by way of' is formed (see 6.4.1.1.).

4.5.5. Reduplications, jingles and hendiadyoin

In Western Yugur, reduplication occurs in adjectives to denote intensification. The first consonant and vowel of a stem are copied to the left, followed by a $-p$ (that in its turn may assimilate to the following consonant). The reduplicants thus formed are the only morphemes in Western Yugur (and in other Turkic languages) that are prefixed instead of suffixed, e.g. *sap-sariy* 'very yellow' (*sariy* 'yellow'), *thop-tholi* 'very full' (*tholi* 'full'), *qīq-qizil* 'very red' (*qizil* 'red'), and *qaq-qara* 'pitch black' (*qara* 'black').

aq-paq 'very white' (*aq* 'white') is the only example in the present material of a reduplication by means of the indefinite/concessive particle $-ma^{17}$ (see 7.3.9.).

The intensive reduplications *tañnayan tañ* 'very striped' (*tañ* 'striped'), *kisilyan kisil* 'of very light belly colour' (*kisil* 'of light belly colour') and *ziqtizuuq* 'very bad' (*ziq* 'bad') are idiolectal formations.

The following reduplications and jingles typically express a generalized noun 'and so on, and the like'.

Western Yugur m -reduplications copy the stem to the right: the initial consonant is substituted by an m -, e.g. *mal-mil* 'livestock and so on' (*mal* 'livestock'), *sut-mit* 'milk and so on' (*sut* 'milk').

Jingles copy the stem to the right as well; jingles usually take the vowel a , e.g. *su-sa* 'water and so on' (*su* 'water'), *ehrkī-ahrkī* 'old and shabby' (*ehrkī* 'old (of things)'), *mentiy-mantay* 'busy, being up and at it' (*menti=* 'to be busy'), *cürs-cars* 'wrinkled and crinkled (of dried leather, the wrinkles around the eye)', *çimtîr-çamtîr* 'aching all over', *qilçiq-qalçiq* 'crooked and bent'.

¹⁶ Historically a contraction of *qīlv* 'doing', consisting of the verb *qīl=* 'to do' + the converb $-v$.

¹⁷ $< aq pa aq < aq ma aq$; for further examples, cf Chén & Léi 1985: 72. The particle $-ma$ also occurs in other idiomatic expressions (see 6.2.1.).

If the stem contains an *a*, the vowel in the jingle is *u*, e.g. *q^har-q^hur* 'old and so on' (*q^har* 'old (of people)').

Purely onomatopoeic jingles are *q^hars-q^hars* 'knock-knock', *tīrīŋ-tīrīŋ* 'tap-tap', *qorun-qorun* 'korung-korung (the croaking of a raven)', *q^hur-q^hur-q^hur* 'flap-flap-flap (the fluttering sound of wings)'.

Hendiadyoin include *amīr-šimīr* ~ *amīr-su* 'quietly', *orīy-tarīy* 'relatives', *aça-ana* 'father and mother, parents', *qīz-oyīl* 'daughter(s) and son(s), children', *i^hki-sīŋnī* 'elder and younger sisters', *aqīnī* (< *aqa-īnī*) 'elder and younger brothers', *manīŋ-kizkī* 'headgear and dress, outfit', *a^hltīm-kumīs* 'gold and silver, treasures', *çis-marçan* 'malachite and coral, jewelry', *uzaq-ya^hqīn* 'far and near'.

4.5.6. Verbalizers

The most commonly used denominal verb suffix is the verbalizer -LA, which is attached to nouns, e.g. *qīzīyla=* 'to walk past' (*qīzīy* 'border'), *yerla=* 'to sing' (*yer* 'song'), *oyla=* 'to approach the end of, to be almost there' (*oy* 'quick'), *tīsti=* 'to bite' (*tīs* 'tooth'), *pa^hsta=* 'to begin' (*paş* 'head'), *ilimni=* 'to glue' (*ilīm* 'glue').

The suffix -LA is also attached to verbs borrowed from Chinese and Tibetan. In this function, the suffix is extremely productive. Vowel harmony is not observed here regularly, and the form -La predominates, e.g. *lila=* 'to plough' <Ch lí, *çola=* 'to reflect' <Ch zhào, *lotīla=* 'to talk nonsense' <Ch láodao, *zīli=* 'to harass' <Ch rě, *seyli=* 'to stuff in' <Ch sāi, *ceçüela=* 'to solve a problem' <Ch jiějué, *nīŋna=* 'to pinch' <Ch níng, *paŋna=* 'to bandage' <Ch bǎng, *tuanna=* 'to hold in both hands' <Ch duān, *çuŋna=* 'to pocket' <Ch zhuāng, *t^huktis=* 'to meet' (+ REC) <Tibetan Arik dialect *t^huk=*.

No verbalizer is attached to verbs borrowed from Eastern Yugur.

Petrified verbalizers include:

-A, forming intransitive verbs: *aza=* 'to decrease, to lessen' (*az* 'few'), *kiwi=* 'to increase, to be or become more' (*ki^hp* 'much, many'), *uzīnat=* 'to make longer (+ CAUS)' (*uzun* 'long'), *ya^hsa=* 'to be or become a year of age' (*ya^hs* 'year of age').

-(A)r, forming intransitive verbs: *aqar=* 'to be or become white, light' (*aq* 'white'), *qarar=* 'to be or become black' (*qara* 'black').

-Gar, forming transitive verbs: *o^hqar=* 'to pasture' (*o^ht* 'grass'), *su^hyar=* 'to water (animals)' (*su* 'water').

-(i)k, forming intransitive verbs: *pīrīk=* 'to agree with one another' (*pīr* 'one').

5. Special noun classes

5.1. Personal pronouns

Western Yugur personal pronouns distinguish between first and second person, and between singular and plural. For the third person a demonstrative pronoun is used.

The personal pronouns can be declined for all cases, like other nouns. A few historical irregularities occur, such as the formation of the accusative and genitive of the first and second person singular with a single instead of a double *-n-*, the plural of the second person, and the back-vocalic dative form in the first and second person singular, which are all well attested in several other Turkic languages.

The first person plural *mīz* may take the plural suffix, *mīztir*, apparently without a difference in meaning; speakers prefer either one or the other. Some speakers use the abraded form *mīzir*.

When preceding a numeral, the plural pronoun of the the second and third person is replaced by a singular pronoun; the plural pronoun is maintained for the first person. Compare:

mīz yol maŋ-ıppar we are walking (we road walk-PROG)
mīz iškī-sī yol maŋ-ıppar the two of us are walking (we two-POS3 road walk-PROG)

selir yol maŋ-ıttı you are walking (you/PL road walk-PROG_{ev})
sen iškī-sī yol maŋ-ıttı the two of you are walking
 you two-POS3 road walk-PROG_{ev}

kolar yol maŋ-ıttı they are walking (DEM/PL road walk-PROG_{ev})
kıv iškī-sī yol maŋ-ıttı the two of them are walking
 DEM two-POS3 road walk-PROG_{ev}

	I	you	we	you (PL)
unmarked	<i>men</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>mīz</i>	<i>selir</i>
accusative	<i>menī</i>	<i>senī</i>	<i>mīztī</i>	<i>selirnī</i>
genitive	<i>menīŋ</i> ~ <i>meŋ</i>	<i>senīŋ</i> ~ <i>seŋ</i>	<i>mīztīŋ</i>	<i>selirnīŋ</i>
dative	<i>mayā</i>	<i>saya</i>	<i>mīzki</i>	<i>seliryi</i>
locative	<i>menti</i>	<i>senti</i>	<i>mīzti</i>	<i>selirti</i>
ablative	<i>mentin</i>	<i>sentin</i>	<i>mīztin</i>	<i>selirtin</i>
equative	<i>mentiy</i>	<i>sentiŋ</i>	<i>mīztiŋ</i>	<i>selirtiŋ</i>

Case paradigm of the personal pronouns.

5.2. Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are *uzi* and *ihsı* 'self'. There seems to be no difference in meaning between these two words; speakers prefer either one or the other. The reflexive pronouns can be declined for case, number and possession; in the present material, however, not all declensional forms occur.

	self	self	selves
unmarked	<i>uzi</i>	<i>ihsı</i>	<i>uzilir</i>
accusative	<i>uzini</i>	<i>ihsini</i>	<i>uzilirni</i>
genitive ('own')	<i>uziniŋ</i>		
dative	<i>uziyi</i>		<i>uziliryi</i>
locative			
ablative			<i>uzilirtin</i>
possessive 1/2	<i>uziŋ</i>		
possessive 3	<i>uzisi</i>	<i>ihsisi</i>	

Case, number and possessive paradigm of the reflexive pronouns.

kv uzi-niŋ mila-sın p̄her-γi mila-sı yoqq̄ha-tti

DEM self-GEN son-POS3ACC hit-CCO son-POS3 die-PASTev

because s/he beat his/her own son, his/her son died

mila-lar p̄h̄caq ucin uzi-lir-ni q̄tir-vti

child-PL knife with self-PL-ACC cut-PROG

the children are cutting themselves with a knife

miz ihsı-ni yulir-išti we would kill ourselves (we self-ACC kill-FUTev)

The reflexive pronouns may take a third person possessive or occur in a doublet to express a distributive.

iški yerin uzi-sın (~ ihsı-sın) yulir-iwat-itti

two man self-POS3ACC (~ self-POS3ACC) kill-FIN-PASTev

the two men each killed themselves

mila-lar uzi uzi-ni (~ ihsı ihsı-ni) p̄her-vti

child-PL self self-ACC (~ self self-ACC) beat-PROGev

the children are each beating themselves

The possessive of the first/second person occurs only once in a tale.

uzi-ŋ-ki thar̄sa par

I myself have an idea (self-POS1/2-DAT idea present)

In reported speech, *uzi* refers to the speaker (see further 7.4.).

pu q̄har k̄sı antay ti-γinti sen uzi-ni yulir-mi ti-γinti

this old person that/EQU say-NAREv you self-ACC kill-NEG say-NAREv

this old man said thus: 'Don't you kill me!'

5.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Western Yugur has four demonstrative pronouns, *pu* 'this', *o* 'that', *naq̄i* 'yonder', and *kv* 'this, that', which can be declined for number and case.

The demonstrative pronouns take the so-called pronominal *-n-* in the oblique cases (except for the dative), and when followed by the postposition *učin*.

A few historical irregularities occur, such as the formation of the dative, and of the accusative and genitive singular with a single instead of a double *-n-*. The paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun *pu* 'this' contains the irregular variants *punī*, *punīŋ* and *muɣa* for the more frequently used forms *mīnī*, *mīnīŋ* and *puɣa*.

The demonstrative pronouns also function as demonstrative adjectives, and as personal pronouns. The dative, locative and ablative case of the demonstrative pronouns usually function as demonstrative adverbs.

	this	that	this/that	yonder
unmarked	<i>pu</i>	<i>o</i> ~ <i>ol</i>	<i>kv</i>	<i>naq̄i</i>
accusative	<i>mīnī</i> ~ <i>punī</i>	<i>anī</i>	<i>kunī</i>	<i>naq̄inī</i>
genitive	<i>mīnīŋ</i> ~ <i>punīŋ</i>	<i>anīŋ</i>	<i>kunīŋ</i>	
dative '(t)hither'	<i>puɣa</i> ~ <i>muɣa</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>koya</i>	<i>naq̄iɣa</i>
locative '(t)here'	<i>mīnta</i>	<i>anta</i>	<i>kunta</i>	
ablative '(t)hence'	<i>mīntan</i>	<i>antan</i>	<i>kuntan</i>	
equative 'such, thus'	<i>mīntay</i>	<i>antay</i>	<i>kuntay</i>	
<i>učin</i> 'with'	<i>mīnučin</i>	<i>anučin</i>	<i>kunučin</i>	
<i>-(i)ški</i> 'into'	<i>mīški</i> ~ <i>puški</i>	<i>anīški</i>	<i>kuški</i>	
<i>-(i)šti</i> 'in'	<i>mīšti</i>			
	these	those	these/those	yonder
unmarked	<i>pular</i>	<i>alar</i> ~ <i>alir</i> ~ <i>olar</i>	<i>kolar</i>	
accusative	<i>pularnī</i>	<i>alarnī</i>	<i>kolarnī</i>	<i>naq̄ilarnī</i>
genitive	<i>pularnīŋ</i>	<i>alarnīŋ</i>	<i>kolarnīŋ</i>	
dative	<i>pularɣa</i>	<i>alaryɣa</i>	<i>kolaryɣa</i>	
locative	<i>pularɣa</i>	<i>alarta</i>	<i>kolarta</i>	
ablative	<i>pularɣa</i>	<i>alartan</i>	<i>kolartan</i>	
equative			<i>kolartay</i>	

Case and number paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns.

The demonstrative pronoun *pu* 'this' refers to people and objects near the speaker.

pu ni-tī? what is this? (this what-EV)
mīnī-ma ther-īwal-yīla-yn let me go and pick this up too
this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg
pu phoqirt-in saqin-ipti s/he intended to jump
this jump-IMP1sg think-PASTev
pu su-nī i^hç-v çita-štī-m? can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q
pu qahş yil-ya tiğir teylī isiy muli-tī
this few year-DAT sky certainly warm very-EV

during these few years the weather has certainly been very warm

sen ni-yi pu qımtan-nī imsa-ppē? men mīnuçin yiyaş sart-ıppar
you what-DAT this axe-ACC use-PROG/COP I this/with wood chop-PROG
what are you using this axe for? I am chopping wood with it

The demonstrative *o* 'that' refers to people and objects away from the speaker. It is often used anaphorically.

ışt qayta-tir? o yoqqa-tti where is the dog? it died
dog where-PLOC that die-PASTev
sen thoyin meş mīla-nī köhr-ti-m? men anī köhr-ti
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q I that/ACC see-PAST
did you see my child yesterday? I saw him/her
ahti mīla yilya-sa sen aya miça sut per if the baby cries, give him/her some milk
small child cry-COND you that/DAT little milk give
sen nati o yer-yi pahr-ti? why did you go to that place?
you why that place-DAT go-PAST
sen o yotal-ya ehlaçı-nī qara-yimis mi?
you that matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-FUTN Q
will you not see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?

The demonstrative *kw* 'this, that' is mostly used as a personal pronoun.

kw iht yi-oti s/he is eating meat (DEM meat eat-PROGev)
yij phornta maya ti-yin-la kw-ti it is s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV
kw ki-yi kunī kör-tti s/he came and saw him/her
DEM come-CCO DEM/ACC see-PASTev
koya yerla ti tell him/her to sing (DEM/DAT sing say)
kw tis-ti mīla suht-ipti a child broke this cauldron
DEM cauldron-ACC child break/COM-PASTev
sen kw yiyaş-ti men-tin sozır-ıp par drag this log away from me
you DEM wood-ACC I-ABL drag-CON go

The demonstrative *naqi* 'yonder' refers to people and objects away from the speaker; *naqi* may occur with a third person possessive suffix.

kw naqi-nī lap kör-tti s/he certainly saw him/her
DEM yonder-ACC certainly see-PASTev

antaqanta naqī-sī-ma kançiy çhük-ki çal-ik khir-yinti
 then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NAR_{ev}
 then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying
sen naqī yotal-ya ehlcī-nī qara-yīla par-yūmis mi?
 you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-CPUR go-FUTN Q
 will you not go and see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?
anī naqī yerin-nīy yañ-qa sozīr-īp par drag that toward yonder man
 that/ACC yonder man-GEN side-DAT drag-CON go

When a genitive demonstrative refers to a demonstrative pronoun, cross reference is usually within the same paradigm.

kū kunīy nü^hker işkī-sī ki-ptī s/he came with his/her friend
 DEM DEM/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PAST_{ev}
o anīy nü^hker işkī-sī ki-ptī s/he came with his/her friend
 that that/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PAST_{ev}

The dative, locative and ablative case of the demonstrative pronouns usually function as demonstrative adverbs of place. The ablative case *antan* 'from that, thence' also functions as an adverb of time 'thereupon'.

kū puya ki-yūmistī s/he will not come hither
 DEM this/DAT come-FUT_{nev}
sen qahçan mīnta qhal-yīs-i? until when will you stay here?
 you when this/LOC stay-FUT-COP
theryin thoyin mīntan hanī-ya tayin lençou-ya eht-kīstī
 car yesterday this/ABL go-CCO tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT arrive-FUT_{ev}
 the car left from here yesterday and will arrive in Lánzhōu tomorrow
sen par-ya kunta pīr thelk qaz! you go and dig a hole there!
 you go-CCO DEM/LOC one hole dig

The clitic -Kī is suffixed to the locative case to form an attributive demonstrative.

soyt-tī mīz-tīy mīnta-qī khempīstīy-lir su thila-ma-tī
 bucket-ACC we-GEN this/LOC-KI woman-PL water carry-VN-EV
 buckets are used by our women here to fetch water
kunta-qī su-nī maya akkher bring me that water there!
 DEM/LOC-KI water-ACC me/DAT bring

The genitive case *mīnīy* 'of this' preceding an adjective functions as an equative.

sen nati mīnīy kiş ki-yin-i? why have you come so late?
 you why this/GEN late come-NAR-COP

Below follows a list of demonstrative nouns, adjectives and adverbs, most of which historically are compound forms. Several of these derive from the demonstrative verbs *mīntaq*= 'to do like this, thus' and *antaq*= 'to do like that, thus' (crases of *mīntay* and *antay* with the verb *qīl*= 'to do'); the present material yields only few finite forms. The forms *mīrkīti*, *kurkīti* are the Míngghǎi equivalents of *mīnta* 'here', and *kunta* 'here, there'.

	this	that	this/that	yonder
this/that/such kind of thing	<i>mīntarmi</i>	<i>antarmi</i>	<i>kuntarmi</i>	
this/that/so much/many	<i>mīntur</i>	<i>antur</i>	<i>kuntur</i>	
this/that much	<i>mīntīraq</i>	<i>antīraq</i>		
like this/that, such	<i>mīntaqvyan</i>	<i>antaqvyan</i>		
in this/that way, thus	<i>mīntaqv</i>	<i>antaqv</i>		
after this/that, then	<i>mīntaqaş</i>	<i>antaqaş</i>		
then, so, thus		<i>antaqanta</i>		
in this/that case		<i>antasa</i>		
look at this/that!			<i>kuni</i>	
(t)here	<i>mīrkīti</i>		<i>kurkīti</i>	
about (t)here	<i>murata</i>			<i>narata</i>
(t)hither	<i>perī</i>			<i>narī</i>
over (t)here (DAT)	<i>peraqīŋqa</i>	<i>araqīŋqa</i>	<i>koraqīŋqa</i>	<i>neraqīŋqa</i>
over (t)here (LOC)		<i>araqīnta</i>	<i>koraqīnta</i>	<i>neraqīnta</i>
over (t)here (ABL)	<i>peraqīntan</i>			

Demonstrative nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

kv īst iht-tin kuntur yi-yi kv kim po-štī

DEM dog meat-ABL so.much eat-CCO DEM disease become-FUTev

because that dog ate so much of the meat, it may become ill

kv maya antīraq yūs sal-ya men koya yūl ti-ppar

DEM me/DAT that.much bad put-CCO I DEM/DAT die say-PROG

for all the evil s/he has done to me, I hope s/he dies (lit. telling him/her: die!)

şaztīy-lar mīntaqv semen qhaynat-qaq-i

woman-PL in.this.way food cook-HAB-COP

the women are used to cook food in this way

narī mv perī mv

walking hither and thither

thither walk/CSIM hither walk/CSIM

narī saqīn-v perī saqīn-v

stretching one's mind

thither think-CSIM hither think-CSIM

koraqīnta-qī terik-ki un-īp par!

climb up that tree over there!

over.there/LOC-KI tree-DAT climb-CON go

men araqīŋqa par-sa men araqīnta soq-tīr-īstī

I over.there/DAT go-COND I over.there/LOC beat-CAUS-FUTev

if I go over there, I will be beaten over there

men neraqīŋqa par-yan po-sa men pher-tīr-īwat-qīstī

I over.there/DAT go-PP become-COND I beat-CAUS-FIN-FUTev

if I had gone over there, I would have been beaten

khunsin mīntaq-v-yaq-i-tī

every day s/he used to do thus

every.day thus.do-AUX-HAB-COP-EV

teylī-ya antaq-īstī

s/he will certainly do thus

certainly-PCL1 thus.do-FUTev

5.4. Interrogative pronouns

Western Yugur has three bases for the interrogative pronouns, *khīm* 'who', *ni* 'what', and *qaysī* 'which one'.

The interrogative pronoun *ni* 'what' is the base of several interrogative adjectives and adverbs: *niçi* 'how many', *niçor* 'how much, to what extent', *niçik* 'what kind of', *niyor* 'how, in what state or quality', *nayɔ* 'how, in what way', and *nati* 'why'. When followed by the postposition *uçin*, the interrogative pronoun *ni* may optionally take the pronominal *-n-*, analogous to the demonstrative pronouns.

Interrogatives derived from the same base as the interrogative pronoun *qaysī* 'which one' (containing a third person possessive) are the interrogative adverbs *qaya* 'whither', *qayta* ~ *qanta* 'where', *qaytan* ~ *qantan* 'whence', and *qaynin* 'whereby'; the forms in *-n-* have probably developed by analogy with the pronominal *-n-* of the demonstrative pronouns. There is no difference in meaning between *qayta*, *qaytan* on the one hand and *qanta*, *qantan* on the other; individual speakers prefer either one set or the other. The temporal interrogative adverb *qahçan* 'when', and the interrogative particle *qhan* 'where is' are also historically related to this base.

When occurring in doublets, the interrogative pronouns function as indefinite demonstratives 'such and such'. In combination with the particle *-ma* and a negated verb, the interrogative pronouns function as negative pronouns 'nobody, nothing' (see below), and in combination with a conditional verb, the interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns 'whoever, whatever' (see 7.3.9.).

	who	what	which one
unmarked	<i>khīm</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>qaysī</i>
accusative	<i>khīmni</i>	<i>nini</i>	<i>qaysin</i>
genitive	<i>khīmniŋ</i>	<i>niniŋ</i>	
dative	<i>khīmki</i>	<i>niyi</i>	<i>qaya</i>
locative			<i>qayta</i> ~ <i>qanta</i>
ablative	<i>khimt in</i>		<i>qaytan</i> ~ <i>qantan</i>
whereby			<i>qaynin</i>
<i>uçin</i> 'with'		<i>ni(n)uçin</i>	
how many		<i>niçi</i>	
how much		<i>niçor</i>	
what kind of		<i>niçik</i>	
how, in what quality		<i>niyor</i>	
how, in what way		<i>nayɔ</i>	
why		<i>nati</i>	
when, until when			<i>qahçan</i>
where is			<i>qhan</i>

Table of the interrogatives.

The interrogative pronoun *khim* 'who' inquires about persons.

<i>khim saya kw kizki-ni per-tti?</i>	who gave you those clothes?
who you/DAT DEM clothes-ACC give-PASTev	
<i>sen ayil-ta khim-ni kohr-ti?</i>	whom did you see in the village?
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST	
<i>sen khim-ki semen qhantir-ippe?</i>	for whom are you cooking food?
you who-DAT food cook-PROG/COP	

The interrogative pronoun *ni* 'what' inquires about objects.

<i>pu ni-ti?</i>	what is this? (this what-EV)
<i>puya ni ti-yik-i?</i>	what is this called? (this/DAT what say-HAB-COP)
<i>o ni ihc-oti?</i>	what is s/he eating? (that what eat-PROGev)
<i>sen ni kannap-ppe?</i>	what are you doing? (you what do-PROG/COP)

The interrogative pronoun *ni* is also used as an adjective.

<i>ni yer</i>	what place? (what place)
<i>ni sat</i>	what time? (what time)
<i>sen ni is tuht-ippa-r-i?</i>	what are you doing? (you what work hold-PROG-COP)

The third person possessive is attached to the interrogative pronoun *ni* to refer to a member of a category (see 4.2.).

<i>pu ni-sin ti-oti?!</i>	s/he is saying what?! (this what-POS3ACC say-PROGev)
<i>ni-sin min-kis-i?!</i>	I will mount a what?! (what-POS3ACC mount-FUT-COP)

The genitive case *niniŋ* preceding an adjective functions as an equative (see 4.3.3.).

<i>ni-niŋ uzun</i>	how long (what-GEN long)
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The dative case *niyi* 'what for' developed the meaning 'why', and is in this meaning exchangeable with *nati* 'why'.

<i>pu thunzi-ni ni-yi yims-oti? su al-ir-ya yims-oti</i>	
this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROGev water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROGev	
what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water	
<i>sen ni-yi (~ nati) chunzi-ya pah-r-ti?</i>	why did you go to the village?
you what-DAT (~ why) village-DAT go-PAST	

The interrogative *nici* 'how many' is used as a substantive as well as an adjective.

<i>sen nici yasa-hti?</i>	how old are you?
you how.many be.a.year.of.age-PAST	
<i>sen kolar-tan nici tuht-ti?</i>	how many of them did you catch?
you DEM/PL-ABL how.many hold-PAST	
<i>saya nici mila par-i?</i>	how many children do you have?
you/DAT how.many child present-COP	

The interrogative *nicor* 'to what degree or extent, how much' qualifies an adjective; it is exchangeable here with the genitive case *niniŋ*.

<i>nicor uzun</i>	how long (how.much long)
<i>nicor yahş</i>	how good (how.much good)

However, some speakers use *niçor* in the function of *niçi*.

niçor örci how many things (how.much thing)

niçor sat how much time (how.much time)

sen mînta olîr-v niçor khun pohl-tî?

you this/LOC stay-CSIM how.much day become-PAST

how many days passed while you were staying here?

The present material yields only few examples of the interrogative *niyor* 'how, in what state or quality'. In the second example *niyor* is used in the function of *niçor*.

niyor mi po-yan-i pîl-mistî how she is, I would not know

how Q become-NAR-COP know-DUBN

tas niyor pezîk pu-sa-ma su-nî ayît-îwal-mas

stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water-ACC stop-INC-HABN

however big the stone may be, it cannot block the water

The present material yields only one example of the interrogative *niçik* 'what kind of':

niçik yer-yi eht-îptî? what kind of place have we arrived at?

what.kind.of place-DAT arrive-PASTev

The interrogative *qaysî* is used as a substantive 'which one'.

sen maya pîr ti, qaysî pahç-î-tî, qaysî qonqîr-î-tî

you me/DAT one say which head-POS3-EV which bottom-POS3-EV

just you tell me which is its top, which is its bottom

pu îskî-nîñ sen qaysîn al-îş-i? which one of these two will you take?

this two-GEN you which/POS3ACC take-FUT-COP

The clitic *-Kî* is added to the locative case *qayta ~ qanta* to form an attributive noun *qaytaqî ~ qantaqî* 'of where', mostly used in the meaning 'where from, what kind of'.

It often occurs in collocation with the demonstrative equative *mîntay* 'like this, such'.

qayta-qe? where does this come from? (where-KI/COP)

qayta-qî kîsî par-i? where is everybody? (where-KI person present-COP)

şîçe-ta qayta-qî mîntay kîsî par-i?

world-LOC where-KI this/EQU person present-COP

where in the world is there anybody like this?

pu qayta-qî mîntay kueî'u ki-yin-i?

this where-KI this/EQU monster come-PAST-COP

where has this kind of monster come from?

The present material yields only two examples of the interrogative *qaynin* 'whereby'.

sen qaynin yoz-ya par-îş-i? where will you go by?

you whereby pass-CCO go-FUT-COP

sen qaynin yoz-v o yer-yi pah-r-tî?

you whereby pass-CSIM that place-DAT go-PAST

by which way did you go to that place?

The interrogative adverb *qahçan* 'when; until when' inquires about a point of time.
sen qahçan kehl-ti? when did you come? (you when come-PAST)
sen qahçan mīnta qhal-yış-i? until when will you stay here?
 you when this/LOC stay-FUT-COP

The particle *qhan* 'where is' occurs only once in a folk tale. The common construction to ask for whereabouts consists of *qayta* 'where' plus the existential particle *tir* 'there is' (see 7.3.3.) or the existential noun *par* 'present' (see 5.7.):
sey aht qhan? where is your horse? (you/GEN horse where.is)

Doublets of interrogatives function as indefinite demonstratives. There is one example of a doublet consisting of an interrogative plus demonstrative.

ni ni kīsī such and such person (what what person)
kū ni-nī ni-nī ista-yaq s/he resembles such and such
 DEM what-ACC what-ACC resemble-HAB
ni kīsī-yi ni mal par as man, so his livestock
 what person-DAT what livestock present
qaysī qaysī thay-niḡ tīp-ti at the foot of such and such mountain
 which which mountain-GEN base-LOC
qaytan qaytan ki-yin kīsī people who came from such and such place
 whence whence come-PP person
qahçan qahçan at such and such time (when when)
qantan mīntan from somewhere (whence hence)

The interrogative pronoun *ni* combines with the verb *pol=* 'to become, to be' into the interrogative verb *niol=* ~ *nol=* 'what to happen, what about, to be the matter with'. This verb shows a number of irregular contractions and idiomatic meanings. In the present material, the following conjugations occur: the progressive *noppe*, *nolotī*, past *nohltī*, *nottī*, narrative *noyan-i*, conditional *nosa* ~ *niosa*, imperative *noye*, and the converbs *nop* and *nolv*.

e, no-ppē! eh, what about it? (EXCL what.be-PROG/COP)
sen nohl-ti? what is the matter with you? (you what.be-PAST)
no-sa no-ye whatever happens, let it be (what.be-COND what.be-IMP3)
no-yan-i pīl-mistī I would not know what has become of it
 what.be-NAR-COP know-DUBN

The interrogative pronoun *ni* combines with the verb *qil=* 'to do' into the interrogative verb *niyil=* ~ *nil=* ~ *nal=* 'to do what'. This verb shows a number of irregular contractions and idiomatic meanings. In the present material, the following conjugations occur: the habitual *nalyaq-e*, *nalmas*, present/future *nayīliš-e* ~ *niyış-e* ~ *nayş-e*, *nayıştī*, progressive *nappe*, *nayotī*, *niyoyoyq*, *niyoyoyqtī*, past *nayihltī* ~ *nahlitī*, *niyittī*, narrative *niyilyan*, conditional *nayīlsa* ~ *nayīsa*, imperative *niyil*, *niyilin*, *niyini*, the converbs *nap* ~ *nip*, *nayv*, *nalya*, *nalyila*, and the future verbal noun *nalyi* ~ *niyi*.

sen na-ppē? what are you doing? (you what.do-PROG/COP)
kū nayotī? what is s/he doing? (DEM what.do-PROGev)
men ni-ma ni-yoyoyq I am not doing anything (I what-PCL3 what.do-PROGN)
am nayş-e? now what to do? (now what.do-FUT-COP)

pu tʰuŋzī-nī nal-yaq-e? what does one do with this bucket?
 this bucket-ACC what.do-HAB-COP
o nal-ya yoqqʰa-ttī? by doing what did s/he die?
 that what.do-CCO die-PASTev
sen sunaŋ-qa nal-yīla-htī? for what purpose did you go to Sùnán?
 you Sùnán-DAT what.do-PUR-PAST
sen nal-yī ti-o pu qhīmtan-nī khehr-tī?
 you what.do-VNFUT say-CSIM this axe-ACC bring-PAST
 what did you bring this axe for?
mīla-lar nayīl-sa-ma pahtīr-īwat-qan qoy-nī taḥp-pastī
 child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN
 whatever the children do, they could not find the lost sheep

The verb *niyīl= ~ nil= ~ nal=* 'to do what?' is often used as a dummy verb 'to whatsit, to whatchacallit' when a speaker cannot recall a certain verb for the moment. The dummy verb takes the same suffixes as the verb it substitutes for.

sen tayīn niyīl, vka-ŋ-qa mīs-tan pīr qhāycila!
 you tomorrow what.do grandfather-POS1/2-DAT cat-ABL one clip
 tomorrow you whatsit, you clip a cat for my grandfather!

The interrogative adverb *qaya* combines with the verb *par=* into the interrogative verb *qar=* 'to go whither'. In the present material, the following conjugations of *qar=* occur: present/future *qars-e*, narrative *qaryan-i*.

am qars-e? now where to go? (whither.go/FUT-COP)
qar-yan-i? whither has s/he gone? what about it? (whither.go-NAR-COP)

Western Yugur has no separate set of negative pronouns. Instead, a construction consisting of the interrogative pronouns *khīm* and *nī* plus the indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* and a negated verb is used.

men khīm-nī-ma kōr-mi-htī I did not see anybody
 I who-ACC-PCL3 see-NEG- PAST
nī-ma yoq-tī there isn't anything, there is nothing
 what-PCL3 not.present-EV
men nī-ma tuht-qīmis I shall not do anything, I shall do nothing
 I what-PCL3 hold-FUTN
nī-ma sey oḥqa-l-ma-yantī it was not smelling like vegetables at all
 what-PCL3 vegetable smell-RFL-NEG-NARev

5.5. Indefinite pronouns

Western Yugur indefinite pronouns are: *nimi* 'thing, something', *pīrmi* 'something, somebody', *pīrsī* 'one of them, the one, the other', *pīrmisī* 'some, some of them', and *xosī* 'all, every, everybody, everything, all of it, all of them'¹. *xosī* may take a plural suffix *xosīlir* 'everybody, all'.

¹ The indefinite pronouns *pīrsī*, *pīrmisī* and *Xosī* historically contain a third person possessive.

o semen iṣ-kin-tin toyür nimi tuht-pas pürmi-ti

that food eat-PP-ABL other thing hold-HABN somebody-EV

s/he is somebody who does nothing but eating (lit. no other thing than eating)

mıla-lar arahki iṣ-mis, mıla-lar su iṣ-kik pürmi-ti

child-PL liquor drink-HABN child-PL water drink-PHAB somebody-EV

children do not drink liquor, children are ones drinking water

pürsün qhōra-ṣ-ki sola-wat, pürsün taḥs-iṅ-qa phalya-wat-i

one/POS3ACC pen-IN-DAT lock-FIN one/POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-FIN-COP

just lock one of them inside the pen, tie the other outside of it

khempıştiy xosün ti-p per-yinti

the woman told everything

woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NAR_{EV}

The noun *kisī* 'person' may also be used as an indefinite pronoun 'a person, someone'.

punī-la khintiṅ kisī ti-tti

somebody certainly told this

this/ACC-PCL2 certainly person say-PAST_{EV}

The noun *nimi* almost always occurs with a preceding adjective.

o yiyāṣ-ti qitür-v sar nimi et-uh-itti

that wood-ACC cut-CSIM fragmented thing make-COM-PAST_{EV}

while chopping the wood s/he made it into small pieces

The indefinite pronoun *xosī* may qualify another noun; it follows the noun it qualifies.

miz xosī pḥeris-ıppar

we are all fighting (we all fight-PROG)

selir mīnta qhal-yan po-sa selir xosün yülür-t-qışti

you/PL this/LOC remain-PP become-COND you/PL all/POS3ACC kill-CAUS-FUT_{EV}

if you had stayed here, you all would have been killed

5.6. The numerals

The numeral system of Western Yugur is a decimal system. The decads are compounds consisting of a unit plus *on* 'ten'.

The numerals between ten and twenty (or ten and thirty for older speakers) use the anticipating counting system². In the anticipating numerals, the monomorphemic forms *yiyirmi* 'twenty' and *ohtis* 'thirty' are used, instead of the compound decads *iṣkun* 'twenty' and *uhqun* 'thirty'.

Ordinal numerals are derived with the suffix *-(i)nci*, e.g. *pürinci* 'first', *iṣkinci* 'second', *ühcinci* 'third', *oninci* 'tenth', *yüzinci* 'hundredth'. A special function of the ordinals is to denote the order of children in a family³.

² Western Yugur is the only Turkic language that has preserved anticipating numerals, attested in Old Turkic. For a more extensive discussion of the numeral system, see Clark 1996.

³ The eldest child is called *pezik-i* (big-POS3).

1. <i>pīr</i>	11. <i>pīr yiyīrmī</i>	21. <i>īškun pīr</i>	<i>pīr ohtīs</i>	10. <i>on</i>
2. <i>īškī</i>	12. <i>īškī yiyīrmī</i>	22. <i>īškun īškī</i>	<i>īškī ohtīs</i>	20. <i>īškun</i>
3. <i>uṣ</i>	13. <i>uṣ yiyīrmī</i>	23. <i>īškun uṣ</i>	<i>uṣ ohtīs</i>	30. <i>uḥqun</i>
4. <i>tört</i>	14. <i>tört yiyīrmī</i>	24. <i>īškun tört</i>	<i>tört ohtīs</i>	40. <i>törtun</i>
5. <i>pis</i>	15. <i>pis yiyīrmī</i>	25. <i>īškun pis</i>	<i>pis ohtīs</i>	50. <i>pisun</i>
6. <i>ahltī</i>	16. <i>ahltī yiyīrmī</i>	26. <i>īškun ahlī</i>	<i>ahltī ohtīs</i>	60. <i>ahltun</i>
7. <i>yitī</i>	17. <i>yitī yiyīrmī</i>	27. <i>īškun yitī</i>	<i>yitī ohtīs</i>	70. <i>yitun</i>
8. <i>saqīs</i>	18. <i>saqīs yiyīrmī</i>	28. <i>īškun saqīs</i>	<i>saqīs ohtīs</i>	80. <i>saqīsun</i>
9. <i>toḥqīs</i>	19. <i>toḥqīs yiyīrmī</i>	29. <i>īškun toḥqīs</i>	<i>toḥqīs ohtīs</i>	90. <i>toḥqīsun</i>
100. <i>(pīr) yüz</i>		1000. <i>(pīr) mīṅ</i>		
200. <i>īškī yüz</i>		10000. <i>(pīr) ayaq</i>		
300. <i>üḥcüz</i>				

Table of the numerals.

Nowadays, Western Yugur speakers often count in Chinese, especially when higher numerals are involved⁴.

sī pa kī cozi-tī, saqīs yiyīrmī cozi they are eighteen sedans, eighteen sedans
ten eight piece sedan-EV eight twenty sedan

The third person possessive of the numeral *īškī* 'two', *īškīsī*, means 'the two of them, both, together with, and'.

mīz īškī-sī yol maṅ-ıppar the two of us are walking

we two-POS3 road walk-PROG

kᵛ am kunıṅ nüḥker īškī-sī ki-ttī s/he came with his/her friend just now

DEM now DEM/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PASTev

The irregular third person possessive of the numeral *uṣ* 'three', *üḥcüsi*, occurs only once in a tale; the common construction for 'the three of' is *uṣ kīsī* 'three people'.

antaqanta üḥcüsi qḥal-ṽanta then, when the three of them remained

then three/POS3 remain-CTMP

mīz uṣ kīsī kᵛ payaqa-nī thayt-ᵛ oyn-inī, su-ṣ-ki

we three person DEM bucket-ACC throw-CSIM play-IMP1pl water-IN-DAT

let the three of us play, throwing these buckets into the water

The numeral *pīr* occurs as an indefinite demonstrative 'a (certain)', indicating an indefinite individual versus a generic noun or a definite noun.

kᵛ pīr yer yerl-ᵛtī s/he is singing a (certain) song (DEM one song sing-PROGev)

o am yer yerl-ᵛtī s/he is singing songs now (that now song sing-PROGev)

kᵛ pīr sanyüε yi-ttī s/he ate a sweet potato (DEM one sweet.potato eat-PASTev)

kᵛ sanyüε yi-ᵛtī s/he is eating sweet potatoes (DEM sweet.potato eat-PROGev)

⁴ Not all speakers were familiar with Western Yugur numerals higher than ten.

kə p̄r miça terik-t̄i c̄üm-uh̄t-itt̄i s/he pulled out a small tree
 DEM one little tree-ACC pull.out-COM-PASTev
kə yih̄p-t̄i p̄r m̄ila yör-uh̄t-ipt̄i a child untied this rope
 DEM rope-ACC one child untie-COM-PASTev

The numeral *p̄r* also occurs as an adverb indicating a single instance of the verb.
p̄r qara-γanti s/he took a look, glanced (one look-NAREv)
meη aqa-n̄iη qol-īn cona p̄r t̄isti-tt̄i a wasp stung my elder brother's arm
 me/GEN elder.brother-GEN arm-POS3ACC wasp one bite-PASTev
m̄iz-tir su-tan miça q̄hol-γa poz-t̄i p̄r yü-n̄i
 we-PL water-ABL little ask-CCO body-ACC one wash-IMP1pl
 let us ask some water and give ourselves a wash

The collocation *p̄r .. p̄r* 'one .. one' implies 'the one .. the other'.
p̄r-n̄iη alt̄ir-īη-qa p̄r taη kit̄ik sayt-qa p̄r-n̄iη alt̄ir-īη-qa p̄r qara kit̄ik sayt-qa
 one-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one striped puppy put/QUI-CCO one-GEN
 underside-POS3-DAT one black puppy put/QUI-CCO
 after she had put a striped puppy under one, and a black puppy under the other

The reduplicant construction *p̄r* + noun *p̄r* + noun implies repetition.
p̄r phoz̄i p̄r phoz̄i yoz-γanti s/he passed herd after herd
 one herd one herd passed-NAREv
p̄r kuz̄i p̄r kuz̄i aq is közti-γanti spirals and spirals of white smoke appeared
 one spiral one spiral white smoke appear-AUX-NAREv

Below follow some idiomatic collocations with the numeral *p̄r* 'one'. For examples of adverbial expressions with the ablative *p̄rtin*, see 4.3.6.

c̄iw̄in men̄i p̄r th̄uni t̄isti-ht̄i the mosquitos bit me all night
 mosquito me/ACC one night bite-PAST
khemp̄ist̄iy yerin ucin p̄r is tuht-ot̄i-m? yah̄q, olar p̄r is tuht-γyoqt̄i
 woman man with one work hold-PROGev-Q no that/PL one work hold-PROGev
 do women and men do the same work? no, they do not do the same work

One speaker used *p̄r p̄rn̄i* 'one another' instead of, or to specify, a reciprocal verb.
īšk̄i yerin p̄r p̄r-n̄i yülir-īwat-itt̄i the two man killed one another
 two man one one-ACC kill-FIN-PASTev
m̄ila-lar p̄r p̄r-n̄i p̄her̄is-ot̄i
 child-PL one one-ACC fight-PROGev (< beat-REC-PROGev)
 the children are fighting (? beating one another)

5.7. The existential nouns

Western Yugur has two existential nouns, *par* 'present, there is' and *yoq* 'not present, there is not'.

seη yüȳal-ir aq yü qayta par-i? where is your resting tent?
 you/GEN rest-PFUT white house where present-COP

pīhtürkī pūr khempıştıy par-i-tī once upon a time there was a woman
 once.upon.a.time one woman present-COP-EV
yoq kīsī par, yoq thala yoq there are poor people, there are no poor fields
 poor person present poor field not.present
par-ȳıçı kīsī yoq-tī there is no one to go
 go-VNAG person not.present-EV

Combined with a noun in the dative case or, less frequently, the locative case, the existential nouns express possession or the lack of it.

mayā uş qızıtar par I have three daughters (me/DAT three girl present)
men-ti uş qızıtar par I have three daughters (me-LOC three girl present)
saya niçi mīla par-i? mayā yoq how many children do you have? I have none
 you/DAT how.many child present-COP me/DAT not.present
koya yol mañ-ir menik paru-sa kw ki-ştī
 DEM/DAT road walk-PFUT money present/become-COND DEM come-FUTev
 if s/he had the money to travel s/he would come

The existential noun *yoq* is also used adnominally meaning 'without, un-, -less'.

su yoq yer a place without water (water not.present place)
kīsī yoq yer an uninhabited place (person not.present place)
ana-ŋ yoq mīla a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)

The existential noun *yoq* also occurs as an adjective 'poor, not rich'.

yoq kīsī par, yoq thala yoq there are poor people, there are no poor fields
 poor person present poor field not.present

The existential noun *yoq* combines with the demonstrative *kw* into an adjective *kwyoq* 'not done, not appropriate; cannot be, impossible, inconceivable', which only occurs in predicate position⁵.

kīhçıy mīla arahkī iş-si kwyoq-tī it is not done if small children drink liquor
 small child liquor drink-COND not.done-EV
kīsī uzī-min kwyoq-tī, kīsī semen iş-min-ma kwyoq-tī
 person sleep-CN not.done-EV person food eat-CN-PCL3 not.done-EV
 a person cannot do without sleep, a person cannot do without food either

The existential *yoq* combined with the verb *pol=* 'to become, to be' forms a verbal compound *yoq pol=* 'to disappear; to come to an end, to run out of; to die (honorific)'.

anıñ aqa-si yoq pu-tti his/her elder brother died
 that/GEN elder.brother-POS3 not.present become-PASTev
xuey yoq po-ȳanta sunçañ mizer-ni mañ-tir-iştī-m?
 meeting not.present become-CTMP chief us-ACC walk-CAUS-FUTev-Q
 will the chief let us go when the meeting is over?

The existentials *par* and *yoq* also occur as bound morphemes in the progressive (see 6.3.2.1. and 6.5.).

⁵ The positive counterpart 'right, should be, would be best, necessary' is *Yer* (see 6.7.1.).

5.8. Adverbs

Western Yugur has the following categories of adverbs (for adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns see 4.5.4.):

Adverbs of manner: *amīr-šimīr* 'quietly', *altam* 'quickly', *uzki* 'otherwise, else' *emisi* 'otherwise, or, then', *q̄hurīy* 'in vain'.

Adverbs of degree: *pihtior* 'quite', *muli* 'very much'.

Adverbs of frequency: *tahqī* 'still, yet, also, or', *eni* 'again, too, and'.

Adverbs of place: *qahtar* 'back(wards)', *quzī* 'down(wards)', *yorī* 'up(wards)', *soŋ* 'behind'.

<i>sen emisi yanqīca par</i>	go alone then (you or alone go)
<i>men emisi yanqīca par-in</i>	let me go alone then (I or alone go-IMP1sg)
<i>oy maŋ, uzki sen soŋ q̄ha-štī</i>	go quickly, otherwise you will remain behind
quick walk otherwise you behind remain-FUTev	

Several nouns function both as an adjective and an adverb, e.g. *q̄hurīy* 'empty; in vain', *yiuti* 'much, a lot', *oy* 'quick, quickly'.

<i>o q̄hurīy ki-ptī</i>	s/he came in vain (that in.vain come-PASTev)
<i>oy maŋ</i>	go quickly (quick walk)
<i>yiuti lotīla-ma!</i>	do not talk [so] much nonsense! (much talk.nonsense-NEG)

In the present material, the adverb *muli* only occurs in predicate position, following the adjective. Perhaps this construction is calqued from Chinese⁶.

<i>pu mīla khīr muli-tī</i>	this child is very dirty (this child dirty very-EV)
<i>o qayla-yan oy muli-tī</i>	s/he runs very fast (that run-PP quick very-EV)

Several adverbs historically consist of a substantive + a third person possessive and/or spatial case suffix: *narsīnta* 'in fact, truly, really, certainly', *narsīntan* 'but; although, even though', *halta* 'just now, a moment ago, an instant ago', *phornta* 'before', *soŋta* 'later (on), afterwards', *phornīŋqa* 'in front, ahead'.

<i>men phornta toy-ittī</i>	I was born before, earlier, some time ago
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I before be.born-PASTev

<i>kw yin phornta (soŋta) har-ttī</i>	s/he was the first (last) to leave
---------------------------------------	------------------------------------

DEM SUP before (later) go-PASTev

<i>kw halta niḥker iškī-sī ki-ptī</i>	s/he came with his/her friend just now
---------------------------------------	--

DEM just.now friend two-POS3 came-PASTev

sen narsīnta maya yiuti emis et-kin, men saqīn-qa sen yül-si-ma po-ttī

you truly me/DAT many evil do-NAR I think-CCO you die-COND-PCL3 become-PASTev

for all the evil you have done to me, I thought, it would be best if you just die

narsīntan men ni-ma emis is et-iwat-ma-htī, o tahqī-ya menī pher-itī

although I what-PCL3 evil work do-FIN-NEG-PAST that still-PCL1 me/ACC beat-DUB

although I had done nothing wrong, s/he still would beat me

⁶ Cf Chinese *hǎode hěn* '(it is) very good' (*hǎo* 'good', *de* 'associative', *hěn* 'very'). However, there are some examples in the literature in which *muli* precedes the adjective, e.g. *mule yahşl tro* 'it is very good' (very good EV) (Léi 1992: 87).

Western Yugur adverbs of time include the following:

am 'now, just now, a moment ago', *ami^hkī* 'immediately, shortly, in a moment';
pu^yin 'today', *thoy^yin* 'yesterday', *ori^hkīn* 'the day before yesterday', *tah^qi ori^hkīn*
 'three days ago', *tay^yin* 'tomorrow', *hey^yin* 'the day after tomorrow', *sīrah^hkīn* 'three
 days from now', *untī^hrkīn* 'four days from now';

pōy^lī 'this year', *pī^htīr* 'last year', *ori^hkel* 'the year before last', *tah^qi ori^hkel*
 'three years ago', *thurti* 'next year', *tōrīm* 'the year after next';

khuntīs 'in daytime', *thuni* 'at night', *thōrīn* 'at midnight', *ki^{ci} thuni* 'yester-
 night', *taⁿqar* 'in the morning', *khortī* 'at noon', *khuniⁿkīr* 'in the afternoon'.

Converbs or conditionals may also introduce an adverbial clause of time.

<i>qah^s khun pol-ya</i>	in a few days time (few day become-CCO)
<i>mi^{ca} tur-ya</i>	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stand-CCO)
<i>mi^{ca} olīr-ya</i>	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stay-CCO)
<i>mi^{ca} tur-sa</i>	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stand-COND)
<i>pīr khunki ehtkinti</i>	one day (one day-DAT arrive-CTMP)
<i>pīr cīⁿzī polyanta</i>	after a moment (one moment become-CTMP)

There are many adverbs of Chinese etymology: adverbs of manner: *i^{ch}i* 'altogether',
tey^lī 'certainly', *cīntī* 'really', *cīncīⁿ* 'truly', *kancīⁿ* 'quickly, hastily', *cek^{uo}* 'finally',
ixa 'suddenly', *chī^sī* 'actually', *khīntīⁿ* 'surely, certainly, definitely', *quanmīⁿ*
 'especially', *senlu^ssinuⁿ* 'gradually'; adverbs of degree: *qua^sī* 'very'; adverbs of time:
te 'just now, a moment ago', *cīⁿxo* 'just in time', *caⁿ* 'just at that moment'; *cīnt^hou*
 'by the time when', *i^{ch}en* 'before', *ma^saⁿ* 'immediately', *ūen* 'like before'; adverbs of
 frequency: *emin* 'often'.

5.9. Postpositions

Western Yugur has a small number of postpositions. These require the nouns they govern to take a certain case.

The postposition *u^{ci}n* ~ *pu^{ci}n* 'together with, and; with, using' takes the unmarked case. The demonstrative pronouns, however, take the oblique form with the postposi-
 tion *u^{ci}n*, and the interrogative pronoun *nī* may take a pronominal *-n-* by analogy.

<i>sart-tar pī^hca^q u^{ci}n pherīs-vtī</i>	the Uygur fight with knives
Uygur-PL knife with fight-PROG _{ev}	
<i>men sen u^{ci}n oyna-s-in po-stī-m?</i>	let you and I play together, all right?
I you with play-REC-IMP1 _{sg} become-FUT _{ev} -Q	
<i>khempī^stīy yerin u^{ci}n pīr īs tuht-qa^q mī?</i>	do women and men do the same work?
woman man and one work hold-HAB Q	
<i>qhīti u^{ci}n larla=</i>	to speak Chinese (Chinese with speak)

The postposition *quzī* 'downwards, down on, down at' takes the unmarked case.

<i>pa^hq-ī quzī pīr qīlīs sal-yaⁿtī</i>	
head-POS3 down one sword put-NAR _{ev}	
s/he gave a blow with the sword on his/her head	

The postposition *çīlaya* '(acting) like' takes the unmarked case.

kʷ tōrtiŋ çīlaya yi-ʋtī s/he is eating like a wolf (DEM wolf like eat-PROGev)
qiz çīlaya manqir-ʋtī he is talking like a girl (girl like talk-PROGev)

The postposition *polya* ~ *poya* 'because of, for, in order to' takes the dative case. In fact, this postposition is the converb in -GA (see 6.2.4.) of the verb *pol=* 'to be, to become'⁷.

kʷ menik-ki poya uzī-niŋ aqa-sin yülir-ištī
DEM money-DAT for own-GEN elder.brother-POS3ACC kill-FUTev
s/he would kill his/her own elder brother for money
sen pez-ir-yi polya tahqī semen iŋ-kīštī
you grow.up-PFUT-DAT for yet food eat-FUTev
in order to grow you must eat

The postpositions *phorn* 'before', and *soŋ* 'after' take the ablative case.

antan soŋ after that (that/ABL after)
sen-tin soŋ after you (you-ABL after)

Note that the postposition *phorn* 'before' takes the ablative, but the construction with the adverb *phornta* 'before' the genitive⁸.

on yil-tan phorn ten years before (ten year-ABL before)
oŋ yil-niŋ phornta ten years before (ten year-GEN before)

sen peyçiŋ-qa kel-ir-tin phorn
you Bëijīng-DAT come-PFUT-ABL before
before you will come to Bëijīng
kolar sunçaŋ-ni qara-yīla par-ma-yan-tan phorn sen kolar-ya maŋ-ma ti
DEM/PL chief-ACC see-CPUR go-NEG-PP-ABL before you DEM/PL-DAT walk-NEG say
tell them not to leave before they have gone to see the chief

5.10. The superlative particle

The superlative is expressed by the particle *yīŋ* preceding adjectives and adverbs. Some speakers use the superlative particle *tīŋ*, borrowed from Chinese.

kʷ yīŋ (~ *tīŋ*) *phornta hanī-ttī* s/he left first
DEM SUP (~ SUP) before go-PASTev
yīŋ phornta maya ti-yin-la kʷ-tī it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV

⁷ A similar construction exists in Eastern Yugur, cf e.g. *menek-tê wol-čê* 'because of the money' (money-DAT/LOC become-CON) (Jūunast 1981: 54).

⁸ The construction *-niŋ phornta* is in fact a spatial noun construction (see 7.1.2.), as the adverb *phornta* derives from the obsolescent spatial noun *phorn* 'front' + the locative case.

5.11. Conjunctions

Western Yugur has no vernacular conjunctions, but speakers occasionally use Chinese ones.

In a clause containing a conditional verb, the conjunctions *yoṣī* 'if', and *zukuō* 'if' may occur.

kʷ yoṣī tʰoyīn kel-si kʷ kunī kōr-īštī

DEM if yesterday come-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUTev

if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her

zukuō zīq kīsī seni zīli-si sen mīnī pīr tōʰrsaqta-sa-ya o kīsī maṣaŋ yoqqʰa-štī

if bad person you/ACC harass-COND you this/ACC one turn.around-COND-PCL1 that person immediately die-FUTev

if a bad person harasses you, if you turn this around once, that person will die immediately

Incidentally, Chinese constructions with other conjunctions occur.

pu yiyīt sueyzan khīr-tī tanṣī taʰqī-la qīta-ttī⁹

this young.man although dirty-EV but still-PCL2 succeed-PASTev

although this young man was dirty, yet he had succeeded

pukuō sen miça çuyila-sa-la ni-ma ol-yīmistī

but you little pay.attention-COND-PCL2 what-PCL3 become-FUTNev

but if you pay a little attention, nothing will happen

⁹ A Western Yugur equivalent is *pu yiyīt khīr-īraq-tī, taʰqī-la qīta-ttī* 'this young man was rather dirty, yet he had succeeded' (this young.man dirty-COMP-EV still-PCL2 succeed-PASTev).

6. Morphology of the verb

The morphology of the verb includes inflectional and derivational suffixes. Closest to the root appear the derivational suffixes of diathesis, followed by the aktionsart suffixes, and the negative verb suffix. The stem thus formed is followed by finite suffixes, expressing tense, aspect and mood, or by infinite suffixes: converbs (forming verbal compounds or introducing subordinate clauses), and participles (nominalizing a clause); the verbal noun suffixes are dealt with separately. Thus, the following suffix scheme can be presented:

root + (diathesis) + (aktionsart) + (negation) → stem

stem

- tense/aspect/mood
- converb (+ auxiliary verb → root)
- participle → noun

In contrast to many other Turkic languages, Western Yugur verbal inflection does not include person markers; only the imperative paradigm distinguishes person, though these forms are rather portmanteau suffixes, combining mood and person in one suffix. Otherwise, the subject of the verb is either overtly expressed by a noun or pronoun, or, if clear from the context, not expressed at all.

However, the Western Yugur present/future, progressive, past and narrative past paradigm have grammaticalized the notion of evidentiality¹: an action that happens to the speaker without his/her controlling it ('accidentally, it turned out that'), or an action that is involuntary. The second and third person take the evidential form by default, and the first person the non-evidential or base form; questions addressing the first and second person take the base form by default. Morphologically, the evidential forms are all built around the evidential particle *-t̃i* (see 7.3.1.).

Disjunct use of the evidential (e.g. a first person taking the evidential, or a second or third person taking the base form) mark special circumstances. Examples will be given below.

6.1. Tense, aspect and mood

The Western Yugur verbal system distinguishes between indicative, dubitative, conditional, and imperative mood. The indicative distinguishes between non-past and past tense: the non-past tense comprises the habitual, the present/future, and the progressive aspect. The indicative of the past tense consists of the past, and the narrative past.

¹ This system is reminiscent of the Tibetan verbal paradigm (cf Delancey 1986). Evidentiality is also expressed in the verbal paradigm of Eastern Yugur (cf Ĵuunast 1981), and Monguor (cf Slater 1998).

6.1.1. The habitual (HAB, HABN)

The suffix -GAK² expresses habitual actions, abilities, and states of general validity. It typically occurs with verbs indicating a permanent state ('to be called', 'to know', 'to feel', 'to resemble', 'to be (un)able'). The habitual often occurs in proverbs.

<i>men menī ĭsta-yaq</i>	I resemble myself (I me/ACC resemble-HAB)
<i>men selir-nī saqīn-qaq</i>	I miss you (I you/PL-ACC think-HAB)
<i>men khunsin pīhtiy oṅsī-yaq</i>	I read every day (I every.day book read-HAB)
<i>menīj at-qa yakhīr ti-yik</i>	my name is Yakhır, I am called Yakhır
me/GEN name-DAT Yakhır say-HAB	
<i>sen yoyīr lar maṅqīr-ṽ cīta-yaq mi?</i>	are you able to speak the Yugur language?
you Yugur language speak-CSIM can-HAB Q	

The habitual is negated by means of the suffix -MAS.

<i>men pīl-mis</i>	I do not know (I know-HABN)
<i>men pīhtiy tanī-mas</i>	I am illiterate (I book recognize-HABN)
<i>mīla-lar ara^hkī ĭs-kik mi? ya^hq, mīla-lar ara^hkī ĭs-mis</i>	
child-PL liquor drink-HAB Q no child-PL liquor drink-HABN	
do children drink liquor? no, children do not drink liquor	

Older speakers use this suffix more frequently than younger speakers, who often prefer to use the progressive or the present/future aspect instead.

<i>mīca mīla khunsen uzi-yaq (~ uz-ṽtī)</i>	the baby sleeps (~ is sleeping) every day
little child every.day sleep-HAB (sleep-PROG)	
<i>yoyīr-nīj yerin-nir ni kanna-yaq-e (~ kann-ṽtī)?</i>	
Yugur-GEN man-PL what do-HAB-COP (~ do-PROG _{ev})	
what do the Yugur men do? (~ what are the Yugur men doing?)	
<i>mej kheln semen qhantīr-ṽ yata-yaq (~ yata-ṽtī), kv ayīr-ttī</i>	
my/GEN wife food cook-CSIM cannot-HAB (~ cannot-FUT _{ev}) DEM be.ill-PAST _{ev}	
my wife cannot cook, she has fallen ill	

6.1.2. The present/future (FUT, FUT_{ev}, FUTN, FUTN_{ev})

The suffixes of the present/future are -(Gī)ṣ for the first person, and -(Gī)ṣtī for the second and third person (-(Gī)ṣ + the evidential particle -tī). Especially in rapid speech, -G- is elided when following liquids, and -Gī- when following vowels.

The negation of the present/future is formed by the suffix -Gīmīs for the first person, and -Gīmistī for the second and third person³.

² Historically, the habitual suffix -GAK is a verbal noun suffix, denoting habitual or repeated actions. In Western Yugur, -GAK is used as a finite suffix and as a participle.

³ Historically, the negative present/future suffix -Gīmīs perhaps arises from a crasis of the verbal noun suffix *-GU, denoting a substantive or a gerundive, and *emīs* 'is not'.

The present/future suffix *-Gv* occurs predominantly with the first person; there seems to be no difference between *-Gv* and *-(G̃)ṣ*⁴. In a number of proverbs this form also occurs with the third person.

<i>men (mīz) ki-ṣ</i>	I (we) shall come (I (we) come-FUT)
<i>sen (selir) ki-ṣtī</i>	you will come (you (you/PL) come-FUTev)
<i>kṵ (kolar) ki-ṣtī</i>	s/he (they) will come (DEM (DEM/PL) come-FUTev)
<i>men (mīz) ki-ȳimis</i>	I (we) shall not come (I (we) come-FUTN)
<i>sen (selir) ki-ȳimistī</i>	you will not come (you (you/PL) come-FUTNev)
<i>kṵ (kolar) ki-ȳimistī</i>	s/he (they) will not come (DEM (DEM/PL) come-FUTNev)

The present/future expresses an action that takes place after the moment of speaking.

<i>kṵ tayīn (t̄hurti) ki-ṣtī</i>	s/he will come tomorrow (next year)
DEM tomorrow (next.year) come-FUTev	
<i>sen mīnta q̄hal-sa sen yūlir-t-kīstī</i>	if you stay here, you will be killed
you this/LOC stay-COND you kill-CAUS-FUTev	

The present/future expresses an obligation or intention.

<i>sen pez-ir-yi semen īs-kīstī</i>	you must eat in order to grow
you grow.up-PFUT-DAT food eat-FUTev	
<i>ana, men sīz-kīla-ṣ</i>	mother, I have to pee (mother I pee-PUR-FUT)

The present/future is also used with verbs indicating a state of general validity, as *q̄ita=* 'can', *yata=* 'cannot', *pīl=* 'to know'.

<i>o pīhtiy qar-v yata-ṣtī, o t̄helk-tī</i>	s/he cannot read, s/he is blind
that book look-CSIM cannot-FUTev that blind-EV	
<i>pu su-nī ihç-v q̄ita-ṣtī-m?</i>	can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q	
<i>kṵ qayta olir-īppar-nī sen pīl-īs mi?</i>	do you know where s/he is living?
DEM where stay-PROG-ACC you know-FUT Q	

The first person takes the evidential form if the action described is beyond control of the first person, or is involuntary.

<i>mīz ih̄sī-nī yūlir-īstī!</i>	we would kill ourselves!
we self-ACC kill-FUTev	
<i>men koraq̄iṅqa par-sa men p̄her-t̄ir-īstī</i>	if I go over there, I will be beaten
I over.there/DAT go-COND I beat-CAUS-FUTev	
<i>'sen uzī-nī kōhr-si uzī kil-v q̄ita-ṣtī'</i>	'if you see me, I will be able to return'
you self-ACC see-COND self come-CSIM can-FUTev	
<i>sunçaṅ ti-htī men aya on qoy per-īstī</i>	the chief said I should give him ten sheep
chief say-PAST I that/DAT ten sheep give-FUTev	

⁴ In Chén & Léi (1985: 102), however, *-Gv* is considered to be the first person form of the dubitative paradigm; the forms for the second and third person here are *-itī*, negative *-mastī*.

A first person evidential expresses an action that is not a fixed intention but rather a suggestion. Compare:

<i>men saya paɣnas-qv</i>	I shall help you (I you/DAT help-FUT)
<i>men saya paɣnas-q̄imis</i>	I shall not help you (I you/DAT help-FUTN)
<i>men saya paɣnas-q̄išt̄i</i>	I can (could) help you (I you/DAT help-FUTev)
<i>men saya paɣnas-q̄imist̄i</i>	I cannot (could not) help you (I you/DAT help-FUTNev)

Questions addressing the first person and second person use the non-evidential; questions involving the third person take the evidential form.

<i>men ni yer yerla-s-e?</i>	what song shall I sing? (I what song sing-FUT-COP)
<i>men nays-e?</i>	what shall I do? what am I to do? (I what.do/FUT-COP)
<i>miz išk̄i-s̄i s̄iz-k̄ila-s mi?</i>	shall we two go to pee? (we two-POS3 pee-PUR-FUT Q)

sen qahçan ki-s-i? when will you come? (you when come-FUT-COP)

sen naq̄i yotal-ya eh̄lq̄i-n̄i qara-γ̄ila par-γ̄imis mi?

you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC see-CPUR go-FUTN Q

will you not go and see the shaman about that matter?

sen puȳin mi taȳin mi chunçaŋ-qa is tuht-q̄is mi?

you today Q tomorrow Q chief-DAT work hold-FUT Q

will you work today or tomorrow for the chief?

kv taȳin ki-st̄i-m?

will s/he come tomorrow? (DEM tomorrow come-FUTev-Q)

kh̄im par-išt̄i?

who will go? (who go-FUTev)

Questions that address the second person but take the evidential form are more emphatic or anxious questions (the expected answer is negative).

sen puȳin mi taȳin mi is tuht-q̄ist̄i-m?

you today Q tomorrow Q work hold-FUTev-Q

is it today or tomorrow that you will work? (i.e. or won't you work at all)

Questions that involve a third person but take the non-evidential form are anxious questions (the expected answer is negative).

kv taȳin ki-s mi?

will s/he truly come tomorrow?

DEM tomorrow come-FUT Q

kh̄im par-iš-i?

is there anybody who will go? (who go-FUT-COP)

kh̄im q̄iztar-n̄i saya per-iš-i? who would give his daughter to you?

who girl-ACC you/DAT give-FUT-COP

Permissive questions take the evidential.

men taȳin kel-v çita-st̄i-m? may I come tomorrow?

I tomorrow come-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

men ni yer yerla-st̄i?

what song should I sing? (I what song sing-FUTev)

6.1.3. The progressive (PROG, PROGeV, PROGN, PROGNev)

The suffixes of the progressive are *-(i)ppar* for the first person (the converb *-(i)p* + the existential *par* 'present'), and *-vti* for the second and third person (the converb *-v* + the evidential particle *-ti*). The negation of the progressive is formed by *-vyoq* for the first person (the converb *-v* + the existential *yoq* 'not present'), and *-vyoqti* for the second and third person (the same + the evidential particle *-ti*).

<i>men (miz) yol maᅇ-ıppar</i>	I am (we are) walking (I (we) road walk-PROG)
<i>sen (selir) yol maᅇ-vti</i>	you are walking (you (you/PL) road walk-PROGeV)
<i>kv (ko-lar) yol maᅇ-vti</i>	s/he is (they are) walking (DEM (DEM/PL) road walk-PROGeV)
<i>men (miz) yol maᅇ-vyoq</i>	I am (we are) not walking (I (we) road walk-PROGN)
<i>sen (selir) yol maᅇ-vyoqti</i>	you are not walking (you (you/PL) road walk-PROGNev)
<i>kv (ko-lar) yol maᅇ-vyoqti</i>	s/he is (they are) not walking (DEM (DEM/PL) road walk-PROGNev)

The progressive expresses an action that is going on at the moment of speaking.

kv am qayl-vti s/he is running now (DEM now run-PROGeV)

o ayir-vti, taᅇqi maᅇ-v ciit-vti s/he is ill, yet s/he is able to walk

that be.ill-PROGeV yet walk-CSIM can-PROGeV

sen na-pppe (< na-ppar-i)? men ni-ma tuht-vyoq

you what.do-PROG/COP I what-PCL3 hold-PROGN

what are you doing? I am doing nothing, I am not doing anything

o si-wat-qan qol-i tancin-kv ayir-vti

that break-FIN-PP arm-POS3 awful-ADV hurt-PROGeV

the arm s/he broke is hurting awfully

In the following examples, the progressive expresses a habitual action.

mini yerl-vyoqti, antay ti-vti this [part] they do not sing, they say it like that

this/ACC sing-PROGNev that/EQU say-PROGeV

yoyir-nin-ki-ti mintaqvyan pir lomaq ti-vti

Yugur-GEN-KI-LOC such one story tell-PROGeV

among the Yugur they tell such a story

In the following examples, the progressive is used in anxious questions, expecting a negative answer.

am ni yi-pppe (< yi-ppar-i)? what do we eat now? (i.e. there is nothing left)

now what eat-PROG/Q

ay, men sip-ti min-kiᅇti-ni, antay tuki-er-ni khim min-ıppe (< min-ıppar-i)?

EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT that/EQU calf-DIM-ACC who mount-PROG/Q

ay, I will mount the foal of course, who mounts such a calf?

The present material yields one example in which the progressive does not refer to the present time, but is embedded in the past.

o sat-ta pulyar si kiz-vti at that time they dressed in leather boots

that time-LOC leather boot dress-PROGeV

The non-evidential progressive suffix *-(i)ppar* + the evidential particle *-tī* expresses an intensive. This usage may be explained by the fact that the evidential denotes a situation that is beyond control or expectation of the first person.

men thorla-ppar I am hungry (I be.hungry-PROG)
men thorla-ppar-tī I am starving (I be.hungry-PROG-EV)
sen menī soq-qa ayīr-īppar-tī because you hit me, it is hurting awfully
 you me/ACC hit-CCO hurt-PROG-EV
menīñ paş ayīr-īppar-tī I have a terrible headache
 me/GEN head hurt-PROG-EV
pu xuli-nī törtiñ iškī-sī menī yi-γī ti-ppar-tī!
 this fox-AND wolf two-POS3 me/GEN eat-VNFUT say-PROG-EV
 this fox and this wolf are both about to eat me!

Questions addressing the second person use the non-evidential form, questions involving the third person take the evidential form. There are no examples in the present material of a question addressing the first person.

sen ni tuht-īppar-i? what are you doing? (you what hold-PROG-COP)
kw nayotī? what is s/he doing? (DEM what.do/PROGev)
mīla-lar arabkī ihç-otī-m? yahq, mīla-lar arabkī ihç-oyoqtī
 child-PL liquor drink-PROGev-Q no child-PL liquor drink-PROGnev
 are the children drinking liquor? no, the children are not drinking liquor

Apparently a third person may take the non-evidential if the speaker has intimate knowledge of the action described. Compare:

yoyīr khempış ni tuht-otī? what are the Yugur women doing?

Yugur woman what hold-PROGev

yoyīr-nīñ şaztīy-lar ni kannap-ppe?

Yugur-GEN woman-PL what do-PROG/COP

what are the women of the Yugur doing?

sey kheln iht thul-otī-m? yahq, o yūr qhaynat-otī

you/GEN wife meat boil-PROGev-Q no that fish cook-PROGev

is your wife boiling meat? no, she is cooking fish

sey kheln iht thul-īppar mi? yahq, o yūr qhaynat-īppar

you/GEN wife meat boil-PROG Q no that fish cook-PROG

is your wife boiling meat? no, she is cooking fish

6.1.4. The past (PAST, PASTev, PASTN, PASTnev)

The suffixes of the past are *-(h)tī* for the first person, and *-(i)ptī* (the converb *-(i)p* + the evidential particle *-tī*) for the second and third person. The suffix *-(i)ptī*, mostly assimilated into *-(i)ttī*, usually drops its buffer vowel *ī* when following a liquid, e.g. *har-īptī* ~ *har-ttī* 'became or was tired'. The negation of the past is formed by the negative verb suffix *-MA* + *-(h)tī* for the first person, and *-Mintī* for the second and third person (the negative converb *-Min* + the evidential particle *-tī*).

<i>men (mīz) pa^hr-tī</i>	I (we) went (I (we) went-PAST)
<i>sen (selir) par-ttī</i>	you went (you (you/PL) go-PAST ^{tev})
<i>kᵛ (kolar) par-ttī</i>	s/he (they) went (DEM (DEM/PL) went-PAST ^{tev})
<i>men (mīz) par-ma-htī</i>	I (we) did not go (I (we) go-NEG-PAST)
<i>sen (selir) par-mintī</i>	you did not go (you (you/PL) go-PAST ^{nev})
<i>kᵛ (kolar) par-mintī</i>	s/he (they) did not go (DEM (DEM/PL) go-PAST ^{nev})

The past denotes an action prior to the moment of speaking.

<i>men ta^hqī qara-ma-htī</i>	I have not looked at it yet (I yet look-NEG-PAST)
<i>kᵛ halta (pī^htīr) ki-ptī</i>	s/he came just now (last year)
DEM just.now (last.year) come-PAST ^{tev}	
<i>mīla nati yily-otī? p^her-tīr-ttī</i>	why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten
child why cry-PROG ^{ev} beat-CAUS-PAST ^{tev}	

The first person takes the evidential form if the action described is beyond control of the first person, or not intended, or if the action happens to the speaker without his/her deliberate procuring it.

<i>men untīqq^ha-ttī</i>	I forgot (i.e. by accident) (I forget-PAST ^{tev})
<i>men untīqq^ha-htī</i>	I forgot (i.e. deliberately) (I forget-PAST)
<i>men e^hrti toy-ittī⁵</i>	I was born a long time ago (I early be.born-PAST ^{tev})
<i>selir-<u>yi</u> ti-mintī</i>	I did not tell you (i.e. I neglected to tell you)
you/PL-DAT tell-PAST ^{nev}	
<i>am-la mīz ya^hş yer-<u>yi</u> e^ht-ittī</i>	now we apparently have arrived at a good place
now-PCL2 we good place-DAT arrive-PAST ^{tev}	

The third person takes the non-evidential if the action performed by the third person pertains to the first person.

<i>pīr şīyan menī tīsti-htī</i>	a mouse bit me (one mouse me/ACC bite-PAST)
<i>pīr mīla menī kō^hr-tī</i>	a child saw me (one child me/ACC see-PAST)
<i>me^h nū^hker maya yū q^hala-htī</i>	my friend built a house for me
me/GEN friend me/DAT house build-PAST	
<i>maya q^harᵛ ke^hl-tī</i>	I received a letter (me/DAT letter come-PAST)

Questions addressing the second person take the non-evidential, questions involving the third person take the evidential form; the material does not yield an example of a past tense question addressing the first person.

<i>sen tho^yin menī^h mīla-nī kō^hr-tī-m?</i>	did you see my child yesterday?
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q	
<i>kīsī anī kō^r-ttī-m?</i>	did someone see him/her?
person that/ACC see-PAST ^{tev} -Q	

Questions that have a third person as the subject and address the second person also take the non-evidential form.

<i>k^him sen ayīl-ya par-yan-nī kō^hr-tī?</i>	who saw that you went to the village?
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST	

⁵ An alternative is the narrative past: *men toq-qan* (I be.born-NAR).

Questions that address the second person and take the evidential form are anxious questions. Compare:

sen sunçaŋ-qa nal-yīla-htī? what did you go to do for the chief?

you chief-DAT what.do-PUR-PAST

sen sunçaŋ-qa nal-yīla-ttī? what was it that you went to do for the chief?

you chief-DAT what.do-PUR-PAST_{Ev}

Apparently a third person may take the non-evidential if the speaker has intimate knowledge of the action described. Compare⁶:

meŋ kheln īškī mīla toy-ittī my wife gave birth to two children

my/GEN wife two child give.birth.to-PAST_{Ev}

menīŋ kheln pīr qīz toy-tī my wife gave birth to a daughter

my/GEN wife one daughter give.birth.to-PAST

6.1.5. The narrative past (NAR, NAR_{Ev})

The suffixes of the narrative past are *-GAN* and *-GANTī*. The narrative past rarely occurs outside tales, and is usually closely connected with a following clause. Within tales, the evidential form *-GANTī* is most frequently used; in the present material, there are only very few examples of the non-evidential form. The negative is formed on the basis of the negative verb.

men toq-qan I was born (I be.born-NAR)

pu yotal çoq-qan this matter was accomplished

this matter be.accomplished-NAR

men ki-yīn sen yoq-tī I came [but] you were not there

I come-NAR you not.present-EV

men thoyīn sukçi-yi par-yan miça tarīy ahl-tī

I yesterday Sùzhōu-DAT go-NAR little grain take-PAST

yesterday I went to Sùzhōu and bought some grain

6.1.6. The dubitative (DUB, DUBN)

The dubitative suffix is *-Atī* (the converb *-A* + the evidential particle *-tī*). Apparently the suffix *-Atī* is losing its back vocalic variant, and the form *-itī* prevails. The dubitative is negated by means of the suffix *-MAstī* (the negative habitual *-MAS* + the evidential particle *-tī*). The dubitative suffix elides a stem final vowel, e.g. *yitī* 'would eat' (*yī*= 'to eat'), *tan-itī* 'would be acquainted' (*tanī*= 'to be acquainted'), *pahst-itī* 'would begin' (*pahsta*= 'to begin').

The dubitative expresses a doubtful feeling, uncertainty, polite request or suggestion 'should better, would, might, seem to, perhaps, actually'.

⁶ The first example was taken from the elicitation list, the second is from a personal letter.

<i>pol-itī-m?</i>	would it be all right, possible? (become-DUB-Q)
<i>pol-itī</i>	it would be fine, all right (become-DUB)
<i>sen pol-itī-m?</i>	would you be able to? (you become-DUB-Q)
<i>sen thorl-itī-m?</i>	are you perhaps hungry? (you be.hungry-DUB-Q)
<i>sen har-itī-m?</i>	are you perhaps tired? (you be.tired-DUB-Q)
<i>men har-itī</i>	I am a little tired (I be.tired-DUB) (polite statement)
<i>men har-mastī</i>	I am not tired (I be.tired-DUBN)
<i>sen menī ist-itī</i>	you seem to resemble me (you me/ACC resemble-DUB)
<i>pihko is tuht-itī</i>	s/he seems to work hard (stong/ADV work hold-DUB)
<i>yaḥṣ kōzti-mistī</i>	s/he does not look too pretty (good appear-DUBN)
<i>miça mīla khunsen uz-itī</i>	a child should sleep every day
small child day.every sleep-DUB	
<i>mīla-lar arabkī ihç-itī-m? yaḥq, mīla-lar arabkī iṣ-mistī</i>	child-PL liquor drink-DUB-Q no child-PL liquor drink-DUBN
should children drink liquor? no, children should not drink liquor	
<i>yoyir kisī yilan yitī-m? yaḥq, olar amirtan yitī</i>	Yugur person snake eat/DUB-Q no that/PL animal eat/DUB
would the Yugur eat snake? no, they would eat game	
<i>sen ihç-in-ti-kī örçü-nī kör-itī-m kör-mistī-m? men kör-itī (men kör-mistī)</i>	you inside-POS3-LOC-KI thing-ACC see-DUB-Q see-DUBN-Q I see-DUB (I see-DUBN)
can you see the thing inside or can't you? I can see it (I cannot see it)	
<i>sen ihç-in-ti örçü tir-üm kör-itī-m? men kör-itī (men kör-mistī)</i>	you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q I see-DUB I see-DUBN
can you see whether there is a thing inside? I can see it (I cannot see it)	

6.1.7. The conditional (COND)

The conditional suffix is -sA. Though the suffix is susceptible to vowel harmony, this is not observed consistently, e.g. *ki-si* ~ *ki-sa* 'if comes' (*kel*= 'to come'). The negative is formed on the basis of the negative verb. Incidentally, the Chinese conditional conjunctions *yosī* or *zukuō* 'if' (see 5.11.) are used in conditional sentences.

mīla qoy-nī pahtir-īwat-sa kunij aça-sī kunī pher-ıştī
 child sheep-ACC lose-FIN-COND DEM/GEN father-POS3 DEM/ACC beat-FUTev
 if the child loses the sheep, his/her father will beat him/her

The conditional may occur with a non-past as well as a past verb in the main clause.

mīla-lar nayv tili-si-ma pahtir-īwat-qan qoy-nī taḥq-mintī
 child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-PASTNev
 however much the children looked for it, they did not find the lost sheep

mīla-lar nayil-sa-ma pahtir-īwat-qan qoy-nī taḥp-pastī
 child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN
 whatever the children do, they could not find the lost sheep

The conditional may express an irrealis (see further 7.2.6.).

mīla qoy-nī pah̄tīr-īwat-qan po-sa aqa-sī anī p̄her-īštī

child sheep-ACC lose-FIN-PP become-COND father-POS3 that/ACC beat-FUT_{EV}

if the child would have lost the sheep, his father would have beaten him/her

ku yoṣī thoyīn kel-sī ku kunī kōr-īštī

DEM if yesterday come-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUT_{EV}

if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her

The conditional combined with the particle *-ma* expresses a concessive clause (see 7.3.9.).

saya ti-si-ma yuṅq̄bu yoq-tī

you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV

even if I tell you, it is of no use

6.1.8. The imperative (IMP1_{sg}, IMP1_{pl}, IMPN, IMP3)

The paradigm of the imperative is the only verbal paradigm in Western Yugur that distinguishes three persons; plurality is distinguished for the first person only. The base of the imperative paradigm is the verb stem, indicating the second person imperative. There is no separate form for the negative imperative of the first person singular; the negative present/future *par-yūmis* 'I shall not go' or the negative habitual *par-mas* 'I do not go' are used instead. The imperative of the first person singular may refer to the first person plural as well.

<i>par-in</i>	let me go (go-IMP1 _{sg})
<i>par-inī</i>	let us go (go-IMP1 _{pl})
<i>par</i>	go (go)
<i>par-ye</i>	let him/her/them go, may s/he/they go (go-IMP3)
<i>par-minī</i>	let us not go (go-IMPN)
<i>par-ma</i>	do not go (go-NEG)
<i>par-ma-ye</i>	let him/her/them not go, may s/he/they not go (go-NEG-IMP3)

In verb stems ending in a vowel, the first person suffixes *-in* and *-inī* are realized as *-yn* and *-ynī*. These suffixes, however, may contract with the stem final vowel. An alternative description would be that a stem final vowel *a* or *i* is elided when the suffixes *-in* or *-inī* are attached. The negative imperative of the first person plural, *-Minī*, is in fact a contracted form of the negative verb suffix *-MA* + *-ynī*.

<i>tīli-yīla-yn</i>	let me go looking for it (look.for-PUR-IMP1 _{sg})
<i>oyn-inī</i>	let us play (play-IMP1 _{pl}) (<i>oyna</i> = 'to play')
<i>yī-yn ~ yn</i>	let me eat (eat-IMP1 _{sg} ~ eat/IMP1 _{sg})
<i>ti-yn ~ tin</i>	let me say (say-IMP1 _{sg} ~ say/IMP1 _{sg})
<i>yü-yn ~ yün</i>	let me wash (wash-IMP1 _{sg} ~ wash/IMP1 _{sg})

The first person imperatives of the verb *maṅ*= 'to walk', are usually contracted.

<i>maṅ-in ~ mayn</i>	let me walk (walk-IMP1 _{sg} ~ walk/IMP1 _{sg})
<i>maṅ-inī ~ maynī</i>	let us walk (walk-IMP1 _{pl} ~ walk/IMP1 _{pl})

The imperative of the first person expresses an intention.

men saya p̄r p̄ht̄ȳ p̄r-in let me give (I will give, I want to give) you a book
I you/DAT one book give-IMP1sg

The second person imperative followed by the conditional form *tisi* 'if say' (*ti=* 'to say'), or by the copula *-i* (see 7.3.1.) indicates a more polite request.

sen ti! tell it! (you say)
selir par! go! (you/PL go)
aḥç-uh̄t-i just open it, please open it (open-COM-COP)
sen ezertpi-yi is̄ tuḥt work for the chief! (you chief-DAT work hold)
sen ezertpi-yi is̄ tuḥt ti-si just you work for the chief, please work for the chief
you chief-DAT work hold say-COND

The third person imperative suffix *-Ge*, realized as *-Gi* by some speakers, is historically the optative suffix, and this suffix may still occur with a first or second person in its optative function.

k̄v seṅ p̄ho-n̄i aṅ-qa miça yiṣ aḥt-q̄ila-ye
DEM you/GEN gun-ACC take/RFL-CCO little food shoot-PUR-IMP3
let him/her take along your gun and go to shoot some food

koya maṅ ti, men kun̄i eni k̄or-mi-yi
DEM/DAT walk say I DEM/ACC again see-NEG-IMP3

tell him/her to go, may I not see him/her again

men yūz yaḥs̄ yaḥsa-ye! may I live a hundred years!
I hundred year.of.age be.a.year.of.age-IMP3

sen p̄ar-ye may you go (you go-IMP3)

6.2. Converbs

Converb suffixes connect two verbs, having as their scope an entire clause (a subordinate clause dependent on the main verb), or pertaining to a single verb (as a means of compounding, or to specify an aktionsart).

6.2.1. The compounding converb (CON)

The compounding converb $-(\ddot{i})p$ connects two adjacent verbs; it does not occur in syntactically free use⁸. The converb $-(\ddot{i})p$ inserts a buffer vowel \ddot{i} when following a stem final consonant, compare e.g. *thorla-p* 'being hungry' (*thorla=* 'to be hungry'), *qohrq-īp* 'fearing' (*qohrq=* 'to fear'). The converb $-(\ddot{i})p$ only precedes verbs with an initial plosive. The converb's consonant usually assimilates to this following plosive $t\ th\ k\ kh\ q\ qh$, though in careful speech, assimilations are less noted.

The converb $-(\ddot{i})p$ occurs as a bound morpheme with the existential *par* 'present' and the evidential particle $-t\ddot{i}$ in the tense/aspect suffixes of the progressive and the past (see 6.1.3. and 6.1.4.).

In the following frequently used verbs, the stem final consonant, usually a liquid, is elided to form a clipped converbal form: *kip* 'coming' (*kel=* 'to come'), *pop* 'becoming, being' (*pol=* 'to become, to be'), *qhāp* 'falling; remaining' (*qhal=* 'to fall; to remain'), *sap* 'putting; releasing' (*sal=* 'to put; to release'), *niyīp* ~ *nīp* ~ *nap* 'doing what' (*niyīl=* ~ *nayīl=* ~ *nal=* 'to do what'), *qop* (< **qowīp*) 'rising' (*qohp=* 'to rise'). These verbs currently use clipped forms in other paradigms as well.

The combination of a verb of motion + $-(\ddot{i})p$ and one of the direction verbs *kel=* 'to come', or *par=* 'to go' indicates the direction of a motion.

<i>khīrīk ki=</i> 'to come in'	<i>khīrīp par=</i> 'to go in'	<i>khīr=</i> 'to enter'
<i>unīk ki=</i> 'to come out'	<i>unīp par=</i> 'to go out'	<i>un=</i> 'to come or go out'
<i>tusīk ki=</i> 'to come down'	<i>tusīp par=</i> 'to go down'	<i>tus=</i> 'to descend'
<i>qaylak ki=</i> 'to run hither'	<i>qaylap par=</i> 'to run away'	<i>qayla=</i> 'to run'

<i>yīyaş-tī maya sozīr-īk ki</i>	drag the log toward me
wood-ACC me/DAT drag-CON come	
<i>pu yīyaş-tī men-tin sozīr-īp par</i>	drag this log away from me
this wood-ACC me-ABL drag-CON go	
<i>anī naqī yerin-nīñ yañ-qa sozīr-īp par</i>	drag that away towards that man
that/ACC yonder man-GEN side-DAT drag-CON go	
<i>sen menik-tī koya tiat-īp kel</i>	send him/her the money back
you money-ACC DEM/DAT send-CON come	
<i>pīr qhīntīr thayta-k ki-yintī</i>	[Heaven] threw down a chain [to them]
one chain throw-CON come-NARev	
<i>kō pīr miça terik-tī tabrt-īk ki-ttī</i>	s/he pulled up a small tree
DEM one little tree-ACC pull-CON come-PASTev	

⁸ Malov, however, still records $-(\ddot{i})p$ in syntactically free use (e.g. Malov 1967: 78).

The combination of a verb + *-(i)p* with the verb *per=* 'to give' expresses a benefactive.

sen maya tiz-ïp per write [it] down for me
 you me/DAT write-CON give

sen menik-ti maya as-ïp per change the money for me
 you money-ACC me/DAT change-CON give

khempıştiy xosin ti-p per-yinti the woman told [him/her] everything
 woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NARev

yij-ış-ki thuyña-p per-yinti she poked it into the sleeve [for him/her]
 sleeve-IN-DAT poke-CON give-NARev

ahti mıla yilya-ma-sa sen aya sut-ti ihcir-ïp per-mi
 small child cry-NEG-COND you that/DAT milk-ACC let.drink-CON give-NEG
 if the baby does not cry, do not let him drink the milk

The combination of a verb + *-(i)p* with the verb *pol=* 'to be, to become' expresses a potential (imposed by external circumstances)⁹.

ti-mi-si no-p pol-yış-i? if one does not tell, what could happen?
 say-NEG-COND what.be-CON become-FUT-COP

men pıl-yış, men saya ti-p pol-yimisti-ni
 I know-FUT I you/DAT say-CON become-FUTNev-INT
 I know, [but] I really cannot tell you

The combination of a verb + *-(i)p* with the verb *qara=* 'to look' expresses an explorative 'to try to'. It is lexicalized in *tatiq qara=* 'to taste' (*tati=* 'to taste').

sen pahq-ïn pır soy-ïq qara just you try giving the head of it a knock
 you head-POS3ACC one hit-CON look

men pır yoz-ïq qar-ïn-ya let me try to pass along once
 I one pass-CON look-IMP1sg-PCL1

The combination of a verb + *-(i)p* with the verb *khır=* 'to enter' expresses an inchoative 'to start to'.

antaqanta naqi-si-ma kançiy çhük-ki çal-ik khır-yinti
 then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NARev
 then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying

A number of combinations of a verb + *-(i)p* with a following verb are lexicalized in compound verbs, e.g. *appar=* 'to take to, to take away' (*ap*¹⁰ + *par=*), *akkher=* 'to bring to, to bring along' (*ap* + *khayır=* 'to bring'), *untıqqha=* 'to forget' (< *untip*¹¹ + *qhal=*), *yoqqha=* 'to die' (*yülip* + *qhal=*). The verb *qohp=* 'to stand up, to rise' usually occurs in the combination *qok ki=* (*qop* + *kel=*).

⁹ In the following example, this meaning is not present: *pohsan-ïp po-sa men temir khaq-qa uzï-ş* 'if it is cloudy, I will sleep on the iron kang' (be.cloudy-CON become-COND I iron kang-DAT sleep-FUT). According to Chén & Léi (1985: 126), *-(i)p pol=* indicates an exhaustive 'enough'.

¹⁰ In the present material, the clipped converbal form *ap* 'taking' (*al=* 'to take') only occurs in the compound verbs *appar=* and *akkher=*.

¹¹ In the present material, the simplex verb *untı=* 'to forget' does not occur.

The collocation of a verb + *-(i)p* + the indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* followed by a negation expresses an intensive negation 'nothing at all, nothing whatsoever'. The present material yields only three instances¹².

<i>men na-p-pa yoq</i>	I am not doing anything at all
I what.do-CON-PCL3 not.present	
<i>na-p-pa nal-mas</i>	s/he does not do anything at all
what.do-CON-PCL3 what.do-HABN	
<i>na-p-pa yata-štī</i>	s/he is unable to do anything at all
what.do-CON-PCL3 cannot-FUTev	

The converb *-(i)p* also connects a main verb with an auxiliary verb to express an aktionsart.

The combination of a final transformative verb¹³ + *-(i)p kel=* emphasizes the point of transformation.

<i>ozyanik ki=</i> 'to wake up'	<i>ozyan=</i> 'to wake up'
<i>tirlik ki=</i> 'to come to live'	<i>tirli=</i> 'to revive'
<i>toyik ki=</i> 'to be born'	<i>toy=</i> 'to be born; to give birth'

The combination of a verb of speaking or thinking + *-(i)p kel=* renders such a non-transformative verb into a transformative one.

<i>tik ki=</i> 'to put forward, to mention'	<i>ti=</i> 'to tell, to say'
<i>uzkitik ki=</i> 'to lie, to speak out lies'	<i>uzkit=</i> 'to lie'
<i>qitik ki=</i> 'to call out'	<i>qiti=</i> 'to shout'
<i>sısaḡnak ki=</i> 'to think of, to think up'	<i>sısaḡna=</i> 'to think'

<i>sen maya ti-k ki-ya</i>	tell it to me, disclose it to me
you me/DAT say-CON come-PCL2	
<i>pu aht-ti men nayv tanı-k ki-ş-i</i>	how will I recognize this horse?
this horse-ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP	

The combination of an initial transformative verb + *-(i)p qhal=* expresses an inceptive.

<i>poq qha=</i> 'to come into being'	<i>pol=</i> 'to become, to be'
<i>örliq qha=</i> 'to stand up, to get up'	<i>örli=</i> 'to go stand, to stand'
<i>yahtiq qha=</i> 'to lie down'	<i>yaht=</i> 'to lie down, to lie'
<i>uzıq qha=</i> 'to fall asleep, go to sleep'	<i>uzi=</i> 'to sleep, to fall asleep, to be asleep'
<i>ayırıq qha=</i> 'to fall ill'	<i>ayır=</i> 'to be or become ill, to hurt'

¹² Cf *yep pha yemehtıjı* 'I ate nothing whatsoever, I ate nothing at all' (Malov 1967: 9, Chén & Léi 1985: 136). The particle *-ma* is lexicalized in *aqpaq* 'very white' (see 4.5.5.).

¹³ The terminology used here to classify verbs is based on Schönig's discussion (1984: 33-37, following Johanson 1971) of Tatar verbs. He considers two dimensions along which verbs can be classified: transformative (~ telic) versus non-transformative (~ atelic) verbs; and initial transformative versus final transformative verbs. Western Yugur examples are: *oyna=* 'to play' (non-transformative), *yül=* 'to die' (final transformative), *çhoqe=* 'to sit down, to sit' (initial transformative).

<i>mīca mīla uzī-ttī</i>	the small child slept (small child sleep-PASTev)
<i>mīla uzī-q q̄ha-ttī</i>	the child fell asleep (child sleep-CON fall-PASTev)
<i>men çhoqe-yn</i>	let me sit (I sit-IMP1sg)
<i>men çhoqe-q q̄ha-htī</i>	I sat down (I sit-CON fall-PAST)
<i>īšt-qa iht-tin antīraq yitīr-γi ayīr-īštī</i>	dog-DAT meat-ABL that.much feed-CCO be.ill-FUTev
	by feeding the dog that much meat, it will be (become) ill
<i>īšt-qa antīraq iht yitīr-sa ayīr-īq q̄ha-stī</i>	dog-DAT that.much meat feed-COND be.ill-CON fall-FUTev
	if you feed the dog that much meat, it will fall ill

The combination of a non-transformative verb + $-(\ddot{i})p q̄hal=$ renders such a verb transformative.

<i>hōraq q̄ha=</i> 'to strangle'	<i>hōra=</i> 'to coil'
<i>īstaq q̄ha=</i> 'to resemble'	<i>īsta=</i> 'to resemble'
<i>kōztiq q̄ha=</i> 'to pop up'	<i>kōzti=</i> 'to appear, to appear as'

6.2.2. The simultaneous converb (CSIM)

The simultaneous converb $-v^{14}$ connects two clauses or two verbs. It elides a verb's stem final *a*, e.g. *qarv* 'looking' (*qara=* 'to look'); when following verbs with stem final *i*, the converb $-v$ is realized either as $-v$, e.g. *tiv* 'saying' (*ti=* 'to say'), *mintiv* 'busying' (*minti=* 'to be busy'), or as $-w$, e.g. *kīptiw* ~ *kīptiv* 'fastening' (*kīpti=* 'to fasten'), *tīliw* (*tīli=* 'to search'), *qītiw* (*qīti=* 'to call').

The converb $-v$ occurs as a bound morpheme with the existential *yoq* 'not present' and the evidential particle $-tī$ in the tense/aspect suffixes of the progressive (see 6.1.3.). The converb $-v$ of the obsolescent verb *qīl=* 'to do', *qīlv*, contracted into *qv* and now functions as the denominal adverb suffix $-Gv$ (see 4.5.4.). The converb $-v$ is lexicalized in the demonstrative adverbs *mīntaqv* and *antaqv* 'thus' (see 5.3.), and in *kīlv* 'once upon a time' (come-CSIM).

The converb $-v$ connects two clauses, in which the action expressed by the converb takes place simultaneously with the action of the main verb, and is of some duration ('while'). The subject of the converb $-v$ and the main verb is usually the same.

<i>k̄v yer yerl-v eni tarīy uy-vtī</i>	s/he is grinding the grain while singing
DEM song sing-CSIM too grain grind-PROGev	
<i>o yiyāş-tī qītīr-v şar nimi et-uh̄t-ittī</i>	that wood-ACC chop-CSIM broken.bit something make-COM-PASTev
	while chopping the wood, s/he made small pieces of it

¹⁴ The etymology of the converb $-v$ is uncertain: perhaps it originated as an allomorph of $-(\ddot{i})p > -(\ddot{i})w$ preceding vowels, and became more widespread thereafter. At present, there seems to be a complementary distribution between the two converbs: $-(\ddot{i})p$ occurs only preceding plosives, and $-v$ elsewhere. However, in the bound morphemes of the evidential of the progressive $-vtī$ and of the past $-iptī$, these converbs do occur in opposition.

There are only few cases in which the subject of the converb *-v* is not the same as the subject of the main verb; these may perhaps be regarded as broken sentences.

ther-v khun-ma oyla-yantī while they were gathering - the sun set
gather-CSIM sun-PCL3 set-NARev

thulkī mica qaz-qa qar-v mañqīs uzī-q qba-yantī
fox little dig-CCO look-CSIM monster sleep-CON fall-NARev
while the fox dug a little and looked - the monster had fallen asleep

The auxiliary verbs *qīta=* 'can, to be able', and *yata=* 'cannot, to be unable' are connected to the main verb through the converb *-v*.

pu su-nī ihç-v qīta-stī-m? can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

kv kil-in saqīn-otī, kil-v yata-stī s/he wants to come [but] is unable to come
DEM come-IMP1sg think-PROGev come-CSIM cannot-FUTev

The combination of a verb + *-v* with the verb *sal=* 'to put' expresses an inchoative 'to start to'¹⁵.

kv is tuht-v sa-ttī s/he started working
DEM work hold-CSIM put-PASTev

pu kus-tīj mos sanç-v sa-yantī this cow's horn started stabbing
this bovine-GEN horn stab-CSIM put-NARev

The combination of a verb + *-v* with the verb *un=* 'to go or come out' or *untir=* 'to take out' expresses a completive 'to finish to'.

xuey-nī khey1-v un-kinti ezertpi miz-tī mañ-tir-iş mihkin?
meeting-ACC open-CSIM come.out-CTMP chief we-ACC walk-CAUS-FUT Q/IHKIN
will the chief surely let us go when the meeting is over?

sucou çhijmij-nī qbal-v un-ittī-m?
Sùzhōu city.gate-ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev-Q

have they finished building the city gate of Sùzhōu?

pañm-o untir-yis-la sen kv pohqça-nij ahs-in ahs-qaş-la çotta-ya ana-η-qa eht!
tie-CSIM take.out-CCO-PCL2 you that saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-CCO-PCL2
libate-CCO mother-POS1/2-DAT arrive

after you have finished tying up [your leg], and after you have opened that saddle bag's opening, do a libation and get to your mother!

The combination of a verb + *-v* with the verb *oyla=* 'to approach; to almost finish' expresses a near completive.

men is-tī tuht-v oyla-htī I have almost finished working
I work-ACC hold-CSIM almost.finish-PAST

mañqīs anika qaz-v oyla-yantī
monster grandmother dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev
monster grandmother had almost finished digging

¹⁵ There are too few examples in the present material to determine the difference between the inchoatives *-v sal=* and *-(i)p kīr=* (see 6.2.1.).

Furthermore, the present material yields one example of a combination of a verb + *-v* with the verb *yoz*= 'to pass': *sanç-v yoz-yan* 'pierced' (stab-CSIM pass-NAR)¹⁶.

The following verbs often occur in collocation: *uzv şart=, şartv uz=* 'to tear to shreds' (*uz=* 'to tear, to rip', *şart=* 'to tear to pieces').

The converb *-v* is used in exclamations.

tart soq-v! squeezing a fart! (ONOM hit-CSIM)
sen yükhîçher-ya qarq-tî miça nili-v! just you often pinch the nose a bit!
 you often-PCL1 nose-ACC little pinch-CSIM

6.2.3. The repetitive converb (CREP)

The converb *-A* occurs in doublets only, forming adverb clauses indicating a repetitive action or an action increasing in intensity. The subject of the repetitive converb is always the same as the subject of the main verb. Doublet constructions with the converb *-A* are incompatible with final trans- formative verbs like *par=* 'to go, to go away', and *qhal=* 'to fall'.

Vowel harmony is not observed regularly, and especially younger speakers use only *-i*, e.g. *mañ-i mañ-i* 'walking and walking' (*mañ=* 'to walk') for older speakers *mañ-a mañ-a*. A stem-final vowel is elided.

The converb *-A* occurs as a bound morpheme with the evidential particle *-tî* in the suffix of the dubitative (see 6.1.6.).

kə qohqas uhk-i uhk-i ahrq phağ-ötî that bird is shitting shit while flying on
 DEM bird fly-CREP fly-CREP shit shit-PROGev

kə phut-i phut-i ot thamtîr-ötî by blowing and blowing s/he is lighting the fire
 DEM blow-CREP blow-CREP fire light-PROGev

anîj inî-sî kil-i kil-i semîrî-ttî
 that/GEN younger.brother-POS3 come-CREP come-CREP be.fat-PASTev
 his/her younger brother gradually became fat (became fatter and fatter)

kə ihp-tî ul-i ul-i uzînat-ötî
 DEM rope-ACC string-CREP string-CREP make.long-PROGev
 s/he is making the rope longer by stringing and stringing it

Doublets of the converb *-A* may convey a concessive.

kə pîl-i pîl-i ti-mistî although s/he knows, s/he would not say
 DEM know-CREP know-CREP say-DUBN

kə pîht-i pîht-i eni al-yî ti-ötî
 DEM suffice-CREP suffice-CREP again take-CON5 say-PROGev
 although s/he has enough, s/he is about to take again

The verb *tîli=* 'to look for, to search' apparently does not occur in a doublet construction with the converb *-A*, but forms an alternative doublet with the converb *-v*.

¹⁶ According to Chén & Léi (1985: 128) this combination expresses the notion 'a long time ago'.

kv pī^hcaq-īn tīli-w tīli-w ta^hq-mintī

DEM knife-POS3ACC look.for-CREP look.for-CREP find-PASTNev
s/he looked and looked for his/her knife [but] did not find it

There are some examples of alternative doublets expressing intensity or repetition.

uz-v uzi-ya soundly asleep (sleep-CSIM sleep-CCO)

o ayūr-v ayūr-īq q^ha-ttī s/he had fallen very ill

that be.ill-CSIM be.ill-CON fall-PASTev

sen uzi kīsī iht-tī yi-v yi-yi sayā kīsī iht ohqah-l-tī

you self person meat-ACC eat-CSIM eat-CCO you/DAT person meat smell-RFL-PAST
because you eat human meat yourself all the time, you smelled human meat

6.2.4. The coordinative converb (CCO)

The coordinative converb -GA¹⁷ connects two clauses or two verbs. Older speakers still use the form -GA¹⁸ occasionally, but younger speakers almost exclusively use the clipped form -GA, and the unclipped form only when the converb is followed by a particle -ya, -la. The negation is formed on the basis of the negative verb. The subject of the converb -GA may differ from the subject of the main verb.

The converb -GA is lexicalized in the demonstrative adverbs *mīntaqas* and *antaqas* 'thus, then' (see 5.3.), and it occurs in the adverbial clauses *miça turya* and *miça olīrya* 'immediately, shortly, in a moment' (see 5.8.).

The converb -GA connects two clauses, expressing an enumeration of actions, or the converb -GA expresses an action taking place prior to the action of the main verb.

yi-yis hanī-yantī s/he ate and went, after having eaten s/he went

eat-CCO go-NARev

pu q^han-ma kheln-ī mīs-ti par-nī pīl-mi-yis-ya kv qarq-īn-ma nili-mi-yintī

this khan-PCL3 wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC present-ACC know-NEG-CCO-PCL1 DEM
nose-POS3ACC-PCL3 pinch-NEG-NARev

because this khan didn't know this bride of his was in here, he did not pinch
his nose either

men tayīn sukci-yi par-ya miça tarīy al-yīla-š, tarīy-nī akkher-yi meṅ khelṅ-ki per-yv

I tomorrow Sūzhōu-DAT go-CCO little grain buy-PUR-FUT grain-ACC bring-CCO me/GEN
wife-DAT give-FUT

tomorrow I will go to Sūzhōu to buy some grain, bring it home and give it to
my wife

thoyīn men sukci-yi pah^r-tī, miça tarīy ah^l-tī, tarīy-nī akkher-yi meṅ khelṅ-ki pehr-tī

yesterday I Sūzhōu-DAT go-PAST little grain buy-PAST grain-ACC bring.to-CCO me/GEN
wife-DAT give-PAST

yesterday I went to Sūzhōu, I bought some grain, I brought it home and gave it
to my wife

¹⁷ A similar converb -(G)A exists in Eastern Yugur (cf Ĵuunast 1981: 41), and in Monguor -AA (cf Ĵuunast 1981a: 39).

¹⁸ In Tenišev 1976: 112 the loss of -š is already noted.

When the verb of the main clause describes a period of time, the converb -GA may express an action that is simultaneous with the verb of the main clause.

antaqanta-ya p̄ir yil o-γanti, ahtis-γas-la

then-PCL1 one year become-NARev make.war-CCO-PCL2

then one year passed, as they made war

The converb -GA may convey an instrumental.

pu ot-t̄i p̄huti-γi q̄hart-uh̄t-i just extinguish this fire by blowing on it

this fire-ACC blow-CCO extinguish-COM-COP

o naq̄i-n̄i k̄or-in saq̄in-qas ki-tt̄i s/he came with the intention of seeing him/her

that yonder-ACC see-IMP1sg think-CCO come-PASTev

pu q̄h̄iti-lar q̄oh̄rq-qa qayla-s-γanti

this Chinese-PL fear-CCO run-REC-NARev

these Chinese ran away together for fear

s̄iyan yiyas-t̄i t̄isti-γi kh̄ili-γi thel-īwat-itt̄i

mouse wood-ACC bite-CCO gnaw-CCO pierce-FIN-PASTev

by biting and gnawing at the wood, the mouse made a hole in it

The converb -GA may convey a reason 'because of, so that, to the effect that'; this meaning is lexicalized in the postposition *polya* 'because of, for' (see 5.9.), actually a converb in -GA of the verb *pol=* 'to be, to become'.

k̄v maya ant̄iraq̄ yūs sal-γa men koya yūl ti-ppar

DEM me/DAT that.much evil put-CCO I DEM/DAT die say-PROG

because s/he did so much evil to me, I hope s/he dies

aht-īn m̄in-σ k̄is̄i k̄ilap pol-γa ki-γinti

horse-POS3ACC mount-CSIM person strong become-CCO come-NARev

because s/he was strong, being mounted on his/her horse, s/he came back

k̄v t̄is-t̄i m̄ila p̄her-γi s̄iη-q̄har-tt̄i

DEM pot-ACC child hit-CCO break-RES-PASTev

because a child hit that pot it broke, a child hit that pot so that it broke

k̄v kun̄iη m̄ila-s̄in p̄her-γi yūlir-īwat-itt̄i

DEM DEM/GEN child-POS3ACC beat-CCO die-FIN-PASTev

s/he beat his/her child so hard that s/he died

The converb -GA may convey a concessive 'although, but'.

k̄v aȳir-γas-ma ki-pt̄i

DEM be.ill-CCO-PCL3 come-PASTev

s/he came although s/he was ill, s/he came inspite of his/her illness

k̄v p̄hoq̄irt-in saq̄in-qa toq̄ira-har-tt̄i

DEM jump-IMP1sg think-CCO fall-RES-PASTev

s/he intended to jump but fell

The combination of a verb + -GA with the verb *yata=* 'cannot', expresses the notion of 'cannot bear, cannot stand; cannot help but'.

oh̄s-qa yata= cannot stand the thirst (be.thirsty-CCO cannot)

thorla-γa yata= cannot stand the hunger (be.hungry-CCO cannot)

p̄her-γi yata= cannot stand the beating (beat-CCO cannot)

aht u^hk-ki yata-yanti the horses could not help but being startled
horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev

The combination of a verb + -GA with the negative verb *çoqpa=* 'to not succeed' expresses the notion of 'to refrain from, cannot stand; cannot help but'.

soq-qa çoq-pa= cannot stand the beating (beat-CCO succeed-NEG)

ayır-ya çoq-pa= cannot stand the pain (be.ill-CCO succeed-NEG)

yi-yi çoq-pa= cannot refrain from eating (eat-CCO succeed-NEG)

arahki iş-ki çoq-pa= cannot refrain from drinking liquor

liquor drink-CCO succeed-NEG

men selir-yi oyna-t-qimis: selir oryıla-s-qa çoq-pastı

I you/PL-DAT play-CAUS-FUTN you/PL shout-REC-CCO succeed-DUBN

I will not let you play: you cannot help but making noise

The present material yields a few examples of the combination of a verb + -GA with *qara=* 'to see'. Its meaning is unclear (an undesired action?); the last example seems straightforward.

şıyan meş iliy-ni tısti-yi qar-otı the mouse bit my finger

mouse me/GEN finger-ACC bite-CCO see-PROGev

çiwın meni pır yıñır tısti-yi qar-otı the mosquitos bit me all night

mosquito me/ACC one evening bite-CCO look-PROGev

pu su-ni men tahsı-t-uh^t-qa qar-otı I have spilled this water

this water-ACC I spill-CAUS-COM-CCO see-PROGev

minı men thayt-uh^t-qa qar-otı I have thrown this away

this/ACC I throw-COM-CCO look-PROGev

eni sosikın par-ya pu çıñsı yahs-qa qar-v-yanti

again next.day go-CCO this really hide-CCO look-AUX-NARev

s/he went again the other day, and s/he really hid him/herself and looked

The present material yields a few examples of the combination of a verb + -GA with *olır=* 'to stay'. Its meaning is unclear (perhaps a perfect?).

pu çitan-ya luzi-niñ üsın-ti pıs-ki olır-yanti

this egg-PCL1 stove-GEN upside/POS3-LOC cook-CCO stay-NARev

this egg had been cooked on the stove

tur-niñ yan-qa eht-kinti-ya tur-niñ üsın-ti pır ala xuar un-ki olır-yanti

tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 tomb-GEN upside/POS3-LOC one multicoloured
flower come.out-CCO stay-NARev

when s/he arrived near the tomb, on top of the tomb a multicoloured flower
had come out

The converb -GA is used in exclamations.

men har-ya! I am so tired! (I be.tired-CCO)

kı çıñçıñ çhıla-ya! s/he is ever so angry! (DEM really be.angry-CCO)

par-ma-ya! me not going?! (go-NEG-CCO)

çhıla-ma-ya! me not angry?! (be.angry-NEG-CCO)

The following verbs often occur in collocation: *uzki sart*= 'to tear to shreds', *ezertki maŋ*= 'to go leading, to bring someone along'.

men yiz-tī uz-ki sart-uh-t-tī I tore the material to shreds
I material-ACC rip-CCO tear-COM-PAST

The converb -GA may be extended with an intensive suffix -*Kīna*, typical of the speech of Mīnghǎi Township.

ol-ma uzī ki-yi-kīna anī pher-īs-i titī
that-PCL3 self come-CCO-INT that/ACC beat-FUT-COP say/DUB
s/he says s/he personally will come and beat him/her

6.2.5. The negative converb (CN)

The negative converb -*Min* indicates that the action of the main verb occurs without the action expressed by the negative converb.

The negative converb combines with *kvyoq* 'inconceivable' (see 5.7.) into a construction meaning 'impossible without, inconceivable that not'.

The negative converb -*Min* occurs as a bound morpheme with the particle -*tī* in the tense/aspect suffixes of the past (see 6.1.4.).

kolar chunçay-nī qara-yīla par-min sen kolar-nī maŋ-tīr-ma
DEM/PL chief-ACC see-CPUR go-CN you DEM/PL-ACC walk-CAUS-NEG
do not let them leave without going to see the chief
kīsī uzī-min kvyoq-tī, kīsī semen īs-min-ma kvyoq-tī
person sleep-CN not.done-EV person food eat-CN-PCL3 not.done-EV
a person cannot do without sleep, a person cannot do without food either

6.2.6. The purpose converb (CPUR)

The converb -*Gīla* indicates the purpose of an action, and is always combined with a verb of motion.

o senī qara-yīla ki-štī s/he will come to see you
that you/ACC see-CPUR come-FUTev
o thelk qaz-yīla par-ttī s/he went to dig a hole
that hole dig-CPUR go-PASTev

6.2.7. Other converbs

Western Yugur has a number of converbs which are in fact formed on the basis of the participles. These are: the temporal converbs -*GantA* 'when' (see 6.4.1.1.), -*GAn(nīŋ) arata* 'just as, just at the moment when' and -*Gannīŋ phorn̄ta* 'before' (see 7.1.2.), -*GantAn phorn̄*, -*irtAn phorn̄* (see 5.9.), and the converb -*GAnça* 'by means of, by way of' (see 6.4.1.1.).

6.3. Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes

Aktionsart suffixes specify the phase of the verbal action. They are directly attached to the verb root (which may be extended by diathesis suffixes), and are in this respect unusual in Turkic languages, where aktionsart is expressed by combining a verb with an auxiliary verb through a converb suffix, not by a derivational suffix. However, peculiarities in the phonology and morphology of the aktionsart suffixes suggest that these suffixes originate from independent verbs, which have subsequently contracted with the preceding converb suffix. Apparently, the aktionsart suffixes are in the process of developing from independent forms into derivational suffixes. Also included here are the derivational auxiliary suffixes of quick or sudden action and of purpose, the auxiliary suffix *-v*, and the analytical 'about to' construction. Finally, some observations concerning interchangeability and combinatory properties of the aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes will be presented.

6.3.1. The completive suffix (COM)

The aktionsart suffix *-u^{ht}* indicates a completive, e.g. *tu^{ht}tu^{ht}*= 'to do completely, to finish' (*tu^{ht}*= 'to hold, to catch, to do'). Stem final vowels are elided, e.g. *şannu^{ht}*= 'to castrate' (*şanna*=), *cümu^{ht}*= 'to pluck' (*cümi*= ~ *cümü*=). The suffix *-u^{ht}* following *-q* is realised as *-o^{ht}*, e.g. *sī^hqo^{ht}*= 'to wring out' (*sī^hq*= 'to press')¹⁹.

The suffix *-u^{ht}* also occurs in an augmented form *-u^{ht}tir*, which occurs only rarely; there is no apparent difference of meaning between *-u^{ht}* and *-u^{ht}tir*, e.g. *qhaltiru^{ht}tir*= ~ *qhaltiru^{ht}*= 'to drop' (*qhaltir*=), *uhkītu^{ht}tir*= 'to frighten' (*uhkīt*=).

The suffix *-u^{ht}* is lexicalized in *su^{ht}*= 'to break off, to break through' (*sī*= 'to break'), and *so^{ht}*= 'to release, to set free' (*sal*= 'to put, to release').

pu tīs-tī mīla su^{ht}-iptī a child broke this pot (this pot-ACC child break/COM-PASTev)
k^v şuku-nī so^{ht}-iptī s/he released the goat (DEM goat-ACC release/COM-PASTev)

The suffix *-u^{ht}* occurs frequently with final transformative verbs as an intensive, e.g. *a^hqu^{ht}*= 'to open' (*a^hs*=), *ç^holu^{ht}*= 'to pry open' (*çola*=), *a^hsīru^{ht}*= 'to overturn' (*a^hsīr*=), *qhaltiru^{ht}*= 'to drop' (*qhaltir*=).

The suffix *-u^{ht}* renders a non-transformative verb transformative, forming egressive verbs, e.g. *alu^{ht}*= 'to take away' (*al*= 'to take'), *artu^{ht}*= 'to wipe off' (*art*= 'to rub, to clean'), *thaytu^{ht}*= 'to throw down, to throw away' (*thayta*= 'to throw'), *uzu^{ht}*= 'to rip off' (*uz*= 'to rip'), *tū^hku^{ht}*= 'to pour out' (*tū^hk*= 'to pour'), *qī^hrqu^{ht}*= 'to shave off' (*qī^hrq*= 'to shave').

There are a few examples in which ingressive verbs are formed, e.g. *yilyu^{ht}*= 'to cry out, to burst into tears' (*yilya*= 'to cry'), *thamtiru^{ht}*= 'to set fire to, to ignite' (*thamtir*= 'to light a fire').

¹⁹ Historically, the suffix *-u^{ht}* perhaps consists of the converb *-A* + the verb *pī^{ht}*= 'to suffice; to finish'. Remnants of a *p* occur in e.g. *yorīfutiptī* < *yorīpu^{ht}iptī* 'untied' (Tenišev 1976: 247). Allomorphs with *-s* are recorded in the older sources, e.g. *paturuster^yeş* 'lost', *tüküsteriptro* 'poured out' (Malov 1967: 100), *alo^htsa* ~ *alostsa* 'if takes away' (Chén & Léi 1985: 110).

<i>men ĩs-tĩ tuht-uh̄t-tĩ</i>	I finished the work (I work-ACC hold-COM-PAST)
<i>men ĩs-tĩ tahqĩ tuht-uh̄t-ma-h̄tĩ</i>	I have not yet finished the work
I work-ACC yet hold-COM-NEG-PAST	
<i>khõm-uh̄t-i</i>	bury it! get it buried! (bury-COM-COP)
<i>pu ot-tĩ qhart-uh̄t-i</i>	just extinguish this fire!
this fire-ACC extinguish-COM-COP	
<i>sann-uh̄t-qan chi</i>	a gelded camel (castrate-COM-PP camel)

6.3.2. The finitive suffix (FIN)

The aktionsart suffix *-(ĩ)wat* indicates a finitive²⁰. The *-w* has a strong rounding effect on a preceding vowel *a* or *ĩ*, e.g. *ajna-wat*= 'to overhear' [*ajɲʋwat*].

The suffix *-(ĩ)wat* is lexicalized in *suwat*= 'to put down, to throw down' (*sal*= 'to put; to release'), a contraction of the form *salĩwat*=.

kw çhĩla-ya pĩhtĩy-nĩ qozĩ-ya suwat-ĩttĩ (~ *sal-ĩwat-ĩttĩ*)

DEM be.angry-CCO book-ACC table-DAT put/FIN-PAST_{Ev} (~ put-FIN-PAST_{Ev})

s/he angrily put down the book on the table

The aktionsart suffix *-(ĩ)wat* occurs frequently with final transformative verbs as an intensive, e.g. *yũlĩrwat*= 'to kill' (*yũlĩr*=), *pahtĩrwat*= 'to lose' (*pahtĩr*=), *toyĩwat*= 'to give birth' (*toy*=).

The aktionsart suffix *-(ĩ)wat* renders a non-transformative verb transformative, e.g. *ajnowat*= 'to overhear, to catch the word' (*ajna*= 'to hear, to listen'), *yiwat*= 'to eat up, to devour' (*yi*= 'to eat').

sen menik-tĩ koya per-ĩwat-i just give the money back to him/her

you money-ACC DEM/DAT give-FIN-COP

tĩs-tĩ sĩ-wat-ĩttĩ s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PAST_{Ev})

ĩht qayta par-i? ĩšt-qa yi-tĩr-ĩwat-ĩttĩ

meat where present-COP dog-DAT eat-CAUS-FIN-PAST_{Ev}

where is the meat? it has been devoured by the dog

o terik-tĩ ĩç-in-ti anĩ ĩšt-tĩ pahtĩr-ĩwat-ĩttĩ

that tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PAST_{Ev}

s/he lost his/her dog in the forest

kw menik-ki po-ya uzĩ-nĩ ĩ aqa-sĩn yũlĩr-ĩwat-qĩštĩ

DEM money-DAT become-CCO self-GEN elder.brother-POS3ACC kill-FIN-FUT_{Ev}

s/he would have killed his own elder brother for money

narsĩntan men ni-ma emis ĩs et-ĩwat-ma-h̄tĩ, o tahqĩ-ya menĩ pher-ĩtĩ

although I what-PCL3 evil work do-FIN-NEG-PAST that still-PCL1 me/ACC beat-DUB

although I had done nothing wrong, s/he still would beat me

²⁰ Historically, the suffix *-(ĩ)Wat* perhaps consists of the converb *-(ĩ)p* or *-v* + the verb *aht*= 'to throw'; the loss of preaspiration, however, would be inexplicable. For older examples, cf *salwadĩp* 'put down' (Malov 67: 105), *yĩwatenĩ* 'let's eat it up' (Chén & Léi 1985: 108).

6.3.3. The resultative suffix (RES)

The aktionsart suffix *-har* indicates a resultative²¹. Its allophonic variants are *-har* ~ *-xar* following vowels, liquids and sibilants, and *-q^har* following plosives and nasals. It is apparently connected with the verb *har=* 'to be or become tired; to leave'. In the present material, it occurs predominantly with a following past tense.

<i>su ta^hsī-har-ttī</i>	the water spilled (water overflow-RES-PASTev)
<i>tīs sī-η-q^har-ttī</i>	the pot broke, the pot is broken
pot break-RFL-RES-PASTev	
<i>kunīy qol qarar-har-ttī</i>	his/her arm has turned black, is black
DEM/GEN arm be.black-RES-PASTev	
<i>anīy sī-η-q^har-yan qol ayūr-ttī</i>	his/her broken arm hurt
that/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm hurt-PASTev	
<i>kw phoqirt-in saqin-qa toqira-har-ttī</i>	s/he intended to jump [but] fell
DEM jump-IMP1sg think-CCO topple-RES-PASTev	
<i>meñ siñni antay titi uzi i^ht-ti çhumikti-mi-htī titi, išt çhili-xar-ttī titi</i>	my/GEN younger.sister that/EQU say/DUB self meat-ACC steal-NEG-PAST say/DUB dog take.in.the.mouth-RES-PASTev say/DUB
my younger sister says she did not steal the meat, she says the dog has got it	

6.3.4. The terminative suffix (TER)

The aktionsart suffix *-hanī* indicates a terminative²². Its allophonic variants are *-hanī* ~ *-xanī* following vowels, liquids and sibilants, and *-q^hanī* following nasals. It is apparently connected with the verb *hanī=* 'to go'²³. In the present material, it occurs predominantly with a following suffix *-GAN* (either the narrative past or the present/past participle).

<i>toqira-hanī-yan mīla qo-k ki-ttī</i>	the fallen child stood up
fall-TER-PP child stand.up-CON come-PASTev	
<i>su-ma qīzar-xanī-yantī</i>	and the water became red
water-PCL3 be.red-TER-NARev	
<i>pu enik ta^hs-īy-qa hanī-ya yoq po-xanī-yantī</i>	this cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO not.present become-TER-NARev
this cow went out and disappeared	
<i>iškī qīzta^r tu^ht-qa tijirwaş-qa un-q^hanī-yantī</i>	two girl hold-CCO top.of.heaven-DAT ascend-TER-NARev
the two girls got hold [of the rope] and climbed up to Heaven's top	

²¹ The resultative aktionsart *-har* is not attested in the older sources.

²² Cf Schönig's term präliminar-finaltransformativ (1984: 37).

²³ The older sources incidentally attest clipped forms, e.g. *toqira xanīp tīr* 'fell' (Malov 1967: 125), *u^hkuth^hhanīp tīr* 'blew apart' (Léi 1992: 42b); elsewhere the elision of the converb *-GA(S)* is suggested, e.g. *unke^hnīptro* < *unkeş hanīpto* 'came out' (Tenišev 1976: 252).

6.3.5. The inceptive suffix (INC)

The aktionsart suffix *-(i)wal* indicates an inceptive²⁴, usually with the connotation of an action performed to obtain or procure something for oneself. The *-w* has a strong rounding effect on a preceding vowel *a* or *i*, e.g. *alīwal=* 'to take; to get' [*alɔwal*].

The suffix *-(i)wal* most frequently occurs with verbs for 'to take', and emphasizes the initial transformative phase of such a verb, e.g. *tuhtīwal=* 'to get hold of, to catch' (*tuht=* 'to catch; to hold'), *alīwal=* 'to get, to procure' (*al=* 'to take; to get'), *alnīwal=* 'to take along, to lift, to carry' (*alīn=*), *therīwal=* 'to pick up' (*ther=* 'to gather').

<i>kunī ther-īwal!</i>	pick it up! (DEM/ACC gather-INC)
<i>sen nayɔ anī tuht-īwal-yīs-i?</i>	how will you catch it?
you how that/ACC hold-INC-FUT-COP	
<i>o pīr kihciy terik-tī cimi-wal-ittī</i>	s/he pulled out a small tree
that one small tree-ACC pluck-INC-PASTev	
<i>sen yahs-qv qara-wal!</i>	you take a good look at it!
you good-ADV look-INC	

The aktionsart suffix *-(i)wal* also indicates a potential²⁵ 'can, possible, might', or, with a negation 'cannot, should not'.

<i>kɔ kil-īwal-īstī</i>	s/he might come (DEM come-INC-FUTev)
<i>kɔ kil-īwal-yimistī</i>	s/he may not come (DEM come-INC-FUTNev)
<i>tas niyor pezik pu-sa-ma su-nī ayit-īwal-mas</i>	
stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water block-INC-HABN	
however big the stone, it cannot block up the water	
<i>īst-tīŋ ihciki-s-ti aq yay sal-īwal-mas</i>	
dog-GEN intestines-IN-LOC white butter put-INC-HABN	
one should not place white butter in a dog's intestines	
<i>pīr cīŋzī sur-yi eht-īs-īwal-ma-ya eni ki-yintī</i>	
one moment pursue-CCO arrive-REC-INC-NEG-CCO again come-NARev	
s/he pursued [them] for a moment, but was unable to overtake them and came back again	

6.3.6. The suffix of sudden or quick action (QUI)

The aktionsart suffix *-it* indicates a quick or sudden action. A stem final vowel *a* is elided, e.g. *qaylit=* 'to dash off' (*qayla=* 'to run'). The suffix *-it* requires back vocalic suffixes to be attached²⁶.

<i>kizitqan</i> 'slipped (into a garment)'	<i>kiz=</i> (<i>kizki</i>) 'to dress'
<i>khiritqanta</i> 'when entering suddenly'	<i>khir=</i> (<i>khiryi</i>) 'to enter'

²⁴ Historically, the aktionsart suffix *-(i)wal* probably consists of the converb *-(i)p* or *-w* + the verb *al=* 'to take'. For an older example, cf e.g. *pītīw alban* 'ended' (Malov 1967: 99).

²⁵ In Chén & Léi (1985: 109) the form is *-(y)al*; only this potential function is described.

²⁶ In Chén & Léi (1985: 108) the form is *-(y)eth*.

The suffix *-it* is lexicalized in *qoyt=* 'to rise quickly, suddenly' (*qohp=* 'to rise'), and *sayt=* 'to quickly put, release' (*sal=* 'to put, to release').

kʷ ohqtahrqʷ qoyt-ittī s/he got up suddenly, s/he jumped up
DEM suddenly rise/QUI-PASTev

The aktionsart suffix *-it* occurs with all kinds of action verbs, e.g. *tahrtit=* 'to quickly pull' (*tahrt=*), *alnit=* 'to grab' (*alīn=* 'to take along').

menī thart-it! pull me out quickly! (me/ACC pull-QUI)
īšt menī tīsti-yi yazīr-it-ittī the dog bit me and dashed off
dog me/ACC bite-CCO run-QUI-PASTev

6.3.7. The purpose suffix (PUR)

The aktionsart suffix *-Gīla* indicates a purpose of going, or an intention. It is attached to all kinds of action verbs.

mīzīr yi-yīla-yn let's go to eat (we/PL eat-PUR-IMP1pl)
kʷ miça su īs-kīla-ttī s/he went to have a drink of water

DEM little water drink-PUR-PASTev

anī tīli-yīla-ma-sa çī yoq-tī there is no option but to go looking for him/her
that/ACC look.for-PUR-NEG-COND option not.present-EV

khunsin tahs-īṅ-qa yaṅqīça yi-yīla-yaq-i-tī
every.day outside-POS3-DAT alone/ADV eat-PUR-HAB-COP-EV

every day s/he used to go out alone to eat

men tayīn sukçi-yi par-ya miça tarīy al-yīla-s

I tomorrow Sùzhōu-DAT go-CCO little grain take-PUR-FUT
tomorrow I will go to Sùzhōu to buy some grain

The purpose suffix may express the notion 'almost, nearly'.

o ayīr-yan salīy-tī, yül-yīla-ttī s/he was very ill, s/he almost died
that be.ill-PP heavy-EV die-PUR-PASTev

6.3.8. The 'about to' construction

The combination of the future verbal noun suffix *-Gī* + the verb *tī=* 'to say' expresses the notion of 'to be about to, to be on the verge of' or 'to intend to'. The suffix *-Gī* occurs only in this construction²⁷.

mīz semen īs-kī ti-ppar we are about to eat (we food eat-VNFUT say-PROG)

o caṅ maṅ-qī ti-vtī s/he is just about to leave

that just walk-VNFUT say-PROGev

maṅ-ma, tiṅjīr yaq-qī ti-vtī do not go, it is about to rain

walk-NEG sky rain-VNFUT say-PROGev

²⁷ Apart from this construction, the suffix *-Gī* occurs as a bound morpheme in the future tense suffix *-Gīmīs* (see 6.1.2.), and in the future agent suffix *-Gīçī* (see 6.4.6.).

6.3.9. The tense auxiliary suffix (AUX)

The suffix *-v* only occurs as a bound morpheme in combination with a number of verbal suffixes and verbal noun suffixes²⁸, but most frequently with *-GAN*. Its function is not entirely clear. The suffix *-v* elides a stem final vowel *a* or *ĩ*, e.g. *thayt-v-yantĩ* 'thrown away' (*thayta*= 'to throw').

The suffix *-v* combined with the narrative past *-GAN* expresses a perfect.

pĩr çhayiteyzi thayt-v-yantĩ they had thrown away a tea bag
 one tea.bag throw-AUX-NARev
mej kheln semen qħantĩr-v-ma-yan my wife has never cooked
 me/GEN wife food cook-AUX-NEG-NAR
ĩskĩ uş yahs-v-yan çhi qozĩ a camel foal of two or three years of age
 two three be.a.year.of.age-AUX-PP camel lamb
sen peçij-qa par-v-yan mv? men par-v-ma-yan
 you Běijīng-DAT go-AUX-NAR Q I go-AUX-NEG-NAR
 have you ever gone to Běijīng? I have never gone [there]

In the following instances, the use of *-v* seems to indicate a progressive.

men muya kel-v-yanta anĩ kīsĩ tuħt-ĩwal-ttĩ
 I this/DAT come-AUX-CTMP that/ACC person hold-INC-PASTev
 I was coming here when somebody caught him/her
kø puya ki-yĩ ti-v-yanta men eħt-ĩp paħr-tĩ
 DEM this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP I arrive-CON go-PAST
 when s/he was about to come hither, I arrived

The present material also yields a few examples of *-v* followed by the habitual *-GAK*.

kħunsin mĩntaqv-yaq-i-tĩ every day s/he used to do thus
 every.day thus.do/AUX-HAB-COP-EV
antaqanta pu qħan-la emen-la qarq-ĩn-la nili-v-yaq-i-tĩ
 then this khan-PCL2 often-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 pinch-AUX-HAB-COP-EV
 then this khan often used to pinch his nose

The present material also yields a few examples of *-v* followed by the verbal noun suffix *-MA*²⁹.

eħt-v-ma ni-tĩ? what is it making sound? (make.sound-AUX-VN what-EV)
senĩj kiz-v-ma çħĩnsan-nĩ uz-ki sart-uħt-ĩttĩ
 you/GEN wear-AUX-VN shirt-ACC rip-CCO cut.in.pieces-COM-PASTev
 s/he teared the shirt you wore to tatters

²⁸ Historically, the suffix *-v* is perhaps a crasis of the converb *-A* + the verb *pol*= 'to be, to become'. Chén & Léi only record examples of *-o* + *-GAN* (1985: 111); Malov has examples of *-o* + the past tense *-(ĩ)ptĩ*, e.g. *çoqĩ woptro* 'sat down' (1967: 108) besides *-o* + *-GAN*. Tenišev has an example of *-o* + conditional, *tĩosa* 'if says' (1976: 246).

²⁹ An opposition is found between *ezert-pĩ* 'leader, chief' (lead-VN) and *ezert-o-ma* (Léi 1992: 29b) 'man servant' (lead-AUX-VN).

6.3.10. Interchangeability and combinatory properties

It seems that the choice of the aktionsart suffixes *-uht*, *-(i)wat*, *-har*, *-hanī*, *-(i)wal*, which specify a phase of the action, is to a large extent lexically determined: in the present material, only few verbs occur combined with more than one aktionsart suffix. Therefore, the terminology of the aktionsart suffixes used here must be considered tentative. The following observations can be made.

The completive suffix *-uht* and the finitive suffix *-(i)wat* seem to be interchangeable in some verbs, e.g. *soluht*= ~ *solīwat*= 'to lock up', *soht*= ~ *suwat*= 'to put; to release'.

men iht-tī thul-uht-tī I have finished cooking the meat

I meat-ACC cook-COM-PAST

men iht-tī thul-īwat-tī I have finished cooking the meat

I meat-ACC cook-COM-PAST

kṵ tīs-tī mīla suht-ittī a child broke this pot

DEM pot-ACC child break/COM-PAST_{Ev}

tīs-tī sī-wat-ittī s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PAST_{Ev})

The aktionsart suffixes *-uht*, *-(i)wat*, *-(i)wal* occur more often with transitive verbs, while the suffixes *-har*, *-hanī* occur more often with intransitive verbs. Compare:

tīs-tī yar-uht-ittī s/he smashed the pot (pot-ACC smash-COM-PAST_{Ev})

tīs-tī sī-wat-ittī s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PAST_{Ev})

tīs sī-ŋ-qhar-ttī the pot broke, is broken (pot break-RFL-RES-PAST_{Ev})

su-nī men tasī-t-uht-tī I spilled the water (water-ACC I spill-CAUS-COM-PAST)

su tahsī-har-ttī the water spilled (water spill-RES-PAST_{Ev})

anīŋ sī-ŋ-qhar-yan qol quašī ayīr-vtī his/her broken arm is hurting awfully
that/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm very hurt-PRE_{Ev}

anīŋ qol-ī ayīr-vtī, sī-ŋ-qhanī-ya his/her arm is hurting, as it has been broken
that/GEN arm-POS3 hurt-PRE_{Ev}, break-RFL-TER-CCO

o sī-wat-qan qol-ī tančin-qṵ ayīr-vtī the arm s/he broke is hurting awfully
that break-FIN-PP arm-POS3 serious-ADV hurt-PRE_{Ev}

anīŋ sī-n-uht-qan qol quašī ayīr-vtī his/her broken arm is hurting awfully
that/GEN break-RFL-COM-PP arm very hurt-PRE_{Ev}

mīla-lar nayṵ tīli-si-ma pahṭīr-īwat-qan (~ pahṭīr-uht-qan) qoy-nī tahq-mintī
child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP (~ lose-COM-PP) sheep-ACC find-PAST_{NeV}

however much the children searched, they did not find the sheep they had lost

mīla-lar nayī-sa-ma pahṭ-qhar-yan qoy-nī tahq-mintī

child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 be.lost-RES-PP sheep-ACC find-PAST_{NeV}

whatever the children did, they did not find the lost sheep

Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes may combine with a number of finite and infinite suffixes (see the table below); furthermore, *-(i)wal* may combine with the dubitative, *-it* and *-Gī tī*= with the simultaneous converb, and *-v* with the verbal noun suffix *-MA*.

	CCO	NAR	PP	CTMP	PAST	IMP	NEG	FUT	COND	HAB	PROG
-u ^{ht}	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
-(i)wat	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
-har	x	x	x		x				x		
-hanī	x	x	x	x				x			
-(i)wal	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
-it	x	x	x	x	x	x					
-Gīla	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
-Gī ti=	x	x									x
-v	x	x	x	x			x			x	

Attested combinations of aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes with finite and infinite suffixes.

Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes do not accumulate normally; however, the following combinations do occur.

The purpose suffix may follow the inceptive.

ther-īwal-yīla-yn let me go gather for myself (gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg)

The construction -Gī ti= 'about to' often occurs in combination with -v + a present/past participle or a temporal converb -GAntA.

seniṅ yūyal-yī ti-v-yan aq yū qayta par-i?

you/GEN rest-VNFUT say-AUX-PP white house where present-COP
where is your resting tent?

o puya kel-yī ti-v-yanta-ya men eht-tī

that this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 I arrive-PAST
when s/he was about to come hither, I arrived

Typical of Mīnghāi speech is the formation -itvya for otherwise -itqa.

antaqanta iškī qīztaṛ kizkī-nī al-n-it-v-ya qayla-yantī

then two girl clothes-ACC take-RFL-QUI-AUX-CCO run-NARev
then the two girls grabbed [their] clothes and ran

Verbal compounds containing an aktionsart or auxiliary suffix are rare.

pu kheln-ī par-yan pu-sa taḥqī kuziyī-sīn cula-wat-ik ki-stī

this wife-POS3 go-PP become-COND still husband-POS3ACC rescue-FIN-CON come-FUTev
if this wife of his would have gone, she could still have rescued her husband

uzī-nīṅ-kī-nī khuy-īs-tin untīr-ik kil-v yerin-nīṅ-kī-nī širma-ṣ-tin untīr-ik kil-v-yantī

self-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-CSIM man-GEN-KI-ACC
rubbish-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-AUX-NARev

while she took out hers from the basket, she took out [her] husband's from the rubbish

6.4. Participles

There are five participles in Western Yugur, to be distinguished according to tense and aspect: -GAN indicates the present/past, -GAK the habitual, -ir the future, and -(i)ppar the progressive; -MAs functions as the negative habitual and future participle. -GAN, -GAK, -MAs, and -(i)ppar are identical in form with the finite suffixes of the narrative past, the habitual, and the progressive respectively.

Participles are used adnominally to express a relative clause, or they may occur independently as a complement to the verb (as action nominals, subject and object participles). As nouns the participles can take case suffixes. However, Western Yugur participles do not occur with possessive or plural suffixes in the present material.

The subject of a participle is expressed analytically by a pronoun or noun in the unmarked case, or it may be omitted when understood from the context.

6.4.1. The present/past participle (PP)

The present/past participle is -GAN; the negation of the participle -GAN is formed on the basis of the negative verb (thus -MAYAN).

The participle -GAN is used adnominally to express a present or past tense relative clause. In the following examples, the head noun is the subject of the participle.

<i>pezi-yin qiz</i>	a grown-up girl (grow.up-PP girl)
<i>siz-iq qha-yan kita</i>	a swollen bump (swell-CON fall-PP bump)
<i>emis eht-kin kisı</i>	a person who made a mistake
mistake make-PP person	
<i>kunij si-η-qhar-yan qol ayir-tti</i>	his/her broken arm hurt
DEM/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm hurt-PASTev	
<i>toqira-hani-yan mila qo-k ki-tti</i>	the child that had fallen stood up
fall-TER-PP child stand.up-CON come-PASTev	
<i>mica tahqayı ohsirıq-ti ista-q qha-yan tas</i>	
small chicken fart-ACC resemble-CON fall-PP stone	
a small stone resembling a chicken's egg (i.e. a definition of a pebble)	

In the following examples, the head noun is not the subject of the participle -GAN. When the subject is generic ('they, one'), the participle -GAN can be translated as a passive.

<i>yör-yin saz</i>	braided hair (braid-PP hair)
<i>ezert-kin mila</i>	an adopted child (lead-PP child)
<i>soyil-yin khenzi</i>	baked buns (bake-PP bun)
<i>sen olir-yan yü qayta par-i?</i>	where is the house you live in?
you stay-PP house where present-COP	
<i>kuziyı yoq pu-yan khempis</i>	a woman whose husband has died, widow
husband not.present become-PP woman	
<i>törtij taqa-nı qihqir-yan lomaq</i>	the story of inviting Uncle Wolf
wolf maternal.uncle-ACC invite-PP story	

<i>saqī-yan kīsī yahş</i>	a person one has waited for is good
wait-PP person good	
<i>kīsī-niñ yi-yin timsiy imsaq</i>	the mouth of somebody one eats from is soft
person eat-PP mouth soft	

The present/past participle -GAN functions as an action nominal of present and past actions.

<i>men qaylayan oy</i>	I run fast (I run-PP fast)
<i>kə qayla-yan oy-ti</i>	s/he runs fast (DEM run-PP fast-EV)
<i>o qayla-yan oy muli-ti</i>	s/he runs very fast (that run-PP fast very-EV)
<i>kə su is-kin tancin oy-ti</i>	s/he drinks water very quick
DEM water drink-PP extremely fast-EV	
<i>o anī kör-yin lap-ti</i>	s/he certainly saw him/her
that that/ACC see-PP certain-EV	
<i>kīsī uzī-mi-yin kəyoq-ti</i>	that a person does not sleep is impossible
person sleep-NEG-PP impossible-EV	
<i>o ayır-yan po-şti</i>	s/he may be ill, maybe s/he is ill
that be.ill-PP become-FUTev	
<i>saya qharov tiz-yan kiş pol-yan</i>	it has been a long time since I wrote you a letter
you/DAT letter write-PP late become-NAR	
<i>o anıñ pihcaq-in paktir-iwat-qan po-şti</i>	
that that/GEN knife-POS3ACC lose-FIN-PP become-FUTev	
	s/he probably lost his/her knife (lit. it is probable that s/he lost his/her knife)
<i>kə ayır-yan pır khun pır khun-tin salıy po-tti</i>	
DEM be.ill-PP one day one day-ABL heavy become-PASTev	
	from day to day, s/he became more ill

<i>kə thoyin ki-yin-ni men pil-yiş</i>	I know s/he came yesterday
DEM yesterday come-PP-ACC I know-FUT	
<i>khim sen chunzi-ya par-yan-ni köhr-ti?</i>	who saw that you went to the village? ³⁰
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST	
<i>o semen is-kin-tin toyir nimi tuht-pas pırmi-ti</i>	
that food eat-PP-ABL other thing do-PN somebody-EV	
	s/he is somebody who does no other thing than eating

There are a few examples in which the participle -GAN functions as a subject or object participle.

