

17

Word structure and word formation in Western Yugur

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Introduction

The Yugur are one of the smallest ethnic minorities in north-western China. They speak distinct languages: Western Yugur (a Turkic language), Eastern Yugur (a Mongolic language) and the local Mandarin Chinese dialect. Both Western and Eastern Yugur are critically endangered, with about 2,000 speakers each. Although Western Yugur is a Turkic language and Eastern Yugur is a Mongolic language, speakers of both identify themselves as a single ethnic group.

Western Yugur is an agglutinative language with word structures formed in a highly synthetic way with numerous derivational and inflectional bound morphemes. This chapter analyses and discusses the structure of words and explores word formation processes of Western Yugur, including derivational affixes, compounding and reduplication. It first briefly outlines the sources of vocabulary, including inherited words from Old Turkic, words that are shared with Eastern Yugur and some other Turkic languages, loanwords and regional variants in Western Yugur. It then introduces the main features and strategies of word formation, such as explaining how new words are formed or modified by using derivational suffixes from existing stems, as well as describing commonly occurring Western Yugur lexical categories.

Sources of vocabulary

Inheritance

Western Yugur has many words inherited from a stock of Old Turkic. Some of the basic words that are inherited from Old Turkic include *haya*¹ [hɑ'jä] 'palm' < *aya*; *qhar* ['qʰɑr] 'snow' < *kær*; *ghara* [qɑ'rä:] 'black' < *kara*; *gem* ['kɛm] 'disease' < *kem*; *ghəz* ['quz] 'girl' < *kəz*; *ghozə* [qo'zu] 'lamb' < *kozə*; *mün* 'broth' < *mün*; *qhol* ['qʰol] 'to beg' < *qol*; *qhun* ['qʰun] 'to rob' < *qun*; *suyun* 'deer' < *soyun*; *üm* 'pants' < *üm*; *yiy* 'raw' < *yig*; *yoyurt* 'yoghurt' < *yoyurt* (Kāshgharī 2002; Roos 2000; Chen 2004; Zhong 2009); *arəy* [ɑruy] 'clean' < *arig* (Erdal, 2004, 151); *taghayə* [tʰäqəyui] 'chicken' < *takəyu*; *shəyan* 'mouse' < *säqyan*; *ghuzyun* 'chough (crow)' < *kuzyun*; *qholtək* 'armpit' < *koltik*; *talghan* 'roasted flour' < *talkan*; *yəl* 'year' < *yil* (Kāshgharī 1982, 2002).

Vocabulary shared with Eastern Yugur and other Turkic languages

Western Yugur and Eastern Yugur languages share a great deal of common vocabulary, such as *alma* 'fruit', *aq* 'white', *arakə* 'alcohol', *arsəlan* 'lion', *ayar* 'slow', *bagha* 'frog', *barəs* 'tiger', *bejen* 'monkey', *bel* 'waist', *buləd* 'cloud', *chəmək* 'sneak', *dagha* 'uncle (mother's brother)', *erle* 'to stand', *hərte* 'early', *haryal* 'dry cow dung', *jara* 'hedgehog', *keqen* 'guest', *kər* 'dirty', *kömbesh* 'Yugur woman's head-ornaments', *mərsh* 'cat', *qer* 'sputum', *qhurghəra* 'to snore', *saghal* 'beard', *saghə* 'to wait', *sham* 'shovel', *shəngər* 'to blow (the nose)', *tazmaq* 'riddle', *tege* 'buck (male goat)', *yazmaq* 'Yugur pancake', *yiləm* 'tasteless', *yirəng* 'nasal mucus'.² Semantically, they also share some similar features, e.g. *səmək* (Western Yugur) and *yasən* (Eastern Yugur) both mean 'bone', but they also mean 'surname'. In terms of word formation, both Western and Eastern Yugur also share some common derivational affixes, e.g. verbal suffix *-la* (see below for derived verbs from nouns/adjectives) and nominal suffix *-ma* (see below for derived nouns from verbs). Sometimes multiple derivational suffixes can be used for a stem

1 See Appendix for a description of the practical orthography.

2 Some Eastern Yugur words are drawn from an Eastern Yugur dictionary (Yugur Culture Research Office 2017).

to create another part of speech, e.g. *gəldən*- ‘smooth and glossy, reflecting light, shining’, *gəldə-le*- ‘smooth and glossy-vBZ; to glint, flash or shine’, *gəldəle-me* ‘to flash-NMZ; flashlight’.