<i>yıñ phornta maya ti-yin-la kə-ti</i>	it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV	
<i>sen cıta-yan-ni men-ma cıta-ş</i>	what you can do, I can do too
you can-PP-ACC I-PCL3 can-FUT	
<i>antaqanta pu içi pu co-s-ti olir-yan-qa, yil kör-mi-yin-ki ti-vti</i>	
then this always this cellar-IN-LOC stay-PP-DAT wind see-NEG-PP-DAT say-PROGev	
	then s/he is telling him/her who had always stayed in this cellar, who had not seen the wind

³⁰ A double accusative is used here by some speakers (see 7.6.).

6.4.1.1. Converbs based on the present/past participle (CTMP)

The participle *-GAN* + locative case suffix, *-GAntA*, functions as a temporal verb 'when'. Usually, but not always, the subject of this subordinate temporal clause is different from that of the main clause. The temporal verb is lexicalized in *antaqanta* 'then' (see 5.3.).

tarīy pīs-kinti mīz yi-ynī let us eat when we have cooked the grain
grain cook-CTMP we eat-IMP1pl

uzī-yanta-ya yinjīr po-yanta pīr tōrtiṅ anika-nī yi-yīla ki-yintī
sleep-CTMP-PCL1 evening become-CTMP one wolf old.woman-ACC eat-CPUR
come-NARev

when she slept and it became evening, a wolf came to eat the old woman

The participle *-GAN* + the adverbial suffix *-qa* (see 4.5.4.) forms a converb functioning as an adverb of manner 'by means of, by way of'. The present material yields only one example.

sen qayla-yan-qa par you go by means of running (you run-PP-ADV go)

The present/past participle *-Gan* furthermore forms the base of the following compound temporal converbs: *-GAN(nīṅ) arata* 'just as, just at the moment when' (*-GAN* (+ the genitive case *-nīṅ*) + the spatial noun *ara* 'the space between' + the locative case *-ta*), *-GAnnīṅ p^{horn}ta* 'before' (*-GAN* + the genitive case *-nīṅ* + the adverb *p^{horn}ta* 'before') (see 7.1.2.), and *-GAntAn p^{horn}* 'before' (*-GAN* + the ablative case *-tAn* + the postposition *p^{horn}* 'before') (see 5.9.).

6.4.2. The habitual participle (PHAB)

The habitual participle is *-GAK*. It occurs only adnominally to express a habitual relative clause, of which the head noun is the subject of the participle.

sōzti-v yata-yaq kīsī a person who is unable to speak
speak-CSIM cannot-PHAB person

meṅ-kī-ti pīr kīsī yi-yīk yiyīt par in my house is a man-eating young man
me/GEN-KI-LOC one person eat-PHAB young.man present

6.4.3. The future participle (PFUT)

The future participle is *-ir*; it elides a stem final vowel. The participle *-ir* occurs adnominally to express an intention or purpose of the head noun. For an alternative construction with the future agent *-Giçī*, see 6.4.6.

par-ir kīsī yoq-tī there is no one to go, nobody will go
go-PFUT person not.present-EV

The participle *-ir* functions as a supine to denote a purpose of the head noun.

koya yol maŋ-ir menik par u-sa kv ki-štī

DEM/DAT road walk-PFUT money present become-COND DEM come-FUTev

if s/he has the money to travel, s/he will come

sen qayl-ir sat-qa eht-ittī

it has become time you run

you run-PFUT time-DAT arrive-PASTev

In this function, the participle *-ir* may alternate with the verbal noun *-MA*. Compare:

yüyal-ir (~ *yüyal-ma*) *aq yü*

a tent to rest, a tent for resting, a resting tent

rest-PFUT (~ rest-VN) white house

yaymır yay-ir sat-qa eht-kinti yaymır yaq-qıştı

rain rain-PFUT time-DAT arrive-CTMP rain rain-FUTev

during the rainy time, it will rain

yaymır yay-ma khun-nir-ti yaymır yaq-qıştı

rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC rain rain-FUTev

during the rainy days, it will rain

The participle *-ir* functions as an action nominal of future actions and general states.

uz-ir-ma kherik, ihç-ir-ma kherik

sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary drink-PFUT-PCL3 necessary

sleeping (to sleep) is necessary and drinking (to drink) is necessary too

o kel-ir pol-yan

s/he almost came

that come-PFUT become-NAR

kv tayın kel-ir-ni men pıl-yış

I know s/he will come tomorrow

DEM tomorrow come-PFUT-ACC I know-FUT

pırsi amsa sey ohqa-l-ir-tan qohrq-qa

one/POS3 anyway vegetable smell-RFL-PFUT-ABL fear-CON4

because, anyway, one of them feared the smell of vegetables

The dative case of the participle *-ir* functions as a supine, expressing the purpose of an action. For an alternative construction with the postposition *polya* 'in order to', see 5.9.

sen pez-ir-yi semen iş-kıştı

in order to grow you must eat

you grow-PFUT-DAT food eat-FUTev

pu thuyzi-ni ni-yi ims-otı? su al-ir-ya ims-otı

this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROGev water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROGev

what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water

The future participle *-ir* furthermore forms the base of the compound converb *-irtAn* *phorn* 'before' (*-ir* + the ablative case *-tAn* + the postposition *phorn* 'before') (see 5.9).

6.4.4. The negative habitual and future participle (PN)

The negative habitual and future participle is -MAS. It occurs only adnominally, to express a relative clause negating a habitual or future state or action. In the following example, the head noun is the subject of the participle.

o semen iş-kin-tin toyır nimi tuht-pas pırmi-ti

that food eat-PP-ABL other thing do-PN somebody-EV

s/he is somebody who does no thing other than eating

In the following examples, the head noun is not the subject of the participle -MAS. When the subject is generic ('they, one'), the negative participle can be translated as a passive.

o pıl-mis panfa

a method s/he will not know (that know-PN method)

pır kōz kōr-mis aḥka

a monk whose eyes cannot see, a blind monk

one eye see-PN monk

pır pıl-mis amırtan

an animal one cannot know, an unknown animal

one know-PN animal

pır antay tanı-mas amırtan

one that/EQU recognize-PN animal

such an animal one cannot recognize, such an unrecognizable animal

6.4.5. The progressive participle

The material yields two examples in which the finite progressive suffix *-(i)ppar*, etymologically consisting of the converb *-(i)p* and the noun *par* 'present', is used as a progressive action nominal.

kᵛ qayta olır-ıppar-nı sen pıl-yış mi?

DEM where stay-PROG-ACC you know-FUT Q

do you know where s/he is living?

kᵛ qayta olır-ıppar-nı men pıl-ın saqın-atı

DEM where stay-PROG-ACC I know-IMP1sg think-DUB

I would like to know where s/he is living

6.5. Deverbal verb suffixes

Deverbal verb suffixes include the suffixes of diathesis and the negative verb suffix. Though the meaning of the diathesis suffixes is often transparent (e.g. *qayla*= 'to run', causative *qaylat*= 'to cause to run', reciprocal *qaylas*= 'to run together') many idiosyncrasies do occur, such as the absence of the simplex stem³¹ (e.g. *paynas*= 'to help'), or unpredictable semantics. Therefore, these suffixes belong to the derivational, rather than the inflectional part of the grammar. The suffixes of diathesis may accumulate.

³¹ For verbs that in the present material only occur in derived forms (e.g. *qowat*= 'to thank'), reference to an otherwise confirmed simplex form will be made in the vocabulary section.

6.5.1. Causative/transitive suffixes (CAUS)

Western Yugur contains a number of causative/transitive suffixes, most of which are not productive, except for *-t* and to some extent *-t̄ir*. The causative/transitive suffixes cover several functions: causative, transitive, permissive, intensive.

The suffix *-t* is affixed to verbs ending in a vowel, e.g. *pezit=* 'to raise' (*pezi=* 'to grow up'), *tu^hkit=* 'to put an end to' (*tu^hki=* 'to come to an end'), *t̄irlit=* 'to revive (somebody)' (*t̄irli=* 'to revive'), *qowat=* 'to thank'. The suffix *-t* is also affixed to verbs ending in *-r*, e.g. *olirt=* 'to let stay' (*olir=* 'to stay'), *ezert=* 'to lead' (*ezer=* 'to follow').

The suffix *-t̄ir* occurs in e.g. *mant̄ir=* 'to put on' (*man=* 'to wear'), *mañt̄ir=* 'to cause to go; to drive (a car)' (*mañ=* 'to walk'), *q^halt̄ir=* 'to drop' (*q^hal=* 'to fall'), *unt̄ir=* 'to take out' (*un=* 'to come out'), *p̄ilt̄ir=* 'to let know' (*p̄il=* 'to know'), *p^hert̄ir=* 'to cause to beat' (*p^her=* 'to beat'), *tit̄ir=* 'to cause to say' (*ti=* 'to say'), *yant̄ir=* 'to vomit' (*yan=* 'to vomit'), *aȳitt̄ir=* 'to bring to a stop' (*aȳit=* 'to come to a stop'), *th^hat̄ir=* 'to let guess' (*th^ha=* 'to guess'), *th^hamt̄ir=* 'to set fire to', *q^hant̄ir=* 'to cook'.

Petrified causative/transitive suffixes are:

-*it*: *u^hk̄it=* 'to frighten, to scare' (*u^hk=* 'to be frightened'), *q^ho^hrq̄it=* 'to threaten' (*q^ho^hrq=* 'to be afraid'), *k̄o^hk̄it=* 'to show'.

-*ir*: *pa^ht̄ir=* 'to lose' (*pa^ht=* 'to become lost'), *to^hȳir=* 'to let give birth' (*to^hy=* 'to be born; to give birth'), *ȳül̄ir=* 'to kill' (*ȳül=* 'to die'), *i^hçir=* 'to give to drink' (*i^hs=* 'to drink'), *tus̄ir=* 'to make descend' (*tus=* 'to descend'), *ya^hs̄ir=* 'to hide (somebody)' (*ya^hs=* 'to hide (oneself)'), *s̄iñ̄ir=* 'to swallow'.

-*is*: *yim̄is=* 'to suckle' (*yim=* 'to suck').

-*Gir*: *eh^hk̄ir=* 'to cause to arrive' (*eh^ht=* 'to arrive'), *tho^hzȳir=* 'to fill'.

-*ar*: *qowar=* 'to erect' (*qo^hp=* 'to rise'), *yüntar=* 'to bring together' (*yüm̄it=* 'to come together').

The following causative/transitive formations have a corresponding reflexive/detransitive, but no simplex stem: *uz^hyar=* 'to cause to wake up, to wake someone up' (*uz^hyan=* 'to wake up'), *yöryit=* 'to teach' (*yöryin=* 'to learn').

In the following words, the causative/causative suffix *-t* functions as an intensive: *a^hsirt=* 'to sneeze', *kikirt=* 'to belch', *p^hoqirt=* 'to jump' (*p^hoqir=*), *surt=* 'to smear'.

6.5.2. The reflexive/detransitive suffixes (RFL)

The reflexive suffixes are *-(i)n*, *-L̄i*, and *-(i)l*; they express an action pertaining to oneself, e.g. *al̄in=* 'to take along' (*al=* 'to take'), or may function as a detransitivizer, e.g. *s̄in=* 'to break, to become broken' (*s̄i=* 'to break (something)'); *aȳnal=* 'to be audible' (*anna=* 'to hear'). There are a few instances in which the suffixes *-L̄i*³² and *-l* can be translated by a passive, e.g. *tiolal=* 'to be hoisted' (*tiola=* 'to hoist (something)'), *soq̄il=* 'to be constructed' (*soq=* 'to construct').

The suffix *-l* follows vowels, e.g. *o^hqal=* 'to smell' (*o^hqa=* 'to smell something'), *p^hiolal=* 'to float', *yolal=* 'to show off', *ç^hstal=* 'to shine'.

³² Both suffixes have historically developed from the passive suffix *-(i)l*.

The petrified suffix *-Lī* occurs in *ahstī=* 'of the sky to become clear' (*ahs=* 'to open'), *ahsīrlī=* 'to trip' (*ahsīr=* 'to overturn'), *azīrlī=* 'to divide' (*azīr=* 'to divide'), *yōrlī=* 'to turn (oneself) around', *tīrlī=* 'to revive'.

The suffix *-(i)n* also occurs in e.g. *sōyn=* 'to be happy', *yaqīn=* 'to cover', *saqīn=* 'to think'.

The following reflexive formations have a corresponding causative/transitive, but no simplex: *yōryīn=* 'to learn' (*yōryit=* 'to teach'), *uzyān=* 'to wake up, to become awake' (*uzyār=* 'to wake up somebody').

6.5.3. The reciprocal suffix (REC)

The reciprocal suffix, *-(i)s-*, expresses mutual action, e.g. *yilyās=* 'to cry together' (*yilya=* 'to cry'), *qaylas=* 'to run together' (*qayla=* 'to run'), *poztas=* 'to moo together', or an action pertaining to one another, e.g. *ohqas=* 'to smell at one another' (*ohqa=* 'to smell').

Further examples are: *ahētīs=* 'to make war' (*ahēt=* 'to shoot'), *ehētīs=* 'to overtake' (*ehēt=* 'to arrive'), *pherīs=* 'to fight' (*pher=* 'to beat'), *tīs=* 'to discuss' (*tī=* 'to say'), *as=* 'to exchange' (*al=* 'to take'), *ulis=* 'to share' (*uli=* 'to share'), *īstas=* 'to resemble one another, to equal' (*īsta=* 'to resemble'), *thuktīs=* 'to meet with', *paḡnas=* 'to help'.

6.5.4. Accumulation of diathesis suffixes

Accumulation of the diathesis suffixes occurs in e.g. *antīr=* 'to cause to take along' (causative of *alīn=* ~ *an=* 'to take along', reflexive of *al=* 'to take'), *ahsīrlī=* 'to trip, to fall', (reflexive of *ahsīr=* 'to turn open; to overturn', causative of *ahs=* 'to pass'), *tīrlīt=* 'to cause to revive' (causative of *tīrlī=* 'to revive' (a reflexive formation)).

In the following instances the reciprocal suffix *-(i)s* is followed by the causative/transitive suffix *-tīr* (functioning as an intensive) to express the notion of 'a bit, around': *qarastīr=* 'to look a bit, to browse' (*qara=* 'to look'), *teyīstīr=* 'to feel around a bit, to grope' (*tey=* 'to touch'), *yüstīr=* 'to wash a bit' (*yü=* 'to wash'), *ṣartīstīr=* 'to cut up a bit' (*ṣart=* 'to break to bits').

6.5.5 The negative verb suffix (NEG)

The negative verb suffix *-MA* immediately follows the (extended) root. It forms a negative verb, and occurs with the imperative, the past tense *-(h)tī*, the narrative past *-GAN*, the conditional *-sA*, the converb *-GA*, and the participle *-GAN*. Elsewhere, negation is incorporated into a portmanteau suffix. The verb *qīta=* 'can, to be able' is negated by means of the verb *yata=* 'cannot, to be unable'.

<i>tuht-ma!</i>	don't! do not do it! (hold-NEG)
<i>kör-mi-htī</i>	I did not see (see-NEG-PAST)
<i>tahq-pa-yantī</i>	did not find (find-NEG-NAR _{ev})
<i>suz-mi-si</i>	if it does not butt (butt-NEG-COND)

6.6. Verbal noun suffixes

The verbal noun suffix **-MA** is the most productive verbal noun suffix; it displays a wide array of functions and is in the process of usurping the functions of several other suffixes. The verbal noun suffix **-Gĩqĩ** occurs with some frequency. Most of the other verbal nouns are more restricted in their use and do not seem to be productive.

6.6.1. The verbal noun suffix **-MA** (VN)

The most productive verbal noun suffix in Western Yugur is **-MA**³³. Older speakers observe consonant assimilation of **-M**, but younger speakers often do not, e.g. **yiz soqpa** ~ **yiz soqma** 'weaver' (fabric beat-VN).

The suffix **-MA** forms nouns indicating professions and agents, e.g. **ezertpi** 'leader' (**ezert=** 'to lead'), **satpa** 'merchant' (**sat=** 'to sell') It replaces the agent suffix **-çĩ** (see 4.5.2.). Often the verbal noun takes an object.

temĩr soq-pa	smith (iron beat-VN) (for temĩrçĩ)
yiz soq-pa	weaver (fabric beat-VN)
mal qara-ma	herdsman (livestock look-VN) (for malçĩ)
mal o^hqar-ma	herdsman (livestock pasture-VN) (for malçĩ)
yiz tĩ^hk-pi	tailor (fabric sew-VN)
kim qara-ma	doctor (disease look-VN) ³⁴
yer tar-ma	farmer (land cultivate-VN)
õrçi sat-pa	merchant (thing sell-VN)
qayma sat-pa	whore (cunt sell-VN)
ĩs tu^ht-pa	worker (work hold-VN)
yik^hi q^haqhta-ma	lazybones (rib dry-VN)

The suffix **-MA** forms nouns indicating an object, implement, or action, e.g. **tizma** 'writer; pen; the act of writing' (**tiz=** 'to write'), **kũhtĩrmi** 'carrying belt' (**kũhtĩr=** 'to carry'), **yõrmi** 'braid' (**yõr=** 'to braid'), **şĩrtimi** 'charm, spell' (**şĩrti=** 'to curse'), **phoqĩrma** 'dance; dancing' (**phoqĩr=** 'to dance'). These nouns may also occur with an object.

o^ht yaz-ma	straw mat (grass spread-VN)
paş yũ-ma	shampoo (head wash-VN)

The suffix **-MA** is also used adnominally, and again may take an object.

yerla-ma kĩsĩ	singer (sing-VN person)
pĩ^htĩy yõryĩn-mi mĩla-lir	students (book study-VN child-PL)
yiz tĩ^hk-pi kĩsĩ	tailor (fabric sew-VN person)
sĩk qara-ma kĩsĩ	guard (door look-VN person)
ĩs tu^ht-ma yer	working place (work do-VN place)
temĩr soq-pa yũ	forge, smithy (iron beat-VN house)

³³ A similar suffix **-MA** occurs in Eastern Yugur (cf Ĵunast 1981: 37).

³⁴ Replacing the older form *emçl* (cf Léi 1992: 26a).

The suffix -MA functions as a supine, replacing the future participle -*ir* (see 6.4.3.).
yahs-ma yer hiding place, a place to hide (hide-VN place)
khaŋ-qa yaz-ma sizi a mat to spread on the kang (kang-DAT spread-VN mat)
yaymür yay-ma khun-nir-ti during the rainy days (rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC)

6.4.6. The future agent suffix (VNAG)

The future agent suffix -*Giči* indicates a future action of an agent. It is lexicalized in *qholqiči* 'beggar' (*qhol*= 'to beg of, to ask for').

The suffix -*Giči* occurs adnominally to express a purpose of the head noun. For an alternative construction with the future participle -*ir*, see 6.4.3.

par-yiči kisi yoq-ti there is no one to go, nobody will go
 go-VNAG person not.present-EV
pu pihitiy-ni al-yiči kisi par mo? are there people who will buy this book?
 this book-ACC take-VNAG person present Q

The suffix -*Giči* occurs in collocation with the verb *pol*= 'to become, to be' to express the notion 'to feign to, to pretend to'.

qara-yiči pol= to pretend to look (look-VNAG become)
maŋ-qiči pol= to pretend to go (walk-VNAG become)

6.6.3. Remaining verbal noun suffixes

The verbal noun suffix -(*Gi*)*ş* forms mostly instruments: *tuhtqış* 'potholder; chop sticks' (*tuht*= 'to hold'), *tabrtqış* 'scales' (*tabrt*= 'to pull, to weigh'), *işkiş* 'beverage, food' (*iş*= 'to drink'), *yış* 'food' (*yi*= 'to eat'), *yüş* 'cleaning towel' (*yü*= 'to wash'), *portaş* 'fodder' (*porta*= 'to feed'), *phutiş* 'flute' (*phuti*= 'to whistle').

The verbal noun suffix -(*a*)*çan* occurs in three instances: *qohrqaçan* 'who fears too much' (*qohrq*= 'to fear'), *yüataçan* 'who is too shy' (*yüat*= 'to be shy'), *lotičan* 'who talks too much, chatterbox' (*lotila*= 'to chatter').

Other, petrified verbal noun suffixes are:

-(*i*)*y* (forming adjectives and substantives): *açiy* 'bitter, sharp' (*açi*= 'to be worried'), *işiy* 'warm' (*işi*= 'to be warm'), *örliy* 'high' (*örli*= 'to stand'), *pisiy* 'boiled; ripe' (*pis*= 'to boil; to be ripe'), *tatiy* 'tasty, sweet' (*tati*= 'to taste'), *yüliy* 'dead' (*yül*= 'to die'), *tiriy* 'alive' (related to *tirli*= 'to revive'), *tabrtiy* 'rope' (*tabrt*= 'to pull'), *tariy* 'grain' (*tar*= 'to sow'), *yimiy* 'breast' (*yim*= 'to suck'), *pihtiy* 'book', *qahtiy* 'hard'.

-*ki*: *kizki* 'clothes' (*kiz*= 'to dress').

-(*i*)*K*: *pezik* 'big' (*pezi*= 'to be big'), *yütirik* 'cough' (*yütir*= 'to cough'), *qhalaq* 'eyelid, blinker' (*qhala*= 'to cover'), *sitik* 'urine', *thelk* 'hole', *ohsiriq* 'fart'.

-(*i*)*m*: *alim* 'debt' (*al*= 'to take'), *manim* 'part of a dress' (*man*= 'to wear').

-*maq*: *thazmaq* 'riddle', *yazmaq* 'pancake' (*yaz*= 'to spread').

-*yaq*: *oryaq* 'sickle' (*or*= 'to harvest').

-*ek*: *phekek* 'hunchback' (*phok*= 'to bend').

-*çiq*: *yaqinçiq* 'blanket' (*yaqin*= 'to cover with a blanket').

7. Syntax

7.1. Internal organization of the noun phrase

Noun phrases are structured according to the principle that a modifier precedes the head noun. There is no agreement between demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and the following head noun.

The general order of elements within the noun phrase is presented below. A qualifying genitive or attributive noun occurs before anything else; these may be qualified by other nouns in their turn.

noun-KI

demonstrative numeral adjective head

noun-GEN

Adjective + substantive:

<i>çar tahqayī</i>	a meagre chicken
<i>mıca qohqas</i>	a small bird
<i>ehrkik išt</i>	a male dog
<i>tīsī aht</i>	a female horse
<i>siki çar poz</i>	a slender, meagre body
<i>kīsī-līy yer</i>	an inhabited place (person-ADJ place)

Adjective constructions with *yoq* 'not present, without, -less':

<i>ana yoq şat</i>	a motherless calf (mother not.present calf)
<i>ana-ŋ yoq mīla</i>	a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)

Numeral + substantive:

<i>uş qız</i>	three girls (three girl)
<i>saqīs-yiyirmī çozī</i>	eighteen sedans (eight-twenty sedan)
<i>naqī pīr çazī</i>	yonder one family

Numeral + measure noun + substantive:

<i>pīr pohqça kükişkin</i>	a bag full of pigeons (one bag pigeon)
<i>pīr phenzī iht</i>	a plate of meat (one plate meat)
<i>pīr arkan qhan</i>	a chest full of blood (one chest blood)
<i>pīr tīp halyar</i>	a pad of dung (one pad dung)
<i>pīr tuan şicēn</i>	a period of time (one period time)
<i>pīr tuey aht</i>	a pair of horses (one pair horse)

Incidentally, Chinese classifiers occur in Western Yugur, especially when following a Chinese numeral and preceding a noun of Chinese etymology.

<i>pīr tuo xuar</i>	a flower (one piece flower)
<i>pīr thio yür</i>	a fish (one twig fish)

sī pa kī ɕo (~ *saqīs-yiyīrmī ɕo*) eighteen sedans
 ten eight piece sedan (~ eight-twenty sedan)
liarj kī tiocɛn (~ *īškī tiocɛn*) two conditions
 two piece condition (~ two condition)

An unusual construction occurs in the following idioms, in which a head noun is followed by a modifier. These idioms probably arose from a predicate sentence.

yahs-kīhɕiy erin a young man (age-small man)
ihɕikī-pezik pregnant (belly-big)
pu kīsī unkin-zūq-tī this person is ugly (this person exterior-bad-EV)
pīr yahs-emis, zīq yotal a poorly done, bad job (one good-is.not bad job)
pu qatīn-ī kōñil-yūs-i-tī this wife of his was bad-natured
 this wife-POS3 heart-bad-COP-EV

When a noun is qualified by another substantive, a genitive suffix is attached to the qualifying noun; a third person possessive suffix may be attached to the head noun but is not obligatory.

tahqayī-nīñ yūñ the feather of a chicken (chicken-GEN feather)
ana-nīñ qoy-n-ta at mother's bosom (mother-GEN bosom-LOC)
köz-tīñ yahs a tear of the eye (eye-GEN tear)
köz-tīñ qaraq-ī the pupil of the eye (eye-GEN pupil-POS3)
mal-lir-nīñ ahrq-ī the shit of livestock (livestock-PL-GEN shit-POS3)

Compounds are formed by juxtaposing nouns in the unmarked case¹.

qīzaqa elder sister (*qīz* 'girl', *aqqa* 'elder brother')
su qīzīy water side (water side)
pīšt ahrq nit (louse shit)
qarq thelk nostril (nose hole)
soqpa kīltīñ gruel (barley broth)

Especially when calquing nouns from Chinese, compound constructions, rather than genitive construction are used, as in e.g. the following nonce loans.

sariy šīyan törtīñ weasel (yellow mouse wolf)
 <Ch huángshūláng (huáng 'yellow', shǔ 'mouse', láng 'wolf')
ot yiltīs spark (fire star) <Ch huǒxīng (huǒ 'fire', xīng 'star')

Speakers alternate between compounding and using a genitive construction. Compare:

ciyin intaq donkey dung (donkey equine.dung)
ah-tīñ intaq-ī dung of the horse, horse dung (horse-GEN equine.dung-POS3)
qoy azaq sheep's foot (sheep foot)
qoy-nīñ put leg of a sheep, sheep's leg (sheep-GEN leg)
qīz kizkī women's clothes (girl clothes)
khempīš-tīñ kizkī clothes of a woman, women's clothes (woman-GEN clothes)
terik lawīr the leaf of a tree (tree leaf)
terik-tīñ lawīr-ī the leaf of a tree (tree-GEN leaf-POS3)

¹ The construction N + N-POS, common in Turkic languages, does not occur in Western Yugur.

Some examples of multiple modifiers:

<i>kīsī-nīḡ pīr yikhī-sī</i>	one rib of the person
person-GEN one rib-POS3	
<i>mīla-nīḡ pu toqīr nīmī-sīn</i>	this round thing of the child
child-GEN this round thing-POS3ACC	
<i>inaq-tīḡ a^hltīr-īḡ-ta-qī toqīr aq nīmī</i>	the round, white thing under the blanket
blanket-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI round white thing	
<i>pezīk kuan-nīḡ a^hltīr-īn-ta-qī miça kuan</i>	a petty official under the big official
big official-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI little official	

Some exceptions in the order of elements do occur.

<i>pīr kī^hçiq qīz-tīḡ a^htīmaq</i>	one little finger of the little girl
one small girl-GEN little.finger	

In spatial noun constructions (see 7.1.2.), no other nouns occur between the spatial noun and the preceding qualifying substantive.

<i>ku uş <u>thay-nīḡ üsīn-tī</u></i>	on top of those three mountains
DEM three mountain-GEN upside/POS3-LOC	
<i>pu yüenwey-nīḡ <u>sīk-tīḡ u^htīr-īn-ta</u></i>	in front of the door of this official
this official-GEN door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC	
<i>tīs-tīḡ <u>qhapaq-tīḡ üsīn-tī</u></i>	on top of the lid of the cauldron
cauldron-GEN lid-GEN upside/POS3-LOC	

Nouns that round up an enumeration follow the head noun.

<i>kumpinso, a^hltīmso, çoryawaş <u>uş kīsī</u></i>	
Kumbinso Altımso Chorgawash three person	
Kumbinso, Altımso and Chorgawash, these three (the three of them)	
<i>pu cona, şīyan, şoryī^hlçīn, mīla <u>xosī-ya pu sīk qara-ma kīsī-ḡi antay ti-ḡintī</u></i>	
this wasp mouse ant boy all-PCL1 this door look-VN person-DAT that/EQU say-NARev	
then these wasps, mouse, ants, and boy all said thus to this guard	

7.1.2. The spatial noun phrase

The spatial nouns are *üzi* 'upside', *a^hltīr* 'underside', *u^htīr* 'frontside', *art* 'backside', *īş* 'inside', *tas* 'outside', *ara* 'the space between', *o^hrta* 'middle', *yan* 'side', and *qaht* 'side'. The obsolescent spatial noun *p^horn* 'front' now mainly occurs as a postposition 'before' (see 5.9.), or as an adverb *p^horn^hta* 'before', *p^hornīḡqa* 'in front, ahead' (see 5.8.).

When suffixed with a dative, locative or ablative case suffix, spatial nouns function as adverbs of space.

<i><u>u^htīr-ta</u> pīr <u>thay par-i-tī</u></i>	there is a mountain in front
frontside-LOC one mountain present-is-EV	
<i><u>sunçaḡ anīḡ k^heln-ī <u>ta^hs-qa yazīr-it-ittī titī</u></u></i>	
chief that/GEN wife-POS3 outside-DAT run-QUI-PASTev say/DUB	
the chief said that his wife had run away (lit. to the outside)	

The spatial nouns are also employed to specify the the spatial dimensions of the dative, locative or ablative case of other nouns. The spatial nouns are qualified by a noun in the genitive case and take a third person possessive, followed by a dative, locative, or ablative suffix.

<i>inaq-tiŋ a^hltir-iŋ-qa</i>	under the blanket (blanket-GEN underside-POS3-DAT)
<i>lou-niŋ üsün-ti</i>	on top of the building (building-GEN upside/POS3-LOC)
<i>su-niŋ i^hc-in-tin</i>	from within the water (water-GEN inside-POS3-ABL)
<i>iški-niŋ obrta-sün-ta</i>	between the two (two-GEN middle-POS3-LOC)

The spatial noun *iš* 'inside' currently occurs more often as a clitic (see 4.4.1.) than in a spatial noun construction.

Incidentally, a spatial noun is preceded by a qualifying noun in the unmarked case, or occurs without a third person possessive; these clipped constructions tend to be limited to figurative expressions.

<i>kisī-niŋ u^htir-ta</i>	in the face of person (person frontside-LOC)
<i>sik art-ta</i>	stealthily (lit. behind the door) (door behind-LOC)
<i>q^han a^hltir-in-ta-qī yüenwey</i>	an official under the khan
khan underside-POS3-LOC-KI official	

The spatial noun *üzi* 'upside', may occur without a third person possessive suffix, especially in the speech of older people. Most younger speakers, however, use the contracted form *üsü(n)-*, which does contain a third person possessive.

<i>tis-tiŋ üzi-ki</i>	onto the top of the cauldron (cauldron-GEN upside-DAT)
<i>luzi-niŋ üsiŋ-ki</i>	onto the top of the stove (stove-GEN upside/POS3-DAT)

The spatial noun *art* 'backside' generally does not take a possessive suffix, and is qualified by a noun in the unmarked case. It is lexicalized in *quratta* 'behind the fence' (< *quran artta*).

<i>thay art-ta</i>	behind the mountain (mountain behind-LOC)
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The spatial nouns *yan* 'side', and *qah^t* 'side' do not take a possessive suffix.

<i>malqī-niŋ qah^t-qa</i>	near the herdsman (herdsman-GEN side-DAT)
<i>su-niŋ qah^t-qa</i>	next to the water (water-GEN side-DAT)
<i>luzi-niŋ yan-qa</i>	next to the stove (stove-GEN side-DAT)

A spatial noun may occur without preceding qualifying noun. The third person possessive functions as a referent to an earlier mentioned noun, or may implicate a noun like 'this, here, now', or may be regarded as forming an idiomatic adverb.

<i>men ta^hs-in-ta aŋna-htī</i>	I heard outside (I outside-POS3-LOC heard-PAST)
<i>o art-in-ta ni-ma tu^ht-qimistī</i>	in the future, s/he will not do anything
that backside-POS3-LOC what-PCL3 do-FUT ^{NeV}	
<i>art-iŋ-qa thunna-ma-sa yür-tī</i>	if it does not move backwards, it is a fish
backside-POS3-DAT move.back-NEG-COND fish-EV	
<i>i^hc-iŋ-ki cuanna-yantī</i>	s/he made his way in
inside-POS3-DAT make.one's.way.into-NAR ^{Ev}	

pu mīla ohrta-sīŋ-qa khīr-it-qanta when this child entered their middle
 this child middle-POS3-DAT enter-QUI-CTMP
enik tahs-īŋ-qa hanī-ya yoq po-xanī-γantī
 cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO not.present become-TER-NARev
 the cow went out and disappeared

In the present material, the spatial noun *ara* 'the space between' is encountered only in the grammatical construction -GAN(*nīŋ*) *arata*, which functions as a temporal converb 'just as, at the moment when' (see 6.4.1.1.). It consists of the present/past participle -GAN (+ the genitive case -*nīŋ*) + *ara* + the locative case -*ta*. This construction is generally replaced by the adverbs *caŋ* 'just' or *ciŋthou* 'by the time when' + the temporal converb -GANTA 'when'.

ku puya kel-in saqin-qan-nīŋ ara-ta-la, men eht-tī
 DEM this/DAT come-IMP1sg think-PP-GEN between-LOC-PCL2 I arrive-PAST
 just as s/he intended to come here, I arrived

kheln-ī sut-īn al-uh-t-qan ara-ta as-xanī-γantī, kuziyī-sī
 wife-POS3 milk-POS3ACC take-COM-PP between-LOC cross-TER-NARev husband-POS3
 just as his wife had taken away her milk, her husband had crossed [the
 mountain]

The adverb *phornta* 'before', locative of the obsolescent spatial noun *phorn* 'front', occurs in the spatial noun construction -*nīŋ phornta* to express a temporal converb 'before'.

alar ezertpi-nī qara-ma-yan-nīŋ phornta-la alar-nī maŋ-tīr-ma
 that/PL chief-ACC see-NEG-PP-GEN before-PCL2 that/PL-ACC walk-CAUS-NEG
 do not let them leave before they have seen the chief

In addition to the spatial nouns, the nouns *paš* 'head, top', *azaq* 'foot', and *tīp* 'base, lower end, bottom, root' may determine spatial location. Apparently no genitive case on the qualifying noun and no possessive on the spatial noun is required.

soqa tīp-ti at the root of the soqa grass (soqa.grass base-LOC)
thay-nīŋ tīp-ti at the foot of the mountain (mountain-GEN base-LOC)

antaqanta pu kumīs-tī ahtīm salīy-tī, tīw-īŋ-ki qhal-xanī-γantī
 then this silver-AND gold heavy-EV base-POS3-DAT fall-TER-NARev
 then this silver and gold were heavy, and sank to the bottom of the [water]

kw pīhtiy-nī qozīwas-qa (< qozī paš-qa) suwat-ittī
 DEM book-ACC table.top-DAT put/FIN-PASTev
 s/he put the book down onto the table
īškī pezīk qīztar khazaq-qa (< khaŋ azaq-qa) uzī-γantī
 two big girl kang.foot-DAT sleep-NARev
 the two big girls slept along the foot of the kang

7.2. Complements of the verb

7.2.1. Causative-passive constructions

Causative verbs express causativity or permission, and occur in the present material with up to three actants: the causer is expressed by the unmarked case, functioning as the subject, the causee is expressed by the dative case, and the object is expressed by the accusative case.

men selir-yi oyna-t-qimis

I will not let you play

I you/PL-DAT play-CAUS-FUTN

kw uzi-niñ kizki-ni kisi-yi poz-tir-itti

DEM self-GEN clothes-ACC person-DAT dye-CAUS-PASTev

s/he made (let) a person (someone) dye his/her own clothes

s/he had his/her own clothes dyed by a person (someone)

Causative verbs can also indicate a passive: the patient is expressed by the unmarked case, and the agent by the dative case.

mej aqa cona-ya tisti-t-itti

my elder brother was stung by a wasp

my elder.brother wasp-DAT sting-CAUS-PASTev

khim-ki pher-tir-tti?

by whom has s/he been beaten?

who-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev

mila nati yily-vti? o aqa-siñ-qa pher-tir-tti

child why cry-PROGev that father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev

why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten by his/her father

ih̄t qayta-tir? ih̄t yi-wat-itti. khim-ki yi-tir-iwat-itti? ist-qa yi-tir-iwat-itti

meat where-EX meat eat-FIN-PASTev who-DAT eat-CAUS-FIN-PASTev dog-DAT

eat-CAUS-FIN-PASTev

where is the meat? [someone] has eaten the meat. by whom has it been eaten?

it has been eaten by the dog

ist qayta-tir? o yoqqha-tti. o nal-ya yoqqha-tti? cımaq-qa pher-tir-yi yoqqha-tti

dog where-EX that die-PASTev that what.do-CCO die-PASTev stick-DAT beat-CAUS-CCO

die-PASTev

where is the dog? it died. how come it died? it died because it was beaten by a

stick

One speaker, however, used the accusative case to express the patient.

mej aqin-ni siñkik-ki tisti-t-itti

my elder brother was stung by a fly

me/GEN elder.brother/POS1-ACC fly-DAT bite-CAUS-PASTev

anı aqa-siñ-qa pher-tir-tti

s/he has been beaten by his/her father

that/ACC father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev

The agent does not need to be expressed.

mila nati yily-vti? pher-tir-tti

why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten

child why cry-PROGev beat-CAUS-PASTev

sen mınta qhalsa sen yülir-t-kıstı

if you stay here, you will be killed

you this/LOC stay-COND you kill-CAUS-FUTev

selir mīnta qʰal-yan po-sa selir yülir-t-kīštī

you/PL this/LOC stay-PP becoem-COND you/PL kill-CAUS-FUT_{ev}
if you had stayed here, you would have been killed

These causative-passive constructions are not frequent, however. Often, an elicited passive clause is rephrased by speakers of Western Yugur. Compare:

o aça-siŋ-qa pʰer-tir-tti s/he has been beaten by his/her father
that father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PAST_{ev}

kʷ anī soq-itti s/he beat him/her (DEM that/ACC beat-PAST_{ev})

o kīsī anī pʰer-iwat-itti that person beat him/her up
that person that/ACC beat-FIN-PAST_{ev}

7.2.2. The imperative as a verbal complement

The verb *ti=* 'to say' preceded by an imperative of the second person means 'to tell someone to, to order someone to'.

kel ti= to tell to come, to invite (come say)

kolar-ya maŋ ti tell them to go (DEM/PL-DAT go say)

maya ti-mi ti-yin s/he told me not to say (me/DAT say-NEG say-NAR)

The verb *saqin=* 'to want to, to intend to' takes the imperative of the first person as a complement; the negation takes the negative habitual -MAS.

kelin saqin= to want to come, to intend to come

kimis saqin= not want to come, not intend to come

men senī pīr tun pʰer-in saqin-atī I would like to give you a beating

I you/ACC one beating beat-IMP1_{sg} think-DUB

kolar senī kōr-in saqin-iptī they wanted to see you

DEM/PL you/ACC see-IMP1_{sg} think-PAST_{ev}

chunçaŋ ki-mis saqin-itti the chief did not intend to come

chief come-HABN think-PAST_{ev}

miz tayin lençou-ya par-in (~ par-inī) saqin-qan

we tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT go-IMP1_{sg} (~ go-IMP1_{pl}) think-NAR

we intended to go to Lánzhōu tomorrow

The verb *saqin=* 'to want to, to intend to' takes the imperative of the third person + a direct object as a complement to expresses 'to want someone to'.

men anī yoqqa-ye saqin-iti I would like him/her to die, I hope s/he dies

I that/ACC die-IMP3 think-DUB

The verbs *paŋnas=* 'to help to', and *minti=* 'to be busy with' do not occur with a complement but are themselves expressed as a complement in a converb phrase.

menīŋ nüʰker maya paŋnas-o pīr yü qhala-htī

me/GEN friend me/ACC help-CSIM one house build-PAST

my friend helped me building a house

men minti-o pīr yü tili-htī I was busy looking for a house

I be.busy-CSIM one house look.for-PAST

7.2.3. A clause as a verbal complement

The perception verbs *saqin*= 'to think that', *pil*= 'to know (whether, how to)', *kör*= 'to see (whether)', take an independent clause as their complement.

antaqanta phey çhila-yantî: kueywu toy-ittî saqin-qantî

then beg be.angry-NARev monster be.born-PASTev think-NARev

then the beg became angry, he thought that a monster was born

thurti yahs-iraq pol-yis mi am tahqî pil-mistî

next.year good-COMP become-FUT Q now yet know-HABN

I do not now know yet whether it will be better next year

nayv cila-s-i men tahqî pil-mis

I do not know yet how to post it

how post-FUT-COP I yet know-HABN

niyor mi po-yan-i pil-mistî

what has become of it, I would not know

how Q become-NAR-COP know-DUBN

am tahqî pil-mistî, kw thawaq-tar maya pîr yû per-yis mi per-yîmis mi

now yet know-HABN DEM robber-PL me/DAT one house give-FUT Q give-FUTN Q

I still don't know now whether those crooks are going to give me a house or not

7.2.4. Instance

A measure noun can express an instance of the following verb. Chinese classifiers also occur in this function.

pîr azaq kaḡna=

to give a kick (one foot kick)

pîr qîlis sal=

to give a blow with the sword (one sword put)

pîr tun pher=

to give a beating (one beating beat)

pîr tun küsi=

to chew a long time (one meal chew)

7.2.5. Double accusatives

Some speakers use a double accusative construction with nominalized clauses: instead of expressing the subject of the nominalized clause in the unmarked case, and the nominalized clause in the accusative case, both arguments occur as an accusative complement of the main verb. Compare:

kḡim sen ayîl-ya par-yan-nî köhr-tî?

who saw that you went to the village?

who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

kḡim senî chunzî-ya par-yan-nî köhr-tî?

who saw you going to the village?

who you/ACC village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

antaqanta îskî qîztar qayl-it-qan-nî pil-yintî

then two girl run-QUI-PP-ACC know-NARev

then [s/he] knew that the two girls had run away

kw menî ti-yin-nî pil-si

if s/he knows I told it

DEM me/ACC tell-PP-ACC know-COND

A construction with two direct objects may also arise in the case of verbs that take a dummy object.

ana-sĩ ahti mĩla yimiy yimis-oti the mother is suckling her baby
 mother-POS3 small child breast suckle-PROG_{EV}

ana-ŋ mĩla sut imis-oti the mother is suckling the child
 mother-POS1/2 child milk suckle-PROG_{EV}

thunzi-nĩ miz-tiŋ sunzi-ta-qĩ khempistiŋ-lir su al-ma-tĩ
 bucket-ACC we-GEN village-LOC-KI woman-PL water take-VN-EV
 buckets are used by the women in our village to fetch water

7.2.6. Conditional verb phrase

Conditional verbs occur in a number of clause structures, and express indefiniteness, adverbs of manner, and irrealis.

An interrogative in a conditional clause followed by an interrogative in the main clause expresses an indefinite pronoun.

qaya par-sa qaya par go wherever you like (whither go-COND whither go)
no-sa no-ye whatever will be, whatever may happen

what.be-COND what.be-IMP3

sen meni nayv yi-si nayv yi eat me however you like, as you like
 you me/ACC how eat-COND how eat

qaya eht-si qanta ims-v qita-s you will be able to use it wherever you get
 whither arrive-COND where use-CSIM can-FUT

nici kisĩ yoz-sa-la nici kisĩ yoq pu-yaq-i-tĩ
 how.many person pass-COND-PCL2 how.many person not.present become-HAB-COP-EV
 whoever passes disappears

khim-ya ani ther-iwal-sa-ya khim-ki kheln po-stĩ
 who-PCL1 that/ACC gather-INC-COND-PCL1 who-DAT wife become-FUT_{EV}
 whoever picks it up will have her as a wife

A conditional clause followed by an adjective in the predicate expresses manner.

o qayla-sa oy-tĩ if s/he runs, it is fast (s/he runs fast)
 that run-COND quick-EV

yi-si yahs-tĩ if one eats it, it is good (it is good to the taste)
 eat-COND good-EV

yi-si yahs emis-tĩ if one eats it, it is not good (it is bad to the taste)
 eat-COND good is.not-EV

The combination of a conditional + *postĩ* expresses 'it would be all right if, it would be better or best if'. One speaker used the past evidential *potti* 'has become, became; all right, enough, sufficient' here.

meŋ aca-ŋ kuni pir tun pher-si po-stĩ
 me/GEN father-POS1/2 DEM/ACC one beating beat-COND become-FUT_{EV}
 it would be best if my father gives him/her a beating

pu mīla khīr muli-tī, yū-ški khīr-mi-si po-stī

this child dirty very-EV house-IN-DAT go-NEG-COND become-FUT_{Ev}

this child is very dirty, it would be best if s/he does not enter the house

sen narsīnta maya yiuti emis et-kin, men saqīn-qa sen yūl-si-ma po-ttī

you actually me/DAT much evil do-NAR I think-CCO you die-COND-PCL3 become-PAST_{Ev}

you actually did much evil to me, so I thought, it would be better if you die

The combination of conditional + the interrogative form *poštīm* (consisting of *poštī* + question particle) expresses 'would it be possible if, is it possible to, could, may'. Instead of the conditional, an imperative may be used.

pu su-nī īs-si po-stī-m?

is it possible to drink this water?

this water-ACC drink-COND become-FUT_{Ev}-Q

men tayīn tanqar ki-si po-stī-m?

may I come tomorrow morning?

I tomorrow morning come-COND become-FUT_{Ev}-Q

men sen ucin oyna-s-in, po-stī-m?

could I play together with you?

I you with play-REC-IMP1_{sg} become-FUT_{Ev}-Q

The form *posa* ~ *pusa* 'if it becomes or is' renders a nominal clause conditional. When it follows the existential noun *par* 'present, there is', a fused form *parusa* occurs.

pu selir-yi kherik po-sa men al-ya selir-yi tiat-in

this you-DAT need become-COND I take-CCO you-DAT send-IMP1_{sg}

if you need this, let me buy and send you one

o yoq pu-sa miz par-min

let us not go without him/her

that not.present become-COND we go-IMP_{Npl}

nī paru-sa-ma kim paru-ma

whatever you may have, do not have diseases

what present/become-COND-PCL3 disease present/become-NEG

The combination of the present/past participle -GAN + *posa* (conditional of *pol=* 'to become, to be') and a future in the main clause expresses an irrealis. One speaker used -GAN *posa* and a past in the main clause here.

kᵛ thoyīn ki-yin po-sa kᵛ kunī kōr-īstī

DEM yesterday come-PP become-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUT_{Ev}

if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her

meḡ aça-ḡ anī pīr tun p^her-yin po-sa-la po-stī

me/GEN father-POS1/2 one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL2 become-FUT_{Ev}

if my father would have given him/her a beating, it would have been best

meḡ aça-ḡ anī pīr tun soq-qan po-sa-ya po-ttī

me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL1 become-PAST_{Ev}

if my father would have given him/her a beating, it would have been best

The following collocation consisting of the habitual participle -GAK + *posa* expresses a wish 'if it could be the case that, if only'.

e, men pīr par-ᵛ cīta-yaq po-sa!

eh, if only I could go once!

EXCL I one go-CSIM can-PHAB become-COND

e, am-la puḡa terik pol-yaq po-sa, yanḡan!

EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts

eh, if only there would be all sorts of trees here now!

7.3. Particles

7.3.1. The copulative particles (COP)

Western Yugur contains several remnants of a copula². The use of copulative particles, however, is obsolescent, and at present, they seem to have acquired different functions as well.

The copulative particle *-i* is used mainly by older speakers, and it still occurs quite frequently in tales; it is generally omitted by younger speakers, however. The copulative particle *-i* occurs especially in sentences containing an existential noun; it may also follow the habitual suffixes *-GAK*, *-MAS*, the present/future suffix *-(G)ĩş*, and the narrative past *-GAN*.

<i>maya kheln par-i</i>	I have a wife (me/DAT wife present-COP)
<i>maya kheln par</i>	I have a wife (me/DAT wife present)
<i>miz yoyır-i</i>	we are Yugur (we Yugur-COP)
<i>miz yoyır</i>	we are Yugur (we Yugur)

<i>mıla cou iş-kik pi? yaq, mıla phıcou iş-mis-i, o su iş-kik-i</i>	child liquor drink-HAB Q no child beer drink-HABN-is that water drink-HAB-COP does a child drink liquor? no, a child doesn't drink beer, he drinks water
<i>men tayın aya iş tuht-qış-i</i>	I tomorrow that/DAT work hold-FUT-COP I will work for him/her tomorrow
<i>men içen mınta pır aq paqa suwat-qan-i</i>	I before this/LOC one white frog put/FIN-PNAR-COP before I released a white frog here

In folk tales, the copulative particle may be followed by an evidential particle³.

<i>pır anika par-i-ti</i>	there was an old woman (one old.woman present-COP-EV)
<i>o uzı ki-yık-i-ti</i>	it used to come by itself (that self come-HAB-COP-EV)
<i>khım-ma tanı-mas-i-ti</i>	nobody could recognize (who-PCL3 recognize-HABN-COP-EV)
<i>kheln al-yış-i-ti</i>	he would take a wife (wife take-FUT-COP-EV)
<i>pu qhan pıl-yın-i-ti</i>	this khan realized (this khan know-NAR-COP-EV)

Furthermore, in sentences containing an interrogative element, the copulative particle *-i* generally occurs following the progressive *-(i)ppar* (which may be contracted into *-(i)ppe < -(i)ppar-i*), the habitual suffix *-GAK*, the present/future *-Gĩş*, and the narrative past *-GAN*.

<i>sen ni iş tuht-ıppar-i?</i>	what are you doing? (you what work do-PRES-COP)
<i>yü-ti niçor kisi par-i</i>	how many people are there in your house?
house-LOC how.much person present-COP	
<i>am nayş-e? (< nal-yış-i)</i>	now what to do? (now what.do/FUT-COP)

² Etymologically, the copulative particles derive from the defective copula **e(r)*= 'to be'.

³ In older sources, these forms are *-me-tro*, *-nime-tro*.

sen qayta toq-qan-i? where were you born? (you where be.born-PNAR-COP)
khīm-ki sīzīr-t-qan-i? by whom was s/he beaten?
 who-DAT beat-CAUS-PNAR-COP

The copulative particle *-i* may occur following a second person imperative to form a more polite or friendlier order:

ahç-uht-i please open it! (open-COM-COP)

The form *yer* 'is' functions as an emphatic copulative; in the present material, it only occurs in a song.

yoyīr qīztar men yer-i a Yugur girl am I (Yugur girl I is-COP)

In modern speech, *yer* only occurs in predicate position meaning 'right, should be, would be best, necessary'⁴.

uz-ir-ma yer-tī to sleep is best (sleep-PFUT-PCL3 right-EV)
menīñ aça-ŋ anī pīr tun p^{her}-si yer-tī
 me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-COND right-EV
 it would be best if my father gives him/her a beating

The particle *emis* 'is not' functions as the negative copula.

men martançī kīsī emis I am not a boastful person (I boastful person is.not)
tatīy emis-tī it is not tasty (tasty is.not-EV)
pu mīz-tīñ ana-ŋ emis-tī this is not our mother
 this we/GEN mother-POS1/2 is.not-EV

The particle *emis* is also used as a noun meaning 'mistake, fault; mistaken, wrong'.

emis yoq kīsī yoq there is no person without a fault
 fault not.present person not.present

7.3.2. The evidential particle (EV)

The evidential particle *-tī* is attached to the predicate noun. When stressed, the particle *-tī* is realized as *-to*; in folk tales, the obsolescent form *-tro* may still occur⁵. The particle *-tī* occurs as a bound morpheme in the suffix of the dubitative (see 6.2.6.), the evidential of the present/future, the progressive and the past (see 6.2.2., 6.2.3., 6.2.4.), and the intensive of the progressive (see 6.2.3.).

pu ni-tī ? what is this? (this what-EV)
pu sīyan mi-tī? is this a mouse? (this mouse Q-EV)
pu sīyan-tī this is a mouse, it is a mouse (this mouse-EV)
semen yahş-tī the food is good (good-EV)
kv qayla-yan oy-tī s/he runs quickly (DEM run-PP quick-EV)
selir xosī menīñ kheçhin-tī you are all my guests (you all I/GEN guest-EV)

⁴ The negative 'not right, should not be, not done' is *koYɔq* (see 5.7.).

⁵ Etymologically, the particle *-tī* derives from the verb *tvr*= 'to stand, to be situated in'.

With a first person as the subject, the evidential particle is not used.

men qayla-yan oy I run quickly (I run-PP quick)
miz yoyir we are Yugur (we Yugur)

7.3.3. The existential particle (EX)

The existential particle *-tir*⁶ only occurs when a locative is present.

maya ti kv qayta-tir tell me where s/he is (me/DAT say DEM where-EX)

ist qayta-tir? where is the dog? (dog where-EX)

kv pinquan-is-ti-tir s/he is in the hotel (DEM hotel-IN-LOC-EX)

kv kunı kör-yi antaqanta o teyli araqinta-tir

DEM DEM/ACC see-CCO then that certainly over.there/LOC-EX

s/he saw it, so s/he was certainly over there

The existential particle *-tir* may combine with the conditional suffix (see 6.1.7.) and with the question marker *-im* (see 6.7.8.).

men-ti menik tir-sa if I have the money (I-LOC money EX-COND)

sen neraqinta theryin tir-im köhr-ti-m? did you see whether there is a car over there?

you over.there/LOC car EX-Q see-PAST-Q

sen ihç-in-ti örci tir-im kör-itı-m? can you see whether there is a thing inside?

you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q

tahs-in-ta ni sosi tir-im antarmi ayna-k ki-yi-kına

outside-POS3-LOC what news EX-Q that.kind.of.thing hear-CON come-CCO-INT

having heard whether there was any news outside and so

There are some examples in which an alternative construction with the existential noun *par* 'present' instead of *-tir*, occurs. It is unclear whether there is a difference in meaning between constructions with *-tir* or with *par*.

meniy ihçiki-s-ti pir aq nimi par there is a white thing in my belly

me/GEN belly-IN-LOC one white thing present

sey yüyal-ma çhi yü qayta par-i? where is your resting tent?

you/GEN rest-VN camel house where present-COP

7.3.4. The contrastive particle *-qa* (PCL4)

The clause particle *-qa* follows nouns; it seems to express contrastive emphasis.

sen-qa ni-sin ti-vti? you are saying what?!

you-PCL4 what-POS3ACC say-PROGev

mini-qa nayi-sa-ma yata-sti whatever he does about this, he will not succeed

this/ACC-PCL4 what.do-COND-PCL3 cannot-FUTev

⁶ Etymologically, the existential particle *-tir* too derives from the verb *tır*= 'to stand, to be situated in'. Apparently, a functional split occurred in the older form *-tro*, and the form *-ti* developed next to *-tro* as an evidential particle and the form *-tir* as an existential particle. This split is not present in the older material.

7.3.5. The dubitative particle (IHKIN)

The dubitative particle *ihkin* follows the finite verb to express 'it is probable, likely, certain, sure that, probably, likely, surely'.

puyin tijir yaq-qimis ihkin

today sky rain-FUTN IHKIN

it is not certain, likely that it will rain today, it surely won't rain today

uzi kil-in saqin-sa uzi ki-sti ihkin

self come-IMP1sg think-COND self come-FUTev IHKIN

s/he would surely come if s/he wants to come

sen puyin antirag yol maq-qa am hab-r-ti ihkin

you today that.much road walk-CCO now be.tired-PAST IHKIN

because you walked so much today, you now surely have become tired

o meni sirti-yi yul-yi ti-ppar-ti ihkin

that me/ACC curse-CCO die-VNFUT say-PROG-EV IHKIN

s/he put a curse on me so that I surely should die

The dubitative particle *mihkin* 'is it probably or likely that, probably' (consisting of the question particle *mi* + *ihkin*) is the question form of *ihkin*.

xuey-ni kheyl-o un-kinti ezertpi muz-ti maq-tir-is mihkin?

meeting-ACC open-CSIM come.out-CTMP chief we-ACC walk-CAUS-FUT Q/IHKIN

will the chief surely let us leave when the meeting is over?

From Chinese, the particle *pa* (~ *wa*) has been borrowed as a dubitative marker.

uzi-yan pa

s/he surely slept (sleep-PNAR surely)

ku semen is-kin pa

s/he surely ate (DEM food eat-PNAR surely)

puyin tijir yaq-qimis wa (~ *ihkin*)

it surely will not rain today

today sky rain-FUTN surely (~ IHKIN)

o mica tur-yas-ya ki-s wa

he surely is going to come shortly

that little stand-CCO-PCL1 come-FUT surely

7.3.6. The intensive particle (INT)

The intensive particle *-ni* follows the finite verb to express emphasis 'certainly, indeed, of course'. Examples are:

ay, men sit-ti min-kisti-ni

well, I would mount the foal of course!

EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT

am qarş-e? khun-ma yay-ipti-ni

now where.to go? the sun has already set indeed!

now whither.go/FUT-COP sun-PCL3 set-PASTev-INT

men pil-yis, men saya ti-p pol-yimisti-ni

I know-FUT I you/DAT say-CON become-FUTNev-INT

I know, [but] I certainly cannot tell you

mej yiyit amihki-la iht-ik ki-s-i-ni

my/GEN young.man presently-PCL1 arrive-CON come-FUT-COP-INT

my son will arrive presently indeed!

7.3.7. The particle *-sa* (PCL5)

The particle *-sa* follows the finite verb. The occurrences in the present material are too few to establish its exact meaning.

pu-sa-sa sen antay ti-ttī but you said thus
 become-COND-PCL5 you that/EQU say-PASTev
am-la pezīk qīz-ī qha-ptī-sa eni par-γantī
 now-PCL2 big girl-POS3 remain-PASTev-PCL5 too go-NARev
 now [only] the eldest girl remained, she went too
pīḡlay un-mintī-sa tħaḡsa ayt-qīla-ttī-sa kīsī 'un-īptī' ti-γintī
 actually come.out-PASTNev-PCL5 advice ask-PUR-PASTev-PCL5 person come.out-PASTev
 say-NARev
 actually, they had not finished it, they had come to ask advice, they [just] said
 'they have finished it'

7.3.8. The question particle (Q)

The question particle *mī* renders an affirmative sentence into an interrogative one, expressing a yes-no question. When stressed, it is pronounced *mō*; older speakers may use the assimilated form *pī* following plosives. Question particles do not occur in sentences having an interrogative.

The question particle may follow nouns, including the existentials *par* 'present' and *yoq* 'not present', the habitual suffix *-GAK*, the present/future *-(Gī)ḡ*, *-Gīmīs*, and the progressive *-(ī)ppar*.

<i>yaḡḡ mī</i> (~ <i>mō</i>)?	hello! (good Q)
<i>pu ḡīyan mī-tī?</i>	is this a mouse? (this mouse Q-EV)
<i>yoḡīr kīsī yilan yi-γīk pī</i> (~ <i>mī</i>)?	do Yugur people eat snake?
Yugur person snake eat-HAB Q	
<i>sen uzī-ppar mī?</i>	are you sleeping? (you sleep-PROG Q)
<i>sen ezertpī-γī īs tuḡt-īppar mī?</i>	are you working for the chief?
you chief-DAT work do-PRES Q	
<i>seḡ kħeln iht tħul-īppar mī?</i>	is your wife cooking meat?
you/GEN wife meat cook-PRES Q	
<i>sen naqī yotal-γa eḡlqī-nī qara-γīla par-γīmīs mī?</i>	
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC see-CPUR go-FUTN Q	
will you not go and see the shaman about that matter?	

The suffix of the past *-(ḡ)tī* and those finite suffixes containing the evidential particle *-tī* (*-(Gī)stī*, *-otī*, *-(ī)ttī*) take *-m* as a question particle. The question particle *-m* is lexicalized in *yam* 'all right?' (*ya* 'all right').

<i>sen yū tuḡt-tī-m?</i>	are you married? (you house hold-PAST-Q)
<i>sen uzī-ḡtī-m?</i>	did you sleep? (you sleep-PAST-Q)
<i>kḡ ki-stī-m?</i>	will s/he come? (DEM come-FUT-Q)

In alternative questions (either x or y), both alternants take the question particle.

sen puyîn mi tayîn mi ta^hqî chunçaŋ-qa kuŋcuola-ş mi?

you today Q tomorrow Q or chief-DAT work-FUT Q

will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?

men quaşî kv ki-ş mi ki-yîmis mi pîl-in saqîn-atî

I very DEM come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q know-IMP1sg think-DUB

I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not

kv ki-stî-m ki-yîmistî-m? will s/he come or not?

DEM come-FUTev-Q come-FUTNev-Q

The question form of the existential particle *-tîr* (see 6.5.3.) also implies an alternative question. Compare:

sen ihç-in-ti örçi tîr-îm kör-itî-m?

you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q

can you see whether there is a thing inside or not?

sen ihç-in-ti-kî örçi-nî kör-itî-m kör-mistî-m?

you inside-POS3-LOC thing-ACC see-DUB-Q see-DUBN-Q

can you see the thing inside or not?

7.3.9. The indefinite/concessive particle (PCL3)

The indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* covers a number of functions, depending on the combination of it with different nouns, and verb forms.

The particle *-ma* following a noun expresses emphasis.

tayîn men-ma par-in let me go tomorrow, I will go tomorrow

tomorrow I-PCL3 go-IMP1sg

thoumu antay ti-ttî anîŋ kheln qayl-it-îptî titî, o-ma uzi ki-yi-kîna anî p^her-iş-i titî

chief that/EQU say-PASTev that/GEN wife run-QUI-PASTev say/DUB that-PCL3 self

come-CCO-INT that/ACC beat-FUT-COP say/DUB

the chief said his wife ran away and that he personally will come and beat her

The particle *-ma* expresses 'moreover, too, also'.

mîni-ma ther-îwal-yîla-yn let me go pick this up too

this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg

meŋ tîs-tî-ma pîr al-îŋ-q^har-ttî

me/GEN tooth-ACC-PCL3 one take-RFL-RES-PASTev

and he also took along my tooth (what's more, he took along my tooth)

The particle *-ma* following a verb form expresses a concessive.

kv ayîr-yaş-ma ki-ptî even though s/he was ill, s/he came

DEM be.ill-CCO-PCL3 come-PASTev

nayv qara-yanta-ma pîl-mi-yintî however much s/he looked, s/he did not know

how look-CTMP-PCL3 know-NEG-NARev

The combination of an interrogative and a conditional verb + the particle *-ma* expresses a concessive clause (see 7.5.).

nayv qara-sa-ma pīl-mistī however much s/he looks, s/he could not know
how look-COND-PCL3 know-DUBN

mīla-lar nayv tīli-si-ma pabtīr-īwat-qan qoy-nī tahq-mintī
child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-PASTNev

however much the children looked for it, they did not find the lost sheep

mīla-lar nayīl-sa-ma pabtīr-īwat-qan qoy-nī tahp-pastī
child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN

whatever the children do, they would not find the lost sheep

The combination of an interrogative + the particle *-ma* and a negation expresses a negative pronoun (see 5.4.).

sen ayīl-ta khīm-nī kōhr-tī? men khīm-nī-ma kōr-mi-htī
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST I who-ACC-PCL3 see-NEG-PAST
whom did you see in the village? I did not see anyone

The combination of a noun + particle *-ma* and a negation expresses 'not even'.

koya men pīr qharv-ma tīz-ma-htī I did not write even one letter to him/her
DEM/DAT I one letter-PCL3 write-NEG-PAST

sen seḡ kuziyī-ḡi mica īškīḡ qhayna-htī-m? yahq, men mica-ma qhantīr-ma-htī
you you/GEN husband-DAT little food cook-PAST-Q no I little-PCL3 cook-NEG-PAST
did you cook some food for your husband? no, I did not even cook a bit

The reduplicatid use of *-ma* expresses 'and .. and, both .. and, as well as', or, with a negation, 'neither .. nor'.

uz-ir-ma kherek, ihc-ir-ma kherek to sleep is necessary, and to eat is necessary
sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary, sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary,

mīla-ma yoq, qīztar-ma yoq [s/he had] neither son nor daughter
boy-PCL3 not.present girl-PCL3 not.present

7.3.10. The clause marker particles *-la*, *-ya* (PCL1, PCL2)

The particles *-la*, *-ya* mark the end of a noun phrase or verb phrase. The clause marker particles *-la* and *-ya* are interchangeable; in rapid speech, *-ya* is more common.

Examples of the clause particles *-la*, *-ya* marking the end of a noun phrase:

pu-ya tīs-īs-ki khīr-ḡi uzī-yantī he entered the cauldron and slept
this-PCL1 cauldron-IN-DAT enter-CCO sleep-NARev

pu-ya tancīn kīsī-tī! these are awesome people!
this-PCL1 awesome person-EV

o-la coryawas oryīl-otī that is Chorghawash who is shouting
that-PCL2 Chorghawash shout-PROGev

yīḡ phornta maya ti-ḡin-la kv-tī it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV

pu-ya pu pezik qhan-niñ kiñciq qiz-i-ti

this-PCL1 this big khan-GEN small daughter-POS3-EV

it was she who was this big khan's youngest daughter

sen ayil-ta khim-ni köhr-ti? men pir osqa-ya (~ osqa-la) köhr-ti

you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST I one old.man-PCL1 (~ old.man-PCL2) see-PAST

whom did you see in the village? I saw an old man, it was an old man I saw

The clause particles *-la*, *-ya* often follow adverbs and converbs.

o miça tur-yas-ya ki-šti s/he will come presently

that little stand-CCO-PCL1 come-FUTev

o amihki (~ amihki-la) mañ-qısti s/he will set off immediately

that immediately (~ immediately-PCL1) walk-FUTev

o am (~ am-ya) mañ-otı s/he is walking now

that now (~ now-PCL1) walk-PROGev

o puça ki-yi ti-v-yanta-ya men iht-ti

that this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 I arrive-PAST

just as s/he was about to come here, I arrived

The clause particles *-la*, *-ya* follow a conditional.

kö miça tur-sa-ya ki-šti s/he will come presently

that little stand-COND-PCL2 come-FUTev

meñ aça-ñ anı pir tun pber-yin po-sa-la po-šti

me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL1

become-FUTev

it would be best if my father would have given him/her a beating

sen mında qhal-sa-la seni yülir-iwat-kısti

you this/LOC stay-COND-PCL2 you/ACC kill-FIN-FUTev

if you stay here, they will will you

7.3. Reported speech

Reported speech is usually introduced by a verb of speaking, most commonly a form of the verb *ti=* 'to say', which may precede or follow the quote, or both.

Below follow some examples of direct quotes:

sunçañ antay titi: 'maya qoy-tan on per!' titi

chief that/EQU say/DUB me/DAT sheep-ABL ten give say/DUB

the chief says thus: 'Give me ten sheep!'

sunçañ ti-otı: 'sen aya uzkit-ıttı, antaqanta o saya çhıla-ttı'

chief say-PROGev you that/DAT lie-PASTev so that you/DAT be.angry-PASTev

the chief is saying: 'You lied to him/her, so s/he has become angry with you'

sunçañ maya titi: 'sen maya uzkit-ıttı, men saya tançin-qv çhıla-htı,' ti-htı

chief me/DAT say/DUB you me/DAT lie-PASTev I you/DAT awful-ADV be.angry-PAST

say-PAST

the chief said to me: 'You lied to me, I am awefully angry with you'

*antaqanta-ya pu yiyūt anī an-īwal-ya: 'ayv! meḡ kheln, meḡ kheln taḡq-tī! ti-v
oryīla-ḡantī*

then-PCL1 this young.man that/ACC take/RFL-INC-CCO EXCL me/GEN wife me/GEN wife
find-PAST say-CSIM shout-NARev

then this young man caught it: 'Ayo! My wife, I found my wife!' he shouted

Below follow some examples of indirect quotes. In these cases it is especially clear that evidentiality is applied according to the control exercised by the subject, and does not follow the grammatical person.

men ti-htī men ki-ḡ-i tihī I said I would come

I say-PAST I come-FUT-COP say-PAST

sen ti-htī sen ki-ḡ-i ti-htī you said you would come

you say-PAST you come-FUT-COP say-PAST

sunḡaḡ antay tīḡ men aya teyī on qoy per-īḡtī

chief that/EQU say/DUB I that/DAT certainly ten sheep give-FUTev

the chief said that I should certainly give him/her ten sheep

In a quote uttered by a third person, the speaker may refer to himself with *uzī* 'self'. The verbal pattern is the same as in a direct quote. Note the difference in reference between *uzī* and a third person pronoun.

kolar antay tīḡ kolar ki-ḡtī tīḡ they (A) say they (B) will come

DEM/PL that/EQU say/DUB DEM/PL come-FUTev say/DUB

kolar antay tīḡ uzī-lir ki-ḡ-i tīḡ they (A) say they (A) will come

DEM/PL that/EQU say/DUB self-PL come-FUT-COP say/DUB

ḡhunḡaḡ antay tīḡ sen narsīnta uzkit-īḡtī, antaqanta uzī saya ḡhīla-htī tīḡ

chief that/EQU say/DUB you actually lie-PASTev so self you/DAT be.angry-PAST say/DUB

the chief said you actually lied, so he is very angry with you

pu ḡḡar kīsī antay ti-ḡintī sen uzī-nī yūlir-mī! ti-ḡintī

this old person that/EQU say-NARev you self-ACC kill-NEG say-NARev

this old man said thus: 'Don't you kill me!'

meḡ aḡiḡ maya antay tīḡ uzī ayīhr-tī tīḡ

me/GEN elder.brother/POS1/2 me/DAT that/EQU say/DUB self become.ill-PAST say/DUB

my elder brother tells me that he has fallen ill

*meḡ ana-ḡ antay tīḡ o ayīr-mintī tīḡ, aḡya et-ḡtī tīḡ, meḡ aḡa-ḡ anī pīr tun pḡer-ḡin
po-sa-la po-ḡtī*

my mother-POS1/2 that/EQU say/DUB that be.ill-PASTnev say/DUB laziness do-PROGev
say/DUB me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL2
become-FUTev

my mother says that he is not ill, she says he is being lazy, [and that] it would
be best if my father would have given him a beating

In reported speech, the plural is usually replaced by the singular, perhaps to express that each of the persons involved is saying something.

īḡkī ḡīztaḡ: 'maya īḡkī per!' ti-ḡintī the two girls said: 'Give me two!'

two girl me/DAT two give say-NARev

Some speakers use the accusative case for the subject of the quote.

kə seni ki-štī titī s/he says you will come

DEM you/ACC come-FUT_{Ev} say/DUB

čhunçaŋ antay titī meni narsīnta-ya uzī-yi on qoy per-īštī titī

chief that/EQU say/DUB me/ACC actually-PCL1 self-DAT ten sheep give-FUT_{Ev} say/DUB
the chief says I should actually give him ten sheep

7.5. Clause order

Western Yugur has an SOV (subject-object-verb) clause order, typical of the Turkic languages. The order of the objects may vary. Compare:

selir maya menik-tī per give me the money

you/PL me/DAT money-ACC give

selir menik-tī maya per give the money to me

you/PL money-ACC me/DAT give

kə pīhtīr ku-nīŋ nüħker ucin ki-ptī s/he came with his/her friend last year

DEM last.year DEM/GEN friend with come-PAST_{Ev}

kə ku-nīŋ nüħker ucin pīhtīr ki-ptī s/he came with his/her friend last year

DEM DEM/GEN friend with last.year come-PAST_{Ev}

sen anī nayv tuht-īwal-yīs-i? how will you catch it?

you that/ACC how hold-INC-FUT-COP

sen nayv anī tuht-īwal-yīs-i? how will you catch it?

you how that/ACC hold-INC-FUT-COP

kə čhīla-ya pīhtīy-nī çozi waş-qa suwat-ittī

DEM be.angry-CCO book-ACC table head-DAT put/FIN-PAST_{Ev}

s/he angrily put down the book onto the table

kə pīhtīy-nī čhīla-ya çozi üsīŋ-ki thayt-uh-ittī

DEM book-ACC be.angry-CCO table upside/POS3-DAT throw-COM-PAST_{Ev}

s/he angrily threw the book onto the table

men quaşī kə ki-s mi ki-yimis mi pīl-in saqīn-atī

I very DEM come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q know-IMP1_{sg} think-DUB

I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not

Any argument of the verb may follow the verb of a clause as an afterthought.

antaqanta oħsīrūq-īn soht-qantī, tōrtiŋ

then fart-POS3ACC release-NAR_{Ev} wolf

then the wolf released a fart

sen pīr thulīm-īs-ki sal-īwat-qaş-ya, uzī-nī, sen maŋ, ti-yinti

you one bag-IN-DAT put-FIN-CCO-PCL1 self-ACC you walk say-NAR_{Ev}

'just you put me in a bag and set off,' s/he said

e, am-la puya terik pol-yaq po-sa, yanyan!

EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts

eh, if only there would be all sorts of trees here now!

men quaşī pīl-in saqīn-atī o ki-s mi ki-yimis mi

I very know-IMP1_{sg} think-DUB that come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q

I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not

Relative clauses, which consist of a noun phrase headed by a participle, maintain the same order as a main clause. The subject of the main clause usually occurs close to the verb, but it may precede the relative clause. Compare:

<i>kuziyi yoq pu-yan khempis</i>	a woman whose husband is no more
husband not.present become-PP woman	
<i>sen maya tiat-qan qharov-ni men ahl-ti</i>	I received the letter you sent me
you me/DAT send-PP letter I take-PAST	
<i>men sen maya tiatqan qharov-ni ahl-ti</i>	I received the letter you sent me
I you me/DAT send-PP letter take-PAST	

In the following instances, the object, expressed in the accusative case, is placed in front of the subject for emphasis.

<i>pibcaq-ti weywu'or kisi-lir pberis-ki imsa-ma-ti</i>	
knife-ACC Uygur person-PL fight-CCO use-VN-EV	
knives are used by the Uygur to fight with	
<i>thunzi-ni miz-tij sunzi-ta-qi khempistiy-lir su al-ma-ti</i>	
bucket-ACC we-GEN village-LOC-KI woman-PL water take-VN-EV	
buckets are used by the women in our village to fetch water	
<i>pu tis-ti mila suht-ipti</i>	
this cauldron-ACC child break-PASTev	
this pot was broken by a child (lit. a child broke this pot)	
<i>yatay-ni pir mila yor-uh-itti</i>	
rope-ACC one child untie-COM-PASTev	
the rope was untied by a child (lit. a child untied the rope)	
<i>o kizki-ni saya khim pehr-ti?</i>	who gave you those clothes?
that clothes-ACC you-DAT who give-PAST	
<i>khim saya ko kizki-ni pehr-ti?</i>	who gave you those clothes?
who you/DAT DEM clothes-ACC give-PAST	

Apparently, a conditional clause may occur between the subject and the verb of the main clause.

<i>pu ahka nio-sa-ma pil-yik-i-ti</i>	this monk knew whatever happened
this monk what.be-COND-PCL3 know-HAB-COP-EV	
<i>pu nayov tili-si-ma yoq-ti</i>	however much I looked, it is not there
this how look.for-COND-PCL3 not.present-EV	

7.5.1. Discourse

Zero anaphora are frequent.

sen thoyin menij mila-ni köhr-t-üm? men köhr-ti (~ *men anı köhr-ti*)
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q I see-PAST (I that/ACC see-PAST)

did you see my child yesterday? I did (lit. I saw) (~ I saw him/her)

men saya tiz-yan qharv-ni ahl-ti-m?

I you/DAT write-PP letter-ACC take-PAST-Q

did [you] receive the letter I wrote you?

In folk tales, the action of the preceding sentence is often repeated in the following sentence by means of a temporal converb. The adverb *antaqanta* 'then, thus, so', historically also a temporal converb, may fulfil this connective function as well.

tili-w tili-w tahq-pa-yanti. tahq-pa-yanta-ya tis-tij üzi-ki qhoqe-ya pist tuht-qanti, törtij. antaqanta ohsiriq-in soht-qanti, törtij.

look.for-CSIM look.for-CSIM find-NEG-NAREv find-NEG-CTMP-PCL1 cauldron-GEN

upside-DAT sit-CCO louse catch-NAREv wolf then fart-POS3ACC release-NAREv wolf

he searched and searched, [but] did not find them. when he did not find them,

the wolf sat down on the cauldron, and caught lice. then the wolf released a fart

7.5.2. Code switching

The present material shows a few examples of code switching between Western Yugur and Chinese (the Chinese material has been underlined>). Sometimes a Chinese and Western Yugur equivalent occur side by side.

Texts showing code switching usually contain nonce loans from Chinese as well, substituting for Western Yugur equivalents (e.g. *xī* for *qol*, *xo* for *yahs*), but other Chinese loanwords, e.g. *tiocen* do not have a Western Yugur equivalent.

sı pa kī cozi-ti, saqis-yiyirmi cozi-nij-ya yij sorjta-qı

ten eight piece sedan-EV eight-twenty sedan-GEN-PCL1 SUP later-KI

it is eighteen sedans, the last one of the eighteen sedans

antasa xo! p'hoqir-har-sa yaxş po-tti

in.that.case good jump-RES-COND good become-PASTev

in that case, good! if she has jumped, it is good

antan soñ-ya pu aca-sı cı iwei 'qız-ı yoqqha-tti' saqin-qanti, 'pu xı-s-ti'

that/ABL after-PCL1 this father-POS3 self think daughter-POS3 die-PASTev think-NAREv

this river-IN-LOC

thereafter this father of hers thought by himself, he thought that his daughter

had died in this river

men sen-la lian kī tiocen canñ-in

let me first state two conditions

I first-PCL2 two piece condition state-IMP1sg

senij kizki-ni, chinsan-ni uz-uh-titti

it teared your clothes, shirt

you/GEN clothes-ACC shirt-ACC tear-COM-PASTev

1. The Old Woman and the Cow

told by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *pǐhtǐrkǐ pǐr anika par-i-tǐ, yaŋqǐça par.*
2. *mǐla-ma yoq, qǐzta-ma yoq, tuašǐ qǐlǐs-i-tǐ.*
3. *taḥqǐ pǐr enik par-i-tǐ. pu enik-ya xau phǐŋyou-sǐ-i-tǐ.*
4. *khunsi:n taxs-ǐŋ-qa yaŋqǐça zi-γǐla-yaq-e-tǐ.*
5. *zi-γǐla-γanta ayka-ma oxqar-mas, na-p-pa nal-mas.*
6. *o uzi ki-γik-i-tǐ, yǐi-ḥsǐŋ-ki.*
7. *antaqanta-ya pǐr khu:n-ki eḥt-kinti pu enik taxs-ǐŋ-qa hanǐ-ya yoq pu-γantǐ.*
8. *antaqanta-ya yǐŋǐ:r qara tus-kinti pu anika naγv tǐli-si-ma yoq-e-tǐ.*
9. *'pu naγv tǐli-si-ma yoq-tǐ. pu qar-γan-i?'*
10. *men pǐr tǐli-γǐla-yn,' ti-γi maŋ-qantǐ.*

1. once.upon.a.time one old.woman present-COP-EV alone/ADV present
2. boy-PCL3 not.present girl-PCL3 not.present really pitiable-COP-EV
3. also one cow present-COP-EV this cow-PCL1 good friend-POS3-COP-EV
4. every.day outside-POS3-DAT alone/ADV eat-PUR-HAB-COP-EV
5. eat-PUR-CTMP old.woman-PCL3 pasture-HABN what.do-CON-PCL3 what.do-HABN
6. that self come-HAB-COP-EV house-POS3-DAT
7. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP this cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO
not.present become-NAR_{EV}
8. then-PCL1 evening black descend-CTMP this old.woman how look.for-COND-PCL3
not.present-COP-NAR
9. this how look.for-COND-PCL3 not.present-EV this whither.go-NAR-COP
10. I one look.for-PUR-IMP1_{sg} say-CCO walk-NAR_{EV}

1. Once upon a time there was an old woman, she was alone.
2. She had neither son nor daughter, she was really pitiable.
3. There was also a cow. This cow was her good friend.
4. Every day it used to go outside alone to eat.
5. When it went to eat, the old woman did not pasture it, she did nothing at all.
6. It used to come home by itself.
7. Then one day, this cow went outside and disappeared.
8. Then, when in the evening it became dark, however much this old woman looked for [it], it was not there.
9. 'However much I looked for [it], it is not there. Whither has it gone?'
10. Let me go to have a look for [it],' she said and set off.

¹ Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. For other versions, cf Tenišev 1976: 250-251 N^o 8, and Malov 1967: 99 N^o 101. The tale of the helpful objects is widespread: it occurs in Chinese and Tibetan, cf Ting N^o 210; in Mongolian, cf Lörincz N^o 106 (210); and in Salar, cf Tenišev 1964: 18-21 N^o 7, 1964: 61-63 N^o 25, and 1964: 114-117 N^o 56.

11. *mɔ: yol-ya eht-kinti-ya p̄r zilan ther-īwal-γantī.*
12. *'pu yilan-nī men ther-γi mayn,' ther-īwal-γantī, eni maŋ-qantī.*
13. *maŋ-qanta-ya iškī çitan toq̄ir-ɔ-γantī.*
14. *'ey, mīnī-ma ther-īwal-γīla-yn,' eni maŋ-qantī.*
15. *eni p̄r mos ther-īwal-γantī.*
16. *'ey, pu kus-tiŋ mos-īn ther-γi mayn,' maŋ-qantī.*
17. *mɔ: nayɔ t̄li-si-ma taxq-ma-γantī.*
18. *'ey, am z̄i-γi mayn.*
19. *mīnī amsa t̄rtiŋ zi-wat-qan po-ɕɔ,' ti-γintī.*
20. *antaqanta ȳi-hs̄iŋ-ki ki-γintī.*
21. *ki-γintī-ya am pu kus-ma yoq-tī.*
22. *iɕçikī-ɕ-ti aq̄is-qa: 'am m̄ntaqas-ya uz̄i-yn. amsa nayɕ-e?' antaqas-ya uz̄i-γantī.*
23. *uz̄i-γanta-ya yiŋi:r po-γanta p̄r t̄rtiŋ anika-nī zi-γīla ki-γintī.*
24. *'men puȳin-ya pu ayka-nī zi-γīla-yn,' ti-γintī.*

11. walk/CSIM road-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one snake gather-INC-NARev
12. this snake-ACC I gather-CCO walk/IMP1sg gather-INC-NARev again walk-NARev
13. walk-CTMP-PCL1 two egg fall-AUX-NARev
14. EXCL this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg again walk-NARev
15. again one horn gather-INC-NARev
16. EXCL this bovine-GEN horn-POS3ACC gather-CCO walk/IMP1sg walk-NARev
17. walk/CSIM how look.for-COND-PCL3 find-NEG-NARev
18. EXCL now house-DAT walk/IMP1sg
19. this/ACC anyway wolf eat-FIN-PP become-FUTev say-NARev
20. then house-POS3-DAT come-NARev
21. come-CTMP-PCL1 now this bovine-PCL3 not.present-EV
22. intestines-IN-LOC feel.anxious-CCO now then-PCL1 sleep-IMP1sg anyway what.do/FUT-COP then-PCL1 sleep-NARev
23. sleep-CTMP-PCL1 evening become-CTMP one wolf old.woman-ACC eat-CPUR come-NARev
24. I today-PCL1 this old.woman-ACC eat-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev

11. While she was walking, along the way, she picked up a snake.
12. She picked it up: 'Let me go and pick up this snake,' and she walked on again.
13. When she walked, [she noticed that] two eggs had fallen.
14. 'Eh, let me go and pick these up too,' and she walked on again.
15. She picked up a horn too.
16. 'Eh, let me go and pick up this cow horn,' and she walked on.
17. While she was walking, however much she looked, she did not find [her cow].
18. 'Eh, now let me walk home.
19. Anyway, it is probable that a wolf has devoured it,' she said.
20. Then she came back to her house.
21. When she came back [home], this cow was not there now.
22. She felt anxiety gnaw at her heart: 'Now then let me sleep. Anyway, what to do?' and then she went to sleep.
23. When she slept it became evening, and a wolf came to eat the old woman.
24. 'Let me go and eat this old woman today,' he said.

25. *çijxo-ya ayka o zila:n, o çitan, o kus-tij mos-ï içhi appar-ya luzi-nij üsij-ki suwat-qantï.*
26. *antaqanta uzi-yantï.*
27. *pu törtij kil-v-yanta-ya pu çitan-ya luzi-nij üzi-ti olir-yantï.*
28. *pis-ki olir-yantï.*
29. *antaqanta-ya pu mos-ya qayla-p par-ya ayka-nij paxç-in-ta çhoqe-q qha-tti.*
30. *oh, tahqï pu qhayci ther-ïwal-yantv.*
31. *o qhayci-ya qayla-p par-ya ayka-nij azaq-in-ta çhoqe-q qha-yantï.*
32. *antaqanta pu zilan-ya qayla-p par-ya keymin sik-ti çhoqe-q qha-yantï.*
33. *çhişï pu zilan-ya o kus-tij işçiki-si-tv, mos-ya o kus-tij mos-ti, o qhayci-ya o kus-tij timsiy-ti.*
34. *antaqanta-ya pu törtij-ya çarj sik-tin khir-v-yanta-ya niyil-yantï, khir-ïp par-yantï.*

25. just.in.time-PCL1 old.woman that snake that egg that bovine-GEN horn-POS3 altogether take.to-CCO stove-GEN upside/POS3-DAT put/FIN-NARev
26. then sleep-NARev
27. this wolf come-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 this egg-PCL1 stove-GEN upside-LOC stay-NARev
28. boil-CCO stay-NARev
29. then-PCL1 this horn-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO old.woman-GEN head-POS3-LOC sit-CON fall-PASTev
30. EXCL also this shears gather-INC-NARev
31. that shears-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO old.woman-GEN foot-POS3-LOC sit-CON fall-NARev
32. then this snake-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO gate door-LOC sit-CON fall-NARev
33. actually this snake-PCL1 that bovine-GEN intestines-POS3-EV horn-PCL1 that bovine-GEN horn-EV that shears-PCL1 that bovine-GEN mouth-EV
34. then-PCL1 this wolf-PCL1 just door-ABL enter-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 what.do-NARev enter-CON go-NARev

25. Just in time, the old woman had taken that snake, those eggs, and that cow horn and had put them altogether on the stove.
26. Then she went to sleep.
27. When this wolf came, these eggs were on the stove.
28. They were boiled.
29. Then this horn ran away and sat down at the old woman's head.
30. Oh, she had also picked up this pair of shears.
31. That pair of shears ran away and sat down at the old woman's feet.
32. Then this snake ran away and sat down at the gate door.
33. Actually this snake was that cow's gut, the horn was that cow's horn, that pair of shears was that cow's mouth.
34. Then just as this wolf entered through the door, he did whatsit, he entered.

35. *khür-üp par-ya çañ-ya ayka-niñ pahç-ün yi:-yn ti-v çañ-ya pahç-ün zi-yi ti-v-γanta pu kus-tiñ mos sanç-v sa-γanti.*
36. *ca:ñ-ya azaq-ün yi:-yn ti-v azaq-iñ-qa os-qä ti-v-γanta pu qhayci tümsiy-ün qhayçil-v sa-γanti.*
37. *'ay, am zi-v yata-štï, mayn!' ti-γi qayla-wat-qanti.*
38. *qayla-wat-qanta-ya pu luzi-niñ yañ-qa eht-kinti pu çitan pïs-ki çinciy-pahrs eht-ki köz-ün yar-uh-t-qanti.*
39. *antaqanta-ya eni qayla-γanti.*
40. *qayl-v keymün sük-ki eht-kinti pu zilan hora-q qha-γanti.*
41. *antaqanta yoqqha-γanti.*
42. *antaqanta-ya ayka-ni zi-v yata-γanti.*
-
35. enter-CON go-CCO just-PCL1 old.woman-GEN head-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg say-CSIM just-PCL1 head-POS3ACC eat-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP this bovine-GEN horn stab-CSIM put-NARev
36. just-PCL1 foot-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg say-CSIM foot-POS3-DAT grab-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP this shears mouth-POS3ACC clip-CSIM put-NARev
37. EXCL now eat-CSIM cannot-FUTev walk/IMP1sg say-CCO run-FIN-NARev
38. run-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 this stove-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP this egg boil-CCO truly ONOM make.sound-CCO eye-POS3ACC smash-COM-NARev
39. then-PCL1 again run-NARev
40. run-CSIM gate door-DAT arrive-CTMP this snake coil-CON fall-NARev
41. then die-NARev
42. then-PCL1 old.woman-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-NARev
-
35. 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.
36. 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.
37. 'Ay, now I will not be able to eat, I'm off!' he said and he ran away.
38. When he ran away and got near the stove, this egg was boiled, and with a truly bursting sound, it smashed his eye.
39. Then again he ran.
40. When he got at the gate door while running, this snake strangled [him].
41. Then he died.
42. Then he could not eat the old woman.

2. Monster Grandmother

told by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *pīhtürkī pīr khempīštīy par-i-tī. khempīštīk-ki uş qīz par-i-tī.*
2. *pīr khun pu khempīštīy tahs-īŋ-qa īškīş tīli-yīla-yantī.*
3. *tīli-yīla-yanta pīr maŋqīs-qa thuktis-īq qha-yantī.*
4. *maŋqīs-qa antay ti-yintī: 'men-ti uş qīztar par. zū-ti īškīş yoq pu-ttī.*
5. *mīz-tīr xosī thorla-ppar-tī. sen maya īškīş-tin miça per!'*
6. *maŋqīs ayt-qantī: 'seŋ zū qanta par-i?'*
7. *khempīštīy xosīn ti-p per-yintī.*
8. *antaqanta maŋqīs pu khempīštīy-nī zi-wat-qantī.*
9. *maŋqīs khempīštīy-nīŋ kizkī-nī kiz-ki yū-hsīŋ-ki eht-īp par-yantī.*
10. *maŋqīs sīk-ki eht-ki sīk-tī soq-qantī:*

1. once.upon.a.time one woman present-COP-EV woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV
2. one day this woman outside-POS3-DAT food look.for-PUR-NARev
3. look.for-PUR-CTMP one monster-DAT meet-CON fall-NARev
4. monster-DAT that/EQU say-NARev I-LOC three girl present house-LOC food not.present become-PASTev
5. we-PL all be.hungry-PROG-EV you me/DAT food-ABL little give
6. monster ask-NARev you/GEN house where present-COP
7. woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NARev
8. then monster this woman-ACC eat-FIN-NARev
9. monster woman-GEN clothes-ACC dress-CCO house-POS3-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
10. monster door-DAT arrive-CCO door-ACC knock-NARev

1. Once upon a time there was a woman. The woman had three daughters.
2. One day this woman went outside to look for food.
3. When she went to look for [it], she met with a monster.
4. She said thus to the monster: 'I have three daughters. In the house there is no food left.
5. We are all starving from hunger. Give me a little bit of food!'
6. The monster asked: 'Where is your house?'
7. The woman told everything.
8. Then the monster devoured this woman.
9. The monster got dressed in the woman's clothes and arrived at her house.
10. The monster arrived at the door and knocked at the door:

¹ Dictated 25 September 1995 in Běijīng. The tale is widespread: it occurs in Chinese, cf Ting N^o 333C; in Tibetan, cf Schuh 1973 N^o 1; in Mongolian, cf Lörincz N^o 104 (327H*); and in Salar, cf Tenišev 1964: 64-66 N^o 26.

11. 'qiztar-lir, sik ahş-qıla kel!'
 12. kihciq qiztar-ı: 'ana-ŋ ki-ttv!' sik-ti ahç-uht-qantı.
 13. işki pezik qiztar qara-ŷanta ana-sın ista-ma-ŷantı.
 14. ni-ma ti-mi-ŷintı.
 15. manqis antay ti-ŷintı: 'qiztar-lir, miz-tir puhrcaq qhar-ini.'
 16. antaqanta xosi qhar-ŷantı. qhar-v-ŷanta zi-ŷi uzı-ŷantı.
 17. kihciq qiztar-ı: 'men ana-niŋ qoyn-ta uzı-ŷn!'
 18. işki pezik qiztar khazaq-qa uzı-ŷantı.
 19. uz-v thörin eht-kinti manqis anika pirmi qirisl-it-v zi-v-ŷantı.
 20. işki pezik qiztar ayt-qantı: 'ana, ana, pu sat po-tti, sen ni zi-ppe?'
 21. 'men puhrcaq zi-ppar.'
 22. işki qiztar: 'maya işki per!' ti-ŷintı.
 23. antaqanta pir kisün-ki işki puhrcaq, pir kihciq qiz-tiŋ ahtimaq per-ŷintı.

11. girl-PL door open-CPUR come
12. small girl-POS3 mother-POS1/2 come-PASTev door-ACC open-COM-NARev
13. two big girl look-CTMP mother-POS3ACC resemble-NEG-NARev
14. what-PCL3 say-NEG-NARev
15. monster that/EQU say-NARev girl-PL we-PL bean bake-IMP1pl
16. then all bake-NARev bake-AUX-CTMP eat-CCO sleep-NARev
17. small girl-POS3 I mother-GEN bosom-LOC sleep-IMP1sg
18. two big girl kang.foot-DAT sleep-NARev
19. sleep-CON2 midnight arrive-CTMP monster grandmother something nibble-QUI-CSIM eat-AUX-NARev
20. two big girl ask-NARev mother mother this time become-PASTev you what eat-PROG/COP
21. I bean eat-PROG
22. two girl me/DAT two give say-NARev
23. then one person/POS3-DAT two bean one small girl-GEN little.finger give-NARev

11. 'Girls, come to open the door!'
 12. The youngest girl opened the door: 'Our mother has come back!'
 13. When the two big girls looked, [they noticed that] she did not resemble their mother.
 14. They said nothing.
 15. The monster said thus: 'Girls, let us bake beans.'
 16. Then they all baked [beans]. When they had baked [them], they ate and went to sleep.
 17. The youngest girl [said]: 'Let me sleep at mother's bosom!'
 18. The two big girls slept along the foot end of the kang.
 19. While they were sleeping, at midnight, Monster Grandmother was eating something, nibbling quickly.
 20. The two big girls asked: 'Mother, mother, it is this late, what are you eating?'
 21. 'I am eating beans.'
 22. The two girls said: 'Give me two!'
 23. Then she gave each one person two beans and one little finger of the young[est] girl.

24. *antaqanta işki qıztar pıl-γinti: 'pu mız-tiγ ana emis-ti, pu maŋqis-ti.'*
25. *antaqanta işki qıztar: 'ana, men siz-kıla-ş! ti-γinti.*
26. *'yer-ti siz! ti-γinti.*
27. *'yer-ti yer pıhrqan-tır. naγv siz-kış-e?'*
28. *'par! kv yünzı-ti siz! ti-γinti.*
29. *işki qıztar antay ti-γinti: yünzı-ş-ti yünzı pıhrqan-tır. naγv siz-kış-e?'*
30. *maŋqis antay ti-γinti: 'qoy qhora-ş-ti siz!'*
31. *'qoy qhora-ş-ti qoy pıhrqan-tır. naγv siz-kış-e?'*
32. *'antasa selir qanta siz-kış-e?'*
33. *'mız-tır qurat-ta siz-kik.'*
34. *'antasa siz-kıla! ti-γinti.*
35. *antaqanta işki qıztar kizki-nı al-n-it-v-ya qayla-γanti.*
36. *qurat-ta pır örliy terik par-i-ti.*
37. *işki qıztar terik-tiγ üsiγ-ki un-ki tiγır-nı qüti-γinti.*

24. then two girl know-NARev this we-GEN mother is.not-EV this monster-EV
25. then two girl mother I pee-PUR-FUT say-NARev
26. floor-LOC pee say-NARev
27. floor-LOC floor deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
28. go DEM kitchen.garden-LOC pee say-NARev
29. two girl that/EQU say-NARev kitchen.garden-IN-LOC kitchen.garden deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
30. monster that/EQU say-NARev sheep pen-IN-LOC pee
31. sheep pen-IN-LOC sheep deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
32. in.that.case you/PL where pee-FUT-COP
33. we-PL behind.the.fence-LOC pee-HAB
34. in.that.case pee-PUR say-NARev
35. then two girl clothes-ACC take-RFL-QUI-AUX-CCO run-NARev
36. behind.the.fence-LOC one high tree present-COP-EV
37. two girl tree-GEN upside/POS3-DAT ascend-CCO heaven-ACC call-NARev

24. Then the two girls knew: 'This is not our mother, this is a monster.'
25. Then the two girls said: 'Mother, I have to go to pee!'
26. 'Pee on the floor!' she said.
27. 'On the floor is the deity of the floor. How could we pee?'
28. 'Go! Pee in this kitchen garden!' she said.
29. The two girls said thus: 'In the kitchen garden is the deity of the kitchen garden. How could we pee?'
30. The monster said thus: 'Pee in the sheep's pen!'
31. 'In the sheep's pen is the deity of the sheep. How could we pee?'
32. 'In that case, where will you pee?'
33. 'We are used to pee behind the fence.'
34. 'In that case, go to pee!' she said.
35. Then the two girls grabbed [their] clothes and ran.
36. Behind the fence was a high tree.
37. The two girls climbed up the tree and invoked Heaven.

38. *pu maŋq̄is z̄ü-s-ti saq-v-γant̄i. išk̄i q̄iz kel-mi-γint̄i.*
39. *antaqanta išk̄i q̄iztar qayl-it-qan-n̄i p̄il-γint̄i.*
40. *maŋq̄is qurat-qa t̄ili-k ki-γint̄i.*
41. *pezik terik-t̄iγ üs̄iγ-ki un-v yata-γant̄i.*
42. *antaqanta t̄is uzin qaqa-γant̄i.*
43. *išk̄i q̄iztar qoh̄rq-qa tiγ̄ir-n̄i quaš̄i q̄iti-γint̄i:*
44. *'tiγ̄ir, tiγ̄ir, sen ç̄h̄int̄ir th̄ayta-s mi tah̄q̄i q̄hor th̄ayta-s mi?'*
45. *maŋq̄is anika qaz-v oyla-γant̄i.*
46. *p̄ir th̄ulk̄i ki-γi: 'men saγa qaz-in!' ti-γint̄i.*
47. *'sen t̄is-tin p̄ir per!' ti-γint̄i.*
48. *antaqanta maŋq̄is t̄is-tin p̄ir per-γi antaqanta uz̄i-q q̄ha-γant̄i.*
49. *th̄ulk̄i miça qaz-ya qar-v maŋq̄is uz̄i-q q̄ha-γant̄i.*
50. *uz̄i-q q̄ha-γanta ahr̄q-tan pisek p̄haqa-wat-qa qayl-it-qant̄i.*
51. *antaqanta maŋq̄is oz̄yan-ik ki-γi tah̄q̄i yoȳin po-ya olir-γant̄i.*
52. *eni qaz-v oyla-γant̄i.*

38. this monster house-IN-LOC wait-AUX-NARev two girl come-NEG-NARev
39. then two girl run-QUI-PP-ACC know-NARev
40. monster behind.the.fence-DAT look.for-CON come-NARev
41. big tree-GEN upside/POS3-DAT ascend-CSIM cannot-NARev
42. then tooth with gnaw-NARev
43. two girl fear-CCO heaven-ACC vehemently call-NARev
44. heaven heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
45. monster grandmother dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev
46. one fox come-CCO I you/DAT dig-IMP1sg say-NARev
47. you tooth-ABL one give say-NARev
48. then monster tooth-ABL one give-CCO then sleep-CON fall-NARev
49. fox little dig-CCO look-CSIM monster sleep-CON fall-NARev
50. sleep-CON fall-CTMP shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-NARev
51. then monster wake.up-CON come-CCO still thick become-CCO stay-NARev
52. again dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev

38. This monster was waiting in the house, [but] the two girls did not come.
39. Then she knew that the two girls had run away.
40. The monster came looking for [them] behind the fence.
41. She was not able to climb up the big tree.
42. Then she gnawed [at it] with a tooth.
43. The two girls were afraid and vehemently invoked Heaven:
44. 'Heaven, Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
45. Monster Grandmother had almost finished digging.
46. A fox came and said: 'Let me dig for you!
47. Give one of your teeth!' he said.
48. Then the monster gave one of her teeth and then she fell asleep.
49. The fox dug a bit, and looked - the monster had fallen asleep.
50. When she had fallen asleep, he shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
51. Then the monster woke up and the [tree] was still thick.
52. Again she had almost finished digging.

53. *eni qaz-v oyla-γanta p̄r tusqan ki-γinti.*
54. *'men saya qaz-in, sen maya t̄s-tin p̄r per!' ti-γinti.*
55. *'phornta thulk̄i ki-γi ahrq-tan pisek phaqa-wat-qa qayl-it-itt̄i.*
56. *mej t̄s-ti-ma p̄r al-ij-qhar-tt̄i.'*
57. *tusqan antay ti-γinti: 'o thulk̄i-t̄i, men tusqan-t̄i.*
58. *men saya yah̄s-qv qaz-in,' ti-γinti.*
59. *antaqanta manq̄is anika p̄r t̄s per-γi tusqan qaz-γanta manq̄is eni uz̄i-q qha-γanti.*
60. *tusqan eni ahrq-tan p̄r phaqa-wat-qa qayl-it-qanti.*
61. *manq̄is anika ozyan-ik ki-γinti eni ahrq-tan pisek phaqa-wat-qanti.*
62. *antaqanta çh̄il-i çh̄il-i qaz-γanti.*
63. *terik-t̄i qaz-v oyla-γanta q̄ztar-lir qoh̄rq-qa tij̄r-n̄i eni q̄iti-γinti:*
64. *'k̄ik tij̄r! k̄ik tij̄r! sen çh̄int̄ir thayta-ş mi tah̄q̄ qhor thayta-ş mi?'*
65. *şaȳr eht-kinti p̄r çh̄int̄ir thayta-k ki-γinti.*

53. again dig-CSIM almost.finish-CTMP one hare come-NARev
54. I you/DAT dig-IMP1sg you me/DAT tooth-ABL one give say-NARev
55. before fox come-CCO shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-PASTev
56. me/GEN tooth-ACC-PCL3 one take-RFL-RES-PASTev
57. hare that/EQU say-NARev that fox-EV I hare-EV
58. I you/DAT good-ADV dig-IMP1sg say-PAST-NAR
59. then monster grandmother one tooth give-CCO hare dig-CTMP monster again sleep-CON fall-NARev
60. hare too shit-ABL one shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-NARev
61. monster grandmother wake.up-CON come-CTMP again shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-NARev
62. then be.angry-CREP be.angry-CREP dig-NARev
63. tree-ACC dig-CSIM almost.finish-CTMP girl-PL fear-CCO heaven-ACC again call-NARev
64. blue heaven blue heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
65. ONOM sound-CTMP one chain throw-CON come-NARev

53. When again she had almost finished digging, a hare came.
54. 'Let me dig for you, give me one of your teeth!' he said.
55. 'Before, a fox came, shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
56. He has also taken along my tooth.'
57. The hare said thus: 'That was a fox. [But] I'm a hare.
58. I will dig well for you,' he said.
59. Then Monster Grandmother gave a tooth, and while the hare dug, the monster again fell asleep.
60. The hare too shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
61. When Monster Grandmother woke up, he too had shitted a piece of shit.
62. Then she dug, becoming more and more angry.
63. When she had almost finished digging out the tree, the girls became afraid and again invoked Heaven:
64. 'Blue Heaven, Blue Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
65. With a tinkling sound, it threw down a chain.

66. *ışki qıztar tuht-qa tijirwaş-qa un-qhanı-yantı.*
 67. *mañqıs anika orq-qa qıtı-yıntı:*
 68. *'kük tijir! sen çhıntir thayta-ş mi qhor thayta-ş mi?'*
 69. *antaqanta pu qhor thayta-k ki-yıntı.*
 70. *mañqıs anika un-v ohrta-sın-ta eht-kinti pır qarğa² çoy-nı çhili-k ki-yi qhor-nıñ*
ohrta-sın-ta thamtir-uh-t-qantı.
 71. *mañqıs anika qha-k ki-yi yoqqha-yantı.*

66. two girl hold-CCO top.of.heaven-DAT ascend-TER-NARev
 67. monster grandmother be.impatient-CCO call-NARev
 68. blue heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
 69. then this girdle throw-CON come-NARev
 70. monster grandmother climb-CSIM middle-POS3-LOC arrive-CTMP one crow
 glowing.piece.of.dung-ACC hold.in.the.mouth-CON come-CCO girdle-GEN
 middle-POS3-LOC set.fire.to-COM-NARev
 71. monster grandmother fall-CON come-CCO die-NARev

66. The two girls got hold [of it] and climbed up to Heaven's top.
 67. Monster Grandmother became impatient and called:
 68. 'Blue Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
 69. Then it throw down a girdle.
 70. Monster Grandmother climbed up and when she arrived at its middle, a crow
 came, holding in its mouth a glowing piece of dung, and set fire at the middle
 of the girdle.
 71. Monster Grandmother fell down and died.

² This is the mother of the two girls.

3. The Story of the Wolf, the Sheep and the Hare

told by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *pīhtīrkī pīr saq par-i-tī. saq-ta īškī qozī par-i-tī.*
2. *antaqanta-ya pu saq antay ti-yintī:*
3. *'mizir sizay-qa pīr paš ɕal-yīla-ynī,' ti-yintī.*
4. *antaqanta-ya xuli-nī tōrtiṅ īškī-sī aṅna-wat-qantī.*
5. *ɕa:ŋ pu qoy panlu-ya eht-kinti-ya tōrtiṅ-nī xuli īškī-sī ayīt-it-qantī.*
6. *'he he, am seni zi-yn!' ti-yintī.*
7. *antaqanta-ya saq yilya-yantī.*
8. *'menī zi-mi:, men sizay-tan pa^hs-tī ɕal-ik ki-yi am sen menī nayv yi-^hsi nayv zi,' ti-yin.*
9. *antaqanta-ya pīr ɕiṅzī pol-yanta tōrtiṅ-ma saq-tī soht-qantī.*

1. once.upon.a.time one ewe present-COP-EV ewe-LOC two lamb present-COP-EV
2. then-PCL1 this ewe that/EQU say-NARev
3. we/PL Tibet-DAT one head knock-PUR-IMP1pl say-NARev
4. then-PCL1 fox-AND wolf two-POS3 hear-FIN-NARev
5. just this sheep halfway-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 wolf-AND fox two-POS3 stop-QUI-NARev
6. EXCL EXCL now you/ACC eat-IMP1sg say-NARev
7. then-PCL1 ewe cry-NARev
8. me/ACC eat-NEG I Tibet-ABL head-ACC knock-CON come-CCO now you me/ACC how eat-COND how eat say-NARev
9. then-PCL1 one moment become-CTMP wolf-PCL3 ewe-ACC release/COM-NARev

1. Once upon a time, there was a ewe. The ewe had two lambs.
2. Then this ewe said thus:
3. 'Let us go to Tibet to pray,' she said.
4. Then the fox and the wolf both overheard [it].
5. Just when this sheep had got halfway, the wolf and the fox both suddenly stopped [her].
6. 'Eh, eh, now I will eat you!' they said.
7. Then the ewe cried.
8. 'Don't eat me, after I have prayed and come back from Tibet, then you can eat me as you like,' she said.
9. Then after one moment had passed, the wolf released the ewe.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Míng huā. This tale is also known among the Eastern Yugur (Bolčuluu & Ĵalcan 1988: 165 N^o 6). It further occurs in Mongolian, cf Lőrincz N^o 11 (126D*); and in Tibetan, cf Ting N^o 122F and Schuh 1973 N^o 41.

10. *antaqanta-ya saq eni maṅ-qantï.*
11. *mɔ: sizaṅ-qa eht-ki paş-tï çal-ya maṅ-qantï.*
12. *maṅ-qanta-ya eni yilya-yaṅtï.*
13. *qozï ayt-qantï: 'ana, ana, sen ni-yi yilya-ppə?'*
14. *antaqanta-ya saq antay ti-yintï:*
15. *'saya ti-si-ma yuŋç^{hu} yoq-tï.'*
16. *pïr çijzï maṅ-qanta-ya pïr tusqan un-ik ki-yintï:*
17. *'sen ni-yi yilya-ppə?' ti-yintï.*
18. *'men yilya-sa saya ti-si-ma yuŋç^{hu} yoq-tï.'*
19. *'sen maya ti, am men saya çecüel-in.'* *antaqanta-ya ti-yintï.*
20. *'pu xuli-nï törtij işkï-sï menï zi-yï ti-ppar-tv!*
21. *men pa^{hr}-sa menï zi-wat-qıştï,' ti-yin.*
22. *antaqanta-ya tusqan antay ti-yintï:*
23. *'men saya nayv ti-si sen nay-otï.'*
24. *antaqanta-ya mɔ: pïr yo^{hrt}-qa eht-kintï.*

10. then-PCL1 ewe again walk-NARev
11. walk/CSIM Tibet-DAT arrive-CCO head-ACC knock-CCO walk-NARev
12. walk-CTMP-PCL1 again cry-NARev
13. lamb ask-NARev mother mother you what-DAT cry-PROG/COP
14. then-PCL1 ewe that/EQU say-NARev
15. you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV
16. one moment walk-CTMP-PCL1 one hare come.out-CON come-NARev
17. you what-DAT cry-PROG/COP say-NARev
18. I cry-COND you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV
19. you me/DAT say now I you/DAT solve-IMP1sg then-PCL1 say-NARev
20. this fox-AND wolf two-POS3 me/ACC eat-VNFUT say-PROG-EV
21. I go-COND me/ACC eat-FIN-FUTev say-NAR
22. then-PCL1 hare that/EQU say-NARev
23. I you/DAT how say-COND-PCL2 you what.do-PROGev
24. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev

10. Then the ewe set off again.
11. While walking, she arrived in Tibet, prayed, and set off.
12. When walking, she cried again.
13. The lambs asked: 'Mother, mother, what are you crying for?' they said.
14. Then the ewe said thus:
15. 'Even if I tell you, it is of no use.'
16. When she had walked for a moment, a hare appeared:
17. 'What are you crying for?' he said.
18. 'If I cry, even if I tell you, it is of no use.'
19. '[Just] you tell me, then I will solve it for you.' Then she told [it].
20. 'This fox and this wolf both intend to eat me!
21. If I go, they will devour me,' she said.
22. Then the hare said thus:
23. 'You do whatever I tell you to do.'
24. Then, while they were walking, they arrived at an abandoned camp.

25. *eht-kinti p̄ir kuotienz̄i tahq-qant̄i.*
26. *tusqan antay ti-yint̄i: 'sen kun̄i ther-īwal!'*
27. *saq ther-mis saq̄in-qant̄i: 'kuntarmi-n̄i ther-yi ni kannas-e?'*
28. *'ther-īwal! ti-yin.*
29. *antaqanta-ya saq ther-īwal-yant̄i. en̄i maṇ-qant̄i.*
30. *en̄i mv p̄ir yohrt-qa eht-kint̄i.*
31. *p̄ir çhayiteyz̄i thayt-v-yan.*
32. *antaqanta-ya tusqan antay ti-yint̄i, saq-qa: 'sen kun̄i ther-īwal!'*
33. *saq eni ther-yi maṇ-qant̄i.*
34. *eni mv: p̄ir yohrt-qa eht-kint̄i.*
35. *antaqanta-ya p̄ir teyteyz̄i tahq-qant̄i.*
36. *'m̄in̄i-ma ther-īwal! ti-yint̄i. eni ther-īwal-yant̄i.*
37. *mv: çay-ya o törtiṇ-n̄iṇ yaṇ-qa eht-kinti törtiṇ közti-v-yant̄i.*
38. *saq qohrq-qa zil̄y-uh̄t-qant̄i: 'nal-yaq-e?'*

25. arrive-CTMP one potholder find-NARev
26. hare that/EQU say-NARev you DEM/ACC gather-INC
27. ewe gather-HABN think-NARev thing.like.this-ACC gather-CCO what do-FUT-COP
28. gather-INC say-NAR
29. then-PCL1 ewe gather-INC-NARev again walk-NARev
30. again walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev
31. one tea.bag throw-AUX-NARev
32. then-PCL1 hare that/EQU say-NARev ewe-DAT you DEM/ACC gather-INC
33. ewe again gather-CCO walk-NARev
34. again walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev
35. then-PCL1 one bag find-NARev
36. this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC say-NARev too gather-INC-NARev
37. walk/CSIM just-PCL1 that wolf-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP wolf appear-AUX-NARev
38. ewe fear-CCO cry-COM-NARev what.do-HAB-COP

25. When they arrived [there], they found a potholder.
26. The hare said thus: 'Pick it up!'
27. The ewe did not intend to pick it up: 'Picking up a thing like this, what would [you] do [with it]?'
28. 'Pick it up!' he said.
29. Then the ewe picked it up. Again they set off.
30. While they were walking again, they arrived at an abandoned camp.
31. [Someone] had thrown away a tea bag.
32. Then the hare said thus to the ewe: 'Pick it up!'
33. The ewe picked it up too and [they] set off again.
34. While they were walking again, they arrived at an abandoned camp.
35. Then they found a bag.
36. 'Pick this up too!' he said. She picked it up too.
37. They set off, and just as they arrived near the wolf, the wolf appeared.
38. The ewe burst into tears for fear: 'What am I to do?'

39. *tusqan zixa yoq pu-yantï.*
40. *caŋ törtiŋ zi-yï tiv-γanta tusqan eni un-ïk ki-yintï.*
41. *'sen tahqï mïnta ni kannap-pe?'*
42. *'kancij menij qoŋqür-γa çhijñ-it!' ti-yintï.*
43. *kuotienzi-nï çhijñ-it-qan.*
44. *maya pïhtiy-nï akkher,' ti-yintï. çhayiteyzi-nï kher-tti.*
45. *'mej pherik-ti man-tür-it,' ti-yintï. antaqanta teyteyzi-nï man-tür-it-qan.*
46. *antaqanta-ya tusqan oŋs-v sal-γantï: 'am kuoca-γa menik kherik-ti.*
47. *pu xuli-nï törtiŋ-nij ther-nï zimsa-štï.*
48. *pu iškï ther tahqï pïht-kimisti.'*
49. *antaqanta xuli-nï törtiŋ iškï-sï qohrŋ-qa ohsirïq-ti sal-i sal-i qayl-it-qantï.*
50. *antaqanta tusqan uzï eni yoq pu-yantï.*
51. *qoy-nï qozï iškï-sï eni yol-γa eht-ïk ki-yintï.*

39. hare all.of.a.sudden not.present become-NARev
40. just wolf eat-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP hare again come.out-CON come-NARev
41. you still this/LOC what do-PROG/COP
42. immediately me/GEN buttock-DAT put.under-QUI say-NARev
43. potholder put.under-QUI-PNAR
44. me/DAT book-ACC bring say-NARev tea.bag-ACC bring-PASTev
45. me/GEN hat-ACC wear-CAUS-QUI say-NARev then bag-ACC wear-CAUS-QUI-PNAR
46. then-PCL1 hare read-CSIM put-NARev now country-DAT money need-EV
47. this fox-AND wolf-GEN skin-ACC use-FUTev
48. this two skin still suffice-FUTNev
49. then fox-AND wolf two-POS3 fear-CCO fart-ACC release-CREP release-CREP run-QUI-NARev
50. then hare self again not.present become-NARev
51. sheep-AND lamb two-POS3 again road-DAT arrive-CON come-NARev

39. The hare disappeared all of a sudden.
40. Just as the wolf was about to eat [the ewe], the hare appeared again.
41. 'What are you still doing here?' [said the hare to the wolf].
42. 'Put [the cushion] under my buttock at once,' [said the hare to the ewe].
43. She quickly put the potholder underneath [him].
44. 'Bring me the book,' he said. She brought the tea bag.
45. 'Put on my hat quickly,' he said. Then she quickly put on the bag.
46. Then the hare started to read: 'Now the country needs money.
47. They will use the skins of this fox and this wolf.
48. These two skins still do not suffice.'
49. Then the fox and the wolf both dashed off, farting for fear.
50. Then the hare itself disappeared again.
51. The sheep and the lamb² both continued their way.

² Actually, there were two lambs.

4. The Story of Inviting Uncle Wolf

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *törtiŋ taqa-ni qıxqır-yan lomaq.*
2. *törtiŋ-ya qoy-niŋ taqa-si-i-ti.*
3. *antaqanta-ya pır: qoy-ya iŝki qosin niyil-iwat-qanti, tis-tiŋ ahtir-iŋ-qa khula-wat-qa hanı-yanti.*
4. *antaqanta qoy-ya antay ti-yintv, qosiŋ-qa: 'sen-la ni kiŝi ki-si-ma sİK aŝ-ma!*
5. *amır-ŝimır münüŋ ahtir-in-ta olır,' ti-yintv.*
6. *teyli törtiŋ yi-yi çoq-v-ma-yanti.*
7. *antaqanta-la pır khun-ki eht-kinti tis-tiŋ ahtir-iŋ-qa khula-wat-qa hanı-yanti.*
8. *oht zi-yıla hanı-yanti.*
9. *törtiŋ ki-yinti. tili-w tili-w taxq-pa-yanti.*

1. wolf uncle-ACC invite-PP story
2. wolf-PCL1 sheep-GEN maternal.uncle-POS3-COP-EV
3. then-PCL1 one sheep-PCL1 two lamb/POS3ACC what.do-FIN-NAR_{ev} cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT cover-FIN-CCO go-NAR_{ev}
4. then sheep-PCL1 that/EQU say-NAR_{ev} lamb/POS3-DAT you-PCL2 what person come-COND-PCL3 door open-NEG
5. quietly-JINGLE this/GEN underside-POS3-LOC stay say-NAR_{ev}
6. of.course wolf eat-CCO accomplish-AUX-NEG-NAR_{ev}
7. then-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT cover-FIN-CCO go-NAR_{ev}
8. grass eat-CPUR go-NAR_{ev}
9. wolf come-NAR_{ev} look.for-CSIM look.for-CSIM find-NEG-NAR_{ev}

1. The story of inviting Uncle Wolf.
2. The wolf was the sheep's maternal uncle.
3. Then once the sheep did whatsheit, she covered her two lambs under a cauldron and went away.
4. Then the sheep said thus to her lambs: 'Whatever person comes, don't you open the door!
5. Stay quietly under it,' she said.
6. Of course the wolf had never accomplished to eat [them].
7. Then one day, after she had covered the lambs under it, she went away.
8. She went away to eat grass.
9. The wolf came. He searched and searched, [but] did not find them.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Míngguā. For other versions, cf Malov 1967: 107-108 № 106, and 1967: 204-205 № 198.

10. *taxq-pa-yanta-ya tis-tiñ üzi-ki: çhoqe-ya pışt tuht-qantı, törtiñ.*
11. *antaqanta ohsırıq-ın soht-qantı, törtiñ.*
12. *pu işki qozı antay ti-yin: 'qızma-siñ-qa! tart soq-v:!' ti-yinti.*
13. *antaqanta törtiñ tis-ti ahsır-it-qa qosın zi-wat-qantı.*
14. *antaqanta-la zi-yış hanı-yantı.*
15. *antaqanta qoy pıl-yin-i-tü.*
16. *sosikın-ya qoy par-yantı:*
17. *'taqıñ, sen maya ixırq-tan pır qara.*
18. *meñ qozı paht-iq qha-ttı, qar-yan-i?'*
19. *'ay, seniñ ixırq, çho:t, çho:t!*
20. *meni ista-q qha-yan kisı zi-wat-tı,' ti-yin.*
21. *'antasa taqa-nı tayın tañqar qıxqır-ıwat-in.*
22. *meniñ-kı-yi paş azaq zi-yıla kel,' ti-yinti.*
23. *ya ti-yin. sosikın törtiñ par-yantı.*

10. find-NEG-CTMP-PCL1 cauldron-GEN upside-DAT sit-CCO louse catch-NARev wolf
11. then fart-POS3ACC release-NARev wolf
12. this two lamb that/EQU say-PNAR cunt-POS3-DAT ONOM hit-CSIM say-NARev
13. then wolf cauldron-ACC overturn-QUI-CCO lamb/POS3ACC eat-FIN-NARev
14. then-PCL2 eat-CCO go-NARev
15. then sheep know-NAR-COP-EV
16. next.day-PCL1 sheep go-NARev
17. uncle/POS1/2 you me/DAT omen-ABL one look
18. me/GEN lamb be.lost-CON fall-PASTev whither.go-NAR-COP
19. EXCL you/GEN omen EXCL EXCL
20. me/ACC resemble-CON fall-PP person eat-FIN-PAST say-NAR
21. in.that.case uncle-ACC tomorrow morning invite-FIN-IMP1sg
22. me/GEN-KI-DAT head foot eat-CPUR come say-NARev
23. all.right say-NAR next.day wolf go-NARev

10. When he did not find [them], the wolf sat down on the cauldron, and caught lice.
11. Then the wolf released a fart.
12. These two lambs said thus: 'Fuck you! Squeezing a fart!' they said.
13. Then the wolf quickly overturned the cauldron and devoured the lambs.
14. Then, after he had eaten [them], he went away.
15. Then the sheep knew.
16. The next day the sheep went:
17. 'My Uncle, look for me at the omens.
18. My lambs got lost, whither have they gone?'
19. 'Ay, your omen, hail, hail!
20. A person resembling me has devoured [them],' he said.
21. 'In that case, let me invite Uncle tomorrow morning.
22. Come to my place to eat head and feet,' she said.
23. He agreed. The next day the wolf went.

24. *antaqanta-la pu qoy-ya khaŋ-ın weyla-ya: qhoryaq-ın çuaşı tuhtit-ıwat-qaş-la qızart-ıwat-qa-la inaq-ın yaz-ya khaŋ-qa thelk aş-qa antaqanta-la pahç-ın azaq-ın quşqala-ya thul-yi olir-yantv.*
25. *taqın-ma ki-ttv: 'khaŋ-qa çhoqe!' çhoqe-tti.*
26. *'taqa, taqa, naqı-raq çhoqe, men saya azaq per-in!*
27. *taqa, taqa, eni naqı-raq çhoqe, men saya eni azaq per-in!'*
28. *tört azaq-ın tuanna-yanti.*
29. *antaqanta-la: 'taqa, taqa, naqı-raq çhoqe, men saya yanaq per-in!'*
30. *ışki yanaq per-yin.*
31. *taqa, taqa, naqı-raq çhoqe, men saya paş per-in! ti-yinti.*
32. *antaqanta-la törtij thelk-ış-ki qhal-xanı-yanti.*
33. *antaqanta-la: 'altam, altam, menı taht-it!' ti-yinti.*
34. *'miça olir, men ton-nı kiz-it-qa:,' ti-yin.*
35. *'altam, altam, thayna-ppar-ti, menı taht-it!' ti-yinti.*

24. then-PCL2 this sheep-PCL1 kang-POS3ACC heat-CCO hot.dung-POS3ACC really kindle-FIN-CCO-PCL2 make.red-FIN-CCO-PCL2 felt.blanket-POS3ACC spread-CCO kang-DAT hole open-CCO then-PCL2 head-POS3ACC foot-POS3ACC singe-CCO cook-CCO stay-NARev
25. uncle/POS1/2-PCL3 come-PASTev kang-DAT sit sit-PASTev
26. uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT foot give-IMP1sg
27. uncle uncle again yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT again foot give-IMP1sg
28. four foot-POS3ACC hold.in.both.hands-NARev
29. then-PCL2 uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT jaw give-IMP1sg
30. two jaw give-PNAR
31. uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT head give-IMP1sg say-NARev
32. then-PCL2 wolf hole-IN-DAT fall-TER-NARev
33. then-PCL2 quick quick me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev
34. little stay I garment-ACC dress-QUI-CCO say-NAR
35. quick quick burn-PROG-EV me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev

24. Then this sheep heated her kang, really kindled its hot dung and made it red hot, spread her felt blanket, made a hole in the kang, then singed their head and feet, and cooked them.
25. And our Uncle came: 'Sit down on the kang!' He sat down.
26. 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further. Let me give you a foot!
27. Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further again, let me give you another foot!'
28. She offered their four feet.
29. Then: 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further, let me give you a jaw!'
30. She gave two jaws.
31. 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further, let me give you a head!' she said.
32. Then the wolf fell into the hole.
33. Then he said: 'Quick, quick, pull me out!'
34. 'Wait a little, while I slip into a garment,' she said.
35. 'Quick, quick, I'm burning awfully, pull me out!' he said.

36. 'miça olir, men q^hor-ni qusan-it-qa.'
37. 'altam, altam, meni ta^hrt-it!' ti-yinti.
38. 'miça olir, q^hay-ni kiz-it-qa.'
39. 'oy, ta^hrt-it, t^hayna-ppar-ti!' ti-yinti.
40. antaqanta-la ta^hrt-it-qanti.
41. cinthou-la ta^hrt-ik ki-yinti-ya theri-sin soyil-uh^t-qanti.
42. 'e:, am ayir-ippar-ti, nays-e?' ti-yinti.
43. antaqanta tihkin par-i-ti, kunta.
44. 'k^v tihkin-is-ki ayina,' ti-yinti.
45. antaqanta-la ca: ayir-ya coq-pa-yanti.
46. 'am nays-e? ayir-ippar-ti,' ti-yinti.
47. antaqanta-ya: 'miça piz-tij üsiñ-ki ayina,' ti-yinti.
48. piz-ki pir ayina-yanta-la theri-sin soy-uh^t-qanti.
49. antaqanta-la törtij-ni yülir-iwat-qanti.

36. little stay I girdle-ACC put.on.a.girdle-QUI-CCO
37. quick quick me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev
38. little stay shoe-ACC dress-QUI-CCO
39. quick pull-QUI burn-PROG-EV say-NARev
40. then-PCL2 pull-QUI-NARev
41. by.the.time-PCL2 pull-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 skin-POS3ACC bake-COM-NARev
42. EXCL now hurt-PROG-EV what.do/FUT-COP say-NARev
43. then thorn present-COP-EV there
44. DEM thorn-IN-DAT roll say-NARev
45. then-PCL2 truly hurt-CCO accomplish-NEG-NARev
46. now what.do/FUT-COP hurt-PROG-EV say-NARev
47. then-PCL1 little ice-GEN upside/POS3-DAT roll say-NARev
48. ice-DAT one roll-CTMP-PCL2 skin-POS3ACC peel-COM-NARev
49. then-PCL2 wolf-ACC kill-FIN-NARev

36. 'Wait a little, while I quickly put on a girdle.'
37. 'Quick, quick, pull me out!' he said.
38. 'Wait a little, while I slip into [my] shoes.'
39. 'Quick, pull at once, I'm burning awfully!' he said.
40. Then she pulled him out.
41. By the time she pulled him out, she had baked his skin.
42. 'Eh, now it is hurting awfully, what to do?' he said.
43. Then there were thorns there.
44. 'Roll in those thorns,' she said.
45. Then he truly could not stand the pain.
46. 'Now what to do? It is hurting awfully,' he said.
47. Then she said: 'Roll a little on the ice.'
48. When he rolled once on the ice, he peeled off his skin.
49. Then she had killed the wolf.

5. The Raven

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *qoŋqūri-ya² tōrtiŋ-ki par-γanta ti-γik-i-tī:*
2. *'am malçī uzī-q q^ha-ttī, uzī-q q^ha-ttī! oy maŋ! oy maŋ!'*
3. *malçī-niŋ qaht-qa eht-ki qoŋqūri antay ti-γik:*
4. *'kel-itī! kel-itī! tōrtiŋ kel-itī! kel-itī! ti-γik-i-tī.*
5. *tōrtiŋ ki-γinti-ya: 'sen-ya išt-īn yi, men-ya i^hçikī-sīn zi-yn, qoruŋ, qoruŋ, qoruŋ, qoruŋ! ti-γik-i-tī.*

1. raven-PCL1 wolf-DAT go-CTMP say-HAB-COP-EV
2. now herdsman sleep-CON fall-PASTev sleep-CON fall-PASTev quick walk quick walk
3. herdsman-GEN side-DAT arrive-CCO raven that/EQU say-HAB
4. come-DUB come-DUB wolf come-DUB come-DUB say-HAB-COP-EV
5. wolf come-CTMP-PCL1 you-PCL1 meat-POS3ACC eat I-PCL1 intestines-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM say-HAB-COP-EV

1. The raven goes to the wolf and says thus:
2. 'Now the herdsman has fallen asleep, he has fallen asleep! Go quick, go quick!'
3. Arriving at the herdsman's side, the raven says thus:
4. 'He is coming, he is coming, the wolf is coming! He is coming!' he says.
5. When the wolf came, he says: 'You eat his meat, let me eat his intestines, korung, korung, korung, korung!'

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jinwén, 1992 in Míng huā.

² The raven is the wolf's maternal uncle.

6. The Grateful Animals

told by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *men p̄ir lomaq ti-yn.*
2. *p̄ih̄t̄irk̄i p̄ih̄t̄ior yiuti p̄ih̄t̄iy yōryin-mi m̄ila-lir par-i-t̄i.*
3. *p̄ir kh̄un iſc-in-ti p̄ir m̄ila taxs-iŋ-qa oyna-γ̄ila-γant̄i.*
4. *oyna-γ̄ila-γanta su q̄iz̄iy-ta p̄ir aq paqa tuht-iwal-γant̄i.*
5. *tuaſi aq-paq-i-t̄i.*
6. *antaqanta-ya aq paqa aŋ-qa-q̄ina oyn-in saq̄in-qan.*
7. *kh̄unsi:n aya porta-γaq-i-t̄i.*
8. *antaqanta-ya p̄ir kh̄un-ki eht-kinti faŋcala-γanta yū-h̄s̄iŋ-ki maŋ-qant̄i.*
9. *yū-h̄s̄iŋ-ki maŋ-qanta-ya pu aq paqa-n̄i uz̄i-n̄iŋ arkan-iſ-ki suwat-qant̄i.*
10. *arkan-iſ-ki suwat-qanta-ya yiuti: z̄iſ suwat-qant̄i.*

1. I one story tell-IPM1sg
2. once.upon.a.time quite many book learn-VN boy-PL present-COP-EV
3. one day in-POS3-LOC one boy outside-POS3-DAT play-PUR-NARev
4. play-PUR-CTMP water side-LOC one white frog hold-INC-NARev
5. really white-JINGLE-COP-EV
6. then-PCL1 white frog take/RFL-CCO-INT play-IMP1sg think-NAR
7. every.day that/DAT feed-HAB-COP-EV
8. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP have.holiday-CTMP house-POS3-DAT walk-NARev
9. house-POS3-DAT walk-CTMP-PCL1 this white frog-ACC self-GEN box-IN-DAT put/FIN-NARev
10. box-IN-DAT put/FIN-CTMP-PCL1 much food put/FIN-NARev

1. Let me tell a story.
2. Once upon a time, there were quite a lot of students.
3. One day, one boy went outside to play.
4. When he went to play, he caught a white frog at the water side.
5. It was really very white.
6. Then he intended to play [with it] and took the white frog along.
7. He used to feed it every day.
8. Then one day, when he had a holiday, he set off for home.
9. When he set off for home, he put this white frog in his own box.
10. When he put [it] in the box, he put a lot of food in it.

¹ Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. Other versions of this tale occur in Salar, cf Teniſev 1964: 83-86 N^o 45; and Tibetan, cf Schuh IV 1982: 69-72.

11. *antaqanta-ya hanī-γanta-ya toyēr pīhtiy yōryin-mi mīla-lir iſc-in-ti pīr kuzī pīr kuzī aq īs kōzti-ϑ-γantī.*
12. *antaqanta-ya loſī antay ti-γintī:*
13. *'iſc-in-ti īs pīhtīr-ϑtī. iſc-in-ti ni war-i? pīl-mistī.'*
14. *antaqanta-ya pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pu mīla yū-hsīy-ki par-γa ki-γin-i-tī.*
15. *ki-γinti-ya loſī antay ti-γintī:*
16. *'iſc-in-ti īs pīhtīr-ϑtī, arkan iſc-in-ti.*
17. *kancīy c̄hiol-uht-qa iſc-in qara!' antay ti-γin.*
18. *antaqanta-ya ahc-uht-qantī.*
19. *ahc-uht-qanta-ya aq paqa c̄incīy thorla-ya: olīr-γantī.*
20. *antaqanta-ya pu yiuti: zīſ aſ-qa-qīna aq paqa-nī yūen xuey tiat-īwat-qantī, o su-nīy qīzīq-qa.*
21. *antaqanta-ya pīr khu:n-ki eht-kinti-ya kīsī-lir pu su qīzīy-ta yoz-sa-ya, niçi kīsī yoz-sa niçi kīsī yoq pu-yaq-e-tī.*

11. then-PCL1 go-CTMP-PCL1 other book learn-VN boy-PL inside-POS3-LOC one spiral one spiral white smoke appear-AUX-NARev
12. then-PCL1 teacher that/EQU say-NARev
13. inside-POS3-LOC smoke smoke-PROGev inside-POS3-LOC what present-COP know-DUBN
14. then-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this boy house-POS3-DAT go-CCO come-PNAR-COP-EV
15. come-CTMP-PCL1 teacher that/EQU say-NARev
16. inside-POS3-LOC smoke smoke-PROGev box inside-POS3-LOC
17. immediately pry.open-COM-CCO inside-POS3ACC look that/EQU say-PNAR
18. then-PCL1 open-COM-NARev
19. open-COM-CTMP-PCL1 white frog truly be.hungry-CCO stay-NARev
20. then-PCL1 this much food take/RFL-CCO-INT white frog-ACC as.before time abandon-FIN-NARev that water-GEN side-DAT
21. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 person-PL this water side-LOC pass-COND-PCL1 how.many person pass-COND how.many person not.present become-HAB-COP-EV

11. Then, when he had left, spirals and spirals of white smoke appeared among the other students.
12. Then the teacher said thus:
13. 'Inside it is smoking. What is there inside? One would not know.'
14. Then one day, this boy went home and came back.
15. When he came back, the teacher said thus:
16. 'Inside, in the box, it is smoking.
17. Pry it open immediately and look at its inside!' thus he said.
18. Then he opened it.
19. When he opened it, the white frog had become truly hungry.
20. Then this [boy] took along a lot of food and let the white frog go again, at that water side.
21. Then one day, if people pass along this water side, whoever passes used to disappear.

22. *antaqanta-ya pu mīla antay saqin-qanti: 'men pīr yoz-īq qar-in-ya.*
23. *išc-in-ti ni-si menī zi-wat-qış-i?' saqin-qanti.*
24. *mv:-ya anij yarq-qa eht-kinti-ya uzi sışaṅna-k ki-yinti.*
25. *tiṅir qarar-hanī-ṅanta-ya am sışaṅna-k ki-yintv:*
26. *'men iç^hen mīnta pīr aq paqa suwat-qan-i, o qar-ṅan-i:!' saqin-qanti.*
27. *pī:r saqin-qanta-ya pu tiṅir-ma aqar-ṅanti, axštī-ṅanti.*
28. *antaqanta-ya išc-in-ti pezi:k pīr aq paqa cūncūṅ un-īk kil-u-ṅanti, naqī thay-nij*
išc-in-ti².
29. *un-īk ki-yin-ti-ya mīla antay ti-yin-i-ti:*
30. *'sen nati mīnij pezi:k pol-ṅan-i?' ti-yinti.*
31. *antaqanta-ya aq paqa: 'sen maya suwat-qan ziş az muli-ti.*
32. *men thorl-v: antaqanta-ya men kisi zi-sti, uzki men kisi zi-yimis.*
33. *men thorla-ppar-ti-ya, men kisi zi-sti,' ti-yinti.*
34. *antaqanta-ya mīla-ṅa eni antay titv: 'sen meṅ ihciki-ş-ki khir-ip par.*

22. then-PCL1 this boy that/EQU think-NARev I one pass-CON look-IMP1sg-PCL1
23. inside-POS3-LOC what-POS3 me/ACC eat-FIN-FUT-COP think-NARev
24. walk/CSIM-PCL1 that/GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 self think-CON come-NARev
25. sky be.black-TER-CTMP-PCL1 now think-CON come-NARev
26. I previously this/LOC one white frog put/FIN-NAR-COP that
whither.gone-NAR-COP think-NARev
27. one think-CTMP-PCL1 this sky-PCL3 be.light-NARev be.clear-NARev
28. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC big one white frog truly come.out-CON
come-AUX-NARev yonder mountain-GEN inside-POS3-LOC
29. come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 boy that/EQU say-PNAR-COP-EV
30. you why this/GEN big become-PNAR-COP say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 white frog you me/DAT put/FIN-PP food few very-EV
32. I be.hungry-CSIM then-PCL1 I person eat-PAST otherwise I person eat-FUTN
33. I be.hungry-PROG-EV-PCL1 I person eat-PAST say-NARev
34. then-PCL1 boy-DAT again that/EQU say/DUB you me/GEN intestines-IN-DAT
enter-CON go

22. Then this boy thought thus: 'Let me try to pass along once.
23. In it, what is it that will devour me?' he thought.
24. While walking, when he arrived near the [water], a thought occurred to himself.
25. When the sky became dark, at that moment a thought occurred [to him]:
26. 'Previously, I did release a white frog here: whither has it gone?' he thought.
27. [Just] when he was thinking [this], this sky became light, it became clear.
28. Then in it, [from with]in those mountains, a big white frog truly had come out.
29. When it came out, the boy said thus:
30. 'Why have you become so big?' he said.
31. Then the white frog: 'The food you put with me was very little.
32. I was [so] hungry, then I ate people, otherwise I would not eat people.
33. I was starving, [so] I ate people,' it said.
34. Then again it says thus to the boy: 'Just you enter my intestines.

² Apparently a mistake for *su-nij* 'of the water' (water-GEN).

35. *kh̄ir-ïp par-ya meŋ iŝçik̄i-ŝ-ti p̄ir aq n̄imi par.*
36. *sen maya an̄i untur-ik̄ ki! antay ti-yin-i-t̄i.*
37. *antaqanta-ya m̄ila iŝçik̄i-ŝ-ki kh̄ir-ïp par-yant̄i.*
38. *kh̄ir-ïp par-ya o aq örc̄ü-n̄i akk^{her}-yint̄i³.*
39. *antaqanta-ya: 'sen-ya pu aq örc̄ü-n̄i aŋ-qa qaya eht-si qanta ims-v ç̄ita-ŝ.*
40. *zukuö z̄iq̄ k̄is̄i seni z̄ili-si sen m̄in̄i p̄ir töhrs̄aŋta-sa-ya o k̄is̄i maŝaŋ yoqq^{ha}-st̄i.*
41. *sen-ya yaxŝ k̄is̄i kör-yi yül-yi olir-yanta-ya p̄ir çola-sa o k̄is̄i t̄irli-k̄ ki-ŝt̄i,'
ti-yint̄i.*
42. *antaqanta-ya pu m̄ila an̄i aŋ-qa-q̄ina o aq paqa-n̄i th̄ayt-ïwat-qa maŋ-qant̄i.*
43. *m̄iça maŋ-qanta-ya p̄ir k̄is̄i yül-yi olir-yant̄i.*
44. *k̄is̄i yül-yi olir-yanta k̄is̄i-n̄iŋ p̄ir zikh̄i-s̄i hora-[..].*

35. enter-CON go-CCO me/GEN intestines-IN-LOC one white thing present
36. you me/DAT that/ACC take.out-CON come that/EQU say-PNAR-COP-EV
37. then-PCL1 boy intestines-IN-DAT enter-CON go-NARev
38. enter-CON go-CCO that white thing-ACC bring-NARev
39. then-PCL1 you-PCL1 this white thing-ACC take/RFL-CCO whither arrive-COND
where use-CSIM can-FUT
40. if bad person you/ACC harass-COND you this/ACC one turn.around-COND-PCL1
that person immediately die-FUTev
41. you-PCL1 good person see-CCO die-CCO stay-CTMP-PCL1 one reflect-COND
that person revive-CON come-FUTev say-NARev
42. then-PCL1 this boy that/ACC take/RFL-CCO-INT that white frog-ACC leave-FIN-CCO
walk-NARev
43. little walk-CTMP-PCL1 one person die-CCO stay-NARev
44. person die-CCO stay-CTMP person-GEN one rib-POS3 be.lacking-[..]

35. After you have entered, [you will notice that] there is a white thing in my intestines.
36. Get it out for me! thus it said.
37. Then the boy entered its intestines.
38. He entered and brought that white thing along.
39. Then [the frog said]: 'Take this white thing along, and you will be able to use it wherever you get.
40. If a bad person harasses you, if you turn this around once, that person will die immediately.
41. If you reflect it once after you have seen a good person when he has died, that person will come back to life,' it said.
42. Then this boy took it along, left that white frog and set off.
43. When he had walked a little, [he noticed that] a person had died.
44. When [this] person had died, one rib of [this] person was lacking.

³ The object is a mirror.

45. *antaqanta-ya yülyin-ni si-ya-qina isç-iñ-ki çhala-ya antaqanta şopaq-ti piala-ya antaqanta isç-iñ-ki sa-ya pır çola-yantı.*
46. *pu kisi tirli-yinti.*
47. *pu kisi tirli-yi mañ-iwat-qanti. antaqanta-ya eni mañ-qanti.*
48. *mañ-qanta-ya yiuti: zona yül-yi olir-yantı.*
49. *cona-ni-ma çola-ya tirli-t-iwat-qanti.*
50. *antaqanta-ya eni mañ-qanta-ya şoryihlçin, şıyan çinçiy alir-ni içhi tirli-t-iwat-qanti.*
51. *antaqanta eni mañ-qanti.*
52. *mɔ: pır çazi-niñ-ki-yi eht-kinti-ya pu çula-wat-qan kisi qayla-p par-ya mıla-niñ pu toqır nimi-sin qhoñ-qanti.*
53. *antaqanta eni kola-yantı: 'ku kisi meñ mını çhimikti-har-tti.*
54. *antaqanta-ya meñ örcü yoq po-tti,' ti-yinti.*
55. *pu çoula-yan kisi kola-ya eni örcü-sin-ma qhoñ-qanti.*
56. *antaqanta-ya pu mıla-ni çenyü-ş-ki sola-wat-qanti.*

45. then-PCL1 tamarisk-ACC break-CCO-INT inside-POS3-DAT insert-CCO then mud-ACC paste-CCO then inside-POS3-DAT put-CCO one reflect-NARev
46. this person revive-NARev
47. this person revive-CCO walk-FIN-NARev then-PCL1 again walk-NARev
48. walk-CTMP-PCL1 many wasp die-CCO stay-NARev
49. wasp-ACC-PCL3 reflect-CCO revive-CAUS-FIN-NARev
50. then again walk-CTMP-PCL1 ant mouse truly that/PL-ACC altogether revive-CAUS-FIN-NARev
51. then again walk-NARev
52. walk/CSIM one family-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this rescue-FIN-PP person run-CON go-CCO boy-GEN this round thing-POS3ACC seize-NARev
53. then again sue-NARev DEM person me/GEN this/ACC steal-RES-PASTev
54. then-PCL1 me/GEN thing not.present become-PASTev say-NARev
55. this rescue-PP person sue-CCO again thing-POS3ACC-PCL3 seize-NARev
56. then-PCL1 this boy-ACC prison-IN-DAT lock-FIN-NARev

45. Then [the boy] broke a tamarisk, put it in him, then pasted mud [onto him], then put [it] in him, and reflected once.
46. This person revived.
47. After this person had revived, they set off. Then they walked on.
48. When they were walking, [he noticed that] a lot of wasps had died.
49. He also revived the wasps by reflecting.
50. When they walked on again, he revived ants, a mouse, truly all of them together.
51. Then they walked on again.
52. While they were walking, when they arrived at a family's [house], this person he had rescued seized this round thing of the boy and ran away.
53. Then he also sued [the boy]: 'This person has stolen this [thing] of mine.
54. Then my thing had disappeared,' he said.
55. This rescued person sued [him] and also got hold of his thing.
56. Then [they] locked this boy up in prison.

57. *sola-wat-qanta-ya pu cula-wat-qan cona, cula-wat-qan şıyan, cula-wat-qan şoryıhlçın ki-yi xosı pağnas-qantv, sİK-tıñ fıñfıñzı-tan khır-i khır-i.*
58. *pu şıyan-ya par-ya-qına kİsİ-nİñ-kİ-ti semen İŞc-v-yaanta semen-İN tuanna-k ki-yik-i-tİ.*
59. *pu cona-ya qayla-p par-ya taxs-İN-ta ni sosi tır-İM antarmi ağna-k ki-yi-kİna ti-yik-i-tİ.*
60. *pu şoryıhlçın-lir taxs-İN-ta mİnta mıça anta mıça İchi ther-İK ki-yik-i-tİ.*
61. *pır khun:ki eht-kinti-ya pu şıyan-ya kİsİ-nİñ-kİ-yi par-yantİ.*
62. *kİsİ-lir çay İŞc-v-yaanta-ya pır qayla-ya lienphēn-İŞ-ki⁴ khır-İğ qha-yantİ.*
63. *kİsİ antay sağın-qantİ: 'i, şıyan-ma qhal-xar-ttİ! am ni zi-ppay?' ti-yin.*
64. *ah, taxs-İñ-qa untır-it-qanta-ya şıyan lienphİN tuanna-ya qayla-yantİ.*
65. *qayla-k ki-yi mİla-ya İŞcir-yik-i-tİ.*

57. lock-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 this rescue-FIN-PP wasp rescue-FIN-PP mouse rescue-FIN-PP ant come-CCO all help-NARev door-GEN crevice-ABL enter-CREP enter-CREP
58. this mouse-PCL1 go-CCO-INT person-GEN-KI-LOC food eat-AUX-CTMP food-POS3ACC hold.in.both.hands-CON come-HAB-COP-EV
59. this wasp-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO outside-POS3-LOC what news EX-Q that.kind.of.thing hear-CON come-CCO-INT tell-HAB-COP-EV
60. this ant-PL outside-POS3-LOC this/LOC little that/LOC little altogether gather-CON come-HAB-COP-EV
61. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this mouse-PCL1 person-GEN-KI-DAT go-NARev
62. person-PL just drink-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 one run-CCO washbasin-IN-DAT enter-CON fall-NARev
63. person that/EQU think-NARev EXCL mouse-PCL3 fall-RES-PASTev now what eat-PROG/COP say-PNAR
64. EXCL outside-POS3-DAT take.out-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 mouse washbasin hold.in.both.hands-CCO run-NARev
65. run-CON come-CCO boy-DAT feed-HAB-COP-EV

57. When they had locked him up, these rescued wasps, rescued mouse, and rescued ants all came to help, always entering through the door's crevice.
58. This mouse used to go and, when they were eating at a person's [house], it used to come back carrying their food in both hands.
59. These wasps used to run away and, after having heard outside what news there was and things like that, used to tell [it].
60. These ants used to gather together a little here and a little there outside.
61. One day this mouse went to a person's [house].
62. Just when the people were about to eat, it ran and plunged into the washbasin.
63. The people thought thus: 'Eh, a mouse has fallen [in it]! What do we eat now?' they said.
64. Ah, when they quickly took [it] outside, the mouse ran off carrying the washbasin in both its hands.
65. It used to run back and feed the boy.

⁴ *tİs* 'cauldron' is more appropriate.

66. *antaqanta-ya eni p̄r khun-ki eht-kinti-ya p̄r cona-ya taxs-ın-ta ayn-v m̄nta ayn-v k̄s̄i-lir ni ti-ı̄t̄i antarmi ayna-yaq-i-t̄i.*
67. *p̄r k̄hu:n-ki eht-kinti-ya o ayna-k ki-yi ziȳit-ki ti-yı̄ntv.*
68. *am pu m̄ila pezi-har-t̄i, ziȳit pu-t̄i.*
69. *antay ti-yı̄nt̄i: 'men tabs-ın-ta ayna-ht̄i.*
70. *qays̄i qays̄i k̄s̄i-n̄ı̄j, coūs̄i, p̄r ta:n̄cin fu k̄s̄i-n̄ı̄j-k̄i-ti, p̄r q̄ztar-n̄ı̄ k̄s̄i-yi kheln per-ı̄t̄i.*
71. *lou-n̄ı̄j üs̄in-ti q̄ztar p̄r çhic̄hou^s thayta-ş, tit̄i.*
72. *kh̄im-ya an̄ı̄ ther-ı̄wal-sa-ya kh̄im-ki kheln po-ştv,' antay ti-yın.*
73. *antay ti-ı̄t̄i: 'men antay saq̄in-qan: sen p̄r par-sa o-şti,' antay ti-yı̄nt̄i.*
74. *antaqanta-ya pu m̄ila-ma saq̄in-qan: 'e, men p̄r par-v ç̄ita-yaq pu-sa:!' ti-yın.*
75. *antaqanta-ya pu cona, ş̄ıyan, ş̄oryı̄h̄lq̄in, m̄ila xos̄i-ya pu s̄ik qara-ma k̄s̄i-yi antay ti-yı̄nt̄i:*
-
66. then-PCL1 again one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one wasp-PCL1 outside-POS3-LOC listen-CSIM this/LOC listen-CSIM person-PL what say-PROGev that.kind.of.thing hear-HAB-COP-EV
67. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that hear-CON come-CCO young.man-DAT tell-NARev
68. now this boy grow.up-RES-PASTev young man become-PASTev
69. that/EQU say-NARev I outside-POS3-LOC hear-PAST
70. which which person-GEN well one terrible rich person-GEN-KI-LOC one girl-ACC person-DAT wife give-PROGev
71. storied.building-GEN upside/POS3-LOC girl one balloon throw-FUT say/DUB
72. who-PCL1 that/ACC gather-INC-COND-PCL1 who-DAT wife become-FUTev that/EQU say-PNAR
73. that/EQU say-PROGev I that/EQU think-PNAR you one go-COND become-FUTev that/EQU say-NARev
74. then-PCL1 this boy-PCL3 think-PNAR EXCL I one go-CSIM can-PHAB become-COND say-NARev
75. then-PCL1 this wasp mouse ant boy all-PCL1 this door look-VN person-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
-
66. Then again one day, a wasp, while listening outside, while listening here, used to listen to what the people were saying and things like that.
67. One day it heard [something] and told it to the young man.
68. [For] now this boy had grown up, he had become a young man.
69. [The wasp] said thus: 'I listened outside.
70. At such and such a person's, well, at a terribly rich person's [house], they are giving a daughter into marriage.
71. At the upper store of the building, the girl will throw a balloon', it says.
72. 'Whoever picks it up, will have her as a wife,' thus it said.
73. [The wasp] says thus: 'I thought thus: it would be best if you go,' thus it said.
74. Then this boy also thought: 'Eh, if only I could go once!' he said.
75. Then these wasps, mouse, ants, and boy all said thus to this guard:

⁵ Apparently a substitution for *souçhou* 'an embroidered ball used as a wedding ornament.'

76. 'sen menī ta^{hs}-iŋ-qa pīr untur.
 77. pīr k^hun-ya untur-*v*-yanta uzī par-ya ke-yn! ti-yintī.
 78. antaqanta-ya pu kīsī: 'po-štī, sen par!' ti-yintī.
 79. antaqanta pu mīla maŋ-qantī, cona ezert-ki maŋ-ittī.
 80. m^v: su qīzīq-qa e^{ht}-kinti quašī uz-*v* sa-ya çoq-pintī.
 81. am m^v yata-štī, har-ya çoq-mastī.
 82. 'men pīr uzī-yn,' ti-yin.
 83. ca:ŋ köz-tī zim-qa toqīra-q q^{ha}-yanta-ya köz-ki pīrmi közti-*v*-yantī.
 84. çhišī tīsti-ttī.
 85. pīr a:q paş awaka [...] şanzī-nī aŋ-qa antay ti-*v*-yantī:
 86. 'sen-la kv khīr su-ş-ki khīr-yi pī:r ayīna-ya-qīna par.
 87. antaqa [...] sen çīta-štī,' ti-yin.

76. you me/ACC outside-POS3-DAT one come.out-CAUS
 77. one day-PCL1 come.out-CAUS-AUX-CTMP self go-CCO come-IMP1sg say-NARev
 78. then-PCL1 this person become-FUTev you go say-NARev
 79. then this boy walk-NARev wasp lead-CCO walk-PASTev
 80. walk/CSIM water side-DAT arrive-CTMP really sleep-CSIM put-CCO
 accomplish-PASTNev
 81. now walk/CSIM cannot-FUTev be.tired-CCO accomplish-DUBN
 82. I one sleep-IMP1sg say-PNAR
 83. just eye-ACC close.eye-CCO topple-CON fall-CTMP-PCL1 eye-DAT somebody
 appear-AUX-NARev
 84. actually dream-PASTev
 85. one white head old.man [...] fan-ACC take/RFL-CCO that/EQU say-AUX-NARev
 86. you-PCL2 DEM dirty water-IN-DAT enter-CCO one roll-CCO-INT go
 87. then [...] you succeed-FUTev say-PNAR

76. 'Let me go out once.
 77. When [you] have let me go out for one day, I will go and return [by] myself'
 he said.
 78. Then this person said: 'All right, you go!'
 79. Then this boy set off, the wasps led [him].
 80. While he was walking, when he arrived at the water side, [the boy] could not
 help beginning to really fall asleep.
 81. Now he could not walk, he could not help being tired.
 82. 'Let me take a nap,' [the boy] said.
 83. Just when he had closed his eyes and toppled down, somebody appeared on
 his eye.
 84. Actually he was dreaming.
 85. A white headed old man taking along a [...] fan said thus:
 86. 'Just you enter that dirty water, have a roll in it and go.
 87. Then [...] you will succeed,' he said.

88. *antaqanta-ya mīla uΦtīraqqa miça mañ-qanta-ya çintī-ya pisek khīr su olīr-yantī.*
89. *antaqanta-ya khīr su-ş-ki pī:r toqīra-yantī.*
90. *toqīra-yantā-ya poz-ī zic^{hi} şopaq po-q q^{ha}-yantī.*
91. *antaqanta-ya eni cona-nī ezer-γi mañ-qantī.*
92. *mv:-ya o kīsī-nīñ lou-nīñ ahl^tīr-īñ-qa eht-kintv.*
93. *qara-γanta-ya toγīr ziyūt-tir çinçīñ a::q q^hantampu kizkī kiz-ki olīr-γantī.*
94. *pu-ya khī:r şopaq pahs-qa olīr-γantī.*
95. *antaqanta-ya toγīr ziyūt-tir antay saqīn-qantī:*
96. *'khīm-ya sayā kheln po-ş-e? khīm qāztar-nī sayā per-īs-e?'*
97. *xosī-ya 'miz çīta-štī,' antay saqīn-qantī.*
98. *antaqanta-ya yū-^{hs}īn-tin çhīçhou-sīn thayt-v-γanta-ya xosī pīr yer-γi çili-u-γanta-ya pu mīla ohrta-sīñ-qa khīr-it-qanta-ya poz-ī khīr muli o-γantī.*
-
88. then boy ahead/DAT little walk-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 lump dirty water stay-NARev
89. then-PCL1 dirty water-IN-DAT one topple-NARev
90. topple-CTMP-PCL1 body-POS3 altogether mud become-CON fall-NARev
91. then-PCL1 again wasp-ACC follow-CCO walk-NARev
92. walk/CSIM-PCL1 that person-GEN storied.building-GEN underside-POS3-DAT arrive-NARev
93. look-CTMP-PCL1 other young.man-PL truly white splendid clothes dress-CCO stay-NARev
94. this-PCL1 dirty mud stain-CCO stay-NARev
95. then-PCL1 other young.man-PL that/EQU think-NARev
96. who-PCL1 you/DAT wife become-FUT-COP who girl-ACC you/DAT give-FUT-COP
97. all-PCL1 we succeed-FUTev that/EQU think-NARev
98. then-PCL1 house-POS3-ABL balloon-POS3ACC throw-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 all one place-DAT jostle-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 this boy middle-POS3-DAT enter-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 body-POS3 dirty very become-NARev
-
88. Then, when the boy walked a bit ahead, there really was an amount of dirty water.
89. Then he toppled down once in the dirty water.
90. When he had toppled down, his body became mud all over.
91. Then again he set off following the wasps.
92. While he was walking, he arrived under that person's storied house.
93. When he looked, the other young men were dressed in truly splendid white clothes.
94. He [however] was stained with dirty mud.
95. Then the other young men thought thus:
96. 'Who would [agree to] be a wife to you? Who would give [his] daughter to you?
97. We will succeed,' so they all thought.
98. Then, when she had thrown her balloon from the house, when all had jostled into one place, when this boy suddenly entered into their midst, his body was very dirty.

99. *toyır ziyüt-tir qızıq-qa qayla-s-ıwat-qantı: khır muli-ti.*
 100. *a:ntaqanta-ya pu ziyüt şopaq paḥs-qa khır-xar-ya i^{şç}-iḡ-ki cuanna-yantı.*
 101. *antaqanta pu cona eni pu çhiçhou-nı çua:nmıḡ pu ziyüt-tiḡ poz-ya qḥal-tır-uh^t-qantı.*
 102. *toyır kısı-yi tek-si toyır kısı-nı tısti-yintı.*
 103. *antaqanta-ya senluḡsınunḡ pu ziyüt-tiḡ ilik-ki eht-kintı.*
 104. *antaqanta-ya pu ziyüt anı an-ıwal-ya: 'ayv! meḡ kheln, meḡ kheln tahq-ti!' ti-v oryıla-yantı.*
 105. *antaqanta-ya pu aça-sı pır qara-yanta pu yiyüt sueyzan khır-tı tanşı tahqı-ya çıta-ttı⁶.*
 106. *'men qıztar-nı saya per-in' ti-yintı.*
 107. *antaqanta-ya pu amsa kuan-nıḡ qız-ı-tı.*
 108. *'am saya per-si sen teyli çenyü [...] çhoqe-yımisti, un-ik ki-ştı.'*
99. other young.man-PL side-DAT run-REC-FIN-NAR_{ev} dirty very-EV
 100. then-PCL1 this young.man mud stain-CCO enter-RES-CCO inside-POS3-DAT make.one's.way.into-NAR_{ev}
 101. then this wasp again this balloon-ACC especially this young.man-GEN body-DAT fall-CAUS-COM-NAR_{ev}
 102. other person-DAT touch-COND other person-ACC sting-NAR_{ev}
 103. then-PCL1 gradually this young.man-GEN hand-DAT arrive-NAR_{ev}
 104. then-PCL1 this young.man that/ACC take/RFL-INC-CCO EXCL me/GEN wife me/GEN wife find-PAST say-CSIM shout-NAR_{ev}
 105. then-PCL1 this father-POS3 one look-CTMP this young.man although dirty-EV but yet-PCL1 succeed-PAST_{ev}
 106. I girl-ACC you/DAT give-IMP1sg say-NAR_{ev}
 107. then-PCL1 this anyway official-GEN girl-POS3-EV
 108. now you/DAT give-COND you certainly prison sit-FUT_{ev} come.out-CON come-FUT_{ev}
99. The other young men had run together to the side: he was so dirty.
 100. Then this young man, stained with mud, went in, he made his way to the inside.
 101. Then again, these wasps made this balloon especially fall onto the young man's body.
 102. If it touches another person, they stung [that] other person.
 103. Then gradually it got into the hand of this young man.
 104. Then this young man caught it: 'Ayo! My wife, I found my wife!' he said, shouting.
 105. Then, when this father of hers took a look, [he noticed that] although this young man was dirty, yet he had succeeded.
 106. 'Let me give [my] daughter to you,' he said.
 107. Then, anyway, she was an official's daughter.
 108. 'Now, if I give her to you, you certainly should not sit [in] prison, you should get out.'

⁶ The Yugur equivalent is *pu ziyüt khır-ıraq-tı, tahqı-la çıta-ttı* (this young.man dirty-COMP-EV yet-PCL2 succeed-PAST_{ev}).

109. *antaqanta-ya per-γinti.*
 110. *per-γinti-ya pu ziyēt am kuan çhoqe-tti.*
 111. *antan eni qiztar-ni ezert-ki aça-sin ezert-ki tili-yıla maḡ-qantı.*
 112. *phornta o aq nimi-ni qhoḡ-qhanı-yan kisi-ni tili-yıla maḡ-qantı.*
 113. *antaqanta-ya mō: pır cazı-niḡ-kı-γi eht-kinti-ya o kisi çinçı:ḡ aq nimi-ni aḡ-qa yiuti xuay sı kann-ν-yantı.*
 114. *zıḡ is kann-ν-yantı, minı-ma ni-q qar-ν anı-ma ni-q qar-ν.*
 115. *antaqanta-ya pu mıla par-γanta inaq-tiḡ ahtır-iḡ-qa yaχsır-ıwat-qantı, tahq-ma-yantı.*
 116. *antaqanta-ya pu sıyan par-ya tahq-qantı.*
 117. *sıyan par-ya inaq-tiḡ ahtır-iḡ-ta-qı toqır aq nimi-ni çhimıkti-k ki-yinti.*
 118. *çhimıkti-k ki-yinti-ya pu mıla, pu qiztar-niḡ aça-sı, uzı, qiztar, yiuti kisi-lir yü-hsıḡ-ki par-γantı.*

109. then-PCL1 give-NARev
 110. give-CTMP-PCL1 this young.man now official sit-PASTev
 111. that/ABL again girl-ACC lead-CCO father-POS3ACC lead-CCO look.for-CPUR walk-NARev
 112. before that white thing-ACC seize-TER-PP person-ACC look.for-CPUR walk-NARev
 113. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one family-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CTMP that person truly white thing-ACC take/RFL-CCO much bad matter do-NARev
 114. bad work do-NARev this/ACC-PCL3 what.do-CON see-CSIM that/ACC-PCL3 what.do-CON see-CSIM
 115. then-PCL1 this boy go-CTMP blanket-GEN underside-POS3-DAT hide-FIN-NARev find-NEG-NARev
 116. then-PCL1 this mouse go-CCO find-NARev
 117. mouse go-CCO blanket-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI round white thing-ACC steal-CON come-NARev
 118. steal-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 this boy this girl-GEN father-POS3 self girl many person-PL house-POS3-DAT go-NARev

109. Then he gave [her].
 110. When he gave [her], this young man got an official's post.
 111. Thereupon, [the boy] set off again in order to search, bringing along the girl and bringing along her father.
 112. He set off to search for the person who had taken away that white thing before.
 113. Then, while he was walking, when he arrived at a family's [house], that person had truly done many bad things after he had taken that white thing.
 114. He had done bad things, trying to do this and trying to do that.
 115. Then when this boy had gone, [that person] had hidden [the thing] under the blanket, [the boy] did not find it.
 116. Then this mouse went and found it.
 117. The mouse went and stole the round white thing under the blanket.
 118. When [the mouse] had stolen it, this boy, this girl's father, he himself, the girl, and many people went home.

119. *antaqanta-ya o aq nimi-ni töhrsäqta-ya pï:r çola-γantï.*
 120. *o kïsi eni yoqqha-γantï.*
 121. *yoqqha-γanta-ya iṣciki-sïn-ti-kï yülÿin, zikhï, şopaq ichi közti-q qha-γantï.*
 122. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla tahqï-ya süε khola-wal-γantï.*
 123. *khola-wal-γanta kuan çhoqe-ya kheln al-ya yanyan pol-γantï.*
 124. *antaqanta-ya yoq pu-tti.*

119. then-PCL1 that white thing-ACC turn.around-CCO one reflect-NARev
 120. that person again die-NARev
 121. die-CTMP-PCL1 intestines-POS3-LOC-KI tamarisk rib mud altogether appear-CON fall-NARev
 122. then-PCL1 this boy also-PCL1 school pass.exams-INC-NARev
 123. pass.exams-INC-CTMP official sit-CCO wife take-CCO all.kinds become-NARev
 124. then-PCL1 not.present become-PASTev

119. Then he turned this white thing around and reflected [it] once.
 120. That person died again.
 121. When he had died, the tamarisk, the rib and the mud that were inside all became visible.
 122. Then this boy also passed his entrance examinations.
 123. He passed his examinations, he got an official's post, he had taken a wife, all kinds [of good things] had happened.
 124. Then there is nothing [more to tell].

7. The Story of the Three Girls

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *pīr anika-ya u^hş qīz par-i-tī. yū-^hsīn-ti ni:-ma yoq-i-tī.*
2. *ah, pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-ya yūmo: iškī ker men yiy-īppar-i-tī.*
3. *antaqanta-ya u^hş qīzta-ī-qa pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-ya antay ti-γinti, anika:*
4. *'sen puyīn kō:, niyīl, xuar tī^hk-kīla,' ti-γinti.*
5. *ya ti-γinti. antaqanta-ya xuar tī^hk-kīla hanī-γanti.*
6. *antaqanta-ya anika-sī antay ti-γinti:*
7. *'puyīn u^hş qīz-tī maḡ-tīr-uht-qa iškī ker men-nī yazmaq yaz-ya zi-ynī.'*
8. *antaqanta-ya kī^hciq qīz-ī-qa o^hqa-l-σ-γanti:*
9. *'ana, ana, menīḡ misin pey-xar-ttī,' ti-γinti.*
10. *antaqanta pu^hya sīḡar per-γinti:*

1. one old.woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV house-POS3-LOC what-PCL3
not.present-COP-EV
2. EXCL one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 about two bowl flour collect-PROG-COP-EV
3. then-PCL1 three girl-POS3-DAT one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that/EQU
say-NARev old.woman
4. you today DEM what.do flower sew-PUR say-NARev
5. all.right say-NARev then-PCL1 flower sew-CPUR go-NARev
6. then-PCL1 old.woman-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev
7. today three girl-ACC walk-CAUS-COM-CCO two bowl flour-ACC pancake
spread-CCO eat-IMP1pl
8. then-PCL1 small girl-POS3-DAT smell-RFL-AUX-NARev
9. mother mother me/GEN thread run.out-RES-PASTev say-NARev
10. then this/DAT half give-NARev

1. An old woman had three daughters. There was nothing at all in their house.
2. Ah, one day, she collected about two bowls of flour.
3. Then one day, the old woman said thus to the three girls:
4. 'Today, you whatsit, you go away to embroider,' she said.
5. They agreed. Then they went away to embroider.
6. Then his old woman said thus [to her husband]:
7. 'Today, I made the three girls go, let us prepare pancakes from the two bowls of flour and eat.'
8. Then the youngest girl smelled it:
9. 'Mother, mother, my thread has run out,' she said [as a pretext].
10. Then the [old woman] gave her half [a pancake]:

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Míngghuā. For similar versions, cf Tenišev 1976: 232-233 N^o 4 (an incomplete rendering) and Malov 1967: 99-102 N^o 102. The tale further occurs in Chinese and Tibetan, cf Ting N^o 327A; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz N^o 105 (327A).

11. 'naqī iškī qīz-ya ti-mi!' ti-yintī. ya ti-yintī.
12. par-yaş-ya: 'aça-η-nī ana-η tatīy pīrmi zi-utv,' ti-yintī.
13. iškī-nçī qīz-ī par-yantī: 'ana, meḡ ziḡni sī-η-q^har-ttī,' ti-yintī.
14. antaqanta ana-sī eni sīḡar per-yī: 'naqī-ya ti-mi, ya-m?' ti-yintī.
15. am-la pezīk qīz-ī q^ha-ptī-sa, eni par-yantī.
16. 'ana, meḡ pīlisīk sī-η-q^har-ttī,' ti-yintī.
17. eni pīr sīḡar per-yintī.
18. cīnthou antaqanta-la pu iškī-sīḡ-ki kuey nīmi q^hal-ma-yantī.
19. antaqanta-ya awvaka-sī ç^hīla-yantī.
20. 'pu qīztar-lir kō^hp po-sa-ma nī-ma niy-σyoqtī.
21. kunī men tiat-qīla-yn,' ti-yintī.
22. antaqanta anīka-sī: 'sen kunī nayv tiat-qīla-ş-i?'
23. 'taḡḡar-la mīz ciyti ther-yīla-ynī, kv:: uzaq-qa.'
24. kī^hçīq qīz-īn suwat-qantī.

11. yonder two girl-DAT say-NEG say-NARev all.right say-NARev
12. go-CCO-PCL1 father-POS1/2-AND mother-POS1/2 tasty something eat-PROGev say-NARev
13. two-ORD girl-POS3 go-NARev mother me/GEN needle break-RFL-RES-PASTev say-NARev
14. then mother-POS3 again half give-CCO yonder-DAT say-NEG all.right-Q say-NARev
15. now-PCL2 big girl-POS3 remain-PASTev-PCL5 too go-NARev
16. mother me/GEN thimble break-RFL-RES-PASTev say-NARev
17. again one half give-NARev
18. by.the.time.when then-PCL2 this two-POS3-DAT hardly thing remain-NEG-NARev
19. then-PCL1 old.man-POS3 be.angry-NARev
20. this girl-PL many become-COND-PCL3 what-PCL3 what.do-PROGNeV
21. DEM/ACC I abandon-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev
22. then old.woman-POS3 you DEM/ACC how abandon-PUR-FUT-COP
23. morning-PCL2 we jujube gather-PUR-IMP1pl DEM far-DAT
24. small girl-POS3ACC put/FIN-NARev

11. 'Do not tell yonder two girls!' she said. She agreed.
12. After she had gone, she said: 'Father and mother are eating something tasty.'
13. The second daughter went: 'Mother, my needle has broken,' she said.
14. Then her mother again gave a half: 'Do not tell yonder one, all right?' she said.
15. Now the eldest girl remained, she went too.
16. 'Mother, my thimble has broken,' she said.
17. Again she gave a half.
18. By that time then, there was hardly a thing left for these two [old people].
19. Then their old man became angry.
20. 'Even if these girls are many, they are not doing anything [at all].
21. Let me go and get rid of them,' he said.
22. Then his old woman [said]: 'How will you go and get rid of them?'
23. 'Let us go in the morning to gather jujubes, far, far away.'
24. They left the youngest girl [at home].

25. *ışki qız piengkhuay kühtir-yi soŋkap al-ün-qa maŋ-qantï.*
26. *mɔ:-ya pır ciyti terik yer-yi eht-kintï.*
27. *'sen ışki-sï kv ciyti ther, ahçiyir-nï yüz-ki qhala-ya ther².*
28. *ahçiyir-nï al-ma,' ti-yintï. ya ti-yintï.*
29. *'men-la saya ciyti pher-in,' ti-yintï.*
30. *'piengkhuay thol-v-yanta-ya sen-ya aça-ŋ-nï qiti:*
31. *'açv! piengkhuay thol-tti!' ti-yintï. ya ti-yintï.*
32. *am-la ışki qız ahçiyir-in qhala-ya ther-yintï.*
33. *ther-v: khun-ma oyla-yantï.*
34. *antaqanta piengkhuay thol-v-yantï:*
35. *'açv:! piengkhuay thol-tti!' ti-yintï.*
36. *antaqanta terik paş-ta tahqï-la qhars-qhars pol-v-yantï.*
37. *'açv:! piengkhuay thol-tti!'*
38. *antaqanta ışki-ncï qız-ï, çen ise, yüz-ti-kï ahçiyir-nï al-ya qara-sa:*

25. two girl basket carry-CCO hammer take-RFL-CCO walk-NARev
26. walk/CSIM-PCL1 one jujube tree place-DAT arrive-NARev
27. you two-POS3 DEM jujube gather scarf-ACC face-DAT cover-CCO gather
28. scarf-ACC take-NEG say-NARev all.right say-NARev
29. I-PCL2 you/DAT jujube hit-IMP1sg say-NARev
30. basket be.full-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 you-PCL1 father-POS1/2-ACC call
31. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev say-NARev all.right say-NARev
32. now-PCL2 two girl scarf-POS3ACC cover-CCO gather-NARev
33. gather-CSIM sun-PCL3 set-NARev
34. then basket be.full-AUX-NARev
35. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev say-NARev
36. then tree head-LOC still-PCL2 knock-knock become-AUX-NARev
37. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev
38. then two-ORD girl-POS3 smart a.bit face-LOC-KI scarf-ACC take-CCO look-COND

25. The two girls set off, carrying a basket and taking along a hammer.
26. While they were walking, they arrived at a place with jujube trees.
27. 'You two, gather these jujubes, cover your face with a scarf and gather.
28. Do not take off the scarf,' he said. They agreed.
29. 'Let me hit the jujubes for you,' he said.
30. 'When the basket has become full, you call your father:
31. 'Father, the basket is full!' he said. They agreed.
32. Now the two girls covered [their faces] with the scarf and gathered.
33. While they were gathering, the sun set.
34. Then the basket had become full.
35. 'Father, the basket is full!' they said.
36. Then in the top of the tree, [the sound] 'knock-kcock' was still there.
37. 'Father, the basket is full!'
38. Then the second daughter, [who was] a bit smart, [said], as she took off the scarf on [her] face and looked:

² To avoid that the jujubes will fall in their eyes.

39. 'qayta-qī kīsī par-i?'
40. *pu soŋkap tiola-l-ya olīr-γantī.*
41. *antaqanta-la iškī qīz yilya-s-qantv: 'am qarş-e?'*
42. *khun-ma yay-ittī-nī.*
43. *antaqanta iškī qīztar qayla-s-qantv.*
44. *maŋ-qa:nta pīr khun po-ttī.*
45. *işçikī-ma thorla-ya pīr tīp halyar kör-γintī.*
46. *'mīnī mīz yīŋīr-ya qaya eht-si-ya qayta ot sal-ya çan-inī, al-īŋ-qa maynī,'*
ti-γintī.
47. *pīr azaq kaŋna-γanta-ya pīr khemzī un-ik ki-γintī.*
48. *sīŋar-īn-ya iškī-sī zi-γi sīŋar-īn-ya qoyŋ-qa qīstīr-γa maŋ-qantv.*
49. *'tayīn tahqī kīsī-liy yer-γi eht-kīş mi eht-kīmis mi mīz tayīn zi-ynī.'*
50. *antaqanta-ya pīrīk-īq qhal-γantī.*
51. *antaqanta qayla-s-v pīhtior kiş pol-γanta pīr ayka-nīŋ-kī-γi eht-īp par-γantī.*

39. where-KI person present-COP
40. this hammer suspend-RFL-CCO stay-NARev
41. then-PCL2 two girl cry-REC-NARev now whither.go/FUT-COP
42. sun-PCL3 set-PASTev-INT
43. then two girl run-REC-NARev
44. walk-CTMP one day become-PASTev
45. belly-PCL3 be.hungry-CCO one pad dung see-NARev
46. this/ACC we evening-DAT whither arrive-COND-PCL1 where fire put-CCO
light.fire-IMP1pl take-RFL-CCO walk/IMP1pl say-NARev
47. one foot kick-CTMP-PCL1 one bun come.out-CON come-NARev
48. half-POS3ACC-PCL1 two-POS3 eat-CCO half-POS3ACC-PCL1 bosom-DAT
store.in.the.bosom-CCO walk-NARev
49. tomorrow yet person-ADJ place-DAT arrive-FUT Q arrive-FUTN Q we tomorrow
eat-IMP1pl
50. then-PCL1 agree-CON fall-NARev
51. then run-REC-CSIM quite late become-CTMP one old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT
arrive-CON go-NARev

39. 'Where is everybody?'
40. [She noticed that] this hammer was hanging [there].
41. Then the two girls cried together: 'Now where to go?'
42. The sun had set too.
43. Then the two girls ran together.
44. When they walked, one day passed.
45. After [their] bellies had become hungry, they saw a pad of dried dung.
46. 'Let us walk and take it along, and wherever we arrive this evening, let us
make a fire, light a fire there,' they said.
47. When they gave [it] a kick, a bun of bread came out.
48. The two of them ate half of it, stored half of it in [their] bosom, and walked on.
49. 'Let us eat [that] tomorrow, whether we will arrive at an inhabited place or not.'
50. So they agreed.
51. Then, while they ran together, quite late they arrived at an old woman's [house].

52. *antaqanta pu ayka-niŋ-kī-γi eht-īp par-γanta-ya anika-γa antay ti-γintv, qiz:*
 53. *'ayka, men seniŋ-kī-ti olir-in?'*
 54. *'e:, meniŋ-kī-ti olir-īp q[.]-sa olir-īstv.*
 55. *meŋ-kī-ti pīr kīsī zi-γik ziyūt par,' ti-γinti.*
 56. *e:, am nays-e? 'meŋ pu ziyūt amihkī-la eht-īk ki-š-i-nī.'*
 57. *antaqanta-la qiz antay ti-γinti:*
 58. *'sen miz-tī yaxsīr-īwat-i, kv lianxua-γa yaxsīr-īwat-i,' ti-γinti.*
 59. *antaqanta-la lianxua-γa yaxsīr-īwat-qanti, īškī qiz-tī.*
 60. *antaqanta ziyūt-ī ki-γinti, pihtior kiš pol-γanta.*
 61. *pu ziyūt-ya çuanmü:ŋ kīsī ist zi-γik-i-tī.*
 62. *antaqanta khir-īk ki-γis-ya: 'ana, puyin ni-γi kīsī iht ohqa-l-īppe?'* *ti-γinti.*
 63. *'e, maŋ ti-si, sen lotila-ma!*
 64. *sen uzi kīsī iht-tī zi-v zi-γi saya kīsī iht ohqa-hl-tī ihkin.'*

52. then this old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 old.woman-DAT
 that/EQU say-NARev girl
 53. old.woman I you/GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP1sg
 54. EXCL me/GEN-KI-LOC stay-CON [..]-COND stay-FUTev
 55. me/GEN-KI-LOC one person eat-PHAB young.man present say-NARev
 56. EXCL now what.do/FUT-COP me/GEN this young.man presently-PCL2 arrive-CON
 come-FUT-COP-INT
 57. then-PCL2 girl that/EQU say-NARev
 58. you we-ACC hide-FIN-COP DEM ceiling-DAT hide-FIN-COP say-NARev
 59. then-PCL2 ceiling-DAT hide-FIN-NARev two girl-ACC
 60. then young.man-POS3 come-NARev quite late become-CTMP
 61. this young.man-PCL1 especially person meat eat-HAB-COP-EV
 62. then enter-CON come-CCO-PCL1 mother today what-DAT person meat
 smell-RFL-PROG/COP say-NARev
 63. EXCL walk say-COND you talk.nonsense-NEG
 64. you self person meat-ACC eat-CSIM eat-CCO you/DAT person meat
 smell-RFL-PAST IHKIN

52. Then, when they arrived at this old woman's [house], the girls said thus to the
 old woman:
 53. 'Grandmother, let me stay at your [place]?'
 54. 'Eh, if you [want to] stay at my [place], you can stay.
 55. [But] in my house is a man-eating young man,' she said.
 56. Eh, now what to do? 'This son of mine will arrive presently.'
 57. Then the girls said thus:
 58. 'Please hide us, please hide [us] at that ceiling,' they said.
 59. Then she hid the two girls at the ceiling.
 60. Then her son came, quite late.
 61. This young man was used to eat especially human meat.
 62. Then he entered: 'Mother, why is it smelling of human meat today?' he said.
 63. 'Eh, shut up, don't talk nonsense!
 64. Because you eat human meat yourself all the time, you must have smelled
 human meat.'

65. 'ana, puyin tejr pɔxsan-ɔti-m, tejr axst-ɔti-m?
 66. pɔxsan-ɪp po-sa men temir khaŋ-qa uzɪ-ŋ.
 67. axsti-p po-sa men thukhaŋ-qa uzɪ-ŋ, ti-yinti.
 68. ana-si pir qara-yici ol-ya antay ti-yinti: 'tejr pɔxsan-ɔtɔ' ti-yinti.
 69. pezi:k pir tis par-i-ti.
 70. pu-ya tis-is-ki khir-yi uzɪ-yanti.
 71. uz-ɔ:-la cuasi uzɪ-q qha-yanta iski qiz-ti tus-ir-ik ki-yi qhapaq-in qhala-ya
 thermin-ni thayla-k ki-yi antaqanta pu anika ot sal-yanti.
 72. ah, ziyit-i: 'thajna-ppar-ti, tuhtqis-ti chijn-it!' ti-yinti.
 73. 'ana! oy! thajna-ppar-ti!' ti-yinti.
 74. 'yuyis-ti chijn-it!'
 75. senluhsinuy-ya tis-is-ki [...]iwat-qanti.
 76. sosikin tanqar iski qiz tis-ti ahc-uh-qa qara-sa eme:n marcen pol-ya olir-yanti.

65. mother today sky be.cloudy-PROGev-Q sky be.clear-PROGev-Q
 66. be.cloudy-CON become-COND I iron kang-DAT sleep-FUT
 67. be.clear-CON become-COND I adobe.kang-DAT sleep-FUT say-NARev
 68. mother-POS3 one look-VNAG become-CCO that/EQU say-NARev sky
 be.cloudy-PROGev say-NARev
 69. big one cauldron present-COP-EV
 70. this-PCL1 cauldron-IN-DAT enter-CCO sleep-NARev
 71. sleep-CSIM-PCL2 really sleep-CON fall-CTMP two girl-ACC
 descend-CAUS-CON come-CCO lid-POS3ACC cover-CCO millstone-ACC lift-CON
 come-CCO then this old.woman fire put-NARev
 72. EXCL young.man-POS3 burn-PROG-EV potholder-ACC put.under-QUI say-NARev
 73. mother quick burn-PROG-EV say-NARev
 74. cleaning.towel-ACC put.under-QUI
 75. gradually-PCL1 cauldron-IN-LOC [...]FIN-NARev
 76. next.day morning two girl cauldron-ACC open-COM-CCO look-COND all.over
 coral become-CCO stay-NARev

65. 'Mother, is the sky today cloudy or is the sky clear?
 66. If it has been cloudy, I will sleep on the iron kang.
 67. If it has been clear, I will sleep on the adobe kang,' he said.
 68. His mother pretended to take a look and said thus: 'The sky is cloudy!' she said.
 69. There was a big cauldron.
 70. He entered the cauldron and went to sleep.
 71. When he slept and was soundly asleep, she made the two girls descend, covered
 [the cauldron] with its lid, lifted a millstone [on it], and then this old woman
 made a fire.
 72. Ah, her son said: 'I am burning, put the potholder underneath quickly!
 73. Mother, quick! I am burning awfully!' he said.
 74. 'Put the cleaning towel underneath quickly!
 75. Gradually, in the cauldron [a crust formed].
 76. As the girls opened the cauldron the next morning and looked, it had all over
 become coral.

77. *antaqanta-la işki qız marçen-ni man-qa pu anika-ya qız pol-yantı.*
 78. *pır khun-ki eht-kinti-la işki örçi sat-pa, xoulanzı, ki-yinti.*
 79. *antaqanta-la anika-ya antay ti-yinti:*
 80. *'men sey-kı-ti olir-in?' ti-yinti.*
 81. *'e, sen-qa meniñ-kı-ti olir-ıp [...] olir-iştö.*
 82. *kw meñ işki arkan-qa tey-mi,' ti-yinti.*
 83. *çhişı o arkan-iş-ki ziyit kisi-niñ qhan-ni suwat-qantı.*
 84. *pu işki xoulanzı: 'sen seniñ ahltım-kumıs-tar-ni suktı-yi mañ-qimis.'*
 85. *yinjır-ta uz-v uzı-ya işki arkan-ni kühtir-yi qayla-s-qantı.*
 86. *qayla-s-v: teñir aqar-yanta arkan-ni ahs-qa qara-yantı.*
 87. *antaqanta pır arkan qhan olir-yantı.*
 88. *thayt-uh-t-qa yilya-s-a yilya-s-a hanı-yantı.*
 89. *antaqanta-la pu anika, işki qız pay po-yantv.*

77. then-PCL2 two girl coral-ACC wear-CCO this old.woman-DAT girl become-NARev
 78. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 two thing sell-VN merchant come-NARev
 79. then-PCL2 old.woman-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
 80. I you/GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP1sg say-NARev
 81. EXCL you-PCL4 me/GEN-KI-LOC stay-CON [...] stay-FUTev
 82. you me/GEN two chest-DAT touch-NEG say-NARev
 83. actually that chest-IN-DAT young.man person-GEN blood-ACC put/FIN-NARev
 84. this two merchant you you/GEN gold-silver-PL-ACC load-CCO walk-FUTN
 85. evening-LOC sleep-CSIM sleep-CCO two chest-ACC carry-CCO run-REC-NARev
 86. run-REC-CSIM sky be.light-CTMP chest-ACC open-CCO look-NARev
 87. then one chest blood stay-NARev
 88. throw-COM-CCO cry-REC-CREP cry-REC-CREP go-NARev
 89. then-PCL2 this old.woman two girl rich become-NARev

77. Then the two girls wore the coral and became the daughters of this old woman.
 78. One day, two traders, merchants, came.
 79. Then they said thus to the old woman:
 80. 'Let me stay at your [place]?' they said.
 81. 'Eh, if you [want to] stay at my [place], you can stay.
 82. [But] don't you touch those two chests of mine,' she said.
 83. Actually, in those chests, she had put the young man's blood.
 84. These two merchants [said to each other]: 'You will not go carrying your [own] gold and silver things.'
 85. In the evening, when [all] were soundly asleep, they ran away together, carrying the two chests.
 86. While they were running together - when it dawned, they opened the chests and looked.
 87. Then it was one chest [full] of blood.
 88. They threw it away, and went away, crying and crying together.
 89. Then this old woman and the two girls were rich [having the merchants' gold].

8. The Story of Ahltamso, Kumpinso and Chorghawash (1)

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *ahltamso, kumpinso, çoryawaş-tiŋ lomaq.*
2. *pīr anika-ya uḥş qiz par-i-tv.*
3. *pīrsiŋ-ki-la çoryawaş, pīrsiŋ-ki kumpinso, pīrsiŋ-ki ahlamso ti-yik-i-tv.*
4. *antaqanta-ya ahlamso-ya ahlam phīraş par-i-tv.*
5. *kumpinso-ya kumīs phīraş, çoryawaş-qa yiyaş phīraş par-i-tv.*
6. *antaqanta-la uḥş qiz enik saq-qila-yantv.*
7. *enik-ti say-v say-v pu çoryawaş: 'miz çiy-iş-ki phīraş thayt-v oyn-ini,' ti-yintv.*
8. *antaqanta pu kumīs-ti ahlam saliy-ti, tiw-iŋ-ki qhal-xani-yanti.*
9. *yiyaş phīraş üzi-sin-ti phiola-wat-qanti.*
10. *çoryawaş: 'men ana-ŋ-qa ti-yila-yn!' ti-yinti.*

1. Ahltamso Kumpinso Chorghawash-GEN story
2. one old.woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV
3. one/POS3-DAT-PCL2 Chorghawash one/POS3-DAT Kumpinso one/POS3-DAT Ahltamso say-HAB-COP-EV
4. then-PCL1 Ahltamso-DAT gold jar present-COP-EV
5. Kumpinso-DAT silver jar Chorghawash-DAT wooden jar present-COP-EV
6. then-PCL2 three girl cow milk-PUR-NAR_{ev}
7. cow-ACC milk-CSIM milk-CSIM-PCL2 this Chorghawash we well-IN-DAT jar throw-CSIM play-IMP1_{pl} say-NAR_{ev}
8. then this silver-AND gold heavy-EV base-POS3-DAT fall-TER-NAR_{ev}
9. wooden jar upside-POS3-LOC float-FIN-NAR_{ev}
10. Chorghawash I mother-POS1/2-DAT say-PUR-IMP1_{sg} say-NAR_{ev}

1. The story of Ahltamso, Kumpinso and Chorghawash.
2. An old woman had three daughters.
3. One of them was called Chorghawash, one of them Kumpinso and one of them Ahltamso.
4. Then Ahltamso had a golden jar.
5. Kumpinso had a silver jar, Chorghawash a wooden jar.
6. Then the three girls went to milk the cows.
7. While they were milking and milking the cows, this Chorghawash said: 'Let us play and throw the jars into the well.'
8. Then this silver and gold were heavy, and sank to the bottom of [the water].
9. The wooden jar was floating on it.
10. Chorghawash said: 'I will tell it our mother!'

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jinwén, 1992 in Míngghuā. For similar versions, cf Malov 1967: 65-66 N^o 78, and Ān et al. 1984: 45-53. The tale further occurs in Tibetan, cf Potanin II 1893: 186-189, and Schuh IV 1982: 163-166; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz N^o 143 (403E*).

11. *antaqanta par-γanta ana-sī ti-γintv:*
12. *'o q^ha-sa q^hal-ye, iškī qīz-ya kel ti, kumpinso-nī a^hltamso-ya kel ti.'*
13. *ah, pu par-it-qantī: 'q^haqīŋq^ha! ana-ŋ saya qar-sa qaya par titv.*
14. *p^hiraş-tī lola-k ki-mi-si qar-sa qar titv.'*
15. *antaqanta pu iškī qīz maŋ-qantī. maŋ-qanta-ya coryawaş antay ti-γintī:*
16. *'uzī senī ezert-ki mayn!' antaqanta-ya man-qantī.*
17. *maŋ-v:-ya pīr kīsī-nīŋ-kī-γi par-γantī.*
18. *pīr p^hey-nīŋ-kī-γi eht-īp par-γantī.*
19. *eht-īp par-γanta-ya alar-ya mal o^hqar-γantī.*
20. *pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-la kumpinso-nī a^hltamso şaz tara-γantī.*
21. *şaz tara-γantaya a^hltamso-nīŋ a^hltīm a^hq-v-γantī, pa^hç-īn-tan.*
22. *kumpinso-nīŋ pa^hç-īn-tan kumīs a^hq-v-γantī.*
23. *antaqanta-la pu p^hey minti-ş-ki pīrsūŋ-ki ihçih^tik-tī uz-it-qa yaz-it-qantī.*

11. then go-CTMP mother-POS3 say-NARev
12. that remain-COND remain-IMP3 two girl-DAT come say Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso-DAT come say
13. EXCL this go-QUI-NARev EXCL mother-POS1/2 you/DAT whither.go-COND whither go say/DUB
14. jar-ACC dredge-CON come-NEG-COND whither.go-COND whither.go say/DUB
15. then this two girl walk-NARev walk-CTMP-PCL1 Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev
16. self you/ACC lead-CCO walk/IMP1sg then-PCL1 walk-NARev
17. walk-CSIM-PCL1 one person-GEN-KI-DAT go-NARev
18. one beg-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
19. arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 that/PL-DAT livestock pasture-NARev
20. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso hair comb-NARev
21. hair comb-CTMP-PCL1 Ahltamso-GEN gold flow-AUX-NARev head-POS3-ABL
22. Kumpinso-GEN head-POS3-ABL silver flow-AUX-NARev
23. then-PCL2 this beg hurry-[..]-CCO one/POS3-DAT inner.skirt-ACC rip-QUI-CCO spread-QUI-NARev

11. When she had gone, her mother said:
12. 'If that [jar] remains, let it remain, tell the two girls to come, tell Kumpinso and Ahltamso to come.'
13. Ah, she quickly went: 'Q^haqīŋq^ha! Our mother says to you: 'Go wherever you go.
14. If you don't dredge up the jar, go wherever you go.'
15. Then these two girls set off. When they went, Chorghawash said thus:
16. 'Let me go and lead you!' and they set off.
17. While they were going, they came to a person's [house].
18. They arrived at a beg's [house].
19. When they arrived, they tended livestock for them.
20. One day, Kumpinso and Ahltamso combed [their] hair.
21. When they were combing, gold flowed from the head of Ahltamso.
22. Silver flowed from the head of Kumpinso.
23. Then this beg hurried and quickly ripped and spread his inner skirt for the one.

24. *pīrsīŋ-ki-ya taxs ihtik-tī uz-it-qa yaz-it-qan-i-tī.*
25. *antaqanta-ya çoryawaş-tan pīşt aḥq-v-yaŋtī.*
26. *antaqanta-ya pu phek-ki qatīn pol-yaŋtī, pu çoryawaş amsa mal oḥqar-v.*
27. *ah, antaqo: eni kueytiēnzī ki-yintī, çoryawaş-ta.*
28. *pīr khun eht-kinti-ya uş qīz qoy oḥqar-yīla-yaŋtv.*
29. *qoy oḥqar-yīla-yaŋta kv çoryawaş par-ya kumpinso-nī su-ş-ki işt-uht-qantī.*
30. *su-ş-ki işt-uht-qanta-ya aḥltamso yaŋqīça qḥa-ttī-sa.*
31. *antaqanta-ya pu-ya khunsen-la yilye yilye su-nīŋ qīzīq-qa par-yaq-i-tī.*
32. *pa-yaŋta-ya qīzaqa-sīn qīti-yik-i-tī.*
33. *antaqanta kumpinso su-ş-tin un-īk ki-yiş-ya sūŋnī-sūŋ-ki miça zi:ş kher-yi işçir-yi.*
34. *'sen çoryawaş-qa ti-mi.*
35. *çoryawaş-qa ti-si-la uzī-nī eni xayla-ştī.'*

24. one/POS3-DAT-PCL1 outside skirt-ACC rip-QUI-CCO spread-QUI-NAR-COP-EV
25. then-PCL1 Chorghawash-ABL louse flow-AUX-NARev
26. then-PCL1 this beg-DAT wife become-NARev this Chorghawash anyway livestock tend-CSIM
27. EXCL then again wicked.plan come-NARev Chorghawash-LOC
28. one day arrive-CTMP-PCL1 three girl sheep pasture-PUR-NARev
29. sheep pasture-PUR-CTMP DEM Chorghawash go-CCO Kumpinso-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-NARev
30. water-IN-DAT push-COM-CTMP-PCL1 Ahltamso alone/ADV remain-PASTev-PCL5
31. then-PCL1 this-PCL1 every.day-PCL2 cry/CREP cry/CREP water-GEN side-DAT go-HAB-COP-EV
32. go-CTMP-PCL1 elder.sister-POS3ACC call-HAB-COP-EV
33. then Kumpinso water-IN-ABL come.out-CON come-CCO-PCL1 younger.sister-POS3-DAT little food bring-CCO feed-CCO
34. you Chorghawash-DAT say-NEG
35. Chorghawash-DAT tell-COND-PCL2 self-ACC again murder-FUTev

24. He quickly ripped and spread his outer skirt for the other.
25. Then lice flowed from Chorghawash.
26. Then they became this beg's wives, but this Chorghawash tended livestock.
27. Ah, meanwhile again a wicked plan came in Chorghawash [s mind].
28. One day, the three girls went to tend sheep.
29. When they went to tend sheep, this Chorghawash went, and pushed Kumpinso into the water.
30. When she had pushed her into the water, Ahltamso remained alone.
31. Then, every day she used to go to the waterside, crying and crying.
32. When she went, she used to call her elder sister.
33. Then Kumpinso came out of the water, and brought her younger sister a little food and fed her.
34. 'Don't you tell Chorghawash.
35. If you tell Chorghawash, she will murder me again.'

36. *antaqanta-ya p̄ir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya coryawaş p̄ir taxs m̄ila² toq-qant̄i.*
37. *'oy, men̄iŋ m̄ila-n̄i çhal-it,' ti-yint̄i.*
38. *qhor-în yor-uh̄t-qanta-ya pu per-yin yiş qhal-xan̄i-yant̄i.*
39. *'e, qayta-qe:!' maya ti?!' ti-yint̄i.*
40. *'e, maya ti-mi ti-yin.' antaqanta ti-yin-i-t̄i.*
41. *ti-yinti-ya pu coryawaş q̄il̄iş-în aln-ø par-yant̄i.*
42. *par-yanta-ya ca:ŋ kumpinso un-ik kil-ø-yanta p̄ir q̄il̄iş pah̄ç-în kannay-an.*
43. *su-ma q̄izar-xan̄i-yant̄i.*
44. *antaqanta-la pu s̄iŋn̄i-s̄i eni yilye yilye: zit̄i khun pol-yant̄i.*
45. *zit̄i khun pol-yanta-ya kumpinso pah̄ç-în paŋna-ya eni un-ik ki-yint̄i.*
46. *'am-la sen ti-mi! am-la ti-si amsa uz̄i-n̄i teyl̄i yül̄ir-ışt̄i,' ti-yint̄i.*
47. *p̄ir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya yi-yin-n̄i ph̄ey k̄or-xan̄i-yant̄i.*

36. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 Chorghawash one stone child give.birth-NAR_{ev}
37. quick me/GEN child-ACC hold.child-QUI say-NAR_{ev}
38. girdle-POS3ACC undo-COM-CTMP-PCL1 this give-PP food fall-TER-NAR_{ev}
39. EXCL where-KI/COP me/DAT say say-NAR_{ev}
40. EXCL me/DAT say-NEG say-NAR then say-NAR-COP-EV
41. say-CTMP-PCL1 then Chorghawash reed-POS3ACC take/RFL-CSIM go-NAR_{ev}
42. go-CTMP-PCL1 just Kumpinso come.out-CON come-AUX-CTMP one reed head-POS3ACC hit-NAR
43. water-PCL3 be.red-TER-NAR_{ev}
44. then-PCL2 this younger.sister-POS3 again cry/CREP cry/CREP seven day become-NAR_{ev}
45. seven day become-CTMP-PCL1 Kumpinso head-POS3ACC bandage-CCO again come.out-CON come-NAR_{ev}
46. now-PCL2 you say-NEG now-PCL2 say-COND anyway self-ACC certainly kill-FUT_{ev} say-NAR_{ev}
47. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 eat-PP-ACC beg see-TER-NAR_{ev}

36. Then one day, Chorghawash gave birth to a stone child².
37. 'Quick, hold my child,' she said.
38. When [Ahltamso] undid her girdle, the food this [Kumpinso] had given fell out.
39. 'Eh, where is it from, tell me?!' [Chorghawash] said.
40. 'Eh, she told [me] not to say.' [But] then [Ahltamso] told it.
41. When she had told it, this Chorghawash took along her reed and went.
42. When she had gone, just as Kumpinso came out of the water, she gave her a blow on the head with the reed.
43. And the water became red.
44. Then this younger sister of her again cried and cried, and seven days passed.
45. When seven days had passed, Kumpinso, having bandaged her head, came out.
46. 'Now don't you tell! If you tell now, she will certainly kill me,' she said.
47. One day, the beg saw what she was eating.

² According to Ān et al. 1984: 53, a 'stone child' is a Yugur term for a miscarriage.

48. 'sen qoy o^hqar-ma-ti, qayta-qı zıſ ki-yin-i?
49. sen yü-ti-kı-nı ç^humıkti-yin!
50. antaqanta-ya pu ti-yin-i-tv:
51. 'çoryawaſ nayv, menüſ qızaqıſ-nı su-ſ-ki iſt-u^ht-qa pa^hç-ın qılıſ uçin azır-ya..'
52. kv p^hey ta^hrtıy-ın al-ıy-qa maſ-qantı.
53. eni par-ya: eni un-ık ki-yinti-la ta^hrtıy-ın t^hayta-ya untır-ık ki-tti, kumpinso-nı.
54. a^hltamso-ti, kumpinso süſnı-sı-ti.
55. am-ya untır-ık ki-yıſ-la yü-^hsıy-ki ezert-ki par-yantı.
56. p^hey ç^hoſıyına-yıla maſ-qantı, pır zil.
57. antaqanta-ya pu kumpinso a^hltamso poz-ıy-qa pol-yantı, mıla ol-yantı.
58. antaqanta-ya üſçüſi q^hal-yaſta pu-ya pır khun-ki e^ht-kinti-la am-ya toq-qantı.
59. toq-qanta-ya pu ayt-qantı:
60. 'qızaqa mıla-nı nayv toq-qaq-e?' ti-yinti.

48. you sheep pasture-VN-EV where-KI food come-PNAR-COP
49. you house-LOC-KI-ACC steal-PNAR
50. then-PCL1 this say-NAR-COP-EV
51. Chorghawash how me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-CCO
head-POS3ACC reed with split-CCO
52. DEM beg rope-POS3ACC take-RFL-CCO walk-NAR^{ev}
53. again go-CCO again come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 rope-POS3ACC
throw-CCO take.out-CON come-PAST^{ev} Kumpinso-ACC
54. Ahltamso-EV Kumpinso younger.sister-POS3-EV
55. now-PCL1 take.out-CON come-CCO-PCL2 house-POS3-DAT lead-CCO go-NAR^{ev}
56. beg go.on.pilgrimage-CPUR walk-NAR^{ev} one year
57. then-PCL1 this Kumpinso Ahltamso body-POS3-DAT become-NAR^{ev} child
become-NAR^{ev}
58. then-PCL1 three/POS3 remain-CTMP this-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2
now-PCL1 give.birth-NAR^{ev}
59. give.birth-CTMP-PCL1 this ask-NAR^{ev}
60. elder.sister child-ACC how give.birth-HAB-COP say-NAR^{ev}

48. 'You are [but] a shepherd, where has the food come from?
49. You [must] have stolen that which was in the house!'
50. Then she told [the beg]:
51. 'Chorghawash did such, she pushed my elder sister into the water, splitting her head with a reed...'
52. This beg took along his rope and set off.
53. When [Ahltamso] went again, and [Kumpinso] again came out, he threw his rope and got Kumpinso out [of the water].
54. It was Ahltamso, she was Kumpinso[']s younger sister.
55. Now, when they had taken her out, they brought her home.
56. [Then] the beg set out to go on a pilgrimage, for one year.
57. Then this Kumpinso and Ahltamso were pregnant, they were with child.
58. Then when the three of them remained behind, one day, these [two] gave birth.
59. When they gave birth, this [Chorghawash] asked:
60. 'How will [my] elder sisters give birth to [their] children?'

61. *köz-ti ilim puçin ilimni-yi şaz-ti liayxua-ya phoq-qa kisi kv mila-sin toq-qanti.*
62. *pu kumpinso-ya pir ala kitik soy-ya sal-ıwat-qanti.*
63. *ahltamso-ya taj kitik soy-ya sal-ıwat-qanti.*
64. *antaqanta kitik-in-ma pezit-kin-i-ti.*
65. *pu sik art-qa khom-ıwat-qantv.*
66. *sik art-ta pu çoryawaş-tiñ ihtik-in uz-ki yata-yantv.*
67. *appar-yaş-ya aht qhora-s-ki khom-ıwat-qa aht uφk-ki yata-yanti.*
68. *eni pir appar-ya tale-s-ki thayt-uh-t-qanti.*
69. *antan-la pir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pheş kil-yinti.*
70. *pheş ki-yiş-la ayt-qanti: 'ni toy-ıtti?' ti-yinti.*
71. *'qhaqingqha! taynayan taj kitik-tv, kisilyan kisil kitik-tv,' ti-yinti.*
72. *'çuaşı işki kitik toq-qan.'*
73. *antaqanta peş çhila-yantv: kueywu toy-ıtti saqin-qanti.*

61. eye-ACC glue with glue-CCO hair-ACC ceiling-DAT tie-CCO person DEM child-POS3ACC give.birth-NARev
62. this Kumpinso-DAT one multicoloured puppy skin-CCO put-FIN-NARev
63. Ahltamso-DAT striped puppy skin-CCO put-FIN-NARev
64. then puppy-POS3ACC-PCL3 raise-NAR-COP-EV
65. this door backside-DAT bury-FIN-NARev
66. door backside-LOC this Chorghawash-GEN skirt-POS3ACC rip-CCO cannot-NARev
67. take.to-CCO-PCL1 horse pen-IN-DAT bury-FIN-CCO horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
68. again one take.away-CCO sea-IN-DAT throw-COM-NARev
69. that/ABL-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 beg come-NARev
70. beg come-CCO-PCL2 ask-NARev what be.born-PASTev say-NARev
71. EXCL striped/JINGLE striped puppy-EV light.bellied/JINGLE light.bellied puppy-EV say-NARev
72. really two puppy be.born-NAR
73. then beg be.angry-NARev monster be.born-PASTev think-NARev

61. After she had glued [their] eyes with glue, and had tied [their] hair to the ceiling, they gave birth to their children.
62. She skinned a multicoloured puppy and put it [under] Kumpinso.
63. She skinned a striped puppy and put it [under] Ahltamso.
64. Then they raised their puppies.
65. This [Chorghawash] buried [the children] behind the door.
66. Behind the door, they could not help ripping Chorghawash's skirt.
67. When she took them away and buried them in the horse pen, the horses could not help being startled.
68. When she took them away again, she threw them into the sea.
69. Thereupon, one day, the beg came back.
70. After the beg came back, he asked: 'What is born?' he said.
71. 'Qhaqingqha! It is a very striped puppy, and a puppy with very light belly,' [Chorghawash] said.
72. 'Truly two puppies were born.'
73. Then the beg became angry: he thought a monster was born.

74. *p̄ir khun eht-kinti-ya pu p^he:γ maŋ-qa su q̄iz̄iq-qa: niȳil-ȳila-yant̄i, p^hey m̄v qara-ȳila-yant̄i.*
75. *antaqanta išk̄i m̄ila:, p̄ir ya^hsa-yan išk̄i m̄ila ç^hoqe-s-qa oyna-s-*v* horiṣ oyn-*v*-yant̄v.*
76. *'horiṣ, horiṣ! kumpinso men̄iγ ana-ŋ! horiṣ! a^hltamso men̄iγ ana-ŋ!*
77. *horiṣ! qara p^hey men̄iγ awa-ŋ!' antaqv oyna-s-*v*-yant̄i.*
78. *antaqanta p^hey antay saq̄in-qant̄i:*
79. *'e? pu ni? uz̄i-n̄iγ at-t̄i p̄il-ȳik-i? pu-lar-n̄i p̄il-ȳik-i?'*
80. *eni sosik̄in par-ya pu ç̄iṣ̄i: ya^hs-qa qar-*v*-yant̄i.*
81. *eni išk̄i m̄ila antaqo oyna-s-*v*-yant̄i.*
82. *išk̄i m̄ila-n̄i tuht-ïwal-yant̄i.*
83. *tuht-ïwal-yanta-ya ç̄a-ya a^hltamso-n̄iγ a^hltim kö^hk̄is-t̄iγ m̄ila, kumpinso-n̄iγ kum̄is kö^hk̄is-t̄iγ m̄ila ol-yant̄i.*
84. *antan-la akk^her-γiṣ-la ç̄oryawaṣ-qa ta^hq̄i kö^hk̄üt-pi-yint̄i.*
85. *antaqanta ç̄oryawaṣ-qa antay ti-yint̄i:*

74. one day arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this beg walk-CCO water side-DAT
what.do-PUR-NAR_{ev} beg walk/CSIM look-PUR-NAR_{ev}
75. then two child one be.a.year.of.age-PP two child sit-REC-CCO play-REC-CSIM
sling play-AUX-NAR_{ev}
76. sling sling Kumpinso me/GEN mother-POS1/2 Ahltamso me/GEN mother-POS1/2
77. sling black beg me/GEN father-POS1/2 thus play-REC-AUX-NAR_{ev}
78. then beg that/EQU think-NAR_{ev}
79. EXCL this what self-GEN name-ACC know-HAB-COP this-PL-ACC know-HAB-COP
80. again next.day go-CCO this really hide-CCO look-AUX-NAR_{ev}
81. again two child thus play-REC-AUX-NAR_{ev}
82. two child-ACC hold-INC-NAR_{ev}
83. hold-INC-CTMP-PCL1 truly-PCL1 Ahltamso-GEN gold loin-ADJ child
Kumpinso-GEN silver loin-ADJ child become-NAR_{ev}
84. that/ABL-PCL2 bring-CCO-PCL2 Chorghawash-DAT yet show-NEG-NAR_{ev}
85. then Chorghawash-DAT that/EQU say-NAR_{ev}

74. One day, this beg set off to whatsit, the beg set off to look at the water side.
75. Then [he noticed that] two children, two children of one year old, sat and played together, they played with a sling.
76. 'Sling, sling! Kumpinso is my mother! Sling! Ahltamso is my mother!
77. Sling! Black beg is my father!' Thus they played together.
78. Then the beg thought thus:
79. 'Eh? What is this? They know my name? They know [all] this?'
80. He went again the other day, and he really hid himself and looked.
81. Again the two children played thus together.
82. He took hold of the two children.
83. They were truly Ahltamso's child with the golden loins, and Kumpinso's child with the silver loins.
84. Thereupon he brought [them home], but did not yet show [them] to Chorghawash.
85. Then he said thus to Chorghawash:

86. 'sen ana-η-qa qara-yıla-ş mi? seη toqqan şarla-ş mi?' ti-yintï.
 87. çoryawas: 'par-ma-ya?! qayta-qï ana-η-nï qara-mas pïrmi ki-ş-i?'
 88. 'tañqar-la sen-ya qoy ohqar-yïla.
 89. men-la saya tañqar niyïl-in, litaη-nï pehk-in,' ti-yintï.
 90. ya ti-yintï. antaqanta pïr pohqça: kökişkin tuht-ïwat-qantï.
 91. 'sen uş yil yoz-yan aq yorya-nï mïn-kïş mi uş yil yoz-yan qara puqa-nï mïn-kïş mi?' ti-yintï.
 92. 'qhaqïñqha! qara şïyaq-tï, ni-sïn mïn-kïş-i?!
 93. men uhş yil yoz-yan aq yorya-nï mïn-kïş!
 94. 'antasa mïn-ki maη: saya litaη-nï çunpeyla-wat-in.
 95. uhş thay ahs-qaş-la sen pu pohqça-nï yör.'
 96. pïr tahrtiy per-yintï: 'pït-tï-ya sen kïpti-w pu ezeηki-yi payna.
 97. payn-o untïr-yiş-la sen kv pohqça-nïñ ahs-ïn ahs-qaş-la çotta-ya ana-η-qa eht!

86. you mother-POS1/2-DAT see-PUR-FUT Q you/GEN old.home visit-FUT Q say-NARev
 87. Chorghawash go-NEG-CCO where-KI mother-POS1/2-ACC see-PN somebody come-FUT-COP
 88. morning-PCL2 you-PCL1 sheep pasture-PUR
 89. I-PCL2 you/DAT morning what.do-IMP1sg present-ACC prepare-IMP1sg say-NARev
 90. all.right say-NARev then one saddle.bag pigeon hold-FIN-NARev
 91. you three year pass-PP white ambler-ACC mount-FUT Q three year pass-PP black bull-ACC mount-FUT Q say-NARev
 92. EXCL black diarrhoea-ACC what-POS3ACC mount-FUT-COP
 93. I three year pass-PP white ambler-ACC mount-FUT
 94. in.that.case mount-CCO walk you/DAT present-ACC prepare-FIN-IMP1sg
 95. three mountain cross-CCO-PCL2 you this saddle.bag-ACC undo
 96. one rope give-NARev leg-ACC-PCL1 you fasten-CSIM this stirrup-DAT tie
 97. tie-CSIM take.out-CCO-PCL2 you that saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-CCO-PCL2 libate-CCO mother-POS1/2-DAT arrive

86. 'Will you go to see your mother? Will you visit your old home?' he said.
 87. Chorghawash: 'Not going?! Would there be someone who would not see her [own] mother?'
 88. 'In the morning you will go to tend sheep.
 89. I will whatsit, prepare a present for you in the morning,' he said.
 90. She agreed. Then he got hold of a saddle bag [full] of pigeons.
 91. 'Will you mount a three-year-old white ambler, or will you mount a three-year-old black bull?' he said.
 92. 'Qhaqingqha! Will I mount a what, a black shit?!
 93. [Of course] I will mount the three-year-old white ambler!'
 94. 'In that case, mount it and set off: let me prepare a present for you.
 95. After you have crossed three mountains, you undo this saddle bag.'
 96. He gave a rope: 'You fasten your legs and tie them to the stirrups.
 97. After you have finished tying [yourself] up, and after you have opened that saddle bag's opening, do a libation and get to your mother!

98. *antaqanta-la sen litaŋ p̄s-k̄iŋ.ʹ ya ti-γinti.*
 99. *they-v-la uhs thay-n̄i ahs-it-qaŋ-ya c̄iŋc̄iŋ p̄t-in paŋn-v k̄ipti-γi pohqa-n̄iŋ ahs-in ahc-uht-qanta-la k̄okiŋk̄in uΦk-ki p̄htirat-qanta-la aq yorya-s̄i uΦk-ki-la p̄i:r thayzi-ta qayl-v p̄hey-n̄iŋ yū-hs̄iŋ-ki eht-ik ki-γinti coryawaŋ-tiŋ p̄ir p̄it qhal-γanti.*
 100. *antaqanta coryawaŋ-t̄i yūl̄ir-īwat-itt̄i.*
 101. *antaqaŋ-la kv thay-īs-ti k̄is̄i ʹoyʹ ti-si xoyin-ya coryawaŋ-tiŋ on-ī titv!*
 102. *o sat-ta m̄iz-tiŋ ana-ŋ-nar ti-si o-la coryawaŋ oryil-vt̄i, panlu-ta qhal-ya.*
 103. *antan-la pu p̄hey, kumpinso, ahl̄tamso uŋ k̄is̄i-t̄i.*
 104. *antaqanta pu p̄hey-la antay ti-γinti:*
 105. *ʹe, am-la m̄iz-la c̄h̄iŋchaŋ-tan p̄ir soq-sa,ʹ antay ti-γinti.*
 106. *antaqanta kumpinso ahl̄tamso: ʹe, o-ma, kuey nimi emis-tv, soq-en̄i!ʹ ti-γinti.*

98. then-PCL2 you present boil-FUT all.right say-NARev
 99. gallop-CSIM-PCL1 three mountain-ACC cross-QUI-CCO-PCL1 really leg-POS3ACC tie-CSIM fasten-CCO saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-COM-CTMP-PCL1 pigeon fly-CCO raise.dust-CTMP-PCL2 white ambler-POS3 be.startled-CCO-PCL2 one once-LOC run-CSIM beg-GEN house-POS3-DAT arrive-CON come-CTMP Chorghawash-GEN one leg remain-NARev
 100. then Chorghawash-ACC kill-FIN-PASTev
 101. then-PCL2 DEM mountain-IN-LOC person EXCL say-COND echo-PCL1 Chorghawash-GEN voice-POS3 say/DUB
 102. that time-LOC we-GEN mother-POS1/2-PL say-COND that-PCL2 Chorghawash shout-PROGev halfway-LOC remain-CCO
 103. that/ABL-PCL2 this beg Kumpinso Ahltamso three person-EV
 104. then this beg-PCL2 that/EQU say-NARev
 105. EXCL now-PCL2 we-PCL2 city.wall-ABL one knock-COND that/EQU say-NARev
 106. then Kumpinso Ahltamso EXCL that-PCL3 [..] thing is.not-EV knock-IMP1pl say-NARev

98. Then you can cook the present.' She agreed.
 99. While galloping, she quickly crossed three mountains, and when she opened the saddle bag's opening, after she had tied and fastened her leg, the pigeons suddenly came out flying, and when they raised dust, her white ambler startled and quickly ran away, and when it arrived at the beg's house, [only] one leg of Chorghawash remained.
 100. Then he had killed Chorghawash.
 101. Then, if a person says 'oy' in these mountains, they say the echo is Chorghawash's voice!
 102. At that time, as our mothers say, it is Chorghawash shouting, having remained halfway.
 103. Thereupon this beg, Kumpinso and Ahltamso were three persons.
 104. Then this beg said thus:
 105. 'Eh, if [only] we construct a city wall now!' thus he said.
 106. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso said: 'Eh, that will not be a [special] thing, let's construct it!'

107. *kumpinso-ni ahltamso işki-si yinjür-ya pür ihtik turaq-ti ihtikti-p par-ya yü-ni pür yörli-yi quz-ıwat-qantı.*
 108. *sosikın çinçı:ŋ qhantampu palq soq-ıl-ya olür-yantv:*
 109. *antaqanta phey eni söyn-kinti: 'e, am-la puya terik pol-yaq po-sa, yanıyanı.'*
 110. *antaqanta kumpinso ahltamso antay ti-tti: 'e, o-ma kuey nimi emis-tv!'*
 111. *yinjür-ya qhaq terik-ti tüy-ıwat-qantı.*
 112. *şanzı ucin pür şanna-yanta küik terik pol-yantı.*
 113. *antaqanta-la phey-la eni antay ti-yinti:*
 114. *'e, am-la puya yanıyanı qus pol-yaq po-sa!'* *ti-yinti.*
 115. *antaqanta pu işki kumpinso ahltamso antay ti-yinti:*
 116. *'e, o-ma ni-ma pezik yatal emis-tv!'*
 117. *antaqanta yanıyanı kheti-ni-la yanıyanı qus qhayçila-yantı.*
 118. *qhayçila-yaş-la şanzı ucin pür şanna-yanta i:çhi aqıla-s-qa terik-ki un-qhanı-yantı.*

107. Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso two-POS3 evening-DAT one skirt earth-ACC carry.in.one's.skirt-CON go-CCO house-ACC one walk.around-CCO pour-FIN-NARev
 108. next.day truly splendid wall build-PAS-CCO stay-NARev
 109. then beg again be.glad-NARev EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts
 110. then Kumpinso Ahltamso that/EQU say-PASTev EXCL that-PCL3 [..] thing is.not-EV
 111. evening-DAT dry tree-ACC stick.into-FIN-NARev
 112. fan with one wave.fan-CTMP blue tree become-NARev
 113. then-PCL2 beg-PCL2 again that/EQU say-NARev
 114. EXCL now-PCL this/DAT all.sorts bird become-PHAB become-COND say-NARev
 115. then this two Kumpinso Ahltamso that/EQU say-NARev
 116. EXCL that-PCL3 what-PCL3 big matter is.not-EV
 117. then all.sorts paper-AND-PCL2 all.sorts bird clip-NARev
 118. clip-CCO-PCL2 fan with one wave.fan-CTMP-PCL1 altogether twitter-REC-CCO tree-DAT ascend-TER-NARev

107. During the evening, Kumpinso and Ahltamso both went and carried a skirt [full] of earth in their skirts, walked once around the house and poured [it] out.
 108. The next day a truly splendid wall had been built.
 109. Then again the beg was glad: 'Eh, if [only] there would be all kinds of trees in it!'
 110. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso said thus: 'Eh, that is not a [special] thing!'
 111. During the evening they stuck dry twigs [in the ground].
 112. When they fanned their fan once, they became green trees.
 113. Then the beg again said thus:
 114. 'Eh, now, if [only] there would be all kinds of birds in it!' he said.
 115. Then these two, Kumpinso and Ahltamso said thus:
 116. 'Eh, this is not a big matter!'
 117. Then they clipped all kinds of birds [from] all kinds of paper.
 118. After they had clipped [them], when they fanned their fan once, they twittered altogether and went up into the trees.

119. *antaqanta pu phey antay ti-yinti: 'sen ana-ŋ-ni qihqir-ik kil-ini.*
 120. *qihqir-ik ki-yi am miz-tij-ki-ti olir-ye, ti-yinti.*
 121. *antaqanta qihqir-yila-yanti. qihqir-yila-yanta-la antay ti-yinti:*
 122. *'sen uzi-yi kv tithan-ni yaz-v uzi-nij sik-ki eht-kir-v uzi par-in,' ti-yinti.*
 123. *e:, pu phey eni antay saqin-qanti: 'e, pu nal-yaq-e?'*
 124. *eni ki-yi ayt-qanti: 'nal-yaq-e?'*
 125. *antaqanta kumpinso ahltamso: 'e, o-ma ni-ma pezik yatal emis-tv,' ti-yinti.*
 126. *yuj-ni qhaycila-yaş-la kisi saz-ya:ş-ya ana-si-nij sik-ij-ki eht-ip par-yanti.*
 127. *pır thuni-ti-la tithan po-q qha-yanti.*
 128. *antaqanta-la ana-si ki-yin-i-ti, qihqir-ik ki-yinti.*
 129. *qihqir-ik ki-yiş-ya olir-t-qanti.*
 130. *ayv, antaqanta pay ol-yanti.*

119. then this beg that/EQU say-NARev you mother-POS1/2-ACC invite-CON
 come-IMP1pl
 120. invite-CON come-CCO now we-GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP3 say-NARev
 121. then invite-PUR-NARev invite-PUR-CTMP-PCL2 that/EQU say-NARev
 122. you self-DAT DEM carpet-ACC spread-CSIM self-GEN door-DAT arrive-CAUS-CSIM
 self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
 123. EXCL this beg again that/EQU think-NARev EXCL this what.do-HAB-COP
 124. again come-CCO ask-NARev what.do-HAB-COP
 125. then Kumpinso Ahltamso EXCL that-PCL3 what-PCL3 big matter is.not-PCL
 say-NARev
 126. wool-ACC clip-CCO-PCL2 person scatter-CCO-PCL1 mother-POS3-GEN
 door-POS3-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
 127. one night-LOC-PCL2 carpet become-CON fall-NARev
 128. then-PCL2 mother-POS3 come-NAR-COP-EV invite-CON come-NARev
 129. invite-CON come-CCO-PCL2 stay-CAUS-NARev
 130. EXCL then rich become-NARev

119. Then this beg said thus: 'Let us invite your mother.
 120. After we have invited [her], may she stay at our [home],' he said.
 121. Then he went to invite [her]. When he went to invite her, she said thus:
 122. 'Let me come [if] you spread that carpet for me, and make it arrive at my
 door,' she said.
 123. Eh, this beg thought thus again: 'Eh, how to handle this?'
 124. Again he came and asked: 'How to handle it?'
 125. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso: 'Eh, this is not a big matter,' they said.
 126. They clipped the wool, scattered it, and it arrived at their mother's door.
 127. In one night, the carpet came into being.
 128. Then their mother came, they had invited her.
 129. They invited her and made her stay.
 130. Ayo, then they were rich.

9. The Story of Ahltımso, Kumpınso and Chorghawash (2)

told by Zhōng Yūzhēn

1. *ahltımso-nī kumpınso par-i-tv, pır çoryawaş par-i-tv.*
2. *antaqanta-ya uş qız su thıla-yıla-yantı.*
3. *su thıla-yıla-yanta çoryawaş antay ti-yintı:*
4. *'mız uş kısı kv payaça-nı thayt-v oyn-inı, su-ş-ki.'*
5. *antaqanta-ya ahlıtımsı kumpınso-nıñ ahlıtım payaça-nı kumıs payaça su-ş-ki qhal-xanı-yantı.*
6. *antaqanta çoryawaş yü-hsıñ-ki par-yantı.*
7. *ana-sı ayt-qantı: 'ışkı qız nay-vtı?'*
8. *'su thıla-ya: ışkı qız payaça-nı su-ş-ki qhaltır-uhıt-ıttı.'*
9. *ana-sı yay thaqan-nı yoğır-ya: 'ışkı qız-ya pır thaqan-nı per-yı zi ti.*
10. *sen-ya pu thaqan-nı yı, ti-yintı.*

1. Ahltımso-AND Kumpınso present-COP-EV one Chorghawash present-COP-EV
2. then-PCL1 three girl water fetch-PUR-NAREv
3. water fetch-PUR-CTMP Chorghawash that/EQU say-NAREv
4. we three person DEM bucket-ACC throw-CSIM play-IMP1pl water-IN-DAT
5. then-PCL1 Ahltımso Kumpınso-GEN gold bucket-AND silver bucket water-IN-DAT fall-TER-NAREv
6. then Chorghawash house-POS3-DAT go-NAREv
7. mother-POS3 ask-NAREv two girl what.do-PROGEv
8. water fetch-CCO two girl bucket-ACC water-IN-DAT drop-COM-PASTEv
9. mother-POS3 oil parched.flour-ACC mix.dough-CCO two girl-DAT one parched.flour-ACC give-CCO eat say
10. you-PCL1 this parched.flour-ACC eat say-NAREv

1. There were Ahltımso and Kumpınso, and there was a Chorghawash.
2. Then the three girls went to fetch water.
3. When they went to fetch water, Chorghawash said thus:
4. 'Let us three people play, throwing these buckets into the water.'
5. Then, the golden bucket and the silver bucket of Ahltımso and Kumpınso fell into the water.
6. Then Chorghawash went home.
7. Her mother asked: 'What are the two girls doing?'
8. 'The two girls fetched water and made the buckets fall into the water.'
9. Her mother mixed oil and parched flour: 'Give the two girls one parched flour [cookie] and tell [them] to eat it.'
10. And you eat this parched flour [cookie], she said.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jinwén, 1992 in Míngguā. For references, see the version by Ān Xiūzhēng.

11. *sik art-qa eht-kinti uzı zi-wat-qa uzı miça nimi-sin al-ün-qa appar-ya antay tiyintı:*
12. *'ana-ŋ am selir-ŋi qar-sa qar titv.'*
13. *am nayş-e? antaqanta-ya yilya-s-qantı.*
14. *'men senı ezert-ki mayn,' ti-ŋintı. eni maŋ-qantı.*
15. *mv: yol-ya eht-kinti işki qız-tiŋ yüz-ün-ya tihkin puçın şual-v: manın-nı uzı kiz-ki maŋ-qantı.*
16. *antaqanta: 'qoyçı aqv! qoyçı aqv!*
17. *khım-niŋ manıŋ-kizki yahş-tı, khım-niŋ qışwaş yahş-tı?' ti-ŋintı.*
18. *'ahltımso-nı kumpinso-niŋ qışwaş yahş-tv, manıŋ-kizki zıq-tv.*
19. *çorğawaş-tiŋ manıŋ-kizki yahş-tv, qışwaş çar tahqayı-niŋ qoŋqır-nı ist-itı.'*
20. *antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qantı.*
21. *eni maŋ-qanta-ya pır kus ohqar-ma-ya thuk pol-ŋantı.*
22. *'kuscı aqv! kuscı aqv!*

11. door behind-DAT arrive-CTMP self eat-FIN-CCO self little thing-POS3ACC take-RFL-CCO take.to-CCO that/EQU say-NARev
12. mother-POS1/2 now you/PL-DAT whither.go-COND whither.go say/DUB
13. now what.do/FUT-COP then-PCL1 cry-REC-NARev
14. I you/ACC lead-CCO walk/IMP1sg say-NARev again walk-NARev
15. walk-CSIM way-DAT arrive-CTMP two girl-GEN face-POS3ACC-PCL1 thorn with brush-CSIM headgear-ACC self dress-CCO walk-NARev
16. then shepherd elder.brother/VOC shepherd elder.brother/VOC
17. who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV who-GEN countenance good-EV say-NARev
18. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV
19. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance meagre chicken-GEN bottom-ACC resemble-DUB
20. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev
21. again walk-CTMP-PCL1 one bovine pasture-VN-DAT meeting become-NARev
22. cowherd elder.brother/VOC cowherd elder.brother/VOC

11. Stealthily she ate [them] herself, took a little something of it, brought it and said thus:
12. 'Our mother now says to you: 'Go wherever you go.'
13. Now what to do? Then they cried together.
14. 'Let me go and lead you,' said [Chorghawash]. And they set off.
15. While they were walking, along the way, [Chorghawash] brushed the faces of the two girls with thorns, put herself [their] headgear on, and walked on.
16. Then: 'Brother Shepherd! Brother Shepherd!
17. Whose headgear and dress are good, whose countenance is good?' she said.
18. 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad.
19. The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, [her] countenance resembles the buttock of a meagre chicken,' he said.
20. Then they walked on again.
21. When they walked on again, they met with a cowherd.
22. 'Brother Cowherd! Brother Cowherd!

23. *khim-niṅ qışwaş yahş-ti, khim-niṅ manıṅ-kizki yahş-ti?* ti-ṽinti.
24. *'ahltımso-ni kumpinso-niṅ qışwaş yahş-trv, manıṅ-kizki zıq-trv.*
25. *coryawaş-tiṅ manıṅ-kizki yahş-trv, qışwaş-ı car tahqayı-niṅ qoṅqır-ni ist-itv,'* ti-ṽinti.
26. *antaqanta-ya eni maṅ-qantı. pır çhiçı-yi thuk po-ṽantı.*
27. *'çhiçı aqv! çhiçı aqv!*
28. *khim-niṅ qışwaş yahş-ti, khim-niṅ manıṅ-kizki yahş-ti?* ti-ṽinti.
29. *antaqanta-ya: 'ahltımso-ni kumpinso-niṅ qışwaş yahş-trv, manıṅ-kizki zıq-trv,'* ti-ṽinti.
30. *'coryawaş-tiṅ qışwaş zıq-trv,'* ti-ṽinti.
31. *antaqanta-ya eni maṅ-qantı. pır aht ohqar-ma-ya thuk po-ṽantı.*
32. *'ahıtçı aqv! ahtçı aqv!*
33. *khim-niṅ qışwaş yahş-ti, khim-niṅ manıṅ-kizki yahş-ti?* ti-ṽinti.
34. *antaqanta-ya eni antay tiṽinti:*

23. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
24. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV
25. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance-POS3 meagre chicken-GEN bottom-ACC resemble-DUB say-NARev
26. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev one camelherd-DAT meeting become-NARev
27. camelherd elder.brother/VOC camelherd elder.brother/VOC
28. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
29. then-PCL1 Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV say-NARev
30. Chorghawash-GEN countenance bad-EV say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev one horse pasture-VN-DAT meeting become-NARev
32. horseherd elder.brother/VOC horseherd elder.brother/VOC
33. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
34. then-PCL1 again that/EQU say-NARev

23. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
24. 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad.
25. The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, her countenance resembles the buttock of a meagre chicken,' he said.
26. Then they walked on again. They met with a camelherd.
27. 'Brother Camelherd! Brother Camelherd!
28. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
29. Then: 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad,' he said.
30. The countenance of Chorghawash is bad,' he said.
31. Then they walked on again. They met with a horseherd.
32. 'Brother Horseherd! Brother Horseherd!
33. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
34. Then he too said thus:

35. 'coryawaş-tiñ manij-kizki yahş-tv, qışwaş ziq-tv.
36. ahltimso-ni kumpinso-niñ qışwaş yahş-tv,' ti-yinti.
37. antaqanta-ya mō: pır yol-ya eht-kinti ahltimso-ya kumpinso-ya antay ti-yinti:
38. 'miz kv su-ş-ki yüz-ti pır çola-q qar-ini, khim-niñ yüz yahş-ti, khim-niñ manij-kizki yahş-ti,' ti-yinti.
39. antaqanta çola-q qara-yañta-ya kumpinso-ni su-ş-ki işt-uh-t-qanti.
40. antaqanta-ya pu siñni-sin ezert-ki mañ-qanti.
41. mō:: pır yañqis yerin-niñ-ki-yi eht-ip par-yañti.
42. eht-ip par-yañta-ya pu yerin phe-y-i-ti.
43. antaqanta-ya antay ti-yinti:
44. 'sen işki-si pır kisi pır çinaq-ti aliñ-qa kv keymin sik-ti örlil!
45. khim-niñ çinaq-iş-ki yerin tek-se qatın po-şti.
46. khim-niñ çinaq-iş-ki haciki tek-se khum² po-şti.'

35. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance bad-EV
36. Ahltimso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV say-NARev
37. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one road-DAT arrive-CTMP Ahltimso-DAT Kumpinso-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
38. we DEM water-IN-DAT face-ACC one reflect-CON look-IMP1pl who-GEN face good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
39. then reflect-CON look-CTMP-PCL1 Kumpinso-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-NARev
40. then-PCL1 this younger.sister-POS3ACC lead-CCO walk-NARev
41. walk-CSIM one alone man-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
42. arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 this man beg-is-NAR
43. then-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
44. you two-POS3 one person one bowl-ACC take/RFL-CCO DEM gate door-LOC stand
45. who-GEN bowl-IN-DAT snot touch-COND queen become-FUTev
46. who-GEN bowl-IN-DAT spittle touch-COND ?servant become-FUTev

35. 'The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, [her] countenance is bad.
36. The countenance of Ahltimso and Kumpinso is good,' he said.
37. Then while they were walking, along the way, she said thus to Ahltimso and Kumpinso:
38. 'Let us take a look reflecting [our] face in that water [to see] whose face is good, [and] whose headgear and dress is good,' she said.
39. Then, when they looked while reflecting, she pushed Kumpinso into the water.
40. Then [Chorghawash] took her younger sister along.
41. While they were walking, they arrived at a single man's [house].
42. When they arrived, [it appeared that] this man was a beg.
43. Then he said thus:
44. 'The two of you take each a bowl, and go stand at this gate door!
45. Into whose bowl snot gets, she will be queen.
46. Into whose bowl spittle gets, she will be servant.'

² Unclear; Malov 1967: 65 reads *kun bop-tro* 'became jealous'. Perhaps rather *kun* 'female slave, servant' (Malov 1957: 70a) <CT *küñ 'female slave' (cf EDPT 726a)?

47. *çoryawaş-tiñ cinaq-ïñ-qa khaçikî tek-kintî.*
48. *pu khaçikî-nî al-it-qa cinaq-în as-it-qantî.*
49. *antaqanta çoryawaş qatîn pol-yantî.*
50. *antaqanta-ya pîr khu:n-ki eht-kinti-ya pu siynî-sî su qîziq-qa par-yantî:*
51. *'qîzaqv:!! qîzaqa!' ti-v qîti-yik-i-tî.*
52. *qîzaqa-sî pîr phenzî iht-tî al-ïñ-qa: un-ïk ki-yintî.*
53. *'sen çoryawaş-qa köhkit-mil' ya ti-yintî.*
54. *khunsin mîntaqv-yaq-i-tî.*
55. *antaqanta-ya pîr khun çoryawaş taxs mîla toq-qantî.*
56. *'altam, altam, qhor-nî yör-it-qa mîla-nî quçaqt-it!' ti-yintî.*
57. *qhor-nî yör-it-qanta-ya ihç-in-ti-kî qhal-xanî-yantî.*
58. *'pu qayta-ge?!' ti-yintî.*
59. *pher-yi yata-yanta-ya: 'meñ qîzaqîñ pehr-tî,' ti-yintî.*
60. *çoryawaş antay ti-yintî: 'tayîn men-ma par-în.'*

47. Chorghawash-GEN bowl-POS3-DAT spittle touch-NARev
48. this spittle-ACC take-QUI-CCO bowl-POS3ACC exchange-QUI-NARev
49. then Chorghawash queen become-NARev
50. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this younger.sister-POS3 water side-DAT go-NARev
51. elder.sister/VOC elder.sister say-CSIM call-HAB-COP-EV
52. elder.sister-POS3 one plate meat-ACC take-RFL-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev
53. you Chorghawash-DAT show-NEG all.right say-NARev
54. every.day thus.do/AUX-HAB-COP-EV
55. then-PCL1 one day Chorghawash stone child give.birth-NARev
56. quick quick girdle-ACC undo-QUI-CCO child-ACC embrace-QUI say-NARev
57. girdle-ACC undo-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI fall-TER-NARev
58. this where-KI/COP say-NARev
59. beat-CCO cannot-CTMP-PCL1 me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2 give-PAST say-NARev
60. Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev tomorrow I-PCL3 go-IMP1sg

47. Spittle got into the bowl of Chorghawash.
48. She quickly took the spittle out and exchanged her bowl.
49. Then Chorghawash became queen.
50. Then one day this younger sister of hers went to the water side:
51. 'Elder sister, elder sister!' she used to call.
52. Her elder sister came out, taking along a plate of meat.
53. 'Don't you show [this] to Chorghawash,' [said Kumpinso]. [Ahltimso] agreed.
54. Every day she used to do thus.
55. Then one day, Chorghawash gave birth to a stone child.
56. 'Quick, quick, undo [your] girdle and embrace the child,' she said.
57. When [Ahltimso] undid her girdle, the contents fell out.
58. 'Where is this from?' [Chorghawash] said.
59. When [Ahltimso] could not stand the beating, she said: 'My elder sister gave it.'
60. Chorghawash said thus: 'Let me go tomorrow.'

61. *ahltımso ya ti-γinti. eni maŋ-qanti, su qızıq-qa eht-kinti.*
62. *pel-ıŋ-ki qılış-ti pili-γi: naqı maŋ-qanti.*
63. *antaqaş-ya 'qiti!' ti-γinti.*
64. *qiti-γi eni ca:ŋ pır pʰenzi ist-ti aln-ɔ: un-ik kil-ɔ-γanta-ya pahç-ı quzi pır qılış sal-γanti.*
65. *ahltımso eni yilya-γanti.*
66. *pır khun pʰey çoryawaş-qa antay ti-γinti:*
67. *'sen puyın yü-ti olir, sen puyın çhi youpiŋzi thala.'*
68. *antaqanta pʰey thiençhuay-ta yahs-qa qar-ɔ-γanti:*
69. *'altam, altam, kɔ kisi kil-itı.'*
70. *çoryawaş uzı-nıŋ-kı-nı kɔ khuy-ış-ki suwat-qa: pʰey-nıŋ-kı-nı şırma-ş-ki tıhq-ıwat-qanti.*
71. *'am untır-ik kel,' ti-γinti.*
72. *çoryawaş uzı-nıŋ-kı-nı khuy-ış-tin untır-ik kil-ɔ: yerin-nıŋ-kı-nı şırma-ş-tin untır-ik kil-ɔ-γanti.*

60. Ahltımso all.right say-NARev again walk-NARev water side-DAT arrive-NARev
62. waist-POS3-DAT reed-ACC stick.in-CCO yonder walk-NARev
63. then-PCL1 call say-NARev
64. call-CCO again just one plate meat-ACC take/RFL-CSIM come.out-CON
come-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 head-POS3 down one reed put-NARev
65. Ahltımso again cry-NARev
66. one day beg Chorghawash-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
67. you today house-LOC stay you today camel oil.cake prepare.food
68. then beg skylight-LOC hide-CCO look-AUX-NARev
69. quick quick DEM person come-DUB
70. Chorghawash self-GEN-KI-ACC DEM basket-IN-DAT put/FIN-CCO beg-GEN-KI-ACC
rubbish-IN-DAT stick.into-FIN-NARev
71. now take.out-CON come say-NARev
72. Chorghawash self-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-CSIM
man-GEN-KI-ACC rubbish-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-AUX-NARev

60. Ahltımso agreed. They set off again, and arrived at the water side.
62. That one had stuck a reed into her waist [girdle] and went.
63. Then she said: 'Call!'
64. [Ahltımso] called, and just when [Kumpinso] had come out again, taking along a plate of meat, [Chorghawash] gave her a blow on her head with the reed.
65. Ahltımso cried again.
66. One day, the beg said thus to Chorghawash:
67. 'Today, you stay at home. Today, you prepare camel oil-cakes.'
68. Then the beg hid himself at the skylight and looked:
69. 'Quick, quick, this person is coming!'
70. Chorghawash put hers into the basket, she stuck the beg's into the rubbish.
71. 'Now get it out,' he said.
72. While Chorghawash took out hers from the basket, she took out [her] husband's from the rubbish.

73. *sosik̄in ahl̄t̄imso-n̄i q̄hal-t̄ir-īwat-qant̄i:*
 74. *'sen p̄ir c̄hi youpiñz̄i thala,' ti-γint̄i. ya ti-γint̄i.*
 75. *'altam, altam, k̄o k̄is̄i kil-it̄i,' ti-γint̄i.*
 76. *ahl̄t̄imso uz̄i-n̄iγ-k̄i-n̄i s̄irma-ṣ-ki t̄ihq-īwat-qa p̄hey-n̄iγ-k̄i-n̄i khuy-īs-ki suwat-qant̄i.*
 77. *'am unt̄ir-īk kel,' ti-γint̄i.*
 78. *'pu tahq̄i p̄ir ar̄iγ p̄irmi-t̄o,' saq̄in-qant̄i.*
 79. *antaqanta-ya ahl̄t̄imso s̄ik art-ta: yilye yilye ṣaz tar-ṣ-γant̄i.*
 80. *pu th̄ienç̄huan̄-tan qar-ṣ-γant̄i.*
 81. *ṣaz-t̄iγ s̄iγar-īn-ta ahl̄t̄im aḥq-ṣ-γant̄i, s̄iγar-īn-ta kum̄is aḥq-ṣ-γant̄i.*
 82. *pu th̄ienç̄huan̄-tan p̄hoq̄ir-īk ki-γi iht̄ik-īn uz-it-qant̄i.*
 83. *'sen nati yilya-ppay?' ti-γint̄i.*
 84. *'mej q̄izaq̄iγ su-ṣ-ti par.*
 85. *çoryawas̄ pah̄ç-īn khanna-γa no-γan-i p̄il-mist̄i.'*
 86. *'taȳin m̄iz īsk̄i-s̄i par-in̄i,' ti-γint̄i. ya ti-γint̄i.*

73. next.day Ahltimso-ACC remain-CAUS-FIN-NARev
 74. you one camel oil.cake prepare.food say-NARev all.right say-NARev
 75. quick quick DEM person come-DUB say-NARev
 76. Ahltimso self-GEN-KI-ACC rubbish-IN-DAT stick.into-FIN-CCO beg-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-DAT put/FIN-NARev
 77. now take.out-CON come say-NARev
 78. this yet one clean somebody-EV think-NARev
 79. then-PCL1 Ahltimso door behind-LOC cry/CREP cry/CREP hair comb-AUX-NARev
 80. this skylight-ABL look-AUX-NARev
 81. hair-GEN half-POS3-LOC gold flow-AUX-NARev half-POS3-LOC silver flow-AUX-NARev
 82. this skylight-ABL jump-CON come-CCO skirt-POS3ACC rip-QUI-NARev
 83. you why cry-PROG/COP say-NARev
 84. me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2 water-IN-LOC present
 85. Chorghawash head-POS3ACC hit-CCO what.be-NAR-COP know-DUBN
 86. tomorrow we two-POS3 go-IMP1pl say-NARev all.right say-NARev

73. The next day he made Ahltimso remain:
 74. 'Prepare a camel oil-cake,' he said. She agreed.
 75. 'Quick, quick, this person is coming!' he said.
 76. Ahltimso stuck hers into the rubbish, she put the beg's into the basket.
 77. 'Now take it out,' he said.
 78. He thought: 'This is quite a clean thing.'
 79. Then Ahltimso stealthily combed her hair, crying and crying.
 80. He looked from the skylight.
 81. On one half of her hair gold flowed, on [the other] half silver flowed.
 82. He came jumping from the skylight and quickly ripped his skirt.
 83. 'Why are you crying?' he said.
 84. 'My elder sister is in the water.'
 85. Chorghawash hit her on the head, I would not know what has become [of her].'
 86. 'Let the two of us go tomorrow,' he said. She agreed.

87. *su q̄iz̄iq-qa eht-ki eni antay ti-yinti: 'q̄izaq̄v: q̄izaq̄v! sen un-ik kel!'*
88. *kumpinso pah̄ç-în paɣna-ya: eni p̄ir ph̄enz̄i išt-t̄i tuanna-ya un-ik ki-yinti.*
89. *antaqa kumpinso-n̄i yū-yi ezert-ik ki-yinti.*
90. *antaqanta pu işki-yi m̄ila pol-yanti.*
91. *corɣawaş antay ti-yinti: 'am nayv toq-q̄s-i?'*
92. *kumpinso aht̄imso çay toɣ-v-yanta p̄irs̄i-n̄iɣ aht̄ir-iy-qa p̄ir taɣ kitik sal-it-qa p̄irs̄i-n̄iɣ aht̄ir-iy-qa p̄ir qara kitik sal-it-qa m̄ila-s̄in appar-ya qoy q̄hora-ş-ti kh̄om-ıwat-qanti.*
93. *antaqanta kh̄unsi:n qoz̄i soç̄i-ya yata-yanti.*
94. *appar-yaş-ya aht q̄hora-ş-ki kh̄om-ıwat-qanta aht soç̄i-ya yata-yanti.*
95. *eni appar-ya çiy-iş-ki thayt-uh̄t-qanti.*
96. *ph̄ey ça:ɣ qoy suyar-v-yanta işki m̄ila tiola-l-ya un-ik ki-yinti.*

87. water side-DAT arrive-CCO again that/EQU say-NARev elder.sister/VOC elder.sister/VOC you come.out-CON come
88. Kumpinso head-POS3ACC bandage-CCO again one plate meat-ACC hold.in.both.hands-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev
89. then Kumpinso-ACC house-DAT lead-CON come-NARev
90. then this two-DAT child become-NARev
91. Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev now how give.birth-FUT-COP
92. Kumpinso Ahltimso just give.birth-AUX-CTMP one.of-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one striped puppy put-QUI-CCO one.of-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one black puppy put-QUI-CCO child-POS3ACC take.to-CCO sheep pen-IN-LOC bury-FIN-NARev
93. then every.day lamb be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
94. take.to-CCO-PCL1 horse pen-IN-DAT bury-FIN-CTMP horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
95. again take.to-CCO well-IN-DAT throw-COM-NARev
96. beg just sheep water-AUX-CTMP two child hoist-RFL-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev

87. They arrived at the waterside and she again said thus: 'Elder sister, elder sister, come out!'
88. Kumpinso had bandaged her head, and came out holding again a plate of meat with both hands.
89. Then they took Kumpinso home with them.
90. Then these two became pregnant.
91. Chorghawash said thus: 'Now how will they give birth?'
92. Just as Kumpinso and Ahltimso had given birth, she quickly put a striped puppy under the one, and a black puppy under the other, she took their children and buried them in the sheep's pen.
93. Then the lambs could not help being startled every day.
94. When she took [them] and buried [them] into the horse pen, the horses could not help being startled.
95. Again she took [them] and threw them into the well.
96. Just as the beg was watering his sheep, the two children got hoisted out.

97. *pİR kumİs köhkİs-tİy mİla:, pİR ahlİtm köhkİs-tİy mİla un-İk ki-yİntİ.*
 98. *'seŋ ana-ŋ-qa ni ti-yİk-i?'*
 99. *'meŋ ana-ŋ-qa kumpİnso ti-yİk. meŋ ana-ŋ-qa ahlİtmso ti-yİk.'*
 100. *pu İskİ mİla-nİ yü-yİ ezert-İk ki-yİntİ.*
 101. *antaqanta-la pu coryawaş-tİ xayl-in saŋIn-qantİ.*
 102. *'sen uş yil-nİŋ tuki-nİ mİn-kİş mi: uş yil-nİŋ sİp-tİ mİn-kİş mi?'*
 103. *'ay, men sİp-tİ mİn-kİştİ-nİ. antay tuki-çer-nİ khİm mİn-İppe?'*
 104. *'antasa kv pohqa-ş-ti litaŋ par.*
 105. *pu litaŋ-nİ sen aht-qa tala-ya maŋ-v-la thay paş-qa eht-kinti sen azaq-tİ ezeŋkİ-yİ kİpti-v pohqa-nİŋ ahs-tİ ahc-uh-t-i.'*
 106. *thay-nİŋ pahç-İŋ-qa eht-ki ahs-İn yör-uh-t-qanta, qur qur qur, pİR pohqa kukİşkİn un-qhanİ-yantİ.*
 107. *antaqanta aht soçİ-ya coryawaş-tİŋ pİR put-tİ sozİR-yİ yü-yİ eht-İk ki-yİntİ.*

97. one silver loin-ADJ child one gold loin-ADJ child come.out-CON come-NARev
 98. you/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT what say-HAB-COP
 99. me/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT Kumpinso say-HAB me/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT Ahltımso say-HAB
 100. this two child-ACC house-DAT lead-CON come-NARev
 101. then-PCL2 this Chorghawash-ACC murder-IMP1sg think-NARev
 102. you three year-GEN calf-ACC mount-FUT Q three year-GEN foal-ACC mount-FUT Q
 103. EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT that/EQU calf-DIM-ACC who mount-PROG/COP
 104. in.that.case DEM bag-IN-LOC present present
 105. this present-ACC you horse-DAT carry-CCO walk-CSIM-PCL2 mountain top-DAT arrive-CTMP you foot-ACC stirrup-DAT fasten-CSIM bag-GEN opening-ACC open-COM-COP
 106. mountain-GEN top-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO opening-POS3ACC undo-COM-CTMP ONOM ONOM ONOM one bag pigeon come.out-TER-NARev
 107. then horse be.startled-CCO Chorghawash-GEN one leg-ACC drag-CCO house-DAT arrive-CON come-NARev

97. One child with silver loins and one child with golden loins came out.
 98. 'What is your mother called?'
 99. 'My mother is called Kumpinso. My mother is called Ahltımso.'
 100. He took these two children home with him.
 101. Then he intended to murder Chorghawash.
 102. 'Will you mount a three-year-old calf or will you mount a three-year-old foal?'
 103. 'Ay, I sure will mount the foal. Who would ever ride such a calf?'
 104. 'In that case, there is a present in this bag.
 105. Carry this present on horseback, go, and when you arrive at the mountain top, fasten [your] feet to the stirrup, and just open the bag's opening.'
 106. When she arrived at the top of the mountain, and undid its opening, 'flap flap flap,' one bag of pigeons came out.
 107. Then the horse startled, and it arrived home, dragging [only] one leg of Chorghawash.

10. The Clever Monk

told by Guō Jīnlán¹

1. *pīr q^han-ya pezīk q^han-nūy pīr zīy kī^hciq qīz-īn k^heln al-yīš-i-tī.*
2. *mīnī-ya khīm-ma tanī-mas-i-tī².*
3. *pīr tančīn, pīr liopuchī a^hka par-i-tv.*
4. *a^hka-la, kv antay ti-γintī:*
5. *'e, anta tabqī pīr ni ni kīsī, o-la pīl-yīštī.'*
6. *puyā ayt-sa o antay ti-γintī: 'e:y, men pīl-yīš, men sayā ti-p pol-γīmistī-nī.*
7. *ti-si kīsī pakua-nī³ pīr suanna-sa-la kv menī ti-γīn-nī pīl-si-la teylī mej pahš-tī*
al-uh^t-qīštī-nī.
8. *uzī ti-p pol-γīmistv, ti-γīmis,' ti-γintī.*

1. one khan-PCL1 big khan-GEN one SUP small girl-POS3ACC wife take-FUT-COP-EV
2. this/ACC-PCL1 who-PCL3 recognize-HABN-COP-EV
3. one awesome one extraordinary monk present-COP-EV
4. monk-PCL2 DEM that/EQU say-NARev
5. EXCL that/LOC yet one what what person that-PCL2 know-FUTev
6. this/DAT ask-COND that that/EQU say-NARev EXCL I know-FUT I you/DAT
say-CON become-FUTNev-INT
7. say-COND person eight.diagrams-ACC one count-COND-PCL2 DEM me/ACC
say-PP-ACC know-COND-PCL2 certainly me/GEN head-ACC take-COM-FUTev-INT
8. self say-CON become-FUTNev say-FUTN say-NARev

1. A khan wanted to take a big khan's youngest daughter as a wife.
2. However, nobody could recognize her.
3. There was an awesome, extraordinary monk.
4. The monk, he said thus:
5. 'Eh, there is yet such and such person, he will know.'
6. As he asks him, that one said thus: 'Eh, I know, [but] I really cannot tell you.
7. If I tell, if someone⁴ counts the Eight Diagrams, and if he knows that I told it,
he will really take my head off.
8. I cannot tell, I won't tell,' he said.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Mīnghuā. A similar version appears in Tenišev 1976: 252-257 N^o 9. Other versions of this tale occur in Chinese, cf Ting N^o 851A*; in Tibetan, cf Bräutigam 1977: 7-13; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz N^{os} 175, 215 (855, 313A*). The elaborate riddle occurs inbedded in many other Mongolian tales (cf Bawden 1960: 7).

² Nobody knew who was the youngest among the daughters.

³ A taoist divination device. Tenišev's version mentions *łojstan* T253, T190b, *łojīstan* T191a 'prophecy, divination,' a loanword from Tibetan, cf LT luñ-bstan Das1216a.

⁴ The girl's father, the big khan.

9. *antaqanta pu a^hka antay ti-yinti:*
10. 'sen ti! men saya panfa sayn-in, o pıl-mis panfa.'
11. *uş taxs-ti cala-yaş-ya anıñ üsüñ-ki pır tıs tıhk-ik ki-yi tıs-ış-ki pır tıs su-nı quz-ya su-nıñ üsüñ-ki kv yıyaş qhapaq-ti qhala-ya anıñ üsüñ-ki-la pu kisi-nı çhoqe-t-qaş-la qoyn-ıñ-qa çhıntır-tın pisek qoyıantır-ya antaqas-ya kv ırçalıñ puçın phuti-t-v ti-tır-ik ki-yinti.*
12. *antaqanta pu ırçalıñ puçın phuti-w-ya antay ti-yinti:*
13. 'şı pa kī çozı-ti, saqis-yiyirmı çozı-nıñ-ya zıñ soñ-ta-qı pır samtıq ço-ya, pu-ya pu pezik qhan-nıñ kıhçiq qız-ı-tv.
14. *sen münı-ya kheyır-si-ya yer-tv, ti-yinti.*
15. *antaqanta-ya pu am pıl-tti.*
16. *antaqanta-ya al-yıla-yan-i-ti.*
17. *al-yıla-yanta-ya yol-ta-ya kv üşçüz kisi mañ-qan-i-ti.*

9. then this monk that/EQU say-NARev
10. you say I you/DAT method think-IMP1sg that know-PN method
11. three stone-ACC erect-CCO-PCL1 that/GEN upside/POS3-DAT one cauldron erect-CON come-CCO cauldron-IN-DAT one cauldron water-ACC pour-CCO water-GEN upside/POS3-DAT DEM wood lid-ACC cover-CCO that/GEN upside/POS3-DAT-PCL2 this person-ACC seat-CCO-PCL2 bosom-POS3-DAT chain-ABL lump let.store.in.the.bosom-CCO then-PCL1 DEM flute with blow-CAUS-CSIM say-CAUS-CON come-NARev
12. then this flute with blow-CSIM-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
13. ten eight piece sedan-EV eight-twenty sedan-GEN-PCL1 SUP after-LOC-KI one tattered sedan-PCL1 this-PCL1 this big khan-GEN small girl-POS3-EV
14. you this/ACC-PCL1 bring-COND-PCL1 right-EV say-NARev
15. then-PCL1 this now know-PASTev
16. then-PCL1 take-PUR-NAR-COP-EV
17. take-PUR-CTMP-PCL1 way-LOC-PCL1 DEM three.hundred person walk-NAR-COP-EV

9. Then this monk said thus:
10. 'Tell it! Let me think of a method for you, a method that he cannot know.'
11. He erected three stones, on top of that he put up a cauldron, into the cauldron he poured a cauldron full of water, on top of the water he put a wooden lid as a cover, on top of that he made this person sit down, he made him store a piece of chain in his bosom, and after that he made him blow on a flute and made him tell it.
12. Then, while he was blowing on the flute, he said thus:
13. 'There are eighteen sedans, the very last of the eighteen sedans is a tattered sedan, this is the big khan's youngest daughter.
14. If you bring this [one], it is right,' he said.
15. So now he knew.
16. Then [the monk] went to take [her].
17. When he went to take [her], those three hundred people went [with him] on the journey.

18. *thuŋsï-ya neraqïnta-ma eni pïr kïsi, eni pïr çazi-ma, kv tohqïs-yüz aht mïn-kin kïsi mv-ya oruy ti-yïla ti-yintï.*
19. *par-yanta-la pu qhan antay ti-yintï:*
20. *'puya eht-kinti selir xosï-la menïy kheçhin-tï.*
21. *men sen-la liay kï tiocen çayn-in.*
22. *uş kïsi-yi-ma men pïr qoy per-in.*
23. *maya qoy-nïy išt-tï zi-yi ther-ïn imsart-ïk kel.*
24. *uş kïsi-yi-ma pïr qoy, pïr kïsi-yi-ma pïr qoy per-in.*
25. *mïnïy išt-ïn zi-yi ther-ïn imsart-ïk kel,' ti-yintï.*
26. *antaqanta pu a^hka-nïy üsçöz kïsi-la pïr kïsi-yi-ça pïr qoy yit-ïptï.*
27. *mïnïy-ya išt-ïn zi-yiş-la qoy-nï yülir-yiş-la thenay-ïn ther-ïy-ki surt-kiş-la pïr kïsi pu ther-nï [...] imsart-qaş-la tiat-ïp par-yantï.*

18. at.the.same.time-PCL1 yonder.side/LOC-PCL3 again one person again one family-PCL3 DEM nine.hundred horse mount-PP person walk/CSIM-PCL1 relatives say-CPUR say-NARev
19. go-CTMP-PCL2 this khan that/EQU say-NARev
20. this/DAT arrive-CTMP you/PL all-PCL2 me/GEN guest-EV
21. I first-PCL2 two piece condition state-IMP1sg
22. three person-DAT-PCL3 I one sheep give-IMP1sg
23. me/DAT sheep-GEN meat-ACC eat-CCO skin-POS3ACC make.soft-CON come
24. three person-DAT-PCL3 one sheep one person-DAT-PCL3 one sheep give-IMP1sg
25. this/GEN meat-POS3ACC eat-CCO skin-POS3ACC make.soft-CON come say-NARev
26. then this monk-GEN three.hundred person-PCL2 one person-DAT-PCL4 one sheep lead-PASTev
27. this/GEN-PCL1 meat-POS3ACC eat-CCO-PCL2 sheep-ACC kill-CCO-PCL2 fat-POS3ACC skin-POS3-DAT smear-CCO-PCL2 one person this skin-ACC [...] make.soft-CCO-PCL2 send-CON go-NARev

18. At the same time, on the other side, another person, another family said to ask [for her] in marriage, while this nine hundred mounted people went [with him].
19. When they had gone [there], this [big] khan said thus:
20. 'As you have arrived here, you are all my guests.
21. First let me state two conditions.
22. Let me give one sheep to [a group of] three people.
23. Eat the sheep's meat and make its skin soft for me.
24. Let me give one sheep to [a group of] three people [of the nine hundred], and one sheep to one person [of the three hundred].
25. Eat its meat and make its skin soft,' he said.
26. Then this monk's three hundred people led one sheep to one person.
27. After he had eaten its meat and killed the sheep, and smeared its fat on its skin, and after [this] one person had made this skin soft [...], he send it back.

28. *naqī kīsī-nīy uş kīsī-ya pīr qoy ther-nī pahs-qaş-la sen tahrt-v men tahrt-v-ya ther-nī-ma vZ-ki şart-īs-tīr-uh-t-qan-i-tī.*
29. *antaqanta-la eni pīrsīy-ki pīr pīra per-yin-i-tī.*
30. *uş kīsī-yi-ma pīr pīra, pīr kīsī-yi-ma pīr pīra per-yin.*
31. *'mīnī-ya maya khusin puçin çhuanna-k kel,' ti-yintī.*
32. *pu uş kīsī-ya pīr pīra-nī tuht-qaş-ya uş qhonīq po-yan-i-tī.*
33. *çhuann-v yata-yan-i-tī.*
34. *pu ahka-nīy ilīy ahtīr-ta-qī kīsī-ya pīr kīsī pīr pīra-nī-ya khusin puçin-ya kv soryūlçin-tan pīr tuht-qaş-ya soryūlçin-nīy pel-īy-ki pīr isp-tī phoq-qaş-ya pīr phuti-yinti-ya [...] çhuanna-wal-yan-i-tī.*
35. *tīat-īp par-yantī.*
36. *antaqanta-ya pu: 'uzī-nīy qīz-tī per-in' ti-yintī.*
37. *'sen tanī-sa-la per-in!' ti-yin-i-tī.*
38. *antaqanta-ya pu saqīs-yiyīrmī çozī pīr pīr-tin un-īk kel-yin-i-tī.*
-
28. yonder person-GEN three person-PCL1 one sheep skin-ACC press-CCO-PCL1 you pull-CSIM I pull-CSIM-PCL1 skin-ACC-PCL3 rip-CCO break-REC-CAUS-COM-NAR-COP-EV
29. then-PCL2 again one/POS3-DAT one conch give-NAR-COP-EV
30. three person-DAT-PCL3 one conch one person-DAT-PCL3 one conch give-PNAR
31. this/ACC-PCL1 me/DAT thread with pass.through-CON come say-NARev
32. this three person-PCL1 one conch-ACC hold-CCO-PCL1 three day.and.night become-NAR-COP-EV
33. pass.through-CSIM cannot-NAR-COP-EV
34. this monk-GEN hand under-LOC-KI person-PCL1 one person one conch-ACC-PCL1 thread with-PCL1 DEM ant-ABL one hold-CCO-PCL1 ant-GEN waist-POS3-DAT one thread-ACC tie-CCO-PCL1 one blow-CTMP-PCL1 [...] pass.through-INC-NAR-COP-EV
35. send-CON go-NARev
36. then-PCL1 this self-GEN girl-ACC give-IMP1sg say-NARev
37. you recognize-COND-PCL2 give-IMP1sg say-NAR-COP-EV
38. then-PCL1 this eight-twenty sedan one one-ABL come.out-CON come-NAR-COP-EV
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28. After the three people of yonder person had pressed the one sheep skin, they together had ripped the skin, like you-pull-and-I-pull, into shreds.
29. Then again [the khan] gave each one of them a conch.
30. He gave three people one conch, and one person one conch.
31. 'Pass this through with a thread for me,' he said.
32. After these three people got this one conch, three days and nights passed.
33. They were not able to pass [the thread] through.
34. This person under the authority of the monk - after he had caught an ant and had tied the thread to the waist of the ant, and when he gave a blow, the one person passed through the one conch with a thread.
35. He send it back.
36. Then the [khan] said: 'Let me give my daughter.'
37. 'Let me give her if you recognize her,' he said.
38. Then these eighteen sedans came out one after the other.

39. *antaqanta un-ik ki-si-ya antay ti-yinti:*
40. *'pu-la sey i^šc-v-yan qiz-tv! sey ohqa-l-utrv!*
41. *'pu tirma i^šc-v-yan qiz-tv! tirma ohqa-l-utrv!*
42. *ühç-inçï un-ik ki-si: 'xuaco i^šc-iptrv, xuaco ohqa-l-utrv! antay ti-vtï.*
43. *cueyxoutï pïr samtïq ço un-ik ki-yinti-la 'pu-ya yer-tï,' ti-yi os-ïq qha-yan-i-tï.*
44. *antaqanta-ya pu qhan antay ti-yinti: 'mïni-la khintiñ kïsi ti-ttï.*
45. *ti-mi-si no-p pol-yis-i?' ti-yis-la suanna-yan-i-tï.*
46. *pïr pakua par-i-tï.*
47. *pakua-sïn-ta mïntaqv suanna-yan-i-tï:*
48. *'kv uhş thay-nïñ üsïn-ti temïr çhuan, temïr çhuan-nïñ üsïn-ti kv tali, tali-nïñ üsïn-ti yiyaş çhuan, yiyaş çhuan-nïñ üsïn-ti temïr i^šcikï-lïy, qola tïmsïy-lïy mïntay kïsi ti-ttï.'*

39. then come.out-CON come-COND-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
40. this-PCL2 vegetable eat-AUX-PP girl-EV vegetable smell-RFL-PROGev
41. this turnip eat-AUX-PP girl-EV turnip smell-RFL-PROGev
42. three-ORD come.out-CON come-COND Chinese.prickly.ash eat-PASTev
Chinese.prickly.ash smell-RFL-PROGev that/EQU say-PROGev
43. at.last one tattered sedan come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 this-PCL1 right-EV
say-CCO seize-CON fall-NAR-COP-EV
44. then-PCL1 this khan that/EQU say-NARev this/ACC-PCL2 certainly person
say-PASTev
45. say-NEG-COND what.be-CON become-FUTev-COP say-CCO-PCL2 count-NAR-COP-EV
46. one eight.diagram present-COP-EV
47. eight.diagram-POS3-LOC thus count-NAR-COP-EV
48. DEM three mountain-GEN upside/POS3-LOC iron ship iron ship-GEN
upside/POS3-LOC DEM sea sea-GEN upside/POS3-LOC wooden ship wooden
ship-GEN upside/POS3-LOC iron intestines-ADJ copper mouth-ADJ this/EQU
person say-PASTev

39. Then, as they come out, [the monk] said thus:
40. 'This is girl who has been eating vegetables! She is smelling of vegetables!'
41. 'This is girl who has been eating turnips! She is smelling of turnips!'
42. As the third one came out: 'She ate Chinese prickly ash, she is smelling of Chinese prickly ash!' thus he is saying.
43. At last, when a tattered sedan came out, he said: 'This is [the] right [one],' and seized it.
44. Then this khan said thus: 'Somebody certainly told this.
45. If nobody had told, what could have happened?' and after having said it, he counted.
46. There was an Eight Diagrams [device].
47. In his Eight Diagrams he counted thus:
48. 'On these three mountains is an iron ship, on the iron ship this sea, on the sea a wooden ship, on the wooden ship an iron-bellied, copper-mouthed, such a person told it.'

49. 'šiče-ta qayta-qī mīntak kīsī par-i?' ti-yiṣ-ya pakua-sī iḡna-mintī ti-yi su-ṣ-ki thayt-uh̄t-qan-i-tī.
50. suḡsī zixou-ya pakua yoq po-ḡantī.
51. 'mīz-tiḡ ko pīrmi kīḡpīḡ suanpuḡhulai.'
52. antaqas-la pu oruy-nī ti-yiṣ-ya pu qīz-tī al-iḡ-qa maḡ-qan-i-tī.
53. mv-ya pīr zan-[..] yol-ḡa eht-kinti-la antay ti-yin-i-tī:
54. 'mīz-ya pīr kīsī-ya uṣ kv̄thou čala-ḡaṣ-ya qh̄antīr-v iṣ-činī.'
55. antaqanta-ya kīsī-lir xosī-ya pīr kīsī uṣ tīs tīhk-īk ki-ṣ-ya uṣ kv̄thou čala-ḡa qh̄antīr-v iṣ-kin-i-tī.
56. antaqanta-ya pu soḡ-tan-ya kīsī maḡ-tīr-ḡan-i-tī, qhun-qīla-ṣ-i-tī.
57. soḡ-ta-qī kīsī-ya qīst-v-ya pīr zan-[..], pu olīr-ḡan yer-ḡi eht-ki pīr qara-ḡanta-ya antay ti-yintī:
58. 'neraqīn-ta-ya eni kīsī thoz-ḡīla ki-ptv.

49. world-LOC where-KI this/EQU person present-COP say-CCO-PCL1 eight.diagram-POS3 answer-PASTNev say-CCO water-IN-DAT throw-COM-NAR-COP-EV
50. henceforth afterwards-PCL1 eight.diagram not.present become-NARev
51. we-GEN DEM thing at.all it.cannot.figure.out
52. then-PCL2 this relatives-ACC say-CCO-PCL1 this girl-ACC take-RFL-CCO walk-NAR-COP-EV
53. walk-PCL1 one station-[..] road-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 that/EQU say-NAR-COP-EV
54. we-PCL1 one person-PCL1 three trivet erect-CCO-PCL1 cook-CSIM eat-IMP1pl
55. then-PCL1 person-PL all-PCL1 one person three cauldron erect-CON come-CCO-PCL1 three trivet erect-CCO cook-CSIM eat-NAR-COP-EV
56. then-PCL1 this after-ABL-PCL1 person walk-CAUS-NAR-COP-EV seize-PUR-FUT-COP-EV
57. after-LOC-KI person-PCL1 chase-CSIM-PCL1 one station-[..] this stay-PP place-DAT arrive-CCO one look-CTMP-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
58. yonder.side/LOC-PCL1 again person meet-CPUR come-PASTev

49. After he said: 'Where on the world is there such a person?,' he said his Eight Diagrams had not given an answer, and he threw it away into the water.
50. After that the Eight Diagrams were no more.
51. 'Well, that thing of us cannot figure it out at all.'
52. Then, after the [monk] had asked for [her] in marriage, he set off taking this girl along.
53. While he was walking, [at] a station along the way, he said thus:
54. 'Let us cook and eat after [each] one person has erected three trivets.'
55. So, after all the people each had put up three cauldrons and erected three trivets, they cooked and ate.
56. Then this [khan] made people go after [them], to go seize [the girl].
57. While the pursuers were chasing, they arrived at the place where this [monk] had stayed, the station, took a look, and said thus:
58. 'Over yonder, another person has come to meet them.'

59. *o uş kişİ pİR tİs tİhk-si-ma pu kişİ-tin mİntur ki-ttİ-nİ.*
 60. *mİz-tİr teylİ puya tey-İwal-yİmİstv,' ti-yİş-ya qah̄tar hanİ-yan-i-tİ.*
 61. *hanİ-yanta-la pu çhin-nİ al-İŋ-qas-la maŋ-qan-i-tİ.*
 62. *mı yol-ya eht-ki kişİ antay ti-yİntİ, ey, mİz-tİŋ pu ah̄ka antay ti-yİntİ:*
 63. *'pu qhan toyİR-lar xosİ yah̄s-tİ,*
 64. *[..]-la qa:rq-İn-la pİR kan zi-wal-ttİ.*
 65. *pukuo sen miça çu yila-sa-la ni-ma ol-yİmİstv.*
 66. *sen yŋkhİçher-ya miça tİmsİy-nİ miça qhal-v!' ti-yİntİ.*
 67. *antaqanta-ya pu ya ti-yİntİ.*
 68. *antaqas-ya toyçİ yŋ-yİ eht-İk kil-v-yan̄ta kişİ uzİ ph̄ornta par-yan-i-tİ.*
 69. *par-yas-la: 'am-ya kh̄eyİhr-tİ.*
 70. *toyİR-lar xosİ yah̄s-tv.*
 71. *[..]-la sey İŝç-v-yan qİz-tİ, miça sey oh̄qa-l-vtİ.*

59. that three person one cauldron erect-COND-PCL3 this person-ABL this.many
 come-PASTev-INT
 60. we-PL certainly this/DAT vanquish-INC-FUTNev say-CCO-PCL1 backwards
 go-NAR-COP-EV
 61. go-CTMP-PCL2 this bride-ACC take-RFL-CCO-PCL2 walk-NAR-COP-EV
 62. walk/CSIM road-DAT arrive-CCO person that/EQU say-NARev EXCL we-GEN this
 monk that/EQU say-NARev
 63. this khan other-PL all good-EV
 64. [..]-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 one venereal.disease eat-INC-PASTev
 65. but you little pay.attention-COND-PCL2 what-PCL3 become-FUTNev
 66. you often-PCL1 little mouth-ACC little cover-CSIM say-NARev
 67. then-PCL1 this all.right say-NARev
 68. then-PCL1 wedding.guest house-DAT arrive-CON come-AUX-CTMP person self
 before go-NAR-COP-EV
 69. go-CCO-PCL2 now-PCL1 bring-PAST
 70. other-PL all good-EV
 71. [..]-PCL2 vegetable eat-AUX-PP girl-EV little vegetable smell-RFL-PROGev

59. As three people [must] have erected one cauldron, so many of these people
 [must] have come.
 60. We will certainly not be able to overpower these,' and after they had said
 thus, they went back.
 61. When they had left, this [monk] set off taking the bride along.
 62. While walking, along the way, the man said thus, eh, this monk of us said thus:
 63. 'This khan - all other things [of him] are good.
 64. [Only] a venereal disease has eaten his nose away.
 65. But if you pay a little attention, nothing will happen.
 66. Just you often cover [your] mouth a little!' he said.
 67. Then she agreed.
 68. Then, when the wedding guests were arriving home, he himself went first.
 69. He went [and said to the khan]: 'Now I have brought her.
 70. All other things [of her] are good.
 71. [But] she is a girl who has been eating vegetables, she smells a bit of vegetables.

72. *sen yükhîçher-ya qarq-ti miça nili-ø' ti-yinti.*
73. *antaqanta pu qhan-la emen-la qarq-în-la nili-ø-yaq-i-ti.*
74. *o kher-yin yañi kheln-ï emen-la timsiy-în qhala-ya olir-yaq-i-ti.*
75. *antaqanta-la mînta-qü zisi çouşi lianjk^{hu}zi-nü [..] pu ço tha [..] zitali ç^hi!*
76. *pîrsi amsa sey v^hqa-l-ir-tan qo^hrq-qa pîrsi amsa qarq-în-ta-qü kan-tan qo^hrq-qa.*
77. *antaqaş-ya pîr khun-ki eht-kinti pu qhan pu kheln-ï miş-ti par-nü pîl-mi-yinti.*
78. *khîr-ik ki-yinti ni-ma sey o^hqa-l-ma-yanti.*
79. *pu qhan-ma kheln-ï miş-ti par-nü pîl-mi-yiş-ya kv qarq-în-ma nili-mi-yinti.*
80. *antaqanta pu kheln-ï pîr qara-yanta pu qarq-în-ta ni-ma kan zi-mi-yin-i-ti.*
81. *antaqanta-ya pu qhan pîl-yin-i-ti.*
82. *pu a^hka ni-yi mîntaqv uzkit-ik ki-yi?*

72. you often-PCL1 nose-ACC little pinch-CSIM say-NARev
73. then this khan-PCL2 often-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 pinch-AUX-HAB-COP-EV
74. that bring-PP new wife-POS3 often-PCL2 mouth-POS3ACC cover-CCO
stay-HAB-COP-EV
75. then-PCL2 this/LOC-KI meaning well husband.and.wife-ACC [..] not let s/he [..]
together go
76. one/POS3 anyway vegetable smell-RFL-PFUT-ABL fear-CCO one/POS3 anyway
nose-POS3-LOC-KI venereal.disease-ABL fear-CCO
77. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP this khan this wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC
present-ACC know-NEG-NARev
78. enter-CON come-CTMP what-PCL3 vegetable smell-RFL-NEG-NARev
79. this khan-PCL3 wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC present-ACC know-NEG-CCO-PCL1 DEM
nose-POS3ACC-PCL3 pinch-NEG-NARev
80. then this wife-POS3 one look-CTMP this nose-POS3-LOC what-PCL3
venereal.disease eat-NEG-NAR-COP-EV
81. then-PCL1 this khan know-NAR-COP-EV
82. this monk what-DAT thus lie-CON come-CCO

72. You just often pinch [your] nose a little!' he said.
73. Then this khan used to pinch his nose often.
74. His wife, whom the [monk] had brought, kept on covering her mouth often.
75. Then the meaning of this was, well, to not let husband and wife get together!
76. Because anyway one of them feared the smell of vegetables, the other
feared the venereal disease on the nose.
77. Then one day, this khan did not know this wife of his was in here.
78. When he entered, it was not smelling like vegetables at all.
79. And because this khan did not know this wife of his was in here, he did not
pinch his nose either.
80. Then, when this wife of his took a look, on this nose of his - no venereal
disease had eaten [it] at all.
81. Then this khan realized [it all].
82. 'Why had this monk told such a lie?'

83. *antaqaş-ya pu ahka-ni amsa çhijfala-yan po-ştv.*
 84. *kv uzaq yahqa thay-iş-ki tiat-iwat-qan-i-ti.*
 85. *yahqa thay-iş-ti-ya pür yotuñ qaz-yaş-ya aniş-ki kisi-ma pheyla-yan-i-ti, pu ahka-ni sioxoul-ir-ya.*
 86. *işki köz-in wal-uh-t-qaş-ya kv yahqa: thay-iş-ki tiat-iwat-qan-i-ti.*
 87. *pu ahka teyli nio-sa-ma pil-yik-i-ti.*
 88. *antaqanta işki köz-in wal-uh-t-qaş-ya kv yahqa thay-iş-ki pür yotuñ qaz-yaş-ya aya eni pür sioxoul-ir kisi-ma per-yin-i-ti.*
 89. *antaqanta-ya yanqıca yahqa thay-iş-ti-ya çhoq-v-yaq-i-ti, tahqi pür kisi sioxoul-v-ya.*
 90. *antaqanta pür khun-ki eht-kinti-ya suçou çhij-ni qhala-ppar-i-ti.*
 91. *işç-in-ti-kilir-ni içhi qhal-v un-kin-i-ti.*
 92. *o pür tamij sik-in-la uş xor qhala-yaş-ya uş xor toqıra-xanı-yan-i-ti-ya.*
 93. *antaqanta-ya: 'pu ahka-ni tili-yi puya ayt!' ti-yinti.*

83. then-PCL1 this monk-ACC anyway punish-PP become-FUTev
 84. DEM far southern mountain-IN-DAT send-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
 85. southern mountain-IN-DAT one cave dig-CCO-PCL1 that/IN-DAT person-PCL3 assign-NAR-COP-EV this monk-ACC attend-PFUT-DAT
 86. two eye-POS3ACC gouge-COM-CCO-PCL1 DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT send-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
 87. this monk certainly what.be-COND-PCL3 know-HAB-COP-EV
 88. then two eye-POS3ACC gouge-COM-CCO-PCL1 DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT one cave dig-CCO-PCL1 that/DAT again one attend-PFUT person-PCL3 give-NAR-COP-EV
 89. then-PCL1 alone/ADV southern mountain-IN-LOC-PCL1 sit-AUX-HAB-COP-EV yet one person attend-CSIM-PCL1
 90. then one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 Sùzhōu city-ACC build-PROG-COP-EV
 91. inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL-ACC altogether build-CSIM come.out-NAR-COP-EV
 92. that one gate door-POS3ACC-PCL2 three time build-CCO-PCL1 three time fall-TER-NAR-COP-EV-PCL1
 93. then-PCL1 this monk-ACC look.for-CCO this/DAT ask say-NARev

83. Then it would be best anyway to punish this monk.
 84. He sent him into the far southern mountains.
 85. After having dug a cave in the southern mountains, he also dispatched a person into that, to attend this monk.
 86. After he had gouged out his two eyes, he sent [him] into the southern mountains.
 87. This monk certainly knew whatever happened.
 88. Then [the khan] gouged out his two eyes, dug a cave in the southern mountains, and also give [him] a person to attend him.
 89. Then he lived alone in the southern mountains, with one person attending him.
 90. Then one day they were building the city of Sùzhōu.
 91. They had finished building all which was inside of it.
 92. As they built that one gate door of it three times, three times it fell down.
 93. So [the khan] said: 'Look for this monk, and ask him [about it]'

94. *antaqanta-ya phornta işki kisi mañ-tir-yan-i-ti.*
95. *par-γanta-la niyil-γin-i-ti.*
96. *kʷ yahqa thay-iş-ki mʷ-ya pu ahka-niñ zii-hsün tili-w-la pür anika-niñ-kü-γi eht-si tanqar ehrti enik say-v-γanti.*
97. *antaqanta pu anika-ya ayt-qan-i-ti:*
98. *'pʷ qaysi [...] yer-ti pür köz kör-mis ahka par-i-ti.*
99. *sen pu qayta par-nü pül-γiş mi?'*
100. *pu anika enik say-v-γanti, ni-ma ti-mi-γinti.*
101. *enik-ti say-v un-kis pür ohrsañ untir-γiş sut-tin pür thük-ki phorn-iñ-qa pür thük-ki pür ohrsañ untir-γi..*
102. *antaqas kʷ yahqa thay-iş-ki çila-yan-i-ti:*
103. *'o qaysi qaysi thay-niñ tip-ti pu ahka anta-tir,' antay ti-γinti.*
104. *antaqanta pu işki kisi yol-ya eht-ki antay ti-γin-i-ti:*

94. then-PCL1 before two person go-CAUS-NAR-COP-EV
95. go-CTMP-PCL2 what.do-NAR-COP-EV
96. DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT walk/CSIM-PCL1 this monk-GEN house-POS3ACC look.for-CSIM-PCL2 one old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-COND morning early cow milk-AUX-NAR_{Ev}
97. then this old.woman-DAT ask-NAR-COP-EV
98. this which [...] place-LOC one eye see-PN monk present-COP-EV
99. you this where present-ACC know-FUT Q
100. this old.woman cow milk-AUX-NAR_{Ev} what-PCL3 say-NEG-NAR_{Ev}
101. cow-ACC milk-CSIM come.out-CCO one incense.stand take.out-CCO milk-ABL one pour-CCO front-POS3-DAT one pour-CCO one incense.stand take.out-CCO
102. then DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT point-NAR_{Ev}
103. that which which mountain-GEN base-LOC this monk that/LOC-EX that/EQU say-NAR_{Ev}
104. then this two person road-DAT arrive-CCO that/EQU say-NAR-COP-EV

94. So [the khan] first made two people go.
95. When they went, they did whatsit.
96. While they were walking into the southern mountains, looking for this monk's house, as they arrived at an old woman's house, she was milking cows early in the morning.
97. Then they asked this old woman:
98. 'At this whichever place, there is a monk of whom neither eye can see.
99. Do you know where he is?'
100. This old woman was milking cows, she said nothing at all.
101. After she had finished milking the cow, she took out an incense stand, poured some milk, poured once ahead, she took out an incense stand..
102. And then she pointed to the southern mountains:
103. 'At the foot of that such and such mountain, there is this monk,' thus she said.
104. Then, along the road, these two people said thus:

105. 'pu anika tahqī pīr yol ayt-sa-ma tahqī ohrsaj untīr-*v* pahş çal-*v*tī.
 106. mīz işki kīsī par-ya khīm-ma pahş çal-mintī.'
 107. ya ti-*y*intv, 'xosī pahş çal-mintī,' ti-*y*intī.
 108. antaqanta ca:η pu yotuη-īs-ki kör-si anta pīr qizil işp tahr̄t-qa olīr-*y*antī.
 109. pīrsī-nīη p̄herik-īn kv qizil işp pīr kuala-*y*anta q̄hal-tīr-*u*ht-*q*antī.
 110. antaqanta naqī-sī-ma kançiy çhük-ki çal-īk khīr-*y*in-*i*-tī.
 111. [..] pu amsa p̄herik-īn-ma al-min-ya çal-īk khīr-*y*in-*i*-tī.
 112. antaqanta khīr-īp par-*y*aş-ya işki kīsī çhoqe-*q* q̄ha-*y*anta-ya pu ahka antay
 ti-*y*intī;
 113. 'sen qaytan kehl-tī?' ti-*y*intī.
 114. 'uzī-lir ni ni oy-tan qantan mīntan kehl-tī,' ti-*y*intī.
 115. antaqanta-ya pu ahka antay pīr pīhtiy sal-ya qara-s-tīr-*v*-*y*antī.
 116. qar-*v* qara-*y*aş tahs-īη-qa un-qhanī-*y*antī.
 117. tahs-īη-qa un-ki maη-qanta pu pīhtiy-nī pīr phili-*y*i un-qhanī-*y*antī.

105. this old.woman yet one road ask-COND-PCL3 yet incense.burner take.out-CSIM
 head pray-PROGev
 106. we two person go-CCO who-PCL3 head pray-PASTNev
 107. all.right say-NAREv all head pray-PASTNev say-NAREv
 108. then just this cave-IN-DAT see-COND that/LOC one red rope pull-CCO stay-NAREv
 109. one/POS3-GEN hat-POS3ACC DEM red rope one hang-CTMP fall-CAUS-COM-NAREv
 110. then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NAR-COP-EV
 111. [..] this anyway hat-POS3ACC-PCL3 take-CN-PCL1 pray-CON enter-NAR-COP-EV
 112. then enter-CON go-CCO-PCL1 two person sit-CON fall-CTMP-PCL1 this monk
 that/EQU say-NAREv
 113. you whence come-PAST say-NAREv
 114. self-PL what what plain-ABL whence this/ABL come-PAST say-NAREv
 115. then-PCL1 this monk that/EQU one book put-CCO look-REC-CAUS-AUX-NAREv
 116. look-CSIM look-CCO outside-POS3-DAT come.out-TER-NAREv
 117. outside-POS3-DAT come.out-CCO walk-CTMP this book-ACC one
 shoot.a.glance-CCO come.out-TER-NAREv

105. 'Even though we asked the way, this old woman still took out an incense burner
 and was praying.
 106. We two people went, and none prayed.'
 107. They agreed: 'None prayed,' they said.
 108. Then just as they see into this cave, there is a red rope put up.
 109. When he put it up, this red rope made the hat of one of them fall down.
 110. Then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying.
 111. [..] Anyway, without taking his hat he started praying.
 112. Then, when the two people had entered and sat down, this monk said thus:
 113. 'Whence have you come?' he said.
 114. They said that they had come from such and such plain, from somewhere.
 115. Then this monk put down such a book and was browsing [in it].
 116. After he had looked and looked, he went outside.
 117. When he went outside, he shot a glance at this book and went out.

118. *antaqanta hanī-γanta pu işkī kīsī antay saqin-qantī:*
 119. *'mīz pu pīhtiy-nī yahş-qv pīr qar-in!' ti-γintī.*
 120. *ahsīr-ūq qara-sa pīr-ma pīhtiy yoq po-γantī.*
 121. *içhi antay kheti ol-γan-i-tī.*
 122. *antaqaş-ya soŋta eni işkī kīsī phayla-ya maŋ-tīr-γan-i-tī.*
 123. *maŋ-tīr-γanta-la kv par-γaş-ya pu niyil ti-γintī.*
 124. *par-γaş-ya ayt-qan-i-tv: 'sen qaytan kehl-tī?' ti-γintī.*
 125. *'oh, mīz pu suçou-tan kehl-tī,' ti-γintī.*
 126. *antaqanta antay ti-γintī:*
 127. *'suçou çhijmij-nī qhal-v un-ittī-m?' ti-γintī.*
 128. *'un-iptv!' ti-γintī.*
 129. *pīŋlay un-mintī-sa, thaŋsa ayt-qīla-ttī-sa, kīsī 'un-iptv,' ti-γintī.*
 130. *antaqanta pīrsī ayt-otī, pīr pīhtiy tiz-ma-sī.*
 131. *pīhtiy-nī tiz-γan oy muli ol-γantī.*

118. then go-CTMP this two person that/EQU think-NARev
 119. we this book-ACC good-ADV one look-IMP1pl say-NARev
 120. turn.over-CON look-COND one-PCL3 letter not.present become-NARev
 121. altogether that/EQU paper become-COP-EV
 122. then-PCL1 later again two person dispatch-CCO walk-CAUS-COP-EV
 123. walk-CAUS-CTMP-PCL2 DEM go-CCO-PCL1 this what.do say-NARev
 124. go-CCO-PCL1 ask-NAR-COP-EV you whence come-PAST say-NARev
 125. EXCL we this Sùzhōu-ABL come-PAST say-NARev
 126. then that/EQU say-NARev
 127. Sùzhōu city.gate-ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev-Q say-NARev
 128. come.out-PASTev say-NARev
 129. actually come.out-PASTnev-PCL5 advice ask-PUR-PASTev-PCL5 person
 come.out-PASTev say-NARev
 130. then one/POS3 ask-PROgev one letter write-VN-POS3
 131. writing-ACC write-PP quick very become-NARev

118. Then, when he had left, these two people thought thus:
 119. 'Let us take a good look at this book!' they said.
 120. As they thumb through it, there is no letter at all.
 121. It all was such [blank] paper.
 122. Then later [the khan] again dispatched two people and made them go.
 123. When he made them go, they went and this [monk] said whatsit.
 124. They went, and this monk asked: 'Whence have you come?' he said.
 125. 'Oh, we have come from this [city of] Sùzhōu,' they said.
 126. Then he said thus:
 127. 'Have they finished building the city gate of Sùzhōu?' he said.
 128. 'They have!' they said.
 129. Actually, they had not, they came to ask advice, they [just] said: 'They have.'
 130. Then one of them is asking, one is the writer.
 131. He wrote letters very quick.

132. *naqī şueypi eht-kin ayna-l-yan-i-ti.*
 133. *antaqanta: 'eht-v-ma ni-ti?' ti-yinti.*
 134. *pu işki kisi qohrq-qa qayla-wat-qan-i-ti.*
 135. *qayla-wat-qanta-ya naqī pīr şousa kisi-siŋ-ki 'sur!' ti-yin-i-ti.*
 136. *pīr çijzi sur-yi eht-is-iwal-ma-ya eni ki-yin-i-ti.*
 137. *'pu kisi-lir ni qhaltir-iwat-itti-m?' ti-yin-i-ti.*
 138. *'minta pīr çumaq-ya, toyr ni-ma yoq-ti,' ti-yinti.*
 139. *'çumaq-ti kher! men qar-in!' ti-yinti.*
 140. *pu çumaq-ti kher-si: 'pu pīr ahlīm çumaq-ti,' ti-yinti.*
 141. *'suçou çhij-nij tamij sik-in qhal-v un-mintv.*
 142. *pu-la maya thaŋsa ayt-qila ki-yin kisi-ti.*
 143. *pu am hanī-sa teyli pu suçou çhij-nij tamij sik-ti zixou qhal-v un-kimisti,' ti-yin-i-ti.*

132. yonder pen make.sound-PP hear-RFL-NAR-COP-EV
 133. then make.sound-AUX-VN what-EV say-NARev
 134. this two person fear-CCO run-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
 135. run-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 yonder one under.the.authority.of person-POS3-DAT pursue say-NAR-COP-EV
 136. one moment pursue-CCO arrive-REC-INC-NEG-CCO again come-NAR-COP-EV
 137. this person-PL what drop-FIN-PASTev-Q say-NAR-COP-EV
 138. this/LOC one stick-PCL1 other what-PCL3 not.present-EV say-NARev
 139. stick-ACC bring I look-IMP1sg say-NARev
 140. this stick-ACC bring-COND this one gold stick-EV say-NARev
 141. Sùzhōu city-GEN gate door-POS3ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev
 142. this-PCL2 me/DAT advice ask-CPUR come-PP person-EV
 143. this now go-COND certainly this Sùzhōu city-GEN gate door-ACC afterwards build-CSIM come.out-FUTNev say-NAR-COP-EV

132. The sound yonder pen made was audible.
 133. 'What is it making sound?' [the monk] said.
 134. These two people ran away together for fear.
 135. When they had run away, he said to the person under [his] authority: 'Pursue [them]!'
 136. After he pursued [them] for a moment, he was not able to overtake them and came back again.
 137. 'What did these people drop?' [the monk] said.
 138. 'Here is a stick, there is no other thing at all,' he said.
 139. 'Bring the stick! Let me look!' he said.
 140. As he brings the stick: 'This is a golden stick,' he said.
 141. 'They have not finished building the gate door of the city of Sùzhōu.
 142. They were people who came to ask me advice.
 143. As they have gone away now, they will certainly not finish building this gate door of Sùzhōu afterwards,' he said.

11. The Smart Boy (1)

told by GUŌ JĪNLÁN¹

1. *kilw: p̄ir yüenwey par-i-tī.*
2. *pu yüenwey, coušī, yüenwey üs̄in-ti tahq̄i p̄ir qhan par-i-tī.*
3. *pu-ya qhan aht̄ir-īn-ta-q̄i yüenwey, qhan-qa kans̄i-tī.*
4. *p̄ir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pu yüenwey-n̄iḡ s̄ik-t̄iḡ uht̄ir-īn-ta p̄ir pez̄ik süeso par-i-tī.*
5. *süeso-ta p̄ir yax̄s-kih̄ciy loš̄i aȳir-ya yoq po-ḡant̄i.*
6. *antaqanta eni p̄ir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya o fiḡyüen-ta p̄ir xuar, yax̄s közti-ḡik p̄ir tuo xuar un-īk ki-ḡint̄i.*
7. *antaqanta pu yüenwey-n̄iḡ q̄iz-ī pu xuar-n̄i c̄ümü-k ki-ḡi paḡs-qa qaḡs qhon̄iq ḡhala-ḡant̄i.*
8. *paḡs-qa qaḡs qhon̄iq man-qan-i-tī.*
9. *man-qanta p̄ir khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pu q̄iztar m̄ila ol-ḡant̄i.*
10. *m̄ila ol-ḡanta pu yüenwey ila-ma-ḡant̄i:*

1. once.upon.a.time one official present-COP-EV
2. this official well official upside/POS3-LOC yet one khan present-COP-EV
3. this-PCL1 khan underside-POS3-LOC-KI official khan-DAT secretary-EV
4. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official-GEN door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC one big school present-COP-EV
5. school-LOC one young teacher be.ill-CCO not.present become-NAR_{ev}
6. then again one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that grave-LOC one flower good appear-PHAB one piece flower come.out-CON come-NAR_{ev}
7. then this official-GEN girl-POS3 this flower-ACC pluck-CON come-CCO head-DAT few day.and.night insert-NAR_{ev}
8. head-DAT few day.and.night wear-NAR-COP-EV
9. wear-CTMP one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this girl child become-NAR_{ev}
10. child become-CTMP this official comply.with-NEG-NAR_{ev}

1. Once upon a time there was an official.
2. This official, well, above this official was yet a khan.
3. He was an official under a khan, he was a secretary for the khan.
4. One day, there was a big school in front of this official's door.
5. In the school, a young teacher became ill and died.
6. Then, again one day, on that grave a flower, a well-looking flower sprouted.
7. Then this official's daughter plucked this flower and stuck it on [her] head for a few days.
8. She wore [it] on [her] head for a few days.
9. When wearing [it], one day, this girl became pregnant.
10. When she had become pregnant, this official did not comply with [it].

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jinwén, 1992 in Míng huā.

11. 'uzi yüenwey po-ppar.
12. pu qiz mila ol-ya am minı kançiq zülir-ıstı.
13. zülir-ıwat! ti-yinti.
14. antaqanta pu yüenwey-ta pır ziyıt par-i-ti.
15. pır khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pır thañsa untır-yin-i-ti.
16. uzun pır ço qaz-yantı.
17. ço qaz-yaş-ya sıñni-sın pu ço-s-ki suwat-qa işkiş, ziş antarmi-tin pisek tiat-qa.
18. antaqas-ya pu yüenwey ki-si çinçiq qızıl çala man-qa antaqanta o ırçalıñ phuti-s-tır-yi antaqanta kil-vti ti-vti.
19. antaqanta-ya pır khun-ya antay pır panfa sañna-wat-qantı.
20. sik uhtır-ta pe:zik pır qol par-i-ti.
21. antaqanta-ya antay ti-yinti, pu yüenwey-nıñ ziyıt-i ana-sıñ-qa:
22. 'pu aça-sı phuti-s-tır-yi kil-v-yantı-ya.

11. self official become-PROG
12. this girl child become-CCO now this/ACC immediately kill-FUTev
13. kill-FIN say-NARev
14. then this official-LOC one young.man present-COP-EV
15. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one idea take.out-NAR-COP-EV
16. long one cellar dig-NARev
17. cellar dig-CCO-PCL1 younger.sister-POS3ACC this cellar-IN-DAT put/FIN-CCO
beverage food that.kind.of.thing-ABL lump send-CCO
18. then-PCL1 this official come-COND really red tassel wear-CCO then that flute
blow-REC-CAUS-CCO then come-PROGev say-PROGev
19. then-PCL1 one day-PCL1 that/EQU one method think.of-FIN-NARev
20. door front.side-LOC big one river present-COP-EV
21. then-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev this official-GEN young.man-POS3
mother-POS3-DAT
22. this father-POS3 blow-REC-CAUS-CCO come-AUX-NARev-PCL1

11. 'I am the official,' [he thought].
12. 'Because this girl is pregnant, they should kill her immediately now.
13. Kill [her]!' he said.
14. Then this official had a son.
15. One day, he got an idea.
16. He dug a long cellar.
17. After he had dug [it], he put his younger sister into this cellar, leaving some
beverage and food and that kind of things.
18. Then, he is saying, if this official comes, he is coming wearing a really red
tassel, and then having [the musicians] blow the flutes together.
19. Then one day [the son] had thought of such a method.
20. In front of the door, there was a big river.
21. Then this official's son said thus to his mother:
22. 'This father of hers has come, having [them] blow [the flutes] together.

23. *pu, niyül-ini, pu pezik theryin-niḡ pür kulu-ni pu qol-iş-ki işt-uh-t-ini, ti-yinti.*
24. *işt-uh-t-qanta-ya ana-si-ya mi-s-ki phoqir-yi ti-w kisilir a:yüt-v..*
25. *antay ol-yanta-ya pu aca-si eht-ik ki-yinti:*
26. *'no-tti?' ti-yinti.*
27. *'puyin pu signi pu qol-iş-ki phoqir-har-tti.*
28. *antan-la ana-ḡ-ma pohqir-yi ti-yi ayüt-tir-masti, ti-yinti.*
29. *'antasa xo! phoqir-har-sa yaxş po-tti.*
30. *kançiy kv kisilir kv qol-ni khöm-uh-t-il' ti-yinti.*
31. *antaqanta-ya kisilir kançiy pu qol-ni khöm-uh-t-qanti.*
32. *antan soḡ-ya pu aca-si ci zivwei 'qiz-i yoqqha-tti,' saḡin-qanti, 'pu xi-s-ti.'*
33. *antaqanta pu co-s-ti çhoqe-t-iwat-qanti.*
34. *pür khun-ki eht-kinti mila-si-ma toḡ-ik ki-yinti.*

23. this what.do-IMP1pl this big cart-GEN one wheel-ACC this river-IN-DAT
push-COM-IMP1pl say-NARev
24. push-COM-CTMP-PCL1 mother-POS3-PCL1 this-IN-DAT jump-VNFUT say-CSIM
person-PL stop-CSIM
25. that/EQU become-CTMP-PCL1 this father-POS3 arrive-CON come-NARev
26. what.be-PASTev say-NARev
27. today this younger.sister this river-IN-DAT jump-RES-PASTev
28. that/ABL-PCL2 mother-POS1/2-PCL3 jump-VNFUT say-CCO stop-CAUS-DUBN
say-NARev
29. in.that.case good jump-RES-COND good become-PASTev
30. immediately DEM person-PL DEM river-ACC bury-COM-COP say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 person-PL immediately this river-ACC bury-COM-NARev
32. that/ABL after-PCL1 this father-POS3 self think girl-POS3 die-PASTev think-NARev
this river-IN-LOC
33. then this cellar-IN-LOC sit-CAUS-FIN-NARev
34. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP child-POS3-PCL3 be.born-CON come-NARev

23. Let us whatsit, let us push one wheel of this big cart into this river,' he said.
24. When they had pushed it [in], while his mother was about to jump in this
[river], and while the people withheld [her] ..
25. When it happened thus, this father of his arrived [on the scene] and said:
26. 'What happened?'
27. 'Today this younger sister has jumped into this river.
28. Thereupon our mother too was about to jump, she could not withhold [my
sister],' he said.
29. 'In that case, good! If she has jumped, it is good.
30. May these people immediately fill up this river!' he said.
31. Then the people immediately filled up this river.
32. After that this father of hers thought by himself his daughter has died in this
river, he thought.
33. Then they let her stay in this cellar.
34. One day, her child was born.

35. *pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pu yüenwey-ya nan tus-kin-i-ti.*
36. *q^han antay ti-yinti:*
37. *'k^v uzaq-tan-ya t^heryin-ki pīr pīl-mis amīrtan sozīr-īk ki-yin-i-ti.'*
38. *pu yüenwey-ya: 'mīnī tanī!' ti-yinti.*
39. *antur kīsī-tin ziuti ki-yiṣ-ma khīm-ma tanī-ma-ya^{nti}.*
40. *cueyxouti-ya pu q^han-ya pu yüenwey-ya: 'tanī!' ti-yinti.*
41. *'tanī-ma-sa-la seṣ paṣ-ti al-yiṣ-e!' ti-yinti.*
42. *antaqanta pu ki-yiṣ-la zū-ti k^v, xosī aqīs-^v-ya^{nta}-la pu yüenwey-niṅ ziyūt-ī-ya pu ^{co}-ṣ-ki par-ya iṅ-in-īṅ-ki antay ti-yinti:*
43. *'am vka-ṅ-qa-ma nan tus-ipt^v.*
44. *antaqanta uzaq-tan pīr antay tanī-mas amīrtan sozīr-īk ki-tti.*
45. *am mīnī tanī-ma-sa-ya tayin yülir-īṣtī, pa^hq-īn al-yiṣtī titi.'*
46. *antaqanta-ya pu antay ti-yinti, pu mīla-sī, pu sunzī-sī:*

35. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official-DAT trouble descend-NAR-COP-EV
36. khan that/EQU say-NAR_{ev}
37. DEM far-ABL-PCL1 cart-DAT one know-PN animal drag-CON come-NAR-COP-EV
38. this official-DAT this/ACC recognize say-NAR_{ev}
39. that.many people-ABL many come-CCO-PCL3 who-PCL3 recognize-NEG-NAR_{ev}
40. finally-PCL1 this khan-PCL1 this official-DAT recognize say-NAR_{ev}
41. recognize-NEG-COND-PCL2 you/GEN head-ACC take-FUT-COP say-NAR_{ev}
42. then this come-CCO-PCL2 house-LOC DEM all feel.anxious-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 this official-GEN young.man-POS3-PCL1 this cellar-IN-DAT go-CCO nephew-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NAR_{ev}
43. now grandfather-POS1/2-DAT-PCL3 trouble descend-PAS_{tev}
44. then far-ABL one that/EQU recognize-PN animal drag-CON come-PAS_{tev}
45. now this/ACC recognize-NEG-COND-PCL1 tomorrow kill-FUT_{ev} head-POS3ACC take-FUT_{ev} say/DUB
46. then-PCL1 this that/EQU say-NAR_{ev} this boy-POS3 this grandson-POS3

35. One day trouble fell upon this official.
36. The khan said thus:
37. 'From this far, [someone] has come transporting an unknown animal by cart.
38. Recognize this!' he said to this official.
39. However many of the so many people had come, nobody recognized [it].
40. Finally [the khan] said to this official: 'Recognize [it]!
41. If you do not recognize it, I will take your head!' he said.
42. Then [the official] returned, and when he and everybody at home felt anxious, this official's son went into this cellar and said thus to his nephew:
43. 'Now trouble has fallen upon your grandfather.
44. So from far, [someone] has come transporting such an unrecognizable animal.
45. Now, if he does not recognize this, [the khan] will kill [him] tomorrow, he will take his head he says.'
46. Then this one, this child of his, this grandson of his, said thus:

47. 'pu şıyan-ya kv mñj tabrtqış-qa un-kik-i-ti, pu zür-ya mñj tabrtqış-qa un-kik-i-ti.
 48. pñhtiy-ış-ti pñr qara-sa toyır kv mñj tabrtqış-qa un-ır örcü yoq-ti,' ti-yış-ya 'kv mış-tñj, kv kheti-nñj mış-tñj, antay yajzi-tan pñr qhaycila-yaş zñj-ış-ki sal-ya par!' ti-yintv, vka-sñj-qa.
 49. 'par-yaş-ya mñnñj paıç-ın yaıç-qv tanı-yaş-ya, pahş yaqın-tan-ya, pahç-ın-ta-ya, mñjmñgti-kv zñj-ış-ti-kı pu mış-tñj, pu qhaycila-yan kheti-nñj yajzi-nı qháltır-ık ki,' ti-yintı.
 50. 'qháltır-ıp ki-yı qobrqa-sa-ya kv şıyan-ti,' ti-yintı.
 51. 'art-ñj-qa thunna-ş; art-ñj-qa thunna-ma-sa yür-ti,' ti-yintı.
 52. antaqanta-ya mñni, zñj-ış-ti-kı pñr mış, kheti mış-ti qháltır-ık ki-yinti-ya pu theryin-ış-ti-kı pu-ya şıyan mi-ti, art-ñj-qa pñr thunna-ıanta theryin-tin qhal-xanı-yantı.
 53. antaqanta-ya pu yüenwey-ya: 'kv mış²-ti,' ti-yintı.

47. this mouse-PCL1 DEM thousand scales-DAT come.out-HAB-COP-EV this fish-PCL1 thousand scales-DAT come.out-HAB-COP-EV
 48. book-IN-LOC one look-COND other DEM thousand scales-DAT come.out-PFUT thing not.present-EV say-CCO-PCL1 DEM cat-GEN DEM paper-GEN cat-GEN that/EQU form-ABL one clip-CCO sleeve-IN-DAT put-CCO go say-NARev grandfather-POS3-DAT
 49. go-CCO-PCL1 this/GEN head-POS3ACC good-ADV recognize-CCO-PCL1 head near-ABL-PCL1 head-POS3-LOC-PCL1 suddenly-ADV sleeve-IN-DAT-KI this cat-GEN this clip-PP paper-GEN form-ACC drop-CON come say-NARev
 50. drop-CON come-CCO fear-COND-PCL1 DEM mouse-EV say-NARev
 51. backside-POS3-DAT move.back-FUT backside-POS3-DAT move.back-NEG-COND fish-EV say-NARev
 52. then-PCL1 this/ACC sleeve-IN-LOC-KI one cat paper cat-ACC drop-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 this cart-IN-LOC-KI this-PCL1 mouse Q-EV backside-POS3-DAT one move.backwards-CTMP-PCL2 car-ABL fall-TER-NARev
 53. then-PCL1 this official-PCL1 DEM cat-EV say-NARev

47. 'This mouse weighs this thousand on the scales, or this fish weighs a thousand on the scales.
 48. If you take a look in the [magic] book, there is no other thing that weighs this thousand on the scales,' he said, 'go and clip this cat's, this paper cat's, such a form, and put it into the sleeve,' he said, [as] to his grandfather.
 49. 'After you have gone and made out well this one's head, you suddenly drop this cat's, this clipped paper form which is in the sleeve, from near the head, at the head,' he said.
 50. 'After you have dropped [the paper cat], if [the unknown animal] is afraid, it is the mouse,' he said.
 51. 'It will move backwards; if it does not move backwards, it is the fish,' he said.
 52. Then, when he dropped this, the cat, the paper cat in the sleeve, the one in the cart, [as] it was this mouse, fell down from the cart when it moved backwards.
 53. Then this official said: 'It is a cat.'

² Apparently a mistake for şıyan 'mouse'.

54. 'antaqanta-ya pu-ya miş yer-i-ti, miş-ti!' ti-yinti.
55. antaqanta-ya pu pır [...] yoz-yan-i-ti.
56. antaqanta eni pır tuan şicen ol-γanta, eni pır işki yıl pol-γanta eni pu qhan-niγ pu qatın-ı tancın köjil-yüs-i-ti.
57. eni antay ti-yintv: 'uzi am teyli ayır-yaş tancın po^hl-ti, am yenc^hen yül-yüsti.
58. uzi kv e^hrkik qoy-niγ kv su:t, kuγci-niγ ta:n antarmi iş-si-la ya^xş o-şti.
59. antarmi iş-mi-si am teyli yül-yüsti,' ti-yin-i-ti.
60. antaqanta pu qhan antay ti-yinti:
61. 'men sayā örcü-ni qaya tili-yıla-ş-e?
62. antay örcü teyli yoq-ti-ni.'
63. antay ti-si antay ti-yinti:
64. 'sen kv yüenwey-ni tili-k kel-γi o yüenwey-ya-la kheyir ti.

54. then-PCL1 this-PCL1 cat right-COP-EV cat-EV say-NAR^{Ev}
55. then-PCL1 this one [...] pass-NAR-COP-EV
56. then again one period time become-CTMP again one two year become-CTMP
again this khan-GEN this wife-POS3 very heart-bad-COP-EV
57. again that/EQU say-NAR^{Ev} self now certainly be.ill-CCO serious become-PAST
now before.one's.eyes die-FUT^{Ev}
58. self DEM male sheep-GEN DEM milk rooster-GEN egg that.kind.of.thing
drink-COND-PCL2 good become-FUT^{Ev}
59. that.kind.of.thing drink-NEG-COND now certainly die-FUT^{Ev} say-NAR-COP-EV
60. then this khan that/EQU say-NAR^{Ev}
61. I you/DAT thing-ACC whither look.for-PUR-FUT-COP
62. that/EQU thing certainly not.present-EV-INT
63. that/EQU say-COND that/EQU say-NAR^{Ev}
64. you DEM official-ACC look.for-CON come-CCO that official-DAT-PCL2 bring say

54. So this is a cat all right, it is a cat!' he said.
55. So this one [time] passed.
56. Then again, when a period of time, when one or two years had passed, this wife of this khan was very bad-natured.
57. And she said thus: 'Now I have really fallen ill, it has become serious, now I will die before [your] eyes.
58. If I drink this male sheep's milk, and [eat] this rooster's egg, those kinds of things, it will be cured.
59. If I do not drink those kinds of things, then I will certainly die,' she said.
60. Then this khan said thus:
61. 'Whither will I go look for you for the thing?
62. There is certainly no such thing.'
63. As he said that, she said:
64. 'You go look for this official, and tell that official to bring [it].

65. *o yüenwey-la khëyür-mi-si sen anij paxç-ün al-yi ti-v ani o teyli saya tili-k ki-sti, ti-yinti.*
66. *antaqanta-ya pu yüenwey-nij ziyüt-i-ya par-ya eni pu co-s-ti-ki pu iyin-ij-ki antay ti-yinti:*
67. *'pu vka-η-qa, senij vka-η-qa eni-la nan tus-iptv!*
68. *pu qhan-la eni kv ehrik qoy-nij sut, kv kuñci-nij tan khëyür-yiş-la qatın-nij-la kim çila-sti titi.*
69. *minı-la vka-η am teyli açi-yiști, qaya tili-yıla-s-e?'*
70. *antaqanta-ya kv, pu co-s-ti-ki sunzi mıla-si antay ti-yinti:*
71. *'ey, antasa men par-in, men aya panfa sajn-in.*
72. *uzi par-yaş ti-yn, qhan-nij qah-t-qa men ti-yıla-yn!' ti-yinti.*
73. *'sen sen par-ma! uzaq-yaxqın-nij çhiñçi-lir-ni puyn yijir-ta qixqir-ik kil-vti.*
74. *sen emisi çhiñçi-lir içhi ki-yinti am par.'*
65. that official-PCL2 bring-NEG-COND you that/GEN head-POS3ACC take-VNFUT say-CSIM that/ACC that certainly you/DAT look.for-CON come-FUTev say-NARev
66. then-PCL1 this official-GEN young.man-POS3-PCL1 go-CCO again this cellar-IN-LOC-KI this nephew-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
67. this grandfather-POS1/2-DAT you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-DAT again-PCL2 trouble descend-PASTev
68. this khan-PCL2 again DEM male sheep-GEN milk DEM rooster-GEN egg bring-CCO-PCL2 queen-GEN-PCL2 disease relieve-FUTev say/DUB
69. this/ACC-PCL2 grandfather-POS1/2 now certainly feel.anxious-FUTev whither look.for-PUR-FUT-COP
70. then-PCL1 DEM this cellar-IN-LOC-KI grandson boy-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev
71. EXCL in.that.case I go-IMP1sg I that/DAT method think-IMP1sg
72. self go-CCO say-IMP1sg khan-GEN side-DAT I say-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev
73. you first go-NEG far-near-GEN relative-PL-ACC today evening-LOC invite-CON come-PROGev
74. you or relative-PL altogether come-CTMP now go
65. If that official does not bring [it], [if you say] you are about to take his head, he will certainly go look for it for you,' she said.
66. Then this official's son went, and again he said thus to this nephew of his in this cellar:
67. 'Again trouble has fallen upon this grandfather of yours.
68. This khan says the queen's illness will be relieved after [your grandfather] has brought this male sheep's milk, this rooster's egg.
69. Now your grandfather feels really anxious about this, whither should he go look for [it]?'
70. Then he, this grandson of his in the cellar, said thus:
71. 'Eh, if that is so, let me go, let me think of a method for him.
72. Let me go and tell [it], let me go near the khan, and tell!' he said.
73. 'Don't you go first! [Grandfather] is inviting relatives of far and near for today evening,' [his uncle said].
74. 'When these relatives all have come, only then you go.'

75. *antaqanta yijir ol-yanta ichi qihqir-ik ki-yintv.*
 76. *khim-ma pir yahş thajsa tahq-ma-yanti.*
 77. *antaqanta zuanzuan-sisiti par-yas-ya vka-si-nij qah-ta chük-iq qha-yanti.*
 78. *antaqanta pu zici pu co-s-ti olir-yan-qa, zil kör-mi-yin-ki, put-i zuanzuanti ti-vti.*
 79. *'pu qaytaqi mintay nimi, kueywu ki-yin-i?' ti-yinti.*
 80. *'uzi-ya senij sunzi, seş qahcan qahcan-ya uzi-nij ana-sin qist-uh-t-qanta taqa-si ana-sin co-s-ki sal-ya uzi co-s-ti toq-qanti.'*
 81. *'maya qara-sal pir chi pir chi-tan-ma nan tus-vti.*
 82. *ca-la mintay nimi kueywu-la, uzi-ş-ki mintaqv nan tus-v-yan [..]*
 83. *kancij mini yulir!' ti-yinti, 'pahc-in khanna!' ti-yinti.*
 84. *antaqanta pu kel-yin uzaq-yahqin-nij kisi-lir ayit-it-qanti.*
 85. *'sen sen mini yulir-mi!*

75. then evening become-CTMP altogether invite-CON come-NARev
 76. who-PCL3 one good idea find-NEG-NARev
 77. then weak-feeble go-CCO-PCL1 grandfather-POS3-GEN side-LOC kneel-CON fall-NARev
 78. then this always this cellar-IN-LOC stay-PP-DAT wind see-NEG-PP-DAT leg-POS3 weak say-PROGev
 79. this what.sort this/EQU thing monster come-PAST-COP say-NARev
 80. self-PCL1 you/GEN grandson you/GEN when when-PCL1 self-GEN mother-POS3ACC chase-COM-CTMP maternal.uncle-POS3 mother-POS3ACC cellar-IN-DAT put-CCO self cellar-IN-LOC be.born-NARev
 81. me/DAT look-COND one time one time-ABL-PCL3 trouble descend-PROGev
 82. truly-PCL2 this/EQU thing monster-PCL2 self-POS1/2-DAT thus trouble descend-AUX-PP [..]
 83. immediately this/ACC kill say-NARev head-POS3ACC chop say-NARev
 84. then this come-PP far-near-GEN person-PL stop-QUI-NARev
 85. you first this/ACC kill-NEG

75. Then, when it had become evening, he had invited them all.
 76. Nobody could think of a good idea.
 77. Then [the boy] went weakly and feebly, and kneeled down at his grandfather's side.
 78. Then [the official] is saying to him who had always stayed in this cellar, who had not seen the wind, his legs weak:
 79. 'Where has such a thing, this monster come from?' he said.
 80. 'I am your grandson; when you chased away [my] mother then and then, [my] uncle had put [my] mother into a cellar, and I was born in the cellar.'
 81. 'Well I never! From one time to another [more] trouble is falling [upon me].
 82. Truly some such monster - in this way trouble has fallen upon me [..]
 83. Kill him at once!' he said. 'Chop off his head!' he said.
 84. Then these people of far and near who had come, stopped him quickly.
 85. 'Don't you kill him first!

86. *pu puɣa tʰaŋsa t̪ir-īm yoq-t̪i-m: tʰaŋsa par-u-sa yül̪ir-mi, tʰaŋsa yoq pu-sa amsa yül̪ir-in̪i! ti-ɣint̪i.*
87. *antaqanta: 'uz̪i-ŋ-ki tʰaŋsa par.*
88. *tay̪in taŋqar-ya men par-in! ti-ɣint̪i.*
89. *'sen par-sa-ma antarmi-t̪i: sen par-sa ni et-v ç̪ita-s?'*
90. *antasa uz̪i ti-yin-i-t̪i: 'uz̪i par-ɣaʃ uz̪i kv qʰaŋ-qa tosilil̪i:*
91. *uz̪i-n̪iŋ vka-ŋ puɣ̪in ay ol̪ir-ïq qʰal-t̪ti, kil-v yata-y̪is.*
92. *uz̪i tosilil̪i antay ti-s, ti-ɣint̪i.*
93. *e, antasa p̪irmis̪i, k̪is̪i aɣna-sa: 'e, pu-ma yer-tv, sen par-ɣe.'*
94. *puɣ̪in taŋqar-la kv eʰrkik qoy-n̪iŋ sut, kuŋci-n̪iŋ tan-n̪i kʰey̪ir-mi-si-la pu yüenwey-n̪iŋ paʰç-ïn-la q̪it̪ir-y̪ist̪i.*
95. *antaqanta-la pu par-t̪ti [..].*
96. *vka-s̪i-n̪iŋ, yüenwey-n̪iŋ ton-ïn kez-v taŋqar-la par-ɣaʃ-la antay ç̪hük-ïq qʰa-t̪ti.*

86. this this/DAT idea EX-Q not.present-EV-Q idea present/become-COND kill-NEG
idea not.present become-COND anyway kill-IMP1pl say-NARev
87. then self-POS1/2-DAT idea present
88. tomorrow morning-PCL1 I go-IMP1sg say-NARev
89. you go-COND-PCL3 that.kind.of.thing-EV you go-COND what do-CSIM can-FUT
90. in.that.case self say-NARev self go-CCO self DEM khan-DAT
have.come.reporting.the.good.news
91. self-GEN grandfather-POS1/2 today moon stay-CON fall-PASTev come-CSIM
cannot-FUT
92. self have.come.reporting.the.good.news that/EQU say-FUT say-NARev
93. EXCL in.that.case someone person hear-COND EXCL this-PCL3 right-EV you
go-IMP3
94. today morning-PCL1 DEM male sheep-GEN milk rooster-GEN egg-ACC
bring-NEG-COND-PCL2 this official-GEN head-POS3ACC-PCL2 cut-FUTev
95. then-PCL2 this go-NARev
96. grandfather-POS3-GEN official-GEN dress-POS3ACC dress-CSIM morning-PCL2
go-CCO-PCL2 that/EQU kneel-CON fall-PASTev

86. Does he have a solution or not for this [problem]: if he has a solution, don't kill him, if he has no solution, then let's kill him!' they said.
87. Then: 'I myself have an idea.
88. Let me go tomorrow morning,' [the boy] said.
89. 'Even if you go, it is a thing like that: if you go, what will you be able to do?'
90. As that was so, [the boy] said: 'I will go and report this khan the good news:
91. My grandfather is confined to childbed today, he will not be able to come.
92. I will say thus, reporting the good news,' he said.
93. Eh, as that was so, someone, somebody hears [this]: 'Eh, this is right. May you go.'
94. If he does not bring this male sheep's milk and rooster's egg today morning, [the khan] will cut off this official's head.
95. Then this [boy] went.
96. He got dressed in his grandfather's, the official's dress, went in the morning, and thus kneeled down.

97. *çhük-ïq qha-γanta: 'sen pu ni kīsī mīnta çhük-[..]?'*
98. *'uzī yūenwey-nīñ sunzī-sī; uzī-nīñ vka-sī puyīn tanqar kīci thuni-la ay olir-iptī.*
99. *puyīn men tosiliti,' ti-ttī.*
100. *antaqanta-la pu tafa phīci: 'khīm-nīñ yerin kīsī mīla toq-qaq-e?*
101. *sen çençī šī xuşuopato,' ti-γin.*
102. *'pusa sen, qhan, kv eħrkik qoy-nīñ sut, kv kuñci-nīñ tan kheyır titi-nī.*
103. *eħrkik qoy-ma qozī toq-ma-sa qaytaqī sut ki-ş-i?*
104. *kuñci-ma, tahqā-ya, kv tahqayī niyıl-mi-si qaytaqī tan ki-ş-i?' ti-γintī.*
105. *antaqanta-la kv mīnī am mienna-yan-i-tī, zülir-mi-γintī.*

97. kneel-CON fall-CTMP you this what person this/LOC kneel-[..]
98. self official-GEN grandson-POS3 self-GEN grandfather-POS3 today morning yesterday.evening night-PCL2 moon stay-PASTev
99. today I have.come.reporting.the.good.news say-PASTev
100. then-PCL2 this very hot.tempered who-GEN man person child give.birth-HAB-COP
101. you simply is talk.nonsense say-PNAR
102. become-COND you khan DEM male sheep-GEN milk DEM rooster-GEN egg bring say/DUB-INT
103. male sheep-PCL3 lamb give.birth-NEG-COND where/KI milk come-FUT-Q
104. rooster-PCL3 yet-PCL1 DEM chicken what.do-NEG-COND where/KI egg come-FUT-Q say-NARev
105. then-PCL2 DEM this/ACC now exempt.from.punishment-NAR-COP-EV kill-NEG-NARev

97. When he kneeled down: 'What person are you kneel[ing] here?' [said the khan].
98. 'I am the official's grandson; today morning, yesterday evening, my grandfather has become confined to childbed.
99. Today I have come reporting the good news,' he said.
100. Then this [khan] flew in a rage: 'Whose husband gives birth to a child?
101. You simply are talking nonsense,' he said.
102. 'But you, khan, did say: 'Bring this male sheep's milk, this rooster's egg.'
103. If a male sheep does not give birth to a lamb, where will the milk come from?
104. And if a rooster, yet, this chicken does not do what, where will the egg come from?' he said.
105. Then [the khan] exempted him from punishment, he did not kill him.

12. The Smart Boy (2)

told by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *yoyür-niñ-kī-ti mūntaqʷyan pür lomaq ti-ʷtī.*
2. *pür cazī par-i-tī.*
3. *pu cazī-niñ-kī-ti pür aqa par-i-tī, pür ana par-i-tī.*
4. *eni pür aqa, eni pür qǐztar par-i-tī.*
5. *antaqanta-ya pu qǐz kīsi-tī, amsa tañqīna po-lin saqīn-ʷtī.*
6. *pür kʰu:n-ki eht-kinti-ya pu qǐztar taʰs-ñ-qa oyna-yīla-yantī.*
7. *oyna-yīla-yanta mʷ: pür tur-niñ yañ-qa eht-kinti.*
8. *tur-niñ yañ-qa eht-kinti tur-niñ üsīn-ti pür ala: xuar un-ki olür-yantī.*
9. *antaqanta-ya pu qǐz antay saqīn-qantī:*
10. *'e, pu xuar mīniñ yaʰs közti-yik-i, men paʰs-qa çhala-wat-in! ti-yin.*
11. *çūmi-yi paʰs-qa çhala-wat-qantī.*

1. Yugur-GEN-KI-LOC such one story tell-PROG_{EV}
2. one family present-COP-EV
3. this family-GEN-KI-LOC one father present-COP-EV one mother present-COP-EV
4. also one elder.brother also one girl present-COP-EV
5. then-PCL1 this girl person-EV anyway beautiful become-IMP1_{sg} think-PROG_{EV}
6. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this girl outside-POS3-DAT play-PUR-NAR_{EV}
7. play-PUR-CTMP walk/CSIM one tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-NAR_{EV}
8. tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP tomb-GEN upside/POS3-LOC one multicoloured flower come.out-CCO stay-NAR_{EV}
9. then-PCL1 this girl that/EQU think-NAR_{EV}
10. EXCL this flower this/GEN good appear-HAB-COP I head-DAT insert-FIN-IMP1_{sg} say-NAR
11. pluck-CCO head-DAT insert-FIN-NAR_{EV}

1. Among the Yugur they tell such a story.
2. There was a family.
3. In this family's [house] there was a father, there was a mother.
4. There was also an elder brother and a girl.
5. Then it is this girl, anyway, she wants to be beautiful.
6. One day this girl went outside to play.
7. When she went outside to play, while she was walking, she got near a tomb.
8. When she got near the tomb, [she noticed that] on top of the tomb a multicoloured flower had come out.
9. Then this girl thought thus:
10. 'Eh, this flower appears so good, let me insert it on my head!' she said.
11. She plucked it and inserted it on her head.

¹ Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. For the motif of the impossible tasks, cf Malov 1967: 59-61 N^o 73, and 1967: 78-80, N^o 85, and further Ting N^{os} 875B₁, 922*.

12. *paʁs-qa ɕhala-wat-qanta-ya p̄r tua:n ſiçen pu-yanta-ya iſçiki pezi-yin-i-tv.*
13. *amsa m̄la po-tti, poz-ya.*
14. *antaqanta-ya pu aça-s̄i tahq̄i toȳr kiſi-yi iſ tuht-vti.*
15. *amsa pezik kuan-n̄iḡ aht̄ir-in-ta-q̄i miça kuan-ti.*
16. *aça-s̄i ȳiat-qa pu q̄iztar xuayyünti, antaqanta 'am nal-yaq-e?' ti-yinti.*
17. *ana-s̄iḡ-qa ziȳit-iḡ-ki antay ti-yinti:*
18. *'k̄v pezik çiy-tan p̄r qaz! qaz-ya pu q̄iz-ti iſç-iḡ-ki kh̄öm-iwat!' ti-yinti.*
19. *'mej iſçiki pezik-ti, men nayv kiſi-yi közt-i-ſ-e?'*
20. *antaqanta-ya pu ana-s̄i-n̄i ziȳit iſki-s̄i çiy qaz-yantv.*
21. *qaz-yaſ-ya çiy-n̄iḡ aʁs-ta phala-ya: olir-yanta aça-s̄i kil-v-yanta antay ti-yinti:*
22. *'altam wey! kuni, kuni! ku-ſ-ki qhal-xar-ttv!' antay ti-yinti.*
23. *çhiſi antarmi-i-ti: aqa-s̄i p̄r yotuḡ qaz-yanti.*

12. head-DAT insert-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 one period time become-CTMP-PCL1 belly become.big-COP-NARev
13. anyway child become-PASTev body-DAT
14. then-PCL1 this father-POS3 still other person-DAT work hold-PROGev
15. anyway big official-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI little official-EV
16. father-POS3 be.ashamed-CCO this girl pregnant then now what.do-HAB-COP say-NARev
17. mother-POS3-DAT young.man-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
18. DEM big well-ABL one dig dig-CCO this girl-ACC inside-POS3-DAT bury-FIN say-NARev
19. my/GEN belly big-EV I how person-DAT appear-FUT-COP
20. then-PCL1 this mother-POS3-AND young.man two-POS3 well dig-NARev
21. dig-CCO-PCL1 well-GEN mouth-LOC climb-CCO stay-CTMP father-POS3 come-AUX-CTMP that/EQU say-NARev
22. how.strange quick look.at.that look.at.that DEM-IN-DAT fall-RES-PAST that/EQU say-NARev
23. actually that.kind.of.thing-COP-EV elder.brother-POS3 one cave dig-NARev

12. When she had inserted it on her head, a period of time passed, and [her] belly became big.
13. Anyway, she was pregnant.
14. Then this father of hers was working for yet another person.
15. Anyway, he was a petty official under a big official.
16. Because her father was ashamed, [as] this girl was pregnant, he then said: 'Now what am I to do?'
17. He said thus to her mother and his son:
18. 'Dig a big well! After you have dug [it], bury this girl in it!' he said.
19. 'My belly is big, how can I appear before the people?' [the girl asked herself].
20. Then this mother and brother of hers, the two of them dug a well.
21. After they had dug it, they said thus when [the girl] had climbed in the opening of the well, and when her father had come:
22. 'Gee, quick! Look at that, look at that! She has fallen in there!' thus they said.
23. In fact, it was thus: her elder brother had dug a cave.

24. *qaz-ya yotuŋ-ış-ki siŋni-sin toy-ür-Ƴanti.*
25. *antaqanta yotuŋ-ış-ti siŋni-si mıla-sin toy-ıwat-qanti.*
26. *pu mıla toy-ik ki-Ƴinti kə khun-ni kör-mis-i-ya, pır iliy uzun, pır iliy qısqa, pır pıt uzun, pır pıt qısqa.*
27. *antay yencuŋ pol-ma-sa-ma fançiy [kheman] muli v-Ƴanti.*
28. *[..] yol maŋ-sa çiyşin yvq-e-ti. khun kör-mi-Ƴin mıla-ti.*
30. *antaqanta-ya pır khu:n-ki eht-kinti-ya pu aça-si ayt-qanti:*
31. *'qiztar-ni nayihl-ti?' ti-Ƴinti.*
32. *ana-si antay ti-Ƴinti: 'pu-sa, sen-ma kör-tti!*
33. *men piayir yiyit işki-si kə çiy-ış-ki thayt-uh-ti.*
34. *antan yoq pu-tti.'*
35. *antaqanta-ya aça-si eni kuan-niŋ yan-ta is kann-v-Ƴanti.*
36. *pır khun-ki eht-kinti-ya pu kuan pır örcü çhiŋçiy-na-Ƴanti.*
37. *pu örcü çhiŋçiy-na-Ƴanta-ya çinçiy wanwanzi wanwanzi po-q qha-Ƴan pırmi-ti.*

24. dig-CCO cave-IN-DAT younger.sister-POS3ACC give.birth-CAUS-NARev
25. then cave-IN-LOC younger.sister-POS3 child-POS3ACC give.birth-FIN-NARev
26. this child be.born-CON come-CTMP DEM sun-ACC see-HABN-COP-PCL1 one hand long one hand short one leg long one leg short
27. that/EQU grave become-NEG-COND-PCL3 anyway weak very become-NARev
28. [..] road walk-COND vigour not.present-COP-NAR sun see-NEG-PP child-EV
30. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this father-POS3 ask-NARev
31. girl-ACC what.do-PAST say-NARev
32. mother-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev become-COND you-PCL3 see-PASTev
33. I a.few.days.ago young.man two-POS3 DEM well-IN-DAT throw-COM-PAST
34. that/ABL not.present become-PASTev
35. then father-POS3 again official-GEN side-LOC work do-AUX-NARev
36. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official one thing do.magic.on-NARev
37. this thing do.magic.on-CTMP-PCL1 truly curved curved become-CON fall-PP something-EV

24. After he had dug [it], he let his younger sister give birth in the cave.
25. Then his younger sister gave birth to her child in the cave.
26. When this child was born, he does not see the sun, one hand [is] long, one hand short, one leg [is] long, one leg short.
27. If that was not grave [enough], he was very weak anyway.
28. If he walked the road, he had no vigour. It is a child who has not seen the sun.
30. Then one day this father of hers asked:
31. 'What did you do about the girl?' he said.
32. Her mother said thus: 'But you saw it [yourself]!
33. A few days ago, I and the young man threw her into this well.
34. Thereupon she died.'
35. Then her father was still working at the official's.
36. One day the official did magic on a thing.
37. When he had done magic on this thing, it was something that had truly become curved and wrinkled.

38. *pu kuan antay saqin-qanti:*
39. *'men pu qiz-tij aca-sin pir tha-tir-ig qar-in,' saqin-qanti.*
40. *köz-ij-ki yara-ma-sa teyli-ya antaqisti.*
41. *antaqanta-ya qiz-tij aca-sij-qa antay ti-yinti:*
42. *'sen pir qara-ya, pu cürs-cars po-q qha-yan, pu ni-ti?' antay ti-yinti.*
43. *antaqanta pu qiztar-nij aca-si nayv qara-yanta-ma pil-mi-yinti.*
44. *'sen tayin-ya ti-k ki-mi-si men sey paxs-ti qutir-is,' ti-yinti.*
45. *antaqanta-ya pu awaka yu-hsij-ki eht-ki: 'e, nayv niyi-sa-ma, pusiñ!*
46. *nayv ti-s-i? men mini teyli küjpin tanü-masti.*
47. *qantan pir mintay örcü ki-yin-i?'*
48. *antaqanta narü saqin-v perü saqin-v tahqi pil-minti.*
49. *antaqanta-ya pu kheln-ni ziyit iski-si antay saqin-qanti.*
50. *pu soz-ti appar-ya eni naqi yotuy-is-ti, qiztar-ij-qa ti-yinti.*

38. this official that/EQU think-NARev
39. I this girl-GEN father-POS3ACC one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg think-NARev
40. eye-POS3-DAT please-NEG-COND certainly-PCL1 thus.do/FUTev
41. then-PCL1 girl-GEN father-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
42. you one look-PCL1 this wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP this what-EV that/EQU say-NARev
43. then this girl-GEN father-POS3 how look-CTMP-PCL3 know-NEG-NARev
44. you tomorrow-PCL1 say-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC chop-FUT say-NARev
45. then-PCL1 this grandfather house-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO EXCL how what.do-COND-PCL3 impossible
46. how say-FUT-COP I this/ACC certainly at.all recognize-DUBN
47. whence one this/EQU thing come-PNAR-COP
48. then thither think-CSIM hither think-CSIM still know-PASTnev
49. then-PCL1 this wife-AND young.man two-POS3 that/EQU think-NARev
50. this word-ACC take.to-CCO again yonder cave-IN-LOC girl-POS3-DAT say-NARev

38. This khan thought thus:
39. 'Let me try and make this girl's father guess [it],' he thought.
40. If he does not like [somebody], he would really do like that.
41. Then he said thus to the girl's father:
42. 'You take a look, this thing that has become a wrinkle-crinkle, what is it?' thus he said.
43. Then, however much this girl's father looked, he did not know it.
44. 'If you do not come up with it tomorrow, I will chop off your head!' he said.
45. Then this grandfather arrived home: 'Eh, whatever I do, [it is] impossible!
46. How will I tell? I certainly would not recognize this at all.
47. Whence did such a thing come from?'
48. Then he thought thither and he thought hither, and still did not know.
49. Then this wife and the young man thought thus.
50. They told [it] in their turn in yonder cave to their girl, conveying these words.

51. 'seŋ aça-ŋ puɣïn - mîntaqʊɣan pîr yotal po-tti.
52. pu kuan antay ti-yintî:
53. 'pu çürs-çars po-q q^{ha}-yan nîmi-nî tanî-k ki-mi-si tayîn yülîr-îş-i!
54. 'nal-yaq-e?' ti-yintî.
55. antaqanta-ya pu toy-îwat-qan mîla-sî ci t^{hi}en po-ya pu mîla aŋna-yaŋtî.
56. fançîŋ [...] amsa [...] zi kî züε pu-yan pa, antaqanta-ya pu aŋna-yaŋtî.
57. aŋna-yaŋta-ya qoyt-qa ana-sîŋ-qa antay ti-yintʊ, ayka-sîŋ-qa ti-yintʊ:
58. 'sen tayîn niyîl, vka-ŋ-qa mîş-tan pîr q^{ha}ayçila!
59. mîş-tan pîr q^{ha}ayçila-ya pu ziy-nîŋ i^{sc}-iŋ-ki seli-yi par!' ti-yintî.
60. 'par-ya-qîna çürs-çars-qa pî:r çola-ya:
61. o tan i^hçiraq-qa pîr khîr-îwat-sa pu qoh^hrq-sa-ya, o sîyan-tî.
62. qoh^hrq-pa-sa-ya toyîr örcü-tî.

51. you/GEN father-POS1/2 today such one matter become-PAST_{Ev}
52. this official that/EQU say-NAR_{Ev}
53. this wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP thing-ACC recognize-CON
come-NEG-COND tomorrow kill-FUT-COP
54. what.do-HAB-COP say-NAR_{Ev}
55. then-PCL1 this be.born-FIN-PP child-POS3 few day become-CCO this child
understand-NAR_{Ev}
56. anyway [...] anyway one piece month become-PAST surely then-PCL1
understand-NAR_{Ev}
57. understand-CTMP-PCL1 rise/QUI-CCO mother-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NAR_{Ev}
grandmother-POS3-DAT say-NAR_{Ev}
58. you tomorrow what.do grandfather-POS1/2-DAT cat-ABL one clip
59. cat-ABL one clip-CCO this sleeve-GEN inside-POS3-DAT stuff.in-CCO go say-NAR_{Ev}
60. go-CCO-INT wrinkle-JINGLE-DAT one reflect-CCO
61. that in.case inwards-DAT one enter-FIN-COND this fear-COND-PCL1 that
mouse-EV
62. fear-NEG-COND-PCL1 other thing-EV

51. 'Today your father - such a matter happened.
52. This official said thus:
53. 'If [you] do not recognize this thing that has become a wrinkle-crinkle, I will
kill [you] tomorrow!'
54. 'What are we to do?' they said.
55. Then, although this child of hers that was born was [only] a few days, this child
understood.
56. Anyway [...] anyway, he sure was [only] one month, then he [already]
understood.
57. As he understood, he quickly rose and said thus to his mother, he said to his
grandmother:
58. 'Tomorrow you whatsit, you clip a cat for my grandfather!
59. You go and clip a cat, and stuff it into this sleeve!' he said.
60. 'After he has gone, and has reflected it once to the wrinkle-crinkle:
61. In case it withdraws inwards, if it is afraid, it is a mouse.
62. If it is not afraid, it is another thing.

63. *sen tayin vka-ŋ-qa par,' antay ti-yinti.*
 64. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-si un-ip par-ya awaka-ya mis-tan pir qhayçila-ya yij-is-ki thunna-p per-yinti.*
 65. *antaqanta-ya par-yantv, kuan-nin yaj-qa eht-kinti.*
 66. *eht-kinti-ya çinti-ya minti pir köhküt-v-yanti.*
 67. *antaqanta-ya isç-in-ti-ki çürs-çars po-q qha-yan pirmi pir qohrq-qanti.*
 68. *antaqanta-ya awaka antay ti-yinti:*
 69. *'e, ni ol-yila-s-e, pu niyi-tti-ni?*
 70. *pu siyan-ti-ni!' antay ti-yinti.*
 71. *antaqanta-ya: 'yov! pu kisi tahqi ni-yi pil-yik-i?' antay saqin-qanti.*
 72. *'sen maya niyil?!' ti-yinti.*
 73. *o kuan antay saqin-qanti: 'sen mini çita-tti.*
 74. *men seni eni pir tha-tir-iq qar-in,' saqin-qanti.*
 75. *'sen tayin-ya tha-k ki-mi-si men senin pahs-ti qitir-is!' ti-yinti.*

63. you tomorrow grandfather-POS1/2-DAT go that/EQU say-NARev
 64. then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 come.out-CON go-CCO grandfather-DAT
 cat-ABL one clip-CCO sleeve-IN-DAT poke-CON give-NARev
 65. then-PCL1 go-NARev official-GEN side-DAT arrive-NARev
 66. arrive-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 this/LOC one show-AUX-NARev
 67. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP something
 one fear-NARev
 68. then-PCL1 grandfather that/EQU say-NARev
 69. EXCL this what become-PUR-FUT-COP this what.do-PASTev-INT
 70. this mouse-EV-INT that/EQU say-NARev
 71. then-PCL1 EXCL this person yet what-DAT know-HAB-COP that/EQU think-NARev
 72. you me/DAT what.do say-NARev
 73. that official that/EQU think-NARev you this/ACC can-PASTev
 74. I you/ACC again one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg think-NARev
 75. you tomorrow-PCL1 guess-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC chop-FUT
 say-NARev

63. Go to my grandfather tomorrow,' thus he said.
 64. Then this grandmother of his got out, clipped a cat for the old man and poked [it] for him into the sleeve.
 65. Then he went, he got at the official's.
 66. When he arrived, he indeed showed it here once.
 67. Then the thing inside that had become a wrinkle-crinkle got scared.
 68. Then the old man said thus:
 69. 'Eh, what is going to happen, what did it do?
 70. It sure is a mouse!' he said.
 71. Then: 'Yo! And how come this person knows?' thus [the official] thought.
 72. 'Well I never!' said [the official to the old man].
 73. That official thought thus: 'You have succeeded in this.
 74. Let me try and make you guess again,' he thought.
 75. 'If you do not come up with a guess tomorrow, I will chop off your head!' he said.

76. *'kv ĩškĭ, pĭr tuey a:q aht-ĭ zimĭziyaŋ örliŋ, qayla-sa zimĭziyaŋ oy-tĭ.*
77. *sen maya ti-k ki-ya pu aht-tiŋ qaysĭ ana-sĭ-tĭ, qaysĭ ahti-sĭ-tĭ.*
78. *maya ti-k ki' ti-yinti.*
79. *antaqanta-ya pu awaka eni yü-^hsiŋ-ki eht-ki antay ti-yinti:*
80. *'e:, pu aht-tĭ men nayv tanĭ-k ki-s-i?*
81. *khĭm po-sa-ma tanĭ-k ki-misti.*
82. *mĭni men nayv tanĭ-k ki-s-i?' ti-yinti.*
83. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-sĭ eni par-ya sunsiŋ-qa antay ti-yinti:*
84. *'sen pĭr ti-ya pu ĩškĭ aht, a:q pĭr tuey aht-tiŋ qaysĭ ahti-sĭ-tĭ, qaysĭ ana-sĭ-tĭ.*
85. *nayv niyĭ-s-e? tayĭn-ya ti-k ki-mi-si vka-ŋ-niŋ pahç-ĭn qitir-ĭsti,' ti-yinti.*
86. *antaqanta-ya mĭla antay ti-yinti: 'e, antarmi no-^{pp}e!*
87. *ĩškĭ aht-tĭ, pĭrsĭn qhora-s-ki sola-wat, pĭrsĭn tahs-ĭŋ-qa phalya-wat-i.*
76. DEM two one pair white horse-POS3 equally high run-COND exactly.alike fast-EV
77. you me/DAT say-CON come-PCL2 this horse-GEN which mother-POS3-EV which young-POS3-EV
78. me/DAT say-CON come say-NARev
79. then-PCL1 this grandfather again house-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO that/EQU say-NARev
80. EXCL this horse-ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP
81. who become-COND-PCL3 recognize-CON come-DUBN
82. this/ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP say-NARev
83. then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 again go-CCO grandson/POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
84. you one say-PCL1 this two horse white one pair horse-GEN which young-POS3-EV which mother-POS3-EV
85. how what.do-FUT-COP tomorrow-PCL1 say-CON come-NEG-COND grandfather-POS1/2-GEN head-POS3ACC chop-FUTev say-NARev
86. then-PCL1 boy that/EQU say-NARev EXCL that.kind.of.thing what.be-PROG/COP
87. two horse-ACC one/POS3ACC pen-IN-DAT lock-FIN one/POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-FIN-COP
76. 'These two, [this] one pair of white horses are equally tall, if they run they are equally fast.
77. You tell me, which one of these horses is the mother, which one is the young.
78. Tell me!' he said.
79. Then this grandfather again got home and said thus:
80. 'Eh, how will I recognize these horses?
81. Nobody at all would recognize [them].
82. How will I recognize these?' he said.
83. Then this old woman of his again went and said thus to her grandson:
84. 'You tell me, these two horses, which one of [this] pair of white horses is the young, which one is the mother?
85. How to go about it? If he does not come up with it tomorrow, [the official] will chop your grandfather's head,' she said.
86. Then the boy said thus: 'Eh, what about that kind of thing!
87. Two horses, just lock one of them up in the horse pen, tie one of them outside.

88. *o qaysi oryïla-sa o mïla-sï-tï.*
89. *anï niyor ni-yïş-e,' ti-yintï.*
90. *antaqanta-ya ayka-sï par-ya ti-yintï.*
91. *ti-yinti-ya vka-sï ti əu thien par-ya kuan-niŋ yaŋ-qa ti-yïla-ŋantï.*
92. *antaqanta-ya iŝki aht-tï pïr-ïn tabş-ïŋ-qa phalya-ya pïr-ïn iŝç-iŋ-ki.*
93. *antaqanta-ya iŝç-in-ti-kï oryïl-v sa-ŋantï:*
94. *'e, pu-ya ahti-sï-tï!' ti-yintï.*
95. *antaqanta pu kuan antay saqïn-qantï:*
96. *'e, pu kïsi niol-v çïta-yaq-e?' saqïn-qantï.*
97. *'men eni pïr tha-tïr-iq qar-in,' ti-yintï.*
98. *'sen tayïn tha-k ki-mi-si, men seŋ pahş-tï çïntï qïtir-ïş-e!'*
99. *'ni tha-ş-e?'*
100. *'pïr tuey: ziyay yoyïn, pahç-ï siki, ahtïr-ï yoyïn, ziyay kv terik-tï.*

88. that which shout-COND that child-POS3-EV
89. that/ACC how what.do-FUT-COP say-NARev
90. then-PCL1 grandmother-POS3 go-CCO say-NARev
90. say-CTMP-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 ORD two day go-CCO official-GEN side-DAT say-PUR-NARev
92. then-PCL1 two horse-ACC one-POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-CCO one-POS3ACC inside-POS3-DAT
93. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI shout-CSIM put-NARev
94. EXCL this-PCL1 young-POS3-EV say-NARev
95. then this official that/EQU think-NARev
96. EXCL this person what.be-CSIM can-HAB-COP think-NARev
97. I again one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg say-NARev
98. you tomorrow guess-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC really chop-FUT-COP
99. what guess-FUT-COP
100. one pair similar thick head-POS3 thin underside-POS3 thick similar DEM tree-EV

88. Whatever one shouts, that is the young.
89. That's how you will go about it' he said.
90. Then his grandmother went and told [it].
91. When she had told it, his grandfather went the next day, he went to tell it at the official's.
92. Then he tied one of the two horses outside, [the other] one inside.
93. Then the one inside started to shout:
94. 'Eh, this is the young!' he said.
95. Then [this official] thought thus:
96. 'Eh, how come this man succeeds?' he thought.
97. 'Let me again try to make [him] guess [something],' he said.
98. 'If you do not come up with a guess tomorrow, I will indeed chop your head!'
99. 'What shall I guess?'
100. 'It is one pair of similar logs, equally thick, their top thin, their bottom thick.

101. *qitir-uh-t-qan qhaq terik-tv, pahc-i qonqir-i ichi zimiziyay yoyin.*
102. *antaqanta sen maya pir ti, qaysi pahc-i-ti, qaysi qonqir-i-ti, ti-yinti.*
103. *'e:, men eni mini nayv ti-s-e?' antay saqin-qanti.*
104. *antaqanta par-ya ti-yinti-ya ayka-si eni sunsiy-qa ayt-qantv: 'pu nal-yaq-e?'*
105. *antaqanta sunsi ti-yin:*
106. *'sen pahc-in pir soq-iq qara, qonqir-in pir soq-iq qara.*
107. *qara-ya-qina eht-kin ziyay emis-ti.*
108. *'tijn tij, antaqv eht-kinti-ya o pahc-i-ti.*
109. *kv qonqir-i eht-kinti sijyin ziyay emis-ti.*
110. *sen pir soq-ip qara-sa-ya po-sti.' antaqanta ti əɬ thien par-yanti.*
112. *par-yanta-ya kuan-nij yay-qa soq-iq qara-yantv, iski yiyas-ta.*
113. *soy-iq qara-yanta-ya qinti-ya pir pahc-i 'tirij tirij' eht-v-yanti.*
114. *pir pahc-i yaxs-qv eht-mis.*
115. *'eht-kin ziyay emis-ti,' antay ti-yinti.*

101. chop-COM-PP dry tree-EV head-POS3 bottom-POS3 altogether exactly.alike thick
102. then you me/DAT one say which head-POS3-EV which bottom-POS3-EV say-NARev
103. EXCL I again this/ACC how say-FUT-COP thus think-NARev
104. then-PCL1 go-CCO say-CTMP grandmother-POS3 again grandson-POS3-DAT
ask-NARev this what.do-HAB-COP
105. then grandson/POS3 say-PNAR
106. you head-POS3ACC one hit-CON look bottom-POS3ACC one hit-CON look
107. look-CCO-INT sound-PP similar is.not-EV
108. ONOM ONOM thus sound-CTMP-PCL1 that head-POS3-EV
109. DEM bottom-POS3 sound-CTMP sound similar is.not-EV
110. you one hit-CON look-COND-PCL1 become-FUTev then ORD two day go-NARev
112. go-CTMP-PCL1 official-GEN side-DAT hit-CON look-NARev two wood-LOC
113. hit-CON look-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 one head-POS3 ONOM ONOM
make.sound-AUX-NARev
114. one head-POS3 good-ADV sound-HABN
115. sound-PP similar is.not-EV that/EQU say-NARev

101. They are chopped-off branches, their top and bottom altogether equally thick.
102. So you tell me, which is the top of it, which the bottom of it, [the official] said.
103. 'Eh, how will I tell this again?' [the old man] said.
104. Then, when he went and told it, his old woman again asked her grandson:
'What are we to do about this?'
105. Then her grandson said:
106. 'You try giving its top a knock, you try giving its bottom a knock.
107. When you have knocked, the sound is not similar.
108. When it sounds thus, 'ting ting,' that is its top.
109. When that bottom of it sounds, the sound is not similar.
110. If you just try giving it a knock, it will be all right.' Then the next day he went.
112. When he went to the official's, he tried knocking on the two [pieces of] wood.
113. When he tried knocking, one of its ends really made the sound 'ting ting.'
114. Its [other] end does not sound well.
115. 'The sounding is not similar,' thus he said.

116. 'pu-ya pahç-î-tî, pu-ya qoŋqîr-î-tî,' ti-yîntî.
 117. 'antarmi niyor niyî-s-e?'
 118. antaqanta-ya pu kuan antay ti-yîntî: 'ayv, sen niol-v çîta-ttî?
 119. men tayîn senî çuanmîŋ pîr nan [..]-in!
 120. antaqanta-ya: 'sen maya tayîn niyîl, kv eħrkik qoy-nîŋ sut-în kher, kv kuŋçi-nîŋ, kv eħrkik tahqayî-nîŋ kv tan-în kher!' ti-yîntî.
 121. antaqanta-ya pu awaka antay saqîn-qantî: 'yv, mîni-ça nayv kher-îs-i?'
 122. 'phornta nayv niyî-si-ma çîta-štî.
 123. mîni-ça naysa-ma yata-štî. nayv ni-yîk-i?
 124. am-ça tayîn niyî-mi-si çîntî paş-tî qîtîr-îštî.'
 125. a:ntaqanta-ya par-ya yû-hsîŋ-ti narî mv perî mv, kheln-î ayt-qa:
 126. 'sen nohl-tî?' ti-yîntî.
 127. 'kîsî maya ni ti-yîla-s-e, çeyyaŋ nayzî, kuŋçi tan kher t-ittî.
 128. men anî-ma qaya al-yîla-yaq-e? qantan antarmi ki-s-e?

116. this-PCL1 head-POS3-EV this-PCL1 bottom-POS3-EV say-NARev
 117. that.kind.of.thing how.much what.do-FUT present-COP
 118. then-PCL1 this official that/EQU say-NARev EXCL you what.be-CSIM can-PASTev
 119. I tomorrow you/ACC especially one difficult [..]-IMP1sg
 120. then-PCL1 you me/DAT tomorrow what.do DEM male sheep-GEN milk-POS3ACC bring DEM rooster-GEN DEM male chicken-GEN egg-POS3ACC bring say-NARev
 121. then-PCL1 this grandfather that/EQU think-NARev EXCL this/ACC-PCL4 how bring-FUT-COP
 122. before how what.do-COND-PCL3 can-FUTev
 123. this/ACC-PCL4 what.do-COND-PCL3 cannot-FUTev how what.do-HAB-COP
 124. now-PCL4 tomorrow what.do-NEG-COND really head-ACC chop-FUTev
 125. then-PCL1 go-CCO house-POS3-LOC thither walk/CSIM hither walk/CSIM wife-POS3 ask-CCO
 126. you what.be-PAST say-NARev
 127. person me/DAT what say-PUR-FUT-COP such milk rooster egg bring say-PASTev
 128. I that/ACC-PCL3 whither take-PUR-HAB-COP whence that.kind.of.thing come-FUT-COP

116. 'This now is its top, and this is its bottom,' he said.
 117. 'That is how you go about that kind of thing.'
 118. Then this official said thus: 'Ayo, how come you succeeded?
 119. Let me [..] you an especially difficult [..] tomorrow.'
 120. Then he said: 'Tomorrow you whatsit, you bring me this male sheep's milk, bring this rooster's, this male chicken's egg!'
 121. Then this grandfather thought thus: 'Yo, how will I bring this?'
 122. 'Before, however you did it, you succeeded.
 123. This now, however you do it, you will not succeed. How could you do it?
 124. If you do not do whatsit tomorrow, I will really chop off [your] head.'
 125. Then he went, and while walking thither and hither at home - his wife asked:
 126. 'What is the matter with you?' she said.
 127. 'What the man would say to me, he said: 'Bring such milk and rooster's egg.'
 128. Whither do I go get that? Whence will those kinds of things come from?

129. *sen maya p̄ir niȳi-q qara-ya!*
 130. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-s̄i: 'e:, am pu nal-yaq-e?*
 131. *men p̄ir qayla-p par-ya suns̄iŋ-qa p̄ir ayt-in.'*
 132. *ʋka-s̄iŋ-qa ti-mint̄i: ti-si ʋka-s̄i an̄i tatta-št̄i:*
 133. *'sen m̄ila-ya ant̄iraq ayt-qa!*
 134. *antaqanta-ya ayka-s̄i qayla-p par-ya tuŋ-ış-ti-k̄i suns̄iŋ-qa antay ti-tt̄i:*
 135. *'am nal-yaq-e:? am tançin-t̄i.*
 136. *am taȳin ti-k ki-mi-si seŋ ʋka-ŋ-n̄iŋ pahç-ın q̄it̄ir-ışt̄i.*
 137. *am pīen xuey [...] qanta-q̄i eħrkik qoy-n̄iŋ sut-ı ki-ş-i, qanta-q̄i kuŋç̄i-n̄iŋ tan-ı ki-ş-i?*
 138. *pu nal-yaq-e? qanta-q̄i tan ki-ş-i?*
 139. *antaqanta m̄ila antay ti-ȳint̄i: 'ey, no-ppe antarmi taȳin men par-in!*
 140. *e:, antaqanta-ya pu ayka-s̄i amsa un-ık ki-ȳint̄i.*

129. you-PCL3 what.do-CON look-PCL1
 130. then this grandmother-POS3 EXCL now this what.do-HAB-COP
 131. I one run-PROG grandson-POS3-DAT one ask-IMP1sg
 132. grandfather-POS3-DAT say-PASTev say-COND grandfather-POS3 that/ACC scold-FUTev
 133. you child-DAT that.much ask-CCO
 134. then-PCL1 grandmother-POS3 run-CON go-CCO hole-IN-DAT-KI grandson-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-PASTev
 135. now what.do-HAB-COP now serious-EV
 136. now tomorrow say-CON come-NEG-COND you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-GEN head-POS3ACC chop-FUTev
 137. now just time [...] where-KI male sheep-GEN milk-POS3 come-FUT-COP where-KI rooster-GEN egg-POS3 come-FUT-COP
 138. this what.do-HAB-COP where-KI egg come-FUT-COP
 139. then boy that/EQU say-NARev EXCL what.be-PROG/COP that.kind.of.thing tomorrow I go-IMP1sg
 140. EXCL then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 anyway come.out-CON come-NARev

129. You try and do something!
 130. Then this grandmother [thought]: 'Eh, now what are we to do about this?
 131. Let me run off and ask his grandson.'
 132. She did not tell her old man. If she would tell, her old man would scold her:
 133. 'You ask the child so much!
 134. Then his grandmother ran off and said thus to her grandson in the hole:
 135 'Now what are we to do? Now it is serious.
 136. Now, if he does not come up with it tomorrow, he will chop off your grandfather's head.
 137. Now this time, really, where will such male sheep's milk come from, where will such rooster's egg come from?
 138. What are we to do about this? Where will such egg come from?'
 139. Then the child said thus: 'Eh, what about that kind of thing! Let me go tomorrow!
 140. Eh, then his grandmother, anyway, climbed out.

141. *ti ər thien ayka-si sunsin ezert-ki vka-siŋ-qa qara-yila-yanti.*
 142. *antaqanta-ya mila kör-yinti-ya: 'vka!' antay ti-yinti.*
 143. *antaqanta-ya pu vka-si: 'pu qantan mintaqvyan mila-i?'*
 144. *antaqanta-ya kheln-i ti-tti: 'sen qiztar-ni yülir-mi-hiti.*
 145. *yotun-ış-ti toy-ir-ıwat-ti.*
 146. *antaqanta vka-si yülir-yi ti-yinti.*
 147. *'mintarmi-ni - sen zıqtızuq mintaqvyan mila-i-ti.'*
 148. *antaqanta-ya ayka-si antay ti-yinti: 'khun kör-minti.*
 149. *phorn-qı naqı xueyta-ni, pu ziyas-ti, aht-ti, içhi pu mila saya tha-tti.*
 150. *sen pu mila-ni yülir-ıwat-sa nays-e?' ti-yinti.*
 151. *antaqanta-ya vka yülir-minti.*
 152. *antaqanta mila antay ti-yinti, vka-siŋ-qa:*
 153. *'vka-ŋ, seŋ aht qhan? men münı mün-ki par-in!' ti-yin-titi.*

141. ORD two day grandmother-POS3 grandson/POS3ACC lead-CCO
 grandfather-POS3-DAT look-PUR-NARev
 142. then-PCL1 boy look-CTMP-PCL1 grandfather that/EQU say-NARev
 143. then-PCL1 this grandfather-POS3 this whence such boy-COP
 144. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 say-PASTev you girl-ACC kill-NEG-PAST
 145. cave-IN-LOC give.birth-CAUS-FIN-PAST
 146. then grandfather-POS3 kill-VNFUT say-NARev
 147. this.kind.of.thing-ACC you bad/JINGLE such boy-COP-EV
 148. then grandmother-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev sun see-PASTev
 149. before-KI yonder answer-ACC this wood-ACC horse-ACC altogether this child
 you/DAT guess-PASTev
 150. you this boy-ACC kill-FIN-COND what.do/FUT-COP
 151. then grandfather kill-PASTNev
 152. then boy that/EQU say-NARev grandfather-POS3-DAT
 153. grandfather-POS1/2 you/GEN horse where.is I this/ACC mount-CCO go-IMP1sg
 say-NARev

141. The next day his grandmother took along her grandson and went to see his grandfather.
 142. Then, when the boy saw [him], he said thus: 'Grandfather!'
 143. Then his grandfather: 'Whence does this boy come from?'
 144. Then his wife said: 'You did not kill [your] daughter.
 145. We let her give birth in the cave.'
 146. Then his grandfather was about to kill [him]:
 147. 'A thing like this - you are such a bad child.'
 148. Then his grandmother said thus: 'He has not seen the sun.
 149. This boy guessed all yonder answers, this wood and horse altogether for you.
 150. If you kill this boy, what to do?'
 151. Then the old man did not kill [him].
 152. Then the boy said thus:
 153. 'My grandfather, where is your horse? Let me mount it and go!' he said.

154. *antaqanta-ya vka-si yis nimi [..]. antaqas-la tahqi per-yintv.*
 155. *antaqanta-ya vka-si-nij yanji pho-sin kiz-v yanji ezer-in or-v antaqas-la par-tti.*
 156. *antaqanta-ya vka-si tahqi yu-hsin-ti ac-v-yanti:*
 157. *'ey, amsa teyli pahs-ti qitir-t-qisti.*
 158. *kv pahr-sa na-p-pa yata-sti.'*
 159. *yu-hsin-ti xosi acis-v-yanti.*
 160. *antaqanta-ya pu mila par-yantv, piSk-kv niyil-yi maq-qa par-yanti.*
 161. *uzin pir, qisqa pir kizki-ni kiz-v-yanta-ya aht-ti min-ki antaqa par-yanti.*
 162. *khun kor-minti, yol maq-sa antay qilqiq-qalqiq yahs-qv mv yat-vti.*
 163. *par-yanta-ya pu kuan antay ti-yinti: 'sen khim-i?' ti-yinti.*
 164. *'men-ya kv qaysi qaysi awaka-nij sunsi-ti,' ti-yinti.*
 165. *'sen nal-yila ki-hti?' ti-yinti.*
 166. *'men puyin say potola-yila ki-hti.*

154. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 bad thing [..] EXCL then-PCL2 yet give-NARev
 155. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3-GEN new rifle-POS3ACC dress-CSIM new saddle-POS3ACC put.on.a.saddle-CSIM thus-PCL2 go-PASTev
 156. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 yet house-POS3-LOC feel.anxious-AUX-NARev
 157. EXCL anyway certainly head-ACC chop-CAUS-FUTev
 158. DEM go-COND what.do-CON-PCL3 cannot-FUTev
 159. house-POS3-LOC all feel.anxious-AUX-NARev
 160. then-PCL1 this boy go-NARev strong-ADV what.do-CCO walk-CCO go-NARev
 161. long one short one clothes-ACC dress-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 horse-ACC mount-CCO thus go-NARev
 162. sun see-PASTev road walk-COND that/EQU crooked-JINGLE good-ADV walk/CSIM cannot-PROGev
 163. go-CTMP-PCL1 this official that/EQU say-NARev you who-COP say-NARev
 164. I-PCL1 DEM which which grandfather-GEN grandson/POS3-EV say-NARev
 165. you what.do-CPUR come-PAST say-NARev
 166. I today you/DAT report.for.duty-CPUR come-PAST

154. Then his grandfather bad things [..] then he yet gave it.
 155. Then he got dressed with his grandfathers new gun, he put his new saddle on [the horse], and after that he went.
 156. Then his grandfather was still worried at home:
 157. 'Eh, anyway, he will certainly get his head chopped off!
 158. If he goes, he will not be able to do anything whatsoever.'
 159. In the home, all had become anxious.
 160. Then this boy went, he forcefully whatsit, set off and went.
 161. When he was dressed in one long, one short dress, he rode the horse and thus went.
 162. He had not seen the sun, if he walks the road, so crooked, he is not able to walk well.
 163. When he had gone, this official said thus: 'Who are you?' he said.
 164. 'I am this such and such old man's very grandson,' he said.
 165. 'What have you come for?' he said.
 166. 'Today I have come to report for duty to you.'

167. *men meŋ vka-ŋ-ni tiŋna-ya ki-hti,' ti-yinti.*
 168. *'seŋ vka-ŋ qar-tti?' ti-yinti.*
 169. *'meŋ vka-ŋ puŋin mīla toŋ-ıwat-tv,' antay ti-yinti.*
 170. *'pu ni-sin ti-ıtv?! qanta-qı nantı kisi mīla toq-qaq-e'*
 171. *sen-ça ni-sin ti-ıti?! antay ti-yinti.*
 172. *'sen pu-sa-sa vka-ŋ-qa antay ti-yinti:*
 173. *'kø ehrikik qoy-niŋ sut-in kher, kø ehrikik taŋqayı-niŋ çitan-in kher!' ti-tti.*
 174. *pu-sa-sa sen antay ti-tti. meŋ vka-ŋ mīla toŋ-ıwat-tv!*
 176. *antaqanta-ya pu mīla pır çhaxotı-ya pu kuan-ni [...]tır-ıwat-qan.*
 177. *e, am-ça no-sa no-ye!*
 178. *minı-ça pu kolar-ya tha-tır-yimis. pu mīla minıŋ çhuŋmiŋ.*
 180. *zixou, nayv niyı-tti-ma yata-yantı.*
 181. *antaqanta-ya pu mīla-ya pır kuan per-yıtv.*
 182. *antaqanta-ya pu lomaq yoq pu-tti.*

167. I me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-ACC replace-CCO come-PAST say-NARev
 168. you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 whither.go-PASTev say-NARev
 169. me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 today child give.birth-FIN-PASTev that/EQU say-NARev
 170. this what-POS3ACC say-PROGev where-KI male person child give.birth-HAB-COP
 171. you-PCL4 what-POS3ACC say-PROGev that/EQU say-NARev
 172. you become-COND-PCL5 grandfather-POS1/2-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
 173. DEM male sheep-GEN milk-POS3ACC bring DEM male chicken-GEN egg-POS3ACC
 bring say-PASTev
 174. become-COND-PCL5 you that/EQU say-PASTev me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 child
 give.birth-FIN-PASTev
 176. then-PCL1 this boy one just.right-PCL1 this official-ACC [...]CAUS-FIN-NAR
 177. EXCL now-PCL4 what.be-COND what.be-IMP3
 178. this/ACC-PCL4 DEM/PL-DAT guess-CAUS-FUTN this boy this/GEN clever
 180. afterwards how what.do-PASTev-PCL3 cannot-PASTev
 181. then-PCL1 this boy-DAT-PCL3 one official's.post give-NARev
 182. then-PCL1 this story not.present become-PASTev

167. I have come instead of my grandfather,' he said.
 168. 'Whither did your grandfather go?' he said.
 169. 'Today my grandfather gave birth to a child,' thus he said.
 170. 'He is saying what?! What kind of male person bears children?
 171. You are saying what?!' thus he said.
 172. 'But you told my grandfather thus:
 173. 'Bring that male sheep's milk, bring that male chicken's egg!
 174. But you said thus. [And so] my grandfather gave birth to a child.'
 176. Then this boy made this official [...] just right.
 177. Eh, now, whatever happens, let it be!
 178. He cannot make them guess this. This boy is so clever.
 180. Afterwards, whatever [the official] did, he did not succeed.
 181. Then they gave an official's post to this boy.
 182. Then this story has ended.

13. Sichi Khachi

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *art oy-tan ki-yintv, siçī xaçī-tan.*
2. *antaqanta-ya qharmanqā-ya at-tiŷ pol-v yol-ta qhal-ma-htī.*
3. *pīr qhar kīsī-nī thulīm-iş-ki sal-ya maŷ-qantv:*
4. *'uzī-nī thayta-ma!'*
5. *pu sat-ta ahtīs-qaş-la içhi: kheman, mv yata-yaq kīsī yülir-ıwat-qantv.*
6. *khim-la yoşī qhar-qhur antay mv yata-yaq kīsī teyla-sa, pusirj.*
7. *pu qhar kīsī qız-iŷ-qa antay ti-yintv:*
8. *'sen uzī-nī yülir-mi, sen uzī-nī çuŷna-ya maŷ!'* *ti-yintī.*
9. *'sen pīr thulīm-iş-ki sal-ıwat-qaş-ya, uzī-nī, thek-tin miça ahç-ıwat-qaş-ya sen maŷ,'* *ti-yintī.*
10. *antaqanta-la maŷ-qantī.*

1. west steppe-ABL come-NARev Sichi.Khachi-ABL
2. then-PCL1 ancestor-PCL1 name-ADJ become-CSIM way-LOC remain-NEG-PAST
3. one old person-ACC bag-IN-DAT put-CCO walk-NARev
4. self-ACC throw.away-NEG
5. this time-LOC make.war-CCO-PCL2 altogether weak walk/CSIM cannot-PHAB
person kill-FIN-NARev
6. who-PCL2 if old-JINGLE that/EQU walk/CSIM cannot-PHAB person
throw.away-COND not.done
7. this old person daughter-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
8. you self-ACC kill-NEG you self-ACC put.in.a.bag-CCO walk say-NARev
9. you one bag-IN-DAT put-FIN-CCO-PCL1 self-ACC hole-ABL little
open-FIN-CCO-PCL1 you walk say-NARev
10. then-PCL2 walk-NARev

1. [We] came from the western steppe, from Shichi Khachi.
2. Then [our] ancestor, being famous, did not remain behind along the way.
3. They set off having put one old man into a bag.
4. 'Don't throw me away,' [had the old man said].
5. [Because] at this time, after they had made war, they killed all the weak people who were not able to walk.
6. Whoever throws away an old and so, such a person who is not able to walk, this is not done.
7. This old person said to his daughter:
8. 'Don't you kill me, put me in a bag and set off,' he said.
9. '[Just] you put me into a bag, make a bit of a hole [in it], and set off,' he said.
10. Then they set off.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Míngguā. For other versions, cf Malov 1967: 210-211 № 205, and Tenišev 1976: 226 № 1, and 1976 230-232 № 3. There also exists a sung version.

11. *mɔ: am-ya kisi-lir mɔ::, mal, kisi - iskiş yoq pu-γantɔ.*
12. *ni-ma su yoq oht yoq yer-γi eht-kintī.*
13. *antaqanta-ya pu vka qiz-ij-qa şiwira-γantī: 'ni yer-γi eht-ipti?'*
14. *'e, am-la emen-ya taxs-tiy yer-γi eht-itti.*
15. *ni-ma yoq-ti, ti-yinti.*
16. *'am-la su yoq yer-γi eht-iptɔ.'*
17. *'am-la sen kher puqa-ni phorn-ij-qa sal, ti-yinti.*
18. *am-ya kher puqa-sin sal-γantī.*
19. *mɔ mɔ-la iskinn-v sal-γantɔ, pır soqa-liy tip-ti.*
20. *antaqanta-la: 'am no-tti?' ti-yinti.*
21. *'am kher puqa pır soqa tip-ti iskinn-oti.'*
22. *'antasa-la qaz! anta selir-γi su un-kisti.'*
23. *antaqanta-ya qaz-γanta-la su un-ik ki-yintɔ.*

11. walk/CSIM now-PCL1 person-PL walk/CSIM livestock person food not.present become-NARev
12. what-PCL3 water not.present grass not.present place-DAT arrive-NARev
13. then-PCL1 this old.man daughter-POS3-DAT whisper-NARev what place-DAT arrive-PASTev
14. EXCL now-PCL2 all.over-PCL1 stone-ADJ place-DAT arrive-PASTev
15. what-PCL3 not.present-EV say-NARev
16. now-PCL2 water not.present place-DAT arrive-PASTev
17. now-PCL2 you yellow bull-ACC front-POS3-DAT release say-NARev
18. now-PCL1 yellow bull-POS3ACC release-NARev
19. walk/CSIM walk/CSIM-PCL2 scrape.with.the.hoof-CSIM put-NARev one soqa.grass-ADJ base-LOC
20. then-PCL2 now what.be-PASTev say-NARev
21. now yellow bull one soqa.grass base-LOC scrape.with.the.hoof-PROGev
22. in.that.case-PCL2 dig there you/PL-DAT water come.out-FUTev
23. then-PCL1 dig-CTMP-PCL2 water come.out-CON come-NARev

11. While the people walked and walked, the livestock, the people, [well], the food ran out.
12. They arrived at a place without water, without grass.
13. Then this old man whispered to his daughter: 'What place have [we] arrived at?'
14. 'Eh, now, [we] have arrived at a place that is stoney all over.
15. There is nothing,' she said.
16. 'Now [we] have arrived at a place without water.'
17. 'Now you release the yellow bull in front,' he said.
18. Then she released her yellow bull.
19. It walked and walked, and started scraping with its hoofs at the root of [some] soqa-grass.
20. Then [the old man] said: 'Now what happened?'
21. 'Now the yellow bull is scraping with its hoofs at the root of the soqa-grass.'
22. 'In that case, dig! There, water will come out for you.'
23. Then, when they dug, water came out.

24. *kīsī iṣ-kiṣ-la mal-lar-nī suyar-ya kīsī-lir eni maṇ-qantī.*
25. *antaqanta-la eni mɔ: eni mɔ-la antaqanta-la kīsī-γi iṣkiṣ-ma yoq pu-γantī.*
26. *am-la eni ayt-qantī: 'am nays-e?'*
27. *'niçik yer-γi eht-iptī?' ti-γintī.*
28. *'am-la qīlçiq-qalçiq yiz-tiγ, antay yer-γi eht-iptɔ, uḥṣ yol [...] qīlçiq-qalçiq yiz.'*²
29. *antasa-la qḥar kīsī-sī: 'e, am-la miz iṣçiki toz-qıştɔ.*
30. *am-la miz yahṣ yer-γi eht-ittī.'*
31. *antaqanta-ya çayükuan-tan perī un-ittī, çouçhüen-qa eht-iptī.*
32. *qhīti-niγ yer-tī ti-k ki-si-ya.*
33. *o sat-ta yoγir kīsī tahqī qhīti-nī pīl-mis-i-tī.*
34. *antaqanta-ya pu yoγir kīsī-lir kuṣtiγ çḥa iṣç-v iṣik kḥay-ta uz-v tuḥtīn tahrt-v, antaqanta-la pu qhīti-lar qohrq-qa qayla-s-qantv.*

24. person drink-CCO-PCL2 livestock-PL-ACC water-CCO person-PL again walk-NAREv
25. then-PCL2 again walk/CSIM again walk/CSIM-PCL2 then-PCL2 person-DAT food-PCL3 not.present become-NAREv
26. now-PCL2 again ask-NAREv now what.do/FUT-COP
27. what.sort place-DAT arrive-PASTev say-NAREv
28. now-PCL2 crooked-JINGLE track-ADJ that/EQU place-DAT arrive-PASTev three road [...] crooked-JINGLE track
29. in.that.case-PCL2 old person-POS3 EXCL now-PCL2 we intestines eat.one's.fill-FUTev
30. now-PCL2 we good place-DAT arrive-PASTev
31. then-PCL1 Jiāyùguān-ABL hither come.out-PASTev Jiǔquán-DAT arrive-PASTev
32. Chinese-GEN place-EV say-CON come-COND-PCL1
33. that time-LOC Yugur person yet Chinese-ACC know-HABN-COP-EV
34. then-PCL1 this Yugur person-PL strong tea drink-CSIM warm kang-LOC sleep-CSIM tobacco pull-CSIM then-PCL2 this Chinese-PL fear-CCO run-REC-NAREv

24. The people drank, they watered the livestock, and the people set off again.
25. Then, as they again walked and walked, the people ran out of food [again].
26. Now she asked again: 'Now what to do?'
27. 'What sort of place have [we] arrived at?' he said.
28. 'Now, [we] have arrived at such a place, having a crooked and bent track, [a] three roads [...] crooked and bent track.'
29. As that was the case, her old man [said]: 'Eh, now we will eat our fill.
30. Now we have arrived at a good place.'
31. Then they came out hither from Jiāyùguān and reached Jiǔquán.
32. It was the place of the Chinese, so to speak.
33. At that time the Yugur did not know the Chinese yet.
34. Then, [because] these Yugur people drank strong tea, slept on the hot kang, and smoked tobacco, these Chinese ran away together for fear.

² The three tracks are from the two wheels of a cart and the horse pulling it.

35. 'e:, lioputi! ot tahr̄t-īq qha-yan ot-tiŋ ūzi-ki uzī-q qha-yan, antaqoyan kīsī-lir ki-tti,' ti-yint̄.
36. 'pu-ya tançin kīsī-ti' ti-yint̄i.
37. qh̄iti-lar qayla-s-qant̄i.
38. antaqanta-ya qh̄iti-lar qayla-s-qanta-ya pu kīsī-lir antay ti-yint̄i:
39. 'sen uzī-lir-tin qoh̄rq-pa.
40. uzī-lir qaytan qaytan ki-yin kīsī.
41. uzī-lir-yi išk̄iŋ-tin azur per, mal-lar-ya portaş-tan miça per,' ti-yint̄i.
42. antaqanta-ya art-tan per̄i maŋ-a maŋ-a qhal-yant̄.
43. ah, p̄irmisī-ya m̄inta qhal-yant̄i, p̄irmisī-ya th̄ay-iŋ-ki³ han̄i-yant̄.
-
35. EXCL awful fire pull-CON fall-PP fire-GEN upside-DAT sleep-CON fall-PP
such person-PL come-PASTev say-NARev
36. this-PCL1 awesome person-EV say-NARev
37. Chinese-PL run-REC-NARev
38. then-PCL1 Chinese-PL run-REC-CTMP-PCL1 this person-PL that/EQU say-NARev
39. you self-PL-ABL fear-NEG
40. self-PL whence whence come-PP person
41. self-PL-DAT food-ABL little give livestock-PL-DAT fodder-ABL little give
say-NARev
42. then-PCL1 west-ABL hither walk-CREP walk-CREP remain-NARev
43. EXCL some-PCL1 this/LOC remain-NARev some-PCL1 mountain-IN-DAT go-NARev
-
35. 'Eh, awful! People who smoke fire and sleep on fire, such people have arrived,'
they said.
36. 'These are awesome people!' they said.
37. The Chinese ran away together.
38. Then, when the Chinese ran away together, these [Yugur] people said thus:
39. 'Don't you fear us!
40. We are people who came from such and such a place.
41. [Just] give a bit of food to us, give a bit of fodder for the livestock,' they said.
42. Then they kept walking and walking hither from the west.
43. Ah, some remained here, some went into the mountains.

³ This is the mountainous Dàhé District.

14. Semsehlchin

told and sung by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG¹

1. *pīhtīr o:ri^hkel īškī çazī par-i-tī.*
2. *pīr-īn-ti pīr ziyūt par-i-tī.*
3. *pu çazī-nīy ana-^hsī ziyūt-īy-ki yahs-i-tī, kheln-īy-ki yahs-i-tī.*
4. *eni pīr çazī ziyūt-īy-ki pusa^hsiya, kheln-īy-ki-ma zīq-i-tī.*
5. *antaqanta-ya pīr khun-ki eht-kinti-ya ahtīs-qīla maṅ-qantv, thay art-qa.*
6. *antaqanta ahtīs-qīla maṅ-qanta-ya naqī pīr çazī ziyūt-īy-ki aht-tī mīn-tīr-yi
pho-sīn man-tīr-ya qīlīs-īn man-tīr-ya, naqī maṅ-qantī.*
7. *pu pīr çazī aht-tī mīn-tīr-min kv qayla-ya maṅ-qantī.*
8. *antaqanta-ya kv kuziyī-sī kheln-īy-ki antay ti-yintī:*
9. *'uzī amsa tanqar ehti mayn.*
10. *tanqar sen uzī-nī qar-v - u^htīr-ta pīr thay par-i-tv.*

1. long.ago year.before.last two family present-COP-EV
2. one-POS3-LOC one young.man present-COP-EV
3. this family-GEN mother-POS3 young.man-POS3-DAT good-COP-EV wife-POS3-DAT
good-COP-EV
4. again one family young.man-POS3-DAT bad wife-POS3-DAT-PCL3 bad-COP-EV
5. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 make.war-CPUR walk-NARev mountain
backside-DAT
6. then make.war-CPUR walk-CTMP-PCL1 yonder one family young.man-POS3-DAT
horse-ACC mount-CAUS-CCO rifle-POS3ACC wear-CAUS-CCO sword-POS3ACC
wear-CAUS-CCO yonder walk-NARev
7. this one family horse-ACC mount-CAUS-CN DEM run-CCO walk-NARev
8. then-PCL1 DEM husband-POS3 wife-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
9. self anyway morning early walk/IMP1sg
10. morning you self-ACC look-CSIM frontside-LOC one mountain present-COP-EV

1. Once upon a time, a long time ago, there were two families.
2. In one of them there was a young man.
3. This family's mother was good to her son, she was good to his wife.
4. [The mother of] yonder family was bad to her son, she was bad to his wife too.
5. Then, one day, the [young men] set off to make war behind the mountains.
6. Then when they set off to make war, after yonder one family let their son
mount a horse, let him wear his rifle and let him wear his sword, he went.
7. This one family did not let [their son] mount a horse, he set off running.
8. Then this husband of her said thus to his wife:
9. 'Anyway, let me set off early in the morning.
10. In the morning, while you watch me - there is a mountain in front.

¹ Recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén, 1992 in Míngghuā. For other variants, cf Malov 1967: 175-179 № 167, 1967: 179 № 168, and 1967: 179-181 № 169.

11. *pu thaywaş-qa eht-kinti-la sen uzï-nï köhr-si uzï kil-v çïta-ştv.*
12. *kör-mi-si uzï kil-v yata-ştv.'*
13. *antaqanta-ya pu mañ-qantï.*
14. *mañ-v-ya thaywaş-qa çañ-ya oyla-yan-tan-ya phorn qazna-sï ti-yin-nï ayna-wat-qantï:*
15. *'wei, sut tasï-p par-vtï!*
16. *çinthou-ya kheln-ï sut-ïn al-uh-t-qanta-ya axs-xanï-yantv, kuziyï-sï.*
17. *antaqanta-ya pu kheln-ï yilya-yantï, am teylï kör-yïmistï.*
18. *antaqanta-ya pïr zil o-yantv, ahtïs-qaş-la.*
19. *eme:n mal-lar pozta-s-qanta-la çhi-lir-nïñ unkin pozta-s-qa: aht oyur-nïñ-ya aht-tar pozta-s-qa qoy-lar mañra-s-qa kus-tir oryïla-s-qa antaqanta pïr phozï pïr phozï yoz-yantv.*
20. *yoç-yanta-ya kheln-ï ayt-qantv, kïsi-lir-yi kuziyï-sïn:*

11. this mountain.top-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 you self-ACC see-COND self come-CSIM can-FUTev
12. look-NEG-COND self come-CSIM cannot-FUTev
13. then-PCL1 this walk-NARev
14. walk-CSIM-PCL1 mountain.top-DAT just-PCL1 approach-PP-ABL-PCL1 before mother.in.law-POS3 say-PP-ACC hear-FIN-NARev
15. quick milk overflow-CON go-PROGev
16. by.the.time-PCL1 wife-POS3 milk-POS3ACC take-COM-CTMP-PCL1 cross-TER-NARev husband-POS3
17. then-PCL1 this wife-POS3 cry-NARev now certainly see-FUTNeV
18. then-PCL1 one year become-NARev make.war-CCO-PCL2
19. all.over livestock-PL bellow-REC-CTMP-PCL2 camel-PL-GEN female.camel bellow-REC-CCO horse herd-GEN-PCL1 horse-PL bellow-REC-CCO sheep-PL bleat-REC-CCO bovine-PL shout-REC-CCO then one herd one herd pass-NARev
20. pass-CTMP-PCL1 wife-POS3 ask-NARev person-PL-DAT husband-POS3ACC

11. If you see me when I reach this mountain top, I will be able to come back.
12. If [you] do not see [me], I will not be able to come back.'
13. Then he set off.
14. He walked, and just before he approached the mountain top, [his wife] heard her mother-in-law saying:
15. 'Quick, the milk is flowing over!'
16. By the time when his wife had taken away her milk, her husband had crossed [the top].
17. Then this wife of his cried, [for] now she certainly would not see [him again].
18. Then one year passed, as they were making war.
19. When all over the livestock were bellowing together, [when] the females of the camels were bellowing together, the horses of the horseherd were bellowing together, the sheep were bleating together, the cows were shouting together, then she passed herd after herd.
20. When she passed, his wife asked the people about her husband:

21. 'semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin, aht-tar, çhi:-lir küsti-s-itv.
22. q^hulim münij ihç-in-ti par mv?' ti-yintï.
23. 'q^hulim münij² yoq-tv, thay art-ta şay teyla-ya q^hahl-tï,' ti-yintï.
24. antaqanta eni aht, çhi, unkin-nir pozta-s-v: 'maqhe münij i^sç-in-ti par mv?' ti-yintï.
25. 'yoq-tv, thay art-ta şay teyla-ya q^hahl-tï,' ti-yintï.
26. antaqanta-ya kheln-ï niyil-yantv, tilisti-yintv, yijir-ya:
27. kuziyi-si şay teyla-ya ki-misti, neraq-in-ta-qï oyil-i-ya ki-yin.
28. antaqv tilisti-yintï.
29. antaqanta sosikin-ya kheln-ï ayt-v: 'ki-ş-e?' amsa 'yoq-tï,' ti-yintv, 'şay teyla-ya q^ha-ttï.'
30. antaqanta qazna-sij-qa yerla-yantv.

21. Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin horse-PL camel-PL neigh-REC-DUB
22. foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q say-NAR_{ev}
23. foal this/GEN not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NAR_{ev}
24. then again horse camel female.camel-PL bellow-REC-CSIM camel.foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q say-NAR_{ev}
25. not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NAR_{ev}
26. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 what.do-NAR_{ev} dream-NAR_{ev} evening-DAT
27. husband-POS3 wound be.wounded-CCO come-DUBN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI son-POS3-PCL1 come-PNAR
28. thus dream-NAR_{ev}
29. then next.day-PCL1 wife-POS3 ask-CSIM come-FUT-COP anyway not.present-EV say-NAR_{ev} wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST_{ev}
30. then mother.in.law-POS3-DAT sing-NAR_{ev}

21. 'Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin, the horses, the camels are neighing together.
22. Is he among the foals?' she said.
23. 'He is not among the foals, he remained behind the mountains because he is wounded,' they said.
24. Then again the horses, the camels, the female camels bellowed together: 'Is he among the camel foals?' she said.
25. 'He is not, he remained behind the mountains because he is wounded,' they said.
26. Then his wife, she whasit, she had a dream during the evening.
27. Her husband could not come back because he was wounded, [but] the son of yonder [family] came back.
28. Thus she dreamt.
29. Then the next day, as his wife asked: 'Will he [truly] come?' anyway, they said: 'He is not there, he remained behind because he is wounded.'
30. Then she sung to her mother-in-law:

² Unclear; in Malov (1967: 176) this passage reads *maqhe moinnib sem selçin, münij içinte parim o?* 'Semsehlçin with the camel foal neck, is he among these?'

31. (*phorn-ta-la* *çv-ya ahtis-qïla mañ-qan-titv*, *çv-ya*).
32. 'ayïl-nïñ *aht-ï çv-ya mañ-v qhahr-tï*.
33. *senïñ aht-ïñ [..]³ qhahr-tï*.
34. *señ ziyüt sañ teyla-ya qha-ttï*.'
35. *antaqanta-ya ayïl-nïñ oyïl-ï ki-yintv*.
36. *ki-yinti-ya kïsi ki-yintï*.
37. *pu-ya sañ teyla-ya qhal-yantï*.
38. *antaqanta-ya pu anika-ya ti-yintï*: 'uzï tïlïsti-htï:
39. *meñ oyïl keh1-tï, ayïl-nïñ oyïl-ï ki-yïmistï*.
40. *meñ oyïl pheyïr thenay kheyïhr-tï*.
41. *men pehk-i pehk-i yi-htï, antaqv tïlïsti-htï*.
42. *ayïl-nïñ oyïl-ï qharn thenay kheyïr-ttï*.
43. *qhar-i qhar-i zi-vtï, ki-yïmistï*.'
44. *antaqanta-ya sosïkin, iški khun o-yanta-la ayïl-nïñ oyïl-ï çïntï ki-yintv*.

31. before-LOC-PCL2 Lhasa-DAT make.war-CPUR walk-NARev Lhasa-DAT
32. neighbour-GEN horse-POS3 Lhasa-DAT walk-CSIM be.old-PAST
33. you/GEN horse-POS1/2 [..] be.old-PAST
34. you/GEN young.man wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PASTev
35. then-PCL1 neighbour-GEN son-POS3 come-NARev
36. come-CTMP-PCL1 person come-NARev
37. this-PCL1 wound be.wounded-CCO remain-NARev
38. then-PCL1 this old.woman-PCL1 say-NARev self dream-PAST
39. me/GEN son come-PAST neighbour-GEN son-POS3 come-FUTNev
40. me/GEN son kidney fat bring-PAST
41. I eat.with.taste-CREP eat.with.taste-CREP eat-PAST thus dream-PAST
42. neighbour-GEN son-POS3 stomach fat bring-PASTev
43. choke-CREP choke-CREP eat-PROGev come-FUTNev
44. then-PCL1 next.day two day become-CTMP-PCL2 neighbour-GEN son-POS3 really come-NARev

31. (Before, they had set off to Lhasa to make war, to Lhasa.)
32. 'The neighbour's horse has grown old while going to Lhasa.
33. Your horse has grown old while [..].
34. Your son remained behind because he is wounded.'
35. Then the neighbour's son came back.
36. When he came back, the man came back.
37. This [Semsehlchin] remained behind because he was wounded.
38. Then this old woman said: 'I dreamt:
39. My son came back, the neighbour's son would not come back.
40. My son brought kidney fat.
41. I ate with taste, so I dreamt.
42. The neighbour's son brought stomach fat.
43. He was eating while choking, he would not come back.'
44. Then the next day, two days passed, and the neighbour's son really came back.

³ Unclear; in Malov (1967: 179) this passage reads *paśda paślau* 'being tied to a tether.'

45. *ah̄t-în mîn-v̄ kîsî kîlap pol-ya ki-yintî.*
46. *antaqanta naqî semsehl̄çîn-nî ayt-qanta-ya 'semsehl̄çîn th̄ay art-ta şaj teyla-ya q̄hahl-tî,' ti-yintî.*
47. *antaqanta-ya pu kheln-î ti-yin: 'uzî par-in,' ti-yintv̄.*
48. *qazna-sî ti-yin: 'uzî par-in,' ti-yintv̄.*
49. *pu kheln-î par-yan pu-sa tahqî kuziyî-sîn çula-wat-ik ki-ştî.*
50. *çekuo-la pu qazna-sî thosan pürmi-i-tî, par-yaş-ya.*
51. *ich̄i: ton, pah̄ş-tan azaq-qa ich̄i al-îñ-qa mañ-ittî.*
52. *o sat-ta pulyar sü kiz-v̄tî.*
53. *çinaq, kizkî, ton ich̄i al-îñ-qa mañ-qantî.*
54. *antaqanta-ya kheln-î q̄hal-yantî.*
55. *qazna-sî par-yaş-ya antaqanta yerla-yantî, ziyüt-îñ-ki:*
56. *'semsehl̄çîn ay, semsehl̄çîn, saȳa kiz-ir ton kher-ttî.*
57. *kiz-ir khama-ñ par mv̄?' ti-yintî.*

45. horse-POS3ACC mount-CSIM person strong become-CCO come-NARev
46. then yonder Semsehlchın-ACC ask-CTMP-PCL1 Semsehlchın mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NARev
47. then-PCL1 this wife-POS3 say-PNAR self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
48. mother.in.law-POS3 say-PNAR self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
49. this wife-POS3 go-PP become-COND still husband-POS3ACC rescue-FIN-CON come-FUTev
50. finally-PCL2 this mother.in.law-POS3 bad somebody-COP-EV go-CCO-PCL1
51. altogether dress head-ABL foot-DAT altogether take-RFL-CCO walk-PASTev
52. that time-LOC leather boot wear-PROGev
53. cup clothes garment altogether take-RFL-CCO walk-NARev
54. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 remain-NARev
55. mother.in.law-POS3 go-CCO-PCL1 then sing-NARev young.man-POS3-DAT
56. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın you/DAT dress-PFUT garment bring-PASTev
57. dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev

45. Because he was strong, being mounted on his horse, he came back.
46. Then, when she asked about Semsehlchın, he said: 'Semsehlchın remained behind the mountains because he is wounded.'
47. Then this wife of his said: 'Let me go.'
48. Her mother-in-law said: 'Let me go.'
49. If this wife of his would have gone, she could still have rescued her husband.
50. Finally, this mother-in-law of her was a bad one, and she went.
51. She set off taking along a garment, all [belongings] from head to foot.
52. In that time they wore leather boots.
53. She set off taking along a cup, clothes and a garment together.
54. Then his wife remained behind.
55. After her mother-in-law went away, then she sang to her son:
56. 'Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın, she brought you a garment to put on.
57. Do you have the power to get dressed?' she said.

58. *'kiz-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv.*
59. *a^{hr}qa-sī quzī tala-wat, nisar ton pol-ye,' ti-γintī.*
60. *'sem sehlçin ay, sem sehlçin, saya pulyar sü kher-tti.*
61. *kiz-ir khama-ŋ par mv?' ti-γintī.*
62. *'kiz-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv.*
63. *azaq-ī quzī sal-īwat, nisar sü pol-ye,' ti-γintī.*
64. *'semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin, saya a^{hl}tīm çinaq kher-tti.*
65. *tuann-ir khama-ŋ par mv?' ti-γintī.*
66. *'tuann-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv.*
67. *pa^{hc}-ī quzī sal-īwat, nisar çinaq pol-ye,' ti-γintī.*
68. *antaqanta eni yerl-v ziyit-ın çhīla-t-qa yülir-īwat-qa ki-γintī.*
69. *antaqanta antan soŋ-ya kīsī yüh1-si nisar per-vti.*
70. *am antay sikuan-ma yoq-ti.*

58. dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
59. back-POS3 down hang-FIN souvenir garment become-IMP3 say-NARev
60. Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin you/DAT leather boot bring-PASTev
61. dressed-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev
62. dressed-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
63. foot-POS3 down put-FIN souvenir boot become-IMP3 say-NARev
64. Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin you/DAT gold cup bring-PASTev
65. hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev
66. hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
67. head-POS3 down put-FIN souvenir cup become-IMP3 say-NARev
68. then again sing-CSIM young.man-POS3ACC be.angry-CAUS-CCO kill-FIN-CCO come-NARev
69. then that/ABL after-PCL1 person die-COND souvenir give-PROGev
70. now that/EQU habit-PCL3 not.present-EV

58. 'I do not have the power to get dressed.
59. Put [it] down at her back, let it be a souvenir garment,' he said.
60. 'Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin, she brought you leather boots.
61. Do you have the power to put [them] on?' she said.
62. 'I do not have the power to put [them] on.
63. Put [them] down at her feet, let it be souvenir boots,' he said.
64. 'Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin, she brought you a golden cup.
65. Do you have the power to hold it in both hands?' she said.
66. 'I do not have the power to hold it in both hands.
67. Put it down at her head, let it be a souvenir cup,' he said.
68. Then while she sang again, she made her son so angry that she killed him, and [then] she came back.
69. Then afterwards, if a person dies, they give a souvenir.
70. Now there is no such habit [anymore].

1. *wey wey wey semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin*
ayıl-niñ oyıl-ı pheyır thenay kheyır-ttı, pehk-i pehk-i yitv
seniñ oyıl qharn thenay kheyır-ttı, qhar-i qhar-i yitv
2. *wey wey wey semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin*
unkin-nir pozta-s-v maqhe münñ iśc-in-ti par mv?
3. *wey wey wey wey semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin*
phi-lir oryıla-s-v qhulim münñ iśc-in-ti par mv?
4. *qhulim münñ iśc-in-ti yoq-tv, thay art-ta şaŋ teyla-ya qhahl-tı*
(münı yerl-vyoqtv, antay ti-vtı)
5. *wey wey wey semsehlçin ay, semsehlçin*
saq-tar maŋra-s-v qozı münñ iśc-in-ti par mv?

1. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin
neighbour-GEN son-POS3 kidney fat bring-PASTev eat.with.taste-CREP
eat.with.taste-CREP eat/DUB
you/GEN son stomach fat bring-PASTev choke-CREP choke-CREP eat/DUB
2. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin
female.camel-PL bellow-REC-CSIM camel.foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC
present Q
3. EXCL EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin
mare-PL shout-REC-CSIM foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q
4. foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC
wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST
this/ACC sing-PROGnev that/EQU say-PROGnev
5. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlçin EXCL Semsehlçin
ewe-PL bleat-REC-CSIM lamb this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q

1. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin*
The neighbour's son brought kidney fat, he would eat with taste
Your son brought stomach fat, he would eat while choking
2. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin*
The female camels are bellowing together, is he among the camel foals?
3. *Wey, wey, wey, wey, Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin*
The mares are shouting together, is he among the foals?
4. He is not among the foals, he remained behind the mountains because he is
wounded.
(this they do not sing, they are saying it like that)
5. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlçin, ay, Semsehlçin*
The ewes are bleating together, is he among the lambs?

6. *wey wey wey semsehlčün ay, semsehlčün ay*
ayıl-niŋ aht-ï çv-ya maŋ-v qhahr-ti
seniŋ aht-ïŋ [..] qhahr-ti
7. *semsehlčün ay, semsehlčün*
8. *wey wey wey semsehlčün ay, semsehlčün*
tawar ton kheyihr-ti, kiz-ir khama-ŋ par mv?
kiz-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv, ahrqa-si quzi sal-iwat, nisar ton pol-ye
9. *wey wey wey semsehlčün ay, semsehlčün*
pulyar sü kheyihr-ti, kiz-ir khama-ŋ par mv?
kiz-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv, azaq-ï quzi sal-iwat, nisar sü pol-ye
10. *wey wey semsehlčün ay, semsehlčün*
kumis cinaq kheyihr-ti, tuann-ir khama-ŋ par mv?
tuann-ir khama-ŋ yoq-tv, pahc-ï quzi sal-iwat, nisar cinaq [pol-ye]

6. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchin EXCL Semsehlchin
neighbour-GEN horse-POS3 Lhasa-DAT walk-CSIM be.old-PAST
you/GEN horse-POS1/2 [..] be.old-PAST
7. Semsehlchin EXCL Semsehlchin
8. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchin EXCL Semsehlchin
silk garment bring-PAST dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV back-POS3 down put-FIN
souvenir garment become-IMP3
9. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchin EXCL Semsehlchin
leather boot bring-PAST dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV foot-POS3 down put-FIN
souvenir boot become-IMP3
10. EXCL EXCL Semsehlchin EXCL Semsehlchin
silver cup bring-PAST hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV head-POS3 down
put-FIN souvenir cup [become-IMP3]

6. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchin, ay, Semsehlchin*
The neighbour's horse grew old while going to Lhasa,
Your horse grew old while [..]
7. *Semsehlchin, ay, Semsehlchin*
8. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchin, ay, Semsehlchin*
[She] brought you a silk garment, do you have the power to get dressed?
I do not have the power to get dressed, put it down at her back
Let it be a souvenir garment
9. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchin, ay, Semsehlchin*
[She] brought you leather boots, do you have the power to put [them] on?
I do not have the power to put [them] on, put [them] down at her feet
Let it be souvenir boots
10. *Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchin, ay, Semsehlchin*
[She] brought you a silver cup, do you have the power to hold it in both hands?
I do not have the power to hold it in both hands, put it down at her head
[Let it be] a souvenir cup

15. A Yugur Girl I am

A WESTERN YUGUR FOLK SONG

sung by HÈ YÍNXÌNG¹

1. *e:, yoɣür qǎztaɾ men yer-e*
e:, yoɣür qǎztaɾ-ɣa yer war-e
çʰoçaŋ pʰerik-ti men man-ʋ
e:, çis marçen-ni men man-ʋ
2. *e:, ala enik-ti men say-ʋ*
e:, iʃp yöirmi-ni men yiyür-ʋ
3. *e:, çüinkʰin thala-ta men maŋ-ʋ*
e:, örliy thaywaş-qa men un-ʋ
sen çita-yan-ni men-ma çita-ş
e:, miz-tir-ma maŋ-ʋ [..]-ini

1. EXCL Yugur girl I is-COP
EXCL Yugur girl-DAT song present-COP
pointed hat-ACC I wear-CSIM
EXCL malachite coral-ACC I wear-CSIM
2. EXCL multicoloured cow-ACC I milk-CSIM
EXCL rope braid-ACC I twist-CSIM
3. EXCL meadow plain-LOC I walk-CSIM
EXCL high mountain.top-DAT I climb
you can-PP-ACC I-PCL3 can-FUT
EXCL we-PL-PCL3 walk-CSIM [..]-IMP1pl

1. Eeh, a Yugur girl I am
Eeh, a Yugur girl has songs
I wear a pointed felt hat
Eeh, I wear malachite and coral
2. Eeh, I milk the multicoloured cows
Eeh, I twist ropes and braids
3. Eeh, I walk on the meadow plains
Eeh, I climb the high mountain tops
What you can do I can do too
Eeh, let us walk [..].

¹ Noted down September 1995 in Běijīng.

16. Milk Tea and Baked Buns

TWO WESTERN YUGUR RECIPES

cooked by XUÉLIǎN¹

1. *sut ɕ^ha-nǐ naɣv horyǐ-t-qaq-i?*
su-nǐ horyǐ-t-qa ɕ^ha-nǐ sal-ɣa eni miɕa horyǐ-ɣa ɕ^ha tus-kinti sut-tǐ quz.
eni miɕa horyǐ-ɣa sut pǐs-kinti-ya ker-ǐʂ-ki t^haqan-nǐ sal, ɕ^hõrmi-nǐ sal, ta^hqǐ
ciwti, yaɣ, q^hayaq.
antaqanta sut ɕ^ha-nǐ quz.

2. *soyǐl-ɣin k^henzǐ*
tǐs-tǐ zin uzin soyǐl-ɣi qǐzar-ɣanta k^henzǐ-nǐ et-ki i^sɕ-iŋ-ki sal-ɣa tǐs-tǐŋ q^hapaq-ǐ
q^hala-ɣa zin uzin k^hõm-ǐwat-qa ʂi fǐn cuŋ pol-ɣanta k^henzǐ pǐs-kǐstǐ.

1. milk tea-ACC how boil-CAUS-HAB-COP
water-ACC boil-CAUS-CCO tea-ACC put-CCO again little boil-CCO tea
descend-CTMP milk-ACC pour
again little boil-CCO milk cook-CTMP-PCL1 bowl-IN-DAT
parched.flour-ACC put dried.cheese-ACC put also jujube butter cream
then milk tea-ACC pour

2. bake-PP bun
cauldron-ACC sheep.dung with heat.up-CCO be.red-CTMP bun-ACC make-CCO
inside-POS3-DAT put-CCO cauldron-GEN lid-POS3 use.as.cover-CCO sheep.dung
with bury-FIN-CCO ten minutes clock become-CTMP bun cook-FUTev

1. How to cook milk tea?
Boil water, put tea [in it]; when it again boils a bit and the tea [leaves] have
sunk, pour milk [to it].
When it again boils a bit and the milk has cooked, put parched flour, put dried
cheese into a bowl, and also jujubes, butter, and cream. Then pour the milk tea
out.

2. Baked buns
Heat the cauldron up with sheep dung and when it is red hot, make the buns
and put them in it, cover [it] with the lid of the cauldron and bury [the
cauldron] using sheep dung, and when ten minutes have passed, the buns will
be cooked.

¹ Noted down September 1995 in Běijīng.

17. Folk Wisdom

collected and told by ZHŌNG JĪNWÉN¹

1. *ker yer-yi qhal-sa qara tus-kış.*
2. *kīsī-niŋ köz-ti mal-ni sana-ma².*
3. *khuayzi-ni tiw-in-ti tuht-sa yahqin-qa per-iş, pahç-in-ta tuht-sa uzaq-qa per-iş.*
4. *khempış yihp-ti hapta-mas: mīla toq-qanta khintik moyñ-ta hora-q qha-ş.*
5. *mīla ay-ni çor-sa qhulaq qhal-xanī-ş.*
6. *mīla tīl yi-mis, yi-si söz köhp.*
7. *müş yüz yū-sa kheçhin ki-ş.³*
8. *yüş yer-yi qhal-sa kheçhin ki-ş.*

1. cup ground-DAT fall-COND black fall-FUT
2. person-GEN eye-LOC livestock-ACC count-NEG
3. chopstick-ACC base-POS3-LOC hold-COND near-DAT give-FUT top-POS3-LOC hold-COND far-DAT give-FUT
4. woman rope-ACC step-HABN child be.born-CTMP umbilical.cord neck-LOC coil-CON fall-FUT
5. child moon-ACC point-COND ear fall-TER-FUT
6. child tongue eat-HABN eat-COND word many
7. cat face wash-COND guest come-FUT
8. towel ground-DAT fall-COND guest come-FUT

1. If a cup falls on the floor, bad luck will occur.
2. Do not count the livestock in the face of a[nother] person.
3. If [a woman] holds [her] chopsticks at the lower end, [her parents] will marry her off near, if she holds them at the top, [they] will marry her off far away.
4. A woman should not step on a rope: [for] when [her] child is born, the umbilical cord will strangle around [his] neck.
5. If a child points to the moon, [his] ears will fall off.
6. A child should not eat tongue, if he eats [it], [his] words will be many.
7. If the cat washes its face, a guest will come.
8. If a towel falls on the floor, a guest will come.

¹ Collected by Zhōng Jīnwén in 1992 in Mínghuā, noted down from him August 1994 in Leiden.

² For the livestock will decrease.

³ Cf Malov 1967: 23 № 32.

18. Riddles

collected and told by ZHŌNG JĪNWÉN¹

1. *thazmaq*
2. *pīr aq aht-tiŋ ihçikī-ş-ti intaq tayras-ïppar. pu ni-ti?*
*pu, yü-ş-ti kīsī-lir maŋqīra-s-ïppar (~ maŋqīra-s-ıtıv).*²
3. *pīr aq şuku soqa-nī yörli yörli oht qus-ïppar. pu ni-ti?*
*pu, kīsī oht or-ıtıv (~ or-ïppar).*³
4. *yotuŋ-ış-tin işki yılan un-ik ki-tıv. pu ni-ti?*
pu, qarq-ış-tin yirüŋ un-ik ki-tıv.
5. *yü-niŋ lianxua-ta pīr kökhe par-i-ti. pu ni-ti?*
pu, tiŋir-ta-qī (~ tiŋir-ti-kī) khun-tıv.

1. riddle
2. one white horse-GEN intestines-IN-LOC equine.dung murmur-PROG
this what-EV
this house-IN-LOC person-PL talk-REC-PROG (~ talk-REC-PROG_{EV})
3. one white goat soqa.grass-ACC walk.around/CREP walk.around/CREP grass
vomit-PROG this what-EV
this person grass mow-PROG_{EV} (~ mow-PROG)
4. cave-IN-ABL two snake come.out-CON come-PAST_{EV} this what-EV
this nose-IN-ABL snot come.out-CON come-PAST_{EV}
5. house-GEN ceiling-LOC one pancake present-COP-EV this what-EV
this sky-LOC-KI sun-EV

1. Riddles
2. In the intestines of a white horse, the horse dung is murmuring. What is this?
This is: people talking together in the house.
3. A white goat, walking around and around the soqa-grass, is vomiting grass.
What is this? This is: a person mowing grass.
4. Two snakes have come out from inside a cave. What is this?
This is: snot having come out from inside the nose.
5. On the ceiling of the house is a pancake. What is this?
This is the sun in the sky.

¹ Collected by Zhōng Jīnwén in 1992 in Mínghuā, recorded with him August 1994 in Leiden.

² Cf Tenišev 1976: 261 N^o 2.

³ Cf Léi 1992: 274a, Malov 1967: 162 N^o 11, Malov 1967: 168 N^o 50, Tenišev 1976: 261 N^o 5.

19. Proverbs

collected and told by ZHŌNG JĪNWÉN¹

1. *mal-niŋ poz-ta a^hltim a^hq-ïppar, kisi-niŋ poz-ta ther a^hq-ïppar.*
2. *yilan-niŋ ala tas-ïn-ta par, kisi-niŋ ala i^hç-in-ti par.*
3. *enik yer lila-sa sîtik köhp, aryaçü kisi is tuht-sa söz köhp.*
4. *qoy qhora-ş-ti-kü çiyin intaq pezik közti-çik.*
5. *kus kus-ti suz-mi-si yahş kus emis.*
6. *ni yoq pu-sa-ma menik yoq pu-ma, ni paru-sa-ma kim paru-ma.*
7. *çar po-ya yoqqha-yan çhi aht-tan pezik.*
8. *yoq kisi par, yoq thala yoq.*
9. *qoy çar pu-sa paş çar pu-mas.*

1. livestock-GEN body-LOC gold flow-PROG person-GEN body-LOC sweat flow-PROG
2. snake-GEN multicoloured outside-POS3-LOC present person-GEN multicoloured inside-POS3-LOC present
3. cow earth plough-COND urine much lazy person work do-COND word many
4. sheep pen-IN-LOC-KI donkey equine.dung big seem-HAB
5. bovine bovine-ACC butt-NEG-COND good bovine is.not
6. what not.present become-COND-PCL3 money not.present become-NEG
what present/become-COND-PCL3 disease present/become-NEG
7. meagre become-CCO die-PP camel horse-ABL big
8. poor person present poor field not.present
9. sheep meagre become-COND head meagre become-HABN

1. On the body of livestock gold is flowing, on the body of people sweat is flowing.
2. The multicoloured[ness] of a snake is on its outside, the multicoloured[ness] of man is on his inside.
3. If a cow ploughs the earth, [its] urine is much, if a lazy person works, [his] words are many.
4. Donkey dung in a sheep's pen seems big.
5. If a cow does not butt a cow, it is not a good cow.
6. Whatever you may have not, do not have no money, whatever you may have, do not have disease.
7. A camel, having grown meagre and died, is [still] bigger than a horse.
8. There are poor people, there are no poor fields.
9. If a sheep becomes thin, its head does not become thin.

¹ The proverbs N^os 1-34 were collected by Zhōng Jinwén: N^os 1-16 were recorded with him August 1994 in Leiden, and the other proverbs were noted down September 1995 in Běijīng. The variant forms, indicated by (a), and the N^os 35-36 were told by Xuéliǎn. The N^os 37-41 originate from older sources and were checked with Xuéliǎn. For further references to Western Yugur proverbs, cf Roos, Nugteren & Zhōng (forthcoming).

10. *khenzî-nîy ohsaq-qa toz-mas.*
11. *saqal-ta-qî semeñ-ki toz-mas.*
12. *kisî yüz-ki tîrlî-ppar, terik tîp-ki tîrlî-ppar.*
13. *îst-tîy ihçikî-ş-ti aq yay sal-îwal-mas.*
14. *îst-tîy tîmsîy-îş-ti yayan tîs un-mis.*
15. *ana-nîy köñil qîz-oñil-nîy poz-ta par, qîz-oñil-nîy köñil taxs-ta par.*
16. *çhi-nîy mion niçor uzun po-sa-ma thay-nîy neraq-în-ta-qî oht-tî zi-v yata-yaq.*
- 16a. *çhi-nîy moyn-î ni-nîy uzun pu-sa-ma thay-nîy neraq-în-ta-qî oht-tî yi-v yata-ş.*
17. *aht nayv surnîk-si-ma qayla-sa ciyin-tin oy-tî.*
18. *ciyin intaq-tîy tahs-î kiltîy.*
19. *kisî çhoqe-sa lar un-îk ki-yîk, îst çhoqe-sa ahrq un-îk ki-yîk.*
20. *kisî-nîy al-yan îliy qîsya, kisî-nîy yi-yin tîmsîy imsaq.*
21. *kisî-nîy kizkî, aht-tîy ezer.*

10. bun-GEN crumb-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
11. beard-LOC-KI food-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
12. person face-DAT live-PROG tree root-DAT live-PROG
13. dog-GEN intestines-IN-LOC white butter put-INC-HABN
14. dog-GEN mouth-IN-LOC elephant tooth come.out-HABN
15. mother-GEN heart daughter-son-GEN body-LOC present daughter-son-GEN heart stone-LOC present
16. camel-GEN neck how.much long become-COND-PCL3 mountain-GEN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI grass-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-HAB
- 16a. camel-GEN neck-POS3 what-GEN long become-COND-PCL3 mountain-GEN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI grass-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-FUT
17. horse how stumble-COND-PCL3 run-COND donkey-ABL fast-EV
18. donkey equine.dung-GEN outside-POS3 shining
19. person sit-COND language come.out-CON come-HAB dog sit-COND shit come.out-CON come-HAB
20. person-GEN take-PP hand short person eat-PP mouth soft
21. person-GEN clothes horse-GEN saddle

10. One does not eat one's fill by bread crumbs.
11. One does not eat one's fill by the food in one's beard.
12. Man is living through 'face' (i.e. respect), a tree is living through [its] root.
13. One should not place white butter in a dog's intestines.
14. An elephant tooth does not come out in a dog's mouth.
15. A mother's heart is on the children, the heart of the children is on the stone.
- 16(a). However long the camel's neck, it cannot eat the grass at the other side of the mountain.
17. Even if a horse stumbles, if it runs, it is faster than a donkey.
18. The outside of donkey dung is shining.
19. If man sits down, words come out, if a dog sits down, shit comes out.
20. The hand of somebody [you] took from is short, the mouth of somebody [you] ate from is soft.
21. Man's clothes, a horse's saddle.

22. *kīsī-nīy u^{ht}tīr-ta ti-min kōyoq, kīsī-nīy art-īn-ta per-min kōyoq.*
 23. *marçen niçor yahş pu-sa-ma, ula-ya qara-sa am yahş közti-yik.*
 24. *soyil-yin iht tatïy, saqï-yan kīsī yahş.*
 25. *tas niyor pezik pu-sa-ma su-nī ayüt-īwal-mas.*
 26. *tas-tī şart-u^{ht}-sa-ma tahqï-la qah^ttïy.*
 27. *tīl aqïy, köjil tatïy.*
 28. *yol yahqïn pu-sa sïqa-s-qv, kīsī yahqïn pu-sa qahqïs-qv.*
 29. *yüwas aht-tī khïm-ma min-in saqïn-qaq, amir kīsī-nī khïm-ma ims-in saqïn-qaq.*
 30. *kīsī larla-s-v tanï-s-qv, mal ohqa-s-v tanï-s-qv.*
 30a. *kīsī-lir larla-s-v tanï-s-qv, mal-lir ohqa-s-v tanï-s-qv.*
 31. *sïmik yoq pu-sa iht qaytan ki-ş-i, khur iht yoq pu-sa yay qaytan ki-ş-i.*
 31a. *sïmik yoq pu-sa iht qantan ki-ş-i, khur iht yoq pu-sa yay qantan ki-ş-i.*

22. person-GEN frontside-LOC say-CN not.done person-GEN backside-LOC give-CN not.done
 23. coral how.much good become-COND-PCL3 string-CCO look-COND now good seem-HAB
 24. roast-PP meat tasty wait-PP person good
 25. stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water block-INC-HABN
 26. stone-ACC break-COM-COND-PCL3 still-PCL2 hard
 27. tongue bitter heart sweet
 28. road near become-COND squeeze-REC-FUT person near become-COND quarrel-FUT
 29. calm horse-ACC who-PCL3 mount-IMP1sg think-HAB calm person-ACC who-PCL3 use-IMP1sg think-HAB
 30. person speak-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT livestock smell-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT
 30a. person-PL speak-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT livestock-PL smell-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT
 31(a). bone not.present become-COND meat whence come-FUT-COP fat meat not.present become-COND grease whence come-FUT-COP

22. It is not done to speak not in front of a person, it is not done to give not behind a person[’s back].
 23. However good coral may be, if you look at it when it is strung, it seems even better.
 24. Roasted meat is tasty, a person one waits for is good.
 25. However big the stone, it cannot block up the water.
 26. Even if one breaks the stone into pieces, it is still hard.
 27. The tongue is bitter [but] the heart is sweet.
 28. If the roads are [too] near, [they] will squeeze one another, if people are [too] near, they will quarrel with one another.
 29. Anyone likes to mount a calm horse, anyone likes to use a quiet man.
 30(a). People learn to know one another by talking to one another, livestock learn to know one another by smelling at one another.
 31(a). If there is no bone, where would the meat come from? If there is no fat meat, where would the grease come from?

32. *çha-ya tuz yoq pu-sa su-ni İsta-yaq, kisi-yi menik yoq pu-sa uzit-ti İsta-yaq.*
 32a. *kisi-yi mek yoq pu-sa taltaqi-ni İst-itİ, semeñ-ki tuz yoq pu-sa su-ni İst-itİ.*
 33. *qhiti-ya yay köhküt-mi, yoñir-ya sey köhküt-mi.*
 33a. *qhiti kisi-yi yay sal-ma, yoñir kisi-yi çhay sal-ma.*
 34. *surnik-mis aht yoq, emis yoq kisi yoq.*
 34a. *surnik-mi-yin aht yoq, emis et-mi-yin kisi yoq.*
 35. *ni kisi-yi ni mal par.*
 36. *timsiy yüs-ti, köñil yahş-ti.*
 37. *kisi qhari-sa köñil qhar-yimis, terik qhari-sa kin qhar-yimis.*
 38. *ahka-lar-ta çhük yoq, paqa-lar-ta quziriq yoq.*
 39. *tas pezik pu-sa wanna-ya mañ-qİstİ, kisi yüs pu-sa qiziy l-v mañ-qİstİ.*
 40. *pezik tas-qa pezik qhar tus-kv, kihçik tas-qa kihçik qhar tus-kv.*
 41. *pathir kisi uzin thanqaraq pol.*

32. tea-DAT salt not.present become-COND water-ACC resemble-HAB person-DAT money not.present become-COND devil-ACC resemble-HAB
 32a. person-DAT money not.present become-COND ghost-ACC resemble-DUB food-DAT salt not.present become-COND water-ACC resemble-DUB
 33. Chinese-DAT butter show-NEG Yugur-DAT vegetables show-NEG
 33a. Chinese person-DAT butter put-NEG Yugur-person-DAT vegetables put-NEG
 34. stumble-PN horse not.present fault not.present person not.present
 34a. stumble-NEG-PP horse not.present fault make-NEG-PP person not.present
 35. what person-DAT what livestock present
 36. mouth bad-EV, heart good-EV
 37. person be.old-COND heart become.old-FUTN person become.old-COND heart be.old-FUTN
 38. monk-PL-LOC braid not.present frog-PL-LOC tail not.present
 39. stone big become-COND walk.past-CCO walk-FUTev person bad become-COND walk.around-CSIM walk-FUTev
 40. big stone-DAT big snow fall-FUT small stone-DAT small snow fall-FUT
 41. hero person with sworn.brother become

32. If tea has no salt, it is like water, if man has no money, he is like a devil.
 32a. If man has no money, he is like a ghost, if food has no salt, it is like water.
 33. Don't show butter to a Chinese, don't show vegetables to a Yugur.
 33a. Don't put butter in front of a Chinese, don't put vegetables in front of a Yugur.
 34. There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man without fault.
 34a. There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man who does not commit a fault.
 35. As man, so his livestock.
 36. The mouth is bad [but] the heart is good.
 37. Man grows old but not his heart, the tree grows old, but not its root.
 38. Monks do not have braids, frogs do not have tails.
 39. If a stone is big, one walks past it, if a person is bad, one walks around him.
 40. On a big stone falls much snow, on a small stone falls little snow.
 41. Be sworn brother to a brave person.

20. Small Talk

between HÈ XĪYUÁN, YÁNGQÍNG, ZHŌNG JĪNWÉN and SUǒ GUǒWĚI¹

- H. *yaŋç^hiŋ, saya niçi mīla par-i?*
Y. *mayā yoq.*
H. *mīla yoq-tī.*
Y. *he.*
H. *sen qayta is tu^{ht}-īppar-i?*
Y. *çayyε piŋkuan.*
S. *kamsī.*
H. *sen pōyli niçi yasa-htī?*
Y. ...
H. *sen qaytan ki-htī?*
Y. *men oy-tan ke^hl-tī.*
H. *qa^hçan ke^hl-tī?*
- H. Yángqíng you/DAT child present-COP
Y. me/DAT not.present
H. child not.present-EV
Y. hm
H. you where work do-PROG-COP
Y. Zhāngyé hotel
S. Zhāngyé
H. you this.year how.many be.a.year.of.age-PAST
Y. ...
H. you whence come-PAST
Y. I steppe-ABL come-PAST
H. when come-PAST
- H. Yángqíng, do you have children?
Y. I haven't.
H. No children.
Y. Hm.
H. Where are you working?
Y. Hotel Zhāngyé.
S. Gānzhōu.
H. How old have you become this year?
Y. ...
H. Where do you come from?
Y. I come from the steppe.
H. When did you come?

¹ This conversation was recorded August 18th 1995 in Hotel Zhāngyé.

Y. *orihkîn.*
H. *orihkîn?*
Y. *he.*
H. *sen pîr kîsî mi?*
Y. *men pîr kîsî.*
H. *sen ni-yi çhoqe-ya ki-htî? ulay mîn-ki ki-htî-m, theryin-ki çhoqe-ya keh1-tî-m?*
Y. *theryin-ki çhoqe-ya ki-htî.*
Z. *miŋxay-ta nol-vtî?*
Y. *miŋxay-ta qhaq-tî.*
H. *tejîr îsîy-tî-m?*
Y. *îsîy-tî.*
H. *yel pher-vtî-m, pher-vyoqtî-m?*
Y. *yil-ma pher-vtv.*
Z. *tijîr yay-îptî-m?*

Y. day.before.yesterday
H. day.before.yesterday
Y. hm
H. you one person Q
Y. I one person
H. you what-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST beast.of.burden mount-CCO come-PAST-Q
car-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST-Q
Y. car-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST
Z. Míngǎi-LOC what.be-PROGev
Y. Míngǎi-LOC dry-EV
H. weather warm-EV-Q
Y. warm-EV
H. wind beat-PROGev-Q beat-PROGnev-Q
Y. wind-PCL3 beat-PROGev
Z. sky rain-PASTev-Q

Y. The day before yesterday.
H. The day before yesterday?
Y. Hm.
H. Are you single?
Y. I am single.
H. By what way did you come? Did you come mounted on a beast of burden, or did you come by car?
Y. I came by car.
Z. How is it [currently] in Míngǎi?
Y. It is dry in Míngǎi.
H. Is the weather warm?
Y. It is warm.
H. Is the wind blowing or not?
Y. The wind is blowing.
Z. Did it rain?

- Y. *yay-ïpti, tiñir.*
 Z. *yoyir söz mañqir-v çita-štï-m?*
 Y. *kïhçiy muli-tï. ah, men-ma ti-yinti qhïti uçin larl-uht-atï.*
 Z. *qhïti soz ça-la po-štï.*
 Y. *sen larla, men pusiña.*
 S. *sen işki-sï mañqira-s-qa!*
 Z. *kær yerl-v çita-štï-m-sa?*
 Y. *yerl-v yata-yaq.*
 H. *sey qhar kïsi çhüñker mi?*
 Y. *çhüñker.*
 H. *çhüñker yer-tï.*
- Y. rain-PASTev sky
 Z. Yugur word speak-CSIM can-FUTev-Q
 Y. small very-EV EXCL I-PCL3 speak-CTMP Chinese with speak-COM-DUB
 Z. Chinese word truly-PCL2 become-FUTev
 Y. you speak I won't.do
 S. you two-POS3 speak-REC-CCO
 Z. song sing-CSIM can-FUTev-Q-PCL5
 Y. sing-CSIM cannot-HAB
 H. you/GEN old person Buddhist.amulet Q
 Y. Buddhist.amulet
 H. Buddhist.amulet right-EV
- Y. It rained.
 Z. Are you able to speak the Yugur language?
 Y. A tiny little bit. Ah, when I speak, I would blurt out Chinese.
 Z. Chinese is alright.
 Y. You speak, I cannot.
 S. But the two of you are speaking together!
 Z. Are you able to sing songs?
 Y. I cannot sing.
 H. Are your parents safe and sound?
 Y. Safe and sound.
 H. Safe and sound is right.

Vocabulary

The Western Yugur vocabulary below comprises all words that occurred in the texts, and the grammatical and lexical elicitation lists. The structure of the entries is as follows:

lexeme (~ **variant**) (vowel harmonic class) 'meaning (grammatical remarks)', cf *form in literature* source 'meaning'. Equivalent of **vernacular word** / See also **related word**.

- compounds, collocations
- ¶ etymology: <CT / <Loanword / Cf suggestions
- ° extant in Eastern Yugur

Western Yugur forms from this research are printed bold; variant forms are listed under the main entry, as well as separately with a reference to the main entry. The vowel harmonic class is indicated by the dative for nouns and the coordinative converb for verbs for those words of which the vowel harmonic class is not directly apparent; however, not all declensional forms were attested in the present material. Grammatical remarks include governing case and converbal combinations.

The vocabulary entries also comprise the Western Yugur forms attested in the older literature.

In the case of Chinese loanwords, and especially nonce loans, reference has been made to the equivalent vernacular term if extant, e.g. **xī** 'river', equivalent of **qol**. In a few cases, reference has been made to a related word, e.g. **sart=** 'to cut up', see also **ohsaq** 'crumb'.

Compounds and collocations of nouns are listed under the last element, e.g. **sīk artta** 'stealthily' is listed under **art**, and **pīra timsiy qīwīn** 'mosquito' under **qīwīn**. Collocations containing a verb are listed under the verb, e.g. **kōjīlīšti aqīs=** 'to feel grief' is listed under **aqīs=** 'to worry'.

For reconstructed Turkic forms, reference is made to Clauson and Sevortjan; the readings proposed here may differ. The CT form is followed by NE cognates. Other Turkic languages have only been taken into consideration in special cases.

In the case of loanwords, only the language family has been given if an exactly matching cognate form was not attested, e.g. **qhay** 'shoe' <Chinese, **qara=** 'to look' <Mongolic (not attested in Eastern Yugur).

In the case of poorly attested etymologies, only suggestions have been given, e.g. **samtīq** 'tattered', cf Eastern Yugur **samtaq**.

Eastern Yugur cognate forms, whether Yugurisms (words attested only in Western and Eastern Yugur), or loanwords from Western Yugur, Chinese or Tibetan, have been indicated as well, e.g. **hanī=** 'to go', **aq** 'white', **süeso** 'school'.

The alphabetical order is the conventional one:

a c ch ç çh e f y h i ī ə k kh l m n ŋ o ö p ph q qh r s ş s t th u v ü w x y z z

aça 'father', cf L15b, CL165a, T171a, *ača* M19b, Man63, *aža* PotII:436a, *ad'a* Her193.

¶ Cf Sagay *ažan* BI37a 'uncle (term of address used towards older people)', Tuva *ača* T77a 'father', Tofa *aža* R12b, 'uncle (father's younger brother)'.

° For similar forms, cf EYu *ača* B6, Ĵ93a, S90 'father', *ad'a* Her193 'id; paternal grandfather', LT a-žo Jä603b 'an elder brother or male person; sir, mr., gentleman, lord, father'.

aça-ana 'parents', cf L15b, *ačana* L15b, *ačaana* M67:100.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *aça* 'father' + *ana* 'mother'.

ačĩ= 'to be or become sad, worried (about)', cf *ačıl=* L16b, *ačıl=* L16b 'to feel sad, to be grieved; to feel sorry for or about', *ačĩ=* L16a 'id; to be sour (of milk, yoghurt, dough), astringent (of oil)', *ačĩ=* M19b 'to be angry, to feel hostile, to be sad', *aču=* T171a 'to be sad, to grieve, to mourn'.

¶ <CT **a:čĩ=* (cf EDPT 20b, ESTJaI:91), cf Khak *ačĩ=* BI36b, Tuva *ažĩ=* T44b, Tofa *ažĩ=* R12b, Yak *ahĩy=* Slp50a.

ačĩγ 'of pungent taste: sour, bitter, spicy, astringent', cf L16b, CL172a, T171a, *ačĩB* M20a, *ačĩB* M19b, *ačĩq^h* L16a:Da 'id', *ad'ax[ter]* Her210 'salty'.

¶ <CT **a:čĩg* (cf EDPT 21b, ESTJaI:91), cf Khak *ačĩB* BI36b, Tuva *ažĩγ* T40b, Tofa *ažĩγ* R12b, Yak *ahĩi* Slp50b.

ahčĩγĩr 'scarf', cf L11a, C86:5, *ahčĩγĩr* L11a, *hačĩγĩr* C86:11, *ačĩBĩr* TT39, M20a, *altšerer* Her207 'towel; handkerchief'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *alčĩγur* Les29a, EYu *alčhu:r* B4, S105, *ahłčhu:r* Ĵ7, *xelču:r* Kot451, *alt'ur* Her207 'towel', *alčhu:r* S355 'scarf', S469 'rag, mop', Mgr *χažĩr* S/M149 'scarf to wrap around the head'. WYu intervocalic *γ* is attested only in LM.

ačĩs= 'to be or become sad, to feel anxious, to have pent-up feelings of sadness, to be weighed down with anxiety'.

• **ihčikĩštĩ ačĩs=**, **kõγĩlĩštĩ ačĩs=** 'to feel anxiety gnaw at one's heart, to feel grief, sorrow, to feel troubled'.

¶ <CT **a:čĩš=* (cf EDPT 31b), cf Khak *ačĩs=* BI37a.

ačĩt= 'to brew', cf *ačĩt^h=* L16a, CL63, *ačĩt=* M20a 'to make sour (of yoghurt)'.

¶ <CT **a:čĩt=* (cf EDPT 21a), cf Khak *ačĩt=* BI37a, Tuva *ažĩt=* T41a, Tofa *ažĩt=* R13a, Yak *ahĩt=* Slp50b.

aγa 'to that, him, her, it; thither', cf L1a, L356, CL81, T171a, *aba* M175, *aγa* M16a. DAT of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **aγa ~ *aγa* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *abaa* BI15b, Tuva *aγaa* T61b, Tofa *aγa* R11b, *aa* R9a.

aγĩl 'village; neighbour', cf L8a 'garden, yard; neighbour; livestock pen', C92:35 'countryside', *aγĩł* T171a, *a:γĩł* T174a 'yard; enclosure for animals', *abĩł* M11b, *abal* M11b 'countryside; village, settlement'.

¶ <CT **a:γĩl* 'enclosure for livestock; settlement' (cf EDPT 83b, ESTJaI:83), cf Khak *aal* BI11a, Tuva *aal* T27b, Tofa *aal* R9a 'village', Yak *ĩal* Slp519a 'neighbour; house'. For the semantics, cf EYu *ail* B1 'neighbour', *ail* Ĵ93a, Ĵ41 'village, tent', LM *ayil* Les20a 'family; neighbour(hood); village'.

aγĩna= 'of an animal to roll on its back', cf L7b, CL179b, *abĩna=* M11b.

¶ <CT **a:γĩna= ~ *a:γna=* (cf EDPT 87b, ESTJaI:75), cf Yak *aaγna=* Slp24b.

aγĩr= 'to be or become ill; to hurt', cf CL180a, T171a, *abĩr=* M11b, *aχĩł=* T174a, *abur=* M11b 'id', *aγĩr=* L8a 'id; to feel love sick', *ax[te]* Her205 'pain', *aγ[öbte]* Her196 'illness'.

¶ <CT *a:gür= ~ *a:grī= (cf EDPT 91a, ESTJaI:86) < *a:gürī=, cf Khak *abür*= BI16b, Tuva *aarī*= T30a, Tofa *aarī*= R9b, Yak *īarīy*= Slp521a.

ayīrlīy 'expensive', cf CL172a, *abīrlīb* M12a 'id', *ayīrlīy* L8b 'id; precious'.

¶ <CT *a:gūrlīg 'valuable' (cf EDPT 93a), cf Khak *aarlīb* BI12a 'id; expensive; respected; heavy'.

ayīt= 'to stop, to withhold, to obstruct', cf *ayīth*= L7b 'id; to ward off; to keep out; to withstand; to block (water); to deal with, to cope with; to bar, to bolt (a door)', CL116 'to ward off', *χaqīt*= T219a 'id; to chase away, to drive away', *ayīt*= T171a, *abīt*= M12a 'id; to bar, to bolt (a door)'.

¶ <CT *agīt= 'to alter, to shift somebody or something away from, to modify; to leave off with' (cf Erdal 1991: 760).

ayītīr= 'to cause to stop', cf *ayīthtīr*= L7b 'to cause to keep off, withstand; to deal with', *abītīr*= M12a 'to chase away'.

ahka 'uncle (father's elder brother); monk', cf L11a '(eminent) monk; craftsman, master worker', CL163b 'monk', *ahqa* L11a '(eminent) monk', C92:35 'Buddhist monk', *ahkī* L11a 'father's elder brother', L11a:Da 'father's elder brother in his function of a lama', *axka* M19b 'senior in a temple', *haka* T180a, *ahqa* T173a, *ahqha* T173a, *aqha* T173a, *haqa* T180a, *χaqa* T219a 'older lama'.

¶ ←Arik *a-khē* TB230, TB232, TB240, TB242 'uncle (..)', cf Amdo *a-khē* MG487 'paternal uncle', Reb-koñ *a-khī* Roe157 'uncle; (in Labrang) monk, elderly lama', LT *a-khu* ~ *a-ku* Jä603a 'father's brother, uncle, etc'. WYu final *a* is inexplicable.

° Also loanword in EYu *akhē čhətɔɟ* BĴ119 'name of Geser's father-in-law'.

akkher= 'to bring to', cf *aphkheyir*= L1a, *akkhegir*= T171b, *akkeyir*= M14a, *akeyir*= M14a, *aqkeyir*= M14a 'id', *aphkher*= L1a 'id; to buy'.

¶ Compound consisting of *ap* 'taking' (+ CON) + *kheyir*= 'to bring'.

al= 'to take, to take away; to buy; to want; to get, to obtain; to receive', cf L4a, CL176a 'id', *ał*= T171b, M14b, *al[ene]* Her204 'to take'.

• **khehn al**= 'to take a wife, to marry', cf *khehn al*= L168a, *kefinał*= M14a; **or al**= 'to breathe', cf L37b, CL41 'id, to sigh', *ural[uter]* Her205 'to breathe'; **yürī al**= 'to lift', cf *yorıyal*= L274a, *yörībıl*= M43a.

¶ <CT *al= (cf EDPT 124b, ESTJaI:127), cf Khak *al*= BI21b, Tuva *al*= T56a, Tofa *al*= R11b, Yak *ıl*= Slp524b.

ala 'multicoloured, variegated, dappled, spotted', cf L4a, CL171b, *ała* T171b, M14a, *yala* T182a.

¶ <CT *a:la (cf EDPT 126a, ESTJaI:129), cf Khak *ala* BI22a, Tuva *ala* T51b, Tofa *ala* R11a, Yak *ala* Slp36b.

alar (~ **alir**, **olar**) 'they', cf L356, CL174b, *ałaj* T171b. PL of **o** 'that'.

¶ <CT *olar (cf EDPT 123a), cf Khak *olar* BI125b, Tuva *olar* T318a, Tofa *olar* R51b.

ale 'yes', cf L5a, *ole* CL138, L33a:Da 'yes', Man62 'right'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf Amdo *o-le* MG132 'yes, that's right' (also read *ao le* MG86, MG94).

° Also loanword in EYu *ɔ:lai* B12, *o:lei* B15, *oláy* Man62 'right', *ɔ:lai* BĴ315, *ɔ:lai!* *laksɔ*, *laksɔ!* (~ *laysɔ*) BĴ315 'formula concluding a story'.

alir, see **alar** 'they'.

alīm (~ **alīn**) 'forehead', cf *ałim* T172a, *alīn* L4b, CL161b, Man65, *ałin* T172a, M15a.

¶ <CT *a:līn (cf EDPT 147b, ESTJaI:146), cf Khak *alīn* BI25a 'front', Tuva *arīn* T72a, Tožu *alīn* ESTJaI:146 'face', Tofa *alīn* R11a 'face; mountain ridge'.

alīm 'debt', cf L4b, C93:44 'id; bill; credit', *ałim* M15b 'debt'.

¶ <CT **alim* (cf EDPT 145b, ESTJaI:128), cf Khak *alim* BI25a, Tuva *alim* T56a, Tofa *alim* R11a.

alim, see *alim* 'forehead'.

alın= (~ *an=*) 'to take along; to lift, to carry; of animals to be pregnant', cf *alın=* L4b 'id', CL89, *ałın=* T172a, M15a 'to take along'.

¶ <CT **alın=* (cf EDPT 148a), cf Khak *alın=* BI25a, Yak *ılın=* Slp525b.

alma 'fruit', cf CL161b 'id', L5a 'id; Chinese pear-leaved crabapple', *ałma* T171b 'pear', M14b (mountain dial.) 'apple'.

¶ <CT **alma* 'apple' (cf EDPT 146a, ESTJaI:138). For the semantics, cf EYu *alma* B3, Ĵ93b 'fruit', LM *alima* Les32a 'apple'.

altam 'quick; how strange! (an exclamation)', cf L5a 'quick; strange', C86:5, *ałtam* M14b, *ałdam* M14b, *ıltam* L21b:Da 'quick'.

¶ Perhaps related to *(y)*ıldam* 'quick' (cf ESTJaIV:278), or to **a:ltam* 'fraud, hoax, swindle' (cf ZT36), a deverbal noun from CT **a:lta=* (cf EDPT 133a).

ahltamso (~ *ahltımso*) 'Ahtamso (a girl's name from a tale)', cf *ałtamsa* M14b, *ałtamsı* M14b. See also the proper name *kumpinso*.

¶ The first element perhaps related to *ahltım* 'gold', the second maybe <-Tibetan, cf Arık *mcho* TB31, LT *mcho* Jä456b 'lake', frequent in women's names (e.g. *serimso* M102a, *eržamso* Ĵšt M26b).

ahltı 'six', cf L9b, CL173a, *ałhtı* T172a, T18, *ałltı* Man62, *hıltı* C86:5, *hałtı* T180a, *ałtı* M14b, *altı* PotII:436b, *ałta* M14b, *altö* Her197, *ołtı* T12.

¶ <CT **altı* (cf EDPT 130b, ESTJaI:141), cf Khak *altı* BI24a, Tuva *ahldı* T54b, Tofa *ahltı* R13b, Yak *alta* Slp39a.

ahltım 'gold', cf *ahltın* L10a, CL157b, *ahltın* T171b, *ałhtın* T172a, *ahltın* T174a, *hıltın* C86:11, *ahltın* M14b, *altın* PotII:435b, Man64, *altan* Her209.

¶ <CT **altun* (cf EDPT 131a, ESTJaI:142), cf Khak *altın* BI24b, Tuva *aldın* T54b, *ahldın* Čad20. Hermanns' WYu form could be <-EYu *althan* B4, *ahltan* Ĵ94a.

ahltım-kumis 'gold and silver, treasures', cf *ahltın-kumus* L10a.

ahltımso, see *ahltamso* 'Ahtamso (a girl's name from a tale)'.

ahltınçı 'sixth', cf *ahltınçı* L10a, CL45, *ałhtınçı* T172a.

¶ Cf Khak *altınžı* BI24b.

ahltır 'underside', cf L10a, CL158a, *hałtır* T180a, *ahtır* T66, T25, *ałhtırı* T172a, *ıałtırı* T219a, *ahtırı* M15a, *hatırı* T180b, *atırı* M19b.

• *ılıy ahlırta* 'under supervision, under authority', cf *ełıB ałtırında[qı]* M153b, calqued from Ch *shōuxià* (*shōu* 'hand', *xià* 'under').

¶ Related to CT **alt* (cf EDPT 130a, ESTJaI:140), cf Khak *altı* BI24a (+ POS3), Tuva *ahldı* T54b (+ POS3), Tofa *ahltı* R13b (+ POS3), Yak *alın* (*ann-*) Slp39b.

ahltı-yiyirmı 'sixteen', cf *ahlteyyirmı* L10b, CL74, *ałltigerma* Man62, *altigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *ahltı* 'six' + *yiyirmı* 'twenty'.

ahltun 'sixty', cf *ahltun* L10b, CL173a, *ałhtun* T172a, *hałton* T180a, *ałton* M14b, *altun* PotII:437b, Her198.

¶ Crasis of *ahltı* 'six' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Khak *altun* BI24a, Tuva *aldan* T54a, Tofa *ahltun* R13b, Yak *alta uon* Slp39a. Elsewhere CT **altmıs* (cf EDPT 130b, ESTJaI:141) prevails.

am 'now; just now, just then; a moment ago, an instant ago', cf L1a 'id', CL148, T172a, Her201 'now'.

¶ <CT **am* (cf EDPT 156b s.v. *amtī*, ESTJaI:357), cf Khak *am* B125b, Tuva *am* T56b, Tofa *am* R11b, Yak *anī* Slp42b. The back-vocalic form is typical of NE.

amihki 'immediately, shortly, in a moment', cf *amehki* L2a, CL175a.

amir 'calm, quiet, peaceful, meak', cf CL172b, T172a, *amī* T8 'id', *amir* M15b 'id, safe and sound, well', L1b 'id; peace, calmness, stability' *amör* [ks] Her201 'humble' (ks for *kīsī*).

¶ <CT **amur* (cf EDPT 163a, ESTJaI:59), cf Khak *amir* B126a, Tuva *amir* T58b.

amir-šimür (~ *amir-su*) 'quietly', cf *amir-šimür* L2a, CL172b, T172b, *amī* T8 'id', *amī* T172a.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *amur-šimür* Les40b 'peacefully, blissfully'.

amir-su, see *amir-šimür* 'quietly'.

amirtan, see *amihlan* 'animal'.

amihlan (~ *amirtan*) 'animal, creature', cf L1b, CL63, T172a, *amihlan* L1b, *amihlan* T172a, *amahlan* L1b:Da.

¶ <EYu *amhan* B6 'life form, animal, human', S28 'animals', cf LM *amitan* Les38b; EYu *amitu* Kot456 'alive, living' preserved the second vowel.

amsa 'now, now then, well now, as for now, anyway', cf L2b 'now'.

¶ Crasis of *am* 'now' + *posa* 'if it is', cf *am polsa* L2b.

an=, see *alin=* 'to take along'.

ana 'mother', cf L3a, CL165, T172a, M15b, Man63, PotII:436a 'id', Her193 'id; paternal grandmother'.

• *pezik ana* 'aunt (father's elder brother's wife)', cf *pezikh ana* L60a, calqued from Ch *dāmā* (dā 'big', mā 'mother').

¶ <CT **ana* (cf EDPT 169b, ESTJaI:278).

anika (~ *ayka*) 'grandmother, old woman', cf L3a, CL163a, T172a, M16a, *anika* M16a, *anaka* L3a:Da, *aneka* T172a, *eneka* M25b 'id', *anaga* Her193 'paternal grandmother'. See also *awaka* 'old man, grandfather'.

¶ From *ana* 'mother' + affective suffix *-ka*. Perhaps related to *anakī* (cf EDPT 48a s.v. *atakī*) 'mother (respectful term)', recorded by Kashgari. Cf further NUyg (Khotan dial.) *anika* Ghop16 'mother (term of endearment)', NUyg (Kucha dial.) *anika* Ghop16 'grandmother', Kzk *eneke* Shnit83 'mother-in-law (term of endearment)'.

anī 'that; him, her, it', cf L356, T76, M175. ACC of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **anī* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *anī* B127b, Tuva *onu* T320b, Tofa *onu* R52a, Yak *onu* Slp273b.

anij 'of that; his, her, its', cf L356, T76, M174. GEN of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **anij* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *anij* B127b, Tuva *ooj* T322b, Tofa *onuj* R52a.

aniški 'into that', cf the ABL *aništen* < *anij išten* L3a, *an* (< *an in*) *išten* M15b 'from its inside outwards'.

anta 'there', cf L3a, L356, CL81, T172b, *anda* T12, M175. LOC of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **anda* ~ **anta* (cf EDPT 176b, ESTJaI:456), cf Khak *anda* B126b, Tuva *inda* T596b, Tofa *indī* R100b, Yak *onno* Slp273a.

antay 'like that: such, thus', cf L3b, L356, CL174b, T172b, *andax* M15b, M175, *andax* Her208. EQU of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **andag* ~ **antag* (cf EDPT 177a, ESTJaI:149), cf Khak *andax* B126b, Tuva *indiy* T597a, Tožu *andiy* ESTJaI:149, Tofa *indiy* R100b.

antan 'thence; thereupon', cf L3a, L356, CL81, T172b, *andan* T12, M16a. ABL of *o* 'that'.

¶ <CT **andan* ~ **antan* (cf EDPT 177b, ESTJaI:150), cf Khak *annaŋ* BI27a, Tuva *oon* T322b, Tofa *indan* R100b, *unuun* R77b, Yak *onton* Slp273b.

antaq= 'to do thus, to do like that'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *qil=* 'to do'.

antaqa, see **antaqaş** 'thus'.

antaqanta 'then, afterwards; thus, in that way, so', cf L3b, CL36, *antaq^hqanta* CL25, *antaqqanta* T172b, *antaq^hqante* L3b, CL25, *antaqqante* T172b, *antaqqanti* T172b, *antaqqanti* T172b, *andaq qanda* M63a.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *qilyanta* 'having done', cf *antay qilyanta* L3b, *andaş qilyanda* M63a.

antaqaş (~ **antaqa**) 'in that way, thus, therefore; then, afterwards', cf *antaqaş* L3b, *antaqqaş* T172b, *andaqqaş* M16a, *amtaqaş* C82:69b.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *qilya(s)* 'doing, having done', cf *antay qilyaş* L3b, C82:69b, *antay qilyaş* T172b, *andaq qilyaş* M16a.

antaqov 'meanwhile, thus', cf *antaqo* L3b, T172b, *andaqo* M16a, *antahqo* T172b 'thus'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *qilv* 'doing', cf *antay qilo* L3b.

antaqovyan 'such'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *qilovyan* 'having done'.

antarmi 'a thing like that'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + perhaps *pirmi* 'thing'.

antasa 'if it is so, if that is the case, in that case, then', cf *antaysa* L3b.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + *posa* 'if it is', cf *antay polsa* L3b.

antir= 'to let take along', cf *alintir=* L4b, CL91, *ařintir=* T172a, *ařindir=* M15b.

¶ <CT **alindir=*, cf Khak *alindir=* BI25a, Tuva *alindir=* T56a.

antiraq 'that much'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + perhaps COMP?

antur 'that many, that much', cf *antayor* L3b 'like that, of that kind'.

¶ Crasis of *antay* 'thus' + perhaps *pır* 'one'.

aŋ 'joint; ankle', cf L5b, C92:35 'joint; inch'.

¶ <EYu *aŋ* B2 'joint; crack, crevice', S691 'joint', cf LM ang Les43b 'crack, crevice'.

aŋit 'duck', cf T172b, M16a 'species of wild duck with bright yellow or red feathers', *aŋit* [qos] M16a 'duck' (qos for qus 'bird'), *aŋit^h* L5b, CL159b 'species of duck' [Ch huángyāzi], *aŋet* Her199 'sea gull'.

¶ <CT **aŋit* 'ruddy goose' (cf EDPT 176a), cf Khak *aat* BI12a 'black diver (Anas nigra)'.

aŋna= 'to hear; to listen; to understand', cf L5b, CL175b, T172b, TT16, M16a 'to hear; to understand', Her205 'to hear', *anna=* L3b, *aŋnu=* T172b 'id, to listen', [asös]*aŋna* Her209 'to obey', (asös for o söz 'that word').

¶ <CT **a:ŋla=* 'to understand' (cf EDPT 186a, ESTJaI:154).

aŋnal= 'to be audible', cf L5b 'id', *aŋnal=* M16a 'to be aware of'.

appar= 'to take to, to take away', cf T172b, M16a, *ap^hpar=* L1a, *ali^{ph} par=* L4a.

¶ Compound consisting of *ap* 'taking' (+ CON) + *par=* 'to go', occurring in several Turkic languages (cf ESTJaI:128), cf Khak *apar=* BI28a, Tuva *appar=* T63b.

aq 'white', cf T172b, M13b, *aq^h* CL171b, T172b, *ak* PotII:435a, *aq* Her202 'id', *aq^h* CL73 'id; dairy products', L6b 'id; the clan *aq^h*; auspicious; opacity of the cornea of the eye'.

• **aq-paq** 'very white', cf *aq^hpaq^h* L7a, CL72, *aqpaq* M14a, *aq-maq* M74a, *aq^h-pa aq^h* L6b, CL17.

¶ <CT *a:k (cf EDPT 75a, ESTJaI:116), cf Khak aX BI35b, Tuva ak T49a, Tofa aq R10b.

° >EYu aq B2.

ahq= 'to flow', cf *ahqh=* L11a, CL179b, aX= M19b 'id', aXq= M67:14, aq= M13b 'id; to run one's eyes over (an object)', *ahq=* T173a 'to topple', [amna] aXg[awörter] Her210 'to flow', aXg[uter] Her207 'to leak'.

¶ <CT *ak= (cf EDPT 77a, ESTJaI:118), cf Khak aX= BI35b, Tuva *ahk=* Jan29, Tofa *ahq=* R13a.

aga 'elder brother', cf CL165a, T172b, M13b, *aya* T171a, *aka* Man63, *aga* Her193 'id', *aga* L6a 'id; elder sister's husband', L6a:Da 'elder sister'.

¶ <CT *a:ka (cf ESTJaI:121), cf Khak *aba* BI15b 'grandfather', Tuva *akü* T51a, Tofa *ahha* R13a, *ahä* R71:152 'elder brother', Yak *aba* Slp29b 'old man, father'.

° A similar form occurs in Arík *a-kæ* TB226.

aqar= 'to be or become white, light; to dawn', cf CL180a, M14a 'id', L6a 'id; (of heaven) to bestow good fortune', *aqar[der]* Her209 'light'.

• *tejir aqar=* 'of the sky to become light, to dawn', cf L6a.

¶ <CT *a:kar= (cf ESTJaI:117), cf Khak *abar=* BI16a, Tuva *ayar=* T34a.

aqilas= 'of birds to sing, to twitter'.

aqinü 'elder and younger brothers', cf L6a, CL36, T173a, M14a.

• *chigan aqinü* 'male cousins', cf *chigan aqa* L295b 'elder cousin', *chigan inü* L295b 'younger cousin'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *aga* 'elder brother' + *inü* 'younger brother'.

aqtan 'swan', cf *aqhtan* L7b, *aXtan* Her199, *aqihltan* L6b 'id', *aq qiltan* M63a 'name of a large white bird (near Gāotāi)'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *aq* 'white' + LM *qotan* Les972b, *qutan* Les992a 'pelican'.

ara '(the space) between', cf L19a, CL158a, T173a, M16a.

¶ <CT *a:ra (cf EDPT 196a, ESTJaI:162), cf Khak *ara* BI29a, Tuva *ara* T64a, Tofa *ara* R11b 'between', Yak *aara* Slp24b 'on the road'.

arabki 'liquor, alcoholic beverage; wine', cf L19a, CL170a, T173a, *arabqi* L19a, *araxqi* M16b, *arax* Her210.

• *ohsiriq arabki* 'beer' (lit. fart liquor), calqued from Ch pí as in píjiü 'beer' (jiü 'liquor'), and its near homophone pì 'fart'.

¶ <EYu *arabke* J94a, *arekhe* B7, *arakhé* B7, *arkhé* S120, *arake* TT80, cf LM *araki(n)* Les48a, *ariki(n)* Les53b. WYu features the trisyllabic Mongolic form, but the word is widespread in Asia. Hermanns' WYu form could be <LT a-rag Das1345b.

aramaq 'ring finger', cf M16b, *aramaqh* L19a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *ara* 'between' + *tarmaq* 'finger'.

araqinta 'over there, down there'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **ajarü* 'on that side, there, etc' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157) + *-ki* + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC.

araqinqa 'over there, down there'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **ajarü* 'on that side, there, etc' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157) + *-ki* + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.

ahrca 'juniper', cf L13b, CL160b, *ahrşca* CL9, *rd'a* Her210 'cypress', *ahjca* T173b, *hajca* T180a, *arča* M17b 'juniper'.

¶ <EYu *arčha* BĴ320, *hrčha* B63 'cypress', *arča* Kot448 'juniper', S120 'stiffleaf or needle juniper', *rd'a* Her210 'cypress', *sain-arča* PotII:399 'Juniperus communis' (*sain*

'good'), cf LM arča Les50b 'juniper'.

arçaq 'the west', cf arçaq^h L20b, arçaq T173a, aržaq M17a, irçak T182b, irçaq T220b.

¶ Crasis of art 'west' + yaq 'side', cf art yaq^h L250b.

arya 'laziness', cf L20b, arba M16b 'method, means; strategy'.

¶ ←EYu arba S115 'way, method', J94a 'id; strategy', B7 'strategy, scheme; trick', cf LM arya Les51a.

aryači 'lazybones', cf aryačl L20b, CL148, and perhaps aħsač M14b.

ariy 'clean', cf L19a, CL171b, T173b, arīb M17b, arag[dro] Her203, aħq^h T173b.

¶ <CT *ariq (cf EDPT 213b, ESTJaI:185), cf Khak arīb BI32b, Tuva ariy T71b, Tofa ariy R12b.

arkan 'chest, box', cf arkam L20a, CL166b, T173a, rkam T204b, arqam M17a, ergam Her206, irkam L24b, irqam L25a.

¶ ←Arik rgam TB527 'chest', cf LT sgam Das321a (cf RT62:6).

° Also loanword in EYu rkam B156, érka:m S92, irqam Kot444, rgam PotII:422b.

aħrq 'shit (especially from carnivores and omnivores, such as humans, dogs, cats, pigs and chicken, in contrast to herbivorous livestock, such as bovines, horses and donkeys, and sheep, goats and camels, the dung of which is denoted by special terms)', cf aħrq^h L13b, CL162b 'excrements'.

• **pīst aħrq** 'nit', cf pīst^h aħrq^h L55a.

¶ <CT *ark (cf EDPT 213a), further only attested in Khak arīx BI33a and Khal harq DT126b 'dung'.

aħrqa 'back, spine', cf L13b, CL162a, arqa M17a, aħqa T173b, harqa T180a, χaħqa T219a, T8.

¶ <CT *arka (cf EDPT 215b, ESTJaI:174), cf Khak arba BI30a 'back; seam on the shoulder; mountain ridge', Tuva aħrya T66a 'mountain forest', Tofa aħrha R13b 'northern mountain slope', Yak arbaa Slp46a 'backside'.

arqaš 'bag, package, bundle, quiver', cf arthqaš L20a 'small bag or sack', arqaš M17a 'bag containing fodder, hung over an animal's neck'.

arslan 'lion', cf L20b, aħrslan L13b, CL159b, aħslan CL16, harslan L220b, harslan T180a, aħslan T173b, arsilan M17a.

¶ <CT *arslan (cf EDPT 238a, ESTJaI:177), cf Tuva arzilañ T69a.

art 'backside; behind; west', cf T173a, arth L19b, CL158a, aħt T173b, a:rt T174a 'id', art PotII:435b, argt Her204 'west', arth L19b, art M17a 'id; protector, safeguard, helper'.

• **artīnta** 'behind it; afterwards, in the future', cf artenda Her203 'behind'; **sīk artta** 'stealthily'.

¶ <CT *a:rt (cf EDPT 200b, ESTJaI:179), cf Tuva artī T70b (+ POS3), Tofa aħrt R13b.

art= 'to rub; to wipe off', cf M17a 'to rub, to wipe dry, to clean', T173b, arth= L20a, CL178a, arīth= CL131 'to clean, to tidy up'.

¶ <CT *arīt= 'to clean' (cf EDPT 207b, ESTJaI:186), cf Khak arīt= BI31b, Tuva arīt= T72a, Yak irīt= Slp529b.

aħrt= 'to remain, to be left over', cf aħrth= L13b, art= M17a, axd[ebter] Her203.

¶ <CT *art= 'to increase, to be excessive' (cf EDPT 201b, ESTJaI:181), cf Khak art= BI31b 'to be excessive', Tuva aħrt= T69b 'id; to remain', Tofa aħrt= R13b 'to remain', Yak ort= Slp278a 'to be excessive; to be better'.

as= (~ aħs=) 'to pass, to cross', cf as= L17a, M18a, aħs= L11b 'id; of time to pass'.

¶ <CT *a:š= (cf EDPT 255a, ESTJaI:213), cf Khak as= BI33b, Tuva aš= T40a, Tofa aš= R13a, Yak aas= Slp25a.

as= 'to exchange', cf L17b, CL128 'id, to barter', T173b, M18a 'to exchange money'.

¶ Contraction of *alīs=* L11b <CT *alīš=* 'to take or receive from one another' (cf EDPT 153a), cf Khak *alīs=* BI25a, Tuva *alīš=* T56a, Tofa *alīš=* R78:136, Yak *ilīs=* Slp526a.

ahs 'opening (of a bag, pocket)', cf L11b, CL19, *aχs* CL19, *as* L17a, CL19 'id', *χaqs* T219a, T28, *aXs* M19b, *aqs* PotII:436a, Man65, *aXīš* T174a 'mouth', *aXīs* M19b, *abīs* M19b 'id; lip'.

¶ <CT **agīz* 'mouth of a human' (cf EDPT 98a, ESTJaI:81), cf Khak *aas* BI12b, Tuva *aas* T30a, Tofa *aas* R9b, Yak *uos* Slp439b.

ahs=, see **as=** 'to pass'.

ahs=, see **yahs=** 'to hide'.

ahsar 'village; market', cf L12a, CL166a, *hqsar* C86:11, *asar* L17b 'region, countryside', *hasar* TT16, TT20, *asar* T173b, M18a 'village'.

¶ <EYu *hsar* B60 'village', cf LM *asar* Les56a 'a large tent, etc'. The initial *h* in EYu is secondary, cf Mgr *a:sar* Khas1 'storey, a storeyed building'.

ahsīr= 'to turn open; to overturn; to reveal, to expose; to translate; to revenge', cf L12a 'to reverse (clothes); to roll up (sleeves); to rummage, to search; to translate; to expose, to unmask, to bring to light; to suddenly turn hostile', CL179b 'to turn; to control; to take back one's words; to topple; to feel the urge to vomit', *hasīr=* T180b, *asīr=* M18b 'to change'.

¶ <CT **a:šur=* 'to cause to pass over, to extol, to make something go beyond' (cf EDPT 265a, ESTJaI:214), cf Khak *azīr=* BI18b, Tuva *ažīr=* T44a.

ahsīra= 'to adopt (a child)', cf L12b, *hasīra=* T180b, *asīra=* M18b, *asra=* M18a, 'to raise, to educate children', L17b 'id; to raise animals'.

¶ <EYu *hsēra=* B60, *sra=* B104 'to take care of; to bring up, to raise', *sēra=* S630 'to raise, to rear', *asara=* S122 'to look after', cf LM *asara=* Les56b. EYu *h-* is secondary.

ahsīrlī= 'to trip, to stumble; to fall backwards', cf *asīrlā=* M18b 'to turn a somersault; to rebel', *asīrlī=* L12b 'id, to revolt; to turn over (while sleeping)'.

¶ <CT **a:šurul=* 'to be carried over' (cf EDPT 265a s.v. *a:šrul=*).

ahsīrt= 'to sneeze', cf T171a, *ahsīrth=* L12b, *asīrt=* M18b, *asserd[uter]* Her206.

¶ <CT **asurt=* (cf EDPT 251b, ESTJaI:194), cf Yak *itīrt=* Slp533a, Baraba Tatar *azīrt=* RI:569. Elsewhere CT **asur=* (cf EDPT 251a, ESTJaI:194) prevails, cf Tuva *azīr=* T46b, Tofa *azīr=* R10a. Cf further Khak *apsīr=* BI28b.

ahsraq 'lid or cover of small vessels', cf *ahsraq^h* L13a.

ahs= 'to open, to make an opening', cf L11a, CL178a, T26, *haş=* T180b, T173b, *aş=* L16b, *aš* PotII:437, M20a, and the oblique forms *haç* T179b, *aç* M19b, *adš[epter]* Her205.

¶ <CT **ač=* (cf EDPT 18b, ESTJaI:209), cf Khak *as=* BI33b, Tuva *ahš=* T40b, Tofa *ahš=* R14b, Yak *as=* Slp48b.

ahškōz 'insect, mosquito' (an idiolectal formation), cf *ahškhüh^h* L11b, *ahšwek^h* L11b, *aš kewek* M20a 'mosquito'.

ahšta= 'to be or become hungry, to feel hungry', cf L11b, *ašta=* L17a, *ašta=* M20b.

• **iħčikī ahšta=** 'to be or become hungry, to feel hungry', cf *ečikī ašta=* M67:79.

¶ <NE **ašta=*, cf Khak *asta=* BI34a, Tuva *ašta=* T78a, Tofa *ašta=* R13a. In view of *-š* (instead of *-č*), Alt *ašta=* BT24a <NE. From CT **a:č* 'hunger' (cf EDPT 17a, ESTJaI:208) + verbalizer.

ahštī= 'of the sky to be or become clear', cf *haštī=* T180b 'id', *ahštī=* L11b, *aštī=* L17a 'id; of a rift, crevice, crack, fissure to appear', *ahšit^h=* CL178a 'of the sky to be clear', L11b 'id; to pass through', *ašt=* M20b, *aštī=* M20b 'to open the eyes'.

¶ <CT *ačīl= (cf EDPT 26b), cf Khak *azīl*= BI18a, Tofa *a^hhil*= R13b.

° >EYu *ač^hēl*= B6 '(of the sky) to clear'.

at 'name', cf T173b, M19a, Her205, *at^h* L2b, CL8.

¶ <CT *a:t (cf EDPT 32a, ESTJaI:198), cf Khak *at* BI34b, Tuva *at* T79a, Tofa *at* R12b, Yak *aat* Slp25b.

aht 'horse', cf T173b, *aht^h* L9a, CL159a, *haht* CL8, *haht* T8, *hat^h* L15a, *χat* T219a, *at* M19a, PotII:436a, *ad* Her198.

¶ <CT *at (cf EDPT 33a), cf Khak *at* BI34a, Tuva *aht* T79a, Tofa *aht* R14a, Yak *at* Slp50b.

aht= 'to shoot', cf T173b, *aht^h*= CL176b, *hat*= T180b, *at*= T173b 'id', *aht^h*= L9b 'id; to appear (e.g. of the morning)', *at*= M20a 'to shoot; to arrange, to organize'.

¶ <CT *at= (cf EDPT 36a, ESTJaI:199), cf Khak *at*= BI34, Tuva *aht*= T37a, Tofa *aht*= R14a, Yak *īt*= Slp532a.

ahtčī 'horseherd', cf T174a, *aht^hčū* L9b, CL163a, *ahtčī* T16, *hatčū* T180b, *atčī* M19a.

ahtemaq (speech of older people), see *ahtimaq* 'little finger'.

ahti 'young of age, small; the young of an animal', cf *ahtey* CL73 'small', L9a 'id; baby; young animal; interest', T174a 'small; child; foal', *atey* M19a 'small; dear', T174a, *hatey* T180b, *hatiy* T180b 'small; child; foal', *ahte* L8b 'small; baby; young animal', *atī* M19a, TT38, *hati* T180 'small; grandchild'.

¶ <CT *atay 'small' (cf Röhrborn 1977: 258b).

° >EYu *htai* B61, *htei* B61 'small, little; child; young of an animal', *htai* J84, *hti*: S130, *atei* Kot452, *ateī* TT77, *atay* PotII:416a 'small, little'.

ahtimaq (~ *ahtemaq*) 'little finger', cf *ahtemaq^h* L9a, *ahteymaq^h* L9a, *atīmaq* M19b, *xetagamak* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *ahti* 'little' + *tarmaq* 'finger'.

ahtīs= 'to make war', cf L8b, *aht^hīs*= L9b, *ahtīs*= L9b, CL91 'id; to shoot at one another', *aht^hīs*= T174a, T9, *oht^hīs*= T12 'to shoot at one another'.

¶ <CT *atīš= (cf EDPT 72b), cf Khak *atīs*= BI35a, Yak *ītīs*= Slp533b.

attiy 'famous', cf T173b, *athtiy* L2b, CL143.

¶ <CT *a:tlīg (cf EDPT 54b), cf Khak *attiy* BI35a, Tuva *attiy* T76b, Tofa *attiy* R12b.

awa 'father' (occurring only in a folk tale), cf CL165a, T174a 'id', M11a, L17a 'id (only in a song)', *awu* M11a 'older relative, kinsman'.

¶ <CT *aba 'ancestor' (cf EDPT 5a, ESTJaI:54), cf Khak *aba* BI13a 'bear (taboo)'.

° For similar forms, cf EYu *aβa* J75 'paternal grandfather', B2 'id; maternal grandfather', Mgr *a:wa* S/M16 'father'.

awaka (~ *vka*) 'old man, grandfather', cf *awaka* L17a, CL162b, T174a, Her193, *awaqa* M11a, *awqa* M11a, *auqa* M19b, *oka* L33b, CL165a, T193b, *oqa* L34b:Da 'id', *awuga* Her193 'paternal grandfather'. See also *anika* 'old woman, grandmother'.

¶ From *awa* 'father' + affective suffix *-ka*.

ay (~ *e*) 'moon; month', cf L13b, CL157a, M13a, Man63, *æy* CL6, T174a, M20b, *ey* CL6, T178b, M25a 'id', *ay* Her196 'moon', PotII:436a, [*ber*]ae Her197 'month' (*ber* for *pīr* 'one').

• *pīr e* 'January', calqued from Ch *yīyuè* (*yī* 'one', *yuè* 'month'); *iskī-yiyīrmī e* 'December', calqued from Ch *shī'eryuè* (*shī'er* 'twelve', *yuè* 'month').

¶ <CT *a:y (cf EDPT 265a, ESTJaI:98), cf Khak *ay* BI19b, Tuva *ay* T46b, Tofa *ay* R10a, Yak *iy* Slp522b.

ayaq 'large bowl (especially one used for dogs)', cf M13a, *ayaq^h* L14a, *ayak*

PotII:436b, Man62 'bowl'.

¶ <CT **ayak* (cf EDPT 270a, ESTJaI:105), cf Khak *ayaX* BI37b, Tuva *ayak* T80a, Tofa *ayaq* R10a, Yak *ayaX* Slp33b.

° →EYu *ayak* Man70.

ayaaq 'ten thousand', cf T171b, M13b, *ayaaq^h* L14a, CL173a, *ak* PotII:437b, *agak* Her198.

¶ Secondary meaning of **ayaaq** 'bowl', calqued from Ch wàn 'ten thousand', and its near homophone wǎn 'bowl'.

ayar 'slowly', cf L14b, CL175a, T171b, M13b.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM *ayar* Les24a.

ayka, see **anika** 'old woman'.

ayt= 'to ask (for), to ask somebody (about) something; to greet (+ ACC)', cf *ayt^h*= L15a, CL178b, *aid[ine]* Her205 'to ask', *ayt^h*= L15a 'to greet', *ayt*= T171b, M13a, *æyt*= T174b, *ayd*= M13a 'to speak'.

¶ <CT **ayit=* (cf EDPT 268b, ESTJaI:111), cf Khak *ayt=* BI21a, Yak *iyit=* Slp523b.

aytiŋ 'moonlight', cf L15a, M13a, *æytiŋ* T174b, *aydiŋ* M13a.

¶ <CT **a:ytiŋ* (cf EDPT 268b, ESTJaI:108), cf Tuva *aydiŋ* T47a, Tofa *aydiŋ* R10b, Yak *iydaŋ* Pek3763.

az 'few, little', cf L17a, CL171a, T174a, M12a, *as[brör]* Her200.

¶ <CT **a:z* (cf EDPT 277a, ESTJaI:93), cf Khak *as* BI33a, Tuva *as* T72b.

aza= 'to decrease, to lessen', cf L18a, C82:69b, M12a, *az=* M12a.

azaq 'foot', cf T174a, M12b, *azaq^h* CL162a, T174a, *azak* Man65, PotII:436b, *acaq^h* T174a, *asak* Her194 'id', *azaq^h* L18a 'id; chairleg; underside'.

¶ <CT **adak* (cf EDPT 45a, ESTJaI:103), cf Khak *azaX* BI17b, Yak *ataX* Slp51b.

azyür 'stallion', cf L18b, CL159a, T174a, *azBür* M12b, *asegör* Her198.

¶ <CT **adgür* (cf EDPT 47b, ESTJaI:107), cf Khak *asXür* BI34a, Tuva *askür* T73a, Tofa *asqür* R12b, Yak *atür* Slp53a. The development of **d* in Tuva and Tofa is irregular.

aziq 'grain, food', cf T174a, M12b, *aziq^h* L18a, *azuq^h* CL169b, *azuq* M12b.

¶ <CT **a:zuk* 'food for a journey' (cf EDPT 283a, ESTJaI:98), cf Khak *azix* BI19b 'stock, food supplies', Yak *ihik* Slp531a.

azir= 'to separate, to divide; to split, to chop; to sort', cf L18b 'to separate; to split, to chop, to cleave, to break off, to rip, to tear', CL176a 'to open, to unfold, to turn on, to turn over, to part so as to form a fork', M12b 'to separate', *asr[ine]* Her204, *γazir=* L218a:Da 'to split, to chop'.

¶ <CT **adir=* (cf EDPT 66b, ESTJaI:114), cf Khak *azir=* BI18b, Tuva *adir=* T38b, Tofa *adir=* R10a.

azirli= 'to divide; to leave', cf L18b 'to separate, to sever; to divorce; to part company', *aziril=* M12b, *azirli[p tro]* M12b 'to separate'.

¶ <CT **adiril=* (cf EDPT 68b), cf Khak *aziril=* BI19a, Tuva *adiril=* T38b, Tofa *adiril=* R10a.

azirt= 'to separate', cf *azirt^h*= L18b 'id, to divide'.

¶ <CT **adirt=* (cf EDPT 68b), cf Khak *azirt=* BI19a.

azur 'some, a bit', cf T232.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *az* 'few' + *pür* 'one', cf *az pür* T232.

can, see **zan** 'station'.

cī 'self'. Equivalent of **uzī**.

¶ ←Ch *zì*.

coyun, idiolectal for *cona* 'bee; wasp'.

cona (~ *zona*, *conay*, *coyun*) 'bee, wasp', cf *zona* L338a, CL160a, *zūna* L337a:Da 'id', *dsona* Her212 'bee', *zona* T220b, *sona* M104a 'hornet'.

• *sarīy cona* 'bee, wasp', cf *sarīy zona* L338a 'wasp'.

¶ <EYu *cu:na* B151, *cu:na*: Ĵ7 'fly', *šra cu:na* B111 'wasp', *šera cu:na* S339 'bumble-bee' (*šra* ~ *šera* 'yellow'), *parkan cu:na* S458 'wasp, bee', *farkan cu:na* B41 'large species of wasp' (*farkan* meaning unknown, not occurring independently), *arak^{hè} cu:na* S458 'wasp, bee', S339 'bumble-bee' (*arak^{hè}* 'liquor'), *dsona* Her212 'bee', cf LM *sono* Les727b 'gadfly, horsefly'. The EYu initial *c-* is peculiar, as is the vocalism.

conay, idiolectal for *cona* 'bee; wasp'.

cuanna= 'to make one's way into'.

¶ <Ch *zuān*.

cueyxoutī 'final, last; finally, at last'.

¶ <Ch *zuihòude*.

chay, see *sey* 'vegetables'.

chī 'time, occurrence'.

¶ <Ch *cì*.

chunçaŋ, see *sunçaŋ* 'head of a village'.

chunzī, see *sunzī* 'village'.

chuy 'onion'.

¶ <Ch *cōng*.

chuyminj 'clever, bright, intelligent'.

¶ <Ch *cōngming*.

qa 'really, truly', cf L281a, *dša* Her212 'id', *ča* M138a 'look at that!'

qayasun (Dàhé speech) 'fish', cf *dšarassōn* Her210. Equivalent of *yūr*.

¶ <EYu *čayasēn* B142a, S423, *čeyasēn* B143, *dšarassōn* Her210, cf LM *jiyasu*(n) Les1050a.

qal= 'to pray', cf L282b, CL180b 'id', *qal=* T175b, *šal=* M149a 'id; to bow, to greet, to thank'.

• *paš qal=* 'to pray', cf L282b 'to kowtow', *paš čal=* M139b 'to pray, to bow'.

¶ <CT **čal=* 'to knock' (cf EDPT 417b). WYu probably calqued the meaning 'to pray' from Ch *kòutóu* 'to kowtow (to touch the forehead to the ground as a sign of respect)' (*kòu* 'to knock', *tóu* 'head').

qala 'tassel', cf L282b, CL169a 'id', *qala* T175b, *žala* M28a 'red tassel on a hat'.

¶ <EYu *čala*: B142 'tassel on a hat', *čala* Ĵ106a, S425 'ribbon, tassel', cf LM *jalaya* Les1029b 'tassel'.

qalim (~ *qalīn*) '(hoar)frost; dew', cf L282b '(hoar)frost; icicle', CL157a 'icicle', *qalim* T176a 'dew', *žalim* M28a, *žalīn* M28a 'hoarfrost; dew; drop (of wine)'.

¶ <NE **čalim* ~ **čalīn* 'hoarfrost; dew', cf Khak *salim* BI180a 'dew', Tuva *šalij* T566a 'id', Tofa *šalīn* R95b 'id; hoarfrost', Yak *čalim* Pek3565, *čaalim* Pek3565 'splash'.

° >EYu *čalēn* B143, Ĵ199b, *čalēm* S354 'hoarfrost', *χαρβαμ čalēm* S562 'id' (*χαρβαμ* 'hoarfrost').

qalīn, see *qalim* '(hoar)frost; dew'.

qan 'life', cf L282a, C82:70b, T176a, *čan* M140a, *žan* M28a, *can* T221a 'id, soul'.

¶ Ultimately <Ir *žā:n*.

čan= 'to light a fire', cf *ča=* L282a.

čahpčīyīr 'hoe', cf *čahpčīyīr* L284a, *čhapčīyīr* L292a, CL167b 'id', *čhapčīyīr* T177b, *čapčīyīr* T176a, *čapčībīr* M141a 'id; rake', *dšabd'agör* Her209 'carpenter's hatchet'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *d'abd'ur* Her209 'carpenter's hatchet', LM *čabčīyur* Les154b. WYu intervocalic *y* is attested only in LM.

čaqīsqaŋ (speech of Míngghǎi), see **saqīsqaŋ** 'magpie'.

čarla=, see **šarla=** 'to visit'.

čas, see **čahs** 'sunlight; lightning'.

čahs (~ **čas**) 'sunlight; lightning', cf L284b, *čas* L284b, CL157b, *čahs* T176a, *čaš* M141a '(sun)light'.

° EYu *naran čas* B24 'sunlight, rays of light at daybreak' (*naran* 'sun').

čahstal= '(of the sun) to shine; to light up', cf *častal=* L285a, CL89.

čeyyaŋ 'this kind'.

¶ ←Ch zhèiyàng.

čī 'resource, resourcefulness, wit'. Equivalent of **thayša**.

¶ ←Ch zhì.

čīl: qoy čīl 'sheep droppings', cf *čīl* L285b 'powderlike sheep dung', *qoy žīl* M29a 'dry sheep dung (not a slab)', *žīl* PotII:436a 'dry sheep dung used as a fuel'.

¶ Perhaps related to *čīla* 'fresh horse dung in a stable', recorded by Kashgari (cf EDPT 418a); cf further Kir *čīla* Jud885b 'dirt, filth', *attīn čīlasī* Jud885b 'horse dung slush', NUyg (Khotan dial.) *čīle* Ghop118 'dung', NUyg (Ghulja dial.) *čīle* Ghop118 'mixture of faeces and urine of livestock'.

° →EYu *čēl* B144 'sheep dung'.

čīla= 'to point at'. Equivalent of **qor=**.

¶ ←Ch zhǐ.

čīla= 'to treat, to cure a disease; (of a disease) to get cured'.

¶ ←Ch zhì.

čīlaya 'resembling, like', cf *čīla=* L287a, *čīla=* M148b 'to resemble, to be like', *čīku* (+ CON2) T177a 'resembling, similar to, as, like'.

¶ < *čīla= ~ *čīle= 'to resemble' (cf R78:260), cf Tofa *čīla=* R78:260. Occurring in few Turkic languages, usually only in converbial forms, cf Khak *čīli* BI318b 'like, as', Shor *čēle* RIII:1976 'of the same size', Tofa *čīlažī* R93a, Tožu *šīlay* Čad95, Alt *čīlap* BT183b, *čīlep* BT179a 'like, as'.

čīmaq, (~ **čumaq**) 'stick', cf *čīmaq^h* L285a, CL168a, *čymaq^h* L286b, CL32, *čhīmaq^h* CL32, *čumaq* T177a, *čumaq^h* T177a, *čomaq* T176b, M144a, *žomaq* M30a, *čumuq* M146b, 'id', *čumaq^h* L291a, *čomaq^h* L288a 'id, walking stick; cudgel', *dšemak* Her200 'pole'.

¶ <CT *čōmak (cf EDPT 422b).

čīn 'true', cf L285a, CL172a, T177b, *čīn* M148b, *čīŋ* T177b, *čīn* M143a.

¶ Ultimately ←Ch zhēn, either directly or through CT *čīn (cf EDPT 424a).

° Also loanword in EYu *čēŋ* B151 ←NwM *čəŋ*⁴⁴ CZW361a.

čīnčīŋ 'really, truly'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnzhèng.

čīnšī 'true, real, authentic'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnshí.

čīntī 'really'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnde.

čīŋxo 'just in time'.

¶ <Ch zhèngzhǎo.

qīngzī 'a moment', cf *qīngzī* L286a 'a period of time'.

¶ <Ch zhènzǐ; for the first element, cf NwM *qǎŋ*²¹³ CZW361a.

qīta= 'can, to be able, to be capable of; to succeed in', cf *qīta=* L287a, CL179a, T176b, *čīda=* M148b, *čīta=* M149b, *šīda=* M153b 'to be able, can'.

¶ <EYu *šta=* B110, *šta=* M106b, *šeta=* S556, *hta=* S556, *šda=* TT52, cf LM *čīda=* Les176b.

qīwīn 'mosquito; fly', cf L286b, *qīwīn* L288a, CL176b 'mosquito', L288a:Da, T176b, *čīwīn* M142b 'fly', *dšöwen* Her212 'gnat'.

• **pīra qīwīn**, **pīra tīmsīy qīwīn** 'mosquito', cf *pratīmsīy* L67b; **qara qīwīn** 'fly', cf *qara qīwīn* L288a.

¶ <CT **čī:pīn* (cf EDPT 397b, read *čībīn*), cf Shor *šībīn* RIV:1062 'midge'.

qoy 'glowing piece of dung used as fuel; spark', cf L289a 'burning charcoal', *čob* M143b 'hot ashes'.

¶ <CT **čog* (cf EDPT 405a), cf Khak *čob* BI191a.

qola= 'to reflect', cf L288b, *qola=* T176b.

¶ <Ch zhào.

qojīl 'Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Zhōng)', cf L288b, *qojīl* L291b, *žunīl* T62:62, *čojīl* M144b, *čujīl* M146b 'a Yugur clan name'.

¶ <Mongolic (cf T62:63).

qoq= 'to be or become successful, to succeed; to manage, to accomplish', cf *qoqh=* L289a, C92:35 'id; to be content'.

• **qoqpa=** 'cannot refrain from, cannot help but; cannot bear or stand (+ CCO)'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **u:čuk=* (cf EDPT 23a) 'to reach its conclusion, to come to an end'.

qohqčīla= 'to gather together, to pile up', cf *qohqčīla=* L289b, *qohqčīla=* CL178b, *čohqčīla=* T178a, *čojčīla=* M143b, *doxd'ala* Her206.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *čoyčala=* Les194b.

qoqi= 'to pinch', cf L289a 'id', *qoqo=* T177a, *qoq[o]* T253 (+ CSIM) 'to peck'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **čok=* ~ **čoku=* (cf EDPT 406a) 'to swoop down; to peck', or else <Mongolic, cf LM *čoki=* Les196b 'to peck, pick (of birds)'.

qoqīl= 'to be or become successful, to succeed', cf *qoqīl=* L289a.

qor= (~ **qorī=**) (*qoryi* ~ *qorya*) 'to point to (+ ACC or DAT)', cf L290a 'id; to indicate, to point out; to direct towards; to marry off', CL180b 'to appoint as; to marry off', *čorī=* M145b 'to marry off; to accompany the bride to the house of the groom', *žoru[ptīrna]* M30b 'to marry off', *alīsqā čor[ærya]* M145b 'to marry off far away'.

¶ <EYu *čorē=* B146 'to aim at, to take aim', cf LM *žori=* Les1071a 'to move in the direction of'.

qorī= (*qorīya*), see **qor=** 'to point at'.

qot: qot et= 'to cause misfortune', cf *qoth et^h=* L288a 'to stir up trouble', *čot et=* M144b, *žot et=* M30b 'to be angry'.

qotta= 'to scold'.

° EYu *dsodlo[lsuna]* Her205.

qottas= 'to scold one another, to have an argument or fight', cf *qoth^htas=* L288a, *žotas=* M30b, *žottas=* M30b, *dšodas[uter]* Her205.

qowat= 'to oblige, to thank (+ DAT)', cf *qowat^h=* L290a 'to thank; to trouble', CL179b, *žowat=* M30a, *čowat[ar]=* M143b, *dšowad[ī]* Her208 'to thank'.

• **qowattī** 'thanks', cf *qowat^htī* L290a, *qowatte* T177a, *žowatte* M30a, *čuate* Man62; **qowatma^htī** 'no thanks, it is nothing at all, you're welcome'.

¶ CAUS of *qowa*= L290a 'to trouble about, to worry; to be concerned with' <EYu *čobɔ*= J36 'to trouble, to bother', *čɔ*:= B145 'to be sad, to grieve, to feel miserable', cf LM *joba*= Les1065b 'to be in trouble'. Cf further EYu *čɔβɔ:βa šo* B146, *čuová* Man62 'thanks', *žowowa* Kot453, *dsowd'üwai* (+ CAUS) Her208 'to thank'.

qozī 'table', cf T177a, *qozi* L290a, CL166b, *žoza* M30a, *žouza* M30b, *čöza* M145a.

¶ <Ch *zhuōzi*.

qozīwaš 'table top'.

¶ Compound consisting of *qozī* 'table' + *waš* 'head'.

qumaq, see *čīmaq* 'stick'.

quanmīŋ 'special(ly)', cf *quanmīn* L290b.

¶ <Ch *zhuānmén*; for the second element, cf NwM *məŋ*⁵¹ CZW360a.

quašī 'really, very, severely, vehemently, extremely, in a high degree', cf *quašl* L290a, CL130, *čošl* CL130.

¶ <Ch *zhuóshí* 'really, indeed, severely'; the development of *a* is peculiar of WYu.

cuŋ 'clock, o'clock', cf L291b.

• *šī fīn cuŋ* 'ten minutes'.

¶ <Ch *zhōng*.

cuŋkuo 'China', cf L291b.

¶ <Ch *zhōngguó*.

cuŋna= 'to put in a bag, to pocket, to load', cf *cuayna*= L290b 'to dress up; to disguise; to pretend, to feign', *coŋna*= L288b 'id; to load a gun; to put into', CL65 'to pocket', T176b 'to fit into', *čonna*= M144a 'id', *žonna*= M30a 'to pocket'.

¶ <Ch *zhuāng* 'to pretend etc; to load, etc'.

° Also loanword in EYu *čɔŋlɔ*= B145, *čɔŋlo*= J83 'load, charge (a fire arm)'.

cunpeyla= 'to prepare; to get ready', cf *cuīnpele*= L291a. Equivalent of *pe^{hk}*=.

¶ <Ch *zhǔnbèi*.

cuyila= 'to pay attention to', cf L292b.

¶ <Ch *zhùyì*.

čw 'Lhasa', cf *qo* L288a 'id; name of a large temple', T176b, *čo* T143b, *žo* M29b, M67:208, *žo*: M67:208, *žou* T30b, *žu* T30b 'Lhasa', *dšo* Her40:86 'Tibet'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *jo-bo* Jä173a 'lord', Amdo *zo-wo x^{ha}-fa-mu-ne* MG438, Xiàhé *co-wo sa-k/ča-mè-ne* HL204b 'Śākyamuni Buddha', LT *jo* Jä173a, Reb-koñ *ču*: Roe116 'lord, sir, master', Xiàhé *cu-k^{ha}ŋ* (written *jo'i-khañ*) HL204b 'Śākyamuni temple' (LT *jo-khañ* Zhāng878b).

° Also loanword in EYu *ču*: B147 'Lhasa', *ču:n k^{hi}t* Bĭ229 'temple of Lhasa' (*k^{hi}t* 'temple'), LM *juu* Les1081a 'monastery', *baraŋun juu* Les1081a, *mōngke juu* Les1081a 'popular name for Lhasa' (*baraŋun* 'west', *mōngke* 'eternal'). According to Lessing, LT *jo-bo* was the name of a famous Buddha statue in a Lhasa temple, and apparently this name later on became to denote Lhasa in its entirety.

č^{ha} 'tea', cf L292a, CL170a, T177b, *qa* T175b, *ča* M138a, *sa* M98a.

¶ <Ch *chá*.

č^{hala}= 'to stick into, to insert', cf L293a. Equivalent of *tī^{hq}*=.

¶ <Ch *chā*.

č^{ham}ča 'shirt, chemise', cf L292b, CL53, T177b, *č^{am}ča* T176a, *č^{am}ža* M140a, Man65, *č^{om}ča* T16.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM čamča Les164a, typical of Eastern Mongolic.

č^hanthou (speech of elder people) 'Uygur', cf č^hanth^hiu L292b 'id', čantu M140b 'Muslim of Xinjiang'. Equivalent of *sart*.

¶ <Ch chán 'to wind' + tóu 'head'.

č^hayiteyzi 'a kind of bag used for tea'.

¶ Perhaps <Ch cháye 'tea leaves' + dàizi 'bag'.

č^hi: č^hi kel= 'to become angry', cf č^hη L295a 'anger'.

¶ Cf perhaps Sal čīχ kel= ZT1741.

č^hila= 'to be or become angry', cf č^hηla= L295a, CL17, č^hηla= T178a, čīla= T177a, čīla= T175b, M148b, čele= M148b.

č^hilat= 'to make angry, to provoke', cf č^hηlat= L295a 'id', čīlat= M148b 'to upset'.

č^himikči 'thief', cf č^hymik^hč^l L295a, C163b, čimūqči M148b, č^humuq^hč^l L297b, tumuqči M125a '(petty) thief'.

° EYu č^hēmēkč^hē B135.

č^himikti= (č^himiktiyⁱ) 'to steal', cf č^hymik^hte= L295a, C179a, čimūqta= M148b, čumuqte= M146b, tšömaxde[bdro] Her202.

° EYu č^hēmēk kē= B135 (kē= 'to do').

č^hintir (č^hintiryⁱ) 'chain', cf L294a, CL15, T178a, čindir T175b, činder M143a, čendir M142a, Man69.

¶ Ultimately <Ir zinži:r.

° Also loanword in EYu č^hentér S295.

č^hij 'city, town', cf č^hij L294b, čij T177b, čin M148b, čin M143a, čen M142a.

¶ <Ch chéng.

° Also loanword in EYu č^héj J100a.

č^hijciyna= 'to change appearance as a result of magic', cf L294b.

¶ <Ch chéngjīng.

č^hijč^haŋ 'city wall'.

¶ <Ch chéngqiáng.

č^hijfala= 'to punish'.

¶ <Ch chéngfá.

č^hijmij 'city gate'.

¶ <Ch chéngmén; for the second element, cf NwM məj⁵¹ CZW360a.

č^hijyna= 'to put underneath'.

¶ <Ch chèn; for the first element, cf NwM č^həj²¹³ CZW361b.

č^hinsan 'shirt'.

¶ <Ch chènshān.

č^hiqan 'cousin', cf č^hηq^han L295b, č^hηqan L295b 'id, cousinship; relationship between cousins of the same paternal grandfather or great-grandfather', CL165b, dšekan Her193 'cousin'.

¶ <CT *čikan 'son of one's maternal aunt' (cf EDPT 409a, Räs108a), cf Yak sīyan Slp355b 'cousin'.

č^hoqaŋ: č^hoqaŋ pherk 'Yugur woman's hat', cf č^hoqaŋ pherek^h L297a 'Yugur woman's pointed felt hat', čöčæn periuk M146a 'felt hat', č^hoqaŋ L297a, CL168b 'pointed', čöčin M146a 'high'.

č^holī 'small strainer, filter (used for e.g. tea)', cf L296a, CL167a, čolī T144a 'bamboo, wicker or wire strainer; colander'.

¶ In view of the aspiration of the initial consonant and the back vocalic *i* more

likely to be inherited from *čovli* (cf EDPT 397a <Ir *ča:wli:*) than borrowed from Ch zhàoli.

° →EYu *čʰɔ:lé* B136.

čʰolwan 'Big Dipper', cf CL130 'Venus; a proper name', L296b 'Venus; a blaze', *čoʰwan* T176b, *čʰoʰwan* T176b, *čoʰwon* T14 'Venus; a horse with a blaze', *čoʰwan* M144a 'a blaze; a horse with a blaze', *šoʰwan* M151b, *čolbon* PotI:338 'Venus'.

¶ <CT **čolpan* 'Venus' (cf EDPT 418b), cf Khak *solban* Bas192b, Tuva *šolban* T577b, Tofa *šolban* R97a.

čʰoqe= (*čʰoqeɣa*) 'to sit, to sit down', cf L296b, CL176b, T178a, *čoqe=* L289a:Da, T177a, *čq̄i=* M143b, *čo:q̄i=* M145a, *čq̄iɣ=* T177a, *čok̄iɣ=* M143b.

• **kuan čʰoqe=** 'to hold an official's post', cf *ph̄ey čʰoqe=* L71b, calqued from Ch *zuò guān* 'to be engaged as an official' (*zuò* 'to do, to engage in', *guān* 'official') and its homophone *zuò* 'to sit'; **th̄eryinti čʰoqeɣa maŋ=** 'to go by car', calqued from Ch *zuò qìchē qù* (*zuò* 'to sit', *qìchē* 'car', *qù* 'go').

° EYu *čɔɣqɔ=* BĴ326, *čq̄qui=* Ĵ24 'to sit, to sit down', *čɔɣqɔi=* B146 'id, to squat', S610 'to sit; to live, to stay', *dox wueid'ige* Her206 'to sit'.

čʰoqes= 'to sit together, to sit down together', cf L297a, T178a.

čʰoqet= 'to cause to sit, to make or let sit down, to seat', cf T178a, *čʰoqeth=* L297a, *čq̄uɣt=* M143b, *čq̄iɣt=* M143b.

čʰošijna= 'to go on a pilgrimage'.

¶ <Ch *cháoshèng* 'pilgrimage'.

čʰot 'exclamation uttered when making a libation', cf *čʰoth* L296a 'an oblation of sprinkling wine or milk for a deity (on the first month of the lunar year, early in the morning, a man takes a bowl of milk tea or butter tea and walks three times around his house, asking the gods for blessing and protection; afterwards he dips chopsticks in the tea and sprinkles it, while calling in a loud voice *čʰoth*, *čʰoth*)', *čöt* M145b 'exclamation uttered by a shaman when making a sacrifice'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *mčhod-pa Jä166b* 'offering, oblation, libation'.

čʰotta= 'to libate', cf *čʰothta=* CL180b, *čotta=* M144b, *čot̄ta=* M144b, *čötta=* M145b, *čöt̄ta=* M145b, *čötlor=* M145b.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *mčhod-pa Jä166b* 'to honour (..) saints or deities by offering articles (..)'.

čʰuan 'ship, boat', cf L297b, CL168a, T178a, *čuan* M146a.

¶ <Ch *chuán*.

čʰuanna= 'to pass through, to penetrate', cf L297b 'id; to wear'.

¶ <Ch *chuān* 'to pass through, to wear, etc'.

čʰuay 'bed', cf L297b.

¶ <Ch *chuáng*.

cala= 'to put up, to erect, to stack'.

¶ <Ch *jià*.

caŋ 'just at that moment, just now', cf L224b, CL174b, T221a, *čan* T221a, *caŋ* M140b, *čɛŋ* M141a, M67:119.

¶ <NwM *ciay*⁴⁴ CZW171a 'just at that moment', cf Ch *jiāng* 'to be about to'.

caŋlay 'in the future'.

¶ <Ch *jiānglái*.

caŋna= 'to speak, to explain', cf L225a.

¶ <Ch jiǎng.

car 'emaciated, meagre, lean', cf L226a, T221a, *č^har* T221b.

cara 'hedgehog', cf L226a, CL160a, *č^hara* T221b.

¶ <EYu *čara*: B143, *čara* Ĵ106a, *ča:ra*: S432 'id', cf LM *jarayā* L1037a.

cayūkuan 'Jiāyùguān', cf CL107.

¶ <Ch Jiāyùguān.

cazi 'family, dwelling, household', cf *cazi* L225b 'id', *cac1* T221a 'family member'.

¶ <Ch jiāzǐ.

° Also loanword in EYu *ciac1* B150 'clan, tribe, village'.

ces, see *cis* 'malachite'.

ceciela= 'to solve'.

¶ <Ch jiějué.

cekuo 'as a result, consequently'. Equivalent of *antaqanta*.

¶ <Ch jiéguō.

cen 'smartish, scheming, calculating; schemingly, with a calculating mind'.

¶ <NwM *ciēn*⁴⁴ CZW170a 'smartish', cf Ch jiān 'point; sharp'.

cenqi 'simply, at all'.

¶ <Ch jiǎnzhí.

cenyu 'prison'.

¶ <Ch jiānyù.

ci 'how many'. Equivalent of *niči*.

¶ <Ch jǐ.

ciči 'vagina, small girl's genitals', cf L231b, *č^hič^hi* L235b 'small boy's genitals'.

ciyin 'donkey', cf L231b, *ciyen* L231a, CL159b, *ciqin* T176b, *žiyeŋ* M29a, *ciken* L230a, *d'igen* Her199, *elžiyeŋ* M25a.

¶ <Mongolic, cf Mgr *žiġē* S/M87, EYu *elčiyen* B10, *elčiyen* BĴ351, *elčiyen* Ĵ94a, *ilžigen* Man65, *enčiyen* S256, *d'igen* Her199 'id', LM *eljige(n)* Les311a. The WYu forms are generally more abraded than the EYu forms.

ciyti (~ *ciuti*) 'jujube, a kind of small, red berry', cf L231b, CL31, *ciyte* CL161a, L231b, *ciyte* L286b 'Elaeagnus angustifolia L., narrow-leaved oleander or Russian olive', T221a, *ciqte* T221a, *ciqte* T176b, *ciyde* M67:100 'džigda, a kind of berry'.

¶ In view of the initial affricate an irregular development of CT **yigde* (cf EDPT 911b, ESTJa:325), or <Mongolic, cf LM *jigde* Les1226a 'oleaster'.

cila= 'to post, to mail'.

¶ <Ch jī.

cili= 'to jostle, to squeeze in'.

¶ <Ch jǐ.

cimi=, see *cūmi=* 'to pluck'.

cinaq 'cup, small bowl', cf T221b, *cinaq^h* L229a, C82:66b, T221b, *činaq* M143b, *činaq* M148b (mountain dial.), *žinaq* M31b, *canaq* L224a:Da '(wooden) bowl'.

¶ <CT **ča:nak* 'bowl' (cf EDPT 425b). WYu *ci-* is irregular.

cinthou 'by the time when', cf *cinthiu* L229a, *ci^hiu*.

ciŋ 'spring, well', cf L230a, *ciŋ* T175a, *cin* CL157b. Equivalent of *su thelk*.

¶ <Ch jǐng.

° Also loanword in EYu *ciŋ* BJ326.

ciŋsīn 'vigour, vitality'.

¶ <Ch jīngshen.

čihpčī 'pitchfork, hayfork', cf *čhipči* L236b 'big wooden fork', CL12 'pitchfork', L236b:Da 'rake', *čehpče* T221a, *čipči* M143b 'wooden fork'.

čis (~ *čes*) 'malachite', cf L231b, CL158a, *čes* L227b 'id (a kind of copper ore)', *čis* T221b, *čīs* T177b, *žes* M29a 'a green gem, nephrite, jade; copper'. Equivalent of *thutuqus tas*.

• Also occurring as a last element in Yugur women's names, see *khuncis*, *norčis*, *sutčis*, *insinčis*.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM *jes* Les1047a 'copper'.

čitan 'egg (of a chicken)', cf L228b, T221b, *čīdan* M148a. Equivalent of *tan*, *tahqayī ohsīrīq*.

¶ ←Ch *jīdàn* (*jī* 'chicken', *dàn* 'egg').

čuti, see *čiyti* 'jujube'.

čo 'to let, to allow, to permit'.

¶ ←NwM *ciɔ*²¹³ CZW172b, cf Ch *jiào* 'to call'.

čo 'cellar, underground storage', cf L231b.

¶ ←Ch *jiào*.

° Also loanword in EYu *čiao* BJ149.

čo, see *cozi* 'sedan (chair)',

čoryawaš 'Chorghawash (a girl's name from a tale)', cf *čorba waš* M30b 'woman's name (from a tale)', *čorya paš* L233a 'harsh and unreasonable person; person who uses lame arguments'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *čorya* L233a 'spout' ←EYu *čhorbo* S576, cf LM *čoryo* Les198b + *waš* 'head'.

čouši 'well, quite, only'.

¶ ←Ch *jiùshì*.

čoučhüen 'Jiūquán (formerly Sùzhōu)'. Equivalent of *sukci*.

¶ ←Ch *Jiūquán*.

cozi (~ *čo*) 'sedan (chair)', cf *cozi* L232b, *čo* L231b, CL54, *čov* T221b, *žo* M29b.

¶ ←Ch *jiàozì*, *jiào*.

° Also loanword in EYu *čiao* BJ149.

čula= 'to save, to rescue', cf *čūla=* L226b, CL69, T221b.

¶ ←Ch *jiù*.

° Also loanword in EYu *čūla=* B150.

čüyer 'healthy', cf CL172b 'id, safe and sound', L234a, *čüker* L233b 'id; careless, casual, not so bad, not very good', *čüyer* M147a 'only'.

¶ ←EYu *čüyer* S467 'very well; it doesn't matter, never mind; ordinary', *čüye:r* B148 'smooth, steady; customary (?)', cf LM *jüger* ~ *jügere* Les1083a 'doesn't matter, all right', *jüger bolxu* Les1083a 'to recover from an illness'.

čümi= (~ *čümü=*, *čimi=*) 'to pluck (flowers), to weed (grass), to pull up (trees, turnips)', cf *čüme=* L233b, CL177b, *čüme=* M147b, *čöme=* L233a, *čömi=* M145a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM *čömü=* Les202b 'to pluck, to pick, to reap'.

čümü=, see *čümi=* 'to pluck'.

čünkhin 'marsh land, meadow', cf *čünkhen* L233b, CL152, *čümkhen* L233:Da 'beach; marsh', *čünken* T221b, *čünkhin* T175b, *čünkhin* T175b, *čünkhen* T177b, *čünghen* M147b 'a certain kind of grass; meadow where this grass is growing'.

• *soqalīy čünkhin* 'meadow with *soqa* grass'.

¶ ←CT **čömken* 'meadow, peat' (cf EDPT 423a s.v. *čimgen*).

čürs-čars 'wrinkled (of dried leather; around the eyes)', cf L234b 'wrinkled'.

čürstür=; *yüzün čürstür=* 'to wrinkle one's face, to make faces at', cf *čüris=* L234b 'to wrinkle, to crumple; to frown, to knit one's brow'.

čüt 'meagre, thin, lean', cf *čüt^h* L233b, CL171b, *žüt^h* T186b, *žüt* M31b.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM Jud Les1077a 'starvation, famine'.

čhala= 'to hold a child', cf L235a.

čhala= 'to pinch'.

¶ ←Ch qia.

čhaxotī 'exactly right'.

¶ ←Ch qiahāode.

čhe, see *čhi* 'camel'.

čhi (~ *čhe*) 'camel', cf L236a, CL159b, *čhiy* C82:69b, *čhi* T222a, *če* M141b, *thi* L126a, CL159b, *thiy* L127b, *ti* T213a, M118b, *te* M114b, *tiè* PotII:435a.

¶ <CT **tebe* (cf EDPT 447b, ESTJAIII:313), cf Khak *tibe* Bas224a, Tuva *teve* T409a, Tofa *tebe* R75a. WYu *čhi* < **ti* <CT **te* is irregular.

čhi 'to go'.

¶ ←NwM *čhi²¹³* CZW179a, cf Ch qù.

čhičī 'camelherd', cf *čhičl* L237b, CL163a, *cičī* T176a, *čiži* M142b, *thičl* L127b, CL163a, *thičī* T216a, *tičī* M119b.

čhičhou 'balloon'.

¶ ←Ch qiqiú.

čhikinik 'elbow', cf *čhikenek^h* L236b, C87:566, *čhikhenek^h* L237a, *čikenek* M142b, *tšikenaik* Her194, *tikenek* M119a (mountain dial.).

¶ <CT **čikenek* ~ **čikanak* (cf EDPT 553b s.v. *tirsgek*, Räs96a, Räs107a), cf Khak *čībanax* B1325b, Sagay *sībanax* Čan355a, Tuva *šenek* T570a, Tofa *čēhenek* R87a.

° →EYu *čekhenek* BĴ325, *čikhenek* B145, *čikenek* Kot446, TT77, *čeyenek* Ĵ104b.

čhili= 'of an animal to hold in the mouth or beak', cf *čhile=* T222a, T17, *cile=* T221b 'id', *čhile=* L236b, *čhele=* L235b, CL175b 'id; of birds to peck'.

¶ ←NwM *čhie⁵¹* CZW182b, 'to hold in the mouth'.

čhin 'bride'. Equivalent of *kheIn*.

¶ ←Ch qīn.

čhinčhi 'relatives'. Equivalent of *oriy-tariy*.

¶ ←Ch qīnqī.

čhišī 'in fact, actually'.

¶ ←Ch qíshí.

čhola= 'to pry open', L237b.

¶ ←Ch qiào.

čhörmi 'dried cheese', cf L238b, *čhörme* L238b, CL170a, T222b, *čhörme* CL30, *čörme* M145b, *čürme* M147a, *čürme* Man62, *čhorme* L237b, *čhormi* L237b.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT *čhur-ba* ~ *čhur-ra* Das423a 'cheese made of milk', *čhur-ba* Jä159b 'a kind of vermicelli, prepared from butter-milk boiled', Amdo *čhēr-wa* MG437, *čhē-ra* MG23 'milk residue, cheese, chura'.

° Also loanword in EYu *čhūra* B139, *čhörme* B138, S91, S247, *čhö:rmε* Ĵ85 'a kind of dairy product, curds, dried cheese', *čhüerme* J67, *čermī* Man62, *čürme* PotII:420a 'cheese'. Note that WYu and EYu have an *-m-* apparently not found in any adjacent Tibetan dialect.

čhük 'braid', cf *čhüwükh* L239b, *čhüwekh* L239b '(a man's) braid; tassel, fringe', *čuwēk* M147a, *čuwīk* M147a 'braid; ribbon on a shaman's pole', *tšöwök* Her194 'plait of hair'.

čhük= (*čhükki*) 'to kneel, to kneel down', cf *čhükh=* L239a, CL17, *čük=* M147b, *čhök=* L238a, CL176b, *sukh=* L333b.

¶ <CT *čök= (cf EDPT 413b).

čhüjker 'Buddhist amulet; safe and sound', apparently a distortion of *šunjar* CL168b 'image of Buddha [worn] in a bag', L309b, *šunqar* L309b, *šonkar* L307a, *šonqar* L307:Da 'amulet, protective talisman (an image of Buddha etc, worn on the chest)' *šonjar* M151b 'small bag containing a figure of Buddha, usually worn as a pectoral', *šonjar* T209b 'embroidery worn on the chest by girls', perhaps contaminated with *čüyer* 'healthy'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *sruñ-khor* Das1293a 'a talisman, a disk made gen. of threads consecrated by an incarnate lama', *bsruñ-khor* Das1322b 'magic charm used as a protection against evil spirits', Xiàhé *šon-khor* HL610a 'amulet (hung around the neck)', Reb-koñ *šun-khor* Roe142 'amulet'.

e, see **ay** 'moon, month'.

e, see **yay** 'summer'.

eyin, see **iyin** 'nephew'.

ehlčī 'shaman', cf *ehlčl* L27b, *ehlči* L27b, *yehlčl* L260b, CL164a, *yelčl* L259b:Da, *iłhčī* T181a, *iłčī* T18, *ilčī* M1b, *elčī* M25b.

¶ <CT *elči 'ambassador' (cf EDPT 129a), cf Tuva *elči* T612a 'courier'.

emen, see **emin** 'all over; often'.

emin (~ **emen**) 'all over, altogether; often', cf L25b:Da, *emen* L25a 'often', *yimin* L263b, *yimen* L263b, *nimen* L136b:Da 'id; whole, complete, total; consistently', *yemin* M39a, *yimin* M41a 'altogether'.

¶ <NwM *i²¹³man⁵¹* CZW257a 'all, completely, entirely; altogether, in all'.

emis 'is not; mistake, failure, fault; mistaken, wrong', cf *emes* L25a 'id', CL123, M24a, *emes[dro]* Her200 'it is not', *ermes* L30b:Da 'mistaken'.

¶ < **emez* < **ermez*, cf Khak *nimes* BI117b, Tuva *eves* T603a, Tofa *emes* R104a.

emisi 'otherwise, or, then', cf *emese* M67:31 'or'.

¶ From an older **emese* < **ermese* 'if it is not', cf Khak *nimeze* BI117b 'or'.

enek, see **enik** 'cow'.

eneht= (~ **eht=**, **iht=**) 'to sound, to make a sound', cf *eneht=* L26b, CL180b, *enext=* M26a, *eneth=* L26a, *enet=* M25b 'id', *ened[apter]* Her205 'to utter'.

¶ The first element unclear, the second <NE **et=* '(of birds) to sing' (cf EDPT 39a s.v. *öt=*, ESTJaI:556), cf Tofa *eht=* R106b 'of animals to utter a sound', Tuva *eht=* T606a 'id; of instruments to sound; to utter', Yak *et=* Slp548b 'to speak; of birds to twitter; of the thunder to roll'. Cf also Old Uygur *etin* 'sound' (cf EDPT 60b). Elsewhere CT **öt=* (with rounded vowel) prevails.

eni 'again, another time; also, too; in its turn, this time', cf *ene* L26a, CL175a, T178b, M25b, *yene* L258b, CL32, M39a, *enne* Her213, *ele* T178b.

¶ <CT **yene* (cf ESTJaIV:115) ~ **yana* (cf EDPT 943a, ESTJaIV:114).

enik (~ **enek**, **inik**) 'cow', cf Man63, *enekh* L26a, CL159a, T178b, *enek* T178b, M25b, *inek* T8, M32a (steppe dial.) 'id', *nek* M80a (mountain dial.) 'cow having thick fur'.

¶ <CT **inek* (cf EDPT 184a s.v. *ingek*, ESTJaI:358), cf Khak *inek* BI67b, Tuva *inek* T208a, Tofa *inek* R24b, Yak *inaX* Slp526b.

enniy 'broad, wide', cf L26b, *yinniy* L265a, *yenniy* L258b, CL171a. See also **ennis** 'narrow'.

¶ ADJ of *en* L26a <CT **e:n* 'breadth' (cf EDPT 165b, ESTJaI:352), cf Khak *inniy* BI60a, Yak *iennex* Slp160a.

ennis 'narrow', cf L26b, *yennis* CL171a, L258b, *yenis* L258b, *yinis* L265a. See also **enniy** 'broad'.

¶ <CT **e:n* 'breadth' (cf EDPT 165b, ESTJaI:352) + privative suffix *-*siz* (with irregular *ns* > *nn*), which, as elsewhere in NE, was lost in WYU altogether.

° →EYU *enyès* B9, *enyès* B9, which preserved a reflex of *s*; the development of *s* > *c* can be seen more often in EYU, but not regularly.

entiaq 'the east', cf *intiaqh* L31a, *indyaq* T181b, *indæk* M32a, *endæk* M25b, *intiaqh* L21a, *untiyaqh* L40b.

¶ Crasis of *untin* 'east' + *yaq* 'side', cf *untun yaqh* L41a.

erin (~ **yerin**, **yörin**) 'man; husband', cf *eren* L30a, CL162b, M26b, Her192, *erēn* T178b, *ören* T194b, *elen* Man63, *yeren* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT **eren* (cf EDPT 232b, ESTJaI:290), cf Khak *iren* BI62b.

ehrkicik 'young male goat (not castrated)', cf *ihrkeçikh* L22b 'castrated male goat'.

¶ Contraction of *ehrkis* 'wether' + DIM -*çik*.

ehrkik 'male', cf *ehrkikh* L28b, *ehrkekh* L28b, CL9, *ihrkekh* L22b, *hrkekh* CL9, *hrkik* T181a, *erkek* M27a 'id, male animal'.

¶ <CT **erkek* (cf EDPT 223b, ESTJaI:297), cf Khak *iryek* BI68a 'male', Tuva *iryek* T210a 'male bear', Tofa *ihrhek* R201 'id, male sable animal', Yak dial. *iryex* Slp153b. Except for WYU, NE points to **irkek*.

ehrkis 'wether, castrated male goat', cf *ehrkeş* L28b, *ihrkeş* L22b, CL159a, *ihrkis* C86:2, *hrkis* C86:2 'id', *erkeş* M27a 'stolen goat', *rgiş* Her199 'kid of one year'.

¶ <CT **erkeç* (cf EDPT 223b, ESTJaI:300).

ehrkī 'old (of things)', cf L28b, CL172a, *e^hke* T179a, *ye^hkī* L260b, T183b, *erke* M27a, *erki* M27a.

¶ <NE **erki*, cf Khak *iryī* BI62a, Tuva *eryi* T617a, Tožu *ehryi* Čad47, Tofa *ehrhi* R106a, Yak *erye* Slp544b.

ehrkīs 'twins', cf *ihrkis* L22b, *erkes* M27a, *örkös* [*möla*] Her193 (*möla* for *mīla* 'child').

¶ <CT **ekiz* < **ekkiz* (cf EDPT 119b, ESTJaI:252), cf Khak *ikīs* BI67a, Tuva *iyis* T204b, Tofa *ihhis* R73. WYU *r* is secondary. Except for WYU, NE points to **ikiz*.

ehrti 'early; earlier, in the past', cf *eh^hti* T179a, *erti* M27b, *eh^hrte* L28b, CL172a, *erte* M27b, *ih^hrte* L22b, *rte* M97b 'early'.

• **taŋqar ehrti** 'early in the morning', cf *taŋqar eh^hrte* L94a, *taŋqar erte* M27b.

¶ <CT **erte* (cf EDPT 202b, ESTJaI:302), cf Khak *irte* BI63b, Tuva *erte* T618b, Tofa *eh^hrte* R106a, Yak *erde* Slp544b.

et= (~ **it=**) 'to make; to fashion, to mold', cf T179a, M28a, *et^h=* L26a, CL177a, *it=* M32b, *yet^h=* L258b, *yet=* M39b, *et^h=* T179a 'to make'.

• **arya et=** 'to be or become lazy'; **emis et=** 'to commit a fault, to make a mistake', cf *emes et^h=* L25a; **uzit yüz et=** 'to make faces', calqued from Ch zuò guǐliǎn (zuò 'to do', guǐ 'devil', liǎn 'face'); **örek et=** 'to be pregnant'; **yoq et=** 'to destroy, to demolish', synonym of **yoq qil=**.

¶ <CT **e:t=* 'to put in order; to do' (cf EDPT 36b, ESTJaI:312), cf Khak *it=* BI65a 'to

do', Tuva *et*= T606a 'to put in order'.

eht= (~ **iht**=) 'to arrive, to reach, to get at, to get to', cf T179a, *eht^h*= L27a, C86:2, *he^t*= T180b, T8, *hit*= T180b, *yeht^h*= L260b, CL179b, *yeht*= T184a, *yih^t*= T184b, *et*= M28a, *yet^h*= L258b, *yet*= M39b, *yit*= M41b.

• **ilikki eht**= 'to receive, to get (e.g. a letter)'; **satqa eht**= 'to become time to (+ PFUT)', cf *sath eht^h*= L314a; **yolya eht**= 'to get on one's way, to be underway, to continue one's way'; **sik artqa ehtkinti** 'stealthily' (lit. having got behind the door); **pir khunki ehtkinti** 'one day, on a certain day'; **yolya ehtkinti** 'on the way, along the way', cf *yolya hetkente* T245.

¶ <CT **yet*= (cf EDPT 884b, ESTJaIV:193), cf Khak *čit*= BI317b, Tuva *čeht*= T524b, Tofa *čeht*= R87b, Yak *sit*= Slp327b.

eht=, see **eneht**= 'to make a sound'.

ehtis= 'to surpass, to outdo, to overtake, to catch up with', cf L27a, *ehtis*= L27a 'id', *yehtis*= L260b, *yehtis*= L260b 'id; to be sufficient', *yetis*= M40a, *yitis*= M41b 'to arrive together'.

¶ <CT **yetiš*= (cf EDPT 894a, ESTJaIV:194), cf Khak *čidīs*= BI316a, Tuva *čediš*= T530b, Tofa *čehiš*= R87b, Yak *sitis*= Slp327b.

ehtkir= 'to cause to arrive', cf *eht^hkir*= L27b, *yeht^hkir*= L260b, CL91, CL156 'id; to postpone; to see somebody off', *yetqir*= M40a, *yetker*= M40a, *yetkir*= M40a, *yetkir*= M40a 'to show up, to appear'.

¶ <CT **yetkir*= (cf Erdal 1991: 755), cf Tofa *čehtkir*= R88a.

ewer 'devil', cf L29a, *öwar* Her211 'soul', *ewer* M24b, *ewerü* T179a, M24b, *yewerü* M38b 'spirit; spirit of a deceased'.

° EYu *öwar* Her211 'soul'.

eynta 'in summer', cf *yeyinta* L261a.

¶ Contraction of an older **yayin* (cf EDPT 980a), instrumental of *yay* 'summer', to which apparently a LOC has been added.

ezejki 'stirrup', cf L29b:Da, *ezenki* L29b, T179a, *ezinkü* CL20, *ezenyi* M25a, *ezenyo* M25a, *ezenyo* M25a, *eseje* Her204, *üzejki* L48b.

¶ <NE **ezejgi* ~ **izejge* (cf RT82:120), cf Khak *izeje* BI66a, Tuva *ezejyi* T608a, Tofa *ezejgi* R103a, Yak *ijehe* Slp153a. Elsewhere CT **üzejgü* (cf EDPT 289b, ESTJaI:624) (with rounded vowels) prevails.

ezer 'saddle', cf L29b, CL167b, M25a, *ezer* T8, *izer* Man64, *eser* Her204.

¶ <CT **eder* (cf EDPT 63b, ESTJaI:241), cf Khak *izer* BI56b, Tuva *ezer* T608a, Tofa *ezer* R103a. The development of **d* in Tuva and Tofa is irregular here.

ezer= (*ezeri*) 'to follow', cf L29b, CL90, M25a, *izer*= T220b, *eser[ges]* Her208.

¶ <CT **eder*= (cf EDPT 67a, ESTJaI:242), cf Tuva *eder*= T606a, Tofa *eder*= R103a.

ezert= 'to lead, to take somebody along or with one', cf T179a, M25a, *ezert^h*= L29b, CL181b, *ezejt*= T179a, *izejt*= T220b, [*yol*] *eserd[ine]* Her202 (*yol* 'way, road').

¶ <CT *edert*= (cf Erdal 1991: 771), cf Khak *izert*= BI57a, Tuva *edert*= T606b, Tofa *edert*= R103a.

ezertpi 'leader, chief', cf *ezert^hpe* L30a.

fancij 'anyway'.

¶ <Ch *fänzheng*.

fajcala= 'to have a holiday', cf L88b, *ca fajna*= L88b.

¶ <Ch *fängjià*.

fīn 'minute', cf L89a, *fīŋ* L89a, *fuŋ* L90b.

¶ <Ch *fēn*; for the forms ending in *-ŋ*, cf NwM *fəŋ*⁴⁴ CZW360a.

° Also loanword in EYu *fēn* B41.

fīŋ 'grave, tomb'

¶ <NwM *fəŋ*⁵¹ CZW360b 'grave, tomb', cf Ch *fén*.

fīŋfīŋzī 'crack, crevice'.

¶ <NwM *fəŋ*²¹³*fəŋcɪ* CZW42b, cf Ch *fēngzī* (spoken language).

fīŋyüen 'graveyard'.

¶ <NwM *fəŋ*⁵¹*üen* ZW116.

fu 'rich, wealthy'. Equivalent of *pay*.

¶ <Ch *fū*.

fuyn 'grave, tomb', cf *fu yin* L89b 'id; graveyard', M134b 'interment, funeral ceremony'. Equivalent of *tur*.

¶ <Chinese, perhaps a contraction of Ch *fényíng* 'grave, tomb; graveyard'.

haçī: *haçī oyīl* 'nephew', *haçī qīz* 'niece', cf *haçɪ* CL165b 'nephew (brother's son)', *haçɪ oyīl* L220a 'nephew', *haçɪ qīz* L220a 'niece', *açī qīs* M19b 'niece (sister's daughter)'.

¶ <EYu *haçē*: *haçē khon* B55 'niece', *haçē khūn* B55 'nephew', cf LM *açi* Les8a 'grandson', *açi ökin* Les8a 'granddaughter, niece' (*ökin* 'daughter'), *açi kübegün* Les8a 'grandson, nephew' (*kübegün* 'son'). EYu reflects initial **h*, as do HY *haçi kö'ün* Mos59 'grandson', and Dgx *haçhɪ* Bök65 'grandchild'.

hal 'force', cf L219a.

halta 'just now, a moment ago, an instant ago', cf L219a.

halyar (~ *haryā*) 'bovine dung', cf L219b, CL14, *xalɓar* M135a, *haryal* L220b:Da, *xarɓal* M135b, *xargal* PotII:436a, *xarɓar* M135b, *hayar* L219b, *xabar* M134a 'dry cow dung (used as fuel)', *hayɾar* Her207 'manure'.

¶ <EYu *harɓal* B55, J94a, S118, *xargal* Kot444 'cow dung', cf LM *arɣal* Les52a. The form seems to be restricted to Central and Eastern Mongolic, elsewhere forms related to LM *arɣasun* Les52b prevail. EYu reflects initial **h*, as do Dgx *harsa* Bök65, Dag *xarɣəl* Enk106, and BaoÑ *härqal* CN66.

hanī= 'to go, to go away, to leave', cf L219a, C86:6 'to go, to get away', T180a, *xanī*= T17, M135a, *hana*= T180a, *xana*= M135a 'to run away, to escape'.

° EYu *hanē*= B55, J95b 'to go'.

hapta= (~ *hatta*=) 'to step', cf *haphta*= L218a, *xapta*= M135a, *athta*= L2b, CL176b 'to step (over), to go beyond'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **a:tlā*= (cf EDPT 58a s.v. *atlan*=, ESTJaI:322), cf Khak *alta*= BI24a.

har= 'to be or become tired; to go, to leave', cf L220a, CL180b 'to be tired, tired out, fatigued, worn out, weary', *xar*= T219b, M135b, *har[btör]* Her200 'to be tired'.

¶ <CT **ha:r*= (cf EDPT 193a, ESTJaI:160).

harya, see *halyar* 'bovine dung'.

harwa (~ *hürwa*) 'highland barley (grown in Tibet and Qīnghǎi)', cf L220b, CL161a, T180a, *xarwa* M135b, *hürwa* L221a 'id', *xarba* PotII:398 'id (Hordeum vulgare L.)'.

¶ <CT **harpa* (cf EDPT 198b, ESTJaI:176). Initial *h* is only attested in WYu.

hatta=, see *hapta*= 'to step'.

haya 'palm of the hand', cf L219b, CL14, *xaya* T219b, M134b, *xayan* M134b.

¶ <CT **a:ya* (cf EDPT 267a, ESTJaI:100), cf Khak *aya* BI37a; initial *h* is only attested

in WYu, perhaps inspired by EYu *halban* B55, *halaban* Ĵ93a, cf LM *alaya(n)* Les26b.

heyĭn 'the day after tomorrow', cf L221a, CL158b, *heyen* C86:6, *xeĭn* M136a, *xeĭn* M136a, *higen* Her209.

¶ The first element unknown, the second probably *khun* 'day'.

hĭrwa, see *harwa* 'highland barley'.

hĭrwa= 'to be or become worn out (of clothes); to be or become worn out, exhausted (of a person)', cf L221a, CL180a, *Xĭrwa*= L179b, *harwa*= L220b 'to wear out, to damage', T180a '(of power) to break', *xarwa*= M135b 'to wear out clothes'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **opra*= 'to decay; of clothes to wear out' (cf EDPT 14a).

hōra= 'to lack', cf L222b, *xōra*= L180a 'to lack, to be short of (money), (of money) to be deficient; to owe (money)', M137a 'to lack, to become less (of money, cattle)'.

¶ Perhaps related to SH *ho'ara*= Haen76 'to neglect, to fail one's duty etc', cf Mgr *fo:ro*= Khas59 'to suffer from paralysis; to neglect, to fail'.

hōra= 'to coil, to twist; to strangle', cf L222a, CL176a, *xōra*= M137a, *ōra*= M82b 'to wind, to twine, to turn, to wrap, to bind'.

¶ <EYu *horo*:= Ĵ95b, S531, *horo*= Ĵ102a, *χορω*:= B50, 'to wind, to turn, to wrap', cf LM *oriya*= Les618a, *oroŷa*= Les621b. EYu, Mgr *furo*= S/M111, *χuro*= S/M185, BaoÑ *hōrē*= CN70, DgX *xūorūo*= Bōkh60 reflect initial **h*.

hōral= 'to be missing, to be lacking', cf *hōralĭ*= L222b.

hōrat= 'to miss, to lack something', cf *hōrat^h*= L222b 'to treat unfairly, to treat shabbily; to cause to come to grief, to cause to suffer losses'.

hōryĭ= 'to boil (of water, tea, meat)', cf L223a, C179b, L223a, *hōryū*= L222b, *xōryĭ*= L180b, *xōryū*= L180b 'to boil'.

¶ <EYu *hōrbē*= B57, *χορβέ*= B51, *χορβο*= S172 'to cook, to boil', *χορβέ*= S369 'to boil over', cf LM *orgi*= Les618a 'to boil up etc'. EYu reflects initial **h*, as does Dag *xōryve:l* Enk122 'whirlpool', *xōryve:d*= Enk122 'to whirl, seethe, etc'.

hōryĭt= 'to cook or boil something', cf *hōryĭt^h*= L223a, *xōrbĭt*= M137a.

hōriş 'sling-shot (used to e.g. drive sheep back to the herd)', cf *hōreş* L222b, *xōreş* L180a 'sling-shot'.

i (~ *yĭ*) 'one'. Equivalent of *pĭr*.

¶ <Ch *yĭ*.

iĭi 'aunt (father's younger brother's wife)', cf L31b, CL27, *iĴi* M31a, *eĭi* L28b, *eĭe* L28b, CL165a.

¶ <CT **eĭe* 'mother's younger sister; one's elder sister' (cf EDPT 20a, ESTJaI:231), cf Khak *iĴe* BI69 'mother'.

i^hĭkĭ 'intestines, entrails, guts; abdomen, belly', cf *hiĭkĭ* L221b, CL162a, T181a, *hiĭ^hĭkĭ* L222a, CL32, *siĭkĭ* T210b, *i^hĭkĭ* L22a, C86:9, *e^hĭkĭ* L27b, *eĭkĭ* L29a, CL162a, T181a, *eĭkĭ* M28b, *iĭike* M32b, *iĭiki* M32b, *iĭikĭ* M32b, *iĭeki* M32b, *iĭĭki* M33a, *iĭiŷe* M32b, *ĭiká* Man65, *gĭeg* PotII:435a 'id', *d'iĭe* Her195 'belly', *ded'iĭe* Her195 'abdomen'.

• *i^hĭkĭ-peĭik* 'pregnant'.

¶ <CT **iĭekĭ* (cf EDPT 25b, read *iĭegĭ*, ESTJaI:392), cf Khak *iĭeŷe* BI69b 'entrails'.

i^hĭkĭliŷ 'having intestines', cf *iĭikĭliŷ* M32b.

i^hĭĭir= 'to give to drink or eat', cf *hiĭĭir*= CL37, *hiĭĭir*= L222a, T181a, *hiĭĭer*= CL37, *hiĭĭir*= T181a, *siĭĭir*= L243a, T210b, *hiĭĭer*= L221b, C86:6, *eĭĭir*= M28b, *iĭer*= M32b, *iĭĭir*= M33a.

¶ <CT **iĭiir*= (cf EDPT 30a), cf Khak *iĭĭir*= BI69b.

i^hĭĭiraqqa 'inwards, to the inside'.

¶ From *ış* 'inside'. For a similar formation, see *uhtıraqqa* 'ahead'.

içhen 'before, previously'. Equivalent of *phornta*.

¶ <Ch *yıqián*.

içhi 'together; altogether', cf *yıçhi* L268b, CL55, T184b, *yıçe* M41b.

¶ <Ch *yıqı̄*.

iyin (~ *eyin*, *öyin*) 'nephew', cf *eȳen* M24b, *yeyen* M38b, *yıȳen* M40a 'id', L268b, CL22, *eȳen* L27a, CL165b, *yeyen* L260a 'nephew (sister's son)'.

¶ <CT **yegen* (cf EDPT 912b, ESTJaIV:166), cf Khak *čeen* BI315a, Tuva *čeen* T561a, Tofa *čeen* R94, Yak *sien* Pek2189.

ihki-siȳni 'elder and younger sisters', cf *ehke-siȳni* L27b, *hikesiȳni* L221b 'id, brothers and sisters, siblings', *heke siȳni* T233 'siblings', *exke siȳni* M108b, *ekesiȳni* M25a 'wife of a younger relative'.

• *çhiqan ihki-siȳni* 'female cousins', cf *çhiqan qızaqa* L295b 'elder female cousin', *çhiqan siȳni* L195b 'younger female cousin'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *siȳni* 'younger sister' + a first element *exke* Her193 'elder sister', M25a, *heke* T8, *yexke* M38b 'id, older woman' <CT **eke* 'elder sister, older female relative' (cf EDPT 100b, ESTJaI:222), cf Tuva *iye* T202a, Tofa *ihhe* R25 'mother'.

ihkin 'surely' (a particle), cf *ehkin* L27b.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **eken* ~ **erken* 'while (being)' (cf EDPT 224b), cf Tuva *iryin* T210a, *iyin* T204b, Tofa *eryen* R105a 'a particle indicating probability'.

ila= 'to comply with'.

¶ <Ch *yī*.

ilim 'glue', cf *yilim* L265b, CL46, *yelim* L259b, *yılim* M40b.

¶ <CT **yelim* (cf EDPT 929a, ESTJaIV:179), cf Sagay *čelim* RIII:1979, Tofa *čelim* R86b, Yak *silim* Slp323a.

° →EYu *yelēm* S555.

ilimni= (*ilimniȳi*) 'to glue', cf *yilimne=* L265b, CL46, *yılimne=* M41a.

¶ <CT **yelimle=* (cf EDPT 929a), cf Sagay *čelimne=* RIII:1979, Yak *silimnee=* Slp323a.

imsa=, see *yimsa=* 'to use'.

imsaq (~ *yimsaq*) 'soft', cf *yimsahq* T184a, *yemsaq* T183b, *emsaq* T178b, *yumsaq* M44a 'id', *yimsaq^h* L264a, CL171b, C93:45, *yımsaq^h* L257a, *yumsaq^h* L274b 'id; flour'.

¶ <CT **yımšak* ~ **yumšak* (cf EDPT 938b, ESTJaIV:253), cf Khak *nımzax* BI120a, Tuva *čimčak* T557a, Tofa *nımčaq* R48b, *čimžaq* R93a. In NE the unrounded variant prevails.

imsart= 'to make soft, to soften', cf *yimsart=* T184a, *yimsart^h=* L264a, *yimsa.t=* T184a, *yumsart=* M44a.

¶ <CT **yımšat=* ~ **yumšat=* (cf EDPT 939b), cf Khak *nımzat=* BI120a, Sagay *čimžat=* BI327a, Tuva *čimčat=* T557a, Tofa *čimžat=* R93b, Yak *sımnat=* Slp358b. In NE the unrounded variant prevails. WYu *r* is secondary, unless the verb is perhaps a CAUS of an otherwise Kypchak form **yumsar=* (cf ESTJaIV:253).

imtaq, see *intaq* 'equine dung'.

inaq 'felt blanket, used on the kang or as a saddle pad', cf *yinaq^h* L265a, CL169b, *yünaq^h* L278a, *yönaq^h* L276a, *yonaq^h* L270a, *yunaq^h* L275a 'felt rug or felt blanket', *yınaq* T186a 'felt rug used on the kang', *yunaq* M44b 'id; saddle pad', *oynaq* M81b 'felt rug', *yonak* Her196 'felt', *yünak* Her204 'saddle-cloth'.

¶ <CT **yonak* 'saddle pad' (cf EDPT 949a, ESTJaIV:222), cf Tuva *čonak* T539a, Tofa *nonaq* R48a. WYu *i* is irregular.

inik, see *enik* 'cow'.

insinçis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ The first elements <Ch yín 'silver' + xing 'apricot', the second element *çis* 'malachite', frequent in women's names.

intaq (~ *imtaq*) 'equine dung', cf *yintaq^h* L265a:Da, C92:35, *yimtaq^h* L263b, C92:35, T184a, *yindaq* M41a, *yomdoq* M42a, *yondaq* M42a, *yuntaq* M44b 'id', *yendak* PotII:436a 'dried horse dung used as a fuel'.

¶ <CT **yuntak* ~ **yundak* (cf EDPT 947a). WYu *i* is irregular.

ijna= 'to answer'.

¶ <Ch yīng.

ijnek 'a large sieve to sieve flour', cf *ijnek^h* L31b, *eynek^h* L26b, *yijnek^h* L267a, *yinek^h* L265a, *innik^h* L21a 'id', *ijnek* M32a, *eynek* Her212 'sieve'. See ***yijni=*** 'to sieve'.

¶ < **eglek* <CT **elgek* (cf EDPT 143a, ESTJaI:263), cf Khak *ilyek* BI57b, Tofa *elyek* R103b.

isīn 'healthy', cf *ehsen* L28a, C86:2, *esen* L29a, CL172b, M27b 'id, peaceful, safe'.

¶ <CT **esen* (cf EDPT 248a, ESTJaI:308), cf Khak *izen* BI56b.

isī 'self', cf M32b, *ehsī* CL31, T179a, *ehsī* C82:73a, T179a 'id', L28a, *ehsī* L28a 'id; host; someone, stranger', *ise* M32a 'lord, master of the house', *exse* Her200 'gentleman'.

¶ Perhaps an irregular development of CT **idi* ~ **ige* 'master, owner' (cf EDPT 41a, ESTJaI:237) + POS3, cf Khak *ee* BI335b, Tuva *ee* T622a, Tofa *ee* R106b. Cf further *isim* M32a, *yisim* M41b 'important guest', *isīm* M32b 'my lord', *isīm* M32b 'widow' (+ obsolete POS1). For the semantics, cf EYu *ečen* B11, J94a 'owner, master; self, oneself, I', LM *ejen* Les336b 'lord, master'. The meaning 'self' is peculiar of WYu and EYu.

isīr= 'to be or become drunk', cf *ehsīr=* L28a, CL22, *ehser=* T179a, *ehsīr=* T29, *hesīr=* T180b, *hisīr=* T180b, *esīr=* L29a, CL32, *eser=* M27b, *iser* M32a, *isīr=* M32a.

¶ <CT **esūr=* (cf EDPT 251a, ESTJaI:309), cf Khak *izīr=* BI57a, Tuva *eziri=* T608b, Tofa *ehsiri=* R106a, Yak *itīr=* Slp157b.

iskinni= '(of an animal) to scrape with the hoofs', cf *iskenne=* M32a, *heskene=* T180b, *ehsken=* L28b, *esken=* T179a, *hgsken=* T8 'to raise dust by kicking the hoofs'.

¶ Cf Tuva *eškenne=* T621a 'of a cow to scrape with the hoofs; to scrape with the paws; to shovel the earth', perhaps related to CT **eš=* 'to row; to dig' (cf EDPT 255a, ESTJaI:315), cf Khak *is=* BI64a 'to row; to scoop', Tuva *eš=* T607b, Tofa *ehš=* R106b 'to row, to shovel', Yak *es=* Pek961 'to throw out; to take off, to take away'.

ise 'a bit'.

¶ <Ch yīxiē.

it=, see *et=* 'to do'.

iht=, see *eht=* 'to arrive'.

ih̄t=, see *eneht=* 'to make a sound'.

ih̄t (~ ***yih̄t***) 'meat', cf *sīth* CL32, *sīth* L242a, *sīt* T210b, *sīt* T209b, *ehth* L27a, *eht* T179a, *yeht^h* L260b, CL170a, *eth* CL32, *et* M28a, Her195, *it* M32b, *yet* M39b, *yet^h* CL32, *yith* L264b, CL32, *yit* M41b.

¶ <CT **et* (cf EDPT 33b, ESTJaI:311), cf Khak *it* BI65a, Tuva *eht* T621b, Tofa *eht* R106b, Yak *et* Slp548b.

itali (~ ***yitali***) 'together'.

¶ <NwM *i²¹³ta⁵¹ā⁴⁴ñi* CZW255a, *yⁱ²¹ta²⁴ñi²¹* Liú167b; for the last element, cf Ch lǐ.

itaaq, see ***yitaaq*** 'scoundrel'.

ih̄tik 'skirt of a garment', cf *eh̄tek^h* L27a, CL168b, *eh̄tek* T179a, *h̄etek^h* C8, *hetek*

T180b, *hitik* T181a, *etik* M28a, *itik* M32b.

• ***iḥciḥtik*** 'the inner, smaller of the two skirts of a garment', cf *ič itik* M32b, *hiči eḥtekh* L27a; ***tahs iḥtik*** 'the outer, larger of the two skirts of a garment', cf *tas eḥtekh* L27a, *tas itik* M32b.

¶ <CT **etek* (cf EDPT 50a, ESTJaI:313), cf Khak *idek* BI55b, Tuva *eḥdek* ESTJaI:313, Tofa *eḥtek* R106b.

iḥtikti= 'to put or carry in one's skirt'.

¶ <CT **etekle=*, cf Khak *idekte=* BI55b, Tuva *edekte=* T606a, Tofa *eḥtekte=* R106b.

iwei 'to think'.

• ***cī iwei*** 'to think by oneself'.

¶ <Ch *yīwéi*.

iyay (~ ***yiyay***) 'similar'.

¶ <Ch *yīyàng*.

ixa (~ ***yixa***) 'all of a sudden, immediately'.

¶ <NwM *i²¹³xa²¹³* CZW256a, *yⁱ²¹xa⁴⁴* Liú166a, cf Ch *yīxià*.

ixou (~ ***yixou***) 'afterwards'. Equivalent of ***antan soḡ***.

¶ <Ch *yīhòu*.

īlīy (~ ***īlīk***) (***īlīkki***) 'hand', cf CL162a, T220a, *īlīy* T220a, *eīy* M25a, *eliy* M25b, *eīy* M25b, *eīk* PotI:436a, *yīllīy* Man64 'id', *īlīy* L21a 'id; a unit of length (1/3 decimetre); chopsticks; means, measure, methods; craftsmanship', *eluk* Her194 'finger'.

• ***yīyaṣ īlīy*** 'chopsticks'.

¶ <CT **ilig* ~ **elig* 'hand' (cf EDPT 140b, ESTJaI:260), cf Khak *īlīy* BI67a 'measure of length', Tuva *iliy* T206a 'id', Yak *ilii* Slp146a 'hand'. NE points to **ilig*.

īlīk 'hand; finger', idiolectical for ***īlīy*** 'hand'.

īncin-tarči 'a Yugur man's proper name', cf the names *enžin tonžo* M26a, *inžæn tonžep* M32a for the first element, and *eratīn daržī* M26a for the second.

¶ Perhaps <LT mkhyen-pa Jä54b 'to understand' + an unknown element.

īnī (***īnīya***) 'younger brother', cf L21a, CL165a, M154a, *īnī* T220a, T9, *ini* M32a, *ene* M25b, *eni* M26a, *īnīy* T220a, *ōnō* Man63, *ōne* Her193.

¶ <CT **ini* (cf EDPT 170a, ESTJaI:362), cf Yak *ini* Slp150b.

ījkar 'pianniu (offspring of a bull and a yak-cow)', cf L22a:Da 'calf of a pianniu'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT 'gar-ba Jä93a 'a mixed breed of cattle, of a mdzo [crossbreed of a yak-bull and a cow] and a common cow, or a bull and a mdzo-mo [mdzo-cow]'.

ījkarwaṣ 'stupid person', cf L22a, CL172b, and perhaps also *ījkarwa* L22a 'blunderer', *ījbarwa* M154a 'stupid'.

¶ Compound consisting of *paṣ* 'head' + a first element *ījkar* L22a 'muddled, confused', *ījyar* M154a 'other; Eastern Yugur', *angar* Her193, *ījkar soz* L22a 'the Eastern Yugur language' (*soz* 'word'), possibly related to LT mgar-ba Jä90a 'smith', Das282a 'id, one of low caste', Xiàhé *ḡga-ra* TB186 'blacksmith', Arik *rcak-mgar* TB186 'id, manufacturer' (LT *lčags-mgar*).

° Also loanword in EYu *ḡkar* ḡ9 'Eastern Yugur'.

īrcalīḡ 'a kind of flute', cf L25a, CL168b, *īrcaluḡun* L25a:Da 'zurna', *ičalīḡ* T205a, T252 [untranslated], *ržalæn* M97a [tentatively translated as '? a toponym'].

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *rgya-gliñ* Das258b (s.v. *gliñ-bu*) 'a larger musical instrument like a hautboy, used in sacred ceremonies'.

° Also loanword in EYu *rcāylēḡ* (or *rcāklēḡ*) B156 'zurna horn', *čha:lēḡ* S177 'horn,

trumpet’.

ihrk̄tiy ‘strong; loud (of a voice)’, cf *ihrk̄htiy* L22b, *yehr̄ktiý* L261a, *erktiB* M27a ‘having power’.

¶ <CT **erklig* (cf EDPT 224a), cf Khak *ir̄ik* BI62b.

ih̄rq (*ih̄rqa*) ‘divination device; omen, prophecy’, cf *ih̄rqh* L22b, CL8, *h̄ir̄qh* CL8, *hr̄qh* CL9, *ir̄q* M154a, *gr̄q* M26b, *erk* M154a, *ir̄iq* M154b, *er̄iq* M27b.

¶ <CT **irk* (cf EDPT 213a, ESTJaI:665), cf Tofa *ih̄r̄t̄* R71:240 ‘highest religious rank’.

is ‘smoke’, cf L24a, CL158a, T220b, M154b, öss Her196 ‘id, fog’.

¶ <CT **iš* ~ **iš̄* ‘soot, dirty smoke’ (cf EDPT 254b, ESTJaI:379), cf Khak *is* BI332a ‘soot, smoke’, Tuva *iš* T601a, Tofa *iš* R102a ‘smoke’.

is ‘work, action’, cf L23b, CL27, T220b, *is* M32a, *is̄* M154b ‘work, heavy work’, [*n*]is[*ta bare*] Her201 ‘to do’.

¶ <CT **i:š* (cf EDPT 254a, ESTJaI:395), cf Tuva *iš* T211a, Tofa *iš* R24b, Yak *iis* Pek963.

is̄i= (*is̄iya*) ‘to be or become warm or hot’, cf L24a, *ih̄si=* L22a, C82:70a, *iss̄i=* L24a, CL46 ‘id; to have a fever’.

• *poz is̄i=* ‘to have a fever’, cf *poz ih̄si=* L22a.

¶ <CT **isi=* ~ **is̄i=* (cf EDPT 241b, ESTJaI:669), cf Khak *iz̄i=* BI66b, Tuva *izi=* T203a, Tofa *ih̄si=* R25a.

is̄iy ‘warm, hot’, cf L24a, *ih̄siy* L22b, CL172a, *iss̄iy* L24a, CL46, T220b, M32a, *eh̄siy* L28a, *isik* PotII:435b, *ssi[ter]* Her209, *s̄iy* T208b, *s̄iy* T206b.

¶ <CT **isig* ~ **is̄ig* (cf EDPT 246a, ESTJaI:668), cf Khak *iz̄iy* BI66b, Tuva *iziy* T203a, Tofa *ih̄siy* R25a, Yak *itii* Slp157a.

ista= ‘to resemble; to be equal, to be the same (+ ACC)’, cf *usta=* L44a, M131b (+ DAT or ACC), *s̄ita=* L326b, *suta=* L332b (+ ACC).

• *sen qor̄q̄ir̄n̄i istayaq* ‘you butthead!’ (lit. you resemble a buttock).

¶ Probably related to *usna=* (cf EDPT 249b, read *ösne=* ~ *osna=*), recorded by Kashgari.

ista= ‘to smoke; to cure, to smoke-dry’, cf L24a, M154b ‘to emit smoke’.

¶ <CT **išle=* ~ **išla=* (cf EDPT 263a s.v. *išlen=*, ESTJaI:380), cf Khak *ista=* BI332a, Tuva *išta=* T602a, Tofa *išta=* R102a.

istas= ‘to resemble one another, to equal’, cf *sitas=* L326b, *sutas=* L322b ‘id’, *stuas* [*xan nemeter*] Her201 ‘equal, same’ (for *istasqan nimiti* ‘it is a thing that is similar’).

iš (*iški*, *ih̄c-*) ‘inside’, cf L23a, CL158a, *is* L31b, *iš* M33a, and the oblique forms *ič* M32b, *hič* T181a, *sič* T206b, *šl* T209b.

• **ih̄cinti** ‘in it’, cf *hičinte* CL37, *hičinte* L221b, *hič̄inta* L220b, *sičinte* L243a, *ičinte* M32b, *dšende* Her202, *ḡinde* Her200.

¶ <CT **ič* (cf EDPT 17a, ESTJaI:388), cf Khak *išt̄i* BI69a, Tuva *iz̄in* T202b, *išti* T211b, Tofa *ih̄šti* R25b, Yak *is* Slp154a.

iš= (*iški*, *ih̄c-*) ‘to drink; to eat (soup, fluid food)’, cf L23a, CL175b, T220b, *iš=* M33a, and the oblique forms *ih̄čh* T181a, *ičh* T181a, *ih̄č* T220a, *h̄jč* T181a, T8, *hičh* T181a, *ič* M32b, *eč* M28b, *išt* M33b, *šl* T209b, *tš[in̄e]* Her205.

• **semen iš=** ‘to eat, to eat food’, cf L23a.

¶ <CT **ič=* (cf EDPT 19a, ESTJaI:391), cf Khak *is=* BI68a, Tuva *iš=* T202a, Tofa *iš=* R24b, *ih̄š=* R78:11, Yak *is=* Slp154b.

iški (~ **šiki**) (*išk̄iyi*) ‘two’, cf *ısq̄i* T181b, *ısq̄j* T8, *ısq̄j̄* T23, *iški* T181b, *iške* T181b, *iške* M33a, *şki* L304b, CL173a, T209b, *şki* L305a, *şke* T209b, *şiq̄i* T210b, *şike* PotII:436a, *şki* T209b, *ške* M33a, *škō* Man61, *şge* Her197.

¶ <CT *iki < *ikki ~ *eki < *ekki (cf EDPT 100b, ESTJaI:337), cf Khak *ĩkĩ* BI66b, Tuva *iyi* T203b, Tožu *ihyi* Čad43, Tofa *ihhi* R25a, Yak *ikki* Slp144b.

ĩskĩnčĩ 'second, cf *škinčĩ* L305a, C82:72b, *škenčĩ* T209b, *škinčĩ* T209b, *ĩskinžĩ* M33b, *ĩškenžĩ* M33b, *ĩškenžĩ* M33b, *ĩškenže* M33a, *ĩškenč* M179.

¶ Cf Khak *ĩkĩnžĩ* BI67a.

ĩskĩsĩ (*ĩskĩsĩnki*) 'the two of them, both; (together) with, and', cf T220b, *škesĩ* L305a, CL66, *škehsĩ* CL77 'the two of them', *ĩškesĩ* M67:51 'together with'.

¶ From *ĩškĩ* 'two' + POS3; unlikely to be a crasis of *šĩkĩ ehsĩ* L305a. For a similar formation, see *ũhčũsĩ* 'the three of them'.

ĩškĩ-yiyĩrmĩ 'twelve', cf *škeyyĩrmĩ* L305a, C82:70b, *škiyĩrmĩ* L305a, *škiyĩrmĩ* L305a, *šike germe* PotII:437, *škigerma* Man61, *šgigĩormen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *ĩškĩ* 'two' + *yiyĩrmĩ* 'twenty'.

ĩškĩš (~ *šĩkĩš*) (*ĩškĩški*) 'something to eat, (fluid) food; beverage', cf *šyĩš* L305b, *ĩšyĩš* CL169b 'food, dish, meal', L23b 'id; grain ration'.

ĩškun 'twenty', cf *šikon* L305a, CL173a, *ĩškon* M33b (seldomly used).

¶ Crasis of *ĩškĩ* 'two' + *on* 'ten', further only occurring in Tofa *ihhon* R25a.

ĩšt (*ĩštqa*) 'dog', cf *ĩšt^h* L23b, CL159b, *ĩšt* T220b, T8, *ĩšt* M154b, Man63, *ĩšt* M33b, *ĩšt* PotII:437, *ešt* M154b, *ešt* M28b, PotII:436a, Her199, *št^h* L304b, *št* T209b.

¶ < *it <CT *iyt (cf EDPT 34a s.v. *it*, ESTJaI:385), cf Tuva *ih^t* Jan38, Tofa *ih^t* R102b, Yak *it* Slp531b. Elsewhere *it ~ *iyt <CT *iyt prevails, cf Khak (Shor dial.) *it* B75:8.

ĩšt= (*ĩštqa*) 'to push', cf *ĩšt^h=* L23b, CL177a, *ĩšt=* T23, *ĩšt=* M154b, *it=* M32b, *ĩšt=* T8, *ĩšt=* M32b, *ĩšt=* M154b, *ĩšt=* M33a 'id', *yid[ine]* Her208 'to pull'.

¶ *neraqĩnqa ĩšt=*, *pĩr qĩzĩqqa ĩšt=* 'to push aside'.

¶ < *it= ~ *it= <CT *iyt= 'to push' (cf EDPT 38a, ESTJaI:386), cf Khak *it=* BI69a, Tuva *ih^t=* T201a, Tofa *ih^t=* R25b, Yak *it=* Slp458b.

ĩštĩy 'sharp (of the edge)', cf T220b 'id', L23b, *ĩštĩB* M154b, *ĩštĩB* M33b, *štĩy* L304a 'id; sharp (of words)'.

¶ <CT *yitig ~ *yitĩg (cf EDPT 889a, ESTJaIV:205), cf Khak *čitĩy* BI315b, Tuva *čidiy* T532a, Tofa *čihtĩ* R89a [sic], Yak *sĩtĩĩ* Slp364a.

ər 'two'. Equivalent of *ĩškĩ*.

¶ <Ch *ər*.

kamsĩ 'Gānzhōu (former name of Zhāngè)', cf *kamsĩ* L341b, *qamsĩ* L342a, M52a, *Bamsĩ* M22a, *γamsu* M22a, *qamsĩ* PotII:435a.

¶ <Chinese, in view of the *m* an older loan.

° Also loanword in EYu *ka:mès* B80 'town'.

kan 'venereal disease which affects the nose', cf T253, *kam* L146a.

¶ Perhaps <Mongolic, cf Ordos *gam* Mos252a, *yasu*: *gam* Mos252a 'bone disease which is characterized by the development of tumors', Kal *gam* Ram143a 'horse disease (glanders)'.

kancĩn 'at once, quickly, losing no time', cf L146a, *kancĩn* L146a, CL131.

¶ <NwM *kan*⁵¹*čĩn* CZW204 'at once', cf Ch *gānjĩn* 'to hasten'.

kanna= 'to do', cf L146a, T186b, *γanna=* T25.

• *ĩs kanna=* 'to do work, to work', equivalent of *ĩs tuht=*; *ni kanna=* 'to do what', calqued from Ch *gān shénme* (*gān* 'to do', *shénme* 'what'), equivalent of *nayĩl=*.

¶ <Ch *gān*.

kanšī 'secretary'.

¶ <Ch gānsi.

kansü 'Gānsü (province)', cf L341b, *kansu* L341b, *kansu* L341b.

¶ <Ch Gānsü; for the inexplicable front-prepalatal *s*, see also *sūnan* 'Sūnán'.

kaŋ 'steel', cf L146b, CL158a, T186b.

¶ <Ch gāng.

° Also loanword in EYu *qaŋ* B73.

kaŋna= 'of a person to kick', cf L147a, *qaŋna*= L184b 'id', CL176b 'of an animal to kick'. See *qhawīr*= 'of animals to kick'.

• *pīr azaq kaŋna*= 'to give a kick', cf *pīr azaq^h qaŋna*= L184b.

kekīrt=, see *kikīrt*= 'to burp'.

kel= (*kiyi*) 'to come; to come to, to arrive; to come back, to return (home)', cf L149a, CL179b, T187a, M65b, *keɫ*= T187a, M65b, *gel*= T179b, *gel'* PotII:437, *k^hil*= L171a, *kiɫ*= T187a, M67b, *ki:l[tr]* Man63, *gil* Her201, *ki*= T187a 'to come'.

• *arya kel*= 'to be lazy'; *mayā qharv kehlti* 'I received a letter'.

¶ <CT **kel*= (cf EDPT 715b, ESTJaIII:14), cf Khak *kil*= BI74b, Tuva *kel*= T237b, Tofa *kel*= R25b, Yak *kel*= Slp217b.

kem, see *kim* 'disease, illness'.

keh^p, see *kōhp* 'much, many'.

ker 'large bowl for food or milk tea', cf L151b, CL166b, *ger* T179b, *yer* M23a, *keri* L151b, *keyri* L150b:Da, M65b, *veyri* M23a, *keræ* M67a, *keire* Her195 'bowl, cup'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT (d)kar-yol Das14a 'porcelain, china-ware; a china cup', Amdo *ka-rou* MG421, *gar-yul* MG115, Xiàhé *ka-wo* TB553, *ka-wu* HL7a 'bowl'.

° Also loanword in EYu *keiré* B82, *kairé* J93b, *ke:rè* S99, *gerù* Kot455, *keire* Her195.

keychizi 'ring', cf *keç^hizi* L150b, *keç^hi* L150b.

¶ <NwM *ke⁴⁴c¹c²¹c²¹* Liú123b; the front-prepalatal *ç^h* of the first element is inexplicable. Cf further Sal *keçir* Lm131b, Mgr *ki:çir* Khas103, *Gežor* S/M132 'finger ring'.

keymīn: *keymīn sīk* 'gate', cf *keymīn sīk^h* L150b, *keymīn sīq* T208b, *keymīn* CL166a, M78b.

¶ Compound consisting of <NwM *kai⁴⁴məŋ⁵¹* CZW201b 'the big door overlooking the street, gate' + *sīk* 'door'; for the second element, cf Ch *mén*.

keyzi 'lid'.

¶ <Ch gàizi.

kici 'yesterday evening', cf *keçe* L150b, *keçi* L150b 'id', *kiče* M68a, *keçe* CL158b 'night, evening'.

¶ <CT **ke:če* 'the late evening' (cf EDPT 694b, ESTJaIII:40), cf Khak *kižee* BI78a, Tuva *kežee* T236a, Tofa *keže* R26a, Yak *kiehe* Slp170a.

kikīrt= (~ *kekīrt*=) (*kikīrtki*) 'to burp, to belch', cf *kekīrt^h*= L150a, *kekirt*= M65b.

¶ INT of *kekīr*= L150a <CT **ke:kir*= (cf EDPT 712b, ESTJaIII:37), cf Khak *kiyīr*= BI73a, Tuva *keyir*= T234b, Tofa *keyir*= R25a. Cf further Yak *keyert*= Slp217a.

kilv 'once upon a time, a long time ago', cf *kelo* L150a, *kelow* L150a, *kelo* T187a, *kelow* T187a 'id', *keɫu* M65b [untranslated].

kim (~ *kem*) 'disease, illness', cf *kem* L149a, C82:70b, M66a, *yer* M23a.

¶ <CT **kem* (cf EDPT 720b, ESTJaV:34), cf Tuva *kem* P6223a 'disease', Yak *kem* Pek1025 'ulcer at the nail'.

ki^{hp}, see *kōhp* 'much, many'.

kis= 'to cut dough', cf M67b, **kes**= CL178a, M67a 'to cut', L151a 'to cut (dough); to castrate', **ges**[wadebdro] Her202 'to wound'.

¶ <CT ***kes**= (cf EDPT 748b, ESTJaV:55), cf Khak **kis**= BI77b, Tuva **keh**s= T236b, Tofa **keh**s= R26a.

kise^hlkī (~ **kiserkī**, ~ **kisertkī**) 'lizard', cf **kesi^hlkī** L151a, **khesi^hlkī** L169b, **kesi^hlkī** M67b, **kesi^hlkī** M67b, **kesi^hrkī** L151a:Da, **keser^hlkī** L151a:Da, **khesi^hrkī** L169b, **khiser^hlkī** L171b, **khisi^hrkī** L171b, **khise^hlkī** L171b.

¶ <NE ***keleski** ~ ***keleske** (cf ESTJaV:30), cf Sagay **kileskī** BI74b, **kilesken** Čan957b, Tuva **xeleske** T473a, Tofa **heleske** R38a. The form ***kesertki** (cf EDPT 750b s.v. **keslinčü**, ESTJaV:57) is typical of Kypchak.

° →EYu **keselk^he** B82.

kiserkī, see **kise^hlkī** 'lizard'.

kisertkī, see **kise^hlkī** 'lizard'.

kisil 'having a light belly colour', cf **kesil** L151a 'chestnut (colour)'.

• **kisilyan kisil** 'being very light at the belly'.

kiş 'late', cf **keş** L151a, CL172a, **keş** M67:14 'id', **keş** M67b 'evening'.

¶ <CT ***ke:č** (cf EDPT 692b, ESTJaIII:50).

kiwi= 'to become more, to increase, to develop, to expand', cf **kewe**= L151a, **köwe**= L161b, CL155, **köbe**= M68a 'to become more'.

kiwit= 'to let become more, to let increase, to add', cf **kewet^h**= L151a, **kewet**= M65a, **köwet^h**= L161b.

kiz= 'to dress, to get dressed, to don, to put on clothes or shoes', cf M67b, **kez**= L151b, CL176b, T187a, M65b.

• **kizkī kiz**= 'to get dressed, to put on clothes, a garment'.

¶ <CT ***ked**= (EDPT 700b, ESTJaIII:12), cf Khak **kis**= BI78a, Tuva **ket**= T234b, Tofa **ket**= R26a, Yak **ket**= Slp223b.

kizkī 'clothes, dress, garment', cf **kezkī** L151b, **kezyi** L151b, CL168b, T187a, M65a, **kezyi** M65a, **kezgī** T187a, **kezyu** M65b, **giseke** Her196.

¶ <CT ***kedqū** (cf EDPT 702b).

kī 'piece (a general classifier)'.

¶ ←Ch **gè**.

kī^hčiy 'small; young of age', cf **khī^hčiy** L165b 'id', CL171a, T190a, **khī^hčiy** T190a, **khī^hčiy** C82:70a, **khī^hčiy** T190a, **khī^hčiy** CL31, **kičig** T16, **kičiy** M68a, **kičik** PotII:436a 'small'. Now mostly replaced by **miča**, e.g. older speakers say **kī^hčiq qo^hqaş** 'small bird', while younger speakers use **miča qo^hqaş**.

¶ <CT ***kičig** 'small' (cf EDPT 696a, ESTJaV:75), cf Khak **kīčiy** BI80b.

kīlap 'strong; sturdy', cf **kīlip^h** L148a 'strong, able', **kalap^h** L146b, **qalap^h** L184a, CL50 'able; terrible, formidable', **qīlap** M63a, **qalap** M57a 'strong'.

kīltij 'broth, soup, the cooking water of vegetables used as soup; clear, shiny, glistening', cf L148a 'thin; clear; broth', **qīltin** CL171b 'thin, watery, clear', L192b, **qīltij** L193a 'clear, limpid; watery, thin; bright, shining, shiny; smooth, glossy; broth', **qīltin** M63a 'a liquid containing an extract of something; a kind of liqueur; essence'.

• **soqpa kīltij** 'gruel'.

¶ ←EYu **kēltaj** B81 'shining, transparent, limpid, clear', **kēltij** S566 'limpid, clear', related to LM **giltangna**= Les383a 'to glitter, shine, beam'.

kīltīla= 'to be or become shiny, glistening', cf **qīltīle**= L193a.

¶ ←EYu **kīltlē**= B82, related to LM **gilte** Les383b 'shine'.

kīn 'descendants; root', cf L148a 'later generations, posterity', CL54, T188b, M72b, *qīn* T201b 'root, base', M63b 'children, descendants'.

¶ <Ch *gēn* 'root'.

kījpīj 'at all', cf *kīnpīn* L148a.

¶ <NwM *kəj²¹pəj⁵²* Liú166b, cf Ch *gēnběn*.

° Also loanword in EYu *kējpēj* BĴ328.

kīp 'strong, fast, fixed, secure', cf *kīp^h* L147b, CL172a, *qīp^h* L191b, CL70, *qīp* M64a 'id', *kap[dro]* Her199 'strong'.

kīpti= (*kīptiyi*) 'to fasten, to fix, to strengthen', cf *kīp^hte=* L147b 'id, to reinforce, to consolidate', *qīpti=* M64a 'to lock the door'.

kīrmīk 'eyebrow', cf *kīrmīk^h* L149a, CL161b, *kermīq* M67a, *kirmīk* M67b, *qūrmīq* T201b, M64a, *pezīk^h kīrwīk^h* L149a:Da 'id' (*pezīk^h* 'big'), *khīč^hiy kīrwīk^h* L149a:Da 'eyelash' (*khīč^hiy* 'small').

¶ <CT **kīrpīk* 'eyelash' (cf EDPT 737b, ESTJaV:74), cf Khak *kīrbīk* B180a, Tuva *kīrbīk* T242a 'eyelash'. The WYu form with *m* is exceptional, as *w* < **p* would be expected.

° >EYu *kērβēk* B83, Ĵ101a, S374, *kerwuk* Her194, *kerbīg* PotII:411b 'eyebrow', *kerwīk* Kot445, *kerwek* TT77, *kērpēk* S607 'eyelash'.

kīsī (*kīsīyi*) 'person, human being; somebody', cf *khīsī* L166a, CL162b, T190a, *khīsī* T190a, *kise* M67b, *kese* M67b, *kisi* M68a, *kse* M69b, *Xe* Her192, *ksi* PotII:436b.

• *pezīk kīsī* 'adult', cf *pezīk^h khīsī* L60a 'adult; important person; official', perhaps calqued from Ch *dàren* (*dà* 'big', *rén* 'person'); *pīr kīsī* 'somebody; single, unmarried person'; *oynayaq kīsī* 'who likes to make jokes', cf *oynayaq^h khīsī*[tro] L36b; *qhaq kīsī* 'cadre' (lit. dry person), cf *qhaq^h khīsī* L206b, calqued from Ch *gānbù* 'cadre' (*gān* 'to do', *bù* 'section'), and *gān* 'dry'; *sīk qarama kīsī* 'guard'; *yūlik kīsī* 'corpse, dead person', cf *yūliy khīsī* L278b; *yūtikī kīsī* 'spouse', cf *yūtekī khīsī* L166a 'wife'.

¶ <CT **kīši* (cf EDPT 752b, ESTJaV:78), cf Khak *kīzī* B178b, Tuva *kīzi* T239b, *kīhī* Čad27, Tofa *kīši* R26b, Yak *kīhi* Sp168b.

kīsīliy '(of a place) inhabited', cf *khīsīliy* L166a, *kiselīb* M68a.

kīstis= 'to neigh together'.

¶ REC of *kīhste=* L148b, *khīste=* L166a, *kiste=* M68a <CT **kīšne=* (cf EDPT 754a, ESTJaV:79), cf Tuva *kīšteš=* T243a.

kīta 'swelling, bump', cf L147b 'id; lump (of earth, meat); joint; node of a tree', *qīta* M64b 'swelling, bump', *γīta* M24b 'id; hill'.

¶ <Ch *gēda* 'swelling on the skin; lump'.

° Also loanword in EYu *kēta* B82 'pimple; bump; measles'.

kītik (*kītikki*) 'puppy, cub', cf *kītik^h* L147b, CL159b, *qītīq* M64b, *qūdīq* M62b, *gedag* Her199 'id', *ketīk* T187a, *kītik* T188b [mistranslated 'rooster'].

kītīs= (*kītīsī*) 'of something to itch; to tickle; to scratch oneself', cf *qītīs=* L191b, M64b, *qīthīs=* L192a 'to itch', *kīthīs=* T188b, *kītīs=* T188b 'to scratch', *kets[öpter]* Her208 'to scratch, to scrape'.

kār 'song', cf *kīr* L149a. Equivalent of *yer*.

¶ <Ch *gēr*.

koya 'to him, her, it; (t)hither', cf *koya* < *kolya* L153a. DAT of *kw* 's/he'.

kola= 'to sue, to accuse, to go to law against'.

¶ <CT *gào*.

kolar 'they', cf L153a, CL174b, *gołar* T179b, *golar* Her200. PL of *kw* 's/he'.

koraqīnta 'over (t)here, down (t)here'.

¶ The first element *kw* 'this, that; perhaps formed analogous to *araq̄inta* 'over there' and *peraq̄inta* 'over here'.

koraq̄ıyqa 'over (t)here, down (t)here'.

¶ The first element *kw* 'this, that'; perhaps formed analogous to *araq̄ıyqa* 'over there' and *peraq̄ıyqa* 'over here'.

kök, see *kük* 'blue'.

kökışkîn, see *kükışkîn* 'pigeon, dove'.

köhkis, see *kühkis* 'loins'.

köhkistiy 'having loins', cf *köhkistiy* L160b:Da 'an ornamental plate worn at the waist by girls'.

köhküt= (~ *köhküt=*) 'to show', cf *köhküt^h=* L160b, *khöhküt^h=* L176a, *kiohküt^h=* L152a, *khiohküt^h=* L171a, *khöhküt=* T189a, *köküt=* M68b, *köküt=* M68b, *küküt=* M71a, *küket=* M71a, *khörküt^h=* L161a:Da, *köhrküt^h=* L161a:Da, *körküt=* M69a, *körküt^h=* L163a, *körnüt=* M69a, *khökü=* T13, *kökü=* T13 'id, to point to'.

¶ <CT **körkit=* (cf EDPT 743b, read *körgit=*, ESTJaIII:84).

köhküt=, see *köhküt=* 'to show'.

köjül 'the heart (as the place of emotions), mind', cf *kyöjül* CL12, *kyöjül* T187b, *könül* T187b, *kojül* M69a, *köjül* M69a, *göjül* T179b, *künjel* M71b, *künjül* M71b, *khöjül* T189b 'id', *köjül* L159b, *kiojül* L152a 'id; idea, plan, decision; regard; intension'.

• *khəy köjül* 'broad minded'; *thar köjül* 'narrow minded'; *yahş köjül* 'good, nice, kind', cf *köjül yaxşl* L159b 'kindhearted', *günjel yaxş [dro]* Her201 'goodness'; *zıq köjül* 'bad, wicked, evil'.

¶ <CT **köjül* (cf EDPT 731b, ESTJaIII:75), cf Khak *kööl* B191a, Tuva *xöön* T491b, Tofa *hööl* R41b, Yak *köjül* Slp179a.

köhp (~ *kih^p*, *keh^p*) 'much, many, a lot', cf *köh^{ph}* L160a, CL171a, *khö^{ph}* C86:2, *köhp* T187b, *keh^{ph}* L150a, CL30, *keh^p* T187a, *khə^{ph}* L167b, *köp^h* L159b, CL8, *köp* M69a (mountain dial.), *kep^h* L149a, *kep* M66b (steppe dial.), *Ʒep* M23a, *göb[ter]* Her202.

¶ <CT **köp* (cf EDPT 386b, ESTJaV:107), cf Tuva *köp* T258b, *köhp* Jan27, Tofa *köhp* R27a.

kör= 'to see', cf L162b, CL175b, T187b, M69a, *kior=* L152a, *gor=* T12, *kür=* T13, M71b.

¶ <CT **kör=* (cf EDPT 736a, ESTJaIII:77), cf Khak *kör=* B191b, Tuva *kör=* T258b, Tofa *kör=* R27a, Yak *kör=* Slp10a.

körıs= 'to see one another, to come upon, to meet', cf L162b, CL91, *küres=* M71b.

• *eni körısini* 'we'll meet again, see you', cf *körısini* L162b, *körsini* L163a.

¶ <CT **körüş=* (cf EDPT 748a, ESTJaIII:79), cf Khak *körış=* B192b, Tuva *körüş=* T259b.

köş=, see *küş=* 'to migrate'.

köz 'eye; source, well, spring; opening, hole', cf L161b 'id', CL157b 'eye; source', T187b 'eye; opening', M68b, PotII:435a, *göz* T13, *küz* L163b, CL30, T188b, M70b, *köz* Man65, *kioz* L152a, CL31, *köss* Her194 'eye', *göss* Her210 'source'.

¶ <CT **köz* (cf EDPT 756b, ESTJaIII:60), cf Sagay *kös* B193a.

köztı= 'to seem, to appear as, to look like', cf *köztı=* L162b, *közte=* C92:37, *közde=* M68b, *küzde=* M70b, *küzdü=* M70b 'id', *közte=* L162b, CL175b 'to inlay gems'.

kuala= 'to put up, to hang', cf L154b, *khuala=* L172b, CL16.

¶ <Ch *guà*.

kuan 'government official, officeholder'.

¶ <Ch *guān*.

kuey 'almost nothing, hardly', cf *kue* L155a 'eccentric, odd; odd number, frac-

tional amount; very, extremely’, and perhaps *qoY* M56b ‘you know, well’.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch *guài* ‘odd; quite, rather’.

kueytiēnzī ‘wicked idea, trick’.

¶ ←Ch *guǐdiānzi*.

kueywu ‘freak, monster’.

¶ ←Ch *guàiwu*.

kuyi ‘maternal aunt’, cf *kuye* L157b, CL165a, *quyey* L201a ‘id’, *küyey* M70b ‘mother-in-law (wife’s mother)’.

¶ < **küügüy* <CT **küügüy* (cf EDPT 714a), cf Tuva *küüy* T270a ‘aunt (mother’s brother’s wife)’. Malov’s translation is typical of Dàhé (cf Wú 1992: 318).

° →EYu *küyèi* (or *kügèi*) B84 ‘wife of the elder brother; elder sister’.

kuke ‘ankle’, cf *kükey* M71a.

¶ ←NwM *ku*²¹³*kuai*⁵¹ ZW121.

kulu ‘wheel’, cf L156b.

¶ ←Ch *gūlu* (spoken language).

kumīs ‘silver’, cf L156a, T188a, M70a, Man64, *kumus* L156a, CL158a, T23, *kümīs* M71a, *kümūs* M71a, PotII:436a, *kümōs* M71a, *kumos* M70a, *qumīs* T201a, *gomeš* Her209.

¶ <CT **küümüš* (cf EDPT 723b, ESTJaV:141), cf Khak *kümüis* BI96a, Tuva *xümüš* T497a, Yak *kümüis* Slp178a.

kumistīy ‘silver, of silver’.

¶ <CT **küümüšlüg* (cf EDPT 724b), cf Khak *kümüstīy* BI96a.

kumpinso ‘Kumpinso (a girl’s name from a tale)’, cf *kundemsi* M70a, *kündemsi* M71b. See also the proper name *ahItimso*.

¶ The first element reminiscent of *kumīs* ‘silver’, the second maybe ←Tibetan, cf Arik *mcho* TB31, LT *mcho* Jä456b ‘lake’, frequent in women’s names.

kuna ‘aunt (father’s sister)’, cf L156a, CL165a, *ḡunan* M23b.

¶ Perhaps ←NwM *ku*²¹*ne*⁵² Liú112b ‘grandaunt, paternal grandfather’s sister’, or *ku*²¹*ma*⁵³ Liú113a ‘father’s elder sister’.

kuni ‘look at that!’

kunī ‘him, her, it; that’, cf *konī* < *kolnī* L152b. ACC of *kw* ‘he, she’.

kunīy ‘his, her, its; of that’, cf *konīy* < *kolnīy* L152b. GEN of *kw* ‘he, she’.

kunta ‘(t)here’, cf *konta* L152b, CL65, *bunta* M23b. LOC of *kw* ‘he, she’.

kuntay ‘like this, like that, such’, cf *kontay* L152b, CL174b, T187b, *BundaB* M22a. EQU of *kw* ‘he, she’.

kuntan ‘(t)hence’, cf *kontan* L152b, CL81, T187b. ABL of *kw* ‘he, she’.

kuntarmi ‘a thing like this, like that, such a thing’.

¶ A crasis of *kuntay* ‘like this, that’ + perhaps *pirmi* ‘thing’, cf *kontayirme*[ye] < *kontay pir nimeye* T237, *kontay neme* CL87.

kuntur ‘so many, so much’, cf *kontoyor* L152b.

¶ A crasis of *kontay* ‘thus’ + perhaps *pir* ‘one’.

kuŋci ‘rooster’. Equivalent of *ehrkik taŋqayī*.

¶ ←Ch *gōngjī*.

kuoča ‘country’, cf *kuoča* L155b.

¶ ←Ch *guójīā*.

kuotienzī ‘potholder’. Equivalent of *tuhtqīs*.

¶ ←Ch *guō diānzi* (*guō* ‘pot’, *diānzi* ‘coaster, pad’).

kurkiti ‘(t)here’. The Míngghǎi equivalent of *kunta* ‘(t)here’.

kus (*kuski*) 'bovine', cf L158b, CL159a, T188a, M70a, *khus* L175b, T189b, *uhkus* L42b, CL159a, *hukus* C86:11, *ufkus* T9, *fukus* L90a, *ohkus* T13, *okus* M81b, *oqus* M81b (mountain dial.), *öküz* PotIII:435b, *ögüz* PotIII:437 'id', *ukuss* Her198 'cattle'.

• *qara kus* 'yak', cf *qara uhkus* L189b, *qara oqus* M81b, *qarkus* L191b, a compound also occurring in EYu *χara hkor* S594.

¶ <CT **höküz* 'ox' (cf EDPT 120a, ESTJaI:521), cf Yak *obus* Slp266b.

kuscı 'cow herd', cf *quscı* T201a, *qusži* T16, *quscı* M62a, *uhkuscı* L43a.

kuški 'into it', cf the LOC *ko'ışte* L152b, *Bun* (< *Bunij*) *išti* M22b, *yun işte* M23b, *Bun işt'e* M67:7, *konışşte* < *konij işte* L152b 'in it'.

kuştıy 'fat (of meat); strong (of tea)', cf L158b, *kuhştıy* L157b, *khuştıy* L175a 'strong, sturdy; fat (of an animal)', CL171b 'fat', *kuştıB* M70a 'strong, power'.

¶ <CT **kü:çlüg* (cf EDPT 697a, ESTJaIII:98) 'strong, powerful', cf Khak *küştıy* BI98a, Tuva *küştıy* T271a, Tofa *küştıy* R27b.

kuhtki 'throat', cf L157b, *khuthki* L173a, *qhuthqi* L215b, C162a, *khutkhi* T189b, *khutko* T189b 'id, larynx', *gutko* Her194 'pharynx', *qutqo* M62a 'Adam's apple'.

° EYu *khuthke* B71 'throat, larynx', *khotkko* S131, *gutko* Her194 'pharynx', *qutqu* Kot453 'Adam's apple'.

kuz (*kuzki*) 'autumn', cf L158b, CL158b, T188a, *khoz* T189a, *küz* M70b, *gos* Her203.

¶ <CT **kü:z* (cf EDPT 757a, ESTJaIII:94), cf Khak *küs* BI98a, Tuva *küs* T269b, Tofa *küs* R199a, Yak *küs* Pek1339.

kuziyi 'husband; son-in-law', cf *kuzeyi* L158b, CL165b, T188a, M69b, *küzeyi* T188b, M70b, *küzeyü* M70b, *küzıye* M70b, *quziyi* T201a 'id', *gudsege* Her193 'bridegroom, fiancé'.

• *qız kuziyi* 'son-in-law', cf *qız kuzeyi* L159a, perhaps calqued from Ch *nüxu* 'id, husband' (*nü* 'woman, female, daughter, girl', *xü* 'son-in-law, husband').

¶ <CT **küdegi* (cf EDPT 703a, ESTJaIII:43), cf Khak *kızö* BI79a, Tuva *küdee* T268b, Tofa *hüdee* R42a, Yak *kütüö* Pek1346.

kuzi 'spiral', cf *kuzı* L159a, *yuzı* L218b 'strand; lock; puff; stream'.

¶ Ch *gü* 'strand, ply, skein; whiff, stream, puff'.

kw 'he, she, it; this, that', cf *ko* T187b, *qo* M56a, *bo* M22a, *yo:* M23a, *bu* M22b, *yü* M23b, *kol* L153a, CL174a, *koł* T187b, *goł* T12, *yoł* L218b, *yoł* M23a, *boł* M22b, *goł* Her200, *yul* M23b, *bul* M22b.

¶ Perhaps < **kö* ~ **kü* (cf Erdal 1989 for a discussion of this particle). The forms in *kol* may be a crasis of *kw* + *ol* 'that'.

kovhe 'pancake, pizza', cf *kokhe* L153a, CL169b, *qokhe* T203b 'id', *koke* M68a 'bread'.

¶ <NwM *kuë⁴⁴khuei* ZW104 'large, thick pancake'.

kovthou 'trivet, support for a cooking pot', cf *kothi* L152b, T187b, *kothu* L152b 'cooking stove, kitchen range', *qoti* T200b, *goti* T187b, *yotu* M23b, *yoti* M23b 'hearth, kitchen', *yotu* M23b 'hearth, oven', *boti* M23b 'kitchen'.

¶ <NwM *kuë⁴⁴thau*⁵¹ ZW101 'the top of a kitchen range'.

kovyoq 'not at all, note done, impossible, can't be allowed, inconceivable', *koyoq^h* CL134, *qoyoq^h* L199a 'id', *koyok^h* L153b 'id; cured (of a disease)'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *kw* 'this, that' + *yoq* 'not present'.

kük (~ *kök*) 'blue', cf T188a, M71a, *kükh* L163a, CL171b, T188a, *khühkh* T190a, *khük* T189b, *khühk* T189b, *kuk* T188a, *kökh* L159b, CL171b, *kök* T187b, M68b, *kek* M65b, *yek* M23a 'id; green; grey (of a horse)', *kü:k* Man64 'blue', *kök* PotIII:435a 'grey'.

• *qara kük* 'dark blue, indigo', cf *qara kükh* L189b.

¶ <CT **kö:k* (cf EDPT 709b, ESTJaIII:66), cf Khak *kök* BI89a, Tuva *kök* T257a, Tofa

kök R27a, Yak *kiiöX* Slp200a.

kükiškün (~ **kökiškün**) 'pigeon, dove', cf *kükiškün* L163a, CL160a, *kükišyün* C92:34, L163a, *kükhüşken* L163a, *kükhüşkün* L163a, *khükhüşkün* L176b, *khükiškün* T189b, *köküšken* M68b, *köküškön* M68b, *köküškon* M68b, *kükišken* M71a, *kukuškun* M71a, *gogešgün* Her199.

¶ <CT **kö:kerčkün* (cf EDPT 713b, ESTJaIII:57).

° →EYu *kökeškèn* B83, *gogešgün* Her199, *ku:kušèn* S621, *čhö:köškèn* (sic) S621.

kühkīs (~ **köhkīs**) 'lower part of the back, the small of the back, loins; nape of the neck', cf *köhkīs* L160b, CL50, *köhkhīs* L161a, *khökhīs* L176a, *khöhkīs* L176a, *kiöhkīs* L152a 'loins', *gögös* Her194 'spine, backbone', *köküs* M68b, *gös* T179b 'upper part of the chest'.

¶ <CT **köküz* 'chest, breast' (cf EDPT 714a, ESTJaIII:54), cf Khak *köyīs* BI87a 'chest', Karagas *köksü* Cas97a 'chest under the armpit', Yak *köyüs* Slp176a 'middle of the back'.

küsi- 'to chew', cf *küse=* L163a, *khüse=* L177a, *khuse=* L175b, *köhse=* L161a, CL175, *köse=* L161b, CL89, *göse[pter]* Her205.

¶ <CT **ke:bše=* (cf EDPT 692a, ESTJaIII:5), cf Tofa *keyže=* R25a, Khak *kipsen=* BI76a (+ RFL), Tuva *keyžen=* T234a (+ RFL). Tuva and Tofa *y* is secondary.

küş= (~ **köš=**) 'to migrate', cf *köhš=* L161a, CL177a, *khöš=* T189b, *köš=* L161b, CL31, *kiöš=* L152a, CL31 'id', *köš=* M69b, *küš=* M72a 'id; to cross'.

¶ <CT **köč=* (cf EDPT 694a, ESTJaIII:89), cf Khak *kös=* BI93a, Tuva *köš=* T256b, *köhš=* Jan38, Tofa *köhš=* R27b, Yak *kös=* Slp182a.

kühtür= 'to carry', cf *köhtür=* L160b, C86:7, *köhtür=* CL175b, *khöhtür=* T189b, *khöstür=* T187b, *köstür=* T187b, *kötür=* M69b, *kütür=* M71b, *küter=* M71b, *göter[yemaine]* Her202 'id', *köhtür=* L160b 'id; to raise (the head)'.

¶ <CT **kötür=* 'to carry, to raise' (cf EDPT 706a, ESTJaIII:86), cf Khak *ködür=* BI87b, Tuva *ködür=* T256a, Tofa *köhtür=* R27b.

kühtürmi 'the carrying belt of a bag'.

küy 'a species of pine or fir', cf C82:66, T188a, M71a (mountain dial.) 'fir, pine tree', L163b 'id, dragon spruce (*Picea asperata*)', *kuei* Her210 'fir'.

küy, see **küyü** 'uncle'.

küyü (~ **küy**) 'uncle (father's or mother's sister's husband)', cf L163b, *kuye* L158b 'id', *küy* CL165a, *kuye* M71a 'uncle (father's sister's husband)', *köyö* L161b:Da 'uncle (mother's sister's husband)', *küy* M71a, *küen* M70b, *guyü* Her193 'father-in-law (wife's father)'.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch *güye* 'a form of address for a man used by the senior members of his wife's family (spoken language)'. Malov's and Hermann's translation is typical of Dàhé (cf Wú 1992: 318).

° EYu *hteí kuye* B62, *kuye* B84 'uncle (father's sister's husband)', *küyü* Her193 'father-in-law'.

khaciķi 'spittle', cf L164b, CL162b, *khaciķi* L164b, *kheciķi* L169b, *gad'ai* Her210 'id, saliva'.

¶ ←Arik *kha-čhè* TB156, cf Xiàhé *kha-čhè* HL41a, LT *kha-čhu* Das126b 'spittle'. The etymology of the last syllable in WYu is obscure.

° Also loanword in EYu *khačè* B66, Ĵ103a, *kha:čè* S729, *gad'ai* Her210 'spittle', *qha:čè* S567 'phlegm', BaoÑ *khaci* CN76, Mgr *khaci* Li254, *khačè* ~ *khase* Khas84 'id'.

khama 'power', cf L164a, T188b, *qhaman* L203a, *qaman* M52a, *qïman* M63b, *xaman* M135a 'skill, ability', *kama[yokter]* Her204 '[there is no] power'.

khanna= 'to chop', cf L164a, CL177a, T188b, *qanna=* M52b, *kaŋna=* T187a, *qaŋna=* M51a.

¶ <Ch kǎn.

khay 'heatable brick bed, kang', cf L164a, CL170b, T188b, *qhay* L206a, *qay* M52b.

¶ <Ch kǎng.

° Also loanword in EYu *khay* B66.

khazaq 'the foot end of the kang (the place alongside the wall where children are put to sleep)'.
¶ Crasis of *khay* 'kang' + *azaq* 'foot', cf *khaynūy azaqinta* L18a.

khečhin 'guest', cf L169b, CL163a, *kečīn* M67b, *kičen* M68a.

¶ <EYu *khe:čhèn* B67, S454, S37, *ke:čhèn* J107a, *ke:či* TT80, *ye:čhin* S294, cf LM *geyičīn* Les374b. This is the common word for 'guest' in Western Mongolic; elsewhere forms related to LM *jočīn* Les1066a and *ayilči(n)* Les21a prevail.

khēyīr (= ~ *kher*) 'to bring to, to bring along', cf *khēgīr*= T188b, *khēxīr*= T189a, *kegīr*= T187a, *keyīr*= M65a, *keyer*= M65a, *kegīr* PotII:437 'id', *khēyīr*= L169a, CL91, *khīyīr*= L171a, *keyīr*= M65a, *kher*= L170a 'id; to bring in the bride', *kegr[īne]* Her193 'to marry', *khelyīr*= L168b, *kelyīr*= L150a 'to bring to; to let come'. See *akkher*= 'to bring to'.

• *kheln khēyīr*= 'to take a wife, (of a man) to marry'.

¶ Related to **kigūr*= 'to bring in' (cf EDPT 712b, Erdal 1991: 750), cf Tuva *kiir*= T240b, Tofa *kiir*= R26b.

kheleke (~ *kheneke*) 'shade, shadow', cf *kölehki* L176a:Da, *khönehke* L176a, *khulehke* L174b, *khuleye* L174b, *küleke* M71a, *külehke* M71a, *gölögö* Her208, *kelehki* T13, TT14, *kherehke* L170a.

¶ <CT **köleke* ~ **köleki* (cf EDPT 718a, read *kölige*, ESTJaV:97), cf Tuva *xöleye* T489a, Tofa *höleye* R41a.

° →EYu *khölökhī* B69 [mistranslated 'butterfly'], *khölökhū* J103b, *khölörxkū*: S615, *gölögö* Her208 'shadow', *khulerkhi*: S141 'distant view'.

kheln 'wife; daughter-in-law', cf *khelīn* L168a, CL165b, T189a, *khelin* T188b, *kelin* M66a, *kelīn* T187a, *kefīn* M65b 'daughter-in-law', *kelōn* Man63 'wife'.

• *yañi kheln* 'bride, newly-wed wife', perhaps calqued from Ch *xīnniáng* (*xīn* 'new', *niáng* 'young woman').

¶ <CT **kelin* (cf EDPT 719a, ESTJaIII:16), cf Khak *kilīn* B174b, Tuva *kelin* T237b, Tofa *helin* R38a.

kheman 'weak, feeble', cf L167b, *qheman* L212b, *keyman* M65b, *qīyman* M63a, *qīymay* M63a 'id; poor, impoverished; in straitened circumstances'.

° EYu *kheiman* B67 'poor, poverty-stricken'.

khemīr, see *khemīr* 'coal'.

khempīš 'part of a woman's clothing; woman', cf *khempēš* L167b, *khömpeš* L175b, *kömpeš* L159b 'woman's pectoral ornament', *khempēš* L167b:Da 'the round pendants of a woman's head ornament', CL168b 'head ornament', T189a 'woman's ornament, consisting of buttons and bones [worn] at the back and breast', *kembeš* M66a, *kem beš* M91b, *kembes* M66a 'part of a woman's dress: two broad ribbons attached to the hair and worn at the breast, embroidered with gems and pendants'.

khempīštīy 'woman', cf *khempēštīy* L168a, CL42, *khömpeštīy* L175b, L163a 'id', T189a 'having a *khempīš*', *kembeštīb* M66a, *kembestīb* M66a 'married woman (lit. having a *khempīš*)'. Synonym of *sažtīy*.

° →EYu *köm bös dök* Her193 'big girl', *köm bös dök* Her193 'bride, fiancé'.

khemzī (~ *khenzī*) 'a bun (especially one baked in a hot cauldron)', cf *khemzī* L168a, CL169b, *khymzī* CL13, *khömzī* L175b 'steamed bun', *kemza* M66a, Man62 'bread'.

• *soyilyin khenzi* 'baked buns', cf *soyilyen khemzi* L168a, L244a, *soyilyan khemzi* L329b 'id (made by baking the buns in a covered cauldron placed in a charcoal fire or hot ashes), *sökülyen kemza* M105a 'bread [...] (Chinese and Dungan style)'.

¶ Perhaps related to *khömüş* L175b, CL69 'half dry cow dung used as a fuel', *kömüş* T187b 'bread that is baked in hot ashes' <CT **kömeč* (cf EDPT 722a, ESTJaV:100) 'food buried in the ashes to cook it', cf NUyg *kömzek* Nad656a 'pan, jug, earthenware vessel'.

kheneke, see *kheleke* 'shade'.

khenzi, see *khemzi* 'bun'.

khej 'broad, wide', cf L168b, *ken* M66b. Synonym of *enniy*.

¶ <CT **ke:ŋ* (cf EDPT 724b, ESTJaIII:46), cf Yak *kieŋ* Slp169b.

khejer 'species of bird of prey, falcon, hawk', cf *khöjer* L176a, *khöjür* L176a, *khöjör* L176a:Da 'cinereous vulture' [Ch *tūjiū*; *gücháyīng*], *khöjer* CL160a, *küyner* M71a, *kenyer* M66b (steppe dial.), *kuniyor* M70a (mountain dial.), *küniyör* M71a 'bird of prey, falcon'.

• *aq paş khejer* 'vulture'.

khejkehrki, see *khejkihrki* 'drum'.

khejkihrki (~ *khejkihrki*, *khunjuhrki*) 'drum', cf *khejkehrke* L169a, *khejkihrki* L169a, *khiojkehrke* L171a, CL164a, *khiojkehrki* L171a 'drum with wooden handles used by lamas', *könyerxke* M69a, *köjyerke* M69a '(shaman's) drum; musical instrument (two copper dishes)', *kömyerhke* M68b 'drum'.

¶ <EYu *khejker^{hi}*: S343 'drum', cf LM *kenggerge(n)* Les454a. Labialization of the first vowel is peculiar of WYu.

kher 'yellow (an animal colour)', cf L170a 'a mixture of yellow and white', T189a, TT36 'dark yellow (colour of animals)', *ker* M67a, *keru* M67a (from a song) 'dark yellow (of a cow)'.

¶ <EYu *khe:r* B67, S338 'chestnut (colour of a horse's coat)', cf LM *keger* Les443a.

kher=, see *kheyir=* 'to bring'.

kherik 'necessary; need', cf *kherekh* L170a, CL149, *kerek* M67a.

¶ <CT **kerek* (cf EDPT 742a s.v. *kergek*, ESTJaIII:25), cf Khak *kirek* BI77a, Tuva *xerek* T475a, Tofa *herek* R38b.

° >EYu *kherek* B68 'needs', S344 'useful, necessary, needed'.

kheti 'paper', cf *kheyte* L169a, CL168a, *khegte* T188b, *keyde* M65a, *kegde* PotII:435a, *kheyti* L169a, *keide* Man65.

¶ <CT **kegde* (cf EDPT 710a, ultimately <Ir *kāğad*), cf Koybal *keyde* RII:1065.

khey^{la}=: *xuey khey^{la}*= 'to hold or attend a meeting', cf *xue khela*= L181b, *xue k^{hay}la*= L164b, L181b.

¶ <Ch *kāixuè* 'to hold or attend a meeting' (*kāi* 'to open', *xuè* 'meeting').

khili= 'of mice to gnaw', cf *kele*= M65b 'id', *khele*= L168b 'id; to crack (seeds) between the teeth', *khīla*= L165b:Da 'to crack (seeds) between the teeth'.

¶ Perhaps <Ch *kè* 'to crack between the teeth (seeds)'.

khip 'custom', cf *kheph* L167a 'id, ceremony, protocol, courtesy, form; argument, reason; gift present', CL129, CL12, *khep* T189a, *kep* M66b 'form'.

¶ <EYu *khep* B67 'standard, norm', cf LM *keb* Les438a 'mold; custom'.

khim (*khimki*) 'who', cf L165a, CL174b, T190a, *khim* T189a, *khem* T189a, *kim* M67b, *kem* M66a, *qhim* T204b.

¶ <CT **kim* (cf EDPT 720b, ESTJaV:67), cf Khak *kem* BI73a, Tuva *kim* T277b, Tofa *qum* R32b, Yak *kim* Slp166a.

khintiy 'certainly, definitely'.

¶ ←Ch kěndīng.

khīntīk (*khīntīkki*) 'navel; umbilical cord', cf *khīntīkh* CL162a 'navel', L165b 'id; protruding part in the middle of the ladle used by a shaman during the offering', *kīndīk* M72b, *kēdek* M66b, M72b, *qīndīq* M63b 'navel; little bulb on a shaman's spoon'.

¶ <CT **kīndik* (cf EDPT 729a, ESTJaV:68), cf Khak *kīndīk* B179a, Tuva *xīndik* T477a.

khīr 'dirty; dirt, refuse, garbage', cf L166a, CL171b, *ker* M66b 'dirty, filthy, foul', *ker[der]* Her206 'unclean'.

¶ <CT **kīr* (cf EDPT 735a, ESTJaV:69), cf Khak *kīr* B179b, Tuva *xīr* T477b, Tofa *hīr* R39b, Yak *kīr* Slp167a.

° →EYu *khēr* B68 'dirty', *ker[wai]* Her206 'unclean'.

khīr= (*khīryī*) 'to enter', cf L166b, CL179b, T190a, *khīJ=* T190a, *khēr=* T189a, *kīr=* T188b, *kīJ=* T18, *qīr=* T201b, *ker=* M67a, *xer=* M136a, *ger[b gebdro]* Her202.

• **khīrīk kel=** 'to enter, to come into'; **khīrīp par=** 'to enter, to go into'.

¶ <CT **kī:r=* (cf EDPT 735b, ESTJaIII:47), cf Khak *kīr=* B179b, Tuva *kīr=* T242a, Tofa *kīr=* R26b, Yak *kiir=* Slp164a.

khōlal= 'to pass an examination', cf L172a 'id; to be admitted to school (after an examination)'.

• **sūe khōlal=** 'to pass entrance examinations', perhaps calqued from Ch *kāo shàng dàxué* (*kāo* 'to take exams', *shàng* 'to go (to school)', *dàxué* 'university').

¶ ←Ch *kāo* 'to give or take an examination' + RFL.

khōrtī 'noon, midday'.

¶ Crasis of *khunōhrtī* L173b, CL158b, *khuyōhrtī* L175a, *kun orto* M83a, *kon orto* M83a, *khunōhrtā* L173b:Da, *gunortō* Her196 <CT **kūin ortu* (cf EDPT 725b), cf Khak *kūnōrte* B196a.

khōl 'lake', cf L176a, CL157b, T189b, *kōl* M68b, *kōl* Man64, *kūl* M71a.

¶ <CT **kō:l* (cf EDPT 715a, ESTJaV:95), cf Khak *kōl* B189b, Tuva *xōl* T488b, Tofa *hōl* R41a, Yak *kūōl* Slp199a.

khōm= 'to bury', cf L175b, CL178b, T189b, *kōm=* T187b, M68b, *kōm[ene]* Her196, *khōm=* L171b:Da, T189a, *khīom=* L170b, CL178b, *khēm=* L167a, *kem=* M66a.

¶ <CT **kōm=* (cf EDPT 721b, ESTJaIII:70), cf Khak *kōm=* B190a, Tuva *xōm=* T490a, Tofa *hōm=* R41a, Yak *kōm=* Slp177a.

khōmūr (~ **khēmūr**) 'coal', cf *khīomūr* L170b, *khīomer* L171a, *khōmūr* L175b '(char)coal', *khōyōmer* CL158a, CL13 'coal'.

• **qara khēmūr** 'coal'.

¶ <CT **kōmūr* ~ **kōmer* 'charcoal' (cf EDPT 723a, ESTJaV:102), cf Khak *kōmūr* B190a, Tuva *xōmūr* T490b, Yak *kōmūr* Slp177b.

° →EYu *khōmōr* S520 'charcoal'.

khuaŋ, see **khuy** 'basket; jar'.

khuaŋkhuaŋtī 'quickly'.

¶ ←Ch *kuàikuàide*.

khuaŋzī 'chopsticks', cf *khuez1* L173a, *qoyza* M56b. Equivalent of *yīyaŋ īlīy*.

¶ ←Ch *kuàizi*.

khul 'ashes', cf L174a, T189b, *kuł* M69b, *kōl* Her211.

¶ <CT **kūil* (cf EDPT 715a, ESTJaV:138), cf Khak *kūil* B195b, Tuva *xūil* T495a, Tofa *hūil* R42a, Yak *kūil* Slp196a.

khul= (*khulyī*) 'to laugh', cf L174a, CL176a, T189b, *kuł=* M69b, *kul=* T13, M69a, *kūil=* T21 'id', *gol[ōpter]* Her205 'id, to smile'.

¶ <CT **kūil=* (cf EDPT 715b, ESTJaIII:98), cf Khak *kūil=* B195b, Yak *kūil=* Slp196a.

khula= 'to place a cup or bowl upside down, to cover with an inverted cup', cf *khola=* L171b 'to deduct (costs)', *khūla=* L164b, *khīla=* L165b 'to button up; to drop, let fall; to latch the door; to decut'.

¶ <Ch *kòu* 'to button up; to place a cup upside down, to cover with an inverted cup; to detain, to take into custody, arrest; to deduct (costs)'.

khultik 'grey', cf *khultikh* L174b, *kułdik* M69b, *khultiy* L174b, *qhultiq* T204a, *qohtiq* T204a, *qultuq* M61a, *golder* Her203.

khulīs= (*khuliski*) 'to mock, to make fun of', cf L174b, *külüs=* M71a 'to laugh together'.

¶ <CT **külüš=* (cf EDPT 720b), cf Khak *külīs=* B196a.

khun (*khunki*) 'day; sun', cf CL157a, T180b, *khün* T190a, *kün* M71a 'id', *kün'* PotII:436a, *gun* Her196 'sun', *kun* M70a, Man63, *kōn* Man63, *kon* M68a, *xon* M136b 'day', *khun* L173a 'id; sun; days, life', *gön[öbter]* Her200 'a long time'.

¶ <CT **kün* (cf EDPT 725a, ESTJaIII:100), cf Khak *kün* B196a, Tuva *xün* T497a, Tofa *hün* R42b, Yak *kün* Sp197b.

khuncis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ Compound consisting of *khun* 'day, sun' + *cis* 'malachite'.

khunijkir 'afternoon', cf *khuninker* L173b, CL158b, *khunenkir* L173b, *khunenker* L173b, *kün inyer* M32a 'id, evening'.

¶ Compound consisting of *khun* 'day' + *yijir* 'evening'.

khunsin (~ *khunsin*) 'every day', cf *khun sen* L325a, CL142, *kün sæin* M101a.

¶ From *khun* 'day' + the clitic *-sin* 'every'.

khunsin, idiolectal for *khunsin* 'every day'.

khuntis 'daytime', cf L173b, T189b, *khundiz* T189b, *khuntus* L174a, CL158b, *kuntus* M70a, *küntus* M71b, *khündüz* T8 'in daytime', *künts* Her196 'day'.

¶ <CT **kündü:z* 'in daytime' (cf EDPT 729b, ESTJaIII:102), cf Khak *kündüs* B196b, Tuva *xündüs* T497b, Tofa *hündüs* R42b, Yak *künüš* Sp198a.

khuy (~ *khuaŋ*) 'basket; jar', cf *khuaŋ* L172b 'id', *khoy* L172a, CL167b 'basket', *qoy* M58a, *qon* M58a 'basket of steppe grass; jar', *kuŋ* Man65 'basket-making'.

¶ <Ch *kuāng* 'basket'.

° Also loanword in EYu *khoy* B69.

khuykuhrki, see *khējkihrki* 'drum'.

khur 'fat (of animals, meat)', cf L175b, CL171b, T189b, *qhur* L217a, *χur* L183b, *qur* M61a 'id', *gor[oyör]* Her211 'fat, grease'.

¶ <CT **kür* (cf EDPT 735a, ESTJaIII:106), cf Khak *kür* B197a 'impudent; wild', Tuva *xür* T498a 'satiated; happy; healthy; strong (of cattle)', Karagas *kyür* ~ *hür* Cas101 'sharp'.

khusin 'thread', cf *khūsūsin* L165a, *khūsūsen* L165a, *khīsūsin* L166a, T190a 'silk thread'. See also *misin* 'thread'.

¶ The second element <Ch *xiàn* 'thread', the first element unknown.

lap 'real(ly), certain(ly)', cf *lap^h* L140a 'id, indeed; clearly, distinctly; detailed, minute'.

¶ <EYu *lap* s470 'certainly, surely', B86 'once more', cf LM *lab* Les513a 'surely'.

lahpčiq 'leaf', cf *lahp^hčiq^h* CL160b, *lapčiq* M72b (mountain dial.), *labšaq* Her204 'id', *lahp^hčiq^h* L141a 'id; petal'.

¶ <EYu *lapčhǎq* B86, *lapčëq* Ĵ97a, *lapčëk* S497, *lapčik* Kot448, *labčëG* TT50, *labšag* Her204, cf LM nabči(n) Les555a. The development *l-* < *n-* can also be seen in Mgr *lapčë* Khas110, BaoÑ *lapčhǎŋ* CN100, BaoD *lapčhǎŋ* BL85a, Dgx *lačhǎŋ* Bök96 'id'. The unique EYu final *-q* cannot be explained.

lar 'language, speech', cf L141a, C12 'id', *lar* T190b, M72b 'words, conversation'.

¶ Also occurring in EYu *lar* B87, Ĵ96b, PotII:419b, Her205 'language, speech, word'.

larla= 'to talk, to tell, to recount', cf L141a, C176a 'to talk'.

larlas= 'to talk together', cf L141a.

lawür 'leaf', cf L141a 'twig; petal', *lawur* L141a:Da 'id; leaf'.

¶ Perhaps a contamination of *lahpčǎq* + CT **yapurgak* (cf EDPT 879b, ESTJaIV:130).

lazǐ 'pepper', cf *lazǐ* L141a, CL161b.

¶ <NwM *la²¹³c₁* CZW118b 'hot pepper', cf Ch là.

lençou 'Lánzhōu', cf *lançou* L341a, *lançou* T190b, *lançiu* CL73, *lançiu* T190b, *lançu* L341a, *lançu* T190b, *lanžu* M72b, *lanço* T190b, *lanžō[sǐ]* M72b.

¶ <Ch Lánzhōu.

lianj 'two'.

¶ <Ch liǎng.

lianjhouzǐ (~ *lianjhuzǐ*) 'husband and wife, spouses', cf *lianjhǔzǐ* L142a, CL86, *lianjhouza* L142a, *lianjhozǐ* CL141, *lanjkhǐc₁* T190a, *lanjkhǐnc₁* T190a, *lanxuza* M74a, *lanxuza* M74a, *lanxuza* M74a, *lanxuza* M74a.

¶ <Ch liǎngkǒuzǐ (spoken language).

lianjhuzǐ, see *lianjhuzǐ* 'husband and wife, spouses'.

lianjxua 'ceiling', cf L142a, *lanjxua* T190a, *lanjxua* T190a, *lanxoa* M74a, *lanxua* M74a, *lanxua* M74a.

¶ <Ch liáng 'roof beam' + huā as in tiānhuābǎn L142a 'ceiling'.

lienphǐn 'washbasin', cf *lienphǐŋ* L142b, CL166a, *lienphun* L142b.

¶ <Ch liǎnpén.

lila= 'to plough', cf L143a.

¶ <Ch lí.

° Also loanword in EYu *li:la=* B87.

liopučhi 'amazing, terrific, extraordinary'.

¶ <Ch liǎobuqǐ.

lioputǐ 'awful'. Equivalent of *tancin*.

¶ <Ch liǎobude.

litaj 'present, gift'.

¶ The first element probably Ch lǐ 'present', the second unknown. Cf further Sal *litoy* Lín54a 'id'.

ločǐ 'head, leader (of a village)', cf *loçe* L145a, CL165a, *loçey* L145a:Da 'the head of a clan; an official's rank', *ložǐ* M73a 'an official's rank'.

• *tōhrčin ločǐ* 'head of the village'.

¶ <Ch lǎo zhě.

lola= 'to drag up', cf L144a, C82:70b, *lola=* M73a, *lol=* M73a.

¶ <Ch lǎo.

lom 'religious scripture, magic book; meeting, assembly', cf L143a, CL164a, CL137 'id', *lom* T190b, M73a, *nom* M80b 'scripture, religious writing', PotI:442 'book'.

¶ <CT **nom* (cf EDPT 777a <Greek *nomos*). The development of *l-* < *n-* is typical of WYu and EYu, cf EYu *lom* B88, LM *nom* Les590a <CT **nom*.

lomaq 'story, tale', cf *lomaq^h* L143b, CL168a, *łomaq^h* T190b, *lomag* Her204 'id', *łomaq* M73a 'riddle'.

¶ An irregular development, either <CT **yomak* 'tale, riddle' (cf ESTJaII:220), or <EYu *łomɔk* B88, *lomoq* ʃ75 'story, tale', cf LM *domoɣ* Les261a. The initial *l*- probably arose under the influence of *lom*.

lomaqčĭ 'story-teller'.

lošĭ 'teacher', cf *lošɫ* L145a, C87:573.

¶ <Ch *läoshĭ*.

° Also loanword in EYu *laošɫ* B86.

lotĭla= 'to talk nonsense; to chatter', cf L143b 'id', *łotoł=* M73b 'to talk quickly'.

¶ <Ch *láodao*.

lotičan 'who talks too much', cf L143b, *łotočay* M73b.

lou 'a storied building', cf *lu* L145a 'id, storey', *liu* T10 'floor'.

¶ <Ch *lóu*.

° Also loanword in EYu *lu*: B86.

luzĭ 'stove, furnace', cf *luzɫ* L145b.

¶ <Ch *lúzi*.

maya 'me, to me, for me', cf L79b, CL81, *маба* M74a, *маџа* M75a, *menga* Her212, *маџа* Her212, *маџа* Her201. DAT of *men* 'I'.

¶ <CT **baŋa* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *маба* B1100b, Tuva *meje* T306b, *mee* T306b, Tofa *meje* R45a, *mee* R47b, Yak *miexe* Slp240b.

mal 'livestock, domesticated animals', cf L78a, CL159a, *mał* T191a, M74b.

¶ A widely occurring loanword, ultimately perhaps <Ar *māl*.

° EYu *mal* B90, LM *mal* Les523b.

malčĭ 'herdsman', cf *malčɫ* L78b, CL163a, *malč^hɫ* L78b, CL31, *małči* T191a, *małčĭ* M75a, *małžĭ* T16.

° EYu *małč^hĕ* B90 'herdsman', LM *malči(n)* Les524a.

man= 'to wear (clothes, hat, jewelry)', cf L77a, CL178a, C93:47, T191a, M75a.

¶ <CT **ba:n=* 'to bind to oneself' (cf EDPT 349b).

manĭm 'part of a woman's traditional dress (the two straps hanging down on the chest)', cf CL168b 'a woman's head ornament', L77a 'id, a set consisting of pectoral, head and back ornaments and a felt hat'.

manĭŋ-kizkĭ 'a woman's dress and adornments, outfit', cf *manĭm-kezyĭ* L77b.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *manĭm* 'a head ornament' + *kizkĭ* 'clothes'.

mantĭr= 'to put on, to dress somebody', cf T191a, *maŋtĭr=* T191a 'id', *mantĭr=* L77b 'id; to put on a harness', *mandĭr=* M75a 'to dress somebody; to fulfill a certain prayer', [*loxda*] *mandar[ine]* Her204 'to put on [a halter]'.

¶ <CT **ba:ndur=* (cf EDPT 768a).

maŋ= 'to go, to go to, to set off; to walk, to be on one's way, to go on walking, to travel', cf CL176b, T191a, M75a, Man63, *maŋ[dĭ]* PotIII:437, *mĭŋ=* T192b, *ma=* M74a 'to go, to walk', *maŋ=* L78b 'id; to beat it, to get away'.

• *yol maŋ=* 'to walk, to travel', calqued from Ch *zǒulù* (*zǒu* 'to walk', *lù* 'road'); *q^han maŋ=* 'to menstruate', cf *pozĭdan maŋ=* M75a.

¶ <CT **maŋ=* (cf EDPT 767a) < **baŋ=* 'to walk' (cf EDPT 348a).

maŋqĭra= 'to talk, to tell, to speak', cf L79a, T191b, *maŋbra=* M75a 'id, to chat'.

• *soz maŋqĭra=* 'to speak'; (*yoyĭr*) *lar maŋqĭra=* 'to speak (Yugur) language'.

¶ <CT **maŋra*= 'to shout, of people to make noise' (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋqīras= 'to talk together, to converse', cf L79a, *maŋbras*= M75a, M67:14.

¶ <CT **maŋraš*= (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋqīs 'monster, ogre, devil, demon', cf L79a, *maŋqhīs* CL66, L79b, T191b, *maŋkhīs* T191a, *maŋyīs* M75b, *mīŋkhīs* T192b 'id, demon living on the moon'.

¶ <EYu *ma:ŋqās* B89 'evil spirit, demon', *maŋqēs* S480 'demon, monster', cf LM *mangYus* Les527a.

maŋras= '(of sheep) to bleat together'.

¶ REC of *maŋjira*= L78b, *maŋra*= M67:176, *maŋqīra*= L79a:Da 'to bleat', M75b, *moŋra*= M77b 'to moo', perhaps a contamination of CT **maŋraš*= 'to shout' (cf EDPT 770b) and CT **mūŋre*= ~ **muŋra*= 'to bellow, low, bleat' (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋtīr= 'to make or let go; to carry, to send, to dispatch; to drive (a vehicle)', cf T191b, M75b, *maŋdīr*= M75b 'to cause to go, to sent away', L78b 'id; to drive away'.

maḥqe (~ *maḥhe*) 'camel foal', cf L79b, CL159b, *maḥqey* L79b, *maḥhey* L79b, *maqey* M74b, *makey* M74b.

¶ Perhaps related to Kzk *marqa* RIV:2028 'lamb or kid that is born before April and is therefore bigger and fatter than the others', also *marqa buzau*, *marqa qulun* RIV:2028 (*buzau* 'calf', *qulun* 'foal'), *marqa* RIV:2028 'not carried to term', Tuva *marya bīzaa* ZT267 'a two year old calf' (*bīzaa* 'calf'); cf further Kal *marχp* Ram257b 'a lamb that has not been carried to term', Sarikuli *barqo* Gāo122b 'lamb'.

maḥhe, see *maḥqe* 'camel foal'.

marčan 'coral; a Yugur woman's proper name', cf L80b, CL169b, *maržan* T191b, M75b, *marčan* T191b, *mařčan* T191b, *marčan* Man64 'coral'.

¶ Ultimately <Ir *maržān*.

marmi 'lamp', cf CL164a, L80b, M76a, *maJmi* CL16, *marme* L80b, T191b 'Buddha lamp'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *mar-me* Jä411b 'lamp, at present only for holy uses'.

martančī 'self-important person, boaster', cf *martamčl* L80b, *partamčl* L53a, *partamčhč* L53a 'id, vain person', *bardamtšö* Her209 'glad'.

¶ <EYu *partamčhē* B31 'proud, arrogant, conceited', *bardamd'e* [*amawai*] Her202 'proud', *bardamtšö* Her209 'glad', cf LM *bardamči* Les85a 'boaster, haughty person'.

martanna= 'to boast'.

¶ <EYu *partamla*= B31 'to boast', cf LM *bardamla*= Les85a.

maŋaŋ 'immediately'.

¶ <Ch *māshàng*.

mayn, IMP1sg of *maŋ*= 'to go'.

maynī, cf *maine* M67:59, Her209, *maina* M67:8. IMP1pl of *maŋ*= 'to go'.

mek, see *menik* 'money'.

mektīy 'rich, having money', cf *menekhtīy* L83b, CL13, *miniktīy* T192a, *miniktīb* M77a.

men 'I', cf L83a, CL161a, T76, M76a, Her200.

¶ <CT **men* < **ben* (cf EDPT 346a), cf Khak *min* BI107a, Tuva *men* T292b, Tofa *men* R45a, Yak *min* Slp239a.

men 'flour', cf L83a, CL161a, T191b, M76a. See also *miēn*.

¶ From an older loan *men* (cf EDPT 766b <Ch *miàn*).

menik (~ *mek*) 'money; coin, unit of money', cf M76b, *menek^h* L83b, CL12, T191b, *menek* TT38, M76b, *menik* T191b, TT38, *minek* M77a, TT38, *minik* T192a, M77a, TT20, *mīnek^h*

L81a:Da, *meleg* Her212.

¶ Perhaps related to the Argu form *benek* 'a small copper coin' (cf EDPT 350b) recorded by Kashgari.

° → EYu *menek* B92, Ĭ52, S448, *menĭk* Man68.

meni 'me', cf L356, CL81, *mennö* Her212. ACC of *men* 'I'.

¶ <CT **meni* < **beni* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minĭ* BI107b, Tuva *meni* T293a, Tofa *meni* R45a, Yak *miiyin* Slp238b.

meniŋ (~ *meŋ*) 'of me, my', cf L83b, CL37, T10, *mineŋ* M173, *meniŋ* T10, M173, *meney* T10, *mennang* Her212, *me:ŋ* T10, *meŋ* L84a, CL37. GEN of *men* 'I'.

¶ <CT **meniŋ* < **beniŋ* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minĭŋ* BI107b, Tuva *meey* T292a, Tofa *miiŋ* R45b.

menti 'on me, at me', cf *mente* CL81, T191b. LOC of *men* 'I'.

¶ <CT **mente* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minde* BI107a, Tuva *mende* T293a, Tofa *mende* R45a.

menti= 'to get or be in a hurry; to be very busy', cf *mende=* M76a, *mendi=* M76a, *minde=* M77a 'to be in a hurry', *meŋte=* L84a, *meŋti=* L84a 'to be panic-stricken, to be alarmed; to be busy'.

¶ ← Mongolic, cf EYu *mekte=* B92, *mekte:=* S730, Mgr *maŋta=* S730 'to be busy', LM *mengde=* Les536a 'to become excited or worried, to be in a rush, etc'.

mentiy 'like me'. EQU of *men* 'I'.

¶ From an older **menteg*, cf Khak *mindey* BI107a.

mentiy 'in a hurry', cf *mindez* M76b, *meŋtey* L84a 'quickly, in a hurry, busy'.

• *mentiy-mantaŋ* 'in a hurry', cf *meŋdey-maŋday* L84a, *meŋtey-meŋtey* CL173a.

¶ ← Mongolic, cf EYu *mektekhè-ta:qht^hi* B92 'in a hurry, in a rush', *mekteki:* B92, *mekte:kè* S730, *mektü:l* S730, Mgr *maŋtanki:* S730 'hurrying'.

mentin 'from me', cf *menten* CL81, T191b. ABL of *men* 'I'.

¶ <CT **menten* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minney* BI107a, Tuva *menden* T293a, Tofa *menden* R45a.

meŋ, see *meniŋ* 'my'.

mercik, see *mircik* 'dung'.

metiq^h 'limping (of animals when the hoof is too long)', cf *metiq^h* L83a, CL162b, *meytiq^h* L84a 'lame', *müytik* M78b 'being curved of fingers or toes'.

¶ Perhaps related to Ordos *mēđžik* Mos457a '(of a boot) having the sole worn down at one side', *mēht^huq* as in *mēht^huq* Ge= Mos458a, *mēđžigla=* Mos457a 'of animals to walk limpingly due to deformed hooves, which have grown outwards or turned upwards; of people to walk having the sole worn down at the outer side', Kal *medz'γor* Ram259a 'with uncertain gait, waddeling, walking badly', cf LM *maimari* Les523a, *maimaγar* Les522b 'having an unsteady gait'.

mi (~ *mv*), question particle, cf L84b, M76b, *mu* L87a, T192a, *mo* L85b, CL136, M77b, *me* L83a, CL175a, M76a.

¶ <CT **mu*.

miça 'little, small; a little, a bit', cf L85a 'id', CL86, *müça* L82b, CL86, T192a, *muça* L87b, CL173a, *miça* T192a, *miçæ* M77a, *miŋça* L85a, T192a, *münça* T192a 'a little, a bit', and *pīça-pīça* M97b (mountain dial.) 'a tiny little bit'.

¶ Perhaps related to LM *biça* Les101a 'asunder, into small pieces, into pulp', *biçiken* Kow1147, *biçiqaŋ* Kow1147, Les102b 'small child; small, tiny, little; a little'. Cf also Tuva *biçe* T105b 'small; young', *biçii* T106a 'id; a little bit', Tofa *biçe* R17a 'small',

NUyg dialect *piše* Nad266a 'a bit'.

miēn 'flour'. See also *men*.

¶ <Ch miän.

mienna= 'to exempt (from punishment), to dispense with'.

¶ <Ch miän.

miyīl= (*miyīlyā*) 'to kiss (+ DAT)', cf *meḡīl*= L84a, CL179a, *mīyqīt*= M78b.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of an onomatopoeic *mi* + *qīl*= 'to do'.

mion, idiolectal for *moyñ* 'neck'.

mircik: *qoy mircik* 'sheep dung', cf *qoymerček* M76b; *čhi mircik* 'camel dung', cf *čimircək* T192b, M148b, *či mirciq* T192b; cf further *meḡrčik^h* C82:67, *mircək* T192b, *mirciq* T192b, *mirciq* T192b, *mircik* T192b 'dung', L84a 'dung, especially of a camel or sheep', *merček* M76b 'camel dung'.

¶ Perhaps related to *mežek* 'dog's dung' (cf EDPT 350b), recorded by Kashgari.

misin 'thread', cf L85b, CL14, *misen* L85b, *meysin* M76a 'cotton thread'. See also *khusin* 'thread'.

¶ The second element <Ch xiän 'thread', the first element unknown.

mit^haj 'gruel', cf L85a, CL169b, *methaj* L83a, *metaj* T191b, *mitaj* M77a 'thin rice or millet gruel, rice water'. Equivalent of *soqpa kiltiñ*.

¶ <NwM *mi⁵¹thaj* CZW35b.

mīla 'child; boy', cf L81b 'id', CL31, *mīla* M78b, *mula* CL163a, T192a 'child', L87a, *mola* L86a 'id; boy', *mīla* T192a, TT18, M77a, *mala* PotII:435a 'child', *melá* Man63, *m'la* Man63 'son'.

• *ahsīrayan mīla* 'adopted child', cf *ahsīrayan mula* L12b; *ah^ti mīla* 'baby', cf *ah^tey mula* L9a 'id', *ahⁱ mīla* M67:23 'small child'; *ezertkin mīla* 'adopted child', cf *ezert^hken mula* L30a; *kīḡciy mīla* 'small child, young child'; *miça mīla* 'baby'; *olyan mīla* 'boy'; *qīz mīla* 'girl'; *sunzī mīla* 'grandson', cf *sunzī mula* L333a; *seyli mīla* 'orphan, motherless child', cf *şeli mula* L303b.

¶ Probably <CT **bala* 'the young of an animal' (cf EDPT 332b, ESTJalI:47). This semantic development can also be seen elsewhere in Turkic languages; the phonetic development **b-* > *m-* in this word without following nasal cannot be explained, however, and seems peculiar to WYu and Tat *malay* Gol360a 'boy, lad'.

° →EYu *mēla* B91, S395, *mīla* Kot447, *mula* Ĵ99a, TT77, *mīla* TT77, PotII:413a 'child', *mōla* Her192 'little boy', *suncⁱ khük^hen* B102 'grandson' (*khük^hen* 'son'). Similar forms can be found in the other SM languages, cf Mgr *mula*: Khas125 'small', *pulai* Khas50 'small child', Dgx *mīla* Bökh107 'small'.

mīlaqaş 'small boy', cf *mulaqaş* L87a 'youngster (boy of about ten years of age)'.

mīn= (*mīnki*) 'to mount, to ride (+ ACC)', cf L81a, CL176b, T192b, M78b, *men*= T191b, M76a, *mīn*= M76b.

• *ah^t mīn*= 'to mount or ride a horse'; *qīzīl ah^t mīn*= 'to menstruate' (lit. to ride a red horse).

¶ <CT **bi:n*= ~ **bī:n*= (cf EDPT 348b), cf Khak *mūn*= BI111a, Tuva *mun*= T303a, Tofa *mun*= R46b, Yak *miin*= Slp238b.

mīnī (~ *punī*) 'this', cf L81a, CL82, *munī* CL67, *mīna* M78b, *punī* CL82. ACC of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT **bunī* (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu*:), cf Khak *mīnī* BI112a, Tuva *monu* T298a, Tofa *monu* R45b, *monī* R46a, Yak *manī* Slp235a.

mīnīñ (~ *punīñ*) 'of this', cf L81a, CL82, *punīñ* CL82, *munīñ* L87a. GEN of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT *munij (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu.*), cf Khak *münij* BI112a, Tuva *moonj* T299a, Tofa *monuj* R45b, *monij* R46a.

mīnta 'here', cf L81a, CL66, T192a, M175, *mīnda* M175, *menta* T191b. LOC of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT *bunta (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu.*), cf Khak *mīnda* BI111b, Tuva *mīnda* T305b, Tofa *mīnda* R47a, Yak *manna* Slp234b.

mīntay 'like this: such, thus', cf L81b, CL174b, T192a, *mīndaB* M78b, *mīnday* T192a, *muntay* L87a, *mundaB* M78a, *mantay* T191a, *puntaB* CL83. EQU of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT *buntag (cf EDPT 349b), cf Khak *mīndaB* BI111b, Tuva *mīndij* T305b, Tofa *mīndiB* R47b.

mīntan 'from here', cf L81a, T192a, M175, *mīndan* M175. ABL of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT *buntin (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu.*), cf Khak *mīnnaŋ* BI111b, Tuva *moon* T299a, Tofa *mīndan* R47a, *munuun* R46b, Yak *mantan* Slp235a.

mīntaq= 'to do thus, to do like this', cf *mīndaq*^[hīp] M67:12 (+ CON).

¶ Crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + *qīl*= 'to do'.

mīntaqas 'in this way, thus, then, afterwards'.

¶ Crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + *qīlyas* 'doing, having done'.

mīntaqv 'in this way, thus', cf L81a, *mīndaq*^{ho} M67:12, *mīntayō* L81b, *mīndaBō* M67:12.

¶ Crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + *qīlv* 'doing', cf *montay qīlo* L81a.

mīntaqvyan 'like this, such'.

¶ Crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + *qīlvyan* 'having done'.

mīntarmi 'a thing like this'.

¶ Crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + perhaps *pīrmi* 'thing', or *mīndaBtar neme* M67:7.

mīntīr= (*mīntīryī*) 'to cause or let mount or ride', cf L81b, T192b, *mīndīr*= M78b.

¶ <CT *bintūr= (cf EDPT 350a), cf Khak *mīndīr*= BI111a, Tuva *mundur*= T303a, Tofa *mundur*= R46b.

mīntīraq 'this much'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + COMP?

mīntur 'this many, this much', cf *mīntayor* L81b, *mīntoyor* L81b, L121a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *mīntay* 'thus' + *pīr* 'one'.

mīj 'thousand', cf L81b, CL173b, T192b, PotII:437b, *mej* M76b, *mīn* T192b, *mōn* Her198.

¶ <CT *bīj ~ *biij (cf EDPT 346b), cf Khak *muŋ* BI110b, Tuva *muŋ* T303a, Yak *muŋ* Pek1626. Except for WYu, NE has **muŋ* (cf Schönig 1997: 126).

mījmiŋti 'suddenly'. Equivalent of *ohqta^{hr}qv*.

¶ <Ch mēngmēngde.

mīrīš (~ *mīš*) 'cat', cf *mīrš* L83a, C159b, T192b, *mōrš* Her211, *mīš* L82b, C159b, *mīš* M79a, *mīš* M77a, *mīšiq* M79b, *mīšik* M77a, *mīrīt* M78b (mountain dial.).

¶ Cf Sagay *pīrīs* BI171a; cf further the older forms *mīš* (cf EDPT 772a), *mačī* (cf EDPT 765b) 'cat', both considered loanwords of unknown origin, and *mīškīč* 'wild cat' (cf EDPT 772a <Sogdian).

° >EYu *mīrīš* Kot445, *mōrš* Her211.

mīrkīti 'here'. The Míngǎi equivalent of *mīnta*.

mīš, see *mīrīš* 'cat'.

mīški (~ *puški*) 'into here'.

¶ From *pu* 'this' + the spatial clitic *-(i)ški* < *īš* 'inside' + DAT; the oblique form in *mī-* is probably an analogous formation.

mīšti 'in here'.

¶ From *pu* 'this' + the spatial clitic *-(i)sti < iš* 'inside' + LOC.

mīz (*mīzki*) 'we', cf L82b, CL80, T192b, M78b, *mīs* L82b, CL174b, T192b, M78b, *mes* T191b, *pīz* L56a:Da, M95b (mountain dial.), *pīž* M95b (sanddhi form), *boss* Her213. See also *mīztir*.

¶ <CT **biz* (cf EDPT 388a, ESTJaII:129), cf Khak *pīs* BI153a, Tuva *bihs* T105b, Tofa *bihs* R17a, *bis* R17a, Yak *bihiyi* Slp71b. Only WYu developed *m-* here, probable analogous to *men* 'I'.

mīzir, see *mīztir* 'we'.

mīztir (~ *mīzir*) 'we', cf *mīzter* L82b, CL80, *mīster* L82b, CL80, T192b, *mīsler* L82b, *mösler* Her200, *mīser* L82b. PL of *mīz* 'we'.

mīzti 'us', cf *mīsti* L356. ACC of *mīz* 'we'.

¶ <CT **bizni* (cf EDPT 388a, ESTJaII:129), cf Khak *pīstī* BI153a.

mīztiŋ 'of us, our', cf *mīstiŋ* L82b, CL81, T22, M174, *mestiŋ* T22, *pīzdiŋ* M95b. GEN of *mīz* 'we'.

¶ <CT **biziniŋ* ~ **bizniŋ*, cf Khak *pīstiŋ* BI153a, Tofa *bistiŋ* R17a.

mɔ, see *mi*, question particle.

mɔ, CSIM of *maŋ=* 'to go'.

moniou 'yak', cf *moniu* L86a, C87:564.

¶ <Ch máoniú.

mos, see *mus* 'horn'.

moyn (~ *mion*) (*moynqa*) 'neck', cf *moin* L85b, CL10, M77b, *moen* CL162a, T192a, *muin* Man65, *moyin* L86b, *moyen* L86b 'id', *möin* Her194 'throat'.

¶ <CT **boyin* (cf EDPT 386b, ESTJaII:180), cf Khak *moyin* BI109a, Tuva *moyun* T299b, Tofa *möen* (*moyni*) R46a, Yak *mooy* Slp241b.

mulī 'very', cf L87b, CL174b, *mule* L87a, CL174b, *muliy* L87b, CL32, *muley* L87b, *mle* M77a, *mīle* L81b, *mle* M77a (< *mo la erür*).

muɣa, see *puɣa* 'thither, to him, her, it'.

muŋe 'brain', cf L87b, CL161b, *muŋey* L87b, *moŋe* L86b, *moŋey* L86b, *möŋe* Her194, *mīŋe* L82a, *mīŋey* L82a.

¶ <CT **beŋi* ~ **beŋi* (cf EDPT 348b, ESTJaII:106), cf Khak *mii* BI106b, Sagay *mis* BI108a, Tuva *mee* T306b, Tofa *mee* R47b, Yak *meyii* Slp247b.

→EYu *mēŋei* B91, *mēŋi* Ĵ104a, *mē:ŋi*: S626, *möŋe* Her194.

murata 'about here, down here'.

¶ Perhaps a contraction of *mīnīŋ arata*.

mus (~ *mos*) 'horn', cf *mu:s* M78a, PotII:436a, *mōs* CL37, *moŋis* CL160b, T192a, *moŋus* M77b, *muŋis* M78a 'id', *mos* L87a, *mois* L85b, *moŋis* L86b 'id'; (a butterfly's) cirrus'.

¶ <CT **büñüz* ~ **buñuz* (cf EDPT 352a, ESTJaII:243), cf Khak *müüs* BI111b, Tuva *müyis* T305a, Tofa *miis* R45b, Yak *muos* Slp245b.

naɣil= (~ *niɣil=*, *nal=*) 'to do what?', cf L135b, *naɣil=* T192b, *naβil=* M79a, *neɣel=* M80a.

¶ Crasis of *ni* 'what' + *qil=* 'to do', cf *na qil=* L135b, *ne qil=* M79a.

naɣɔ 'how', cf *naɣo* L136a, CL85, *naɣo(w)* T192b, *naβu* M79a, *niɣo* M80a.

¶ Contraction of *naɣilɔ* 'doing what'.

naɣse 'what to do?', cf L136a, *naɣse* L135b, *naɣse* CL85, *naɣši* M79b.

¶ Contraction of *naɣilyiš-i*, cf *naɣilše* T250, *na:lβši* M67:62.

naɣzi 'milk'. Equivalent of *sut*.

¶ <NwM *nai*⁵¹_{c1} CZW14a 'cow's milk', Ch *năizi* (spoken language).
nan 'difficulty', cf L135a 'id; disaster, suffering', *nan bop-tro* M79b 'what disaster!'.
 ¶ <Ch *nán*.
nantī 'man, male'.
 ¶ <Ch *nánde*.
naqī 'yonder', cf L135b, *narīqī* L136b, *narqī* T193a.
 ¶ <CT **narukī* 'situated on the other side' (cf EDPT 778b).
narata 'about there, down there'.
 ¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narī arata*.
narī 'thither', cf L136b, C82:76b, M79b, *nara* T192b, *narā* M79b, *nar* M79b.
 ¶ <CT **narū* (cf EDPT 778b) < **aŋaru* 'on that side, there' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157),
 cf Khak *aar* BI11b, Tuva *inaar* T595, Tofa *inaarī* R100a.
narsīnta 'in fact, actually, as a matter of fact', cf *narīsī* L136b 'always, all along,
 at all'. POS3 + LOC of *narī*.
narsīntan 'but, however, even so, even though'. POS3 + ABL of *narī*.
nati 'why'.
nayīntay 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.
neraqīnta 'over there, down yonder', cf cf *neraqta* M80a 'at the otherside', *neraqh*
 L137b, CL24, *neraq* T193a, M80a 'the other side, yonder'.
 ¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narī* 'thither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC, cf *narī yaq* M80a;
 the *e* perhaps arose by analogy with *peraqīnta* 'over here'.
neraqīnqa 'over there, down yonder'.
 ¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narī* 'thither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.
nī 'what; what kind of, which', cf L137b, CL174b, T193a, M80a, *ne* L136b, T193a, M79b,
na L135a.
 ¶ <CT **ne:* (cf EDPT 774a).
nīci 'how many', cf L138a, CL84, *neçe* L137a, CL174b, *niçe* T193a, *nečæ* M80a.
 ¶ <CT **ne:če* (cf EDPT 775a).
nīčik 'what kind of', cf *nīčik^h* L138b 'how, in what way'.
 ¶ <CT **ne:čük* (cf EDPT 775b) 'how, in what way'.
nīčor 'how much, how many, to what extend', cf L138b, CL174b, T193a, *nīčiyor*
 L138b, *nīčur* M80b, *nīčür* M80a, *nīčæür* M80b 'how much'.
 ¶ Crasis of *nīci* 'how many' + an unclear second element, perhaps *eriür*, as
 Malov suggests (1967: 80a).
nīyi 'what for, why', cf *niye* L138a, *neye* L137a, CL84, T193a, M80a, *nege* T193a,
nige T193a.
 ¶ <CT **ne:ge* (cf EDPT 774b).
nīyīl=, see *nayīl=* 'to do what?'.
nīli= 'to knead; to pinch', cf *niele=* L137b 'to massage'.
 ¶ <Ch *niē* 'to hold between the fingers, to pinch; to knead with the fingers'.
nīmi 'thing; something, anything', cf L138a, M80a, *neme* L136b, C82:73a, T193a, M80a,
nīme L138a, CL31, T193a, *nemæ* M80a.
 ¶ <CT **neme* 'something, anything' (cf EDPT 777b), cf Khak *nīme* BI117a 'what;
 thing', dial. *neme* BI116a 'thing',
nīmi= 'to add, to attach; to increase, to develop, to expand', cf L138a, *neme=* C53,
 L137a 'to add, to increase'.
 ¶ <EYu *neme=* B25, Ĵ97b, *neme:=* S504, cf LM *neme=* Les573b.

nijna= 'to pinch', cf L138a:Da 'id, to tweak, to twist, to screw, to wring'.

¶ <Ch níng.

nisar 'souvenir, relic', cf *nensar* L137a, CL164a, M80a 'an object of the deceased which is given to a lama as a souvenir'.

niyor 'how, in what state or quality', cf L138b, CL84 'how', *nior* L137b 'what', *ni-ur* M67:9 'what kind of'.

noł= (~ **niol=**) 'what to happen, what about', cf *noł[otír]* L139a, *no:ł[te]* M80b, *noł[o]* T193a, *niwol* L139a.

¶ Crasis of *ni* 'what' + *poł=* 'to become, to be'.

norčis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ The second element *čis* 'malachite', the first element probably <LT *nor-bu* Jä308a 'jewel, precious object', Amdo *nor-ró* Roe134. Cf further the Yugur women's proper names *nuržan* M80b, *nuržibyan* M80b, and *nuržoł* M80b.

nutír 'mortar', cf *notur* CL23 'mortar', L139a, *nutur* L139b 'id; copper bowl', *notur* M80b, *nödiir* Her196 'wooden pestle'.

¶ <EYu *notü:r* B26, *nutü:r* J88 'pestle', *nütü:r* S663 'mortar', *nödiir* Her196 'wooden pestle', cf LM *nidügür* Les578b 'mortar; pestle'.

nühker 'friend', cf *nüker* M80b (mountain dial.), *nöbker* C87:564, L140a, *nöker* T193a, M80b, *neker* PotII:436b, *nöbör* CL:163a 'id', L140b:Da 'id; helper', *niohör* L137b 'id, travel companion', *löger* Her201 'friend'.

¶ <EYu *nökhör* B26, J97b, S515 'friend', cf LM *nökör* Les593b. Preaspiration also occurs in BaoÑ *nökhör* ~ *nöχkör* CN32.

o 'that; he, she, it', cf L31a, CL36, T193b, M81a, *ö* T194b, *u* M128a, *ol* L32b, CL174a, *oł* T193b, M81b, *uł* M129b, *woł* T219a, *wu* T219a.

¶ <CT **ol* (cf EDPT 123a, ESTJaI:444), cf Khak *ol* BI125b, Tuva *ol* T317b, Tofa *ol* R51b, Yak *ol* Slp269a.

oýil (~ **oýul**) 'son', cf L34b, C87:563, *oýil* T193b, *obil* M81a, *oýul* L34b, CL165b, *obul* M81a, *oýul* T193b, *oýoł* T193b, *uýil* T22.

¶ <CT **ogul* (cf EDPT 84b, ESTJaI:414), cf Khak *ool* BI127b, Tuva *ool* T322a, Tofa *ool* R52b, Yak *uol* Slp437a.

oýir (~ **oýur**) 'herd', cf *obir* M81a, *ubir* M128b, *uýir* L42a 'id' C82:73a 'id; group', *uýur* CL79 'livestock', L42a, T217b, *ubur* M128b 'group (of people or animals); herd'.

¶ <CT **ügür* ~ **ögür* 'herd' (cf EDPT 112a, ESTJaI:621), cf Khak *öör* BI136a, *ör* BI136b, Tuva *öör* T337b, Tofa *öör* R55b, Yak *üör* Slp454b. Except for WYu, NE points at **ögür*; elsewhere **ügür* prevails.

° >EYu *úyür* B21, *ýur* J73, *oýor* S617 'herd, flock', S175 'group, flock'.

oýlan, see **olyan** '(little) boy'.

oýul, see **oýil** 'son'.

oýur, see **oýir** 'herd'.

olar, see **alar** 'they'.

olyan (~ **oýlan**) '(little) boy', cf L33b, CL32, T22, *ołban* M82a, *ulyan* L41b, *ułyan* T22, *ułban* M129b, *oýlan* L35a, CL32, *obłan* M81a, *uýlan* L42b, *uqan* ~ *uglan* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT **oglan* (cf EDPT 84b, ESTJaI:411), cf Khak *olban* BI126a, Yak *uolan* Slp437a.

olyaq (~ **ulyaq**) 'kid goat', cf *olyaq^h* L33b:Da, *ołyaq* T30, *ulyaq^h* CL159b, L42a, *ułyaq* T217b, *uýlaq^h* L42b, *oýlaq^h* L35a:Da, *ulüwaq^h* L41a, *ulyuaq^h* L42a:Da, *iliwaq^h* L21b, *ulaq^h* L41a, *ułaq* M129b, *wlak* Her199.

¶ <CT *oglak (cf EDPT 86b, ESTJaI:404), cf Khak *oɣlax* BI122b.

olir= 'to stay; to live, to dwell; to be situated, to be at a place; to wait', cf CL62, *olir=* T193b, M82a, *olur=* L33a, CL177a, *olur=* M82a, *ulir=* T217b 'id', *olir=* L33a 'id; to be, to act as, to act in the function of', *olor[go]* Her201 'to live'.

• **ay olir=** 'to be confined in childbed', cf L14a 'id', *ay olur=* M82a 'to be pregnant'; **mica olir!** 'wait a bit', cf *mya ulraine* Her201 'to wait' (lit. let us wait); **mica olirya** 'shortly, immediately, in a moment'.

¶ <CT *olur= 'to sit' (cf EDPT 150a, ESTJaI:492), cf Tuva *olur=* T318b, Tofa *olur=* R51b, *olir=* R52a, Yak *olor=* Slp270b. Elsewhere forms related to CT *oltur= (cf EDPT 133b) prevail, cf Khak *odir=* BI123b.

olirt= 'to let stay', cf *olir^h=* L33b, *olur^h=* L33a, *olurt=* M82a 'to settle'.

¶ <CT *olurt= 'to seat' (cf EDPT 151a), cf Tuva *olurt=* T318b, Tofa *olirt=* R51a, *olurt=* R52a.

on (~ **un** in compound numerals) 'ten', cf L32b, CL175a, T193b, M82a, PotIII:436b, Her197, *un* L39b:Da, M129b, Man61.

¶ <CT *on (cf EDPT 166b, ESTJaI:455), cf Khak *on* BI126b, Tuva *on* T319b, Tofa *on* R52a, Yak *uon* Slp437b.

on, see **un** 'voice'.

oninc̣i 'tenth', cf *oninc̣i* L32b.

¶ Cf Khak *oninẓ̌i* BI126b.

oŋ 'right side', cf L33b, CL158a, T193b, M82a, *un* M129b, *uŋ* M130b 'id; right, correct'.

¶ <CT *oŋ (cf EDPT 166b, ESTJaI:456), cf Khak *oŋ* BI126b, Tuva *oŋ* T320b, Tofa *oŋ* R52a.

oŋkus (~ **oŋuŋ**) 'Adam's apple', cf *oŋq̣iŋ* L34a, *uŋkuŋ* L42a, *uŋquŋ* L42a, *unquŋ* M130a (mountain dial.), *uŋkiŋ* L42a, *uŋỵiŋ* M130b, *uŋq̣iŋ* L42a.

• **q̣iẓil oŋkus** 'Adam's apple', cf *q̣iẓil unkuŋ* L195b 'oesophagus', L42a 'id; Adam's apple'; **q̣ah^tiŋ oŋuŋ** 'Adam's apple', cf *q̣ah^tiŋ uŋkuŋ* L42a 'trachea'.

¶ <CT *öŋg̣iüč ~ *öŋjüč (cf EDPT 172a, ESTJaI:536), cf Khak *öös* Čan586a 'oesophagus', Sagay *öös* BI136a 'thorax', Tuva *öös* T338b 'oesophagus and trachea', *ḳiẓil-öös* T274a 'oesophagus', Tofa *öös* R56a, *q̣iẓil öös* R56a 'id', Yak *öŋjüs* 'muscle of the neck'.

oŋŋsi= 'to read', cf *oŋŋŋ=* L34a, CL176a, T193b, *unṣ̌i=* M130b, *uŋṣ̌i=* M130b. Synonym of **p̣ih^tiŋ qara=**.

¶ ←EYu *oŋṣ̌e=* B13, *oŋṣ̌e=* B13, *oŋṣ̌e=* J95b, *onṣ̌i=* S676 'id', cf LM *ungṣ̌i=* Les877a.

oŋuŋ, see **oŋkus** 'Adam's apple'.

ohq 'arrow; bullet; bow', cf T193b, *ohq^h* L35a, CL168a, T193b, *χoq* T219b, *ok* PotIII:436b, *oq* Her207 'arrow', *oq* M81b 'bow'.

¶ <CT *ok 'arrow' (cf EDPT 76a, ESTJaI:437), cf Khak *ux* BI252a 'bullet, arrow', Tuva *ohk* T316b, Tofa *ohq* R54a 'bullet', Yak *ox* Slp281b 'arrow; bow'.

ohqa= 'to smell something', cf *uhqa=* L43a, CL176a, *qh^uqa=* L216a:Da.

¶ Perhaps related to CT *kok= 'to stink, etc' (cf EDPT 609a, Räs276a).

ohqal= '(of something) to smell, to have a smell', cf *uhqali=* L43a, *qoqal=* M57a, *qoqala=* M57a, *qoqo^la=* M57a.

• **maya ohqah^li** 'I smelled it'; **p^hay ohqal=** 'to stink'.

ohqar= 'to pasture, to tend livestock', cf *otqar=* M83b, *oqar=* M81b, *uhqar=* L43a, CL177a, *uhq^har=* L43a, *χuqar=* T250, *uqar=* M129b, *qh^ukar=* L216a:Da, *kh^ukar=* L216a.

• **kus ohqarma** 'cowherd'; **mal ohqarma** 'herdsman', cf *mal uhqarma* L78a, **qoy ohqarma** 'shepherd', cf *qoy uhqarma* L198b, synonyms of **qoyc̣i**, **kusc̣i**, **malc̣i**.

¶ <CT *otkar= (cf EDPT 48a, read *otgar*=, ESTJaI:483), cf Khak *otXar*= BI132b, Tuva *ohtkar*= T329b, Tofa *ohtkar*= R54b.

ohqas= 'to smell or sniff at one another'.

ohqhtabrqv 'suddenly, immediately, surprisingly', cf *ogdargör* Her200 'suddenly', *ohqhtabrqo* L35a 'id, abruptly, unexpectedly', *orXq tarqo* M83a [untranslated].

or 'steam, vapor, air', cf L37b, CL157a, T193b, *hor* L222a:Da 'id', *ur* M130b 'breath', Her210 'air'.

¶ <EYu *u:r* B19, Ĵ93b, S663 'air, breath', *ur* Her210 'air', cf LM *aYur* Les17b. Whereas EYu *u:r*, Mgr *u:r* Khas15, Dag *aur* Enk4 and HY *a'ur* Mos37 feature vocalic onset, BaoD *Xũor* BL81b, Dgx *Xũo* Bökh58, as well as NUyg *hor* Nad762c reflect initial *h-.

or= 'to harvest, to mow', cf L37b, C82:69b, *ur*= M130b.

¶ <CT *or= (cf EDPT 194b, ESTJaI:468), cf Khak *or*= BI129a.

or= 'to put a saddle and reins on a horse', cf M82b, *ur*= L45b, M130b, *uru*= M131a, *oro*= M131a, *oru*= M83a 'id; to stab; to fill in, to squeeze in'.

¶ <CT *ur= (cf EDPT 194b, ESTJaI:599), cf Tuva *ur*= T440b.

oryaq 'sickle', cf T194a, *oryaq^h* L38b, C82:69b, T194a, *orBaq* M82b, *uryaq* T194a, *urBaq* M130b.

¶ <CT *orgak (cf EDPT 216a, ESTJaI:468), cf Khak *orBaX* BI129b.

oryıla= (~ **oryula**=) 'to shout, to cry out (of people and animals)', cf L39a, *oryala*= L38b, *oryula*= L39b 'to cry out, to make a noise', CL180a 'of a camel to bellow', *orbüł*= M83a 'of a cow to moo', *uryıla*= L46a, *urbüł*= M131a, *urBuł*= M131a 'to shout, to yell', *oryura*= CL140 'of animals to utter a sound'.

¶ Cf CT *orla= (cf EDPT 230a), *ogur= (cf ESTJaI:417), EYu *orqoklɔ*= B14 'to call, of a wolf to howl', LM *orila*= Les619a 'to scream', *orkira*= Les619b, *urkira*= Les884a 'to roar'.

oryılas= 'to shout together, to cry out together (of people and animals); to make noise, to be noisy', cf *oryalas*= L38b, *uryılas*= L46b 'to shout together'.

oryula=, see **oryıla**= 'to shout'.

orihkel 'the year before last, two years ago', cf *orehkel* L38a, CL158b 'id', *örixkel* M84a 'last year'.

• **tahqı orihkel** 'three years ago', cf *tahqı orehkel* L95a, *thahqorehkel* L120a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT *öjreki 'previous' (cf EDPT 190b) + *yil* 'year'.

orihkîn 'the day before yesterday', cf *orehkîn* L38a, CL158b, *urehkîn* L45b 'id', *örxkôn* M84a, *örixkon* M84a 'yesterday, three days ago, five days ago'.

• **tahqı orihkîn** 'three days ago', cf *tahqı orehkîn* L95a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT *öjreki 'previous' (cf EDPT 190b) + *khun* 'day'.

oriy (~ **oruy**): **oriy ti**=, **oriyni ti**= 'to ask into marriage', cf *oruy* L38a, *oriy* L38a, *uruy* L45b, CL165b 'marriage', *uruy* L45b:Da 'seed', M131a, *urub* M133a, *vruy* T218b, *uruq* M131a, *oriy* T194a, *oruy* T194a, *orub* M83a, *oriy* M194a 'relatives; progeny'.

¶ <CT *urug 'relative' (cf EDPT 214b, ESTJaI:604), cf Tuva *uruy* T440b, Tofa *uruy* R77b 'child', Yak *uruu* Slp442b 'relative'.

oriy-tariy (~ **oruy-tariy**) (speech of older people) 'relatives', cf L38a, *uruy-tariy* L45b, CL165b, *urub-darib* M24a.

¶ <CT *urug-tariğ (cf EDPT 215a), cf Tuva *uruy-dariy* T440b 'descendants', Tofa *uruy-dariy* R77b 'id; all of the relatives'.

orq= 'to be or become impatient, short-tempered', cf *orqh*= L38b, *oriqh*= L38a 'id; to be lonesome'.

ohrsañ 'incense burner', cf L35b, CL164a, *ohrsan* CL7, *orsan* M83a, *orsañ* M83a, *ursan*

M131a, *norsaj* M80b, *q^hursaj* L218b:Da 'id', *orsaj* Her40:92 'burnt offering'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *bsaṅs* Das1316a 'incense', Xiàhé *saṅ* HL621b 'id, burning of incense as a sacrifice to deities or ancestors; burning white mulberry [Ch *sāng*] (burning cypress, tsampa, or butter as a sign of respect to deities)', Reb-koñ *saṅ* Roe153 'fumigation, incense'. The WYu form *q^hursaj* perhaps originated from an incorrect analysis of the compound *aq^h q^hursaj* L7a:Da 'burning incense to eliminate adversity' (*aq^h* 'white'). The added element in WYu and Eyu may be explained as an epenthetic vowel plus a secondarily inserted *r*.

° Also loanword in EYu *h^ərsaj* B56 'burning of incense'.

o^hrta 'middle', cf L35b, CL158a, T12, *horta* T181a, *ho^hta* T181a, *ur^hta* T218a, *u^hta* T218a, *u^hta* T218a, *orta* M83a, *orto* M83a, *otra* M83b.

¶ <CT **orta* 'middle; correct' (cf EDPT 203b s.v. *ortu*, ESTJaI:474), cf Khak *orta* BI130b 'regularly; right, to the point', Tuva *o^hrta* T326b 'normally; as follows', Tofa *o^hrta* R54a 'middle; correctly, right, to the point', Yak *orto* Slp278a 'middle'. Forms related to **ortu* 'middle, (only) half' occur predominantly in NE, cf Wyu *o^hrti* CL171b 'resentful, discontented, dissatisfied', Khak *ortⁱ* BI130b 'middle; incomplete, not full', Tuva *ortu* T327a Tofa *o^hrtu* R54a 'middle, half'.

o^hrtamaq 'middle finger', cf *o^hrtamaq^h* L35b, *urtamaq* M131a, *ursamⁱk* PotII:436a, *urtamⁱk* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *o^hrta* 'middle' + *tarmaq* 'finger', or CT **barmak* 'finger' (cf EDPT 234b s.v. *erjek*).

ortta= 'to slurp', cf T194a, *orta*= M83a 'id; to eat with a spoon', L38a, *ort^hta*= L38b 'to take a gulp, to sip'.

¶ <CT **aburtla*= 'to fill one's mouth' (cf ESTJaI:407), cf Khak *oorta*= BI127b.

oruy, see *oriy*.

oruy-tariy, see *oriy-tariy* 'relatives'.

os= 'to seize at, to grab at, to clutch (e.g. in wrestling) (+ DAT)', cf CL126, M83a 'id', L37b 'id; to cuddle, to hug, to embrace'.

o^hs= 'to be or become thirsty', cf L35b, *u^hs*= L43b, CL117, *os*= T194a, L37b, CL175b, *us*= L44a, *ous*= M84b, *u:s*= M131b, *os[te]* Her210.

¶ <CT **us*= (cf EDPT 241a).

o^hsiriq 'fart', cf *o^hsiriq^h* L35b, *o^hsurⁱq^h* L35b, *osiriq^h* L37b, *osuruq^h* L37b 'id', *osiriq* M83a, *usuruq* M131b 'burp'.

• *tahqayⁱ o^hsiriq* 'egg'.

¶ <CT **osuruk* (cf EDPT 250b), cf Tuva *ozuruk* ZT1271, Yak *uturuk* Pek3099.

o^hsaq (~ *suaq*) 'crumbs', cf *u^hsuaq^h* L43a, *u^hsuaq^h* L44a, *u^hsaq^h* L43a, *sawaq^h* L301a, *suwaq^h* L310b, *suaq^h* L308a, *s^hwaq^h* L306a 'id, broken bits, sediment'. See also *sart*= 'to cut up'.

• *khemzⁱ o^hsaq* 'bread crumbs', cf *khemzⁱ u^hsuaq^h* L44a.

¶ <CT **ubšak* 'crushed, broken up, small' (cf EDPT 16a, ESTJaI:618a).

o^hsa 'old man (not polite)', cf L37a, CL165a, T194a, *o^hšsa* L35b, C86:9, T194a, *o^hšqa* M84b, *o^hšya* L37a 'old man'.

¶ <CT **abička* (cf EDPT 6b), cf Khak *abišxažax* BI14a, Tuva *aška* T77b, Tofa *aš(i)ñaq* R13a.

o^hsaqar 'old man', cf L37b 'little old man'.

ot 'fire', cf M83b, T194a, *ot^h* L32a, CL158a, T194a, *o:t* M83b, *ut^h* L39a:Da, *ut* T218a, M131b, Man62, *Wut* Her195, *χut* T219b.

¶ <CT *o:t (cf EDPT 34b, ESTJaI:483), cf Khak *ot* BI132a, Kyzyl *ot* ~ *o:t* Joki19, Tuva *ot* T328, Tofa *ot* R53b, Yak *uot* Slp440a.

oht 'grass', cf *oht^h* L35a, CL160b, *oxt* M83b, *uxt* M131b, *hoht^h* CL8, *ot* M83b, PotII:436b, *ut* M131b, *owt* Her195.

¶ <CT *ot (cf EDPT 34b, ESTJaI:481), cf Khak *ot* BI132a, Kyzyl *ot* ~ *ođ* Joki19, Tuva *oht* T329b, Tofa *oht* R54b, Yak *ot* Slp280a.

otij 'firewood', cf L32a, *otin* L32a, T194a, M84a, *otun* M83b, *othin* L33a:Da.

¶ <CT *o:tuy ~ *o:tun (cf EDPT 60b, ESTJaI:421), cf Khak *odij* BI123b.

otis 'thirty (used only in the anticipating numerals)', cf L35a, CL173b, T194a, *otis* M84b, *otus* M83b, *otuz* PotII:437a.

¶ <CT *otuz < *ottuz (cf EDPT 74a, ESTJaI:489), cf Khak *otis* BI133a, Yak *otut* Slp281a.

oy 'steppe, plain; Mīnghuā District (which is situated in the plains); home country, home place', cf L36a, CL157b, T193b, T17, M81a.

¶ <CT *o:y 'hole, cavity' (cf EDPT 265b, ESTJaI:425), cf Khak *oy* BI124a, Tuva *oy* T315a 'valley, depression', Tofa *oy* R51a 'brook'.

oy (~ **wey**) 'quick, quickly, immediately, at once', cf L36a, *ohey* L33b, CL50, *oijy* M82b, *oij* M82b, *uhey* L42a, *ujay* T218a, *uji* M130b, *uj[wadro]* Her201.

¶ <CT *oɣay 'easy; easy to get' (cf EDPT 191b), cf Khak *ooy* BI127b 'easy', Shor *oɣday* RI:1032 'cheap; easy'.

oyla= 'to approach the end of, to be almost there, to have almost finished', cf *ohey^hla=* L34a 'id; to be quick; to be on the verge of, to be about to'.

• **khun oyla=** 'of the sun to set'; **kuɣcuo oylayanta** 'at the end of the work'; **ihcɔv oylayanta** 'at the end of the meal'.

oyna= 'to play; to have fun', cf L36b, CL178b, M81b, *uy^hna=* M129b, *yay^hna=* T182a, M35a, *öina[ine]* Her211.

¶ <CT *oy^hna= (cf EDPT 275a, ESTJaI:436), cf Khak *oy^hna=* BI124b, Tuva *oy^hna=* T316a, Tofa *oy^hna=* R51b.

oynas= 'to play together; to have fun together (may have a sexual connotation)', cf L36b, T193b, M81b, *uy^hnas=* M129b, *yay^hnas=* M35a 'to play together, to have fun together', *oyinas=* L36b:Da 'to make jokes'.

¶ <CT *oy^hnaš=, cf Khak *oy^hnas=* BI124b. For the semantics, cf Sagay, Koybal *oy^hnas=* RI:977 'to play together; to commit adultery'.

oynat= 'to let play'.

¶ <CT *oy^hnat= (cf EDPT 275a), cf Khak *oy^hnat=* BI124b, Tuva *oy^hnat=* T316a.

ozyan=, see **uzyan=** 'to wake up'.

öyin, idiolectical for **iyin** 'nephew'.

örçi (~ **örcü**) 'thing, things, stuff', cf *örcü* CL23, *urçi* T218a, *ürçi* T7, *ürçi* M133b, *ürži* M133a 'id, luggage', *örcü* L47b, *örçi* L47b, *ürcü* L25b 'id; tools, instruments', *urcü* L46b:Da 'thing', *ürçi* M131a 'small bag', *öld'ü* Her201 'utensils'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT rgyu Jä110a 'matter, substance, material, etc', Xiàhé *h^hzè* HL135a 'property, material, goods'. Cf further the compounds Arik *kon-nçé* TB467 'clothes' (LT gon-rgyu), Amdo *rđu-rzèi* MG263, *rðe-rzèi* MG432 'things, goods' (LT rgyu-rjas).

° Also loanword in EYu *orcü* B16, *o^hčo* Ĵ107b, *orčo* S743 'thing, object', *urd'u[wai]* Her200 'thing', *urcü*: S535 'property; heritage, inheritance', *erčo* S359 'property, belongings, household goods'.

örcü, see **örçi** 'things'.

örök, see **yürük** 'heart'.

örin, see **erin** 'man'.

örli= 'to stand, to go standing', cf **örle=** CL176b, M84b, **ürli=** M133b, **erle=** C87:564, L30b:Da, M27a, **yörli=** T185a, **yöJle=** T185b, **yörle=** M43a, **örliü[gon]** Her199 'to stand up', **örle=L47a**, **örli=** L47a, **irle=** L24b, **irli=** L24b 'id; to grow up'.

¶ <CT *ö:rle= 'to stand up' (cf EDPT 230a, ESTJaI:543), cf Khak **örle=** BI137a, **öörle=** BI136a.

° >EYü **örle=** B18, **erle=** B12 'to rise, to stand up'.

örliy 'high; tall', cf L47a, CL72, M84a, **öJliy** T194b, **örley** L47a, M84a, **örleX** M84a, **örliq** Her206, **yörleg** T185a, **röliy** CL171a, **erleg** T22, **erliy** M27a, **irliq** T194b, **irliy** T220b, **ürleX** M133b, **yürliy** M46b, **yürliB** M46b 'id', **örliüq** Her199 'above', **örliüy** L47a:Da 'high; deep', **irliy** L24b, **rliy** L339b 'high; a high place; approval, favour, agreement'.

¶ From an older *ö:rleg, cf Shor **örleg** RE:1233 'high up'.

örlisik 'girdle, belt', cf **yörlesiq** M43a, **irlisikh** L24b, CL169a, **rliisikh** L339b, **elwesiqh** L26b, T178b, **irwisikh** L25b:Da.

¶ < *irlesük < *irelsük <CT *ilersük (cf EDPT 151b).

pa 'eight'. Equivalent of **saqis**.

¶ <Ch bā.

pa (~ **wa**), question particle, cf L48a, CL175a, PotII:437, **wa** L311a, CL136.

¶ <Ch ba.

payaca 'bucket', cf CL167a, T194b, **paβaca** M85a 'wooden bucket for fetching water or milk', **baḡad'a** Her195 'wooden pail (bucket)'.

° EYü **qhusun paβaca** B64 (**qhusun** 'water'), **baḡad'a** Her195.

payir 'liver', cf L50b, CL162b, **baḡör** Her195 'id', **paβir** M85b 'id, gall'.

¶ <CT *baḡir (cf EDPT 317a, ESTJaII:17), cf Khak **paar** BI139a, Tuva **baar** T81a, Tofa **baar** R14a, Yak **bīar** Slp90b 'liver'.

payir: thay payir 'mountain ridge', cf L50b 'mountain slope', **taβ paβir** M85b 'mountain ridge'.

¶ Compound consisting of **thay** 'mountain' + **payir** L50b 'mountain slope; (inclined) plane', **baḡir** T174b, **wayir** T218b 'valley, abyss', **paβir** M85b, **paḡir** M86b 'ground's surface', **baḡer** Her206 'slope', perhaps related to the former. Cf further Khak **paar** BI139a 'skirt of a garment; mountain ridge'.

pakua 'Eight Diagrams (a device used in Taoist divination)'.

¶ <Ch bāguà.

paliq, (~ **palq**, **paq**) 'wall', cf **paliqh** L49b, CL166a, **paḡiq** T195a, M86b, **baḡiq** T174b, **paḡuq** M86b, **balag** Her207, **paqh** L50a, C92:38, **paq** M86b.

¶ <CT *baḡik 'town' (cf EDPT 336a, ESTJaII:59).

palq, see **paliq** 'wall'.

panfa 'method, way'.

¶ <Ch bànfǎ.

panlu 'halfway'.

¶ <Ch bànlù.

paḡna= 'to bind, to tie; to bandage', cf L49b 'to bind, to tie; to bind someone's hands behind him', T195a 'to tie'.

¶ <Ch bǎng.

paḡnas= 'to help (+ DAT)', cf L49b, **baḡnas[ine]** Her200.

¶ <Ch *bāng* + REC.

papa 'uncle (father's younger brother)', cf L48a, CL165a, M87b 'id', *baba* Her193 'uncle'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **papa* (cf ESTJaII:10), cf Khak *paba* BI139a 'father', Tofa *baaba* R14a 'grandfather; father's elder brother'. WYu intervocalic *p* instead of **w* is irregular.

paq, see *palīq* 'wall'.

paqa 'frog', cf L50a, CL160a, T195a, *paša* M85a.

• *kiik paqa* 'frog', calqued from Ch *qīngwā* (*qīng* 'green', *wā* 'frog'); *sariy paqa* 'toad'.

¶ <CT **ba:ka* (cf EDPT 311b, ESTJaII:40), cf Khak *paša* BI139b, Tuva *paya* T342b, Tofa *baba* R14a, Yak *baša* Slp58a.

par 'present, there is', cf L53a, CL172b, T195a, M87b, PotII:437, *paJ* T195a, *war* L311b, T219a, M21a.

¶ <CT **ba:r* (cf EDPT 353a, ESTJaII:61), cf Khak *par* BI143a, Tuva *bar* T90a, Tofa *bar* R15a, Yak *baar* Slp55b.

par= 'to go, to go away, to leave', cf L53a, CL176b, T195a, M87b, *paJ=* T195a, *bar=* T174b, *war=* L311b, T25, M21a.

¶ <CT **bar=* (cf EDPT 354a, ESTJaII:64), cf Khak *par=* BI143a, Tuva *bar=* T81b, Tofa *bar=* R15a, Yak *bar=* Slp63a.

parliy 'having, owning, being in the possession of; rich', cf L53b, *parliy* T195a.

¶ <CT **barliq* (cf EDPT 365b, ESTJaII:63), cf Sagay *parliB* RIV:1156, Tofa *barliB* R15a.

pahrs 'pang (onomatopoeic for a bursting sound)'.

parsī (speech of older speakers), see *pahrsī* 'tiger'.

pahrsī (~ *parsī*) 'tiger', cf *parsī* L53b, CL159b, M88a, *parşl* L53b, *pars* L53b:Da, CL159b, M88a, *bars* T174b, Her199, *bars'* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT **bars* (cf EDPT 368a, ESTJaII:68), cf Khak *alabarīs* ~ *alaparīs* BI22a (*ala* 'variegated'), Koybal *parīs* RIV:1152, Sagay, Kacha, Koybal *mars* RIV:2033, Tuva *par* T343b 'tiger', Karagas *par* Cas125a 'lion'.

pahs= 'to press; (of dirt, mud) to stain', cf C86:3, *pas=* CL177b, T195a 'to press', M88a 'id; to be infected or tainted with', L52a, *pahs=* L51a 'id; (of camels) to mate; to cover'.

¶ <CT **bas=* (cf EDPT 370b, ESTJaII:74), cf Khak *pas=* BI145a, Tuva *bahs=* R71:159, *bas=* T84a, Tofa *bahs=* R15b.

pahsīr 'spleen', cf L51a, *pasīr* L52b.

pahsīrmek (speech of older speakers), see *pahsīrmik* 'thumb'.

pahsīrmik (~ *pahsīrmek*) 'thumb', cf *pasīrmek^h* L52b, *pasīnek^h* L52b:Da, *pasīrmik* M88b, *basīrmīq* M20a, *basermek* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *paş* 'head' + *tarmaq* 'finger', or CT **barmak* or **erjek* 'finger' (cf EDPT 234b, ESTJaII:66, ESTJaI:299).

paş (*pa^hç-*) 'head; top, summit; tree top, crown; upper end; beginning', cf L51b 'id; classifier for humans; principal, main', CL161b, T195b, *paş'* PotII:435a, *paş* Man64, Her194, *phaş* T198a, *waş* L311b, CL35, T219a, *waş* M88b, *pas* M88a (seldom) 'head', *paş* M88b 'id; top; beginning', *pa^hş* T195b 'id; principal, main'. See *-waş* (compound form).

• *pa^hçīnta* 'at the beginning'; *kīltiñ paş* 'bald', cf *qīltiñ paş* L193a 'id', *qīltiñ paş* T201b, *qīltiñ baş* M63a 'thrembling head (of old and sick people)'; *qarq paş* 'bridge of the nose', cf *qañiriq paş* L184b 'the tip of the nose'; *qhaq paş* 'skull', cf *qhaq^h paş* L206b, *qaq paş* M50a; *terek paş* 'the crown of a tree', cf *terek^h paş* L51b, *terek paş* M88b; *thaqan paş* 'fool, simpleton (a term of abuse)'.

¶ <CT *baš (cf EDPT 375a, ESTJalI:85), cf Khak *pas* BI144b, Tuva *ba^hš* IP26, Tofa *ba^hš* R15b, Yak *bas* Slp65a. WYU -š (instead of -s) < CT *š is irregular.

pa^hšta= 'to begin', cf L52a, CL181a, T195b, *bašta*[*ine*] Her203.

¶ <CT *bašla= (cf EDPT 381b, ESTJalI:88), cf Khak *pasta*= BI145b, Tuva *bašta*= T95b, Tofa *bašta*= R16a. WYU -š (instead of -s) < CT *š is irregular.

paht= 'to be or become lost, to get lost, to disappear', cf *pat*= M88b 'id', *pa^hth*= L50b, CL178b, *pa^hq^h*= C86:2 'id; to hide'.

¶ <CT *bat= 'to go down' (cf EDPT 298a, ESTJalI:78), cf Khak *pat*= BI146b, Tuva *bat*= T82b, *baht*= Jan37, Tofa *baht*= R15b.

pahtir= 'to lose', cf L50b, CL178b, *pahtir*= L68b, *patir*= M88b, *patru*= M88b, *patra*= M88a.

¶ <CT *batur= (cf EDPT 308a, ESTJalI:80), cf Tuva *badir*= T85b, Tofa *bahtir*= R15b.

pahtir 'hero; heroic', cf L48b, CL73, T195b, *pahtur* L48b 'id', *patir* M88b 'distinguished, of influence'.

¶ <EYU *pa:thär* B29, *pa:thër* J98b, cf LM *baḡatur* Les68b.

pay 'rich', cf L51b, CL172b, M86a, *pæy* M89a, *pey* L59a, M89b.

¶ <CT *ba:y 'rich man, rich' (cf EDPT 384a, ESTJalI:28), cf Khak *pay* BI140b, Tuva *bay* T85b, Tofa *bay* R14b, Yak *baay* Slp54a.

pecin (speech of older speakers), see *picin* 'monkey'.

pehk= 'to prepare, to make ready'.

¶ Perhaps a distortion of *pele^hthke*= L58a and *pele^h*= L58a, *pilet*= M92a 'to prepare, to make ready', related to LM *beledke*= Les97a.

pehk= 'to eat with taste' (translation uncertain, occurring in a folk tale only), cf *pek*= M90a, M67:176, M67:80 'to be satiated'.

¶ <CT *bö^k= (cf ESTJalI:211), cf Tuva *pök*= T349b 'to be satiated', Tofa *pök*= R59a 'to eat fat food'. Note the unusual initial *p*- in Tuva and Tofa.

pel 'waist', cf L57b, CL162a, T196a 'id', M90a, *peł* M90a 'id; mountain ridge', *bel* Her194 'coccyx'.

¶ <CT *be:l 'waist' (cf EDPT 330a, ESTJalI:135), cf Khak *pil* BI149b, Tuva *bel* T98a, Karagas *bel* Cas126b, Yak *biil* Slp69a.

pele 'together with', cf *pule* L66a, C82:76b, *puli* L66a, T197a, *puley* L66a, *pīle* L54a, *pli* M92b, *bile* PotII:437 'id', *pulen* L66a, CL133, *pulin* M95a, *pīlen* T197b, *pilin* M92a, *wulin* M21b, *welin* M21a 'id, and; with, using', *olen* L33b CL133 'with, using'.

¶ < *bile ~ *bilen <CT *birle (cf EDPT 364b, ESTJalI:140, ESTJalI:149), cf Tuva *bile* T103a, Tofa *bile* R17a, *ble* R17b.

per= (*peryi*) 'to give', cf L160b, CL181b, T196b, M91a, *peɹ*= T196b, *pe^hɹ*= T196b, *pīr*= T197b, *ber*= T174b, *pær*= M89a, *wer*= L312b, T219a, M21a, *ber*= Her213, [*maŋa*] *bex*[*tī*] Her201.

• *kisīyi qizti kheln per*=, *qizti kisīyi per*= 'to give one's daughter into marriage to someone'; *alim per*= 'to pay one's debts'.

¶ <CT *be:r= (cf EDPT 354b, ESTJalI:114), cf Khak *pīr*= BI150b, Tuva *ber*= T132a, Tofa *ber*= R16b, Yak *bier*= Slp72b.

peraqinta 'over here, down here', cf *peraq^h* L60b, CL41, *beržaq* M20a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perī* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC.

peraqintan 'from over here, from down here'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perī* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + ABL.

peraqiŋqa 'over here, down here, hither'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perī* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.

perī 'hither, to this side', cf *peri* T196a, *beri* M20b, *perü* M91b, *püre* T196a, *pürü* M96b, *per* T196a 'id', *perī* L60b, CL41, M91a, *beru* M20b 'id; since (+ ABL)', *bere*[*lögapter*] Her204 'to return'.

¶ <CT **berü* (cf EDPT 355b, ESTJaiI:124), cf Khak *peer* BI147b, Tuva *beer* T132b, Tofa *beeri* R19b.

pehrk 'courageous', cf *phehrkh* L72a 'outstanding, excellent', *perihk* T196a, *perik* M91a, *perik* M91b 'big, important', *pehrkh* L58b, *pürkh* L70b 'strength'.

¶ <CT **berk* (cf EDPT 361b, ESTJaiI:116), cf Khak *pīrik* BI150b, Tuva *bert* T100a '(a place) difficult to traverse', Tofa *behr̄t* R16b 'good', Yak *bert* Slp100a 'splendid, terrific'.

pey= 'to run out, to come to an end', cf *phai*= M67:23 'to become lost'.

¶ Perhaps <EYu *pai*= B30 'to stop, to cease', cf LM *bai*= Les72b 'to be; to stop'.

peyciŋ (*peyciŋqa*) 'Běijīng', cf L340b, *peciŋ* CL156, *pečin* M91b, *pežin* M89b.

¶ <Ch Běijīng.

pezī= (*pezīyi*) 'to be or become big, large; to grow, to grow up', cf *pezi*= M89b 'id', *pezi*= L59b, CL46 'id; to get promotion; to expand (of a pregnant woman's belly)'.

• *ihčikī pezī*= 'to be pregnant'.

¶ <CT **bedü*= (cf EDPT 299b, ESTJaiI:288), cf Tuva *bedi*= T97a, Tofa *bedi*= R16a.

pezik 'big, large', cf T196b, *pezikh* L60a, CL170b, *pezik* T12, *pezek* T196b, *pezik* M89b, *pecik* T195b, *beseq[dro]* Her200, *pözikh* L67b:Da, *pözükh* L67b:Da, *bözüik* PotII:435a, *buziik* PotII:437 'id', *bösek[dro]* Her201 'brave, courageous'.

¶ <CT **bediik* (cf EDPT 302b, ESTJaiI:288), cf Khak *pözik* BI160a, Sagay *müziik* BI111a, Tuva *bedik* T97a, Tofa *bedik* R16a.

pezüt= (*pezütki*) 'to cause to be or become big, large, to make big, large', cf *pezüt^h*= L59b, C93:44, *pezit*= M89b 'id; to promote'.

¶ <CT **bedüt*= (cf EDPT 300b), cf Tuva *bedit*= T97a.

piala= 'to paste; to throw, to fling, to toss'.

¶ <NwM *piā⁴⁴* CZW11a.

piayir 'a few days ago', cf L60b, C82:67b, *piabir* M91b, *piæbir* M91b, *piæyir* M91b.

¶ The second element unclear, the first element <CT **baya* 'in the immediate past, recently' (cf EDPT 384b, ESTJaiI:30), cf Khak *paya* BI147a, Sagay *piye* BI151b 'recently', Tuva *biye* T101a 'long ago', Tofa *biye* R16b 'recently'.

pien 'just, as soon as, right'.

¶ <Ch biàn.

pienkhuaj 'a rectangular basket'.

¶ <Chinese, perhaps biān 'to weave' + kuāng 'basket'.

pičin (~ *pečin*) 'monkey', cf *pečin* L59a, CL159b, *peycin* T195b, *pičin* M92b, *pežin*' PotII:437, *beid'in* Her211.

¶ <CT **be:čin* (cf EDPT 295b).

pili= 'to stick in (the belt)'.

¶ <Ch bié 'to stick in (the belt); to fasten with a pin or clip'.

pihk̄w 'extremely, very', cf *phiqow* L73b 'especially, terribly', *pehrqo* L58b 'well', *phehrqo* L72a 'id, remarkably'.

¶ Contraction of *pehrk* 'courageous' + ADV -Gv.

piŋkuan 'hotel'.

¶ <Ch bīnguǎn.

pis 'five', cf M92a, *pes* L59b, CL173a, T196b, M91b, PotII:436b, *bes* T11, M91b, *pešš* Man61, *bais* Her197, and sandhi forms *peš* T196b, *peš* M91b.

¶ <CT *be:š (cf EDPT 376a, ESTJaII:126), cf Khak *pis* BI151a, Tuva *beš* T100b, Tofa *beš* R16b, Yak *bies* Slp73a.

pisek 'a piece, a lump, a couple of', cf M92a 'a small amount of', *phisek^h* L73b 'a few', T198a, *pirsek^h* L56a, CL86, *pirsek* T197b, *pisek^h* L56a, *phisek^h* L70a, *pisiq* M96b, *pisek* M92a, *pusek^h* CL83 'a little bit, some, a few, a handful, a part, a piece', *pesek* M91b 'a part, a lump', *phise:k* T198a 'herd'.

¶ Crasis of *pür* 'one' + *kisek* M68a 'part' <CT *kesek (cf EDPT 749b).

pisinči 'fifth', *pesinči* L59b, C82:77b, *pesinči* T196b, *pisinči* M92a.

¶ Cf Khak *pizınži* BI149a.

pis-yiyirmi 'fifteen', cf *peşeyirmi* L59b, *peşeyirmi* L59a, CL62, *peşeyirmi* T196b, *beşbirma* M20b, *peşigerma* Man62, *başıgörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pis* 'five' + *yiyirmi* 'twenty'.

pisun 'fifty', cf *peson* L59b, CL173b, T196b, M91b, *pison* M92a, *beson* PotII:437, *baisson* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pis* 'five' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *bežen* T97a, Tofa *bežen* R16b, Yak *bies uon* Slp73a. Elsewhere CT *elig < *ellig (cf EDPT 141a, ESTJaI:266) prevails, cf Khak *iliy* BI58a.

pihtior 'a little bit, rather, quite'.

pihcaq 'knife', cf *phucaq^h* L76a, CL167a, *phucaq* T198b, *pucaq* T198b, *pičaq* M97b, *pčak* PotII:436a, Man64, *byag* Her203, *bišak* Her213.

¶ <CT *bičak (cf EDPT 293b, ESTJaII:160), cf Khak *pičax* BI171b, Kyzyl *pižax* BI169b, Yak *bihax* Slp95b.

pil= (*pilyi*) 'to know; to understand; to realize', cf L54a, CL179a, T197a, *pił=* T197a, M96a, *bił=* T175a, *pil=* M92a, PotII:437, *bil=* PotII:437, *pel=* M90a, *peł=* M90a, *beł=* M20a.

¶ <CT *bil= (cf EDPT 330b, ESTJaII:137), cf Khak *pil=* BI151b, Tuva *bil=* T104a, Tofa *bil=* R17a, Yak *bil=* Slp69b.

pilisik (*pilisikki*) 'thimble; bracelet; ring', cf *pilisik^h* L54b, CL167a, *pilesik^h* L54b, *blasög* Her211 'thimble', *pilisiq* T196b 'bracelet', *pilisik^h* L54b:Da, *pilesik^h* L54b:Da, *pilesik^h* L61b:Da, *pilezik* M92a, *plisk* M92a 'ring'.

¶ <CT *bileziik 'bracelet' (cf EDPT 345b, ESTJaII:143), cf Tuva *bilzek* T103 'ring', Yak *bihilex* Slp71b 'golden ring'.

° →EYu *pelezék* B33, *plezék* Man69, *blesök* Her209 'ring', *blasög* Her211 'thimble'.

pilit (~ *pulit*) 'cloud', cf M96a, *pilit^h* L54a, CL157a, L54a, *pilt^h* L54b, *piłt* T197b, *pulut* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT *bulit (cf EDPT 333a, ESTJaII:262), cf Khak *pulut* BI166a, Tuva *bulut* T122a, Tofa *bulut* R19a, Yak *bilit* Slp93a.

° →EYu *pulët* B35, Ĵ94b, *pulut* Kot451.

piltir= (*piltiryi*) 'to let know; to notify, to inform', cf L54b, CL8, *piltir=* M96a.

¶ <CT *bildür= (cf EDPT 334b, read *biltür=*), cf Khak *pildir=* BI151b, Tuva *bildir=* T103, Tofa *bildir=* R17a, Yak *biller=* Slp70a. In view of Yak *ll*, CT *d is reconstructed here instead of *t.

pinlay (~ *piñlay*) 'actually'.

¶ ←Ch *běnlái*; for the first element, cf NwM *pəŋ*⁵¹ CZW360a.

piñlay, see *pinlay* 'actually'.

pür (*püryi*) 'one; a; once, one time, a time; single', cf L56a, CL179a, T197b, *pür* T11, *phü* T199a, *pür* PotII:436b, *per* T196a, M91a, *pər* M91a, *pörr* Man61, *bar* Her197, *wür* T219a.

• *pür-pürnī* 'one another (+ ACC)', cf L56b, *pürwürnī* T197b, *pər berinī* M97b; *pür*

pirtin 'one after the other, one by one', cf *pīr pīrten* L57a; *pirtin pīr* 'more and more', cf *perten pər* M67:57 'suddenly'.

¶ <CT **bi:r* (cf EDPT 353b, ESTJaII:146), cf Khak *pīr* B1152a, Tuva *bir* T104b, Tofa *bir* R17, Yak *biir* Slp69a.

pīra 'conch', cf L56b, CL18, T197b, *pra* L67b, CL168b, *pīra* M96a, *pōra* Man66 'white conch used as an instrument in Buddhist rituals'.

° EYU *tuy pura* B131 'conch-shell trumpet' (*tuy* 'conch').

pīhrcaq (~ *puhrcaq*) 'bean', cf *pīrcaq* T197b, M96a, *phuhrcaqh* L76a, CL161a, *purcaq* M95a, *pīcaq* M97b, *pcaq* M95b 'id, legume, pea', *burcaq* PoIII:402 'pea (*Pisum sativum* L.)', *bud'ak* Her195 'bean'.

¶ Either <CT **burcak* (cf EDPT 357b), or, in view of the *ç* <EYU *phērčhaq* B39, *phēčcaq* Ĵ98a, *bud'ak* Her195 'bean', *burcaq* PoIII:402 'pea (*Pisum sativum* L.)', cf LM *burcaq* Les137b.

pīrya 'camel stallion', cf L57a, CL159b, T197b, *purya* L67b, *pīrba* M96a.

¶ <CT **bugra* (cf EDPT 317b, ESTJaII:235).

pīrik= 'to agree', cf T197b, *pīriq*= T197b 'to come together, to unite', *pīrikh*= CL41 'to join', L56b 'id, to have a meeting', *soz pīrikh*= CL41 'to agree' (*soz* 'word'), *puk[te lepter]* Her204 'agreement'.

¶ <CT **bi:rik*= (cf EDPT 363a, ESTJaII:148), cf Khak *pīrik*= B1152b, Tuva *birik*= T105a.

° →EYU *purék*= B36 'to join, converge', S176 'to form groups, to group', *pūrék*= BĴ243 'to come together'.

pīrīncī 'first', cf *pīrīncī* L56b, CL76, *pīrīncī* T196b.

¶ Cf Khak *pīrīnžī* B1152b.

pīrmi 'some, someone, something', cf *pīrme* L57a, CL174b 'some'.

• *pīrmisī* 'some, some of them', cf *pīrmisī[ŋke]* L57a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *pīr* 'one' + *nimi* '(some)thing', cf Khak *pīr nime* B1117a 'something'.

pīhrqan 'deity; Buddha', cf *phīhrqan* L70a, *phīhrqhan* L70a, *pīrqan* T199a, *purqan* T198b, M95a 'id', *burqan* Her201 'Buddha', *perkan* Her196 'image of Buddha in a tent', *pīhrqan* L55b, *phuhrqhan* L76a, CL162b, *puhrqan* L66b, *puhrqhan* L66b, *phurqan* L75b, L76a, *phurqhan* L76b 'id; smallpox, smallpox pustule', *pörkan* Her211 'smallpox'.

¶ <CT **burkan* 'Buddha' (cf EDPT 360b), cf Sagay, Koybal, Shor *purqan* RIV:1368, Tuva *buryan* T122b. For the semantics, cf EYU *phērqhan* B39, *phēčqan* Ĵ89 'Buddha', *perkan* Her196 'image of Buddha in a tent', LM *burqan* Les139b 'Buddha', EYU *pörkan* Her211, *χara phērqhan* B46, *nurqan* [sic] S568 'smallpox' (*χara* 'black'), cf LM *čayan burqan* Les140a 'id' (*čayan* 'white'); cf further Ch *tiānhuā* 'smallpox' (*tiān* 'heaven', *huā* 'flower'), LT *lha-'brum* Zhāng3086a, *lha-thor* Zhāng3082b 'divine pimples'.

pīrsī (*pīrsīŋki*) 'one of them, the one, the other', cf *pīrsī* M96b, *phīrsī* T199a, *perisi* M91a, *persī* M97b.

¶ < **birsi* < **birisi* <CT **bi:r* 'one' + double POS3 (cf EDPT 353b), occurring in several Turkic languages, cf Khak *pīrsi* B1152b.

pīr-yiyirmī 'eleven', cf *pīreyyirmī* L56b, CL173a, *pere germe* PoIII:437, *prigerma* Man64, *brigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pīr* 'one' + *yiyirmī* 'twenty'.

pīs= (*pīski* ~ *pīsqa*) 'of something to boil, to cook; to be or become ripe, mature', cf L55b, M96b, *pīhs*= L55b, CL177b, *phīs*= L70a, T199a, *phus*= L76a.

¶ <CT **bīš*= ~ **bīš*= (cf EDPT 376b, ESTJaII:161), cf Khak *pīs*= B1171a, Tuva *bīš*=

T129a, *bīhš*= Jan37, Tofa *bīhš*= R19b, Yak *bus*= Slp87a.

pīsīy 'ripe, mature', cf L55b, *phīsīy* L70a, *pīhsīy* L55b 'id; cooked'.

¶ <CT **bīšig* (cf EDPT 378b, ESTJaII:164), cf Khak *pīzīB* BI169b.

° >EYu *phēsusB* B39 'hot and suffocating'.

pīšt (*pīštqa*) 'louse', cf T198a, *pīšt^h* L55b, CL160a, *phīšt^h* L70a, *pīšt* M92b, *pīšt* M97b, *pīš* M97b, *pīt* M96b, *böršt* Her211.

¶ <CT **bīt* ~ **bit* (cf EDPT 296b, ESTJaII:151), cf Khak *pīt* BI153a, Tuva *bīt* T131b, Tofa *bīht* R19b, Yak *bīt* Slp96a.

pīt 'leg', cf M96b, *pīt^h* L54a, CL8, *put^h* L66a, CL162a, *put* T197a, M95a, PotII:436a, *pōt* Man65, *bōt* Her195, *wut* T219a.

• *pezīk pīt* 'thigh', cf *pezīk^h pīt^h* L60a, calqued from Ch *dātuī* (*dà* 'big', *tuī* 'leg'); *kīhciy pīt* 'lower leg, shank', calqued from Ch *xiāotuī* (*xiǎo* 'small', *tuī* 'leg').

¶ <CT **bu:t* (cf EDPT 297b, ESTJaII:280), cf Khak *put* BI167, Tuva *but* T124a, Tofa *but* R19a, Yak *buut* Slp87b.

pīht= (*pīhtki*) 'to suffice', cf *pīht^h*= L55a, CL8, *phīht^h*= L70a, *phīt^h*= L69a, *phīt*= T199a, *pīt^h*= CL180b, *pīt*= T198a, M96b, *phuht*= T199a, *phut^h*= L67a, *phut*= T198b, *put^h*= L66a, CL89, *put*= T197a, M95a, *pūt*= M95b, *fīt*= T179a 'id; to finish, to complete'.

¶ <CT **bīt*= ~ **büit*= (cf EDPT 298b, ESTJaII:152), cf Khak *püt*= BI169a, Tuva *büit*= T125b, *büht*= Jan37, Tofa *büht*= R19b, Yak *büt*= Slp89b. In NE, the rounded variant prevails.

pīhtiy (*pīhtikki*) 'book; writing, scripture; (letter of the) alphabet', cf *phīhtiy* L69a, *pīhtiy* M96b, T198b, *phutiy* L74b, CL168a, *phutiy* T8, *pīhtiq* M96b 'id', *puχtiq* Man65, *ptök* Her209 'book'.

¶ <CT **bitig* (cf EDPT 303a, ESTJaII:157).

° >EYu *ptök* Her209 'book', *bdök* Her207 'alphabet'.

pīhtir 'last year', cf *pīhtir* L55a, CL158b, *pīhtir* T197b, *phīhtir* L70a, *phīhtir* L70a, *phīhtir* L69a, *pītir* M97a, *puhtir* L66b, *puhtir* L66b, *phutir* L75a, *phutir* L75b, *phuhtir* L75b.

• *pīhtirki yil* 'last year's year', cf *pīhtirqi yil* L55b, *phīhtirki yil* L70a, *pīhtirqi yil*[ta] M96a.

¶ <CT **bīltir* (cf EDPT 334a s.v. *bīldir*, ESTJaII:139), cf Khak *pīltir* BI170b 'last year'.

pīhtir: *pīhtir orihkel* 'a long time ago', cf *phutre* L75a:Da, C82:76b, *pīhtir ehrkel* L55a, *phīhtirehkel* L70a, *phuhterehkel* L75b, *phutrehkel* L75a, *phutrehkel* L75b, *phutirehkel* < *pīhtir ehrki yil* L75a 'in the past'.

• *pīhtirki* 'once upon a time', cf *phutrehki* L75a 'of the past'.

¶ Perhaps related to *baldur* 'a shorter or longer time ago' (cf EDPT 334a, ESTJaII:139) recorded by Kashgari, cf Khak *pudurbī* BI165a 'recently', Yak *bīlir* Slp93a 'a long time ago, in the past'.

pīhtira=: *īs pīhtira*= 'of smoke to whirl up', cf (*īs*) *phīhtira*= L69a '(of smoke) to be spitted out, to be emitted, to rise up', *pītira*= M97a '(of smoke) to be emitted during a prayer', *patira*= L48b 'to spread, to diffuse'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf Mgr *phuđerā*= S/M304 'to rise in the air (like dust), to disperse', LM *butara*= Les141b 'to scatter, disperse'. Also loanword in Khak *pītira*= BI171b, Tuva *bīdara*= T129a 'id, to clear away (of clouds, smoke)' (cf further ESTJaII:308).

pīhtirat= 'to make whirl up (dust)', cf *phīhtirat^h*= L69a '(of the wind or a horse) to raise or kick up dust; to spend money without restraint', *pītirat*= M97a 'to raise up dust, to stamp on the dust, to scatter or disperse sweepings'.

pīz (*pīzki*) 'ice', cf L56a, M95b, *bös*[*doj gaipter*] Her203.

¶ <CT **bu:z* (cf EDPT 389a, ESTJaII:238), cf Khak *pus* B1167b, Yak *muus* Slp246b.

pīz 'awl', cf L67a, *puz* L56a.

¶ < **biz* <CT **biyiz* (cf ESTJaII:130), cf Khak *pis* B1153a 'awl; blade', Tuva *bis* T105b, Tofa *bis* R17a 'sharp of a knife'.

pol= (*polya*, *puya*) 'to become, to be, to occur', cf L62a, CL177a, *poł=* T196a, M93b, *bol=* T175a, T219a, *wol=* L312b, *wol=* T219a, M21b, *wo=* L312b, *wu=* T219a, *ol=* T193b, *ol[ub]* PotIII:437.

• *men phēy poppar* 'I am the official, I act as official'; *pīr yil polyanta* 'when a year had passed'; *kem pol=* 'to be or become ill', cf L149a; *kiš pol=* 'to be or become late'; *köz qhalaq pol=* 'to help, to be of assistance', apparently a distortion of *köz qhulaq pol=* L162a, *köz qolaaq poł=* M46a (lit. to be eye and ear); *pozya mīla pol=* (~ *pozya pol=*) 'to be or become pregnant, to be with child', cf *pozya pol=* L65a; *yeriŋ pol=* 'of an abscess to appear'; *yoq pol=* 'to come to an end, to be no more, to run out; to disappear; to die (honorific, said when referring to one's parents or relatives)', cf L62a 'to be no more, to exist no more', *yoq poł=* T196b, M42a, M93b 'to disappear', see also *yoqqa=* 'to die (not polite)'.

¶ <CT **bo:l=* (cf EDPT 331a, ESTJaII:185), cf Khak *pol=* B1156a, Tuva *bol=* T110b, Tofa *bol=* R17b, Yak *buol=* Slp83a.

poḥqqa 'bag', cf *poḥqḥqa* L63b, *phoḥqḥqa* L74a, *poqča* M93b, *poḥča* M92b, *poḥqa* L63b 'saddle bag, double bag'.

¶ <EYu *ɔkčḥɔ* B34 'rectangular bag', *pokčó* Man67 'riding bags', cf LM *boŋča* Les110b, *boŋčo* Les111a.

poḥqīs 'low; shallow', cf L63b, *poḥqḥīs* L63b, *phoḥqīs* L74a 'id; cheap', *poḥqīs* CL171a 'shallow', T197a, *pokos* T196b, *poḥos* T196b, *poqīs* M93b, *poXqus[īn]* M93b, *boX[dro]* Her201 'low'.

porta= 'to feed', cf L65b 'id, to fatten (animals)', *porda=* M94a 'id, to take care (of horses)', *borda[īne]* Her206 'to feed'.

• *sut porta=* 'to suckle (a child)'.

¶ <EYu *porto=* S157 'to fertilize, to feed, to fatten', cf LM *borda=* ~ *bordo=* Les120b 'to fatten animals; to fertilize the soil'.

portas 'fodder'.

poḥsan= 'to be or become cloudy', cf *pusan=* M95a, *phusan=* L76a, *phursan=* L76b.

¶ <CT **bus* 'fog, mist' (cf EDPT 370b, ESTJaII:277) + verbalizer *-a* + RFL.

posat=, see *poḥsat=* 'to untie'.

poḥsat= (~ *posat=*) 'to untie, to loosen', cf *poḥsatḥ=* L64a, *posatḥ=* L64b 'id; to clear out, to vacate', *wosatḥ=* T219a 'to loosen a knot'.

¶ <CT **bošut=* ~ **bošat=* (cf EDPT 378a), cf Khak *pozit=* B1156a, Sagay *pozat=* RIV:1293, Tuva *božut=* T108a, Tofa *boḥhut=* R18b.

poštī 'all right, fine, best; maybe, probably', cf *poš* L64b, *polyiš* L62b, *połyīš* M93b.

potola= 'to report for duty'.

¶ <Ch *bàodào*.

potti 'all right; it is enough', cf *popḥ tro* L62a, *popḥti* C82:69b 'id', *babdro* Her200 'to terminate'.

poz 'body', cf L64b, CL161b, T197a, M93a, *bos* Her201, *woz* C82:67b.

¶ <CT **bod* 'stature' (cf EDPT 296b, ESTJaII:176), cf Khak *pos* B1159a 'self', Tuva *bot* T115a 'id', Tofa *bot* R18a 'id; body'.

pozaj 'twilight, dusk', cf L65a.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **boz* 'grey' (cf EDPT 388b), cf further Shor *pozam(dīq)* RIV:1293, Teleut *pozon(tīq)* RIV:1294, *pozom(tīq)* RIV:1294 'dusk'.

pozī= 'to paint, to dye', cf L65a, CL178a.

¶ <CT **bodu=* ~ **boda=* (cf EDPT 300a, ESTJaII:178), cf Tofa *bodu=* R17b.

pozīt= 'to cause to paint, to cause to dye'.

¶ <CT **bodut=* ~ **bodat=* (cf EDPT 301a).

poztas= 'of livestock to moo, bellow or shout together'.

¶ REC of *pozta=* L65b 'of a female camel to bellow for her foal (when not seeing it)', *pozda=* M93a 'to neigh; to shout, to roar' <CT **bozla=* 'to bellow' (cf EDPT 392a, ESTJaII:175), cf Khak *pustas=* B1167b (+ REC), Tuva *busta=* T123b.

poztiy 'tall', cf L65b 'id', *pozdiB* M93a 'having a body'.

¶ <CT **bodliq* (cf EDPT 305a), cf Tuva *bottuy* T116a.

pöyli 'this year, the present year', cf *poyli* L64a, CL158b, *poylī[qo yil]* M93a.

¶ Older compound consisting of CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* 'this' + **yil* 'year' (cf EDPT 917a), cf Khak *püül* B1169b, Shor *piil* RIV:1337, Tofa *bo čilin* R93a (+ instrumental).

pu (*puya*) 'this; he, she, it', cf L65b, CL174b, T197a, M94b, *mu* M78a, *pī* M95b, *po* M92b, *buł* M21b, *bo* Her213. See also the oblique forms in *mīn-*, *mī-*.

¶ <CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* (cf EDPT 291b, ESTJaII:225), cf Khak *pu* B1164b, Tuva *bo* T106b, Tofa *bo* R17b, Yak *bu* Slp80a.

pučin 'with, using', cf L66b, CL22, T197b, *pučin* M21b, *pužin* M94b, *počin* L64a, *požin* M93a, *bučin* M21b, *pičin* M92b 'id; together with, and; via, over'.

¶ Contamination of *učin* 'with, using' + *pele* 'together with'.

puya 'hither; to him, her, it', cf L65b, *muya* L87b, *muBa* M67:7. DAT of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT **buya* ~ **muja* (cf EDPT 291b), cf Khak *puBaa* B1165a, Tuva *maḡaa* T288b, *maa* T284a, Tofa *maḡa* R44b, *maa* R44a.

puḡin 'today', cf L66b, CL158b, T197a, *puBīn* M94b, *pīyūn* L55a, C87:563, *pīBīn* M94b, *puBun* M94b, *poḡin* L63b:Da, *poBīn* M93a, *poḡun* L63b:Da, *bugön* Her209.

¶ Older compound consisting of CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* 'this' + **kūn* 'day' (cf EDPT 725b, ESTJaIII:102), cf Khak *püün* B1169b, Tuva *böyün* T116b, Tofa *bo hüin* R78:244, Yak *büyün* Slp88a.

pukuo 'but'.

¶ <Ch *bùguò*.

pułar 'these', cf L357, CL82, *pułar* T78. PL of *pu* 'this'.

¶ <CT **bu:lar* ~ **bo:lar* (cf EDPT 291b), cf Tuva *bolar* T109a.

pulyar 'leather', cf L66a 'yuft, Russia leather', *pułsar* M95a 'skin, leather'.

¶ <CT **bulgar* (cf ESTJaII:260).

pulit, see *pīlit* 'cloud'.

punī, see *mīnī* 'this'.

punīḡ, see *mīnīḡ* 'of this'.

puqa 'bull', cf L66a, CL159a, T197a, M95a, *pīqa* L55a, C87:563, L55a, M96a, *bīqa* M21b, *boqa* T175a, *poqa* L63b, M93a, *poBa* M92b, *buška* Her198.

¶ <CT **bu:ka* (cf EDPT 312a, ESTJaII:230), cf Khak *puBa* B1165a, Tuva *buḡa* T119b, Tofa *buḡha* R19a, Yak *buBa* Pek533.

puqačar 'bull calf (more than two years old)', cf L66a 'small bull calf', *puqačar* M95a 'bull of two or three years'.

¶ Cf Kir *bukačar* Jud156 'young bull'.

puhrcaq, cf *pīhrcaq* 'bean'.

pusa 'if this is the case, but', cf *wosa* M67:29 'well, then'. COND of *pol=* 'to be'.

pusasiŋa 'bad'.

puški, see *mīški* 'into here'.

pusiŋ 'cannot, should not, won't do, doesn't work'. Equivalent of *kwyoq*.

• *pusiŋa* 'cannot, should not, won't do, doesn't work'.

¶ <Ch *bùxíng*, *bùxíng* a.

phala= 'to climb'.

¶ <Ch *pá*.

phalya= 'to bind, to tie (e.g. cattle to a pole)', cf L68a, CL33, *pałya=* T195a, *pałba=* M86b, *pałyi=* T195a, *phayla=* L68a, CL33, *pałta=* M85a.

¶ <CT **ba:glā=* (cf EDPT 314b, ESTJaII:16), cf Khak *palba=* BI141b, Sagay *palba=* RIV:1169, Koybal *pałla=* RIV:1136, Tuva *bayla=* T82b, Tofa *bałla=* R14b.

phaj 'stench, bad smell', cf L68a 'stinking', CL172b 'smell'. See *ohqal=* 'to smell'.

phaqa= 'to shit', cf L68a 'id', *paqa=* M86a 'id (of people, pigs, mice, magpies)'.

¶ Perhaps <Mongolic, cf EYu *pha: =* B38, Ĵ97b, S129 'to shit', LM *baɣa=* Les67b. WYu *q* is inexplicable.

phara= 'to be in good health', cf L68b '(of a job) to be done well; to be talented', *para[mate]* M87b '[was not] suitable'.

¶ <EYu *para=* B31 'to finish, to end (auxiliary verb)', Ĵ98a, Ĵ51 'id, to use up', cf LM *bara=* Les82b. WYu aspirated *ph* is inexplicable.

phayla= (~ *pheyla=*) 'to dispatch, to send, to assign, to appoint', cf L68b.

¶ <Ch *pài*.

phenzi 'tray, plate, dish', cf *phanzi* L67b.

¶ <Ch *pánzi*.

phex (*phexki*) 'lord, beg, official, chieftain, chief', cf L71b, CL165a, T198a, *peB* M89a, *peY* T195b, M89a, *peg* PotII:435b, *pek* PotII:435b, *phex* L72a, *paige* Her200.

¶ <CT **beg* (cf EDPT 322b, ESTJaII:97), cf Khak *piɣ* BI149a, Tuva *bey* T69b, Tofa *bey* R16a 'chief', Yak *bii* Slp69a 'older brother'.

phexir (~ *pher*) 'kidney', cf L71b, CL162b, *pebir* M89a, *phöyir* L76b, C92:34, *phöyur* L76b:Da, C92:34, *phöyür* L76b:Da.

¶ <CT **böqür* (cf EDPT 328a, ESTJaII:207), cf Sagay *püyürek* BI168a (+ diminutive), Yak *büör* Slp89a.

phex= (*phexki*) 'to bend', cf *phex[e]=* L71a, *phökh=* L76b:Da, *pök[i]=* M94b.

¶ <CT **bökh=* ~ **bükh=* (cf EDPT 324a, ESTJaII:290), cf Khak *pük=* BI168b, Tofa *bühk=* R71:77, *bökh=* R18b.

phexek 'hunchbacked', cf *phexekh* L71a, CL22, *pekik* M90a, *phökek* L76b:Da.

¶ < **bökek* ~ **bükek*, a VN in *-ek* from CT **bökh=* ~ **bükh=*.

° >EYu *phökhök* B40.

pher, see *phexir* 'kidney'.

pher= (*phexyi*) 'to beat, to hit', cf L72a, CL176a, T198a, *per=* T196a, M90b, *peJ=* T11 'id', *per[ine]* Her200 'to throw'.

• *yel pher=* 'of the wind to blow', cf L72a, L259a; *pür tun pher=* 'to give a beating', calqued from Ch *dǎ yī dùn* (*dǎ* 'to beat', *yī* 'one').

¶ Cf Tat *bər=* Gol91a 'to hit'.

pherik 'hat', cf T198a, *pherikh* L72a, CL168b, *phirikh* L70b:Da, *perik* T196a, M91a, *perik*

T196a, *perük* M91b, *phörükh* L76b, CL30, *phörükh* L76b, *phörekh* L76b, *pörükh* L67b, *pörüük* M94b, PotII:436b, *perk* Man64, *pörk* Her196.

¶ <CT *bö:rk (cf EDPT 362a, ESTJalI:221), cf Khak *pörük* BI160b, Tuva *bört* T118b, *böhr* (*böryü*) IP26, Tofa *böhr* (*böhrhi*) R18b.

pheris= 'to beat one another, to fight', cf L72b, CL179a, *peris*= M91a, *peris*= M91b.

phertir= 'to get oneself beaten, to allow someone to beat oneself', cf L72b 'to take a beating', *pertir*= M91b 'to cause to beat', *pert te* Her213 'to be beaten'.

pheyla=, see *phayla*= 'to dispatch, to send'.

phi 'mare', cf L72b, CL159a, *pi* M91b, PotII:435b, Her198, *pi*: M91b, *phiy* L73b, CL159a, *pie* M91b, *fi* M134a.

¶ <CT *be: (cf EDPT 291b, ESTJalI:133), cf Khak *pii* BI149b, Kyzyl *pey* BI147b, Tuva *be* T96b, Tofa *be* R16a, Yak *bie* Slp72a.

phici 'bad temper'.

¶ <Ch píqi.

phili= 'to shoot a glance at'.

¶ <Ch piē.

phiolal= 'to float', cf L73a.

¶ <Ch piāo + RFL.

phik 'force, strength', cf *phikhk* L69b, *piq* T197b, M95a, *pheyi* CL87.

¶ < *pik <CT *bek (cf EDPT 323a), cf Khak *pik* BI149b 'strong', Tuva *bek* T97b 'chains', Tofa *behk* R16b 'strong'.

phiraş 'jar', cf CL18, *pharaş* L68b, *phraş* L76a 'a small container', *praş* M94b 'small wooden can or jug (for milk)'.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uygur *burnač* 'jug' (cf EDPT 367b).

phəyyou 'friend'. Equivalent of *nühker*, *yahkīn*.

¶ <Ch péngyou.

pho 'gun', cf L73b, CL168a, T198a, *po* M92b, T196b, *pu* PotII:436a.

¶ <Ch pào.

° Also loanword in EYu *phu*: B40, Ĵ87.

phoqi 'hunter', cf *phoql* L74a, CL163b, *poqi* T196b, *poži* T16.

° EYu *phu*:čhé B40, Ĵ87 'hunter, marksman, gunner'.

phoγ= (*phoqqa*) 'to bind, to tie (e.g. a bag with a rope)', cf L74a, *poB*= M92b, *poq*= M93a.

¶ <CT *bog= 'to strangle; to tie with a rope' (cf EDPT 311b, ESTJalI:164), cf Khak *poB*= BI154b 'to tie up (a bag); to strangle', Tuva *boγ*= T112b 'to fasten a noose, to tie a knot; to strangle', Tofa *boγ*= R17b 'to tie up; to strangle'.

phoqir= 'to dance; to jump, to leap', cf L73b, CL178b, T198b, *phoqhīr*= L74a, *phoqīr*= L63b, *poqīr*= M93b.

• *wu phoqīr*= 'to dance'.

phoqīris= 'to dance together; to jump together'.

phoqīrma 'dance, dancing'.

phoqīrta= 'to jump', cf L73b, *phoqurta*= L73b 'to jump'.

phoqīrtas= 'to jump together', cf CL119.

phorn 'before (+ ABL); front (obsolescent)', cf *phorīn* L74b, *phurīn* L76a, *pīrīn* L56b, *phīrīn* L70b:Da 'id', CL45, T199a, *pīrīn* M96b 'before', *phīrīn* CL45 'a camel's nosepin'.

• *phorn̄ta* 'before, previously; at first', cf *phorīnta* L74b, T198b, *phīrīnta* L70b:Da, *pīrīnta* M96b, *pīrnīnta* M96b (+ POS3); *phornīn̄qa* 'in front, ahead'.

¶ <CT **burun* 'nose; before, previous; front' (cf EDPT 366b, ESTJaII:269, ESTJaII:271), cf Khak *purun* BI167a 'before; nose', Tuva *burun* T123a, *murnuu* T304b (+ POS3), Tofa *burun* R19a 'before; in front', Yak *murun* Slp246a 'nose'.

phozī 'herd, flock', cf *phozī* L74b, *poza* M93a.

phuti= 'to blow; of the wind to blow; to whistle', cf *phute*= L75a 'id; to spray; to play a wind instrument; to boast; to breathe out', CL176a, *pudi*= M94b, *pute*= M95b, *podī*= M93a, *pöde* Her205 'to blow', *phute*= T198b 'to spray'.

• *yel phuti*= 'of the wind to blow'; *phutiš phuti*= 'to whistle on a flute'.

phutistīr= (*phutistīryi*) 'to make to whistle together'.

phutiš 'flute', cf *phuteš* L75a, CL120 'id', T198b [mistranslated as 'sprinkling'].

phutit= 'to cause to whistle or blow'.

phuzī 'shop', cf *phuzī* L76a, CL166a, T199a.

¶ <Ch *pūzi*.

° Also loanword in EYu *phucī* B40.

qača= 'to gnaw', cf L188b:Da 'to cut with a saw'.

¶ <EYu *qača*= BĴ329 'to sever, to cut off', Ĵ99b 'to bite off', S316 'to bite', cf LM *qaĵa*= Les947a.

qahčan 'when', cf L187a, CL174b, *qahčan* L208a, T201b, *qahčan* L207a, *qahčan* T201b, *qačan* M55b, *qčan* M62a.

¶ <CT **kačan* (cf EDPT 592a), cf Khak *xažan* BI282b, Tuva *kažan* T217b, Tožuk *kahyan* Čad95, Tofa *qahhan* R29b, *qahhin* R29b.

qaya 'whither', cf L185a, CL37, T199a, *qaba* M48a, *kaga* PotII:437, *kayga* PotII:437, *qaja* L184b, T199b, M52a.

¶ DAT of the older interrogative base **ka*: (cf EDPT 632b s.v. *ka:ñu*).

qamiš 'reed', cf L183a, C92:35, *qamiš* M52a, *qamuš* L183b.

¶ <CT **kamiš* (cf EDPT 628b, ESTJaV:249), cf Khak *xamiš* BI271a, Yak *xamiš* Pek3293. WYu -š (instead of -s) < CT *š is irregular.

qanta, see *qayta* 'where'.

qantan, see *qaytan* 'whence'.

qantaqī, see *qaytaqī* 'what sort of'.

qap 'bag; quiver', cf T199b, M53a (mountain dial.), *qaph* L183a, CL167a, *qaph* L203a 'bag, sack, pouch, pocket', *gab* Her206 'bag'.

¶ <CT **ka:p* (cf EDPT 578b, ESTJaV:266), cf Khak *xap* BI273a, Tuva *xap* T468b, Tofa *qap* R28b.

qahqīs= 'to quarrel', cf L186a 'id, to bear a grudge against one another; to collide against one another', *qaqīs*= M50b 'to quarrel'.

¶ <CT **kakiš*= 'to be angry with one another' (cf EDPT 613b).

qaq-qara 'pitch black', cf *qaq^h-qara* CL34, *qaph-qara* L183a, CL34, *qaw-qara* CL72, M48a, *qaw-γara* L189a, CL72. See *qara* 'black'.

¶ <CT **kap-kara* (cf EDPT 578b), cf Khak *xap-xara* BI274a, Tuva *kap-kara* T226a, Tofa *qap-qara* R28b.

qar= 'whither to go?', cf the future forms *qarše* L191b, *qarxše* L191b, *qarχše* CL37, *qaryši* M53b, *qaryešey* L191b, *qāñrše* CL37, *qañarše* L184b. *gar*[x šar] Her213.

¶ Crasis of *qaya par*=, cf *qaba par*[te] M67:119, *qaba war*[bīši] M53b.

qara 'black, dark; blackness, darkness; disaster, bad luck; trouble, worry', cf L189b 'id; crude, coarse, crude; mourning (dress)', CL171b, *qaja* T199b, *kara* Man63, PotIII:436b,

xara Her202 'black', *qara* M53a 'id; ugly'.

¶ <CT **kara* (cf EDPT 643b, ESTJaV:286), cf Khak *xara* BI274a, Tuva *kara* T226a, Tofa *qara* R29a, Yak *xara* Slp481b.

qara= 'to look at, to take a look at, to watch', cf CL175b, T199b, M53a, *qaa*= T199b 'id', *qara*= L190a 'id; to look after, to attend'.

• *ihraq qara*= 'to look into the omens, to practise divination, to foretell', cf *ihraqh qara*= L22b, L190b, CL141, *irq qara*= M154a 'id', *ergar[ine]* Her200 'to tell fortunes'; *pihtiy qara*= 'to read', cf *pitiq qara*= M53a, calqued from Ch *kàn shū* 'to read' (*kàn* 'to see', *shū* 'book'), synonym of *onjsi*=; *sik qara*= 'to guard, to watch', cf *sikh qara*= C82:69a, L190b, *siquh qara*= C82:69a, *siqu qara*= M53a; *kim qarama* 'doctor', cf *kem qarama* L149a, perhaps calqued from Ch *kànbing* 'of a doctor to see a patient; of a patient to see a doctor' (*kàn* 'to see', *bing* 'disease'); *mal qarama* 'herd'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *qara*= Les932a.

qaraq 'pupil of the eye', cf T199b, M53b 'eye socket', *qaraqh* L190b, *garak[ai]* Her194 'eyeball'.

¶ <CT **karak* 'eyeball' (cf EDPT 652a, ESTJaV:295), cf Khak *xarax* BI275b, Tuva *karak* T227a, Tofa *qaraq* R29a, Yak *xarax* Slp483a.

° >EYu *hqaraq* BĴ331, *garak[ai]* Her194, *nitüné hqaraq* B27 'eyeball' (*nitün* 'eye' + GEN).

qarar= 'to be or become black', cf L191a, M53b.

¶ <CT **karar*= (cf EDPT 663a), cf Tuva *karar*= T228b.

qarastir= 'to browse, to look a bit'.

qarat= 'to treat a disease', cf M53b, *qarat^h*= L190b, CL178b, *qharat*= T202b 'id; to show'.

qarya 'crow', cf L191b, CL160a.

¶ <CT **karga* (cf EDPT 653a, ESTJaV:303), cf Khak *xarba* BI277a.

qariq, see *qarq* 'nose'.

qaris 'magic', cf L191a 'magic arts; black magic'.

• *qaris tabrt*= 'to bewitch', cf *qaris tabrt^h*= L191a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *qara* 'black' + *is* 'work'.

qarq (~ *qariq*) 'nose', cf M53b, *qarqh* L191b, *qaaq* T199b, *qariqh* L191a, *qariq* M54a, *qayriqh* CL16, *qayriq* M52b, *kayrik* Man65, PotII:436a, *qayiriqh* L184b, CL161b, *qhayiriqh* L206a, *kayjork* Her194.

¶ <CT **kajirik* (cf ESTJaV:256, Räs233a), cf Khak *xarix* BI278b 'bridge of the nose', Koybal *karak* Cas90b, Cas136a 'nose; mountain ridge', Chulym *qijriq* Dul20 'beak', Yak *xajirii* Pek3317, *xonjuruu* Pek3491 'bridge of the nose', Kir *kajirik* Jud342b 'nose', Teleut *qajiriq* RII:82 'septum', *qojir* RII:521a 'bridge of the nose', NUyg *qayriq* Nad587c 'speaking through the nose; hoarse'.

qahs 'a few, some', cf L187a, CL174b, T200a, *qhaş* L208b, *qaş* L188b, CL37, *qaş* M55b, *qas* T200a, and the oblique forms *qahc* T199a, *qač* M55b 'how much, how many'.

¶ <CT **kač* 'how many, how much' (cf EDPT 589b, ESTJaV:340), cf Tuva *kahš* IP26, Tofa *qahš* R31a, Yak *xas* Slp486b.

qah^t 'side; beside, near; time, turn, instance', cf T200a, *qahth* L185b, CL79, *qahth* T203a, *qhat^h* L203b, *qat* M54b, *yaht* T179b, *qih^t* T201b 'side; beside, near; layer, row'.

¶ *pir qah^t* 'once, one time'; *iskī qah^t* 'twice'.

¶ <CT **kat* (cf EDPT 593b, ESTJaV:335), cf Khak *xat* BI280a, Tuva *kaht* T233a, Tofa *qah^t* R30b 'layer, row', Yak *xat* Slp488a 'again'.

qahtar 'back, backwards', cf L185a, CL131, T200a, *qhatar* L203b, T203a, *qhitar* L210b, *qatar* T203a, M54b 'backwards; again'.

qahtiy 'hard', cf L185b, CL171b, *qhatiy* L203b, *qhathtiy* L203b, *qatib* M55a.

¶ <CT *katig (cf EDPT 597b, ESTJaV:335), cf Khak *xatib* BI281a, Tuva *kadiy* T216b, Tožu *kahdiy* Čad42, Tofa *qahtiy* R30b.

qatin 'wife; wife of a high ranked person (khan, official, chieftain), lady, queen', cf L184a 'queen, wife of a khan or high official', CL163a, T200a 'wife', M55a 'woman of high rank'.

¶ <CT *ka:tun 'queen, lady' (cf EDPT 602b), cf Tuva *kadin* T217a.

qayla= 'to run', cf L188a, CL176b, *qayla=* M49b, *qayla=* CL6, *qayla=* T200a.

qaylas= 'to run together', cf *gailax[ter]* Her206.

qaylat= 'to cause to run, to make run', cf L188a.

qayma (~ *qiyma*) 'cunt (a taboo word)', cf L188a, M49b, *qiyma* M49b 'vagina'.

• **qaymasiqqa** 'fuck you! damn!'; **qaymanī kiptiv qis!** 'fuck off!', cf *qiymana ustobla=* M131b [a curse].

¶ Perhaps <CT *kiyma 'cut on a slant; a foodstuff so prepared' (cf EDPT 677b), cf Khak *xiyma* BI297b 'horse's rectum; a kind of foodstuff consisting of guts, minced meat and fat', Shor *qiyma* RII:702 'guts; reticulum', Alt *qiyma* RII:703 'cow guts stuffed with pluck of different kinds of animals, flour, and groats, a food stuff used as a food supply while hunting'.

° EYU *kaima* B88:327 'vaginal orifice', *qiima* Kot456 'vagina', BaoŃ *kami* CN90 'the vaginal orifice of a girl'.

qaynin 'by where, by which way'.

¶ The first element certainly related to the interrogative *ka:ñu (cf EDPT 632b), the second element perhaps *yan* 'side' (cf Schönig 1995: 180 for a discussion of the formation of spatial interrogatives), cf Yak *xanan* Slp478a.

qaysi 'which (one)', cf L188a, CL174b, T199a, M49a, *qaysi* T200a.

¶ POS3 of the interrogative *ka:ñu (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xayzi* BI266a, Tuva *kayī* T220a, *kayizi* T220a, Tofa *qaysi* R28b.

qayta (~ *qanta*) 'where', cf L187b, CL84, *qayda* M49a, *qaida* Her206.

¶ LOC of the interrogative *ka:ñu (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xayda* BI265b, Tuva *kayda* T219b, Tofa *qayda* R28a.

qaytan (~ *qantan*) 'whence, where from', cf *qaydan* M49a, *qaytan* T200a, *qhantan* T202a, *qhantʰan* T202a.

¶ ABL of the interrogative *ka:ñu (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xayday* BI266a, Tofa *qaydan* R28b.

qaytaqī (~ *qantaqī*) 'of where, from where; what kind of', cf L188a, *qaytayī* L188a, *qaydaqī* M49a, *qaydaqī* M49a, *qaydaqī* M49a 'id', *qaytaqī* T200a 'somewhere'.

¶ Cf Khak *xaydaqī* BI265b 'wherever'.

qaz 'goose; duck', cf L189a, T200a, *qazi* L189b 'goose', *qaza* M49a 'id; swan', *gase* Her199 'duck'.

¶ <CT *ka:z 'goose' (cf EDPT 679a, ESTJaV:184), cf Khak *xas* BI278b, Tuva *kas* T231a, Tofa *qas* R29a, Yak *xaas* Slp468b.

qaz= 'to dig', cf L189a, CL177a, T200a, M48a, *qhaz=* T203a, *kaz=* T22.

¶ <CT *kaz= (cf EDPT 680b, ESTJaV:185), cf Khak *xas=* BI279a, Tuva *kas=* T218b, Tofa *qas=* R29a, Yak *xas=* Slp486b.

qazina, see *qazna* 'mother-in-law'.

qazna (~ **qazīna**) 'mother-in-law', cf M49a, *qazīna* L189a, CL165b, M49a, *qazana* L189a:Da.

¶ Crasis of CT **ka:dīn ana* (cf EDPT 602a, ESTJaV:215), cf Khak *xazine* (< *xazīn ine*) BI264b.

qazta 'father-in-law', cf *qasta* L189a, CL165b, M54b.

¶ Crasis of CT **ka:dīn ata* (cf EDPT 602a, ESTJaV:215), cf Khak *xazīn* BI264b.

qīl= 'to do (occurring mainly in compound forms)', cf L192a, CL180b, *qīl=* M63a.

• **yoq qīl=** 'to destroy', cf *yoq^h qīl=* L192a, *yoq kīl=* M63a, synonym of **yoq et=**.

¶ <CT **kīl=* (cf EDPT 616a), cf Khak *xīlīn=* BI299a (+ RFL), Tuva *kīl=* T277a, Tofa *qīl=* R34a.

qīlas, idiolectal for **qīlīs** 'sword'.

qīlčiq-qalčiq 'crooked and bent', cf *qīlčiq^h-qalčiq^h* L193b, CL173a, *qīlčiq^h* CL171a, *qīlčiq* M63a, *galčiq[dro]* Her200.

° EYU *qalčaq-qolčiq* S303.

qīlīs 'sword; reed of the loom', cf L192b, CL167b, *qīlīs* T201b, *qīlīs* M63b, *kōlīs* Man64 'sword'.

¶ <CT **kīlīč* 'sword' (cf EDPT 618a), cf Khak *xīlīs* BI299a, Tuva *xīlīs* T500a.

qīlīs 'pitiable', cf L192b 'id, miserable, tragic; disaster, calamity; murder case', *qīlīs* M63b 'poor fellow, poor man; unfortunate, unhappy, miserable; with difficulty'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **kīlīnč* 'behaviour, deed, act, action' (cf EDPT 623a).

qīmtan 'axe', cf L191b, CL167a, *qīmtan* L191b, *qīntan* L192a, *qamdam* M52a, *qandam* M52b, *gōmdan* Her209.

qīh^hqīr= 'to invite', cf L193b, CL9, *qīh^hqīr=* L211a, T204b, *qīh^hqīr=* L211a, *qīh^hxīr=* T204b, *qīh^hqīr=* L194a, *qaqīr=* M50a, *qaqar=* M50a 'id; to call, to shout', *qīsqīr=* M64b, *qīrqīr=* M64a 'of a sheep to bleat'.

¶ <CT **kīčkīr=* 'to shout' (cf Räs261a), cf Khak *xīs^hxīr=* BI302b, Tofa *qīsqīr=* R35a, *qīh^hsqīr=* R71:78 'to shout', Tuva *kīš^hkīr=* T280b 'to invite, to beckon with the hand', perhaps contaminated with CT **kī:kīr=* 'to shout' (cf EDPT 612a), cf Khak *xībīr=* BI295b 'to invite; to read', Sagay, Shor *qī:r=* RI:735 'to call, to shout', Tofa *qīyīr=* R33b 'to invite, to beckon with the hand'.

qīq-qīzīl 'very red', cf *qīq^h-qīzīl* L193b, CL34, *qīp^h-qīzīl* L191b, CL34, *qīpqīzīl* M64a, *qīw-yīzīl* L195a. See **qīzīl** 'red'.

¶ <CT **kīp-kīzīl* (cf EDPT 578b), cf Khak *xīp-xīzīl* BI296a, Tuva *kīp-kīzīl* T278a, Tofa *qīp-qīzīl* R34b.

qīrīsla= 'to munch, to nibble something crispy', an onomatopoeic verb.

qīrlas 'swallow', cf L196b, *qīrlas* T201b, *qīrla:š* M64a, *qīrlaBš* M64a, *qarlas* L191b, CL160a, *qarlasX* L191b, *qarlaXš* CL160a, *qarlasX* Her199.

¶ <CT **kīrlaguč* ~ **karlīgač* < **kargīlač* 'swallow' (cf EDPT 657a, ESTJaV:307), cf Sagay *xarlabas* BI277a, Tofa *xarlīq* R37b.

° →EYU *qarlasX* Her199.

qīhrq= 'to shave (the beard); to shear (sheep)', cf *qīhrq^h=* L194a, CL178a, *qīh^hhrq^h=* L211b, *qīh^hrq^h=* L212b, *qīrq=* M64a.

¶ <CT **kīrk=* (cf EDPT 651a), cf Khak *xīrīX=* BI301b, Yak *kīrt=* ~ *kīrk=* Slp210b.

qīs 'winter', cf L195a, CL158b, T201b, M64a, *qīš* CL45.

¶ <CT **kīš* (cf EDPT 670a), cf Khak *xīs* BI301b, Tuva *kīhš* IP26, Tofa *qīhš* R35b, Yak *kīhīn* Slp213a (+ instrumental).

qīs= 'to press, to pinch', cf L195a, *qīhs=* L194a, C86:8, *qīš=* L211b.

¶ <CT *kīs= (cf EDPT 665b), cf Khak *xīs*= BI301b, Tuva *kīhs*= T273a, Tofa *qīhs*= R35b *qīsqa* 'short', cf L195a, CL171a, T201b, M64a, *qhīsqa* L212a, CL171a, *qhīsqa* L212a.

¶ <CT *kīska (cf EDPT 667a), cf Khak *xīsxa* BI302a, Tuva *kīska* T280a, Tofa *qīhsqa* R35b.

qīstīr= 'to tuck in the bosom of a garment', cf M64b 'to squeeze, to compress; to tuck (under one's armpit, in one's girdle)', *qhīstīr*= L212a 'to tuck into; to put in between', *qīhstīr*= L194a 'to pinch'.

¶ <CT *kīstur= (cf EDPT 666a), cf Khak *xīstīr*= BI302a 'to cause to pinch; to force', Tuva *kīstīr*= T280b 'to be pressed'.

qīs 'countenance', cf L194b, CL32 *qīhš* L193b, *qhīš* L211b, CL32 'id, complexion, look, facial expression; colour', *qīš* M64b 'spot of white wool on an animal's forehead; an animal (horse or sheep) having such a spot, sacrificed to a deity'.

qīšta= 'to chase after, to pursue; to chase away, to repel', cf *qhīšta*= CL179a, T204b, *qhīšte*= T204b, *qīšta*= M64b, *khīšta*= T190a, *qašta*= T200a 'to pursue', *qhīšta*= L211b 'id, to chase away', *qīhšta*= L194a, *qašta*= L188b:Da 'to quicken one's pace, to catch up, to run after, to pursue'.

qīšwaš 'countenance, features, appearance', cf *qhīšwaš* L211b.

¶ Compound consisting of *qīs* 'countenance' + *paš* 'head'.

qīti (*qītiyi*) 'to call, to shout; to announce', cf *qīte*= L192a, CL176a 'id', T201b, *qīde*= M62b, *kīte*= L148a, *kde*= M65a, *kīde*= M72b, *kte*= M69b, *kēte*= M67b, *qete*= T13, *qete*:= T200a, *kude*= M69b 'to call, to shout; to invite', *kada[šter]* Her204 'to call'.

¶ Cf Tuva of China *bīyti*= ZT1590 'to invite', *khīyti*= ZT3578 'id, to call'.

qītīr= 'to cut, to chop, to saw', cf T201b, M64b 'to cut, to saw', L192a 'to chop, to rip', *qatīr*= T200a, M55a, *qadīr*= M48b 'to cut, to chop'.

qītīrt= 'to cause to cut, to make cut'.

qīyima (speech of Míngǎi), see *qayma* 'cunt'.

qīz 'girl; daughter; unmarried young woman', cf L195a, CL163a, T201b, M62b, *qīs* T201b, M64a, *yīz* T179b, *kīz* PotII:435a, *kez* Man62.

• *qīz-oyīl* 'children, daughters and sons'; *eyīn qīz* 'niece', cf *yeyen qīz* L260a, *yīyēn qīz* L268b 'niece (sister's daughter)'; *kīhčiq qīz* 'small girl, young girl'; *pezīk qīz* 'older girl, young woman'; *sunzī qīz* 'granddaughter', cf *sunzī qīz* L333b.

¶ <CT *kī:z (cf EDPT 679b), cf Khak *xīs* BI301b, Tuva *kīs* T280a, Tofa *qīs* R35a, Yak *kīis* Slp216a.

° EYU *sunc1 hkhon* B102 'granddaughter' (*hkhon* 'daughter').

qīzaqa 'elder sister', cf L195b, CL165a, T172b, M11a, *kīzaka* Man63, *qsaka* Her93 'id', *qīz aba* M62b 'id; father-in-law (wife's father)'.

¶ Compound consisting of *qīz* 'daughter, girl' + *aqqa* 'elder brother'.

qīzar= 'to be or become red or red hot', cf L195b, CL180a, M62b 'to become red'.

• *kunīy kōz qīzarttī* 's/he is jealous' (lit. his/her eye has become red).

¶ <CT *kīzar= (cf EDPT 685a), cf Khak *xīzar*= BI296a, Tofa *qīzar*= R34a, Yak *kītar*= Slp213b.

qīzart= 'to make red or red hot', cf M62b, *qīzarth*= L195b.

¶ <CT *kīzart= (cf EDPT 685b), cf Khak *xīzart*= BI296a, Yak *kītart*= Slp213b.

qīzīy (*qīzīqqa*) 'border, shore (of a lake)', cf L196a, CL158a, *qīzīB* M62b, *qīzīq* T210b, M63a.

¶ <CT *kīdīg (cf EDPT 598a), cf Khak *xīyīB* BI298a, Tuva *kīdīy* T271b, Tofa *qīdīy* R33b, *hīyīy* R43a. Khak and Tofa *y* < CT **d* is irregular.

q̄izīyla= 'to walk past, to walk along the border, to skirt', cf *q̄izīb̄la=* M62b 'id', L196a 'id; to discriminate against'.

¶ <CT **k̄idīgla=* (cf EDPT 600b), cf Tuva *k̄idīyla=* T271b.

q̄izīl 'red', cf L195b, CL171b, *q̄izīl* T201b, M63a, *k̄izīl* PotII:435b, Man64.

¶ <CT **k̄izīl* (cf EDPT 683b), cf Khak *x̄izīl* BI296a, Tuva *k̄izīl* T274a, Tofa *q̄izīl* R34a, Yak *k̄ihīl* Slp213a.

q̄iztar 'girl, little girl', cf L196a, CL60, *ḡösdar* Her193.

q̄iztarq̄aş 'little girl'.

qol 'arm', cf L197a, CL157a, *qol* T200b, M57a, *quł* M60b, *kol* PotII:436a, Man64, *gol* Her194.

• **k̄ih̄ciq qol** 'fore arm'; **yahqa qol** 'upper arm', calqued from Ch *shāngbì* (*shāng* 'upper', *bì* 'arm').

¶ <CT **kol* (cf EDPT 614b), cf Khak *xol* BI285a, Tuva *xol* T480a, Tofa *qol* R31a, Yak *xol* Slp493a.

qol 'river', cf L197a, CL157a, *qol* M57a, *qgol* PotII:436a, *kul* Man64.

¶ ←EYu *qol* B78 'mountain valley; river', *qol* S301 'ravine', J101b 'streamlet', *qol* S298, *kul* Man64 'river', *gol* Her206 'stream, river', cf LM *γool* Les362b; modern Mongolic languages point to a short vowel.

qola (~ **qula**) 'copper', cf L197a, *qola* T200b, M57b, *gola* PotII:436a, *qula* L200b, CL158a 'brass', *golo bagör* Her209 'copper' (*bagör* for *payür* 'brass'), *quła* M60b 'lead'.

• **sariq qola** (~ **sariq qula**) 'brass'; **q̄izīl qula** 'red copper'.

¶ ←EYu *qo:lo* S302, *qolɔ* B78 'brass', *qolo* S400 'bronze', *golɔ* PotII:416b 'brass', *koló* Man64, *golo* Her209 'copper', cf Muq *γula* Poppe179b, LM *γauli(n)* Les355a 'copper'.

qolanq̄e 'rainbow', cf *solanq̄i* L328a, CL157a, *sołanb̄i* M103b, *solanq̄a* L328a, *sołonba* M103b, *sołanya* M103b, *solanq̄a* L328a, *solamq̄a* L328a:Da, *sulanq̄i* L333b, *solongo* PotII:437 'id', *sulanq̄ha* L333b:Da 'secondary rainbow'.

¶ ←EYu *solɔŋqɔ* B101, *solonqo* J103b, S605, *sołonqo* Kot443, *solongo* PotII:418b 'rainbow'; cf LM *solongya* Les726a. WYu initial *q* and final *e* are inexplicable.

qohltiq 'armpit', cf *qohltiqh* L198a, C86:7, *qohltiqh* L214a, CL162a, *qohltiq* T200b, M58a.

¶ <CT **koltuk* (cf EDPT 619a), cf Khak *xoltix* BI285b, Tuva *kolduk* T246b, Tofa *qohltuq* R32a.

qonjir 'dark reddish brown, purple brown', cf L197a, CL7, T200b, M58b, *qonjir* T200b, *qunjir* T201a, *qhojir* L214a, T203b.

¶ <CT **konjur* 'dark chestnut' (cf EDPT 639b), cf Khak *xoor* BI287a, Tuva *xoor* T483a, Tofa *hoor* R40b.

qonjirat 'Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Guō)', cf *qonjirath* L197a, CL150, *qon(i)rat* T62:62, *qonrat* M58b, *khongrott* Man33 'name of a Yugur clan'.

qonqir 'buttocks, butt; bottom', cf L197b, T200b, *qonqir* M58b, *qonjir* T200b.

¶ ←EYu *qonqor* B78, *qonqor* J99a, S161 'buttocks', cf Kal *χɔŋγε:* (< **qɔŋγai*) Ram185a 'coccyx (of a child)'. WYu *i* is inexplicable.

qonqiri 'raven', cf *qonqire* L197b, *qonqirey* L197b, *qonqrey* CL18, *qunqire* L200b 'kind of crow' [Ch *lánglǎoyā*], *qonqrey* M58b 'big bird, resembling a raven', *qonqire* T200b 'id; a mythical bird'.

¶ ←EYu *honre* Her199 'raven', cf LM *qong keriyē(n)* Les962a 'id'. The combination is not attested in other EYu sources, but for the second element cf EYu *khèrēi* B67, *khèri:* J100a, BJ351, S343, *khèrē:* BJ351, *kri* Man66 'crow'.

qohp= 'to get up, to rise', cf T200b, *qohph=* L197b, CL177a, *qop^h=* L197a, *qop=* T200b, M58b, *gob[ter]* Her209.

• **qokkel=, qokki=** 'to get up, to rise', cf *qowup^h kel=* L197b.

¶ <CT **kop=* (cf EDPT 580a).

qohqa 'chest; internal organs, intestines', cf C86:2 'cavity (of the body)', L198a, *qhoqa* L214a, *qho^hqa* L214a, *qhu^hqa* L216a 'thoracic cavity', *qu^hqa* T201a, *qhuqa* T204a, *qoqa* M57a, *koXqa* M59b 'upper part of the body, chest', *qohq^hpa* L198a:Da 'trunk, torso', *qohqpa* T200b 'body'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *khog-pa* Jä43b 'the trunk of the body' (cf RT62:11), Xiàhé *khok-kwa* HL62b 'abdominal cavity', Reb-koñ *khogüa* Roe112, *khoküa* Roe112 'stomach'. In Arik only *khok* Qü91:151 'abdominal cavity' is attested.

° Also loanword in EYu *qhoq^ho* B64, *qopqa* S446 'body', BaoÑ *khòχua* CN80 'core, heart, centre (of a thing)'.

qohqas '(small) bird; sparrow', cf L198a, CL160b, *qho^hqas* L214a, *qhoqas* T203b, *quqas* T201a, *quqas* M60b, *qoqas* M57a, *qhukaš* L216a, *qhušqas* L216b:Da, *qhušq^has* L216b:Da 'id', [*utču*] *kışkaš* PotIII:435a, *kukšgaš* Her199 'sparrow', *kugaš* Man63, *kuyaš* Man63 'bird'.

• **küy qohqas** 'grouse', calqued from Ch *sōngjī* (*sōng* 'pine', *jī* 'chicken').

¶ <CT **kuškač* 'sparrow' (cf EDPT 672a, read *kušgač*), cf Khak *xusxažax* BI294a 'id, small bird', Tuva *kuškaš* T267b 'small bird', Tožu *kušškaš* Čad66 'wagtail', Tofa *qušqas* R33b, *qu^hšqas* R33b 'small bird'.

qorcaq 'short (of bodily stature)', cf *qorcaq^h* L200a, CL73, *quržæq* M61a.

qohrq= 'to fear, to be or become afraid of (+ ABL)', cf *qohrq^h=* L198b, CL179b, *qoh^hrq^h=* L214b, *qorq=* M59a, *qoJX=* T200b, *qhu^hrq=* T204a, *qhuJq=* T13 'id', *gor^hte* Her205 'to frighten'.

¶ <CT **kork=* (cf EDPT 651b), cf Khak *xorix=* BI289a, Tuva *kohrt=* (*koryar*) T252b, Tofa *qohrt=* (*qoh^hrhar*) R32a, Yak *xort=* (*xorbor*) Pek3512.

qohrqacan 'timid, fearful', cf L198a, *qu^hrq^hacaŋ* L201a, *qhoq^hacaŋ* L215a 'coward'.

qohrqit= 'to frighten, to threaten', cf *qoh^hrqit^h=* L198b.

¶ <CT **korkit=* (cf EDPT 655b), cf Tuva *koryut=* T252b, Tofa *qohrhut=* R32a.

qort 'prick (a taboo word)', cf *qort^h* L200a:Da, *qurt^h* L203a 'male genitals', and perhaps *qurt* M61b 'worm'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **ku:rt* 'worm' (cf EDPT 648a), cf Khak *xurt* BI293a, Tuva *kurt* T266b, *ku^hrt* IP74, Tofa *qu^hrt* R33b.

qortimi 'male genitals, penis', cf *qurt^hme* L203a 'genitals of a small boy'.

qortpaq 'sperm, cum (a taboo word)', cf *qurt^hpaq^h* L203a 'seminal fluid'.

¶ Cf NUyg (Hami dial.) *qortmaq* Ghop193 'muddy water, fluid that has become viscid'.

° → EYu *qortamaq* B79 'seminal fluid (common or vulgar speech)'.

qoruy 'korung (onomatopoeic for the croaking of a raven)'.

qowar= 'to erect', cf CL90, T200a 'to cause to rise; to build (a house)', L199a 'id, to help rise; to pile up (a burial stack)', *quwar=* M60a 'to cause to rise, to pile up'.

¶ <CT **kopar=* ~ **kopur=* (cf EDPT 586a).

qoy 'sheep', cf L199a, CL159a, T200a, M56b, *koY* Man63, PotIII:436a, *goi* Her198, *γoy* C82:69, *BoY* M56b.

• **aq qoy** 'sheep'.

¶ <CT **koñ* (cf EDPT 631a), cf Khak *xoy* BI284a, Tuva *xoy* T479a, Tofa *hoY* R40a.

qoyčī 'shepherd', cf *qoyčl* L199a, CL163a, T200a, *qoyčī* M57a, *qoyžī* T16, *qoyč^hl*

L199a.

¶ <CT *koñcī (cf EDPT 634b), cf Tuva xoyžu T479b.

qoyyantir= 'to cause to wear or put in the bosom of a garment', cf L199a, T200a.

¶ RFL + CAUS of CT *koyga= (cf EDPT 677a), cf Shor qoyba= RII:503 'to embrace, to press to one's bosom', Tuva xoygaš= T479b 'to sleep together' (+ REC).

qoyñ 'bosom', cf qoyin L198b, qoyin T200b, M57a, qoin T9, M56b, qoen T200a.

¶ <CT *koyun (cf EDPT 631b s.v. koñ), cf Khak xoyin BI284b, Tuva xoyun T486b, xoy T479a, Tofa hoy R40a, Yak xoy Slp499a, xoyun Pek3439.

qoz=, see **quz**= 'to pour'.

qozī 'lamb', cf L199b, T200b, M56a, qozī L199b, CL159a, T200b, qocī T200a, qozā M56a, kōza PotII:436b, quzī M60a.

¶ <CT *kuzī (cf EDPT 681a).

qozyar 'ram', cf L199a, CL159a, qožbar M56a, qhozgar L214b, xožgar T219a, qužbar M60a, huyegar Her198 'id', kušgar Man64 'wild sheep'.

¶ <CT *kočkar ~ *kočnar (cf EDPT 592a), cf Tuva koškar T254b, Tožu qohšqar Čad39.

qucaqta= 'to hug, to embrace', cf T200b, qucaqhta= L201a, CL176b, qucaqta= M62a, gudšagda[pter] Her208 'id', ocaqhta= L37a:Da 'id; to press under the armpit'.

¶ <CT *kučakla= (cf EDPT 591b), cf Khak xužaxta= BI294b, Tuva kužakta= T262b, Tofa qužaqta= R33b.

qucaq 'the north', cf qucaqh L201a, qucaqh L201a, qocaq T200a, quzaqh L201b, qužaq M60a, qucaq M67:118.

¶ Crasis of quzī 'north' + yaq 'side', cf quzīyaqh L202a, quzu yaqh L201a, L250b, C92:37, quzī yaq M67:118.

qula, see **qola** 'copper'.

qulayī 'bracelet', cf L200b, CL169b, qulayī T201a, qulabī M60b, qolayī L197a, qolabī M57b.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of qol 'arm' + CT *agī 'precious object' (cf EDPT 78a).

qunan 'ox, castrated bull', cf L200b, CL69 'id', M61a 'two or three-year-old ox', kunan L156a 'three or four-year-old ox'.

¶ <EYu qunan S304 'three-year-old ox', B79 'three-year-old animal', cf LM yuna(n) Les368a.

qur-qur-qur 'flap-flap-flap (onomatopoeic for the fluttering sound of wings)', cf qur-qur L203a, CL147 'onomatopoeic for the sound of water', kur-kur-kur L159a 'onomatopoeic for the sound of a trumpet, an aeroplane, a train'.

quran 'fence', cf L202b, CL27, T201a 'pen, fold, sty for livestock', qoran M59a 'fence, made from thorny plants', yiraš quran Her206 'fence' (yiraš for yiyaš 'wood').

¶ <EYu xorōn Her206 'fence', qhēša: xoro:n B64 'shed, shack, sty' (qhēša: 'enclosure'), cf LM qoriya(n) Les967a 'courtyard, enclosure, etc'.

qurat 'behind the fence', cf qurath L202b, qhorath L215a, quratta M61a (+ LOC) '[the place] behind the pen', qorat M59a, M17a 'grounds around the house, yard, property'.

¶ Crasis of quran 'fence' + art 'backside', cf quran arth L202b.

quhqira= 'to snore', cf quhqira= CL180b 'id', L201a, quhqira= L201a, quhqira= L216a, quhqira= L216a 'id; to snort (of a mother sheep while licking her newborn lamb); to dote on', qohqira= L197b, qohqira= L198b 'of water to murmur', qurqura= M61a 'to rumble, to snort, of the thunder to roll', qhurhkire= T204a 'to rumble; of a camel to bellow', qohqar= L198a 'of a sheep to bleat'.

¶ <EYu *qʰurqʰura*= B65 'to snore; to snort (of animals)', cf LM *qurkira*= Les990b. *quʰrtqa* 'old woman, old hag (not polite)', cf *quʰrtʰqa* L201a, CL165a, *qoʰrtʰka* L198a, *qoʰrtʰqa* L198a, CL9, *qʰurtʰqa* L217b, *qʰuʰrtʰqa* L216a, *qoʰrʰsq* CL9, *qʰurtqa* T204a, *qurtqa* M61b.

• *qʰa quʰrtqa* 'person who drinks a lot of tea (as is the habit of old women to sit all day and drink tea)'.

¶ <CT **kurtka* (cf EDPT 469b, read *kurtga*), cf Khak *xurtuyax* BI293a, Tuva *kuru yak* T266b, *kuʰyak* T268a, Tožū *kuʰruyak* Čad22, *kuʰryoyak* Čad22, *koʰryoyak* Čad22, Tofa *qoʰrhīñaq* R32a.

qurziq, idiolectal for *quziriq* 'tail'.

qus '(a large) bird', cf L201b, CL160a, T201a, M62a, *kus* PotII:436a, *qʰus* L216b, T204b, *qos* T200b, M59b.

• *aq qus* 'swan'.

¶ <CT **kuš* (cf EDPT 670b), cf Khak *xus* BI294a, Tuva *kuʰš* IP26 'bird', Tofa *quʰš* R33b 'woodgrouse', Yak *kus* Slp193b 'duck'.

qus= 'to vomit', cf L201b, CL15, M62a, *quʰs*= L201a, CL175b, *qʰus*= L216b.

¶ <CT **kus*= (cf EDPT 666a), cf Khak *xus*= BI294a, Tuva *kus*= T263a, Tofa *quʰs*= R33b.

qusan= 'to put on a girdle or belt', cf *quʰsan*= L201a, CL8, *qʰusan*= L216b, *qʰusan*= CL8, *qʰuʰsan*= L216a, *qosan*= M59b, *qʰursan*= L218b, *qʰustan*= L217a.

¶ <CT **kuršan*= (cf EDPT 665a), cf Tuva *kuržan*= T266a, Tofa *quršan*= R33a.

qušqala= 'to singe', cf *qʰušqala*= L216b:Da 'to scald a sheep', *qušxala*= L201b 'to singe, to burn', *quš qola*= M57b, M62a 'to put together (in a cauldron)'.

¶ <CT **ku ykala*= 'to burn the hair off' (cf EDPT 677a), cf Tuva *ku yqala*= T263a. WYu *š* < CT **y* (probably over *z*) is irregular.

° →EYu *qošqola*= S387 'to singe, to scorch, to burn off (hair)'.

quz= (~ *qoz*=) 'to pour (out)', cf L201b, CL177a, T201a, M60a, *qoz*= L199b, M56a.

¶ <CT **kud*= (cf EDPT 596a), cf Khak *xus*= BI294a, Tuva *kut*= T261b, Tofa *qut*= R33a, Yak *kut*= Slp194a.

quzi 'down(wards), down on, down at; north, northern', cf L202a, C92:37, M60b, *quzi* L202a, C92:37, T201a, *quzu* L202a, CL158a, T201a, M60a, *qozī* T200b, M56a, *qozu* M56a 'id', *gozū* PotII:436b, *qudsin* Her204 'north'.

¶ <CT **kodi* 'downwards' (cf EDPT 596a), cf Tuva *kudu* T262a, Tofa *qudu* R32b 'down(wards)', Yak *xotu* Slp503b 'north; downstream'.

quziriq (~ *qurziq*) 'tail', cf *quziriqʰ* L202a, *quzuruqʰ* L202b, CL160b, *quzʷuruq* T201b, T15, *quzruq* M60a, *goserak* Her207, *qudrugʰ* PotIII:436b.

¶ <CT **kuduruk* (cf EDPT 604a, read *kudruk*), cf Khak *xuzuruX* BI291a, Tuva *kuduruY* T262b, Tofa *quduruq* R32b, Yak *kuturuk* Slp195a.

qʰaça 'too much', cf *qʰalça* L205b, CL174b, *qałça* M51b, *qałža* M50a, *qʰałeša* T202a.

qʰayir= (~ *qʰar*=) 'to bake, to fry, to stir fry, to roast, to parch', cf L207a, CL177b, T202b, *qayir*= T202b, *xayir*= L178a 'id', *qabir*= M48b 'id; to cut and prepare grass (as a food product)'.

¶ <CT **kagur*= (cf EDPT 612a, ESTJaV:175), cf Khak *xaar*= BI260b, Tuva *xaar*= T459b.

qʰal= 'to remain; to fall, to fall off, to fall down', cf L204b, CL178a, *qʰał*= T203a, *qal*= L184a 'id', *qał*= T199a, M50b, *xał*= T219a 'to remain'.

• *soj qʰal*= 'to remain behind', cf L328a.

¶ <CT *ka:l= 'to remain' (cf EDPT 615b, ESTJaV:226), cf Khak *xal*= BI268b, Tuva *kal*= T223a, Tofa *qal*= R28b, Yak *xaal*= Slp465a. The meaning 'to fall' is peculiar of WYu.

qhala= 'to cover, to use something as a cover onto', cf CL180b, *qhala*= T202a, *qala*= M50b, *qa:la*=T200a, *xala*[*bdro*] Her201 'id', *qhala*= L205a 'to cover; to seal off, to close'.

• (*yü*) **qhala**= 'to build (a house)', cf L205a, CL127 'id', *qhala*= T202a, *qala*= M50b 'to build', calqued from Ch *gài fáng* 'to build a house' (*gài* 'to cover', *fáng* 'house').

¶ <CT *ka:la= 'to heap up' (cf EDPT 617b, ESTJaV:228), cf Yak *xaalaa*= Slp465b.

° Also calque in Eyu *ker xa:*= B83 'to build a house' (*ker* 'house', *xa:*= 'to cover').

qhalaq: *köz qhalaq* 'eyelid; the blinker of a horse harness', cf *qhalaqh* L205 'an implement to seal off', CL43 'lid of a cauldron', *yuz qalaq* M50b 'veil' (*yuz* 'face').

qhalim 'dowry', cf L205a, CL166a, *qalim* M51b, *qhalin* L205a, *qalin* T199b, M51b, *qhalin* T202b, *qalin* T199b 'bride price, betrothal gifts', *galöy* Her193 'dowry'.

¶ <CT *kalim ~ *kalin (cf EDPT 622a, ESTJaV:239), cf Khak *xalim* BI270a, Sagay *xalin* BI270b, Tuva *kalim* T223a, Tofa *hilim* R71:193, Yak *xalim* Slp477a.

° →EYu *χalaj* B44 'betrothal gifts, bride price', *galöy* Her193 'dowry'.

qhalin 'thick', cf L205a, CL171a, T202b, *qalin* M51b.

¶ <CT *kalin (cf EDPT 622a, ESTJaV:238), cf Khak *xalin* BI270a, Tuva *kilin* T277a, Tofa *hilin* R43a, Yak *xalin* Slp477a.

qhaltıla= 'to shake', cf L205b, CL180a, *qalthila*= L205b, *qaltıl bol*= M51b 'id, to tremble, to shiver'.

¶ Perhaps related to *qaldıra*= 'to rustle' (cf EDPT 620b) recorded by Kashgari, cf Khak *xaltıra*= BI270a 'to tremble, to quiver, to wave to and fro', Tuva *kaldıra*= T222b 'to rustle'. For a similar formation, see *siltıla*= 'to shake'.

° →EYu *χalthla*= BJ347, *χalthela*= S190, *χalthela:*= S583 'to tremble, to shiver'.

qhaltır= 'to drop, to let fall, to cause to fall; to cause to remain, to cause to stay', cf L205b, *qhaltur*= L205b 'id', *qhaltır*= T202a, *qaldır*= M51a 'to drop'.

¶ <CT *ka:ldur= (cf EDPT 619b s.v. *ka:ltur*=), cf Khak *xaldır*= BI269b.

qhan 'where (is)?', cf L204a, T202b, T246, *qan* M52a, *xan* M135a.

¶ Cf the runic Turkic particle *kanī* 'where', related to the interrogative **ka:ñu* (cf EDPT 632b).

qhan 'blood', cf L204a, T202b, *qan* M52a, *xan* L177b.

¶ <CT *ka:n (cf EDPT 629b, ESTJaV:251), cf Khak *xan* BI271a, Tuva *xan* T467a, Tofa *qan* R28b, Yak *xaan* Slp466b.

qhan 'khan, king', cf L204a, CL31, T202b, *qan* T202b, M52a, *qa:n* M52a, *xan* L177a, CL163b, T219a, *χen* Man63, *kan* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT *ka:n (cf EDPT 630a), cf Khak *xan* BI271b, Yak *xan* Slp478a.

qhana= 'to forge', cf L204a, *xana*= M135a 'to prepare, to get ready'.

qhanaq (speech of younger people) (~ *qhanat*, *qhaynat*) 'wing', cf *qhenat^h* L212b, CL160b, *qhanaht^h* L204a, CL160b, *qanaht* T199b, *qanat* M52b, *xanat* PotII:435b.

¶ <CT *ka:nat (cf EDPT 635a, ESTJaV:252), cf Khak *xanat* BI271b, Tofa *hanat* R37a, Yak *kīnat* Slp207b.

° →EYu *χanat* B43, Kot443, S193, *χana:t* S443 'wing', *xanat* Her207 'feather'.

qhanat (speech of older people), see **qhanaq** 'wing'.

qhantampu 'terrific, splendid, marvelous', cf L204b, *qhantanpu* L204b, *khantembo* T104, *qantama* M53a.

qhantır= 'to cook', cf *qhayintır*= L207b, *qhayintur*= T202a, *qaindır*= M49b, *qaindur*= M49b, *qaintır*= M49b, *qeindır*= M55b.

¶ <CT *kayündur= (cf EDPT 678b, read *kayüntur*=), cf Khak *xayündir*= BI268a, Tuva *xayündir*= T463a.

qhap= 'to seize with the teeth, to snap at, to bite (of an animal)', cf T202b, *qhaph*= L203a, *qahph*= L185a, *qap*= M53a.

¶ <CT *kap= (cf EDPT 580a, ESTJaV:264), cf Khak *xap*= BI273a, Tuva *kap*= R218, Tofa *qahp*= R30a, Yak *xap*= Slp480a.

qhapaq 'a large lid or cover, especially of a cauldron', cf T202b, *qhapaqh* L203a, CL11, *qapaq* T199b, M53a, *qhaphpaqh* L203a:Da, *qapqaq* M53a (mountain dial.) 'lid, cover'.

¶ < *kappak <CT *kapkak (cf EDPT 584a, read *kapgak*, ESTJaV:263), cf Khak *xaxpax* BI281b, Tuva *kakpak* T221a, Tofa *qahqpaq* R29b, Yak *xappaX* Slp480a.

qhaq 'dry', cf T202b, *qhaqh* L206b, CL171b, *kak* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT *kak (cf EDPT 608b).

° →EYu *xak* B44.

qhaqñqha 'an exclamation (used in a folk tale)', cf *qha* L203a, CL175a 'exclamation expressing disappointment'.

qhaqta= 'to dry; to roast', cf T202b, *qhaqhta*= L206b, CL177b, *Xaqhta*= L178ba.

• **yikhï qhaqtama** 'lazybones', cf *yikhï qhaqhtama* L266b.

¶ <CT *kakla= 'to dry' (cf EDPT 610b).

qhar 'snow', cf L209a, CL157a, *qar* T181b, M53a, *Xar* PotII:436a, *xar* Her208.

¶ <CT *ka:r (cf EDPT 641a, ESTJaV:284), cf Khak *xar* BI274a, Tuva *xar* T468b, Tofa *qar* R28b, Yak *xaar* Slp591a.

qhar, see **qharï** 'old'.

qhar=, see **qhayïr**= 'to bake'.

qhar(ï)= 'to choke, to eat with difficulty or disgust' (translation uncertain), cf *qharï*= L209b:Da 'to choke', *qaqu* M50a, M67:176 '?' [eating] while coughing'.

¶ <CT *kar= (cf EDPT 643b, ESTJaV:283), cf Tuva *xar*= T470a, Tofa *qar*= R28b, Yak *xar*= Slp481b 'to choke (in food)'.

qharï (~ **qhar**) 'old', cf L209b, CL165a, *qarï* M54a, *qharey* L210a, *qarï* M54a, *qæri* M55b, *qarïy* M54a, *qhar* L209b, CL172a, T202b, *qar* T199b.

• **qhar-qhur** 'old and so'.

¶ <CT *karï (cf EDPT 644b), cf Khak *kirï* BI77a.

qharï= 'to be or become old, to grow old', cf L209b, *qarï*= L19a, *qa.jï*= T200a, *qara*= M53a, *xarï*= M135b.

¶ <CT *karï= (cf EDPT 645b), cf Khak *kirï*= BI77a, Tuva *kirï*= T280b, Tofa *qirï*= R256b, Yak *kirïy*= Slp211a.

qharyïm (~ **qharyïn**) 'frost', cf CL157a 'id', L210b, *qharyïn* L210b 'rime'.

° EYu *xarβem* (or *xarqem*) B88 'extremely thin ice formed on water', *χarβam* (or *xarqam*) čalëm S562 'hoar-frost'.

qharyïn, see **qharyïm** 'frost'.

qharmanqï 'ancestor', cf L210a, *qharmanqï* L210a, *karmaŋe* Her207 'id', *qarmaŋyï* T199b, *qarmaŋbï* M53b, *qarmanbï* M53b 'old; former (said of people)'.

qharn 'stomach (of an animal)', cf *qharïn* L210a, CL162a, *qarïn* L191a, M54a.

¶ <CT *karïn (cf EDPT 661a, ESTJaV:321), cf Khak *xarïn* BI278a, Tuva *xirïn* T501a, Tofa *hirïn* R43b, Yak *xarïn* Slp485b.

qharov 'letter', cf *qharo* L210a, C87:573, T203a, *qaro* T199b, M54a, *qaru* M54a 'id, epistle; information, news'.

¶ ←EYu *χaru*: B48 'id', S437 'letter', S570 'news, information', S229 'signal' S332

'answer', *haru* Her203 'letter', cf LM *qariyu* Les739b.

qhars-qhars 'knock knock (onomatopoeic)', cf L210b, C87:563.

¶ <CT **kars-kars* (cf EDPT 663b).

qharsla= 'to explode', cf L210b.

qharslay 'gun', cf L210b 'id, spear'.

qhart= 'to extinguish (the fire)', cf *qhart^h*= L210b, CL115, *qart*= M54a, *qharīth*= L209b, *qarat*= M53b, *gard[i]* Her210, *qhartīwat*= T203a, *qhatīwat*= T203a, *qarduwat*= M53b.

qhatīr 'mule; derogatory term for a person without progeny', cf L203b, CL159b, T203a, *qatīr* M55a, *qadīr* M48b, *katīr* Man65 'mule'.

¶ <CT **katīr* (cf EDPT 604a, ESTJaV:339).

qhawan (~ *qhowan*) 'pig', cf L208b, CL159b, T203a, *qawan* M48b, *χawan* CL31, *xawan* L178b, *qawan* Her207.

¶ <EYU *qavan* Kot453 'pig', *χaβaŋ* BĴ347 'boar', cf LM *qaban* ~ *qabang* Les895b.

qhawīr= 'of animals to kick', cf L208b, *qhawur*= L209a, *qawīr*= M48a, *qaur*= M67:102 'id', *qhawīr*= CL176b 'of people to kick'. See *kayna*= 'of people to kick'.

qhay (~ *qhey*) 'shoe', cf L207b, CL169a, T13, *qhæy* T203a, *qhey* L212b, *qæy* T200a, *qay* M49a, *xay* L178b, CL169a, *xey* L179b.

¶ <Chinese; in view of the *qh-* an older loan, cf modern NwM *χai*⁵¹ CZW228b, *xε*²⁴ Liú122b 'shoe', Ch *xié*.

° Also loanword in EYU *χai* B42.

qhayaq 'cream', cf *qhayaq^h* L207b, *qayaq^h* CL170a, *χayak* Man62 'cream'.

¶ <CT **kañak* (cf EDPT 636b), cf Khak *xayax* BI282b 'butter'.

° →EYU *qhayaq* BĴ339, *qhayak* BĴ297, *hèyaq* B55, *χayaq* Ĵ84, *khèyaχ* S549, *kayák* Man62 'cream, skin on the milk'.

qhayçi 'scissors, shears', cf L208a, CL166b, *qayçi* M50a, *qayži* M49a, *qheyc^hi* L213a, C92:34, *qheycⁱ* L213a, *qheç^hi* L213a, *xeyç^hi* L179b, *qaid'e* Her211.

¶ <EYU *χaiçhè* B42, Ĵ98b, *χaiçhi* S318, *χeiçi* Man69, *χaiçi* TT50, A^mM1'e Her211, cf LM *qayiči(n)* Les912a.

qhaycila= 'to clip', cf L208a, *qheycila*= L213a, *qheyc^hila*= L213a, *qheyc^hile*= L213a.

¶ <EYU *χaiçhila*= B42, *χaiçhèla*= S31, Ĵ98b, *χiçhila*= S272, cf LM *qayičila*= Les912a.

qhaynaq 'crossbred between a bull and a female yak; yak', cf *qhaynaq^h* L207b, *qheynaq^h* L213a, *qhenaq^h* L212b, CL159a, T203b, *qeynaq^h* L196b, *qenaq* T200a, *qīyⁿnaq* M63b 'yak', *qaynaq* M49b (steppe dial.) 'mountain yak', *kainaq* Her198 'yak ox'.

¶ <EYU *χainaq* B42 'yak bullock', Ĵ15 'bullock', *kaynak* Man63 'ox', *kainaq* Her198 'yak ox', cf LM *qayinuŋ* Les913a 'a hybrid between a yak and a cow'.

qhaynat, see *qhanaq* 'wing'.

qhaynat= 'to cook', cf *qhaynat^h*= L207b, CL178a, *qheynat^h*= L213a, *qhenat^h*= L212b, *qhenat*= T203a, *qæynat*= T200a, *qaynat*= M49b.

• *semen qhaynat*= 'to cook (food)', cf L207b.

¶ <CT **kaynat*= (cf EDPT 678b), cf Khak *xaynat*= BI267a.

qhaztiq 'covering: bark; chaff; skin (of e.g. a potato); a book's cover; excuse, cover-up story', cf *qhaztiq^h* L209a 'bark; chaff; skin (of garlic, an egg); a book's cover', *qaztiq^h* L189a:Da 'skin, cover', *qazdiq* M49a 'bark of a tree; skin of an egg'.

• *terek qhaztiq* 'bark', cf *terek^h qhaztiq^h* L209a; *soqpa qhaztiq* 'chaff'.

¶ Cf Khak *xastirix* BI279b 'bark', perhaps related to CT **ka:z* 'bark' (Räs243a).

qhey, see *qhay* 'shoe'.

qhīr= 'to scrape, to peel off', cf L212b, CL178a, *qīr*= M64a.

¶ <CT *kīr= (cf EDPT 643a), cf Khak *xīr*= BI300b, Tuva *xīr*= T500b, Tofa *qīr*= R34b. *qhīti* (*qhītiya*) 'Chinese', cf *qhītey* L210b, CL164b, *qītey* T201b, M64b, *qtey* M59a, *xītey* L179a, *χītey* T219b, *kitay* PotII:435b, *qhetey* L212b.

¶ <CT *kītañ (cf Räs268b).

qhol= 'to ask for', cf L214a, CL17, *qhoł*= T203b, *qoł*= M57a, *quł*= M60b, *kol*= M68a.

¶ <CT *kol= (cf EDPT 616b).

qholqīcī 'beggar', cf *qholqīcīl* L214a, *qhołqīcīl* T203b, *qholqhīcīl* L214a, *qhołqhīcīl* T203b, *qholyīcīl* L214a, *qołqīcī* M57b, *qołqīca* M57b.

¶ <CT *kolqucī (cf EDPT 621b). WYu points to *kolkučī.

qhom 'sand, desert', cf L213b, C87:566, *χom* C87:566, *hom* Her210, *qom* M58a, *qum* M61a, *qhum* L215a, *kum* PotII:436a, Man64.

¶ <CT *kum (cf EDPT 625b), cf Khak *xum* BI292b, Tuva *kum* T264b, Tofa *hum* R42a, Yak *kumax* Slp187b.

qhon=, see *qhun*= 'to seize'.

qhonīq 'a day and a night', cf *qhonīqh* L213b, *qhonīq* T203b, *qhonuqh* L213b, *qhonuq* T203b, *qonuq* M58a, *qonoq* M58a, *qhunīqh* L215b, CL129.

¶ <CT *konuk (cf EDPT 637b), cf Khak *xonīx* BI286b, Tuva *xonuk* T482a, Yak *xonuk* Slp497b.

qhojqīra 'bell', cf *qhojqīrayī* L214a, *qhojqīraq* T14, *qhojyīraq* T203b, *qojqīraq* T14, *qojyīrax* M58b, *qojyīrax* M58b.

¶ <CT *kojragu (cf EDPT 640a).

qhor 'girdle, belt', cf L241b, *qor* M59a, *qhur* L217a, CL169a, *qhuɹ* T204a, *qur* T201a, M61a, *kur* Man63, *kor* Man63, *gur* Her196, *xur* L183b.

¶ <CT *kur (cf EDPT 642a), cf Khak *xur* BI292b, Tuva *kur* T265a, Tofa *qur* R33a, Yak *kur* Slp190b.

qhora 'pen, enclosure for animals', cf L215a 'courtyard', *qora* M59a 'enclosure for animals, having a wattled fence'.

¶ ← Mongolic, cf LM *qoroɣa* Les968b 'courtyard, enclosure'.

qhorɣaq 'hot dung used as a fuel; crust of something burned', cf T203b, *qorɣaq* M59a 'small firewood, brushwood', *qhorɣaqh* L215a 'charcoal fire; hot ashes'.

¶ ← EYu *qhorqhoq* BĴ345 'fire-red hot ashes', cf Kh *xorxog* Han655a 'a meat dish prepared in its skin or a rumen sac, into which red hot stones are put in order to cook the meat', Kal *χurχāg* Ram198b 'stomach with the meal cooked in it'.

qhort= 'to dry, to make dry', cf *qhurt^h*= L217b, *qhuɹt*= T204a, *qurt*= M61b, *qort*= M59a, *qhurīth*= L217b, *qhurut^h*= L217b, *qorut*= M59b.

¶ <CT *kurīt= (cf EDPT 649b), cf Khak *xurut*= BI293b, Tofa *qurut*= R33b.

qhowan, idiolectal for *qhawan* 'pig'.

qhulaq 'ear; ear of a pot', cf *qhulaqh* L215b, CL161b, *qhulaq* T204a, *quɹlaq* T201a, M60b, *gulak* PotII:436b, *kulak* Man65, *qoɹlaq* M57b, *wlak* Her194.

• *qara qhulaq* 'derogatory term for a Chinese', cf *qara qhulaqh* L190a 'id', *qara qulaq* M60b 'female genital organs'; *theñi qhulaq* 'deaf', cf *teñi qulaq* M117b 'id', *theñi qhulaqh* L124a 'a deaf person'.

¶ <CT *kulak, cf Khak *xulax* BI292a, Tuva *kulak* T263b, Tofa *qulaq* R32b; Yak *kulgaax* Slp186b < *kulgak (cf EDPT 621a) probably < *kulakak (+ diminutive).

qhulīm (~ *qhulīn*) 'foal', cf L216a, *qhulum* L216a, CL159a, *qulīm* M61a, *quɹum* M61a, *xulum* L182b, *xuɹum* T220a, M138a, *qhulīn* L216a, *qhulun* L216a, *quɹun* M61a, *qoɹun* M58a, *gullōn* Her198.

¶ <CT **kulun* (cf EDPT 622b), cf Khak *xulun* BI292a, Tuva *kulun* T264a, Tofa *hulun* R42a, Yak *kulun* Slp187a.

qhulīn, see *qhulīm* 'foal'.

qhun= (~ *qʰon*=) 'to seize, to get hold of', cf L215b 'id; to rob, to loot', CL179a, T204a, *khun*= L173a, *xun*= M138b.

¶ <CT **kun*= (cf EDPT 632b), cf Tofa *qun*= R33a.

qhurahqe 'insect, bug', cf L217a, *qhurahqhe* L127a, *qhurahqey* L217a, *qurahqe* CL160a, *qurahqey* C86:10 'id, maggot', *qoraxqī* M59a, *horaxke* Her212 'worm'.

¶ <EYu *χᵛᵛᵛqʰᵛᵛᵛ* B51, *χoroχqui* Ĵ100a, S367 'insect; worm', *χoroχqoi* S550 'maggot', *horaxke* Her212 'worm', cf LM *qoroqai* Les970a.

qhurīy 'empty; in vain', cf L217b, *qhuruy* L217b, *quruB* M61b, *quruq* M61b.

¶ <CT **kurug* 'dry; empty; in vain' (cf EDPT 652b), cf Khak *xuruB* BI293b, Tuva *kuruy* T266b, Tofa *quruq* R33a.

rīzaqta= 'to be troublesome', cf *īrzaqhta*= L25b 'id, to be long winded'.

¶ Perhaps related to *īrzaqʰ* L25b 'ugly; with irregular teeth', cf LM *irjaγar* Les416a 'showing teeth; having protuding teeth', EYu *ērcai*= S736 'to bare one's teeth'.

saçaq 'tassel', cf *saçaqʰ* L318b:Da, C92:35, *saçiqʰ* L318b, C92:35, *sazīq* T206b, *sažīq* M98b.

¶ <CT **sačak* (cf EDPT 796a s.v. *sačgak*).

° →EYu *ssadšak* Her212.

say= 'to milk', cf L318a, CL13, T205a, *sab*= M98a, *sak*[š] Man62.

¶ <CT **saq*= (cf EDPT 804b), cf Khak *sab*= BI176b, Tuva *say*= T359a, Yak *īa*= Slp519a, *saya* 'to you', cf L318a, CL81, *saba* M98a, *saŋa* M100a, *sara* Her213. DAT of *sen* 'you'.

¶ <CT **saŋa* (cf EDPT 831a s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sabaa* B75:146, Tuva *seŋee* T373b, Tofa *seŋe* R62b, see R67b.

sayliq (speech of older speakers), see *saq* 'ewe'.

sal= 'to put, to put down; to release', cf L315a, CL176b, *sał*= T205a, M99b.

• *oʰsīriq sal*= 'to release a fart'; *ot sal*= 'to make fire', cf *othqa sal*= L316a; *pho sal*= 'to shoot'; *quzī sal*= 'to put down', *yūs sal*= 'to do evil'.

¶ <CT **sal*= (cf EDPT 824b), cf Khak *sal*= BI179a, Tuva *sal*= T366a, Tofa *sal*= R61a.

salīy 'heavy; serious, grave (of a disease)', cf L316a 'id', CL117b, *sałīy* T205a, *sałīB* M99b (mountain dial.), *sałX* Her209 'heavy'.

samsaq, see *sarīmsaq* 'garlic'.

samtīq 'tattered, worn out', cf *samtīqʰ* L313b.

¶ Cf EYu *samtaq* S473 'tattered, worn out, worn down', BĴ340 'smashed, broken', perhaps related to LM *sanda*= Les671a 'to be in disorder'. For the forms in *-m*, cf Tuva *samdar* T366b 'ragged', Tofa *samdarBay* R61b 'torn, in rags, ragged (person)'.

san 'number', cf L314b, C82:67b, T205a, M99b.

¶ <CT **sa:n* (cf EDPT 831a), cf Khak *san* BI180b, Tuva *san* T367a, Tofa *san* R61a.

sana= 'to count', cf L314b, CL177b, T205a, M100a.

• *san sana*= 'to count'.

¶ <CT **sa:na*= (cf EDPT 835a), cf Khak *sana*= BI181a, Tuva *sana*= T367a, Tofa *sana*= R61a.

sančī= 'to stab, to poke, to jab', cf T205a, *sančl*= L315a, CL178a, *sanč*= M100a.

¶ <CT **sanč*= 'to pierce, to transfix' (cf EDPT 835b), cf Khak *sas*= BI183a, Tuva

šas= (šančar) T567a, Tofa šeeš= (šeňčar) R99b, Yak as= (anñ-) Slp48b.

sanīs 'cheap', cf L314b, CL172a, M100a.

¶ Perhaps an irregular development of CT **sa:nsiz* 'innumerable' (cf EDPT 842a).

sanyüe 'potato', cf L315a.

¶ <NwM *san⁴⁴iε* CZW70a 'general term for Chinese yam', cf Ch shānyao.

sanqīla= 'to hang', cf L316b 'to hang down, to droop', *saŋβłta*= M100a, *sanβłta*= M100a 'to hang loosely, to dangle'.

¶ Cf NUyg *saŋgila*= Nad498c 'to hang (something)', probably related to *saljula*= 'to hang, to hurl' (cf EDPT 828a) recorded by Kashgari.

saŋsīriq, (Dàhé speech), see **sarīmsaq** 'garlic'.

sap-sariy 'very yellow', cf *saph-sariy* L313a, *saw-sariy* L319a, *sau-sariβ* M101a. See *sariy* 'yellow'.

¶ <CT **sap-sa:riq* (cf EDPT 848a), cf Tuva *sap-sariy* T368b, Tofa *sap-sariβ* R61b.

saq, (~ **sayliq**) 'ewe', cf *saqh* L318a 'id', *sa:q* M98b 'giving milk', *sabliq* M98a 'milch animal', *sayliqh* L318b 'id; ewe', *saŋaqh* L318a, *salak* Her198 'ewe', and the irregular forms *sayliy* L318b:Da 'ewe', *sayliy* M98a 'giving milk'.

¶ <CT **saglik* 'a milch animal' (cf EDPT 809a).

° →EYu *saklaq* B97, *saqlēq* J68, *salak* Her198 'ewe'.

saqal 'moustache, beard', cf L317a, CL162a, *saqał* M98b, *sakal* Man65, *saqal* Her194.

• **mića saqal** 'moustache', cf *khīčhiy saqal* L317a:Da 'goatee'; **pezik saqal** 'beard', cf *pezikh saqal* L317a 'whiskers, full beard'.

¶ <CT **sakal* (cf EDPT 808b), cf Khak *sakal* BI176b, Tuva *sal* T363b, Tofa *sahhal* R62.

saqi= 'to wait for', cf L317a, CL179a 'id', T205a, M99a, *saq*= T205a, M98b 'id; to worry'.

¶ <EYu *sa:qē*= B69 'to wait; to watch', cf LM *saki*= Les662b 'id, to protect, guard'.

saqin= 'to think, to consider, to suppose, to reflect; to intend; to think of, to miss, to long for; to want, to wish, to desire; to hope, to expect', cf L317b, CL179b, T205b, M99a, *ssaqōn* Her208.

• **kōŋīlišti saqin**= 'to think by oneself'.

¶ <CT **sakin*= (cf EDPT 812b), cf Khak *sakin*= BI177a, Tuva *sayin*= T363b, Tofa *sakin*= R60b, Yak *abin*= Slp31a.

saqis 'eight', cf L317b, CL173a, M99a, *saqhīs* L318a, CL74, *sakhīs* T205a, *saks* Man61, *sa:qīs* T206a, *sakiz* PotII:436b, *saxes* Her197, *sekēs* T206a.

¶ <CT **sekiz* < **sekkiz* (cf EDPT 823b), cf Yak *abis* Slp31b, Khak *siyīs* BI186a, Tuva *ses* T374b, Tofa *sehhes* R63. The WYu and Yak back vocalic forms are exceptional.

saqisqan (~ **caqisqan**) 'magpie', cf M99a, *saqhīsqan* L318a, *saqisxan* L318a, *saxisxan* L317a, *saqisyan* L318a, CL160a, *saqhīsyan* L318a, *saxkan* Her199.

¶ <CT **saqizgan* (cf EDPT 818a), cf Khak *saasxan* BI380a, Tuva *saaskan* T359b, Tofa *saasqan* R60a. WYu points to **sakiskan*.

saqisun 'eighty', cf *saqison* L318a, CL173b, T205b, *saqhison* L318a, *saqison* M99a, *saqson* M99a, *sakson* PotII:437b, *saxson* Her198.

¶ <CT **sekson* (cf EDPT 823a), cf Khak *siyizon* BI186a, Tuva *sezen* T371a, Tofa *sehhezōn* R62b.

saqis-yiyirmi 'eighteen', cf *saqiseyyirmi* L317b, CL74, *saqhiseyyirmi* L318a, *saqisibirma* M99a, *sakše germe* PotII:437a, *saksigerma* Man62, *saxsigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *saqis* 'eight' + *yiyirmi* 'twenty'.

sar 'a bird of prey, eagle', cf CL160a 'eagle; black-eared kite; hawk', L319b 'id; goshawk', L319b:Da 'a species of bird of prey', *saJ* CL16 'goshawk'.

¶ <EYu *sar* B99 'hawk; eagle', cf LM *sar* Les674a.

sariy 'yellow', cf L319b, CL171b, T205b, *sarīb* M100b, *sarīk* PotII:435b, *sarō* Man64, *saraX* Her203.

¶ <CT **sa:rīg* (cf EDPT 848a), cf Khak *sarīb* BI182b, Tuva *sariy* T369b, Tofa *sarīb* R61b 'yellow', Yak *arīī* Slp48a 'butter'.

sarīmsaq (~ *samsaq*, *sarīsiriq*) 'garlic', cf *sarīmsaq^h* L319b, CL161a, *sarmsaq* Her212, *samsaq^h* L313b, *samsaq* T205a, M99b.

¶ <CT **sarumsak* (cf EDPT 853b).

sarma= 'to scratch', cf M100b 'id', L320a 'to scratch where it itches'.

sart 'muslim; Hui; Uygur', cf T205b, M100b 'Dungan', *sart^h* L320a, CL164b 'Hui'.

¶ <CT **sart* 'merchant; town dweller' (cf EDPT 846a).

sat 'time; hour', cf *sat^h* L314a, CL158b, T205b, *sa:t* T206a 'id; clock'.

• *ni sat pottī?* 'what time is it?', cf *niçi sat^h pop^h tī?* L314a.

¶ Ultimately <Ar *sā'at*.

sat= 'to sell', cf T205b, M101a, *sat^h*= L314a, CL177b, *sat[aine]* Her205.

¶ <CT **sat*= (cf EDPT 789b), cf Khak *sat*= BI183b, Tuva *sat*= T361b, Tofa *sat^{ht}*= R62a.

satpa 'merchant', cf T205b, M184, *sat^hpa* L318b.

• *örçü satpa* 'merchant'; *qayma satpa* 'whore', cf *qäyma satpa* M184.

saz, see *şaz* 'hair'.

senluşsinuñ 'gradually, taking its time'.

seli=, see *seyli*= 'to stuff in, to squeeze in'.

selir 'you (PL)', cf *seler* L325b, CL174b, T206a, M101b, Her200, *sler* M102b, *sele* T206a, *siler* T206b.

¶ < **seler* <CT **senler* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*); elsewhere **siler* prevails, cf Khak *sīrer* BI189a, Tuva *siler* T376b, Tofa *siler*, *sler* R63a, perhaps influenced by CT **sizler* (cf EDPT 860a s.v. *siz*).

seme 'temple', cf L324b, CL166a, T206, M101b, Her207, *semi* M101b, *semi:* M101b, *semey* T8, M101b, *semey* T8, *sume* L332b, M106a (mountain dial.), *syume* PotI:444.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *süme* Les743b, Kal *sümi* Ram340b.

semen 'food (usually fluid); meal', cf L324b, CL169b, T206a, *semin* M102b, *sumen* L332b, PotII:437, *sümen* L336b, *sömen* L336b:Da 'food, meal, rice, noodles'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf EYu *šeme* BĴ343 'taste, flavour', S717 'nutrition, nourishment', LM *sime* Les709b. For the final *-n*, cf Mgr *sime:n* Khas153 'juice'.

semir= 'to be or become fat', cf L324b, M102a.

¶ <CT **semir*= ~ **semri*= (cf EDPT 830a) < **semiri*=, cf Khak *simir*= BI1876b, Tuva *semiri*= T373a, Tofa *semiri*= R62b.

semis 'fat', cf L324a, CL171b, *semes* L324b:Da, *semüz* M102a, *semiz* M102a.

¶ <CT **semiz* (cf EDPT 830b), cf Khak *simis* BI187a, Tuva *semis* T373a, Tofa *semis* R62b, Yak *emis* Slp540a.

semsehliçin 'Semsehliçin (a man's name from a tale)', cf *semsehliçin* M101b, M102a.

sen 'you', cf L325a, CL174a, T206a, M102a, Her200, *san* Her212.

¶ <CT **sen* (cf EDPT 831b), cf Khak *sin* BI187a, Tuva *sen* T373a, Tofa *sen* R62b, Yak *en* Slp541a.

seni 'you', cf L325a, CL81, T76, *seni* M174, *sannö* Her212. ACC of *sen* 'you'.

¶ <CT **seni* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinī* BI187b, Tuva *seni* T373a, Tofa *seni* R62b.

seniŋ (~ *sey*) 'of you, your', cf L325a, T76, *seniŋ* T76, M174, *sinüŋ* T76, *sey* L325b, *sannaŋ* Her212. GEN of *sen* 'you'.

¶ <CT **seniŋ* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinŋ* BI187b, Tuva *seeŋ* T373a, Tofa *siiŋ* R63a.

sentī 'at you', cf *sente* CL81, *sende* T76, M174a. LOC of *sen* 'you'.

¶ <CT **sende* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinde* BI187a, Tuva *sende* T373a, Tofa *sende* R62b.

sentiy 'like you', cf *sentey* L325a, CL83, T206a. EQU of *sen* 'you'.

sentin 'from you', cf *senten* CL81, *senden* T76, *seniŋden* T76, *seniŋdin* M174. ABL of *sen* 'you'.

¶ <CT **senden* ~ **sendin* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinnenŋ* BI187a, Tuva *senden* T373a, Tofa *senden* R62b.

sey, see *seniŋ* 'your'.

serehqi, see *surihqin* 'wild goose'.

seryin 'shade; cool', cf *seryin* L326a, CL172a, *seryen* L326a, *serkin* L326a, *sergin* T206a, *sergin* T206a, *ssergen[dro]* Her203, *selyin* M101a 'cool'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf EYu *sürüin* B103, *surü:n* J103a, *sörü:n* BJ350, S601, *surüm[bai]* Her203 'id', *sörö:n* S443 'ice-cold, cold', *suri:n* S419 'cold', LM *serigün* Les691a, *seregün* Les689b. WYu *γ* is only attested in LM.

serin-tonqip 'Yugur man's proper name', cf *serin* M102a 'second part of a man's proper name', *tonžep* M121b 'a man's name'.

¶ <Tibetan, the first element Amdo *che-ray* MG466 'long life', cf LT *che-riñ* Jä450b 'very common name both of men and women', the second Amdo *dön-d'ip* Roe131 'all-accomplishing' (LT *don*-grub).

sey (~ *chay*) 'vegetables', cf L325b, CL54, M101b, *səy* T185a, M98b, *se* L324a, T206a, *say* L318b, CL161a.

¶ <Ch *cài*.

° Also loanword in EYu *chai* B140.

seyli= (~ *seli=*) 'to stuff in, to squeeze in', cf *sele=* L325a.

¶ <Ch *sāi*.

siki 'two-year-old goat', cf L327a:Da 'goat', *eske* L29b, *esye* L29b 'two or three-year old sheep'.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM *isige(n)* Les416b, *esige* Les334b 'kid, young goat'.

-sin (~ *-sin*) 'every', cf L325a, C87:573, T206a, M102a, *seyn* M101b, *səin* M101b.

¶ <CT **sa:yin* (cf EDPT 858b, Räs390a), cf Khak *kün say* BI178a 'every day'.

sī= (*sīya*) 'to break (something)', cf L320b, CL176a, T208a, M107b, *sī=* L326b, *ssī=* M105a, *ssī[ne]* Her208.

¶ <CT **sī:=* (cf EDPT 782a), cf Sagay, Kacha *sī=* RIV:602, Tuva *sīy=* T400a.

sīk (~ *zīk*) (*sīkki*) 'door', cf T208a, M108a, *sīk^h* L321b, CL166a, *sīk^h* L327a, *sīk^h* L323b, *sūq* T208b, M108a, *sek* T206a, *zīk^h* L337b:Da, *zīq* T220b, Man64, *sök* Her208, *isīk* PotII:437.

¶ <CT **e:sīk* 'threshold' (cf EDPT 260a, ESTJal:396), cf Khak *izīk* BI66b, dial. *izīk* BI57a, Tuva *ežik* T607b, Tofa *ežik* R105b 'door'.

sīltīla= 'to shake, to tremble', cf L321b, CL180b, *sīltīla=* M108a, *seltīl=* M101b.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **silk=* 'to shake (something)' (cf EDPT 826b). For a similar formation, see *qhaltīla=* 'to shake'.

sīmīk 'bone; surname, clan name', cf M108a, *sīmīk^h* L321a, CL162a, *sīmūq* M108a, *sīmūq^h* L321a, *sumuk^h* L332b, *sūŋīk^h* L322b:Da, *suŋuq^h* L334a:Da, *soŋuq^h* L328b:Da, *soŋuk*

M104 (mountain dial.) 'id', *suŋuk^h* L334a:Da 'bone'.

• *paš simik* 'skull'; *qariqtin simik* 'bridge of the nose'.

¶ <CT **süjük* 'bone' (cf EDPT 838b), cf Khak *söök* BI196b, Tuva *söök* T386a, Tofa *söök* R65a 'bone; clan', Yak *uŋuox* Slp436a 'bone'. For the semantics, cf also Alt *söök* BT131b, Kir *söök* Jud659b, Kzk *süyek* Shnit184b 'bone; clan', and further EYu *yasén* B153 'bone; clan', LM *yasu(n)* Les430a 'id', and LT *rus-pa* Das1188a 'id'.

sün= 'to break, to be or become broken' cf L321a, CL176a, M108b, *sın=* L326b, *sun=* M106a.

¶ <CT **sün=* (cf EDPT 833b), cf Khak *sün=* BI208a, Tuva *sün=* T397a, Tofa *sün=* R66b. *sünjar* 'one out of two, one half', cf L322a, CL22, T208b, M108b, *sünjar* T206b.

¶ <CT **sünjar* ~ **saŋar* 'side; one out of two' (cf EDPT 840b), cf Sagay, Shor *saar* RIV:313 'one out of two', Tuva *saar* T359a 'side', Yak *aŋar* Slp43a.

sünjür= (*sünjüryi* ~ *sünjürya*) 'to swallow', cf L322b, CL175b, T208b, *sejjer=* M102a, *saŋre[pter]* Her205.

¶ <CT **sünjür=* (cf EDPT 841a), cf Khak *sünjür=* BI189a, Tuva *sünjür=* T377a, Tofa *siir=* R63a.

sünkik 'horsefly', cf *sünkekh* L327a, *sünkekh* L322b, CL24, *sünkikh* L327a 'gadfly; camel fly', *sünkek* T208b 'hornet', *sünjek* M108b 'an insect (on livestock)'.

¶ <CT **sünjek* 'a buzzing insect' (cf EDPT 838b), cf Khak *seek* BI185a, Tuva *seek* T400b, Tofa *seek* R67b 'fly'.

sünjüni (*sünjünjüya*) 'younger sister', cf L322b, CL165b, T208b, M108b, *sünjna* Man63, *sönne* Her193.

¶ <CT **sünjil* (cf EDPT 839a), perhaps over **sünjili* (+ POS3) > **sünjli*.

sünp 'three-year-old horse', cf M108b 'two-year-old horse', *ssöp* Her198 'colt of one year', *sünph* L320b, C82:67a 'one-year-old horse of which the manes have been clipped'.

¶ <CT **sünp* (cf EDPT 783a).

sünq= (*sünqqa*) 'to squeeze; to wring out', cf *sünqh=* L323a, CL176b, *zünqh=* L337a, *zünqh=* L237a 'id; to draw near', *sünq=* M108a, *sünk=* M108a 'to press; to hold back'.

¶ <CT **sünk=* (cf EDPT 804b), cf Tuva *sünk=* T395b, *sünkh=* Jan38, Tofa *sünq=* R67a, Yak *ik=* Slp524a.

sünqas= 'to press upon one another', cf L322b, M108a, *sünqas=* L327a, *sqas=* M102b, *sünqhas=* L323a.

¶ REC of *sünqa=* L322b 'to press, to squeeze, to cram' <EYu *šeqa=* B105, S711 'to press', cf LM *siqa=* Les721a. In view of the *s-* perhaps contaminated with *sünqh=*.

sünrahkin 'three days from now', cf *sünrahkin* L327b, *sünrahkin* L319b, *sünrahkin* L336b, CL158b, *sünrahkin* M105a, *sünrahkin* M105a, *seragen* Her209 'id', *ssragen* Her209 'three days ago'.

¶ From an older compound *asrakün* 'the day before yesterday' (cf EDPT 252a).

sünkira= 'to shriek', cf *sünqara=* L324a, T234, *sünqhira=* L327a 'id, to scream with a shrill voice', *sünqira=* L324a, CL180b, *sünqhira=* L324a, *sünqara=* T208b, *sünqür=* M108b 'id; to neigh', *sünkira=* L324a, *sünqhira=* L327a 'to speak hoarsely', *sünkira=* CL180a 'to neigh'.

¶ Perhaps <EYu *serqera=* S709 'to rustle, to sizzle', cf LM *surkura=* Les739b 'to whistle, sing (as a flying arrow)'.

sünsaŋna= 'to think', cf *sünsaŋna=* L327a, *šæšænna=* M151a *šišænna=* M151a 'id, to be lost in thought, to ponder'.

¶ <NwM *sün⁴⁴siay* CZW74a 'to think', cf Ch *sünxiäng* 'thought, idea'.

sünik 'urine', cf *sünikh* L321a, CL162b, *sünik* M108b, *sünik* M108b, *sünikh* L326b.

- *saya sūtīk par mi?* 'do you have to pee?'

¶ <CT **siddiik* ~ **sidüik* (cf EDPT 801b), cf Khak *sīdīk* BI188b, Tuva *sidik* T375b, Yak *iik* Slp142a.

sīxoula= 'to attend, to look after', cf *sīxoula*= L327a.

¶ <Ch *shìhòu*; the first element probably represents the NwM pronunciation *sī*.

sīz= (*sīzki*) 'to pee', cf L323b, CL180a, M107b, *sīz*= L327b, CL31, *sīz*= M102b, *sez*= M102b.

¶ <CT **sid*= (cf EDPT 799a).

sīz= (*sīzki*) 'to swell', cf L323b, CL180a, M107b, *sīz*= L327b.

¶ <CT **si:š*= ~ **sī:š*= (cf EDPT 857a), cf Khak *sīs*= BI189b; the development of the initial **s*- is irregular in Tuva *īš*= T592b, Tofa *īš*= R102a, Yak *is*= Slp154b.

sīzīrt= (*sīzīrtqa*) 'to take a beating'.

¶ CAUS of *sīzūr*= L323b 'to whip, to lash, to flog', M107b 'to scrape, to rub off' <CT **sīdīr*= 'to strip, to scrape' (cf EDPT 802b), cf Khak *sīzīrt*= BI206b.

soqī= 'to be or become startled (of animals)', cf L330b, *soqı*= L330b 'id', CL53 'to be panic-stricken', *soči*= M104b 'to provoke, to make angry'. Synonym of *u^hk*=.

¶ <EYu *č^hč^hē*= BĴ346, *č^hč^hi*= S577 'to be startled', cf LM *čoči*= Les193b, *soči*= Les723a.

soqīt= 'to frighten, to startle (animals)', cf T206b 'to make angry'.

sokīliŷ (~ *suyīliŷ*) 'index finger', cf *sukulīŷ* L333b, *suqulīŷ* L334a, *suyuluŷ* L334b, *soqīliŷ* M103b, *sukulīk* PotII:436a.

¶ Compound consisting of CT **suk* as in **suk kol*, **suk barmak* 'the index finger' (cf EDPT 804a) + *īliŷ* ~ *īlik* 'hand; finger', cf Shor *suqqol* RIV:753.

sol 'left', cf L328a, CL158a, M104a, *sol* T207a, M103b, *söl* M105a, *suł* M106a.

¶ <CT **so:l* (cf EDPT 824a), cf Khak *sol* BI192a, Tuva *sol* T381a.

sola= 'to lock; to lock up', cf L328a, CL177b, *sula*= L333b 'id; to shut in a pen', *soła*= M103b, *soló* PotII:437 'to lock'.

¶ Ultimately <Ch *suō*, either borrowed directly or through Old Uyghur *sola*= 'to chain, to interlock' (cf EDPT 825a).

° Also loanword in EYu *sołɔ*= B101 'to close, turn off; to lock up, enclose', Ĵ35 'to close', S161 'to stop up, to block up', *sołɔ*:[č *bur*=] S366 'to imprison, to lock into a pen'.

soŋ 'after; behind; afterwards', cf L328a, C82:76b, T207a, M104b, *coŋ* T175a.

• *antan soŋ* 'after that', cf L3b; *soŋta* 'later, afterwards', cf L328a, *soŋda* M104b; *yīŋ soŋtaqī* 'the last (one)'.

¶ <CT **soŋ* 'end; later; afterwards' (cf EDPT 832b), cf Khak *soŋ* BI193a, Tuva *soŋ* T382a, Tofa *soŋ* 63b.

soŋkap 'hammer' (obsolescent), cf *soŋkap^h* L328b, CL167b, *soŋk^hap^h* L329b, T207a, *soŋqap^h* L328b, *soŋyap* M104a, *suŋqap^h* L334a.

° EYu *coŋk^hɔp* B151.

soq= 'to knock, to beat; to build, to construct', cf T207a, M103a 'to knock, to beat; to weave', *soq^h*= L329a 'id; to mow; to slaughter; to forge', CL176a 'to mow', *sok*[š] Man62 'to weave'.

• *sīktī soq*= 'to knock at the door', cf *sīk^htī soq^h*= L329b; *temīr soq*= 'to forge, to weld', cf M103a, *temīr soq^h*= L329a, perhaps calqued from Ch *dātiē* 'to forge iron' (*dā* 'to strike', *tiē* 'iron'); *temīr soqpa* (~ *temīr soqma*) 'blacksmith', cf M103a, synonym of *temīrcī*; *yiz soq*= 'to weave'; *yiz soqpa* (~ *yiz soqma*) 'weaver'.

¶ <CT **sok*= 'to beat, to crush' (cf EDPT 805a), cf Khak *soX*= BI195a, Tuva *sok*=

T379a, Tofa *so^hq*= R64b, Yak *oBUS*= Slp266b (+ REC). For the semantics, cf Ch *dǎ* 'to strike, to knock; to build, to construct; to forge; to knit, to weave'.

soqa 'a species of plant', cf L329a, CL160b 'splendid achnatherum (*Achnatherum splendens*)', M103b 'a heap of earth covered with steppe grass'.

soqalīy 'grown with *soqa*; a Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Suǒ)', cf L329b, *soq^halīy* L329b 'id', *soqalīb* M103b 'a Yugur clan name'.

soqīl= 'to be constructed'.

¶ <CT **sokul*= 'to be crushed' (cf EDPT 809b), cf Khak *soBīl*= BI191b.

soqpa 'millet', cf T207a, M103b, *soq^hpa* CL161a 'id', L329b, *sokpa* PotII:401 'broom corn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*)', [*yugul*]*sokba* Her195 'millet'.

• *aq soqpa* 'glutinous millet', cf *aq^h soq^hpa* L329b, C92:39; *kī^hciy soqpa* 'millet', calqued from Ch *xiǎomǐ* 'id' (*xiǎo* 'small', *mǐ* 'rice'); *pezik soqpa* 'barley', calqued from Ch *dàmài* (*dà* 'big', *mài* 'grain'); *sarīy soqpa* 'grain', cf *sarīy soq^hpa* L329b, C92:39 'millet', *sarīb soqpa* M103b [untranslated].

soqtī 'thick, round sausage; abusive term for a short, fat person', cf *soq^htī* L329b 'sausage (consisting of chopped meat, liver and parched grain put in tripe or the duodenum)', CL170b 'sausage', *soqtī* T207a 'parched grain', M103a, *soqta* M103a 'sausage consisting of parched grain, meat and sheep blood'.

• *a^hrq soqtī* 'bugger, abusive term for a person who is a complete failure'.

¶ <CT **suktu* 'guts stuffed with liver, meat and spices, cooked and eaten' (cf EDPT 806b).

soqtīr= 'to cause to beat', cf *soq^htīr*= L329b, *soqter*= M103b.

¶ <CT **soktur*= (cf EDPT 807b), cf Khak *soxtīr*= BI195a, Tuva *soktur*= T380b.

sor= 'to suck', cf L331b 'id, to suckle'.

¶ <CT **so:r*= (cf EDPT 843b), cf Khak *sor*= BI194a, Tuva *sor*= T384a, Tofa *sor*= R64b.

sorī^hqīn, see *soryī^hlqīn* 'ant'.

sosikīn 'the next day', cf *soskīn* L331a, *shoskīn* T208b, *sojiskīn* L328b, T207a, *sojisk^hun* L328b, *sejiskīn* T206a 'id', *sojīsqon* M104b, *sojusqon* M104b, *sonbosqon* M104a, *sojīsīsqon* M104b 'id; tomorrow; the day after tomorrow; on the fourth day from today; one of the following days'.

¶ Cf Tuva *sojyuzu xūn* T382b, Tuva of China *sojkus kīn* ZT3958, Shor *sojūzī* RIV:534, Alt *sojzun* BT130a 'the day after tomorrow'.

soht= 'to put; to release, to set free', cf *soht^h*= L330a, CL176b, *so:t*= M104b, *saut*= M101a, *soust*= M104b.

¶ Contraction of *sal*= 'to put' + the completive *-uht*.

soy= 'to skin, to flay, to peel', cf L330a, CL35, T206b, M103a, *so*= T206b.

¶ <CT **soy*= (cf EDPT 858b), cf Khak *soy*= BI192a, Tuva *soy*= T385b, Tofa *soy*= R63b.

sōyīl=, see *soyīl*= 'to bake'.

söl: aq söl 'stomach', cf *söl* M105a '(sheep's) blood'.

¶ <CT **söl* 'the juice in the meat; lymph' (cf EDPT 824b). Perhaps calqued from EYU *čhēBA:n čhūsēn* B134 'stomach' (*čhēBA:n* 'white', *čhūsēn* 'blood').

sōyn= (*sōynki*) 'to be or become happy, glad', cf *soin*= CL10, *sōyin*= L336b, CL179a, *sōyön*= M105a, *sōyūn*= M105a, *soyin*= L330b, CL10, *sön*= L336b, T207a, *sō:n*= M105a, *sön[ōpter]* Her205, *sün[i-dro]* M107a.

¶ <CT **sebin*= (cf EDPT 790b).

sōyt 'bucket', cf *sowet^h* L331a, CL167a, *suwet^h* L335:Da, *sewet* M101b, *soet^h* L327b,

soit T206b, M101b, *soyt* M103a, *suit* M106a, *swit* M101b 'wicker can, wicker dipper'.

¶ According to Malov ultimately <-Ir *sabad*.

sōz, see *soz* 'word'.

sōzti=, see *sozti*= 'to speak'.

su (*suɣa*) 'water', cf L331b, CL157a, T207b, M105a, PotII:435a.

• *pezik su* 'flood'; *tamir su* 'canal, gutter'.

¶ <CT **su:b* (cf EDPT 783a), cf Khak *sub* BI200a, Tuva *suɣ* T389a, Tofa *sub* R65a, Yak *uu* Slp446b.

suanna= 'to count', cf L332a, *suana*= M105b, *soana*= M102b, *suanna*= L308a, *šoana*= M151b. Equivalent of *sana*=.

¶ <Ch *suàn*; WYu *s-* is inexplicable.

*suana**puçhulay* 'cannot figure out'.

¶ <Ch *suàn**bùchulai*.

suçou 'Sùzhōu (former name of Jiǔquán)', cf *sužū* M105b. Equivalent of *sukçi*.

¶ <Ch Sùzhōu.

suciylī= 'to belief in, to trust', cf *suciyle*= L334b, CL46, *suçible*= M107a, *süçiyile*= M107b, *söçiyile*= M105a 'id; to worship a deity'.

¶ <EYu *süčekle*= B88:342 'to believe in', cf LM *süsügle*= Les745b.

sueyzan 'although'.

¶ <Ch *suīrán*.

suɣar= 'to water (animals)', cf L334a, CL47, T207.

¶ <CT **su:ɣar*= (cf EDPT 786b), cf Khak *subar*= BI200a, Tuva *suɣɣar*= T389b, Tofa *subar*= R65a.

suɣilīy, see *sokilīy* 'index finger'.

suɣin 'deer', cf L334b, C92:34, T207b, *subin* M105b, *suɣun* L334b, CL159b, T207b, *subun* M105b, *sugun* Man64, Her199, *soɣun* L330a, C92:34, *soɣun* M103a.

¶ < **sugun* <CT **sīgun* (cf EDPT 811b), cf Khak *sün* BI210b, Tuva *sün* T399b, Tofa *sün* R67b.

sukçi (*sukçiyi*) 'Sùzhōu (former name of Jiǔquán)', cf T207b, *sukçi* L343b, CL24, *sukçi* L343b, CL31, *sukçe* T207b, *sukçi* M106a, *suqçu* M106a, *sukçu* PotII:436b.

sukhür 'Yugur man's proper name'. See also the proper name *yakhür*.

¶ Compound consisting of *su* 'water' + *khür* 'dirty'.

sumaq 'gruel', cf *sumaq^h* L332a:Da, *sımaq^h* L320b:Da, *sımaq^h* L326b:Da, T206b 'sour milk', *smak* Her195 'butter milk', *osmaq* M83a 'sour clotted milk'.

sunçaŋ (~ *chunçaŋ*) 'chief, head of a village'.

¶ <Ch *cünzhǎng*.

sunzī (~ *chunzī*) 'village', cf *suŋ* L333b, T208a.

¶ <Ch *cünzi*; for the first element cf NwM *ch^huŋ⁴⁴* CZW366a.

sunzī 'grandson', cf *sunzī* L333a, CL165b, *sunza* M106a, *suŋzī* L334a.

¶ <Ch *sünzi*; for the first element cf NwM *suŋ⁴⁴* CZW366a.

° Also loanword in EYu *suncika* B102 'grandchild' (+ affective suffix *-ka*).

suŋsī 'from this time on, thereupon, henceforth'.

¶ <Ch *cóngcǐ*.

sur= (*suryi*) 'to chase, to pursue', cf L335b, CL179a, T208a, M106b, *sür*= L336b, M107b.

¶ <CT **sü:r*= (cf EDPT 844a), cf Khak *sür*= BI203b, Tuva *sür*= T393b, Tofa *sür*= R65b, Yak *üür*= Slp460a.

surihçin (~ *serehçī*) 'wild goose', cf *surehçin* L336a, *surehçin* C160a, L336a, *surehçin*

L336a, *sure^hç^h* L336a 'id', *surelči* M106b, *suritče* M106b 'crane'.

° EY_u *süre:č^hë* B103 'wild goose', *söreč^hi* S281 'goose'.

surīs= (*suriski*) 'to chase, to pursue', cf L336b, CL179a, *surus=* L336a.

¶ <CT **sü:rüš=* (cf EDPT 855b), cf Khak *sürīs=* B1204a, Tuva *sürüš=* T393b, Yak *üürüs=* Slp460a.

surnik= (*surnikki*) 'to stumble', cf M106b, *surnik^h=* L336a, *sürnik^h=* L324a, *sunnuk=* M106b, *surney[eš]* M106b.

¶ Cf Khak *sürnük=* B1204a, Shor *sürnük=* RIV:824 < **sürün=* (cf EDPT 845a s.v. *sürč=*), perhaps related to *sürjüle=* 'to slip' (cf EDPT 854b), recorded by Kashgari.

surt= (*surtki*) 'to coat, to smear', *surt^h=* L336a, CL177b, T208a, *su:ɬ=* T208a, *sürt=* M107b, *sört=* M105a, *sut^h=* L333a.

¶ <CT **sürt=* (cf EDPT 846b), cf Khak *sürt=* B1204a, Tofa *sürt=* R66a.

sut (*sutki*) 'milk', cf T208a, M106b, Man62, Her195, *sut^h* L332b, CL162b, *süt* T208a, M107a, *söt* T207b, M105a, *sot* M104b.

¶ <CT **süt:t* (cf EDPT 798b), cf Khak *süt* B1204b, Tuva *süt* T394a, Tofa *süt* R66a, Yak *üüt* Slp460a.

sut^h= 'to break', cf *sī'oh^t[ürīp^h]* L320b.

¶ Contraction of *sī=* 'to break' + the completive *u^ht-*.

sutçis 'Yugur woman's proper name', cf *süt çes* M142b 'Yugur boy's name'.

¶ Compound consisting of *sut* 'milk' + *çis* 'malachite', cf *sut qiz* M106b 'Yugur women's proper name' (*qiz* 'girl'), *yab çes* M142b, *yayçis* L62a [a name].

suwat= 'to put (down), to lower', cf *sawat=* T205b, *sawad=* M98a, *swat=* M99a, *saut=* M101a, *so:t=* M104b.

¶ Contraction of *sal=* 'to put' + finitive *-(i)wat*, cf *salīwat^h=* L315a, *saluwat=* M101a.

suz= (*suzki*) 'to butt; to knock against, to bump', cf L335b, T208a, M105b, *sus=* L335a, M106b, *süz=* M107a.

¶ <CT **süz=* ~ **süs=* (cf EDPT 855b), cf Khak *süs=* B1203a.

suzti= (*suztiyi*) 'to slip, to be slippery', cf *suztī=* L335b 'id; to swim'.

şayir 'tinkle (onomatopoeic for a tinkling sound)', cf L300a.

şanna= 'to fan', cf L299a, *şanna=* M149b.

¶ <Ch *shān*.

şanna= 'to geld, to castrate', cf L299a, CL177b, *şanna=* M149b.

¶ <Ch *shān*.

şanzī 'fan', cf *şanzı* L299a, *şanza* M149b.

¶ <Ch *shānzi*.

şañ 'wound'. See also *teyla=* 'to bear (a wound)'.

¶ <Ch *shāng*.

şar 'small, fragmented', cf L301a, *şar* M150a, *şær* M150b.

şarla= (~ *çarla=*): *iştī şarla=* 'to call back the dog'; *toqqan şarla=* '(of a bride) to go home to visit her parents', cf *tuq^hqan şa=* L298a, *tuqqan şaḷiḷa=* ~ *şaḷiḷa=* M149a, *tuqqan salī=* M67:66.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **çarla=* 'to call, to summon' (cf EDPT 429b).

sart= 'to cut up, to cut into pieces', cf *şuart^h=* L308a, *şart^h=* CL179b 'to crush, to smash, to break into pieces', L301a 'id, to cut up, to cut into pieces (e.g. meat, bread)'. See also *ohşaq* 'crumb'.

- *uzo sart=, uzki sart=* 'to tear to shreds'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **uśat=* ~ **ubśat=* 'to crush, to crumble' (cf EDPT 16b, ESTJaI:618), though CT **ś* > WYu *ś* is irregular, and WYu has a secondarily inserted *r*.

sartīstūr= 'to cut up a bit'.

śat 'yearling calf', cf T209a, *śat^h* L299a, CL159a, *śat* M150a, *śæt* M151a 'calf, younger than one year', *ś'at* PotII:436b 'calf', *śat* Her198 'calf (yak)'.

- *seyli śat* 'motherless calf'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *śad* Zhāng2833b 'three-year-old bovine (i.e. yak, domestic cow and the crossbred of these two)', cf also LT *śad*-yar Das1230b, Zāng875b 'yak-calf one year old', Zhāng2834a 'two or three-year-old yak calf'.

° Also loanword in EYu *śat* B105, Ĵ105a, S650 'calf', *śat* Her198 'calf (yak)'.

śaz (~ *śaz*) 'hair', cf L300b, CL161b, T209a, *śaz* L319a, CL161b, T206a, *śæž* M101a, *śaś'* PotII:435a, *śaś* Man65, *śaś* Her194, and the oblique forms *śač* M101a, *śač* M101a, *śæč* M151a.

¶ <CT **sač* (cf EDPT 794a), cf Khak *sas* BI183a 'hair', Tuva *čahś* T522b 'braid', Tofa *čehś* R88a, Yak *as* Slp48b 'hair'.

śaz= (*śač-*) 'to sprinkle, to scatter', cf L301a, CL176b, T209a, *śaz=* L319a, CL170b, *śæž=* M150b, and the oblique forms *śač* M101a, *śæč* M151a, *śad[ep̄ter]* Her206.

- *azīq śaz=* 'to sow', cf *soq^hpa śaz=* L319a, *soqpa śæž[bučī]* M150b.

¶ <CT **sač=* (cf EDPT 794b), cf Khak *sas=* BI183a, Tuva *čaś=* T598b, Tofa *čehś=* R88a, Yak *īs=* Slp529b.

śaztīy '(married) woman', cf L301a, CL162b, T209a, *śazdīy* T209a, *śaztīy* L319a, *śæždīb* M150b, *śæždīb* M101a, *śaždīb* TT21, *śaždik* PotII435b 'id', *sartax* Her192, Her193 'woman, older girl, bride, fiancée'. Synonym of *khempīstīy*.

¶ <CT **sačliq* 'hairy' (cf EDPT 797a), cf Khak *saštīb* BI183a. For the semantics, cf Tuva *čahštīy ool* (Taube 1974: 598) 'girl' (*ool* 'boy'), Nuyg (Turfan dial.) *čačliq bala* Ghop100 'unmarried girl' (*bala* 'child'), EYu *hsūt^he khūn* B60 'woman' (*hsūn* 'hair' + ADJ, *khūn* 'person').

seyli 'motherless, orphan (of both humans and animals)', cf *seyli* M151a, *seli* L303b, *śayli* L300b, *śayli* M149a.

seyzi 'sieve, sifter, filter', cf *seyzi* L303b, *sezī* L303b, *śayzi* L300b.

¶ <Ch *shāizi*.

śī 'to be, is'.

¶ <Ch *shì*.

śī 'ten'. Equivalent of *on*.

¶ <Ch *shí*.

śī 'matter'. Equivalent of *yotal*.

¶ <Ch *shì*.

śīce 'world', cf *śice* L305b.

¶ <Ch *shìjiè*.

śīcen 'time, period of time', cf *šešin* M151a, *śišin* M151b, *śušin* M153a.

¶ <Ch *shíjiān*.

śīchīy 'matter'. Equivalent of *yotal*.

¶ <Ch *shìqing*.

śīyan 'mouse, rat', cf *śīyan* L305b, CL159b, T209b, *śīban* M151a, *śīban* M151a, *śīšqan* PotII:436a.

- *kūy śīyan* 'squirrel', calqued from Ch *sōngshǔ* (*sōng* 'pine', *shǔ* 'mouse').

¶ < **śīžqan* <CT **śīčkan* (cf EDPT 796a, read *śīčqan*), cf Koybal *śīsqan* RIV:661, Shor

šišqan RIV:1060.

šīyaq 'diarrhoea', cf *šlyaq* T209b 'watery mud', *šlyaq^h* L305b, C92:38 'watery dung or excrements'.

¶ < *sižgak <CT *sičkak 'having diarrhoea' (cf EDPT 796a, read *sičgak*), cf Sagay, Koybal *sīsqaq* RIV:661, Shor *šišqaq* RIV:1060 'diarrhoea'.

° →EYu *šqhaq* B110, *šeqhaq* B106 'diarrhoea, thin excrements'.

šīyaqta= 'to get or have diarrhoea', cf *šīyaqhta=* L305b 'id', *šībaqta=* M153b 'to defecate'.

¶ < *sižgakta= <CT *sičkakla=, cf Sagay *sīsqaqta=* RIV:661, Shor *šišqaqta=* RIV:1060.

° →EYu *šeqhaklu:l=* B106 'to have diarrhoea', *qhusun šqhakla=* B64 'to have watery diarrhoea' (*qhusun* 'water').

šikī, see *iški* 'two'.

šikīs, see *iškīs* 'beverage, food'.

šīnyin 'sound'.

¶ <Ch *shēngyīn*.

šīpa 'eighteen'. Equivalent of *saqīs-yiyīrmī*.

¶ <Ch *shībā*.

širma 'rubbish, rubbish heap', cf *širma* L306b 'rotten, tattered; junk, scrap'.

širti= 'to curse', cf *širte=* L303a.

širtimi 'charm, spell'.

šitīq 'wet', cf *šitīq^h* L304a, CL171b, *šidīq* M153b, *šidīq* M153b, *šit^htīq^h* L304b.

šīwīra= 'to whisper', cf *šīwura=* L306a, *šīwra=* L303a.

¶ <Mongolic, cf EYu *šapra:=* S714; also loanword in Khak *šībīra=* B1205a, Alt *šībīra=* B12186b. The more common etymon is LM *sibana=* Les694a.

šopaq 'mud', cf *šopaq^h* L306b, CL32, T209b, *šopaq* M151b, *šobaq* M151b, *šolpaq^h* L307a, CL157b, *šolpaq* M151b, *šolbaq* M151b, *šilpaq^h* L302b.

šoryī^hlčīn (~ *sorī^hčīn*) 'ant', cf *šoryo^hčīn* L307b, CL160b, C86:10, T210a [mistranslated 'fly swatter'], *sorgoldsön* Her212, *šoryolčīn* L307b:Da, *šoryorcīn* L307b:Da, *šorwa^hčīn* L307b, *šoryīwa^hčīn* L307b, *šoryo^ha^hčīn* L307b.

¶ <EYu *šorɔlčēn* B108, *šorɔlčīn* S722, *sorgoldsön* Her212, cf LM *siryolji(n)* Les717a **šousa** 'under the authority of'. Equivalent of *īliy ahlīrta*.

¶ <Ch *shōuxià*.

šuala= 'to brush', cf L308a.

¶ <Ch *shuā*.

šuaq, cf *ohšaq* 'crumbs'.

šueypi 'pen', cf *šuepi* L308b.

¶ <Ch *shuībǐ*.

šukti= (*šuktiyī*) 'to load, to transport', cf *šukhte=* L309b, CL171b, *šukte=* T210a, *šukti=* T210a, *šukt(e)=* M152b, *šükte=* M153b, *šükti=* M153b, *šukutī=* T210a, *Zu^hkhte=* L311a.

¶ <CT *yükle= (cf EDPT 912b, ESTJaIV:263), cf Khak *čükte=* B1324b, Tuva *čükte=* T551a, Tofa *čü^hkte=* R92b.

šuktīy 'pregnant', cf *šukhtīy* L309a.

¶ <CT *yüklüg 'pregnant' (cf ESTJaIV:262), cf Khak *čüktīy* B1325a, Tuva *čüktüy* T551a 'having a load'.

šuku (*šukuγī*) 'goat', cf L309a, *šukī* L309a, CL159a, *šuko* PotII:435b, *ško* Her199, *uško* M132b, *öškö* T194b, *üškö* M133b, *suko* L245a 'id', *čhūye* L239a, *čhöye* L238a:Da 'goat (used in a derogatory sense)'.

¶ **öčkü* <CT **ečkü* (cf EDPT 24b, ESTJaIII:34), cf Khak *öskī* BI137b, Tuva *öškü* T342b, *ö^hškü* Sat188 'goat', Tofa *e^hški* R106b 'stud deer'.

suq= 'of something to stick, to adhere, to attach', cf *suq^h*= L309b, CL177b, *šuq*= M152b, *šuk^h*= L309a.

¶ <CT **yuk*= (cf EDPT 897b), cf Khak *čux*= BI324a, Tofa *čohq*= R90a.

saŋna= 'to think'.

¶ <Ch xiāng.

sen 'before, at first', cf L241a, C82:76b. Equivalent of *phornta*.

¶ <Ch xiān.

sičī xačī 'Sichu Khachu (legendary place of origin of the Yugur)', cf L342b, *siči xači* L342b, *siči xačl* T210b, *siči xači* T206b, *sižo xažo* M102b, *sečže xačžin* M102b, *sečže xačži* PotI:442, *siči* T206b, *χasi* T219b, *χači* T219a, *xačī* T219a, *xažin* M134a, *qažī* M48b.

siki 'slender, slim, thin', cf L242b, *sike* L242b, CL171a, T210b, *sikej* L242b, C87:566, *šike* M151a, *sike* M102b, *sikiy* CL171a 'id', L242b, 'id; stingy, mean'.

¶ < **iške* <CT **yi:nčke* (cf EDPT 945a, read *yi:nčge*, ESTJaI:364), cf Khak *niske* BI118a, Tuva *činye* T534b, Tofa *ňinye* R49a, Yak *sinñiyes* Slp324b.

sikuan 'habit'.

¶ <Ch xíguàn.

-*sin*, idiolectal for -*sin* 'every'.

sisitī 'thin and soft'.

¶ <Ch xìxide.

sizaj 'Tibet', cf L342b.

¶ <Ch Xīzàng.

sizī '(straw) mat', cf *sizl* L243b, CL167b, *sizī* M102b.

¶ <Ch xízi.

° Also loanword in EYu *sic1* B112.

soyil= (~ *söyil*=) (*soyilyi*) 'to roast', cf L244a, CL180b, *söyil*= L336b, T207a, *soyil*= L329b, *söyül*= M104b, *söbul*= M104b, *sökül*= M104b.

¶ <CT **sögül*= (cf EDPT 821a), cf Yak *üöl*= Slp454a.

sor= (~ *sör*=) (*soryi*) 'to sweep', cf L244b, CL178a, T23, *sör*= L245a, *šör*= M152a, *sür*= T210b, *šür*= M153b, *šor*= L307b 'id', *šör[ine]* Her203 'to brush'.

¶ <EYu *šür*= B109 'to sweep', *šör[ia]* Her203 'to brush', related to HY *ši'ür*= Mos98, Dgx *šuru*= Bökh134, BaoÑ *šir*= CN157, BaoD *sir*= BL11.

sosi 'news', cf C82:78a.

¶ <Ch xiāoxi.

sothij 'slow', cf L243b, *sotin* CL55, T210b, *šotin* M152a.

¶ Probably <NwM *ciö⁴⁴thij⁵¹* CZW195a 'leisurely and carefree'.

souchou 'an embroidered ball or flower used as a wedding ornament (in some parts of the country it was a tradition to throw this ball out of the window to one's husband to be)'.

¶ <Ch xiùqiú 'a ball made of stripes and silks'.

soz (~ *söz*, *söz*) (*sozki*) 'word; speech; language', cf L244a, CL14, T210b, *söz* L245a, *söz* L331a, T207b, M104b, *söz'* PotII:436a, *sös* Her202, *sioz* L326b, *süz* T107a, M107a.

• *khip söz* 'proverb'; *uzik soz* 'lie'.

¶ <CT **söz* (cf EDPT 860b), cf Khak *sös* BI197b, Tuva *sös* T387a, Yak *ös* Slp289b.

sozir= (*soziryi*) 'to haul, to draw, to drag; to transport', cf L244b, *sozur*= L244b,

sozur= L331b, CL59, *sozür*= L331b, *sözür*= L336b 'id', T207b, *sozür*= T207a 'to haul, to drag, to stretch', *sözür*= L336b:Da 'to transport'.

¶ <CT **södür*= ~ **södre*=, cf Khak *sözür*= B1196a, Tožu *södür*= Čad25, Tofa *södürü*= R64b, *södriü*= R64b. In NE **södür*= prevails, elsewhere **süyre*= ~ **söyre*= (cf Räs435a).

° →EYu čɔ:cér= B145 'to be stretched, straightened'; the initial affricate is unusual, but could have arisen under the influence of the following *c*.

sozti= (~ *sözti*=, *sözti*=) 'to speak', cf *soz te*= L244a, *sözde*= M104b.

¶ Either <CT **sözle*= (cf EDPT 863a), cf Khak *söste*= B1197b 'to slander, instigate', Tuva *söyle*= T385b 'to speak, to tell', or a compound consisting of *soz* 'word' + *ti*= 'to speak'. For a similar formation, cf *yati*= 'to agree'.

sör=, see *sor*= 'to sweep'.

söz, see *soz* 'word'.

sü 'boot', cf L245a, CL169a, *su* L245a, *süa* L245a, C87:564, *süü* T210b, *šö* M152a.

¶ <Ch xuē.

süε, see *süeso* 'school'.

süeso (~ *süε*) 'school', cf L245b, C82:70b, *söso* L245a, *süuse* T211a, *süε* L245a, *sö* L245a.

¶ <Ch xuéxiào, xué.

° Also loanword in EYu *süesiao* B112.

sünan 'Sünán (county)', cf *sunan* CL95.

¶ <Ch sùnán; for the inexplicable front-prepalatal *s*, see also *kansü* 'Gānzhōu'.

° Also loanword in EYu *šünan* ǰ38.

taçaqta= 'to waddle, to walk the way a fat person walks, to walk with bow-legs'.

tafa 'exceeding the proper limits, excessive'.

¶ <NwM *ta*₁₃²¹³*fa* CZW83b.

tayĭn 'tomorrow', cf L94a, CL158b, T211a, *tabĭn* M109b, *dager*[*stegeline*] Her209.

¶ Compound consisting of *khun* 'day' + an unknown element, cf Chaghatay of the Muqaddimat *takiin* Poppe273a 'yesterday'.

tayĭni 'aunt (maternal uncle's wife)', cf *tayĭna* L94b, CL165a, *tayane* L94a, *tayni* Wú316 (speech of Dàhé) 'id', *darenai* Her193 'aunt'. See *taqa* 'maternal uncle'.

¶ Crasis of CT **taqi* 'uncle' + *ana* 'mother' + affective suffix -*y*.

° →EYu *tayani* B125.

tayras= 'to murmur, to rumble', an onomatopoeic verb.

¶ Cf Shor *tabra*= RIII:800 'to tinkle'.

tala= 'to carry (on horseback); to put or hang over', cf L92b 'id; to put up', *tała*= T211a, M110b 'to load'.

¶ <Ch dā 'to put up; to put over; to lift together'.

tale (~ *tali*) 'sea; lake', cf CL157a, *taley* L92b, T211a, *taley* M110b, *taĭi* M110b, *tali* M110b, *ta:ĭi* T212a, *da:ĭi* T178b.

¶ <EYu *tali*: B125, ǰ105a, S193, cf LM *dalai* Les224a.

tali, see *tale* 'sea, lake'.

taltaqi 'ghost; wild animal', cf L93a 'ghost, spirit', *taĭtaqi* M110b 'the spirit of a deceased person'.

tamiñ 'gate', cf L90a, *tamiñ* M111a.

¶ <Ch dāmén; for the second element, cf NwM *ta*⁴⁴*məŋ*²⁴ Liú101b.

tamür 'vein; canal', cf L90a 'id, artery, blood vessel; menses', CL162a, M111a, *damör* Her195 'vein', T211b 'id; source, well'.

tamür 'vein; canal', cf L90a 'id, artery, blood vessel; menses', CL162a, M111a, *damör* Her195 'vein', T211b 'id; source, well'.

¶ <CT **tamür* (cf EDPT 508a, ESTJaIII:143), cf Khak *tamür* BI216a, Tuva *damür* T147a, Tofa *tamür* R68b, Yak *timür* Slp430b.

tan 'egg', cf L91b. Equivalent of *çitan*, *taḥqayī ohsīrīq*.

¶ <Ch *dàn*.

tan 'in case, if'.

¶ <NwM *tan*²¹³ CZW87a.

tančīn 'serious; terrific, awesome; awful, terrible; very', cf CL54 'terrible', L92a:Da 'worried, anxious', L91b, *tañciñ* L94a 'very much, extremely', *tančīn* M111b 'heavy storm'.

¶ According to Chén & Léi from Ch *dāngjīn* (not attested elsewhere so far).

° EYu *tančēn* B124 'dangerous, perilous'.

tanī= 'to know, to be or become acquainted; to recognize', cf L91b, CL179a, T211b, M111b, *ḥani=* T215b.

• *pīhtīy tanīmas* 'illiterate', cf *pḥutīy tanīmas* L74b.

¶ <EYu *ḥanē=* B114, Ĵ103b, cf LM *tani=* Les778b.

tanīs= 'to know one another, to be or become acquainted with one another', cf L91b, T211b, M111b.

tanšī 'but, yet, still, nevertheless'. Equivalent of *taḥqī*.

¶ <Ch *dānshì*.

tañ 'dawn, early morning', cf L93a, T211b, M111b.

¶ <CT **tañ* 'dawn' (cf EDPT 510b, ESTJaIII:144), cf Khak *tañ* BI217a, Tuva *dañ* T147a, Tofa *dañ* R20b, Yak *tīñ* Slp421a.

tañ 'striped', probably idiolectical for *tañjīl* L93b '(of animals) having yellow eye rims or a yellow belly', *kūzyül tañjīl* M70b 'dog with red hair on its head and around the eyes and on the groin'.

• *tañnayan tañ* 'very striped, with many stripes'.

¶ Related to *tañjīl* 'corded' (cf EDPT 520a), recorded by Kashgari.

tañqar 'in the morning', cf T211b, *tañyar* T13, M112a, *tañbar* M112a, *tañyaJ* T211b 'id', *tañqar* L93b, CL158b 'early morning, dawn', *tañar* Her209 'tomorrow'.

¶ From *tañ* 'dawn' + the older directive *-*garu*, cf Sagay *taarta* RIII:860, Tuva *daarta* T140a 'tomorrow' (+ LOC), Tofa *dañbaarī* R20b 'in the morning'.

tañqīna 'beautiful', cf L93b, CL171b, T211b, *tañyǰīna* M112a, *tañyǰna* M112a.

¶ From *tañ* L93a 'beautiful' <CT **ta:ŋ* 'wonder(ful)' (cf EDPT 510b) + intensive suffix -*qīna*, cf Tuva *dañyīna* T147b 'beautiful woman'.

° →EYu *tañǰāna* Kot449 'nice, good-looking'.

taḥp= (speech of older speakers), see *taḥq=* 'to find'.

taḥq= (~ *taḥp=*) 'to find', cf *taḥpḥ=* L94b, CL178b, *taḥp=* T211b, *tapḥ=* L90a:Da, *tap=* T211b, M110a, *ḥapḥ=* L118a.

¶ <CT **tap=* (cf EDPT 435b), cf Khak *tap=* BI217b, Tuva *tīhp=* IP316, Tožu *tīp=* (*dīḥvar*) Čad48, Tofa *tīhp=* R74b, Yak *tap=* Slp375a.

taqa 'maternal uncle', cf L94a, CL165a, T211b, M110a, *taqī* M110a, *taqo* M110a, *taye* T211a, *tayey* L94b, *tasey* M109b, *tasīy* M109b, *dagay* PotIII:435b, *dayai* Her193. See also *tayīni* 'aunt'.

¶ <CT **taqī* ~ **taqay* (cf EDPT 474a, ESTJaIII:127), cf Khak *tayī* BI213b (+ POS3), *tay* BI213b (in compounds), Tuva *daay* T139a, *daayī* Mon150a, Tofa *daay* R20a, Yak *taay* Slp371a. WYu *q* is irregular.

° →EYu *taqa* (or *taya*) B125, *tagà* PotII:413b.

taḥqayī 'chicken', cf L94b, C86:9, *thaqayī* L119b, *thahqayī* L120a, CL159b, *thahqhayī* L120a, *taqaqī* M110a, *taqaba* M110a, *taqabī* M110a.

• *ehrkik taḥqayī* 'rooster', cf *ehrkekh taḥqayī* L94b.

¶ <CT **takagu* ~ **takīgu* (cf EDPT 468b), cf Khak *taḡax* BI217a, dial. *tabax* BI212a, Tofa *taqqīnaq* R68b.

taḥqayī 'prostitute'. See *taḥqayī* 'chicken'.

¶ Calqued from Ch *jī* 'prostitute', and its near homophone *jī* 'chicken'.

taḥqī 'still, yet; also, moreover; or (in alternative questions)', cf L94b, CL175a, T211b, *thahqī* L120a, T211b, *taqī* M110a, *taqo* M110a, *taye* T211a, *ta^xqī[ya]* L95a.

¶ <CT **takī* (cf EDPT 466a, ESTJaIII:122), Shor *tabī* RIII:798.

° →EYu *taḡq^he* B125.

taqīna= 'to run (away), to rush off, to run as a sport', cf L94a 'to run quickly (riding an animal)', M110a, *taqana=* M110a 'to run; to take care of'.

° EYu *taḡant^ha=* B125 'to run quickly'.

tar= 'to sow, to plant, to cultivate land', cf L97b, CL177a, T211b, *dar=* T178a, *tari=* M113b, *taru=* M113b.

• *azīq tarma* 'farmer'; *yer tar=* 'to sow, to plant, to cultivate'; *yer tarma* 'farmer', cf L261b.

¶ <CT **tari=* (cf EDPT 532b, ESTJaIII:157), cf Khak *tari=* BI220a, Tuva *tari=* T408b, Tofa *tari=* R69a.

tara= 'to comb', cf L98a, CL178a, T211b, M112b, *dara=* T178a.

¶ <CT **tara=* (cf EDPT 532a, ESTJaIII:147), cf Khak *tara=* BI218a, Tuva *dīra=* T194, Tofa *dīra=* R225a, Yak *taraa=* Slp375b.

tarīy 'wheat, grain', cf L98a, CL161a, *dark* Her195 'id', *tarīb* M113b, *darīx* M24a 'millet', *tarīq* PotII:405 'Triticum vulgare Vill.'.

¶ <CT **tarīy* (cf EDPT 537b, ESTJaIII:157), cf Khak *tarīb* BI220b.

tarmaq 'finger; claw', cf T211b 'finger; nail', M112b 'id; claw', *tarmaq^h* L98a 'finger; toe; claw', CL160b, *darmag* Her211 'claw', *tarmak* Man64 'finger'. See also *tīрмаq*, *tīrḡaq*.

¶ <CT **tarmak* 'claw' (cf EDPT 549b, ESTJaIII:347), cf Khak *tīrbax* BI245b, Tuva *dīrbak* T194b, Tofa *dīrbaq* R23a, Yak *tarbax* Slp376a.

° →EYu *tarmaq* B126, *darmag* Her211 'claw'.

tart 'prrrt (onomatopoeic for a squeezing sound)', cf *tart^h* L98a 'onomatopoeic for the sound of a fart'.

tahrt= 'to pull, to draw, to drag, to haul; to weigh; to bite', cf *tahrt^h=* L95b 'id; to snap at; to be useful', CL176b 'to pull; to weigh', *tahrt=* T211b, *ta^hht=* T212a, *ta^hht^h=* T212a, *thahrt^h=* L120a, *tha^hht=* T215b, *tart=* M113a, *dart[öwaline]* Her212, *tharta=* T215b, *tarta=* M113a 'to pull, to drag'.

• *tuhtīn tahrt=* 'to smoke tobacco, cigarettes', cf *thuthun tahrt^h=* L95b, *thutum tha^hht=* T215b, *tutun tart=* M113a.

¶ <CT **tart=* (cf EDPT 534b, ESTJaIII:154), cf Khak *tart=* BI219a, Tuva *tirt=* T430a, *tīhrt=* Jan38, Tofa *tīhrt=* R74b, Yak *tart=* Slp377b.

tahrtīy 'rope, string, cord', cf *tartīb* M113a 'cord', *thahrtīy* L122a, *tahtīy* L94b:Da 'woollen cord', *tahrtīy* L95b, *thahrtīy* L120b 'large rope of a horse's harness'.

¶ <CT **tartīg* (cf ESTJaIII:156), cf Tuva *tirtīy* T431a, Tofa *tirtīy* R75a.

tahrtqīs 'scales; a measure of weight, pound', cf *tahrtqīs* L96a, CL174a, *thahrt^hkīs* L120b, *tartqīs* M113a.

¶ <CT **tartkuč* (cf ESTJaIII:156).

tas (~ *ta^{hs}*) 'outside', cf L97b, CL158a, M113b, *ta^{hs}* L95a, T212a, *tha^{hs}* L120a 'id', *dass* Her209 'surface'.

• *ta^{hs}sīnta* 'outside', cf L95a; *ta^{hs}sīŋqa* 'out of it', cf *tasīnba* M113b.

¶ <CT **taš* (cf EDPT 556b, ESTJaIII:164), cf Sagay *tas* BI220b, Tuva *daštī* T150a, Tofa *ta^hštī* R69b, Yak *tas* Slp378a.

tas (~ *ta^{hs}*) 'stone', cf *tas* L97b, CL158a, T212a, M113a, PotII:435b, Man64, *ta^{hs}* L95a, C86:8, T212a, *tha^{hs}* L120a, *taz* Man64.

• *sar tas* 'pebble', cf L301a; *thutuqu^s tas* 'malachite', perhaps calqued from Ch kōngqueshí (kōngque 'peacock', shí 'stone'), or LM toγos čilayu Les818b (toγos 'peacock', čilayu 'stone'), synonym of *čis*.

¶ <CT **ta:š* (cf EDPT 557a, ESTJaIII:167), cf Khak *tas* BI220b, Tuva *daš* T149b, Tofa *daš* R21a, *taš* R69a, Yak *taas* Slp371b.

ta^{hs}, see *tas* 'outside'.

ta^{hs}, see *tas* 'stone'.

ta^{hs}qar 'outside', cf *tasqar* L97b, CL47, M113b, *tašqar* L97b, CL47, T212b, *th^{hs}χa^l* T216a, *tisqar* M128b, *tisqarī* M128b.

¶ <CT **taškaru* (cf EDPT 563a, read *tašgaru*, ESTJaIII:166), cf Khak *tašxar* BI221a, Tuva *daškaar* T149b, Tofa *ta^hšqaarī* R69b, Yak *taharaa* Slp379b.

ta^{hs}sī= 'to spill, to overflow; to boil over (of water, a cauldron); to inflate, to dis-tend', cf *tas=* L97b 'id', CL179b, *tašī=* CL46, M113b, *ta^{hs}=* L95b 'to overflow'.

¶ <CT **ta:š=* (cf EDPT 559b, ESTJaIII:169), cf Khak *tas=* BI220b, Tuva *dažī=* T143a, Tofa *ta^hš=* R69b.

ta^{hs}sīt= 'to cause to spill, to cause to overflow'.

¶ Cf *tašīt=* (cf EDPT 561b), recorded by Kashgari.

ta^ht 'Tibetan; Eastern Yugur', cf T212a, *ta^hth* L94b, CL164b, *tat* M114a, PotII:436b, *ta^ht* T212a 'Tibetan'.

¶ <CT **tat* 'stranger, alien' (cf EDPT 449a).

tatī= 'to taste', cf *tath=* L91a, CL149 'id', *dade[*pdro*]* Her205 'flavour'.

¶ CT **ta:t=* 'to taste' (cf EDPT 449b, ESTJaIII:164), cf Khak *tadī=* BI212b 'to be tasty'.

tatīy 'tasty, good to eat; sweet', cf L91a, CL172b, T212a, *tatīB* M114a, *dadōX* Her212.

¶ <CT **ta:tīg* (cf EDPT 452a, ESTJaIII:164), cf Khak *tadīB* BI212b.

tattī= 'to scold', cf T212a, M114a, *tathtī=* L91a, CL179a, *dadī[ne]* Her205.

¶ Perhaps ←Mongolic, cf EYu *tapt^{ha}=* S735 'to curse constantly', LM *dabta=* Les213a 'to repeat'.

tawan 'sole of the foot', cf L97a, M109a, *tawon* T212a 'heel'.

¶ <CT **ta:ban* 'sole of the foot; mountain pass' (cf EDPT 441b, ESTJaIII:110), cf Khak *taban* BI211b, Tuva *davan* T140b.

tawar 'silk', cf L97a, CL169b, T212a, M109a, PotII:436b, *tawa^l* T212a, *dawar* T178b, Her207.

¶ <CT **tabar* 'livestock; trade goods; silk goods' (cf EDPT 442b, ESTJaIII:114).

tawasīq 'bladder', cf *tawasīk^h* L97a, CL162b, *tawīsīq* M109a 'id', *tawasīq^h* L97a:Da 'scrotum'.

¶ ←EYu *taβasāq* B125, *taβasēq* Ĵ105b, *tawasēq* S185 'bladder', cf LM *dabusang* ~ *dabusay* Les213b.

te, see *tey* 'just now'.

tey= (*tekki*) 'to touch; to get at; to vanquish, to overpower (+ DAT)', cf L103b, *teg=*

T212b, *tek^h*= L103a, *tek*= M116a 'to touch'.

¶ <CT **teq*= (cf EDPT 476a, ESTJaIII:173), cf Khak *teŋ*= BI223a, Sagay *tiŋ*= BI224a, Tuva *dey*= T196a, Tofa *dey*= R23b, Yak *tiiy*= Slp382b.

temür 'iron', cf L102a, CL158a, M117a, *temer* T212b, Man64, *temir* M116b, PotII:435b, *damör* Her209.

¶ <CT **temir* (cf EDPT 508b, ESTJaIII:188), cf Khak *timür* BI224b, Tuva *demir* T155a, Tofa *demir* R23b, Yak *timir* Slp384a.

temürçä 'smith', cf *temürçl* L102b, CL163b, *temürçä* T212b, *temurçä* T212b, *temüržä* T16. Synonym of *temür soqpa*.

¶ <CT **temirči* (cf EDPT 509b, ESTJaIII:189).

teŋir, see *tiŋir* 'sky'.

terat= 'to pinch, to grind, to crush', cf *terath*= L104b 'to rub, to knead', CL176a 'to twist with the fingers', *terat*= M117b 'to cause to take away', *terwath*= L102a, *turwath*= L116b 'to twist (rope)', CL176a 'to rub the hands'.

terik (*terikki*) 'tree; wood, wooden; forest', cf *terik* M118a, *terek* T212b, M118a, *terekh* L104b, CL157b, *dereg* Her204 'tree'.

• *ciyti terik* 'jujube tree', cf *ciyte terekh* L231b, *žiyde unyek terik* M29a; *qhaq terik* 'dead branch, twig'.

¶ <CT **terek* 'poplar' (cf EDPT 543a, ESTJaIII:205), cf Khak *tirek* BI226a, Tuva *terek* T412a 'poplar', Yak *terex* Pek2642, *tirex* Pek2679.

° →EYu *dereg* Her204.

teriktüy 'with trees', cf *terektüy* T212b.

¶ <CT **tereklig* (cf EDPT 546a).

terwi= 'to shake', cf *terwe*= L104b, CL180b, T212b, M118a, *derwö[bter]* Her207.

¶ <CT **tepre*= (cf EDPT 443b, ESTJaIII:200), cf Khak *tibüre*= BI224a.

terwis= 'to shake'.

¶ <CT **tepreš*= (cf EDPT 445a).

tey 'two or three-year-old foal', cf L104a, T9, M115a, *tay* L96b, CL159a, M109b.

¶ <CT **tay* (cf EDPT 566b), cf Khak *tay* BI213b, Tuva *day* T143b, Yak *tüy* Slp418b.

tey (~ *te*) 'just now, just a moment ago', cf L104a, CL131, *tay* L96b, CL131, M109b.

Synonym of *am*, *halta*.

¶ <NwM *tai*²¹³ CZW86a, ZW130 'just; incidentally, in passing'.

teyla=: *şaŋ teyla*= 'to be wounded, injured', cf *şaŋ tela*= L299b, *şaŋtela*= M67:208b 'id', *şaŋtela*= T208 'to wound', *dele*= M24a 'to be ill'.

¶ Perhaps <Ch *dài* 'to bear, to have', cf also Dgx *san taila*= S709.

teyli 'of course, certainly, really', cf L104b, CL175a, *teyla* M115a, *tayli* L97a, CL175a 'at all; absolutely'.

¶ Perhaps <NwM *tai*⁵¹ CZW85b 'very' + un unclear second element, maybe *lái*, as Chén and Léi (1985: 212) suggest.

° EYu *taili* B124 'always'.

teytezi 'bag; sack'.

¶ <NwM *tai*²¹³*tai*²¹³*c1* CZW86b.

ti, ordinal particle.

¶ <Ch *dī*.

tī= 'to say; to tell; to reply, to answer', cf L105a, CL176a, T213a, M118b, *te*= L102a, CL31, M114a, *tī*= T213a, *dī*= T178b, M24a, *de*= T178b, *t^hi*= T216a, *dī[nai]* Her200 'to say'.

¶ <CT **te*:= (cf EDPT 433b, ESTJaIII:221), cf Khak *tī*= BI227a, Tuva *de*= T196a, *dī*=

T196a, Tofa *de*= R23a, Yak *die*= Slp114a.

tīat= 'to send, to dispatch; to carry, to transport; to abandon, to leave, to get rid of', cf *tīat^h*= L105a, CL178b, *tīyat*= T212a, *teat*= M114b, *tāt*= M114b, *tæt*= M114b 'to send; to carry', *tead*[*ine*] Her201 'to send'.

tīhkin 'thorn, thorny bush', cf *tīhken* L127a, CL161a, T216a, *tīh^hken* L127a, *tīken* M118b, *tikken* M119a, *teken* M116a 'id', Her210 'firewood'.

¶ <CT **teken* ~ **tīken* (cf EDPT 483b), cf Khak *tīy^henek* BI227, Tuva *ten* T410b, Tofa *te^hhen* R75b.

tīj, superlative particle, cf L107b, CL174b. Equivalent of **yīj**.

¶ <Ch dǐng.

tījīr (~ **tejīr**) 'sky, heaven; wheather', cf *tejīr* L103a, CL157a, *tejer* L103b 'id', T212b, *tejīr* T212b, *tejīr* M117a, *tejri* PotII:436a 'Heaven (as a deity)'.

¶ <CT **tejeri* (cf EDPT 523b), cf Khak *tīyīr* BI224a, Tuva *deer* T196a, Tofa *deeri* R23b. WYU *teōj* Man63 might be a rendering of Ch *tīān* 'sky, heaven'.

tījīrwaš 'heaven's top', cf *tījīr paš* L103a 'up in the sky'.

¶ Compound consisting of *tījīr* 'sky, heaven' + *paš* 'head'.

tījna= 'to take the place of'.

¶ <Ch dǐng.

tīola= 'to haul up, to lift, to hoist', cf L106a 'to hang; to fly', *tīo^hla*= T213a 'to fasten', *to^hla*= M121a 'to add to'.

¶ <Ch diào 'to lift up or let down with a rope'.

tīolal= 'to get hoisted up', cf L106a, *to^hla^h*= M121a, *tō^hla^h*= M123a 'to hang oneself'.

tīs= 'to talk together, to discuss', cf L108b, CL91, M119a.

¶ <CT **te:š*= (cf EDPT 559b, ESTJaIII:223), cf Shor *teš*= RIII:1105, Tuva *diš*= T162a, Tofa *diš*= R21a.

tītaŋ 'able; strong', cf CL172b, *tītan* M119a 'strong, forceful', *tītaŋ* L107a 'strong (of animals); dexterous'.

° EYU *tī:taŋ* B128.

tītīr= 'to make speak, to let say or tell', cf CL90.

¶ <CT **te:tīr*= (cf EDPT 459b).

tīthan 'carpet, rug', cf L107b.

¶ <Ch dītān.

tīhk= (*tīh^hki*) 'to sew', cf *tīh^hkh*= L100b, CL181b, *tīh^hkh*= CL8, *tīh^hkh*= L122b, *tīk*= T214b, *tīh^hkh*= L100a:Da, *tek*= M116a, *tīq*= M128a, *teq*[*ine*] Her211.

• **kizkī tīhk**= 'to sew clothes', cf *kezyī tīh^hkh*= L151b, *kezyī tīh^hkh*= L151b; **xuar tīhk**= 'to embroider', cf *xuar tīh^hkh*= L100a:Da, calqued from Ch *xiùhuā* 'to embroider' (*xiù* 'to embroider', *huā* 'flower'); **yiz tīhkpi** 'tailor'.

¶ <CT **tīk*= (cf EDPT 476b, ESTJaIII:227), cf Khak *tīk*= BI227b, Yak *tīk*= Slp383b.

tīhk= 'to erect, to put up, to set up (especially of a cauldron on the trivet)', cf *tīh^hkh*= L100b, *tīh^hkh*= L122b, *tīh^hkh*= T217a, *tīk*= M128a, *tīχ*= T217a.

¶ <CT **tīk*= 'to erect' (cf EDPT 476b, ESTJaIII:226), cf Khak *tīk*= BI222b, Tuva *tīk*= T413a, Yak *tīk*= Slp383b.

tīkīr 'scrotum, testicles, ballocks; term of abuse for a person', cf L99b 'scrotum; testicles' *teqīr* M115b, *tekīr* M116b 'scrotum'.

• **sen tīkīr** 'you prick!'.

¶ <EYU *tékēr* BĴ323 'male genitals (including the testicles)', cf Kal *dekü:r* Ram85b 'that what is inserted; penis (e.g. of a dog)', apparently derived from *dekäχə* 'to insert'.

Lacking in the other Mongolic languages and LM.

tīl 'tongue', cf L99a, CL161b, T214b, *teł* M116a, *döl* Her194.

¶ <CT **til* ~ **tīl* (cf EDPT 489b, ESTJaIII:228), cf Khak *tīl* BI227b, Tuva *dīl* T192b, Tofa *dīl* R23a, *tīl* R74a, Yak *tīl* Slp419a.

tīl (*tīlyi*) 'dream', cf L99a, CL161b, *tīł* T214b, *teł* M116a.

¶ <CT **tū:l* (cf EDPT 490b, ESTJaIII:323), cf Yak *tūül* Slp416b. Elsewhere CT **tū:š* (cf EDPT 559a) prevails, cf Khak *tūs* BI243b, Tuva *dūš* T191a, Tofa *dūš* R22b.

tīli= (*tīlyi*) 'to look for, to search for, to seek', cf *tīle=* L99b, CL178b, T214b, *tīle=* T215a, *tīla=* T215a, *tele=* T212b, M116b, *tele=* M116b, *thele=* T216a, *teła=* M116b, *tīla=* T213a.

¶ <CT **tīle=* (cf EDPT 492a, ESTJaIII:231), cf Khak *tīle=* BI227b, Tuva *dīle=* T163a, Tofa *dīle=* R21a.

tīlisti= (~ *tīsti=*) 'to dream', cf *tīliste=* L99b, CL177a, *tel iste=* M32b 'id', *dols[üpter]* Her206 'dream'.

• *khīr tīlisti=* 'to have a nightmare'.

¶ Perhaps a metathesis of *teł tūse=* M127b, *teł tūsi=* M127b, *teł tuse=* M126a, from *tīl* 'dream' + CT **tū:še=* 'to dream' (cf EDPT 561b, ESTJaIII:324).

tīmsīy 'mouth; lip; beak', cf L99a, CL162a 'id', *tīmsīq* T215a 'beak', *tumsīy* L113b:Da 'mouth', *domdsok* Her194 'lip'.

¶ <CT **tumšuk* (cf EDPT 509b), cf Khak *tumzux* BI239a, Tuva *dumčuk* T183a 'nose, beak, trunk, snout', Tofa *tuyžuuq* R71b, Yak *tumus* Slp401a 'beak; snout'. WYu points to **tumšug*.

tīmsīyliy 'having a mouth', cf *tīmsīyliy* T215a.

tīnčan 'lamp, light', cf L100b, CL166b, *tīnčan* M128a, *tīnčæn* M128a.

¶ <Ch dēngzhǎn Mat6169 'the saucer of an old-fashioned Chinese lamp; lamps', or perhaps surviving from an older loan *tīnčan* (cf EDPT 516b).

tīp (*tīpki*) 'base, underside, the lower end, bottom; root (of a plant); foot (of a mountain); classifier for a heap or pad of dung', cf *tīp^h* L98b 'id', CL173b, *tīp* T215a, M128b, *tup^h* L113a, *tūp* M127a 'underside, base, foundation'.

¶ <CT **tī:p* ~ **tū:p* 'base' (cf EDPT 434b, ESTJaIII:317), cf Khak *tūp* BI243a, Tuva *dūp* T189a, Tofa *dūp* R22b.

tīhq= (*tīhqa*) 'to stick, insert or thrust into', cf *tīhq^h=* L100b, CL9, *tīχ=* T215a.

¶ <CT **tīk=* (cf EDPT 465a, ESTJaIII:337), cf Khak *tīβīn=* BI244a (+ RFL).

tīrya=, see *tīrna=* 'to scratch'.

tīriy 'alive', cf L101b, T215a, *terik* M118a.

¶ <CT **tirig* (cf EDPT 543b, ESTJaIII:240), cf Khak *tīriy* BI228a, Tuva *diriy* T164a, Tofa *diriy* R21a, *tiriy* R69b.

tīriy-tīriy 'tap-tap (onomatopoeic for a high knocking sound)'.

tīrlī= (*tīrlīy*) 'to live; to be or become alive; to revive', cf L101b 'id, to regain consciousness, to come to, to come round', CL91, *tīrlī=* T215a, *teril=* M118a, *teril=* M118b 'to revive'.

¶ <CT **tiril=* (cf EDPT 547b, ESTJaIII:242), cf Khak *tīrlī=* BI228b, Tuva *diril=* T164b, Tuva of China *dirli=* ZT2238.

tīrlūt= 'to revive, to make alive', cf *tīrlūt^h=* L101b, CL91, *tīrlēt=* M128b.

¶ <CT **tirilt=* (cf EDPT 545b s.v. *tirgür=*); in NE **tirgüz=* prevails.

tīrna 'turnip', cf L101b, *turma* L116b, CL161a, T214b, M125b, *torma* M122b, *dörma* Her212.

¶ <CT **turma* (cf EDPT 549b).

° →EYu *thurma* Ǿ83, *dörma* Her212.

tirmaq 'nail; claw; finger, toe', cf *tirmaq^h* L101b:Da, CL162a *tirmaq* M128b, *tirwaq* M128b 'nail', *tirmak* PotII:436a 'finger'.

¶ Contamination of *tarmaq* 'finger, claw' and *tirnaq* 'nail'.

tirna= (~ *tirya=*) 'to scratch', cf L101b, M128b, *tirya=* L101b.

¶ <CT **tirma=* ~ **tirba=* (cf EDPT 550a s.v. *tarma=*, ESTJaIII:345), cf Khak *tirba=* BI245a, Tuva *dirba=* T194b, Tofa *dirba=* R23a, Yak *tarbaa=* Slp376a.

tirnaq 'nail', cf *tirnaq^h* L101b, *tirbaq* M128b, *trinqak* Man64, *dermaq* Her194. See also *tarmaq*, *tirmaq*.

¶ <CT **tirnak* 'nail' (cf EDPT 551b, ESTJaIII:348), cf Khak *tirbaX* BI245b, Tuva *diryak* T195a, Tofa *dirbaq* R23a, *tirbaq* R74a, Yak *tinqirax* Slp421b.

tis (*tiski*) 'tooth', cf L101a, CL162a, T215a, M128b, *t^his* T216a, *tes* M118b, *tis'* PotII:435a, *tüz* Man65, *döss* Her194.

¶ <CT **tiš* (cf EDPT 557b, ESTJaIII:242), cf Khak *tis* BI228b, Tuva *diš* T165b, Tofa *diš* R21a, Yak *tiis* Slp383a.

tis (*tiski*) 'cauldron, cooking pot', cf L101a, CL162a, T215a, *tis* T213a, *tis* M128b, *tis* M119a, *töss* Man62, *döss* Her195, *čis* M143b, *ihtis* L22a:Da, *ihtis* T220b, *hitis* L220b:Da, T181a.

¶ <CT **iddiš* ~ **idiš* 'cup, vessel' (cf EDPT 72a, ESTJaI:328a), cf Khak *idīs* BI65b, Tuva *idiš* T201b, Tofa *idiš* R24a.

tisī 'female (of an animal)', cf *tīhs₁* L100b, C87:563, *tīs₁* L123a, CL6, *tise* M119a, *tese* M118b.

¶ <CT **tiši* ~ **tišī* (cf EDPT 560b, ESTJaIII:244), cf Khak *tizī* BI227b, Tuva *diži* T161b, Yak *tihī* Slp422b.

tisti= (*tistiŷi*) 'to bite; to sting', cf *tiste=* L101a, CL175b, *t^histe=* T216a, *tiste=* M119a *tjste=* T213a, T8, *teste=* M118b, *dste[pter]* Her205.

¶ <CT **tišle=* (cf EDPT 564b, ESTJaIII:244), cf Tuva *dište=* T165b.

tisti= (*tistiŷi*), see *tīlisti=* 'to dream'.

tiz 'knee', cf L100b, CL177b, T215a, *tiz* M118b, *tez* M115a, *dess* Her194.

¶ <CT **tiz* (cf EDPT 570b, ESTJaIII:336), cf Khak dial. *tis* BI228b, Khak *tizek* BI227a, Tuva *diskek* T165a, Tofa *tiskek* R69b, Yak *tūhex* Slp416b.

tiz= (*tizya*) 'to write', cf L101a, CL177b, T215a, M128a 'id', *tez=* M115a 'id; to draw'.

• *tizma* 'writer; pen', cf M128a 'the process of writing'; *pīhtiy tiz=* 'to write'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **tiz=* ~ **tīz=* 'to put in a row; to string' (cf EDPT 572a; ESTJaIII:218), cf Khak *tis=* BI228b, Tuva *dis=* T162a, Tofa *dis=* R21a, Yak *tis=* Slp385b 'to put in a row'.

tizwaš 'kneecap', cf L101a, *tez waš* M89a, *tiz paš* L51b.

¶ Compound consisting of *tiz* 'knee' + *paš* 'head', cf Kyzyl *tīspas* ESTJaIII:337.

toy= (*toqqa*) 'to be born; to give birth', cf T22, *toB=* M119b, *toy[upte]* Man63, *tuy=* L114b, CL179b, T214a, *tub=* M123b, *t^huy=* L133b, *tuq=* M124a 'id', *tuy=* L114b:Da 'of animals to give birth'.

¶ <CT **tug=* 'to be born' (cf EDPT 465a, ESTJaIII:245), cf Khak *tub=* BI237b 'to calve'.

toyir 'other, another; other than, except for, apart from (+ ABL)', cf L110b, CL171a, T213a, *toBir* M119b, *toyur* L110b, C82:76b, *toBur* M119b.

toyir= 'to cause or let give birth', cf *tuyir=* CL180a 'to give birth', L114b, *tubur=* M123b, *toBur=* M119b 'to help giving birth'.

¶ <CT **tugur=* (cf EDPT 472a, ESTJaIII:247).

ton 'garment, dress', cf L109a, CL168b 'long gown', T213a, M121b 'long kaftan, gown, dress, fur-coat', *don* Her196 'robe', PotII:436b 'fur-coat', *tun* M125a 'kaftan'.

¶ <CT **to:n* (cf EDPT 512b, ESTJaIII:262), cf Khak *ton* BI231b, Tuva *ton* T415b, Tofa *don* R21b.

tojīs 'pig', cf L109b, T213b, M122a, *tojuuz* L109b, *tojuus'* PotII:437, *towīs* T214a, M119b (mountain dial.) 'pig (only in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle)'.
¶ <CT **tojuuz* (cf EDPT 527b, ESTJaIII:267).

tohqī= 'to stir', cf *thohqī=* L129a 'to mix thoroughly, to mix well', L111a 'id, to make a mess of, to create disorder', *toXqo=* M120a, *toqī=* M121a 'to mix or stir (with a spoon or chopsticks)'.
¶ Perhaps <CT **tokī=* 'to hit, to beat' (cf EDPT 467a, ESTJaIII:253), or <EYu *tōyqē=* B129 'to stir, to mix', cf Bao *toqē=* S394, LM *doki=* Les257b 'to beckon, to nod, to beat a drum'.

toqīr 'round, circular, spherical', cf L110a, CL171a, T213b, *toqor* T213b, *toqör* Her206.
• *kük toqīr* 'water melon', cf *küh toqīr* L110a.
¶ Perhaps related to LM *duyuriy* Les272a, EYu *thüyrek* B122, *thökörök* S236.

toqīra= 'to fall (to the front), to topple down', cf CL179b 'to topple down, to collapse', L110a 'id; to beat it, to get lost', M121a 'to fall; to go away', *toqura=* M120b 'to collapse', L110b:Da 'to roll'.
¶ <EYu *tuqura=* B131 'to roll; to beat it, to get lost', cf LM of Inner Mongolia *duyura=* Měng764b 'to take turns'. The meaning 'to beat it, get lost' in both Yugur languages may be calqued from Ch *gūn* 'to roll; to beat it'.

tohqīs 'nine', cf L111a, CL173a, T213b, *tohqhīs* CL74, *thohqīs* L129b:Da, *toqīs* M121a, *toqus* M120b, *toqış* T213b, *tokuz* PotII:436b, *tuks* Man61, *doX* Her197.
¶ <CT **tokuz* < **tokkuz* (cf EDPT 474b, ESTJaIII:255), cf Khak *toBīs* BI230a, Tuva *tos* T417a, Tofa *tohhos* R70b, Yak *toBus* Slp387b.

tohqīson 'ninety', cf L111a, CL173b, *toqhson* T213b, *tokson* PotII:437b, *tohson* T214a, *doxon* Her198.

¶ <CT **tokson* < **tokkuz o:n* (cf EDPT 473b), cf Khak *toBizon* BI229b, Tuva *tozan* T414b, Tofa *tohhozon* R70b, Yak *toBus uon* Slp387b.
tohqīs-yiyīrmī 'nineteen', *tohqīseyyīrmī* L111b, CL173a, *toqīsyiyīrmo* T213b, *toqsi germe* PotII:437a.

¶ Compound consisting of *tohqīs* 'nine' + *yiyīrmī* 'twenty'.
toqqan 'the old home, family home', cf *tuqhqan* L114a, CL165b 'a married woman's parent's home', *tuqqan* T214b, M124a 'relatives'.
¶ <CT **tuggan* (cf ESTJaIII:247), cf Khak *tuban* BI237b 'relative'.
tohqti 'two-year-old female lamb', cf *tohqhtī* L111b, *toXtī* CL159a, *thohqti* T216b, *toqti* M120b, *doXte* Her199 'one-year-old lamb'.
¶ <CT **tokli* (cf EDPT 469a), cf Tuva *toydu* T313a.

tosilīlī 'have come reporting the good news'.
¶ The first element <Ch *dàoXǐ* 'to congratulate', the second perhaps *láile* (*lái* 'to come', *le*, aspect particle).

toyqī 'wedding guest', cf *toyči* M120a 'id', *toyqı* L111b, CL165b 'person accompanying the marriage procession'.
¶ From *toy* L111b, C165b, T213a, M120a 'feast' <CT **toy* (cf EDPT 566b) + agent suffix.

toz= 'to be or become satiated, to eat one's fill', cf L112a, CL16, T214a, M120a, *tuz=* M123b.
• *ihčikī toz=* 'to eat one's fill, to eat one's belly full'.

¶ <CT **tod*= (cf EDPT 451a, ESTJaIII:251), cf Khak *tos*= BI233b, Tuva *tot*= T414a, Tofa *tot*= R70b, Yak *tot*= Slp393a.

töhrçin 'village; clan, tribe', cf *töhçhin* L117a, *töhçin* L117a, C86:2, *tiohçin* L106b 'clan, family', *tüçin* M128a 'id, department'.

¶ Perhaps related to Mgr *turèçin* S667 'leader, chief'.

törüm 'the year after next', cf L117a, *törem* T214a, *törin* M123a *tiorüm* L107a, CL158b.

töhrsaaq 'upside down; reverse; bad, hostile (of a person)'.

• **pu kīsī töhrsaaqtī** 'this person is bad'; **pheriktī töhrsaaqqa mantūr**= 'to put on one's hat backwards'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *tiohrsı* L106b 'upside down, inverted, reverse', *tehrsı* L104a 'irritable, irascible, impetuous, rash' <CT **ters* ~ **teris* 'false, adverse' (cf EDPT 553a) + *yaq* 'side'.

töhrsaaqta= 'to turn upside down, to reverse'.

tört 'four', cf T213b, M123a, *tyört* T214a, *tiorth* L107a, CL173a, *tyoJt* T213b, *dürt* M24b, *türt* M127b, *tyurt* Man61, *t'urt* PotII:436b, *düt* Her197.

¶ <CT **tō:rt* (cf EDPT 534a, ESTJaIII:284), cf Khak *tört* BI236a, Tuva *dört* T179a, Tofa *dört* R22a, Yak *tüört* Slp413b.

törtij 'wolf', cf *törtey* L117a, C87:564, *törden* M123a, *tertey* L104b, C87:564, *terdij* PotII:435a, *terten* CL159b, T212b, M118a, *tertin* T212b, M118a, *terden* M118a, *terdin* M118a, *dirtij* Man64.

° EYU *tarden* Her199.

törtinçī 'fourth', cf *tiortinçl* L107a, CL76, *törtinçī* T214a, *türtinži* M127b, *türtünç* M179.

¶ Cf Khak *törtinži* BI236a.

törtun 'forty', cf *törton* T214a, M123b, *tiorton* L107a, CL173b, *türton* M127b, *türtön* M127b, *dürtön* M24b, *kçon* PotII:437b, *dürdon* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *tört* 'four' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *dörten* T179a, Tofa *dörten* R22a, *dörtön* R22a, Yak *tüört uon* Slp413b. Elsewhere CT **kirk* (cf EDPT 651a) prevails, cf Khak *xiriX* BI301b.

tört-yiyirmī 'fourteen', cf *tiorçiyırmī* L107a, CL74, *tyurtšigerma* Man61.

¶ Compound consisting of *tört* 'four' + *yiyirmī* 'twenty'.

tös 'chest', cf L117a, CL31, M123b, *tios* L106b, CL162a, *tyos* T214a, *döss* Her194, *tüs* M127b, *tus* M125b, Man64, *tuZ* Man64.

¶ <CT **tō:š* (cf EDPT 558b, ESTJaIII:286), cf Khak *tös* BI236a, Tuva *töš* T420b, Tofa *döš* R22a, Yak *tüös* Slp414a.

-tro, older form of the evidential particle *-tī*, occurring in tales and songs only, cf L117b, CL172b, M123b, *dro* M24b, *-tru* M125b, *-tro* M125b, *turu* PotII:437

¶ According to Malov <CT **turur* (cf EDPT 529b).

tuan 'classifier for time, a period of'.

¶ <Ch duān.

tuanna= 'to hold with both hands, to offer, to present', cf L112b, CL47, T214a 'id', *tuoanna*= M125b 'to treat'.

¶ <Ch duān.

tuašī, idiolectal for **çuašī** 'very'.

tuey 'couple, pair', cf *tue* L112b, CL67, *düy* M24b.

¶ <Ch duì.

tuki (~ **thuki**) 'heifer', cf *tuke* L113b, CL69 'three or four-year-old cow'.

¶ <CT *tüge 'a half-grown calf' (cf EDPT 478b). WYu points to *tüke.

tu^hki= (*tu^hkiyi*) 'to come to an end, to finish', cf *tu^hke=* L115b, *tü^hke=* T214a, *thuke=* L132b, C82:67a, *thüke=* T216b, *tüke=* M127a *tüge=* T212b, *čüke=* M147b, *te^hke:=* T212b.

¶ <CT *tüke= (cf EDPT 479a).

tukicer 'small heifer', cf *tukecer* L114a, CL69, *tukeçir* M124a 'two or three-year-old cow'.

tu^hkit= 'to put an end to, to finish', cf *thuket^h=* L132b 'to eliminate, to wipe out'.

¶ <CT *tüket= (cf EDPT 479b), cf Khak *tüyet=* BI242a.

tun 'classifier for a beating, a meal', cf L113b, *tuⁿ* L112b.

¶ <Ch dùn.

tuy 'cave'.

¶ <Ch dòng.

tuo 'classifier for flowers'.

¶ <Ch duǒ.

tur 'tomb', cf L116b, CL166a, M125b, *thor* T216b, *thoJ* T216b, *tür* T215a, *tüJ* T215a 'id, grave mound, graveyard'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *dur* Das630a 'tomb, grave', Amdo *dér-s^ha* MG368 'burial site, graveyard', Xiàhé *tér-s^ha* HL275b 'graveyard', (LT *dur-sa* Zhāng1266b).

° →EYu *otor* B16 'grave, tomb' (*ot* 'fire' + *tur*).

tur= (*turya*): **miça turya**, **miça tursa** 'shortly, in a little while', cf *tur=* L116b 'to stop, to cease; to dwell', CL180b 'to stop', T214b, M125b 'to be situated'.

¶ <CT *tur= 'to stand, to stop' (cf EDPT 529b, ESTJaIII:296), cf Khak *tur=* BI239b, Tuva *tur=* T424a, Tofa *tur=* R71b, Yak *tur=* Slp405a.

turaq 'soil, earth', cf *turwaq^h* CL157b, T214b, *torwaq* T213b, M122a, *torwak* PotII:435b, *dorwak* Her206, *türwaq^h* CL31, T215a, M128b.

¶ <CT *toprak (cf EDPT 443a), cf Khak *tobrax* BI229a, Tuva *dovurak* T166a, Tofa *tohpraq* R70b, Yak *toburax* Slp387a.

tus= (*tuski*) 'to descend, to go down; to fall', cf L116a, CL177b, M125b, *tu^hs=* L115b, CL177b, T214b, *thus=* L133b, T217a, *thüs=* T217a, *tüs=* M127b.

• **tusip par=** 'to go down'; **tusik kel=** 'to come down'; **qara tus=** 'to become dark, of the evening to fall; of bad luck to occur, of an accident to happen', cf *qara tus=* L116a, M125b 'of the sky to become dark'; **yijir qara tus=** 'to become dark; of the evening to fall'; **ihcikisti qara tus=** 'to have a bad stomach; to be sad'; **köjilyi qara tus=** to be or become weary, sorrowful, grieved; **nan tus=** 'of troubles to befall to, to get into trouble, to suffer difficulties', perhaps calqued from Ch *nándǎo* 'of difficulties to baffle, to daunt, to beat' (*nán* 'difficult', *dǎo* 'to fall'); **pozay tus=** 'of the twilight to fall'.

¶ <CT *tüš= (cf EDPT 560a, ESTJaIII:330), cf Khak *tüs=* BI243b, Tuva *düš=* T186b, *dühš=* Jan38, Tofa *tühš=* R73b, Yak *tüs=* Slp415a.

tusqan 'hare', cf T214b, *thusqan* CL66, T217a, *tusqhan* L116a:Da, *tosqan* L112a, *to^hsqan* L111b, CL159b, *thosqhan* L130a, *thosqan* T216a, T8, C86:2, *to:sqan* M122b, *tousqan* M122b, *tuskan* PotII:437, *tusqan* Her202, *towusqan* L111b.

¶ <CT *tabiškan (cf EDPT 447a). In NE, forms related to CT *kodañ (cf EDPT 678a s.v. *koyan*) prevail.

tüsir= 'to make or let descend', cf *tu^hsir=* CL177b, *tusur=* L116a, CL90, M126a, *tüsür=* M127b.

¶ <CT *tüšür= (cf EDPT 566a, ESTJaIII:333), cf Khak *tüzir=* BI242b, Tuva *düžür=* T186b, Tofa *tühhür=* R73b.

tut= 'to pluck wool', cf *tuth=* L113b.

¶ <CT *tū:t= ~ *t̄:t= ~ *t̄:t= (cf EDPT 450b, ESTJaIII:321), cf Khak *tīt=* BI246a, Tuva *dīt=* T192a, Tofa *tīt=* R74b, Yak *tūt=* Slp423b.

tuht= (*tuhtqa*) 'to hold; to catch, to catch or get hold of, to get; to do', cf *tuht^h=* L115a, CL176a, *thuht^h=* L133b:Da, *thuth=* L131a 'id', *thut=* T217a, *tut=* T214b, M126a 'to hold'.

• **pīst tuht=** 'to catch lice'; **īs tuht=** 'to do; to work', cf *īs tuht^h=* L114b, *īs tut=* T214b, M126a; **īs tuhtpa** (~ **īs tuhtma**) 'worker'.

¶ <CT *tut= (cf EDPT 451a). Khak *tut=* BI241a, Tuva *tut=* T421b, *tuht=* Jan38, Tožū *tut=* (*duhdar*) Čad48, Tofa *tuht=* R72b, Yak *tut=* Slp408b.

tuhtit= 'to kindle', cf *thutet^h=* L131a, *thustet^h=* L134a 'id, to light, to burn; to stew, to simmer', *tuhtet=* T214b, *tutet=* T214b, *tustet=* T214b, *tüstet=* M127b 'to smoke; to burn'.

¶ <CT *tütet= 'to make smoke' (cf EDPT 452a), cf Khak *tüdet=* BI242a.

tuhtin 'tobacco', cf *thutin* L131a, *thutun* L131a, *thuthun* L131a, CL158a, *thutum* T217a, *thütin* T8, *tutun* M126b, *tütin* T217a, M126b, *tuχt̄in* ~ *thutin* Man65 'id', *thuthun* L131:Da 'id; mist and clouds'.

¶ <CT *tütin 'smoke' (cf EDPT 457b), cf Khak *tüdin* BI242a.

tuhtirki 'rat', cf *thuthuke* L131a, *thiothuku* L126b 'jerboa'.

tuhtirqan 'rice', cf *thuthurqhan* L131b, CL161a, *thuthurqan* L131b, *thuthuqhan* L131b, *tuturqan* M126b, *tutirqan* M126b, *tuturxan* PotII:401, *turgan* Her195.

¶ <CT *tuturkan (cf EDPT 460b). Hermann's form is probably <EYu *hturqan* B61, *hthurban* Ĵ14 'rice plant', *turxan* PotII:401, *turgan* Her195 'rice', cf LM *tutur̄a(n)* Les847a.

tuhtqış 'potholder; chopsticks', cf *thuthqış* L131b 'potholder'.

¶ <CT *tutkuč 'potholder; handle' (cf EDPT 453a, read *tutquč*), cf Khak *tutxış* BI241, Tuva *tutkuuš* T426b, Tofa *tuhtquš* R73a.

tu yiy 'hoof', cf L116a, CL160b, Man65, *tu yuB* M124a, *t̄iȳiB* M124, *tu yaB* M124a, *t'u yak* PotII:435b.

¶ <CT *tuñug ~ *tuñag (cf EDPT 519a), cf Khak *tu yBaX* BI239a, Tuva *duyuy* T185a, Tofa *tu yuB* R71b.

tuz 'salt', cf L116a, CL170b, T214b, M123b, PotII:436b, Man64, *düss* Her196.

¶ <CT *tu:z (cf EDPT 571a, ESTJaIII:288), cf Khak *tus* BI240b, Tuva *dus* T184b, Tofa *tus* R72a, Yak *tuus* Slp410a.

tühk= 'to pour', cf *töhhk=* L117a, CL181a, *töhk=* T13, *tiohhk=* L106b, *thiohk=* L126b, *tök=* M123a 'id; to topple down'.

¶ <CT *tök= (cf EDPT 477a, ESTJaIII:273), cf Khak *tök=* BI235a, Tuva *tök=* T417b, *töhk=* Jan38, Tofa *töhk=* R71a, Yak *tox=* Slp393a.

tüy= 'to stick into, to put into', cf L115b, CL178a, T214b, M126b, *tue=* L112b, T214a, *tüyü=* M126b, *tü=* M126b.

tha 'he, she it'. Equivalent of *o*, *kw*.

¶ <Ch *tā*.

tha= 'to guess', cf L117a, CL179b, *ta:=* M109a.

¶ <EYu *tha:=* B113, Ĵ104b, S619, cf LM *taṽa=* Les763a.

thay (*thaqqa*) 'mountain', cf L119b, CL157b, M215a, *tay* T211a, *taB* M109b, *taX* Her200, *tag* PotII:435a.

• **yahqa thay** 'southern mountain'.

¶ <CT *ta:g (cf EDPT 463a, ESTJaIII:117), cf Khak *taB* BI212a, Tuva *day* T140b, Tofa *daB* R20a, Yak *tia* Slp417b.

thayar: *thayar yü* 'tent', cf *thayar* L120a, CL169b 'coarse, brown cloth; bag (used as a measure word)', *tabar* M109a 'bag', *tarar* Her210 'carpet'.

¶ <CT **tagar* 'container, sack' (cf EDPT 471b, ESTJaIII:120), cf Khak *taar* BI211a 'cloak', Tuva *taar* T401b 'bag'.

thaywaş 'mountain top', cf *thay paş* L119b, *thay paş* L51b, *taş waşi* M88b (+ POS3)

¶ Compound consisting of *thay* 'mountain' + *paş* 'head'.

thala 'steppe, plain', cf L119a, CL157b, *thala* T215a, *tala* T211a, M110b.

• *pezik thala* 'Gobi'.

¶ <EYu *thala* B115, J104a, S622 'steppe, plain', S371 'open country, countryside', cf LM *tala* Les771a.

thala= 'to prepare food'.

thamahki 'tobacco', cf L118a, CL170a, *tamaqi* M110a, *tamak* PotII:436b.

¶ <EYu *thamahke* J104b, *thamekhe* B115, *thamakhe* S623, *tamakkó* Man65, *tamaqi* M454, *tamake* TT49 'tobacco', *tamaq* PotII:401 'Nicotiana rustica', cf LM *tamaki(n)* Les774a.

thamtir= 'to light a fire; to set fire to, to burn', cf L118a, CL178b, *tamtir*= M111a, *tamdür*= M111a, *thamtur*= L118b, *tamdr[aine]* Her210.

• *ot thamtir*= 'to light a fire'.

¶ <CT **tamdur*= (cf EDPT 504a).

thanzı 'carpet, rug; blanket', cf *tænzi* M212a 'blanket'.

¶ <Ch *tänzi*.

thayna= 'to heat up, to burn', cf L119a, *thanna*= L118b 'to heat up in warm water'.

• *meni thaynap parti* 'I'm burning' (lit. it is burning me).

¶ <Ch *tàng* 'to scald, to burn; to heat up in warm water; to be very hot'.

thayqaraq 'sworn brother', cf *thayqaraqh* L119b 'id; sworn', *tayqıraq* M112a 'sworn brother; ceremony of becoming sworn brothers'.

¶ <EYu *thayqaraq* B114 'sworn brothers, sisters', cf LM *tangyariy* Les776b 'oath'.

thayşa 'idea, plan, way out, solution, advice', cf L119b 'idea, plan, means, method, decision', T215b, *tayşa* M112a, *tanşa* M111b 'sound advice; ability to learn, reason', *tayxa* Her208 'will', *thayşa*= T215b 'to think'.

° EYu *thayşa* J50 'plan, idea', B114 'id, way, means', *tayxa* Her208 'will'.

thaqan 'parched flour', cf L119b, CL169b, C82:69, T215b, *taqan* M110a, *thalqhan* L119a, *thalqan* L119a, CL169b, T119a, *thalaqan* T215a, *taqan* M110b 'id; fried noodles', *taljan* Her195 'barley flour'.

• *yay thaqan* 'cookie', cf *yay thalqhan* L119 'oily parched flour, oily chow mein'.

¶ <CT **talkan* 'crushed parched grain' (cf EDPT 496b), cf Khak *talšan* BI215a, Tuva *dahlyan* Čad14, Tofa *tahlhan* R69b.

thar 'narrow', cf L121b, CL171a, T215b, *tar* M112a.

¶ <CT **ta:r* (cf EDPT 528a, ESTJaIII:146), cf Khak *tar* BI218a, Tuva *tar* T407b, Tofa *tar* R69a, Yak *taar* Pek2564.

thara= 'to spread, to leave, to go apart (of a crowd or guests)', cf L121b, CL16, T215b, *tara*= M112b.

¶ <EYu *tara*:= S624 'to disperse, to dismiss', cf LM *taray*a= Les779b.

tharta=, see *thayta*= 'to throw (away)'.

thatir= 'to make somebody guess, to ask a riddle'.

thay= 'to slip', cf L120b, *tay*= M109b, *tey*= M115a.

¶ <CT **ta:y*= (cf EDPT 567a), cf Tuva *tay*= T409a, Tofa *tay*= R68a.

thayla= (~ *thila*=) 'to lift, to carry', cf L121a, *thela*= L123b, *theyla*= L125a 'id', *tila*=

M119a 'to lift', *teyła*= M115b, *teyle*= M115b 'id; of two persons to carry on the shoulder', *tila[ne]* Her210 'to draw water'.

• *su thila*= 'to fetch water', cf *su thayla*= L121a, *su teyła*= M115.

¶ <Chinese, perhaps a contamination of *tái* 'to lift, to raise; (of two or more persons) to carry' and *tí* 'to carry, to lift, to draw water'.

° Also loanword in EYu *gsön dila[ne]* Her210 (*gsön* 'water').

thayta= (~ *tharta*=) 'to throw (away); to abandon; to dispose (of)', cf L120b, CL176b, *thxyta*= T215b, *txyta*= T212b, *thazta*= L121a:Da, *tharta*= L121b, CL176b 'to throw (away)', *tarta*= M113a 'to take away'.

thawaaq 'robber; scoundrel', cf *thawaaq^h* CL163b 'robber', L121a 'id; enemy, foe'.

° EYu *χara thaβaaq* B47 'id' (*χara* 'black').

thazmaq 'riddle', cf T215b, *thazmaq^h* L121b, CL168a, *tazmaq* M109.

¶ <CT **tapuzmak* (cf EDPT 448b).

° →EYu *tha:smaq* B114, *tha:cémaq* J88.

thearin, see *thörin* 'midnight; at midnight'.

they= 'to gallop', cf L124b 'id', CL178b, *tey*= M114b, *they[et]*= T215b 'to spur on'.

• *ahthi minjki they*= 'to gallop mounted on horseback', cf *ahthi minkeş they*= L124b, *atti minyeş tey[ina]* M114b.

theyermin (~ *thermin*) 'mill; millstone', cf *theyermen* L124b, CL20, *teyermen* M114b 'id', *ternmen* Her195, *tagörmen* Her212 'mill'.

¶ <CT **tegirmen* (cf EDPT 486b, ESTJaIII:176).

theyil= (~ *theyil*=) 'to be or become blind', cf *teyil*= T212a, *teyil*= M114b, *teyel*= M114b, *tebil*= M114b, *theyil*= L124a, *tyeyil*= T212b, *teyil*= M117b.

¶ <CT **tegil*= (cf EDPT 481a).

theke 'male goat', cf L124a, CL159a, *thekhe* L124a:Da, *teke* M116a, *teke* Her199.

¶ <CT **teke* (cf EDPT 477b), cf Tuva *deye* T151b, Tofa *tehhe* R75b, or in view of the initial aspirated consonant <EYu *theke* B117, S684, *thekhe* B117, cf LM *teke* Les797a.

thelik, see *thelk* 'hole'.

thel= 'to make a hole, to pierce a hole', cf L123b, CL181a, T216a, *tel[uster]* Her208 'id', *tele*= M116b 'to gnaw (of mice)'.

¶ <CT **tel*= (cf EDPT 490b).

thelin= 'to have or get holes, to be or become pierced', cf *thelin*= L123b, CL115, *tefin*= M116b.

¶ <CT **telin*= (cf EDPT 501a).

thelk (~ *thelik*) 'hole; cave', cf *thelk^h* L124a, CL18, *thelik^h* L123b, CL157b, *thelik* T216a, *thefiq* T216a, *tefik* M116b, *tefiq* T216a, *thifiq* T217a 'id', *telak* Her206 'ditch'.

• *qarq thelk* 'nostril', cf *qajüriqhtij thelik^h* L184b; *qonqür thelk* 'anus'; *su thelk* 'well, spring', cf *su thelik^h* L331b, *su telik* M105b.

¶ <CT **telük* (cf EDPT 498, ESTJaIII:186).

thelk, see *theyilik* 'deaf; blind'.

themeke 'forehead, brow', cf L123b, *themikh* L123b.

¶ Perhaps a contamination of NE **yemnek* ~ **yömnnek*, CT **emgek* ~ **ömgek* 'fontanel, sinciput' (cf EDPT 159b, ESTJaI:351, Räs42b) and a form near Khak *tiyey* BI224a 'mountain top, crown of the head', Tuva *tey* T410a 'id', Tofa *tehhek* R75b 'fontanel'.

thenay 'grease, fat', cf *thienay* L126a, CL10, *thianay* L126a, *thoynay* L129b, *töynax* M123a 'id', *tönax yab* M123a 'kidney fat'.

¶ Compound consisting of *yay* 'fat' + an unknown first element.

thejī 'deaf', cf L124a, CL162b, T216a, *tejī* M117b.

¶ Related to *tōjū* 'deaf' (cf EDPT 515b, read *toju*), recorded by Kashgari.

° →EYu *the:ŋé* B116 'a deaf person'.

thejīl=, see *theyīl=* 'to be blind'.

thejīlik (~ *thelk*) 'deaf; blind', cf *thejīlik^h* L124a, CL162b, *theyīlik^h* L124b, *teyīlik* M115a, *tegölök* Her211 'blind'.

• *thejīlik kōz* (~ *thelk kōz*) 'blind'; *thejīlik qhulaq* 'deaf'.

¶ Contamination of CT **teglük* 'blind' (cf EDPT 480b), and *thejī* 'deaf'.

ther (~ *therī*) (*theryī*) 'skin; leather', cf L125b, CL141, T216a, *ter* M117b, Man64, *therī* L125b, CL162a, *tere* M118a, *terī* M118a, *teræ* M118a, *tarre* Her211.

¶ <CT **teri* (cf EDPT 531a, ESTJaIII:207), cf Khak *teer* BI222b, Sagay *tirī* BI226a, Tofa *tere* R71:234, Yak *tirii* Sp385a.

ther (~ *therī*) 'sweat', cf L125b, CL162b, *tair[edör]* Her210.

¶ <CT **ter* (cf EDPT 528b, ESTJaIII:203), cf Khak *tir* BI226a, Tuva *der* T158b, Tofa *teri* R219b.

ther= 'to gather, to pick up', cf L125b, CL176b, T216a, *ter=* M117b.

¶ <CT **te:r=* (cf EDPT 529a, ESTJaIII:204), cf Khak *teer=* BI222b.

theryīn 'car; cart', cf *theryēn* L126a, CL168a 'cart', *teryēn* M118a 'id; wheel'.

• *yil theryīn* 'car', cf *yel theryēn* L259a, *yelteryēn* T183b, calqued from Ch *qìchē* 'car' (*qì* 'gas, air', *chē* 'car, cart').

¶ <EYu *theryēn* B118, Ĵ104b, S634, *tergēn* Man68, *tergen* TT49 'cart, carriage', cf LM *terge(n)* Les805a.

therī, see *ther* 'skin'.

therī, see *ther* 'sweat'.

therīn, see *thörīn* 'midnight; at midnight'.

thermin, see *theyermin* 'mill'.

thethe: thethe vka 'paternal grandfather', *thethe anika* 'paternal grandmother', cf *thaythay oka* L120b, *thethey oka* L123b 'great-grandfather', *thaythay anika* L120b, *thethe anika* L123b, *thethey anika* L123b, *thethe* CL165a 'great-grandmother', *tetey* M118b, *tete* M118b, *tetey* M118b 'paternal grandmother'.

¶ <NwM *tai²¹³₁₃tai* CZW103 'paternal great-grandfather', cf Ch *tài*.

thoumu 'head of a village', cf *thiūmu* L122a, *thumī* T226, *tumo* M124b 'an official'.

¶ <Ch *tóumù* 'chieftain'.

° Also loanword in EYu *thu:mu* B116.

thien 'day'. Equivalent of *khun*.

• *ti ar thien* 'the next day' (lit. the second day), equivalent of *sosīkīn*.

¶ <Ch *tiān*.

thiençhuaŋ 'skylight', cf *thiençuaŋ* CL166a, *thyençhuaŋ* T216a, *tænçuan* M114b.

¶ <Ch *tiānchuāng*.

thila=, cf *thayla=* 'to lift, to carry'.

thio 'classifier for fish', cf L126a.

¶ <Ch *tiáo*.

thioçen 'condition', cf L126b.

¶ <Ch *tiáojiàn*.

thoy 'blunt', cf L129a 'bald; short; without horns; blunt, dull', CL162b, *toB* M24b, *toq* T213b, M120a 'short; bald'.

¶ <CT **tok* 'bald; hornless' (cf EDPT 464b). WYu points to **tog*.

thoyin 'yesterday', cf L129a, CL158b, T216a, *thoyun* L129a, *thuyin* L133b, *tubin* M123b, *tuyin* M123b.

¶ Compound consisting of *khun* 'day' + an unclear first element, perhaps CT **tü:n* 'night', as in **tü:ne küin* (cf ESTJaIII:316).

thoywas 'bald', cf CL35, *toɓwas* M119b, *thoy paş* L129a, CL35.

¶ Compound consisting of *thoy* 'blunt' + *paş* 'head'.

thol= 'to be or become full', cf L128a, CL177b, *thoɫ=* T216a, *toɫ=* T213a, *tuɫ=* M124b, *töl[bdro]* Her202.

¶ <CT **to:l=* (cf EDPT 491a, ESTJaIII:257), cf Khak *tol=* B1230b, Tuva *dol=* T169a, Tofa *dol=* R21a, Yak *tuol=* Slp402a.

tholī 'full', cf L128b, CL171b, *thoɫi* T216b, *toɫu* M121a, *toɫo* M121a, *tuɫu* M124b.

¶ <CT **to:lu* (cf EDPT 491b, ESTJaIII:258), cf Tuva *dolu* T170a, Tofa *dolu* R21b, Yak *tolu* Pek2719.

thop-tholī 'very full'. See *tholī* 'full'.

thorla= 'to be or become hungry, to suffer from hunger', cf L130b, C82:70b, *torɫa=* T213b, M122b.

• *ihçiki thorla=* to be hungry'.

¶ Probably related to *thor* L130a 'hunger, famine, starvation', and possibly to *thor=* L130a 'to suffer, to meet with difficulties' <CT **tu:r=* 'to be emaciated' (cf EDPT 530b), cf Yak *tuor=* Pek2824, and *aas-tuor* Pek2824.

thosan 'gruff, mean, disagreeable, annoying, naughty, mischievous; terrible', cf L129b 'id; terrible'.

thot 'cold', cf *thoth* L128a, CL172a, *tot* M122b, *tot[er]* Her203.

thottiy 'freezing', cf *thothtiy* L128a.

thoz= 'to meet', cf CL16, T216b, *toz=* T214a, M120a, *tuz=* M123b 'id', *thoz=* L130b 'id, to greet; to hold a baby while it is relieving itself; to make up to, to fawn on'.

¶ Perhaps <Mongolic, cf EYu *thos=* B120 'to meet', but replacement of -s by -z in WYu is peculiar. The meaning 'to hold a baby while it is relieving itself' occurs in Mongolic, cf LM *tos=* Les828a, but is not attested in EYu.

thozyir= 'to fill', cf L129b, *thozqir=* L129b.

¶ < **tozgur=* <CT **toşkur=* (cf EDPT 562b).

thörin (~ *therin*, *thearim*) 'midnight; at midnight', cf *thio'arim* L126b, *thearim* CL10, *tearim* M114b, *tearın* M114b, *tærım* M114b.

• *thörinta*, *thearinta* 'at midnight', cf *thio'arimta* L126b.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *thüini* 'night' + *yarim* L255b 'half', cf *thune yarim* L131b, *thun yarim* L131b.

thuk: *thuk pol=* (speech of older speakers) 'to meet with, to run into (+ DAT)', cf *thugh pol=* L133a 'to meet (unexpectedly), come across, to run into', *thugh pol=* T196b, *tuq pol=* M124b 'to meet'. See also *thuktis=* 'to meet'.

¶ Compound consisting of *thug* T217a, *tuq* M124a 'instance, chance' <Arık *thuk=* TB1769, cf Xiàhé *thèχ=* TB1769, Amdo *thuk=* MG443, *thèk=* MG207 'to meet, to come across', LT *thug=* Jä232a 'to meet' + *pol=*.

° Also loanword in EYu *thukla=* B122, S191 'to meet, come across, run into'.

thuki, see *tuki* 'heifer'.

thuktis= (*thuktiski*) (speech of younger speakers) 'to meet with, to run into (+ DAT)', cf *thughhtes=* L133b, *tuqhtes=* M124b, *toqhtas=* L110b:Da. See also *thuk*.

thul= (*thulyi*) 'to cook, to boil, to braise, to stew (meat)', cf L132a, CL177b, *thuɫ=*

T216b, *thoł=* T216a, *tuł=* M124b, *toł=* M121a, *tol*[*lüne*] Her211.

¶ <NE **tüł=* 'to cook or boil meat', further only attested in Tuva *düł=* T188b 'to cook or boil meat', Tofa *düł=* R22b 'to put meat in the cauldron', Alt *tüł=* BT161b 'to cook meat', RIII:1567 'to put in the cauldron in order to cook'. Cf perhaps also Khak *azıx-tülik* BI243a 'food supplies'.

thulim 'bag', cf *thulum* L132a, *tholum* L128b:Da 'leather bag', *tułum* M124b 'leather bag for preparing and storing milk products', *tolöm* Her196 'butter tub, churn'.

¶ <CT **tulum* 'bag' (cf EDPT 500a s.v. *tulum* 'weapons') or, in view of the semantics <EYu *thulum* s651 'skin sack', cf LM *tulum* Les841b.

thulkı 'fox', cf L132a, CL159b, *tulkı* T216b, *tułkı* M124b, *tułku* M124b, *tułko* M124b, *tül'kü* PotII:435b, *tölkö* M123a, *tołqı* T213a, *tołko* M121a, *tołyo* M121a, *toqı* T2133b, *tulkö* Her199.

¶ < **tülkü* <CT **tilkü* (cf EDPT 498b), cf Khak *tülyü* BI242b, Tuva *dilyi* T162b, Tofa *dilyi* R21a.

thuni 'night; at night', cf L132a, *thune* L131b, CL158b, T216b, *thuıne* CL10, *t'unno* PotII:437, *tüne* M127a, *tune* M125a.

• *kıcı thuni* 'yesterday evening, last night', cf *kece thuni* L150b 'id', *kece tüne* M67b 'at night'.

¶ <CT **tü:ne* 'at night' (cf ESTJaIII:316) < **tü:n* 'night' (cf EDPT 513a, ESTJaIII:315), cf Khak *tün* BI243a 'night', Tuva *dün* T188b 'night', *düni* T188b 'at night', Tofa *tün* R73a 'night', *tünne* R73a 'id; at night', Yak *tüün* Slp417a 'night; at night'.

thunna= 'to move back, to retreat', cf *thunna=* L132a, *tunna=* M125.

thurti 'next year', cf *thurte* L134a, CL158b, *tuıti* T214b, *törte* M123a.

thuti= (*thutiıyi*) 'to spit', cf L131a, *thute=* L131a, CL175b.

thutuqus 'peacock', cf L131a, *thuthuqus* L131a, CL160a.

¶ Cf Nog *toııqus* Bas359b, Kum *totuquş* Bam320b, *toturquş* Bam320b 'peacock', Tat *tutıy koş* Gol559a 'parrot', Chuv *turtkăş* Şir444a 'peacock'.

thukhaı 'adobe kang'.

¶ <Ch *tükang*.

thuına= 'to poke'.

¶ <Ch *tōng* 'to open up by poking'.

thuı 'bucket', cf L132b, CL167a. See *thuızi* 'bucket'.

• *su thuı* 'bucket for water', cf *su thuı* L132b, L331b, calqued from Ch *shuıtōng* (*shuı* 'water', *tōng* 'bucket').

¶ <Ch *tōng*.

thuıpazi 'two-year-old lamb'.

¶ The second element NwM *ua²¹ca²¹* Lü191 'suffix to denote the young of an animal', (with assimilation of *u* > *w* > *p* following a nasal), the first element unknown.

thuısi 'at the same time'.

¶ <Ch *tōngshı*, for the second element cf NwM *sı⁵¹* CZW305a.

thuızi 'bucket', cf *thuızi* L133a. See *thuı* 'bucket'.

¶ <Ch *tōng*.

uhcun 'thirty', cf *huıun* CL37, *huıun* L223a, *huıon* L223a, CL173b, *uhcön* T217b, *uıon* M132b, *ühcön* T218b, *üıon* T218b, *üıon* M133b, *üıcön* M133b, *d'on* Her197.

¶ Crasis of a compound consisting of *uş* 'three' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *üžen* T444b, Tofa *üžen* R81a.

učin (~ **uzin**) 'together with, and; with, using', cf T218b, *uçun* L43b, *oçin* L37a, *oçin* L35a, CL175a, T194b, *wučin* L313b, CL133, *wučin* M22b, *wužin* M21b, *wožin* M21b, *wečin* L312b:Da, *wečin* M21b 'id, over, via'. Synonym of **pučin**.

¶ <CT *üçün (cf EDPT 28b, ESTJaI:642), cf Khak *üçün* BI257b, Tuva *užun* T435b, Yak *isın* Pek967.

uγ=, see **uγī=** 'to grind'.

uγī= (~ **uγ=**) (*uγīγī*) 'to grind, to crush', cf L42a, CL178a, T9, *uB=* M128a.

¶ <CT *ügi= ~ *ögi= (cf EDPT 101b, ESTJaI:618), cf Sagay *üü=* RI:1798, Tuva *öye=* T331b.

uhk= (*uhkki*) 'to be or become frightened, startled', cf *uhrkh=* L43b, C86:10, *öhrkh=* L46a:Da, *ohkh=* T30. Synonym of **soqī=**.

¶ <CT *hürk= (cf EDPT 221a, ESTJaI:635), cf Khak *ürük=* BI256b, Yak *ürt=* Pek3175.

uhk= (*uhkki*) 'to fly', cf *uhkh=* L43a, *öhk=* T13, *örxk=* M84a, *ürk=* M133a 'id; to go upwards; to die', *uruq=* M131a 'to go upwards; to swell'.

¶ Perhaps a denominal verb from CT *ö:r 'height' (cf EDPT 193a, ESTJaI:542) + *-(ü)k.

uhkīt= 'to frighten', cf *uhrkuth=* L43b 'to frighten'.

¶ <CT *ürkīt= (cf EDPT 226b s.v. *ürkit=*, Erdal 1991: 792).

ula= 'to unite, to join, to string', cf L41a, *ula=* T217b.

¶ <CT *ula= (cf EDPT 126b, ESTJaI:587), cf Sagay, Koybal *ula=* BI248b, Tuva *ula=* T438a, Tofa *ula=* R76b.

ulay 'beast of burden', cf L41a 'id', *ulay* T217b, *ulab* M129b, *olay* M81b 'id; horse and cart'.

¶ <CT *ulag (cf EDPT 136a, ESTJaI:588), Sagay *ulab* BI248 'cart', Tuva *ulay* T438a 'relay (horse)', Tofa *ulab* R76b 'cart'.

ulyaq, see **olyaq** 'kid goat'.

uli= (*uliyi*) 'to share, to divide, to allot, to separate', cf *ule=* L41b, CL178b, *öwle=* L46a:Da 'to share, to divide', *lū[ne]* Her203 'to divide'.

¶ <CT *üle= (cf EDPT 127b, ESTJaI:627), cf Khak *üle=* BI255a, Tuva *üle=* T447b, Tofa *üle=* R79b, Yak *üller=* Slp451b.

ulis= 'to share, to divide among each other', cf L41b, M129b, *ules=* L41b, CL178b, *wulis=* L313a, *ülis=* M132b, *ülüs=* M132b, *öwles=* L46a:Da 'to share'.

¶ <CT *üleš= (cf EDPT 154a, ESTJaI:627), cf Khak *üles=* BI255a, Tuva *üleš=* T447a.

ulī (~ **ulu**) 'dragon; thunder', cf L41a, *ulī* T217b, *ulu* L41b, CL157a 'id', *ulu* M129b, *olu* M82a, *lu* M73b 'thunder (personified as a dragon)', *ulu* PotII:437 [dragon in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle], *olō* Her40:85 [dragon].

¶ Either a development of LT *klu* Jä8b 'serpent-dragon', Xiàhé *hlè* HL5a 'dragon, dragon deity', Reb-koñ *lō* Roe149 'dragon' (cf RT157, RT62:33), or CT **lu*: (cf EDPT 763a <Ch *lóng* 'dragon', ESTJaI:591), cognate to LM *luu* Les517b.

° EYu *ülè* B21, *ulè* S473, *ulu* Kot447 'dragon', *ülè*: S100 'thunder'; EYu *uylu* (or *uklu*) B19 'the Dragon King' is certainly <Tibetan.

ulu, see **ulī** 'dragon, thunder'.

un (~ **on**) 'voice', cf L39a, C82:70a, M129b, *on* T193b, M82a, *uñ* T28 'voice'.

¶ <CT *ü:n (cf EDPT 167a, ESTJaI:625), cf Khak *ün* BI255b, Tuva *ün* T447b, Tofa *ün* R79b.

-un, see **on** 'ten'.

un= (*unki*) 'to come or go out; to appear; to climb, to ascend', cf L39b, CL176b,

T217b, M129b, *un*= T218b, *ün*= T218b, M132b, *vn*= T218b, *˘ün*= T28, *on*= M82a 'to come out; to appear; to rise', *un*= M130a 'to cross (a river)', *n[odšaxter]* Her208 'to climb'.

• *unik kel*= 'to come out, up'; *unip par*= 'to go out, up'; *khun un*= 'of the sun to rise', cf L39b; *sik un*= 'of a woman to marry', cf *sikh un*= L39b, CL41, *sikun*= L327a; *tis un*= 'of teeth to come out'; *tahrtqışqa un*= 'to weigh', perhaps calqued from Ch *sháng* 'to go up; to weigh'; ; *yüraqqa un*= 'to rise up, to rise higher'.

¶ <CT **ü:n*= 'to rise, etc' (cf EDPT 169a, ESTJaI:530), cf Tuva *ün*= T449a, Tofa *ün*= R79b, Yak *üün*= Slp459b.

unkin 'female camel', cf *unken* L41a, CL159b 'id', *aq ünnyen* M132b 'camel'.

¶ <CT **ingen* (cf EDPT 184a, ESTJaI:360), cf Tuva *enyin* T615a 'female camel', Tofa *inyen* R24b, 'full grown domesticated or wild doe or goat'. The WYu rounded vowel is irregular.

unkin-ziq 'ugly'.

¶ Compound consisting of *un*= 'to go out' + PP + *ziq* 'bad'.

untin 'the east', cf *untun* L40b, CL158a 'id', CL133 'frontside', M130a, *un'dun* PotII:435a, *ündün* M133a, *öndün* T194b, *öndön* T194b, *endün* Her204 'east, front'.

¶ <CT **öjdiin* 'in the east, in front' (cf EDPT 178a, ESTJaI:534).

untiqqa= 'to forget', cf *untup^h qhal*= L40b, *unduqqa*= M130a, *ndoka[pdro]* Her208.

¶ Compound consisting of *qhal*= 'to fall' + a first element *untu*= L40b, *unüt*= T218a, *unut*= M130b, *unth*= CL179b, *ut*= T218a, *ot*= T194a, M83b, *öt*= T194b, *wuth*= L313a <CT **unüt*= (cf EDPT 179b, ESTJaI:597), cf Khak *undu*= BI249b, Khak dial. *umdu*= BI249b, Tuva *ut*= (*uttur* < **untur* < **unuttur*) T441b, Tofa *ut*= (*uttur*) R78a, Yak *umun*= Slp435a.

untir= (~ *untur*=) (*untiryi*) 'to bring or take or get out; to let go out; to cause to appear; to raise; to show; to take off (clothes), to undress', cf L40a, *undir*= M130a, *untur*= T218b, *untur*= CL176b, T218a, M130a, *ondir*= M82a, *üntür*= M133a, *ündür*= M133a, *öndür*= M84a 'id', *untur*= L40b 'id; to sprain', *ndr[üne]* Her208 'to draw out'.

• *ohrsay untir*= 'to take out an incense burner for praying', cf *ohrsay untur*= L40b 'to burn incense', *orsay ündür*= M133a 'to fulfil a prayer'; *thayşa untir*= 'to get an idea, to have a plan', cf *thayşa untir*= L119b; *kizki untir*= 'to undress'.

¶ <CT **üntür*= (cf EDPT 181a, ESTJaI:532), cf Tuva *ündür*= T448b, Tofa *ündür*= R79b.

untihrkän 'four days from now', cf L40a, *untuhrkän* L40b, *turehkän* L116b:Da 'id', *undurxkon* M130a, *ündürxon* M133a, *ündürxün* M133a 'on the fifth day'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of an older *öjdiiri* 'forward, etc' (cf ESTJaI:534) + *khun* 'day'.

untur=, see *untir*= 'to bring out'.

usila= 'to be or become unhappy, worried', cf *wusila*= L313b 'id, to be fidgety, agitated'.

usilan= 'to be or become unhappy, bored'.

uş (~ *uhş*) (*uški*) 'three', cf L43b, CL173a, *uš* M132b, Man61, Her197, *üş* T218b, *üş* M133b, *üş* PotII:436b, *wuş* L313b, CL74, *uş* T218b, *wış* T219a, *şu* L308a, *oş* L37a:Da, and the oblique forms *ühč* T218b, *üč* M133b.

¶ <CT **üč* (cf EDPT 18b, ESTJaI:641), cf Khak *üs* BI256b, Tuva *üş* T454b, Tofa *üş* R81a, Yak *üs* Slp458a.

uhş, see *uş* 'three'.

uhtir (*uhtiriya*) 'front, frontside; opposite side', cf *uhltir* L42b, *uhltur* L42b, CL158a, *uhltur* L42a, *uhthtur* T218a, *huhltir* T181a, *lhutur* T190b, *thutur* T191a, *thutir* T191a, *ohtur* T12, *otur* M82a, *otur* M83b, *utor* M131b, *utur* M132a.

• *köz uhtirta* 'before one's eyes', calqued from Ch *yānqián* (*yān* 'eye', *qián* 'front').

¶ <CT **utru* ~ **uturu* 'opposite' (cf EDPT 64a, ESTJaI:610), cf Khak *udur* BI247a, Tuva *udur* T434a, Tofa *uhturu* R78b, Yak *utarī* Slp446a 'in front of, opposite'. WYu 1 may have been inserted by analogy with *ahltir* 'under, underside'.

uhtiraqqa 'ahead', cf *uhturaq^h* L42b, *hut^hraq^h* L223a:Da, *suraq^h* L333a:Da 'id (used to denote the seat of honour)'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *uhtir* 'front' + *yaq* 'side' + DAT. For a similar formation, see *ihciraqqa* 'inwards'.

uz= (*uzki*) 'to tear, to rip', cf L44a, CL176a, M129a, *üz=* M132a, *üzü=* M132a, *yuz=* M43b.

• *sartv uz=* 'to tear to shreds'.

¶ <CT **üz=* (cf EDPT 279b, ESTJaI:621), cf Khak *üs=* BI256b, Tuva *üs=* T445b, Tofa *üs=* R80b.

uzaq 'far, distant, far away, a long way', cf T218a, M129a, *uzaq^h* CL70, L44b, T218a, *ucaq^h* T217b, *uzuaq* T218a, *ozaq^h* L37b, CL171a, *ozaq* M81a 'far'.

¶ <CT **uzak* (cf EDPT 283a, ESTJaI:571), cf Khak *uzax* BI247b, Tuva *uzak* T436b.

uzaq-ya^hqin 'far and near'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *uzaq* 'far' + *ya^hqin* 'near', perhaps calqued from Ch *yuǎnjìn* (*yuǎn* 'far', *jìn* 'near').

uzyan= (~ *ozyan=*) 'to wake up', cf CL177a, *uzban=* M129a, *ozyan=* T194b, *ozban=* M81a, *uzuyan=* L45a, *uzuban=* M129a.

¶ <CT **odgan=* ~ **udgan=* (cf EDPT 62a, ESTJaI:430), cf Khak *usxun=* BI251b, *usqan=* RI:1747, Yak *uhuyun=* Slp444b. Elsewhere in NE, forms related to CT **odun=* (cf EDPT 62a, ESTJaI:430) occur, cf Tuva *odun=* T329a, Tofa *odun=* R51a. Forms with initial **u-* occur in several Turkic languages.

uzyar= 'to cause to wake up, to wake up somebody'.

¶ <CT **odgar=* ~ **odgur=* (cf EDPT 48a, ESTJaI:431), cf Khak *usxur=* BI251b, Sagay, Koybal, Kacha *usqar=* RI:1747, Tofa *otqur=* R53b. Forms with initial **u-* occur in several Turkic languages.

uzin, idiolectal for *uçin* 'with'.

uzi (*uzi^hi*) 'self', cf L44a, *uzu* L44a, CL174a, T218a, M129a, *uze* M129a *uzi* L44a, M129a, *usu* M131b.

¶ POS3 of *uz* L44a, T218a, *üz* M132a <CT **öz* 'self; interior part of an organism, pith, marrow' (cf EDPT 278a, ESTJaI:506), cf Tuva *ös* T340b 'aorta', Tofa *ös* R56b 'id; centre, middle', Yak *üös* Slp455b 'centre, middle; marrow, pith'.

uzi= (*uzi^ha*) 'to sleep, to be asleep, to go to sleep, to fall asleep', cf *uzu=* L44b, CL177a, M129a, *uz^wu=* T218a, T15, *ucu=* T217b 'to sleep', *ozü=* T194b 'to take a nap'.

¶ <CT **udü=* (cf EDPT 42b, ESTJaI:579), cf Khak *uzu=* BI247b, Tuva *udu=* T434b, Tofa *udu=* R76a, Yak *uti^hy=* Slp446b.

uzik 'lie; lying, false', cf *uzuk* T218a, *uzuk^h* L45a, *uzuq^h* C82:66b, *uzuq* M129a.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uyghur *ezük* (or *esük*) (cf EDPT 285a), further attested in NUyg *ösek* Wei752b 'rumour, gossip, slander', Kzk *ösek* Shnitt294b 'gossip, scandal, slander, calumny', Kir *ösök* Jud600b, *özök* Jud588a 'slander, reproach', Karaim of the Krim *öšek* Bas444b 'gossip'.

uzikçi 'liar', cf *uzuk^hçl* L45a, CL42.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uyghur *ezükçi* (or *esükçi*) (cf EDPT 286a).

uzin (~ *uzun*) 'long', cf L44b, CL31, *uzun* L45a, CL171a, M129a, *uzun* T9, *uz^wun* T15, *uzin* M129a, *uze:n* M129a, *usun* M131b.

¶ <CT *uzun (cf EDPT 288b, ESTJaI:571), cf Khak *uzun* BI248a, Tuva *uzun* T436b, Tofa *uzun* R76b, Yak *uhun* Slp445b.

uzinat= 'to make longer'.

uziriq 'fist', cf *uzuriq^h* L45a, *uzuruq^h* L45b, CL162a, *uzruq* M129a, *yüzuruq^h* L281a 'id', *yudruk* Her194 'hand'.

¶ <CT *yuduruk ~ *yumduruk (cf EDPT 892b s.v. *yudruk*, ESTJaIV:248), cf Khak *munzurux* BI110b, Tuva *čuduruk* T546a, Tofa *ñuduruk* R49a, Yak *suturuk* Slp346a.

uzit 'devil; soul, spirit', cf *uzit^h* L44b, *uzut^h* L44b 'devil; person having a bag of tricks', *uzut* M129a, *üzüt* M132a 'spirit of a deceased; evil spirit', *osöt* Her211 'devil'.

¶ <CT *özüit 'soul' (cf EDPT 281b), cf Khak *üzüt* BI254b. WYu and Khak both point to *üzüt.

uzki 'else, otherwise, if not', cf *üzye* M132a 'other (seldom used)'.

¶ <CT *özge 'other' (cf EDPT 285b, ESTJaI:508a), cf Sagay *öske* RI:1294 'strange, alien', Shor *öske* RI:1294, Tuva *öske* T340b 'other', Tofa *öhske* R57a 'other; except; besides'.

uzkit= (*uzkitki*) 'to lie, to tell lies', cf *uzuk^h et^h=* L45a, *uzuq et=* M129a.

¶ Crasis of *uzik* 'lie' + *et=* 'to do'.

uzun, see **uzin** 'long'.

uz (*uq-*) 'point, tip', cf L44a, CL33, and the oblique forms *uq* T217b, *uč* M132a.

• **uči** 'its end', cf *uči* L44a, *uču* L43b, *užu* M132a, *užu* M129a 'its end'; **ohqtij uz** 'arrow'; **timsiynij uči** 'lip'.

¶ <CT *u:č (cf EDPT 17b, ESTJaI:611), cf Khak *us* BI251a, Tuva *uš* T442a, Tofa *uš* R78b, Yak *uhuk* Slp444b. Western Yugur final -z < *č is irregular.

uztij 'sharp (of a knife); pointed', cf L44a, CL171a 'pointed'.

¶ <CT *u:člug (cf EDPT 26a), cf Khak *ustib* BI251b.

uzyay 'grease, fat', cf *yuzyay* L275b:Da 'cooked cow's fat', *zuyay* L311b 'heated edible oil'.

¶ Compound consisting of *yay* 'fat' as a second element + either *uz* L44a, T218b, C82:67b, *už* M129a, *už* M129b (mountain dial.), *uz* M129a 'bovine (in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle only)' <CT *ud 'bovine' (cf EDPT 34a, ESTJaI:572), or CT *üz 'fat (especially the fat which rises when food is boiled)' (cf EDPT 278b), cf Khak *üs* BI256b '(melted) fat', Tuva *üs* T452a 'grease, oil', Tofa *üs* R80b '(liquid) fat, vegetable oil', typical of NE.

° →EYu *užaq* B19 'lard'.

vka, see **awaka** 'old man'.

ühčincī 'third', cf *ühčuncī* T218b, *üčünžü* M133b, *üčünčö* M133b, *süčünčl* L245b, CL76, *uhčincī* L43a, *učunču* M132b, *hučuncī* L223b, CL160b, *hučincī* L223a, C86:6, *fučincī* L90b, *sučincī* L309b, *sučuncī* L309b, *sučhunčl* L310a, *šusuincī* T210a, *čüčünčl* T221b.

¶ Cf Khak *üčünžī* BI257b.

ühčüsī 'the three of them, three together', cf *hüčüsī* L223b, C82:72b, *hüčühsī* L223b, CL77, *hüčüsī* CL37, *süčühsī* L245b, CL78, *süčüsī* L245b, CL77, *süčühsī* T208a.

¶ From *uš* 'three' + a double POS3; unlikely to be a crasis of *uš ehsī* L223b. For a similar formation, see **iškisī** 'the two of them'.

ühčüz 'three hundred', cf *hüčüz* L223b, C86:6, *süčüz* L245b, T26, *sučüz* L309b, *üč* *yüz* M133b, *d'üss* Her198.

¶ Crasis of *uš* 'three' + *yüz* 'hundred'.

ühker, idiolectal for *nühker* 'friend'.

ühkpi 'lung', cf *öhhpe* L46a, CL162b, *öxkpe* M84a, *öxpe* M84b, *oxkpe* M81b, *öhphe* L46a, *öhpö* T11, *öphe* T22, *ehkhe* L27b, CL30, *ehpö* T22, *ehpe* T22, *yürkpe* M46a, *ñüpö* Her195.

¶ <CT *öpke (cf EDPT 9a, ESTJaI:540), cf Khak *ökpe* BI134b, Tuva *ökpe* T334b, Tofa *öhkpe* R56b.

üsī (~ *yüsī*) (speech of younger speakers) 'its upside'. See *üzi*.

• *üsünki* 'on, upon it', cf *yüsünpe* M45b, *yüzüsünpe* M132a; *üsinti* 'on, above it'.

¶ Contraction of *üzi* 'upside' + POS3, cf *yüzehsī* L281a.

üzi 'upside', cf M132a, *üze* L48b, M132a, *üzü* M132a, *yüze* L281a, CL158a, M46a, *eze* L29b, T179a, M25a, *ezey* T8, *yüz* M45b. See *üsī* 'its upside'.

¶ <CT *i:ze 'above' (cf EDPT 280b, ESTJaI:622), cf Yak *üüse* Pek3185, *üöse* Pek3156.

wala= 'to gouge out (one's eyes)'.

¶ <Ch *wā* 'to excavate, to scoop up'.

-*waş* 'head', occurs only as a second element in compounds. See *paş* 'head'.

wa, see *pa*, question particle.

wanna= 'to walk past', cf L311a. Equivalent of *qüzīyla=*.

¶ <Ch *wān* 'to go round curves; to turn a corner'.

wanwanzī 'curved, crooked'.

¶ <NwM *van⁴⁴van⁴⁴c1* CZW44b, cf Ch *wān* 'curved'.

wey, see *oy* 'quick'.

wey, an exclamation, cf L312b.

weyla=: *khaññi weyla=* 'to heat the kang', cf *khaññi wela=* L312a, *qañ wıla=* M67:119 'id', M21b 'of the kang to be warm'.

¶ <Ch *wēi* 'to stew'.

weywu'ar 'Uyгур', cf *wewur* L312b, CL164b.

¶ <Ch *wéiwuēr*.

wu 'dance'.

¶ <Ch *wū*.

xapazī 'chin, lower jaw', cf M135a, *xapaz1* L177a.

¶ <NwM *xā⁴⁴pa²¹c1²¹* Liú115b, cf Ch *xiāba*.

xau 'good'. Equivalent of *yahş*, synonym of *xo*.

¶ <Ch *hǎo*.

xayla= 'to harm, to do harm to; to kill, to murder', cf L178b 'id', *xeyla=* M136a, *xīyła=* M138b 'to scheme something bad'.

¶ <Ch *hài*.

xeysiñ '(black) bear'.

¶ <Ch *hēixióng*; for the second element, cf NwM *siñ⁵¹* CZW388b.

xī 'river'. Equivalent of *qol*.

¶ <Ch *hè*.

xo 'good'. Equivalent of *yahş*, synonym of *xau*.

¶ <NwM *xɔ⁵¹* ZW129.

xor 'occurrence, time', cf *qhur* L217a, C87:566, *xur* L183b, M138b 'id', *bar hor* Her198 'once' (*bar* for *pür* 'one').

¶ <CT **kur* (cf EDPT 642a)

° →EYu *negehör* Her198 'once' (*neye* 'one').

xoraŋqat 'a Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Hè)', cf *xoraŋqat^h* L180a, *xoraŋyat^h* L180a, *xoraŋbat* M1367, *xaraŋyat* T62:64, *oraŋyat* M82b, *xurungut* PotI:441 'a Yugur clan name'.

xosī 'all, every, all of it, all of them, everything; altogether', cf L179a, CL85, *Xos1* T219b, *χos1* T219b 'id', *gosī[ne]* Her200 'together'.

¶ POS3 of *X0* L179b, CL174b, M219b <Mongolic, cf Kh *xuu* Han694b 'all, completely', Kal *χō* Ram191b 'all, whole'.

xoyin 'echo'.

¶ <Ch huíyīn.

xuar 'flower', cf L181b, CL160b, *χuar* T219b, *xua* M138a, *huar* Her212, *q^huar* L215a.

¶ <Ch huār.

° Also loanword in EYu *huar* Her212.

xuay 'bad, evil'. Equivalent of *zīq*.

¶ <Ch huài.

xuayyünti 'pregnant'.

¶ <Ch huáiyùnde.

xuey 'meeting', cf *xue* L181b. Equivalent of *lom*.

¶ <Ch huì.

xuey 'time, instance'. Equivalent of *xor*, *qaht*.

¶ <Ch huí.

xueyta 'answer'.

¶ <Ch huídá.

xuli 'fox'. Equivalent of *thulkī*.

¶ <Ch húli.

xuolaŋzī 'street vendor', cf *xulaŋzī* L182b, *xulaŋz1* L182b. Equivalent of *ōhrçü satpa*.

¶ <Ch huòlángzi.

xušuopato 'talk nonsense; sheer nonsense'.

¶ <Ch húshuō-bādào.

ya 'all right', cf L246a, CL175a, M33a.

yay 'oil, grease; butter', cf L250b, CL170a, T181b, *yab* M34a, *yax* Her195.

¶ <CT **ya:g* (cf EDPT 895a, ESTJaIV:58), cf Khak *čab* BI305a, Tuva *čay* T506a, Tofa *čab* R82a, Yak *sīa* Slp354a.

yay= (*yaqqa*) 'to rain; of the sun to set', cf L251a, *yab=* M34a 'id', *yay=* CL178b, T181b 'to rain'.

• *khun yay=* 'of the sun to set', cf L251a, *kiin yab=* M34a; *teñir yay=* 'to rain', cf L251a, *teñir yab=* M34a, *teñri yaŋ[qītura]* PotI:437, *teñer yar[adru]* Her208; **yaymīr yay=** 'to rain', cf L251a, CL150, T181b, *yabmīr yab=* M34a.

¶ <CT **yag=* 'of rain or snow to pour down', **yagmur yay=* 'to rain' (cf EDPT 896a, ESTJaIV:57), cf Khak *čab=* BI305a, Tuva *čay=* T504a, Tofa *čab=* R82a.

yayan 'elephant', cf L251a, CL159b, T181b, *yaban* M34a, *yaŋan* L249a, T181b, M36b.

¶ <CT **yagan* (cf EDPT 904a, ESTJaIV:60).

yayī 'war, combat; enemy', cf L251a 'id; quarrel', CL121 'enemy', T181b, *yabī* M34a 'war, hostility'.

¶ <CT **yagi* 'enemy; hostile' (cf EDPT 898a, ESTJaIV:55), cf Khak *čaa* BI304a, Tuva *čaa* T503a, Tofa *čaa* R81a 'war'.

yaymür 'rain', cf L251b, CL157a, T181b, *yabmür* M34a, *yaxmör* Her208.

¶ <CT **yagmur* (cf EDPT 903b, ESTJaIV:57), cf Khak *naymür* BI114b, Khak dial. *nabür* BI113a, Yak *samür* Slp313b.

yakhür 'Yugur men's proper name', cf *yabker* M66b.

¶ Crasis of *yay* 'butter' + *khür* 'dirty'. Similar names are *sukhür* (*su* 'water'), and *suth khür* CL142, *sut ker* M106b (*suth* 'milk').

yalya= 'to lick', cf L248b, *yalba=* M35b, *yayla=* L251b, CL175b, *yabla=* M34a.

¶ <CT **yalqa=* (cf EDPT 926b, ESTJaIV:87), cf Khak *čalba=* BI309a, Tuva *čilya=* T555b, Tofa *čilba=* R93a, Yak *salaa=* Slp310b.

yaliŋ 'naked, bare', cf L248a, *yaliŋ* T182a, M36a, *yay* L249a, M36b 'id; poor'.

¶ <CT **yaliŋ* ~ **yalaŋ* (cf EDPT 929b, ESTJaIV:104), cf Khak *čalaŋ* BI308b 'on horse-back (of an unsaddled horse)'.

yalwar= 'to beg, to request, to beseech (+ DAT)', cf L248b, *yalwar=* T182a, M35b, *yalwar[ya]* Her208.

¶ <CT **yalbar=* (cf EDPT 920b, ESTJaIV:92), cf Tuva *čalwar=* T513b.

° →EYu *yalwar[ya]* Her208.

yam 'all right?', cf L246b, CL138.

¶ From *ya* 'all right' + question particle *-m*.

yama= 'to patch, to mend, to repair clothes', cf L246b, CL178a, T182a, M36a, *yama[xline]* Her202.

¶ <CT **yama=* (cf EDPT 934b, ESTJaIV:108), cf Khak *nama=* BI113b, Tuva *čama=* T515a, Tofa *ňama=* R49b, Yak *samaa=* Slp313a.

yan 'side; near; hip', cf M36a 'id', CL158a, T182a 'side; near', L247b, *yen* L258b 'side, flank; hip part; the meat on the hip bone'.

¶ <CT **ya:n* (cf EDPT 940a, ESTJaIV:113), cf Khak *nan* BI114 'side; upper part of the hip', Sagay *čan* BI310a 'side', Tuva *čan* T515b 'near', Tofa *ňan* R50a 'pelvis; near'.

yan=: köŋil yan= 'to be or become bored, distressed, disgusted; to vomit' (*köŋil* 'heart'), cf *kioŋil yan=* L152a 'to be bellowing with rage', *küŋeł yan=* M36b (s.v. *yay=*) 'to be angry'. See also **yantür=** 'to vomit'.

¶ Cf *yan=* 'to vomit' (cf EDPT 942a), recorded by Kashgari. Apparently a special semantic development of *yan=* L247b, CL178a, T182a, M36a 'to turn back, to return' <CT **yan=* (cf EDPT 941b, ESTJaIV:111), cf Khak *nan=* BI114a, Tuva *čan=* T516a, Tofa *ňan=* R50a.

yantür= 'to vomit', cf L247b 'id; to return, to make turn back', CL178b 'to return'. See also **köŋil yan=** 'to be bored; to vomit'.

¶ <CT **yantur=* 'to return; to send back one's food, to vomit' (cf EDPT 948a), cf Khak *nandür=* BI114a 'to return; to repulse', Tuva *čandür=* T516a, Tofa *ňandür=* R50a 'to send back, to return'.

yayŋaq (~ **yay**) 'jaw; cheek', cf *yayŋaq^h* L249a, *yiyŋaq^h* L266b 'lower jaw', *yiyŋaq^h* L267a:Da 'flesh of the lower jaw', *yiyŋaq* M41a, *yinaŋaq* M47b 'cheek', *žiŋaq* M29a 'lower part of the cheek', *iŋek* M32a (seldom used), *yiyŋaq* Her194 'jaw'.

¶ <CT **yayŋak* 'cheek bone' (cf EDPT 948b, ESTJaIV:123), cf Khak *naax* BI112b, Tuva *čaaŋ* T503b, Tofa *ňaaŋ* R49b, Yak *sŋaaŋ* Slp360a. Malov's form *iŋek* is probably <CT **eŋek* 'lower jaw, chin' (cf EDPT 183b).

yayŋi 'new', cf L249a, CL172a, T182b, M37a, *yayŋa* L249a:Da, M36b.

¶ <CT **yayŋi* (cf EDPT 943b, ESTJaIV:124), cf Khak *naa* BI112a, dial. *nabŋi* BI113a, Tuva *čaa* T503a, Tofa *ňaa* R49b, Yak *saŋa* Slp315a.

yaŋqīca 'alone, only, by oneself', cf *yaŋq^hīca* L249b, *yaŋkīca* T182a, *yaŋbīca* M37a, *yaŋq^hīscā* L249b, CL175a.

¶ Contraction of *yaŋqīs* 'alone' + ADV *-ca*.

yaŋqīs 'alone, single', cf L249b, *yaŋq^hīs* L249b, CL47, *yaŋbīs* M36b.

¶ <CT **yalŋus* 'alone, only, solitary' (cf EDPT 930b, ESTJaIV:97), cf Khak *čalbīs* BI309a, dial. *čabīs* BI305b, Kyzyl *naβīs* BI113a, Tuva *čaŋŋīs* T516b, Tofa *ñuŋ(β)us* R49a, *ñū:s* R71:210.

yaŋ-yaŋ 'all kinds of, all sorts of', cf L249b, M36b.

¶ <Ch *yáng-yáng*.

yaŋzī 'form, shape', cf *yaŋz1* L250a, *yaŋc1* T182a, *yaŋza* M37a, *yanza* M36b.

¶ <Ch *yàngzi*.

° Also loanword in EYu *yaŋc1* B155.

yapa 'mute', cf L246a.

¶ <Ch *yāba*.

yaq, see **yaŋaq** 'jaw'.

yaq 'side', cf T182b, M35b, *yaq^h* L250b, CL41, *žaq* M28a.

• **oŋ yaq** 'right side', cf L33b; **sol yaq** 'left side', cf L328a.

¶ <CT **ya:k* (cf ESTJaIV:82).

ya^hq 'no', cf *yaq^h* L250b, CL172b, *yaq* M35a.

¶ Cf NUyg *yaq* Nad775c 'no'.

ya^hqa 'above, upper; southern', cf L252a 'id; the upper part; deity; gift, present', CL22 'upper part; deity', T182b 'south (far away)', T182b 'name of a mountain range in the south; name of a shamanist prayer', *ya^xqa* M38a, *yaqa* M38a 'id; above, front'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **yaka* 'edge, border; collar' (cf EDPT 898a, ESTJaIV:82), cf Khak *čaba* BI305a 'trousers' belt; edge, border; collar', Tuva *čaya* T506a 'lapel; collar', Tofa *čab^hha* R85a 'collar', Yak *saba* Slp309a 'collar; border'. For the semantics, cf EYu *čaqa* B142 'waist of trousers; classifier for garments; south', LM *jaqa* Les1041 'brim, border, collar'. The meaning 'south(ern)' seems to be typical of WYu and EYu.

ya^hqal=, see **yeqqal=** 'to shake'.

yaqīn= 'to cover with a blanket', cf L250b 'id; to drape over one's shoulder, to wrap around', M35b 'to cover'.

ya^hqīn 'near, nearby, close; friend', cf L252b 'id', CL171a, T182b, *yaqīn* M35a 'near'.

¶ <CT **yakīn* (cf EDPT 904a, ESTJaIV:84), cf Khak *čabīn* BI305b.

yaqīncīq 'blanket, quilt', cf *yaqīnžiq* M35b, *yaqīncīq^h* CL169b 'id', L250b 'id; luggage'.

yar= 'to smash, to split, to break, to cleave', cf L255a, CL177a, M37a.

¶ <CT **ya:r=* (cf EDPT 954b, ESTJaIV:135), cf Khak *čar=* BI311a, Tuva *čar=* T518a, Tofa *čar=* R83b.

yara= 'to suit, to be suitable for, to be or become pleasant to (+ DAT)', cf L255a 'to fit, to suit; to take a fancy to', CL179a 'to like', M37a 'to fit, to suit'.

• **kōzīŋki yara=** 'to be or become pleasant in one's eyes, to like'.

¶ <CT **yara=* 'to be successful, convenient, suitable' (cf EDPT 956a, ESTJaIV:137), cf Khak *čara=* BI311a.

yarat= 'to love', cf M37a 'id', *yarat^h=* L255b 'id; to cause to fit'.

¶ <CT **yarat=* 'to make or find suitable, convenient' (cf EDPT 959b, ESTJaIV:139), cf Khak *čarat=* BI311b 'to find suitable'.

yaryīcī 'chief, official', cf *yaryīc1* L256b, CL165a, *yariŋc1* L256a 'official (manager

of the tribal chieftains)', *yarbūčī* M37a, *yarbuči* M37a, *yarχq1* T183a 'senior, head (of administration)'.
¶ <CT **yargu* 'legal decision, judgement' (cf EDPT 963b) + agent suffix -*čī*.

yarma 'two-year-old calf', cf L256a, M37b 'id', PotII:436b 'calf', Her198 'one-year-old calf'. See also *yarmaka* 'two-year-old calf'.

¶ <Tibetan, cf LT *yar-ma* Das1131a 'a barren yak-cow; also a crossbred cow', Xiàhé *yar-ma* HL509a 'a two-year-old cow that can be milked after calving'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yarma* Her198 'one-year-old calf'.

yarmaka 'two-year-old calf', cf L256a. See also *yarma* 'two-year-old calf'.

¶ From *yarma* 'two-year-old calf' + perhaps the affective suffix -*ka*.

° → EYu *yarka* B153, S154 'two-year-old bovine'.

yas (~ *yahs*) 'year of age', cf L253b, CL158a, M37b, *yahs* L252b.

• *yahs-kīhčiy* 'young', cf *yas khīchiy* L254b, *yas kičiy* M37b, perhaps calqued from Ch niánqīng (nián 'year', qīng 'small, tender').

¶ <CT **ya:š* 'year of age' (cf EDPT 975b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čas* BI313a, Yak *saas* Slp306a.

yas (~ *yahs*) 'tear', cf L253b, CL158a, M37b, *yahs* L252b 'tear; young, tender', T183a, *yas* T183a 'young'.

• *kōztīy yahs* 'tear'.

¶ <CT **ya:š* 'tear, moist; young, tender;' (cf EDPT 975b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čas* BI313a 'tear, moist; young', Tuva *čas* T522b 'tear; young', Tofa *češ* R87a 'fresh, young'.

yahs= (~ *ahs=*) 'to hide (oneself)', cf CL178b, T183a, *yas=* M37b, *yahs=* T183a 'id', *yahs=* L253a, *yas=* L254a 'id; to lay in ambush'.

¶ <CT **yaš=* (cf EDPT 976a, ESTJaIV:160), cf Yak *sas=* Slp318a.

yahsa= 'to be or become a certain year of age', cf L253a, T183a, *yasa=* L254a, CL180a, T183a, M37b.

¶ <CT **ya:ša=* (cf EDPT 976b, ESTJaIV:163), cf Khak *čaza=* BI306a.

yahsīl 'green', cf L253a, CL171b, *yaxsīl* M30a, *yasīl* M38a, *yasīl* L254a, PotII435b, *yasöl[der]* Her203.

¶ <CT **ya:šīl* (cf EDPT 978a, ESTJaIV:164), cf Beltir *čazīl* BI306b.

yahsīr= 'to hide somebody or something', cf L253a, CL178b, *yasör[öbter]* Her204.

¶ <CT **yašur=* (cf EDPT 979b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čazīr=* BI307a, Tuva *čazīr=* T509a, Tofa *čahīr=* R85a.

yahš 'good', cf T183a, *yaxš* L250a, CL172a, *yaxš[dro]* Her200, *yaxšl* L250a, CL172a, *yaxšl* T183b, *yaxšg* T183b, T9, *yaxšī* M38a, *yahšl* T183b, *yahši* T182a, *yakši* PotII:436b.

• *yahš mv!* 'hello, hi! how are you?', cf *yakšima* Man62.

¶ <CT **yaxšī* (cf EDPT 908a, ESTJaIV:63), cf Khak *čaxsī* BI314a.

yah̄t= 'to lie, to lie down', cf T183a, *yah̄th=* L251b, *yaxt=* M38a, *yat=* M38a.

¶ <CT **yat=* (cf EDPT 884a, ESTJaIV:156), cf Khak *čāt=* BI313b, Tuva *čīt=* T553b, *čīht=* Jan38, Tofa *čīht=* R94b, Yak *sīt=* Slp363a.

yata= 'cannot, to be unable to, to be incapable of (+ CSIM); cannot stand, bear, or endure (+ COO)', cf L247a 'id', C179a, T183a, M38a 'cannot, to be unable to'.

¶ < EYu *yita=* B155, S731, *ita=* J47, cf LM *yada=* Les422a.

yatay 'rope, cord', cf L247a, *yotay* L270a, *yotaB* M42b, *yowatay* L272a, CL20, *yowataB* M41b, *yuwatay* L275b, *yuwataB[dīr]* M43a, *yüataqh* L277a:Da 'a thin cord (used for divination)'.

¶ The second element perhaps related to LT *thag-pa* Jä227b 'rope', the first

unknown.

yatal, see **yotal** 'work, matter, thing, affair'.

yati= 'to agree', cf L247a, *ya ti*= L246a, C92:41.

¶ Compound consisting of *ya* 'all right' + *ti*= 'to say'.

yay (~ *e*) (*yayya*) 'summer', cf M34b, *yai*[*wobdro*] Her203, *ey* L29a, T178b, *yey* L261a, CL158b, T183b, *yæy* T183b, M38b. See also **enta** 'in summer'.

¶ <CT **yay* 'spring' (cf EDPT 980a, ESTJaIV:74), cf Khak *čay* BI307b, Tuva *čay* T510b, Tofa *čay* R83a, Yak *say* Slp309b 'summer'.

yaz 'spring', cf L254b, CL158b, T183b, M34a, *yas*[*bobdro*] Her203.

¶ <CT **ya:z* 'summer; spring' (cf EDPT 982b, ESTJaIV:71), cf Khak *čas* BI313b, Tuva *čas* T521a, Tofa *čas* R84b, Yak *saas* Slp306a 'spring'.

yaz= 'to spread, to spread out (e.g. a blanket)', cf L254b, CL176a, T183b, M34b.

• **yazmaq yaz**= 'to make pancakes', cf M34b, *yazmaq^h yaz*= L254b, L255a, perhaps calqued from Chinese *tān jiānbǐng* (*tān* 'to spread out; to fry batter in a thin layer', *jiānbǐng* 'thin pancake made of millet flour, etc').

¶ <CT **yad*= 'to spread out (on the ground)' (cf EDPT 883b, ESTJaIV:76), cf Khak *čas*= BI313b, Tuva *čat*= T508a, Tofa *čat*= R84b 'to spread (out)'. In view of the meaning probably not <CT **yaz*= 'to take apart, to untie, to unfold' (cf EDPT 983b, ESTJaIV:69), cf Khak *čas*= BI313b 'to unroll, to unwind, to loosen', Tuva *čas*= T510a, Tofa *čas*= R84b 'to unpack, to unroll, to open, to take apart, etc'.

yazī 'a plain', cf L254b, CL157b, *yazī* T183b, *yaz* T183b.

¶ <CT **yazī* (cf EDPT 984b, ESTJaIV:73), cf Khak *čazī* BI306b, Tofa *čazī* R83a, Yak *sīhīī* Slp363a.

yazīra= 'to run', cf *yazīra*= L255a.

yazīras= 'to run (for a race)'.

yazmaq 'pancake', cf T183b, M34b, *yazmaq^h* L255a, CL170a, T13 'thin, flat pancake'.

yenčuŋ 'grave, serious'. Equivalent of **tančin**.

¶ <Ch *yánzhòng*.

yenč^hen 'before one's eyes; at the spot, at once', cf *yenč^hen* L259a, *yenčen* M39b.

¶ <Ch *yǎnqián*.

° Also loanword in EYu *yenč^hen* B154.

yel, see **yil** 'wind'.

yeqqal= (~ **ya^hqal**=) 'to shake (e.g. of a fluid in a jar)', cf *yeq^hq^hal*= L260a, *yeq^hal*= L260a, *yeyq^hal*= L261a, *yeyqal*= L261a 'to be shaken, to be disturbed', *yayqal*= M34b 'to be shaken'.

¶ <CT **yaykal*= 'to shake, to sway' (cf EDPT 981b, ESTJaIV:78), cf Khak *čayxal*= BI308a. Cf further Tuva *čayya*= T511a, Tofa *ča^hyha*= R84b.

° →EYu *yayq^hal*= B153 'to shake, to rock, to swing', *yaχqal*= S190, S191, S284 'id; to stagger, to sway', *yaχqal[na]* Her209 'to shake'.

yer (*yeryi*) 'place, locality; ground, floor; earth; field, land under cultivation', cf L261b, CL157a, T183b, M39a, *yer*' PotII:435b, *žer* CL14, *yir* Her201.

• **kīsī yoq yer** 'an uninhabited place; the Gobi desert'; **tuz yer** 'salt plain'; **thay yer** 'mountainous area, cf CL157b.

¶ <CT **yer* (cf EDPT 954a, ESTJaIV:191), cf Khak *čir* BI317a, Tuva *čer* T528b, Tofa *čer* R86b, Yak *sir* Slp325a.

yer 'song', cf L261b, CL157a, T183b, M39a, *yel* T184a, *žer* T186b, *yir* CL46, T186a, *yir* Her205 'id', *yir* L257b 'id; drama'.

¶ <CT **ir* ~ **yir* (cf EDPT 192b, ESTJaIV:285), cf Khak *ir* BI331a, Tuva *ir* T598b, Tofa *ir* R101a.

yer 'right, correct, so; is (obsolescent)', cf L261b, *er* L30a, CL124 'id', L30a:Da 'right', *ere* L30a 'is', *yere* M39b, *yeri* M39b, *yeri* M39b 'really'.

¶ Contraction of *yerer* L262a, *erer* L30b, *erür* M130b 'is', ultimately from the defective verb CT **er*= 'to be' (cf EDPT 193b).

yerin, see *erin* 'man'.

yerla= (*yerlaya*) 'to sing', cf L262a, CL178b, *yerla=* T183b, M39b, *yirła=* M48b, *yirla=* L269b, M48b, *yirla[ine]* Her205, *yirła=* CL46 'id', *yirła=* L258a 'id; to play, to act'.

• **yer yerla=** 'to sing', cf L261b.

¶ <CT **irła=* (cf EDPT 230a, ESTJaIV:286), cf Khak *irła=* BI331b, Tuva *irła=* T600a, Tofa *irła=* R101a, Yak *illaa=* Slp525a.

yerlat= 'to make to sing, to let sing', cf *yerlat^h=* L262a.

¶ <CT **irlat=*, cf Khak *irlat=* BI331b, Tuva *irlat=* T600a, Yak *illat=* Slp525b.

yi, see *i* 'one'.

yi= (*yiyi*) 'to eat', cf L263a, CL175b, T184a, M40a, *yi[ne]* Her205, *ye=* L258a, M38b, *ži=* M29a, T186b, *že=* M29a, *çi=* T176a, and the oblique forms *ši=* L241b, T210b, *si[tı]* L242a.

¶ <CT **ye:=* (cf EDPT 869b, ESTJaI:332), cf Khak *či=* BI318a, Tuva *či=* T533b, Tofa *či=* R88a, Yak *šie=* Slp328a.

yiqi 'always, all along'.

¶ <Ch *yīzhí*.

yiy 'light (not heavy); raw, unripe', cf L267b, CL171b 'id', *çiy* T176a, *žiŷ* M29a, *yik[ter]* Her209 'light'.

¶ <CT **yig* 'raw' (cf EDPT 910b), cf Khak *çiŷ* BI318a, Tuva *çiy* T531b, Tofa *çiy* R88a 'raw, uncooked; unripe'; it cannot be excluded that these latter forms are related to **çig* ~ **çiŷ* 'moist, raw' (cf EDPT 413a). The meaning 'light' is peculiar of WYu.

yiy= (*yiqqa*) 'to assemble, to collect, to bring together; to tidy up (e.g. by putting in a cupboard)', cf L267b, *yiy=* L257b, *yeŷ=* L260a 'id; to amass, to accumulate; to get things ready, to pack; to settle, to put an end to', *yib=* M40a, *yiy=* CL178b, T186a, *yib=* M47a, *yiq=* M40b, *yik=* M40b 'to collect, to put together, to put on a heap'.

¶ <CT **yig=* (cf EDPT 897a, ESTJaIV:271), cf Khak *çiB=* BI325b, Tuva *çiŷ=* T560b, Tofa *çiB=* R92b.

yiyaş 'wood; piece of wood, log; wooden', cf L267b, CL160b, T184a, *yibaş* M40a, *yiyaş* L257b, *yibaş* M47a, *yayaş* L251a, *yagaş* PotII:435a 'id', *yirax* Her209, *yoyaş* Man64 'tree'.

• **aq yiyaş** 'poplar'; **küy yiyaş** 'pine, fir'.

¶ <CT **iŷač* ~ **yīŷač* (cf EDPT 79b, ESTJaI:71), cf Tuva *iyaş* T603a, Tofa *neš* (*neži*) R48a. Elsewhere CT **aŷač* prevails, cf Khak *aŷas* BI16a.

yiyiş 'female dog, bitch; a derogative term for a woman having several lovers', cf *yiyiş* L266a, *yigeş* T184a, *eŷeş* L27a, CL159b, *eŷeş* M25a, *igeşy* T181a, *yeş* Her99 'female dog'.

¶ <NE **egeš*, cf Shor *eš* RI:903 'female (of an animal)', Tuva dial. *eeš* T624b 'female bear', Tofa *eeš* R107b 'id; female sable'. Cf also *igiš* 'an unruly, uncontrollable animal' (cf EDPT 118a), recorded by Kashgari. WYu -š (instead of -s) <NE *-š is irregular.

yiyin 'shoulder', cf L268a, CL162a, *iŷen* M31a, *eŷin* L27a, *žiŷin* CL14, *žiŷin* M29a, *yigen* Her194.

¶ <CT *egin (cf EDPT 109a, ESTJaI:225), cf Khak *iġnĭ* BI61b (+ POS3), Tuva *eġin* (*ekti*) T605a.

yġġr 'gazelle', cf L268a, CL159b, T184a, M40a, *yġġr* M40b, *yġġer* M40a, *ġġġr* T176b, *ġġġer* M29a, *ġġġr* M29a 'Mongolian gazelle', *yġġar* Her199 'antelope'.

¶ Cf Khak dial. *ġġġr* BI315b, Yak *sġer* Pek2192 'chestnut coloured (of a horse)', probably related to CT **yeg(i)ren* 'chestnut (a horse colour)' (cf EDPT 914a, ESTJaIV:22, ESTJaIV:24). For the semantics, cf EYu *ġe:ren* B144 'Mongolian gazelle', LM *ġegere(n)* Les1043b 'antelope'.

yġġr= 'to twist, to twine', cf L268a, *yġġr=* L260a 'id, to spin', *hġr[ine]* Her210 'to weave'.

¶ <CT **ġġr=* (cf EDPT 113a, ESTJaI:227), cf Khak *ġr=* BI62a, Tuva *eer=* T623b, Tofa *eer=* R107a.

yġġrmġ 'twenty (used only in the anticipating numerals)', cf L268a, CL173a, *yġġrmi* M40a, *yġġirmi* M40a, *yġġrma* M40a, *yġġerma* Man62, *iġġrmi* M31a, *ġġġrma* M31b (sanddhi form), *ġġġrmo* M148a, *ġġġrmo* T221a, *yġġerme* PotII:437a, *yġġormen* Her197.

¶ <CT **yġġirmi* (cf EDPT 915b, ESTJaIV:201), cf Khak *ġġġrġġ* BI315b, Shor *ġġġrbe* RIII:1958, Tuva *ġġrbi* T561a, Yak *sġġrbe* Slp352b. Except for WYu, NE points to **yġġirbi* ~ **yġġirbe*.

yġġġt (*yġġġtki*) 'young man; bachelor', cf M40b, *yġġġt^h* L268a, CL163a, *yġġġt* M40a, *yġġġt* T23, M47b, *yġġt* Her193, *ġġġt* T23.

¶ <CT **yġġit* (cf EDPT 911b, ESTJaIV:198), cf Khak *ġġit* BI316a, Tofa *ġġit* R48b.

yġġġ 'rib', cf L266a, *ġġġ* L31b, *yġġ* L266a, M40b, *ġġġ* T186b 'id', *yġġe* Her194 'loins', and the form *yġġ* T184a, M40b 'rib' (where *-ġ* is incorrectly analysed as a POS3).

¶ <CT **eyġġ* (cf EDPT 272a, read *eyġġ*), cf Tuva *eeġi* T622a, Tofa *eeġi* R107a.

yġl (~ **yel**) 'wind; air', cf M40b, Man64, *yel* L259a, CL157a, T183b, *yel'* PotII:435a, *yel* T8, *ġġl* T186b, *yġl* M47b, *ġġl* T25 'wind'.

• **qoġġrtaġġ yġl** 'fart'.

¶ <CT **yel* (cf EDPT 916b, ESTJaIV:174), cf Khak *ġġl* BI316a.

yġl (*yġlya*) 'year', cf L265a, CL158b, M40b, *yġl* T25, *yel* M48b, *yel* T183b, *ġġl* T186b, *ġġl* PotII:435a, *ġġl* T221b, *yġl* T186a, M47b, [*bġr*]yail Her197 (*bġr* for *pġr* 'one').

¶ <CT **yġl* (cf EDPT 917a, ESTJaIV:275), cf Khak *ġġl* BI325b, Tuva *ġġl* T554b, Tofa *ġġl* R93a, Yak *sġl* Slp356a.

yġlan 'snake', cf L265b, CL160b, Her212, *yġlan* T184b, M40b, *yġlan* T186a, M47b, *ġlan'* PotII:437, *ġġlan* T176b.

¶ <CT **yġlan* (cf EDPT 930a, ESTJaIV:277), cf Khak *ġġlan* BI326a, Tuva *ġġlan* T555a, Tofa *ġġlan* R91a.

yġlya= (*yġlyaya*) 'to cry', cf L266a, CL32, *yelya=* L259b, *ġġlya=* T186b, *yġlya=* L257a, C93:45, *yġlba=* M47b, *ġġlye=* T186b, *yġyla=* L268b, CL179a, *yġyla=* T184a, *yġlba=* M40a, *yelya=* L260a, *yġyla=* L257b, C93:45, *yġlba=* M47a 'id', *yġyla[ine]* Her205 'to complain'.

¶ <CT **ġ:ġla=* ~ **yġ:ġla=* (cf EDPT 85b, ESTJaI:80), cf Khak *ġlba=* BI330a, Tuva *ġyla=* T591a, *ġġla=* T602a, *aala=* T28a, Tofa *ġlba=* R99a.

yġlyas= 'to cry together', cf *yġlyas=* L268b, *yġlyas=* L257b, *yġlbas=* M47a.

¶ <CT **ġ:ġlaš=* ~ **yġ:ġlaš=* (cf EDPT 86a), cf Tuva *ġylaš=* T591b, Tofa *ġlbaš=* R100a.

yġlġy '(luke) warm', cf *yġlġy* M40b, *yelġy* L259b, *ilġy* L31a, CL172a.

¶ <CT **yġlġg* (cf EDPT 925a, ESTJaIV:276), cf Khak *ġġlġy* BI326b, Tuva *ġġlġy* T556b, Tofa *ġġlġy* R93a.

yiltis (~ **yiltis**) 'star', cf M41a, *yiltis* T184a, *yiltis* L257a, *yiltis* M47b, *yiltis* T186a, *yultis* L275a, CL157a, *yultis* M44a, *yultus* L275a, PotII:435b, *yoltis* L270b, *yoltas* Man63, *yults* Her196.

¶ <CT **yilduz* (cf EDPT 922b, ESTJaIV:279), cf Khak *čiltis* BI326b, Tuva *sıldis* T397a, Tožu *dihldis* Čad48, Tofa *siltis* R66b, Yak *sulus* Slp341b.

yiltis 'root', cf L265b, *yiltis* M40b, *yeltis* L259b, *yelthis* L259b, *yiltis* CL160b, *yiltis* M47b, *il'dis* PotII:435b, *yöldös* Her204.

¶ <CT **yildiz* ~ **yıldiz* (cf EDPT 922b, ESTJaI:350), cf Shor *čiltis* RIII:2087, Kyzyl *šiltis* § Joki29, Tofa *siltis* R66b, Yak *silis* Slp323a.

° →EYu *yiltäs* B154, *yeltes* S693, *yeltës* S732, *iltës* Ĵ96b, *iltis* PotII:415a, *yöldös* Her204.

yim 'medicine, remedy', cf L263a, *yem* L258a, M39a, *em* L25a.

¶ <CT **em* (cf EDPT 155a, ESTJaI:270), cf Khak *im* BI58a, Tuva *em* T612b, Tofa *em* R103b.

yim= (*yimqa*) 'to close the eyes', cf L263a, CL175b, T25, *yim=* T186a, *yem=* M39a, *yum=* M44a, *çim=* T176b.

¶ <CT **yim=* ~ **yum=* (cf EDPT 934a, ESTJaIV:245), cf Khak *nub=* BI198a (probably < **nuŋ=* < **num=*), Yak *sim=* Slp323b. Cf further Khak *nimxıs=* BI120a 'to blink the eye'.

yim= 'to suck', cf L263a, *yem=* L258a, *em=* L25a, CL43, Her205.

• **yimiy yim=** 'to suck the breast, of a baby to feed at the breast'.

¶ <CT **em=* (cf EDPT 155b, ESTJaI:271), cf Khak *em=* BI334b, Tuva *em=* T613a, Tofa *em=* R103b, Yak *em=* Slp539b.

yimiy 'female breast', cf L263b, *yemiy* L28a, *emiy* L25a, CL162a, *emib* M25b, *xemik* PotII:435a, *nemik* Her194.

¶ <CT **emig* (cf EDPT 158b, ESTJaI:272), typical of NE, cf Tuva *emiy* T613a, Tofa *emiy* R104a, Yak *emiy* Slp539b.

yimis= 'to suckle, to feed a baby at the breast', cf L263b, *imis=* L30a, *yemis=* L258a, *emiz=* M25b.

• **sut yimis=, yimiy yimis=** 'to nurse, to feed a baby at the breast', both probably calqued from Chinese *wèinǎi* 'to breastfeed, to suckle' (*wèi* 'to feed', *nǎi* 'breast; milk; to breastfeed').

¶ <CT **emüz=* (cf EDPT 165a, ESTJaI:272), cf Khak *emıs=* BI334b, Tofa *emis=* R104a, Yak *emt=* Slp540b.

yimiyiyay 'exactly alike'.

¶ <Ch *yīmú-yīyàng*.

yimsa= (~ **imsa=**) (*yimsaya*) 'to use, to make use of; to try on', cf L263b, CL178b, T184a, *yimse=* T184a, *imse=* T181a, *yemse=* M39b, *yumsa=* M44a, *yümsa=* L277b.

¶ <CT **yumša=* 'to order, to send on an errand' (cf EDPT 939a, ESTJaIV:251), cf Khak *nımza=* BI120a 'to order'. The unrounded vowel is typical of NE.

yimsaq, see *imsaq* 'soft'.

yin 'sheep dung used as a fuel; sheep dung mixed with urine', cf L264b, T184a, M41a, *yij* M41a 'sheep dung; contents of the intestines', *yim* L263a 'dung', L258b 'id; food sediments in the stomach', *yen* M39a 'soft, dry sheep dung used as a fuel', *en* M25b 'contents of the intestines'.

• **qoy yin** 'dung and urine; sheep dung used as a fuel', cf L264b 'sheep's powder dung'.

¶ <CT **yin* 'animal's dung' (cf EDPT 941a, ESTJaIV:27), cf Khak *nın* BI118a 'con-

tents of the intestines', Tuva *čin* T534b.

yij 'sleeve', cf L266b, CL169a, T184a, M41a, *yey* L260a, PotII:436a, *žij* M29b, *žin* M29b, *ciy* T221b.

¶ <CT **yey* (cf EDPT 940b, ESTJaIV:186), cf Khak *nij* BI118a, Tuva *čey* T527b, Tofa *nej* R48a, Yak *sieX* Afa555a.

yij, superlative particle, cf L266b, CL169a, T184a, M41a, *ij* M32a, *yey* L260a.

¶ <CT **ey* (cf EDPT 166a), cf Khak *ij* BI61b, Tuva *ey* T614b, Tofa *ey* R104b.

yijür (*yijürya*) 'evening', cf L266b, CL158b, T184a, M47b, *yijer* M41a, *yeyür* M39a, *žijer* M29b, *yür* M41a, *yür* M47b, *gijer*[*wobter*] Her196. See also **khunijkür** 'afternoon'.

• **kici yijür** 'last night'; **puyin yijür** 'tonight'.

¶ <CT **yijür* ~ **yür* ~ **imir* ~ **imür* 'dusk' (cf EDPT 188b, ESTJaI:354), cf Khak *iir* BI57b 'evening', Tuva *imir* T207, Tofa *imir* R24a, Yak *im* Slp148b.

yijni 'needle', cf M41a, *yijne* L267a, CL167a, T184a, M41a, Her211, *žiji* T186b, *yijnie* L267a.

¶ <CT **igne* (cf EDPT 110a, ESTJaI:367), cf Khak *ije* BI67b, Tuva *ine* T208a, Tofa *iyne* R24a, Yak *inne* Slp151a.

yijni= 'to sieve, to strain', cf *yijne=* L267a, *eyne=* L26b, *ijne=* L31b, *inne=* L21a, 'to sieve (flour)'. See also **ijnek** 'a large sieve'.

¶ < **egle=* <CT **elge=* 'to sift' (cf EDPT 143a, ESTJaI:261), cf Khak *ilye=* BI57a, Tuva *elye=* T610b, *eyle=* T605b, Tofa *elye=* R103a.

yihp 'rope, thread', cf *yehph* L260b, CL167a, *sehp* T210b, *čehp* T221a, *žehph* CL14, *siph* L241b, *siph* CL32, *sip* T211a, T8, *yiph* CL32, *yip* M41a, *žip* Man62, *čyip* T175a, *sip* T211a, *yap* Her212 'id', *yep* M39a 'id; family line'.

¶ <CT **yip* ~ **yep* (cf EDPT 870b, ESTJaIV:268), cf Khak *čip* BI319a, Tuva *čep* T528a, *čehp* Pb509a, Tofa *čehp* R87b, Yak *sap* Slp315b.

yirij 'nasal mucus, snot', cf L269b, *yerij* L262a, CL162b, *yerin* M39b.

¶ <CT **irij* 'pus' (cf EDPT 233a, ESTJaI:373), cf Khak *irij* BI68, Tuva *irij* T210a, Tofa *irij* R24b, Yak *irije* Slp153b.

° →EYu *yèrèj* B154, *yèrèj* J97a, S406 'nasal mucus, snot; pus'.

yisi 'meaning'.

¶ <Ch *yisi*.

yis 'food', cf *yiyiš* L268a, CL169b, *yiyëš* M40a.

yit= 'to lead along on a rein', cf M41b, *yith=* L264b, *yeth=* L258b, *yet=* M39b, *žit=* T186b, *ith=* L30a, *eyth=* L29a.

¶ <CT **yey:t=* (cf EDPT 884b, ESTJaI:387), cf Tuva *čet=* T524b, Tofa *čet=* R87a, Yak *siet=* Pek2194.

yitali, see **itali** 'together'.

yitaq (~ **itaq**) 'scoundrel, bastard, son of a bitch', cf *itaqh* L30a.

¶ Perhaps related to LT *yi-dwags* Das1132b 'a class of spiritual beings (..) condemned to suffer torments of hunger and thirst in the ghost-world', Xiàhé *yè-dak* HL510b 'hungry devil'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yitaq* B155, *i:taq* J5, *yütaq* S330 'greedy, avaricious', BaoX *idèG* BC64 'id'.

yiti 'seven', cf L264a, CL172a, T184b, *yite* T184b, *yide* Her197, *yiti* M41b, *yititi* L264b, *žititi* T186b, *yeti* PotII:436b, *yeti* M40a, *žetæ* M29a, *žitō* Man61, *yititi* T186a, *čititi* T177b, *čititi* T221b 'id', *yititi* L264a 'id; week'.

¶ <CT *yeti < *yetti (cf EDPT 886a, ESTJaIV:167), cf Khak čitī BI317b, Tuva čedi T524b, Tofa čedi R86a, Yak sette Slp370a.

yitir= 'to feed, to cause to eat', cf L264b, C82:73b, T184b, *yithir*= T184b, *yitir*= M41b, *yidir*= M40b, *yetir*= M40a, *yetir*= M40a.

¶ <CT *ye:tür= (cf EDPT 892b).

yitun 'seventy', cf *yiton* L264b, CL173b, *yithton* L264b, *yidon* Her198, *yeton* M40a, *yedon* PotII:437b, *çiton* T221b, *žeton* M29a.

¶ Crasis of *yitī* 'seven' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE (cf ESTJaIV:195), cf Khak *çiton* BI317b, Tuva *čeden* T524b, Tofa *čedon* R86a, Yak *sette uon* Slp370a. Elsewhere CT **yetmīs* (cf EDPT 891b) prevails.

yüti 'many, much', cf *yüti* L256b, *yüte* L256b, CL120, *yuwte* L275b.

yixa, see *ixa* 'all of a sudden'.

yixou, see *ixou* 'afterwards'.

yiyaŋ, see *iyaŋ* 'similar'.

yiz 'fabric, cloth', cf L269a, CL169a, T184b, M40b, *yez* L261a, T184a, M38b, *žiz* T186b, *yuz* M43b 'linnen', *yis* Her207 'piece of cloth'.

¶ <CT **ed* 'possessions, goods' (cf EDPT 33a), cf Khak *is* BI63b, Tuva *et* T620a.

yiz 'track, trace', cf L269a, C82:70a, M40b, *is* M32a, *yez* M38b 'track, trace'.

¶ <CT *i:z ~ *i:z (cf EDPT 277a, ESTJaI:646), cf Khak *īs* BI68a, Tuva *is* T210b, Tofa *is* R24b.

yizi= (*yiziya*) 'to rot, to go bad', cf L269a, C93:43, *yiz*= CL180a, M40b.

¶ <CT **yidi*= (cf EDPT 886a), typical of NE, cf Khak *čizi*= BI325b, Kyzyl *sizi*= RIV:664, Tuva *čidi*= T554a, Tofa *čidi*= R92b, Yak *sitiy*= Slp363b.

yiztiy 'having traces, tracks'.

¶ <CT *i:zlig, cf Tofa *istiy* R24b.

yiltis, see *yiltis* 'star'.

yoŋin 'thick; coarse', cf L271b, CL171a, *yobin* M41b, *yoŋun* L271b, *yobun* M41b, *yoŋum* T184b, *yubun* M43a.

¶ <CT **yoŋun* ~ **yogan* (cf EDPT 904b, ESTJaIV:208), cf Khak *čoon* BI853b, Tuva *čoon* T540a, Tofa *noon* R48b, Yak *suon* Slp342b.

yoŋir 'Yugur', cf CL41, T184b, *yoŋur* L271b, CL164b, T184b, *yobur* M41b, *yüŋir* L279b, *yubur* M43a.

• **sariy yoŋir** 'Yellow Uygur', cf *sariy yoŋur* L271b, *sarib yubur* M100b.

¶ <CT **uygur*. A metathesized form *iugures* was already noted by Rubrouck (cf Ligeti 1934: 243), who travelled in Central Asia in the thirteenth century.

° →EYu уоҝор B155.

yoŋir= 'to mix flour and water, to knead dough', cf L271b, *yobir*= M41b, *yubur*= M43a, *yugur*[aine] Her208.

¶ <CT **yugur*= (cf EDPT 906a, ESTJaIV:243), cf Khak *čuur*= Čan369b, Shor *čuur*= RIII:2172, Tuva *čuur*= T549a, Tofa *čuur*= R91b.

yol 'way, road, path; journey', cf *yoł* T184b, M42a, *yoł* PotII:435a 'id', *yol* L270a, CL157b 'id; mile, li', *yuł* M43b 'fate'.

¶ <CT **yo:l* (cf EDPT 917a, ESTJaIV:217), cf Khak *čol* BI320a 'road, journey', Tuva *čol* T538b, Tofa *čol* R89a 'fate', Yak *suol* Slp342a 'road, journey, track'.

yola= 'to shake, to sway', cf L270b.

¶ <Ch yáo.

yolal= 'to show off', cf *yolali=* L270b 'of a woman to be seductively dressed'.

¶ <Ch yāo 'coquettish' as in yāolí yāoqī.

yoq 'not present; missing, lacking, without; poor', cf T185a, M42a, *yok* PotII:437, *yoq^h* L271a, CL172b, T185a, *yok* Man62, *yoq* Her200, *žoq* M30a.

¶ <CT *yo:k (cf EDPT 895b, ESTJaIV:211), cf Khak čox BI321a 'not present; poor; poverty', Tuva čok T537b, Tofa čoq R89a, *yoq* R25a, Yak suox Slp344a 'not present'.

yoqq^{ha}= 'to die (not polite)', *yolqq^{ha}[ppti]* T245, *yoqq^{ha}[ptro]* M67:99, *yülq^h q^{ha}[ph tro]* CL34, *yülqq^{ha}[ptrā]* T245, *yülqq^{ha}[ptro]* M67:100 'to die'. See **yoq pol=** 'to die (polite)'.

¶ Crasis of *yülip* 'dying' + *q^{ha}=* 'to fall'), cf *yüli^{ph} q^{ha}=* L205a, L278b.

yor=, see **yör=** 'to braid, to plait'.

yor=, see **yör=** 'to untie'.

yorya 'ambler', cf L274a, *yorba* [at] M42b.

¶ <CT *yorga (cf EDPT 964a, ESTJaIV:225), cf Khak čorba BI320b.

yo^{hrt} (*yo^{hrt}qa*) 'abandoned camp', cf *yo^{hrt}h* CL28 'foundations', C92:36, *yu^{hrt}h* L275b:Da, C92:36 'foundations of a tent', *yo^{hrt}h* L272a 'id, also of a building; nomadic camp; family, household', *yurt* T185b, *žört* T185b, *žöjt* T185b 'household, house; village', *yurt* M45a 'village; people', *yürt* Her206 'ground'.

¶ <CT *yurt ~ *yu:rt (cf EDPT 958a, ESTJaIV:254), cf Khak čurt BI323b, Tuva ču^{hrt} T547b, Tofa ču^{hrt} R91b, Yak *surt* Slp345a, *suurt* Pek2365.

yošī 'if'.

¶ <Ch yàoshi.

yotal (~ **yatal**) 'work, matter, thing, affair, problem', cf L270a, C87:567, T185a, *yowtał* T185a, *youtał* M42b, *yawtał* L253a, TT13, *yawtał* T183a, M33a, *yaltal* L248b, *yoltal* CL115, L270b, *yołtał* M42a.

¶ <EYu *yaptal* Bĭ332, ĭ74 'business, affair', S135 'circumstances, situation, state of affairs', S343 'affair, business, matter', *ya:tal* S122 'question, problem', *yawetal* S683 'meaning, idea; cause, reason', S731 'action; conduct; matter, affair; gait', *yaβtal* B153 'horse's gait', cf LM *yabudal* Les420a. The secondary *-l-* in WYu probably arose under the influence of the final *-l*.

yotun^g 'cave', cf L270a 'cave dwelling', *yowtun* M41b 'burial cave'.

¶ <Ch yáodòng 'cave dwelling'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yaotoŋ* B152, *yɔ:tōŋ* B155.

youpiŋzī 'large oil cake (prepared by putting oil in the pan, dough on top of it and again oil)', cf *yüpiŋzī* L256b, CL170a.

• **čhi youpiŋzī** 'oil cake, especially prepared for camel herds'.

¶ <Ch yóubǐng.

yoZ= 'to go past; to pass time', cf L272b, CL179b, T185a, M42a, *yöZ=* M42b, *yuz=* M43b, *yuzā=* M43b.

¶ Perhaps <CT *oZ= 'to overtake, to surpass, to flee' (cf EDPT 279b, ESTJaI:425), cf Khak *os=* BI131b '(of a squirrel) to hop from branch to branch', Tofa *os=* R53b 'to overtake'.

yör= (~ **yor=**, **yür=**) (*yörȳi*) 'to braid, to plait (hair); to twist (rope, strands)', cf L276a, CL178a, *hör=* L223b:Da, *ör=* L46b 'to weave, to plait, to braid', *yor=* L273a, CL178a, *yur=* Man62, *yürle=* M46b 'to braid (pigtail)'.

¶ <CT *ö:r= (cf EDPT 195b, ESTJaI:544), cf Khak *ür=* BI255b, Yak *ör=* Slp287b.

yör= 'to untie, to undo', cf L276a, *yor=* L273a, CL178a, *yür=* L281b, *yur=* M44b, *ör=* L46b 'id', *yor[üwo^{ht}]=* T185a, *yor[üfut]=* T185a '(of a rope) to snap'.

¶ <CT *yö:r= (cf EDPT 955b, ESTJaIV:223), cf Yak *süör*= Slp349b.

yöryin= 'to learn', cf *yöryen*= L276b, C82:70b, *yörgen*= T185a, *yoryen*= L274b, CL30, *öryen*= L47b, CL177b, *örgen*[ine] Her207, *ürgen*= T218b, *üryen*= M133a, *yüryen*= M46b, *yuryen*= M44b.

¶ <CT *ögren= (cf EDPT 114b, ESTJaI:496), cf Khak *üyren*= BI253b, Tuva *öören*= T338a, Tofa *öören*= R56a, Yak *üören*= Slp455a.

yöryit= 'to teach', cf *yöryeth*= L276b, *yoryeth*= L274b, *öryeth*= L47a, CL177b, *üryet*= M132a, *yüryet*= M46b, *öryed*[ine] Her206.

¶ <CT *öğret= (cf EDPT 114a, ESTJaI:497), cf Khak *üyret*= BI254a, Tuva *ööret*= T337b, Tofa *ööret*= R56a, Yak *üöret*= Slp455a.

yörin, see *erin* 'man'.

yörinçi 'spider', cf *yörümçl* L273b, CL160a, *yörümçh* L176a, *yörümçh* L276b:Da.

¶ From an older *ö:rümçi (cf further ESTJaI:545), related to *yör*= 'to plait', cf Sagay *öriñmežek* BI137a, Khak *ırımžik* BI68a, Tuva *eeremčik* T623b, Tofa *eremžik* R105a.

yörlä= (*yörläyi*) 'to turn, to walk around, to circumambulate; to surround', cf L276b, *yorle*= L274a, *örle*= L46b 'to turn, to turn over, to turn to; to give a patient one's best wishes (...); to feel dizzy', *yorlä*= CL179b, *yörlu*= L276b, *yorlu*= L274a, *yurlä*= L275b:Da, *yürle*= M46b, *yürli*[ne] Her209 'to turn', *örlü*= L47a:Da 'id; to visit', *yürle*= M46b 'to turn, to feel dizzy', *yurlu*= M44b 'to visit'.

¶ <CT *ebiril= 'to revolve, etc' (cf EDPT 14b, ESTJaI:498), cf Khak *ibiril*= BI54b.

yörmi 'braid', cf *yörme* L276b, *yorme* L274a, *yürme* L281b, M46b.

¶ <CT *ö:rme (cf ESTJaI:545).

yunçhu 'use'.

¶ <Ch yòngchu.

yü (*yüyi*) 'house; family', cf L276b, CL165a, T185b, M45b, *žü* M31a, *ü*: M132a, *yu* M43a, *yüy* L279b, T185b, *üye* M45b, *žüe* M45b, *yüö* T185b, *yö* T25, *iyö* T181a, *sü* T210b, *çö* T25, *üy* M132a 'id', PotII:436b 'yurt', *yü* Her195 'tent'.

• **yühsinjki** 'home, homewards', cf *sühsinjke* L245b, *hiüsinjke* L223b; **aq yü** 'tent', cf *aqh yü* L276b 'white tent'; **ara yü** 'junk room, depot, store', cf *ara yü* L19a, L276b, *ara üy* M132b; **chi yü** 'tent', cf *chi yü* L236a, *thi yü* L126a, *thiy yü* L127b; **palıq yü** 'stone house', cf *palıq üy* M86b 'adobe house (not a tent)'; **qara yü** 'tent', cf *qara yü* L276b 'brown tent', M45b 'tent (of the mountain Yugur)'; **thayar yü** 'tent'; **yanji yü** 'the new home of newly-weds', cf *yanji yü* L249a 'bridal chamber'; **yiz yü** 'tent', cf *yiz yü* L236a 'tent of camelherds'.

¶ <CT *eb (cf EDPT 3b, ESTJaI:513), cf Khak *ib* BI54a. Tuva *öy* T330a and Tofa *öy* R54a developed from an older *öğ < *ew.

yü= (*yüya*) 'to wash', cf L276b, CL178a, *yu*= M43a, *yuw*= M43a, *yü*[*yüne*] Her209, and the oblique form *sü*[*tü*] L245b.

• **poz yü**= 'to wash oneself', cf *pozti yü*= L65a; **kizki yü**= 'to wash clothes'.

¶ <CT *yu:= (cf EDPT 870a, ESTJaIV:238), cf Khak *čub*= BI322b, Tuva *čuy*= T548b, Tofa *ču*= R91a, Yak *suuy*= Slp346b.

yüat= (*yüatqa*) 'to be or become ashamed, shy', cf *yüath*= L277a 'id', CL10, *yüwath*= L280a, CL10, *yuwath*= L275b:Da 'to be shy', *yowat*= M41b, *yuat*= M42a, *yoat*= M41b, *öwusma* Her208 'to be ashamed'.

¶ <CT *uyat= (cf EDPT 269b, ESTJaI:562), cf Khak *uyat*= BI253b, Tuva *iyat*= T602b, Tofa *ñat*= R50b, Yak *saat*= Slp306b.

yüataçan 'timid, fearfull', cf *yüwataçan* L280a, *yuwataçan* L275b:Da.

yüyal= 'to rest, to take a rest', cf L279b, CL177a, **yükal=** L279a 'id, to have a breather', **yubal=** M43a, **yub al=** M43a, **yoy al=** T184b 'to rest', and perhaps **yüñal=** L279a 'to stop (working), to take a rest'.

¶ Compound consisting of **al=** 'to take' + **yub** M43a, **yob** T184b, **çoy** T176b 'rest, break', perhaps <Arik *uk* Qú91:153, Xiàhé *ék* HL380b, LT dbugs Jä388b 'breath, respiration'. Cf also the similarly formed verbal compound Xiàhé ²éχ-*len=* TB1711 'to inhale' (*len=* 'to take').

yüe 'month', cf **yür** L281b, **yur** M44b, **yor** M42b, **yuor** M42b, **yuer** M44b, **yer** M39a. Equivalent of **ay**.

¶ <Ch *yuè*.

yüen 'like before, as before, again, re-', cf **yüen** T185b, T234. Equivalent of **eni**.

¶ <NwM *üen*⁵¹ ZW131 'still, yet; even, also, too', cf Ch *yuán* 'primary, original, former'. Cf further the compound NwM *üen*⁵³*çen*⁴⁴ ZW131 'before, previously'.

yüenwey 'an official', cf **yüenwe** L277b.

¶ <Ch *yuánwài* L277b.

yüyī 'feather', cf L279b, **yugö** Her207, **yüy** T185b.

¶ <CT **yüg* (cf EDPT 910b), cf Khak *čüy* BI324a, Tuva *čüy* T549b.

yüyış, see **yüş** 'towel'.

yükhīcher (~ **yükcher**) 'often, all the time, frequently', cf L279a, **yokecher** L271a, **zükīcher** L310b, **zuqhīcher** L311a, **zuqhcher** L311a **zucheker** L311b, **üchūker** L48a, **üchūken** L48a 'id', **yukčer** M43b 'anyway, without reason', **yükhīçin** T185b [no translation].

° EYu *škhu üčekè* B110, *ikhučikè* Ĭ52, *yikhučikè* S198, *sėkhučikè* S198 'often'.

yükcher, see **yükhīcher** 'often'.

yül= (**yülyi**) 'to die', cf L278b, CL178a, T185b, M46a, **yul=** L275a:Da, M43b, **yöl=** T21, L276a, **öl=** M84a, **yol=** T184b, **yul[īpta]** Man63, **yul[obdro]** Her201.

¶ <CT **öl=* (cf EDPT 125b, ESTJaI:525), cf Khak *öl=* BI135a, Tuva *öl=* T335b, Tofa *öl=* R55b, Yak *öl=* Slp285b.

yülyin 'tamarisk', cf **yülyun** L279a, **yulyin** L275a, CL42, **yulyun** L275a, C87:563, **yülyim** L279a, **yulyim** L275a, **yilyim** L257a, **yolyun** L270b 'branchy tamarisk (Tamarix ramosissima Ledeb.)', **yulbun** M44a, **yulbum** M44a 'a small species of reed', **yulyum** T185b, **yolyim** T184b, **yolyam** T184b 'a species of long grass'.

¶ < **yulgun* <CT **yilgun* 'tamarisk' (cf EDPT 926b, ESTJaIV:277).

yüliy 'dead, deceased; corpse', cf L278b 'id', T185b, **yulug** T185, **yulib** M44a 'corpse'.

¶ <CT **öliug* 'dead; corpse' (cf EDPT 142a, ESTJaI:527), cf Khak *öliy* BI135a, Tuva *öliy* T335b, Tofa *öliy* R55b.

° >EYu *hlek* (or *hley*) B60, *ülék* (or *ülèy*) B21, *u:lèk* (or *u:lèy*) S395 'corpse', *olog* (or *olog*) S698 'carcass', unless a development from an older Turkic loanword in Mongolic, cf SH *öliük* Haen124 'dead', LM *ölög* Les634a 'inanimate object'.

yülir= (**yüliiryi**) 'to kill', cf L278b, CL178a, T185b, **yülur=** L279a, T185b, **yüliür=** M46a, **üliür=** M132b, **yulir=** M44a, **yulur=** M44a, **yulur=** T185b, **yöliür=** L276a:Da, **yolür=** T184b, **ölö[bter]** Her203.

¶ <CT **öliür=* (cf EDPT 151a, ESTJaI:527), cf Tuva *öliür=* T335b, Tofa *öliür=* R55a, Yak *ölör=* Slp285b. Elsewhere CT **öldür=* (cf EDPT 133b) prevails, cf Khak *öldir=* BI135a.

yüliris= 'to kill one another'.

¶ <CT **öliürüş=*, cf Tuva *öliürüş=* T335b, Yak *ölörüş=* Slp286a.

yüm 'trousers', cf L277b, CL32, T185b, *yim* L263a, T29, Man63, *yum* Man63, *yöm* L276a, *yom* L269b, *yem* M39a, *üm* L47a, CL169a, *öm'* PotII:436b, *yüyüm* L279b.

¶ <CT **üm* (cf EDPT 155b).

yümüt= (*yümütqa*) 'to come together, to assemble', cf T185b, M44b, *yümüt^h*= CL43, L274b, *yumut^h*= L274b, C93:43, *yumut*= T185b, M44a, *yömüt^h*= L269b, *yimüt^h*= L263a, C93:43.

¶ <CT **yömüt*= 'to come together' (cf EDPT 935a, ESTJaIV:219).

yümo 'about, approximately'.

¶ <Ch *yuēmo*.

yüntar= 'to gather together; to round up (things)', cf *yontar*= L270a, *yimtar*= L263b, C93:43, *yomtar*= L269b, C93:43, M42a, *yumtar*= M44a, *yemtar*= M39a, *yemdar*= M39a 'id', *yomdar*[*bglin*] Her201 'to receive'.

¶ <CT **yomtar*= 'to bring together' (cf EDPT 935b, ESTJaIV:219).

yünzī 'kitchen garden', cf *yünzī* L278b, *yüenzī* L277b, *yöncī* T185a, *yüen* L277a, *yon* M42a.

¶ <NwM *üen*₄₄⁵¹*c1* CZW272a, cf Ch *yuán*.

° Also loanword in EYu *yüanc1* B155.

yüñ 'wool; hair on the body; feathers', cf L279a, CL168b, *züñ* CL15, *yuy* L275a 'id', *yüñ* T185b, *yuy* M44b, *yun* M44b 'wool'.

• **cicinñy yüñ** 'pubic hair'; **poz yüñ** 'hair on the body'; **qoy yüñ** 'sheep wool', cf *qoy yuy* L275a; **tañqayññy yüñ** 'feather', cf *tañqayññy yuy* L275b.

¶ <CT **yuy* ~ **yüñ* (cf EDPT 941b, ESTJaIV:267), cf Khak *nüñ* BI119b, Tuva *čüñ* T551b, Yak *suñ* Slp342a.

yüqa 'thin', cf L279b, CL123, T185b, *yuqa* L275b, CL171a, M43a, *yoqa* L271a.

¶ < **yuka* <CT **yubka* ~ **yuyka* (cf EDPT 874a, ESTJaIV:241), cf Khak *čuba* BI322b, Tuva *čuyā* T544b, Tofa *čuba* R91a.

yür 'fish', cf L281b, CL169b, T185b, M46a, *yor* M42b.

¶ <Ch *yú* + *ér*.

yür=, see **yör=** 'to braid, to plait'.

yüraq 'the south; upside', cf *yuraq^h* L275b, *yuraq* T185b, M44b, *yoraq^h* L273b, CL68, *yoraq* M42b, *yiraq* T184b.

¶ Crasis of *yürī* 'upward' + *yaq* 'side', cf *yorī yaq^h* L275b.

yürī (~ **yorī**) 'upward', cf *yorī* L273b, CL158a 'id; southward; more than; place of honour', T185a 'upward; more than', M42b, *yojī* T185a 'forward; place of honour', *yörī* M43b 'upward', *yurī* M45a 'id; south', *yürī* L281b:Da, *yurū* PotII:436b, *yüre* Her204 'south'.

¶ <CT **ö:riü* 'upward' (cf EDPT 197b, ESTJaI:543), cf Tuva *öörü* T338b, *örü* T340a; elsewhere in NE, CT **ö:re* (cf ESTJaI:543) prevails, cf Sagay *ööre* BI136a, Yak *örö* Slp288a.

yürük (~ **örek**) 'heart, soul', cf *yürek^h* L281b, *yürek* T186a, M46b, *yurek* PotII:436a, *ürek* M133a, *yörek^h* L276a, CL162b, *yörek* T185a, M43a, *yörük* T185b, *örek^h* CL30, *örek* T194b, M84a, *erek^h* L30b, CL30, *irik* Man65, *rök* Her195.

¶ <CT **yürek* (cf EDPT 965a, ESTJaIV:270), cf Khak *čürek* BI325a, Tuva *čürek* T551b, Tofa *čürek* R92a, Yak *süreX* Slp350b.

yüs 'bad, evil', cf L280a, CL172a, *yus* L275b, M45a, *yüus* L257a, C82:67b, *yis* L257b, *yuz* PotII:436b, *yuuuz* PotII:436b 'id', *yüs*[*xedro*] Her201 'enemy' (for *yüs kisitr* 'it is a bad person').

¶ <CT **yabüz* (cf EDPT 881a, ESTJaIV:47), cf Yak *suos* Slp343b.

yüsi, see **üsü** 'its upside'.

yüş (~ **yüyış**) 'towel, cleaning towel', cf L280a:Da, **yüyış** L279b, CL167a, **yuyış** L275b, **yubış** M43b.

yüt 'bile', cf **yüth** L278a, **öth** CL162b, L46a, **höth** L223b:Da, **yöth** L276a, **yöt** M43a.

¶ <CT **ō:t* (cf EDPT 35b, ESTJaI:504), cf Khak **ööt** BI136b, Tuva **öt** T341b, Tofa **öt** R56b.

yüti= (**yütiyi**) 'to move, to move over, to migrate', cf **yüte=** L277b, **yüte=** M46b, **yüde=** M45b.

¶ <Mongolic, cf LM **yegüd=** Les430b.

yütür= (**yütiryi**) 'to cough', cf L277b, **yütür=** L278a, **yüter=** M47a, **yutür=** L274b, **yutür=** L274b, M45a, **yöder[uter]** Her205.

¶ <CT **yötür=* (cf ESTJaI:557), cf Tuva **čödür=** T542a, Tofa **čödür=** R90b 'to cough', Sagay **čidür** BI316a 'cough'. Elsewhere CT **yötkür=* and **yötel=* (cf ESTJaI:557) prevail, cf Khak **čidül=** BI316a; cf further CT **yötül* 'cough' (cf EDPT 889b), Khak **čidül** BI316a, Yak **sötöl** Slp337a.

yütürük 'cough', cf **yütürükh** L278a, **yutürükh** L274b.

¶ <CT **yötürük*, cf Tofa **čödürük** R90b.

yüwas 'calm, placid (of a horse)', cf **yowas** L272b, **yowaş** L272b 'well-behaved, good (said of livestock)', **yuwās** T185b 'calm, quiet'.

¶ <CT **yobaş ~ *yubaş* (cf ESTJaIV:51), cf Kacha *d'obaş* RIII:445, Koybal *d'obas* RIII:444, Shor *čobaş* RIII:2031; elsewhere in NE, CT **yabaş* (cf EDPT 880b, ESTJaIV:51) prevails, cf Khak **čabas** BI304b 'calm (of animals, people, water)', Tuva **čaaş** T505a, Tofa **čaaş** R82a 'calm, placid'.

yüwaş 'roof', cf L280a, CL166a, T186a, **yüwaş** M43a, M45b, **yowaş** T185a, **yübaş** T185b, Her207.

¶ Compound consisting of **yü** 'house' + **paş** 'head, top'.

yüz (**yüzki**) 'face', cf L280a, CL161b, T186a, M45b, **yuz** M43b, PotII:435b, **žüz** CL15.

¶ <CT **yü:z* (cf EDPT 983a, ESTJaIV:259), cf Sagay **čüs** BI325a, Yak **süüs** Slp353b.

yüz (**yüzki**) 'hundred', cf L280b, CL173b, T186a, M45b, **yuz** M43b, PotII:437b, **žüz** CL15, **yüs** T186a, **yüss** Her198, **yöz** M42b, **čüs** T17.

¶ <CT **yü:z* (cf EDPT 983a, ESTJaIV:260), cf Khak **čüs** BI325a, Tuva **čüs** T525a, Tofa **čüs** R92b, Yak **süüs** Slp353b.

yüzinči 'hundredth'.

yüzürü= 'to become more, to develop, to expand', cf **uzure=** L45b 'to grow in number, to increase'.

¶ <CT **iudre=* 'to increase, to multiply, to flourish' (cf EDPT 68a, Räs519a).

° →EYu *cere:=* S697 'to breed, to reproduce', *cüre=* B151 'to rise, to develop, to expand, to increase, to grow'.

zan (~ **can**) 'station', cf **çan** L282a.

¶ <NwM *can*²¹³ CZW51b, cf Ch **zhàn**.

zık, see **sık** 'door'.

zona, see **cona** 'bee; wasp'.

zīli= 'to harass, to offend, to provoke', cf *zīle*= L310a.

¶ <Ch rě.

zīq 'bad; evil, wicked', cf T221a, *zīq^h* L310a, CL15, *zōq^h* L310a, T221a.

• *zīqtīzuq* 'very bad', an idiolectical jingle.

zuanzuantī 'weak, feeble'. Equivalent of *imsaq*.

¶ <Ch ruǎnruande.

zukuō 'if'.

¶ <Ch rúguǒ.

List of suffixes, clitics and particles

Coding

A	<i>a/i</i>	
G	<i>k/q/γ</i>	
K	<i>k/q</i>	
L	<i>l/n/t</i>	
M	<i>m/p</i>	
N	<i>n/t</i>	
-A	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-A	repetitive converb	6.2.3.
-ar	causative	6.5.1.
-Ati	dubitative	6.1.6
-ca	adverb	4.5.4.
-ca	contrastive particle	7.3.4.
-(a)can	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-ci	agent	4.5.2.
-ciq	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-cAr	diminutive	4.5.1.
-cik	diminutive	4.5.1.
-ek	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-(i)γ	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-GA	dative	4.3.4.
-GA(s)	coordinative converb	6.2.4.
-yaq	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-GAK	habitual	6.1.1.
-GAK	habitual participle	6.4.2.
-GAN	narrative past	6.1.5.
-GAN	present/past participle	6.4.1.
-GAntA	temporal converb	6.4.1.1.
-GAnti	narrative past evidential	6.1.5.
-Gar	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-Ge	third person imperative	6.1.8.
-Gi	future verbal noun	6.3.8.
-Giçi	future agent	6.4.6.
-Gila	purpose	6.3.7.
-Gila	purpose converb	6.2.6.
-Gimis	negative future	6.1.2.
-Gimisti	negative future evidential	6.1.2.
-Gir	causative	6.5.1.
-Gv	manner adverb	4.5.4.
-Gv	future	6.1.2.
-hanı	terminative	6.3.4.

<i>-har</i>	resultative	6.3.3.
<i>-i</i>	copulative	7.3.1.
<i>i^hkin</i>	dubitative particle	7.3.5.
<i>-in</i>	first person imperative singular	6.1.8.
<i>-inĩ</i>	first person imperative plural	6.1.8.
<i>-ir</i>	future participle	6.4.3.
<i>-it</i>	quick action	6.3.6.
<i>-(s)ĩ(n)</i>	third person possessive	4.2.
<i>-(s)ĩn</i>	third person possessive accusative	4.2.
<i>-ĩr</i>	causative	6.5.1.
<i>-ĩs</i>	causative	6.5.1.
<i>-ĩt</i>	causative	6.5.1.
<i>-(i)k</i>	verbalizer	4.5.6.
<i>-(i)K</i>	verbal noun	6.6.3.
<i>-ka</i>	affective	4.5.1.
<i>-kĩ</i>	verbal noun	6.6.3.
<i>-Kĩ</i>	attributive noun clitic	4.4.2.
<i>-Kĩna</i>	intensive	6.2.4.
<i>-l</i>	reflexive	6.5.2.
<i>-la</i>	clause marker particle	7.3.10
<i>-LA</i>	verbalizer	4.5.6.
<i>-LAR</i>	plural	4.1.
<i>-Lĩ</i>	reflexive	6.5.2.
<i>-Lĩy</i>	adjective	4.5.3.
<i>-m</i>	question particle	7.3.8.
<i>-(i)m</i>	verbal noun	6.6.3.
<i>-ma</i>	indefinite/concessive particle	7.3.9.
<i>-MA</i>	verbal noun	6.6.1
<i>-MA</i>	negative verb	6.5.5.
<i>-maq</i>	verbal noun	6.6.3.
<i>-MAS</i>	negative habitual	6.1.1.
<i>-MAS</i>	negative habitual and future participle	6.4.4.
<i>-MAstĩ</i>	negative dubitative	6.1.6.
<i>Mi</i>	question particle	7.3.8.
<i>-Min</i>	negative converb	6.2.5.
<i>-Minĩ</i>	negative imperative first person plural	6.1.8.
<i>-Mintĩ</i>	negative past evidential	6.1.4.
<i>-(i)n</i>	reflexive	6.5.2.
<i>-(i)nçĩ</i>	ordinal	5.6.
<i>-nĩ</i>	coordinative clitic	4.4.3.
<i>-nĩ</i>	intensive particle	7.3.6.
<i>-Nĩ</i>	accusative	4.3.2.
<i>-Nĩŋ</i>	genitive	4.3.3.
<i>-(i)ŋ</i>	first/second person possessive	4.2.
<i>-(i)p</i>	compounding converb	6.2.1.
<i>pa</i>	dubitative particle	7.3.5.
<i>-(i)ppar</i>	progressive	6.1.3.

- <i>(i)pti</i>	past evidential	6.1.4.
- <i>qaſ</i>	affective	4.5.1.
-(A) <i>r</i>	verbalizer	4.5.6.
- <i>(i)rAK</i>	comparative	4.5.3.
- <i>(i)s</i>	reciprocal	6.5.3.
- <i>sA</i>	conditional	6.1.7.
- <i>sa</i>	particle	7.3.7.
- <i>sin</i>	clitic 'every'	4.4.4.
-(<i>Gï</i>) <i>s</i>	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-(<i>Gï</i>) <i>s</i>	future	6.1.2.
- <i>(i)ski</i>	spatial clitic dative	4.4.1.
- <i>(i)sti</i>	spatial clitic locative	4.4.1.
- <i>(i)stin</i>	spatial clitic ablative	4.4.1.
-(<i>Gï</i>) <i>sti</i>	future evidential	6.1.2.
- <i>t</i>	causative	6.5.1.
- <i>t</i>	intensive	6.5.1.
- <i>tA</i>	locative	4.3.5.
- <i>tAŸ</i>	equative	4.3.7.
- <i>tAn</i>	ablative	4.3.6.
- <i>tar</i>	affective	4.5.1.
- <i>tï</i>	evidential particle	7.3.2.
- <i>(h)tï</i>	past	6.1.4.
- <i>tïr</i>	existential particle	7.3.3.
- <i>tïr</i>	causative	6.5.1.
- <i>uht</i>	completive	6.3.1.
- <i>v</i>	vocative	4.3.8.
- <i>v</i>	simultaneous converb	6.2.2.
- <i>v</i>	tense auxiliary	6.3.9.
- <i>vti</i>	progressive evidential	6.1.3.
- <i>vyoq</i>	negative progressive	6.1.3.
- <i>vyoqtï</i>	negative progressive evidential	6.1.3.
- <i>(i)wal=</i>	inceptive	6.3.5.
- <i>(i)wat=</i>	finitive	6.3.2.
- <i>ya</i>	clause marker particle	7.3.10
- <i>yn</i>	first person imperative singular	6.1.8.
- <i>ynï</i>	first person imperative plural	6.1.8.

Abbreviations

1. Grammatical abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INT	intensive
ACC	accusative	JINGLE	jingle
ADJ	adjective	KI	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb	LOC	locative
AND	coordinative clitic	NAR	narrative past
AUX	tense auxiliary	NAR _{Ev}	narrative past evidential
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CN	negative converb	ONOM	onomatopoeic
COM	completive (aktionsart)	PFUT	future participle
COMP	comparative	PHAB	habitual participle
CON	compounding converb	PP	present/past participle
COND	conditional	PN	negative habitual/future participle
COO	coordinative converb	PAS	passive
COP	copulative particle	PAST	past
CPUR	purposive converb	PAST _{Ev}	past evidential
CREP	repetitive converb	PAST _{Nev}	negative past evidential
CSIM	simultaneous converb	PCL1	clause particle <i>-ya</i>
CTMP	temporal converb	PCL2	clause particle <i>-la</i>
DAT	dative	PCL3	clause particle <i>-ma</i>
DEM	demonstrative	PCL4	clause particle <i>-ça</i>
DUB	dubitative	PCL5	clause particle <i>-sa</i>
DUBN	negative dubitative	PL	plural
EQU	equative	POS1/2	1st and 2nd person possessive
EV	evidential particle	POS3	3rd person possessive
EX	existential particle	POS3ACC	3rd person possessive accusative
EXCL	exclamation	PROG	progressive
FIN	finitive (aktionsart)	PROG _{Ev}	progressive evidential
FUT	future	PROGN	negative progressive
FUT _{Ev}	future evidential	PROG _{Nev}	negative progressive evidential
FUTN	negative future	PUR	purposive
FUT _{Nev}	negative future evidential	Q	question particle
GEN	genitive	QUI	quick or sudden action (aktionsart)
HAB	habitual	REC	reciprocal
HABN	negative habitual	RES	resultative (aktionsart)
IMP1sg	1st person imperative singular	RFL	reflexive
IMP1pl	1st person imperative plural	SUP	superlative particle
IMP3	3rd person imperative	TER	terminative (aktionsart)
IMPN	negative imperative	VN	verbal noun
IN	in (spatial clitic)	VNAG	future agent noun
INC	inceptive (aktionsart)	VNFUT	future verbal noun
		VOC	vocative

2. Abbreviations of languages, sources, and authors

Alt	Altay Turkish	Ghop	Ghopuri	Nad	Nadžip
Amdo	Amdo dialect of Tibetan	Gol	Golovkina	NE	North Eastern Turkic languages
Ar	Arabic	Haen	Haenisch	Nog	Nogay
Arĭk	Arĭk dialect of Tibetan	Han	Hangin	NUyg	New Uyghur
B	Bolčuluu	Her	Hermanns	NwM	Northwest Mandarin
Bam	Bammatov	HL	Huà & Lóng	Pek	Pekarskij
BaoD	Baoan of Dàhégǎ	HY	Huá-Yí Yīyǔ	Pot	Potantin
BaoÑ	Baoan of Ñantoq	IP	Isxakov & Pal'mbax	R	Rassadin
BaoX	Baoan of Xiàzhuāng	Ir	Iranian	RI-IV	Radloff
Bas	Baskakov	Ĵ	Ĵuunast 1981	Ram	Ramstedt
BC	Bökh & Chén Náixióng	Jä	Jäschke	Räs	Räsänen
Beltir	Beltir dialect of Khakas	Jan	Janhunen	Reb-koñ	Reb-koñ dialect of Tibetan
BI	Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul	Jud	Judaxin	Roe	Roerich
BĴ	Bolčuluu & Ĵalcan 1988	Kacha	Kacha dialect of Khakas	RT	Róna-Tas
BL	Bökh & Liú Zhàoxióng	Kal	Kalmuk	S	Sūn Zhú
BSZ	Baskakov, Šapšal & Zajončkovski	Kh	Khalkha	Sagay	Sagay dialect of Khakas
BT	Baskakov & Toščakova	Khak	Khakas	Sal	Salar
C	Chén Zōngzhèn	Khal	Khalaj	SH	Secret History
Čad	Čadamba	Khas	Khasbaatar	Shnit	Shnitnikov
Čan	Čankov	Kir	Kirgiz	Šir	Širotkin
Cas	Castrén	Kot	Kotwicz	Slp	Slepcev
Ch	Chinese	Kow	Kowalewski	SM	Southern Mongolic languages
Chuv	Chuvash	Koybal	Koybal dialect of Khakas	S/M	de Smedt & Mostaert
CL	Chén Zōngzhèn & Léi Xuānchūn 1985	Kum	Kumyk	T	Tenišev
CN	Chén Náixióng	Kyzyl	Kyzyl dialect of Khakas	Tat	Tatar
CT	Common Turkic	Kzk	Kazak	TB	Huáng et al.
CZW	Chén, Zhōu & Wáng	L	Léi Xuānchūn 1992	Tofa	Tofalar
Dag	Dagur	L:Da	Dàhé speech in L	Tožū	Tožū dialect of Tuva
Dgx	Dongxiang	Les	Lessing	TT	Tenišev & Todaeva
DT	Doerfer & Tezcan	LM	Literary Mongolian	WYu	Western Yugur
Dul	Dul'zon	LT	Literary Tibetan	Xiàhé	Xiàhé dialect of Tibetan
EDPT	Clauson	M	Malov	Yak	Yakut
Enk	Enkibat	Man	Mannerheim	ZT	Nüěrbíékè et al.
ESTJa	Sevortjan	MG	Mǐn & Gěng	ZW	Zhōu & Wáng
EYu	Eastern Yugur	Mgr	Monguor		
		Mon	Monguǎ		
		Mos	Mostaert		
		Muq	Muqaddimat Al-Adab		

References

AOH	Acta Orientalia Hungarica
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
JSFOu	Journal de la Societé Finno-ougrienne
MZYW	Mínzú Yǔwén [Language and literature of teh nationalities]
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SEC	Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

De Joegoeren zijn een kleine, officieel erkende nationaliteit van 12.297 mensen, woonachtig in het Autonome Gewest Sunan Yugur in de provincie Gansu in het noordwesten van China.

De Joegoeren wonen in een regio waar talen uit vier taalfamilies, de Turkse, Mongoolse, Tibetaanse en Chinese taalfamilie, samenkomen. Taalkundig gezien kan de nationaliteit der Joegoeren zelf ook opgedeeld worden in vieren. De grootste groep vormen de Turkstalige of West-Joegoeren, ongeveer 4600 mensen; hun taal vormt het onderwerp van dit proefschrift. Daarnaast zijn er de Mongoolstalige of Oost-Joegoeren, ongeveer 2800 mensen, en een waarschijnlijk zeer kleine groep van Tibetaanstaligen. De overige Joegoeren spreken enkel Chinees. Chinees fungeert ook als contact-taal tussen alle Joegoeren, en als schriftelijk medium; het West- en Oost-Joeger zelf zijn ongeschreven talen.

De termen West- en Oost-Joegoeren zijn recentelijk door Chinese taalkundigen bedacht om verwarring te voorkomen: de eigenbenaming van beide groepen is identiek, namelijk 'Geel-Joeger'.

Het West-Joeger behoort tot de Turkse taalfamilie, die bestaat uit een dertigtal verschillende talen waarvan het Turks van Turkije de meest bekende is.

De Turkse talen kenmerken zich door agglutinatie (aanhechting), dat wil zeggen dat woordvorming en het aangeven van de functie van woorden in een zin uitgedrukt wordt door suffixen of achtervoegsels die aan het woord worden aangehecht. Op deze wijze kan bijvoorbeeld het West-Joegoerse woord **al** 'nemen', uitgebouwd worden tot **al-in** 'meenemen', en verder tot **al-in-dir** 'laten meenemen'; hieraan kan wederom een suffix toegevoegd worden dat de functie van het woord in de zin uitdrukt: **al-in-dir-gış** 'zal laten meenemen'.

Daarnaast kenmerken de Turkse talen zich door klinkerharmonie, dat wil zeggen dat de klinkers van een taal in twee groepen uiteen vallen op grond van een bepaald kenmerk, en dat in één en hetzelfde woord slechts klinkers uit één en dezelfde groep mogen voortkomen. In het West-Joeger is klinkerharmonie echter niet meer operatief, behalve in een beperkt aantal suffixen. Zo heeft het suffix van de datief, de naamval die het meewerkend voorwerp of een richting uitdrukt, twee vormen, **-gi** en **-ga**. Welke van de twee vormen aan een bepaald woord aangehecht mag worden, wordt dus (onder andere) bepaald door de klinker van dat woord, bijvoorbeeld **yü-gi** 'naar huis toe', en **pu-ga** 'hier naartoe'.

Tot slot kenmerken de Turkse talen zich door een zinsvolgorde die nogal afwijkt van de Nederlandse: de werkwoordsvorm staat helemaal aan het einde van de zin, en alle andere zinsdelen, tot en met bijzinnen toe, staan ervoor. Een voorbeeld is de West-Joeger zin **ko thogın kiginni men pilgış** 'ik weet dat hij/zij gister gekomen is', ofwel (bijna) letterlijk: 'hij/zij gister gekomen ik weet'.

Binnen de Turkse taalfamilie kan het West-Joeger ingedeeld worden bij de noord-oostelijke Turkse talen. Deze talen bevinden zich aan de rand van het Turkstalige areaal, en hebben niet deelgenomen aan de ontwikkelingen van de centrale Turkse talen, zoals het Turks, Kazaks en Nieuw-Oeigoers. Deze perifere Turkse talen, waar-

toe onder meer het Chakassisch, Toevinisch en Jakoetisch behoren, hebben een aantal oude kenmerken en woorden bewaard, die ook al werden aangetroffen in de oudste Turkse bronnen uit de 8e eeuw, maar elders verloren zijn gegaan.

Zo treedt in het West-Joegoer het zeldzame verschijnsel van preaspiratie op: een 'h-achtige' klank volgend op een klinker en voorafgaand aan een stemloze medeklinker, als bijvoorbeeld in **aḥt** 'paard'. Dit woord is niet gelijk aan het woord **at**, dat 'naam' betekent.

Dit verschijnsel blijkt nu te korresponderen met gefaryngaliseerde (met 'dichtgeknepen' keel uitgesproken) klinkers in het Toevinisch, waar het woord voor 'paard' **ạt** luidt, en met gewone korte klinkers in het Jakoetisch: **at**. De gewone korte klinkers in het West-Joegoer en Toevinisch daarentegen, zoals in het woord **at**, 'naam', korresponderen met lange klinkers in het Jakoetisch: **aat** 'naam'.

Door het opstellen van dergelijke korrespondenties beoogt de Turkologie, de studie van de Turkse talen, de onderlinge samenhang en historische ontwikkeling van de Turkse talen nader vast te stellen.

Daarnaast beoogt de Turkologie de bijzonderheden van de grammatika en de woordenschat van afzonderlijke Turkse talen te beschrijven en te analyseren. Voor het West-Joegoer, een minderheidstaal temidden van en beïnvloed door verschillende andere talen, levert dit verrassende resultaten op.

De woordenschat van het West-Joegoer wordt vooral beïnvloed door het Chinees. Dit blijkt niet alleen een grote leverancier van leenwoorden (ongeveer een vijfde van de woordenschat is van Chinese oorsprong), maar ook van woordgrappen. Een voorbeeld is het West-Joegoer woord **tahqagy** 'kip', dat ook 'prostituée' kan betekenen, vanwege de overeenkomst tussen de Chinese woorden **jī** 'kip', en **jī** 'prostituée' (de streepjes geven verschillende tonen weer). Oudere Mongoolse en Tibetaanse leenwoorden worden nu eveneens snel verdrongen door Chinese leenwoorden.

Uit het Tibetaans heeft het West-Joegoer het zogeheten verschijnsel van 'evidentiality' ('kennelijkheid') ontleend. Voor het West-Joegoer houdt dat in: een in het werkwoord uitgedrukte notie die de mate van actieve betrokkenheid van de spreker weergeeft. Standaard wordt de basisvorm van het werkwoord gebruikt voor de eerste persoon, en de 'kennelijkheidsvorm' voor de tweede en derde persoon. De spreker kan immers niet voor andere personen bepalen wat zij wensen te doen. Een voorbeeld is **men kiş** 'ik zal komen', en **kô kiştı** 'hij/zij zal komen'.

Indien de betrokkenheid van de spreker bij een handeling groot is, dan kan ook de derde persoon de basisvorm van het werkwoord krijgen, bijvoorbeeld: **maga qharô kehltı** 'ik heb een brief ontvangen' (letterlijk: 'naar mij brief is gekomen').

Indien daarentegen de actieve betrokkenheid van de spreker bij een handeling klein is, dan kan dat uitgedrukt worden door middel van de 'kennelijkheidsvorm', bijvoorbeeld: **men untıqqhattı** 'ik heb het (per ongeluk) vergeten'. In dit geval wordt de basisvorm, **men untıqqhahtı** als erg onbeleefd beschouwd, omdat deze suggereert: 'expres vergeten'.

Ook een voor de spreker ongewenste actie wordt uitgedrukt met de 'kennelijkheidsvorm', bijvoorbeeld: **men phertıştı!** 'ik zal/zou slaag krijgen!'

Het is dus niet zozeer het onderwerp dat bepaalt welke werkwoordsvorm gebruikt wordt, maar de omstandigheid.

Verder zijn er in het hedendaagse West-Joegoer verschillen waar te nemen tussen het taalgebruik van oudere en van jongere sprekers, en wel op alle nivo's van de taal: uitspraak, woordkeus en, zij het in mindere mate, de grammatika.

De toekomst van het West-Joegoer is onzeker; in het Autonome Gewest Sunan Yugur spreken ook jongeren nog steeds de taal, al is de invloed van het Chinees onmiskenbaar. Vanwege de moeilijke economische omstandigheden in het gebied echter proberen veel West-Joegoeren elders een bestaan op te bouwen, en buiten het Gewest zijn er in feite geen taalgemeenschappen groot genoeg om het spreken van de taal in stand te houden. Kinderen uit gemengde huwelijken spreken doorgaans alleen Chinees.

In dit licht is het een verheugende ontwikkeling dat onlangs Tsjongıl Jakhır, als eerste van zijn nationaliteit, gepromoveerd is in de Joegoerologie, en de studie van het West-Joegoer kan voortzetten en tevens bij de West-Joegoeren de belangstelling voor hun eigen taal kan opwekken en stimuleren.

Curriculum Vitae

Persoonlijke gegevens

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Stellingen

1. Het West-Joegoer is, evenals het Chakassisch, Toevinisch en Jakoetisch, te beschouwen als noordoostelijke Turkse taal op grond van de ontwikkeling van de Turkse *d. De noordoostelijke talen hebben slechts een klein aantal archaïsmen gemeen en zijn niet nader binnen een enkele subgroep te klassificeren, ook niet op grond van hun ontwikkeling van de Turkse *d.
2. Het verschijnsel van preaspiratie in het West-Joegoer correspondeert met gefaryngaliseerde klinkers in het Toevinisch, en met korte klinkers in het Jakoetisch. Het ontbreken van preaspiratie in het West-Joegoer en faryngalisatie in het Toevinisch correspondeert met lange klinkers in het Jakoetisch.
3. De 'evidential' in het West-Joegoer is niet gelijk aan de Turkse maar aan de Tibetaanse 'evidential': de eerste drukt een 'inferential' uit of informatie van 'horen zeggen', de laatste drukt de mate van controle van de kant van de spreker op de in het werkwoord uitgedrukte handeling uit.
4. Het taalmateriaal van Chén en Léi is geschreven in een archaïserende spelling en weerspiegelt niet de hedendaagse uitspraak van het West-Joegoer.
5. Tenishev's veronderstelling (1976a: 633) dat de Oost-Joegoeren gemongoliseerde West-Joegoeren zouden zijn, verklaart niet de oorsprong van de Oost-Joegoerse taal.
6. Het niet onderkennen van de rol van taalkontakt heeft ertoe geleid dat de noordelijke Altay-dialekten ten onrechte geklassificeerd zijn als behorende tot de noordoostelijke Turkse talen.
7. Ondanks hun titels kunnen de woordenboeken van Sevortjan (1974-) en Clauson (1972) niet als etymologische woordenboeken van het Turks beschouwd worden aangezien zij de ontwikkeling van woorden niet verklaren.
8. Dat Radloff's 'Proben' (1866-1907) en 'Wörterbuch' (1893-1911) van de Turkse talen nog steeds worden gebruikt, bewijst het belang van het vastleggen van taalgegevens.
9. Als AIO-schap en zwangerschap onverenigbaar zijn, dan is wetenschap onverenigbaar met het leven.
10. Velen zijn bereid je de weg te wijzen, maar slechts weinigen om je de proviand te bieden voor de reis (Tibetaans spreekwoord).