Table 17.1 gives examples of words common to Western Yugur and other Turkic languages but not necessarily shared by Eastern Yugur or Mongolian. These are used as the basis for lexicostatistic comparison among Western Yugur with several other Turkic languages³ – Turkish with some geographically close Turkic languages, including Salar, Kazakh and Uyghur – as well as with some neighbouring Mongolic languages, including Eastern Yugur and Mongolian. According to the lexicostatistic results, Western Yugur shares slightly more common words with other Turkic languages if they are geographically closer (50.9 per cent word similarity with Salar, 47.3 per cent with Kazakh, 46.7 per cent with Uyghur, 45.5 per cent with Turkish). In addition, the proportion of words shared with Eastern Yugur is 10.2 per cent, which is high even though Eastern Yugur is a Mongolic language. There is clearly language contact, because Mongolian only shares 2.4 per cent of words with Western Yugur.

Table 17.1: A selection of Western Yugur (WY) words compared to other languages.

Meaning	WY	Old Turkic	Turkish	Uyghur	Kazakh	Salar	EY	Mongolian
‘foot’	<i>azaq</i>	<i>ayak</i>	<i>ayak</i>	<i>ayaq</i>	<i>ayaq</i>	<i>ayaq</i>	<i>köl</i>	<i>khöl</i>
‘mountain’	<i>tay</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>dağ</i>	<i>tagh</i>	<i>tag</i>	<i>dağ</i>	<i>uula</i>	<i>uul</i>
‘wing’	<i>qhanat</i>	<i>kanat</i>	<i>kanat</i>	<i>qanat</i>	<i>qanat</i>	<i>qanat</i>	<i>hhanad</i>	<i>dalavch</i>
‘bird’	<i>qhush</i>	<i>kuş</i>	<i>kuş</i>	<i>qush</i>	<i>qus</i>	<i>quş</i>	<i>shuun</i>	<i>shuvuu</i>
‘black’	<i>ghara</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>qara</i>	<i>qara</i>	<i>qara</i>	<i>hhara</i>	<i>khar</i>
‘five’	<i>bes</i>	<i>beş</i>	<i>beş</i>	<i>bash</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>beş</i>	<i>ta:wən</i>	<i>tav</i>
‘narrow’	<i>tar</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>engəs</i>	<i>nariin</i>

Note: EY = Eastern Yugur.

Borrowed words

Western Yugur has undergone a long history of language contact with Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. Thus, borrowing from other languages is a valuable source of words for Western Yugur, which has been greatly

³ More examples of similarities and differences between the words of these languages can be found from the author’s PhD dissertation (Zhong 2019) which provides more comparison of the words based on the Swadesh list, but also the lexicostatistic comparison method.

enriched by borrowings from Mongolian and Tibetan⁴ languages, such as *teryen* ‘vehicle’ < *teyen*; *arja* [a^hrʰtɕa] ‘cypress’ < *arɕa*; *neme* ‘to add’ < *neme* and *yada* ‘cannot’ < *yata*, which are Mongolian loanwords (Nugteren and Roos 1996; Roos 2000; Chen 2004; Zhong 2009); and *argam* ‘chunk’ < *sgam*, *kiwer* ‘scholar’ < *kiwe*, *shat* [ʃa^ht] ‘calf’ < *šad* and *balang* [pa^hlaŋ] ‘ox; bovine’ < *walang* ‘cattle; ox; cow’ which are Tibetan loanwords (Nugteren and Roos 1998; Roos 2000; Chen 2004; Zhong 2009), and most of these words are also shared with Eastern Yugur. Some semantic domains are particularly prone to borrowing; for example, because Yugur people follow the Gelug form of Tibetan Buddhism, the language contains a large number of Tibetan religious terms, e.g. *bando* [paⁿtu] ‘young monk; Buddhist disciple; novice in the Buddhist orders’ < *wande*; *qhorlo* [q^hor^hlo] ‘prayer wheel’ < *k^hor-lo*. These two terms are still widely used, but despite some revival of interest in Tibetan Buddhism, many of the religious terms are mainly used in local Buddhist temples nowadays. Western Yugur and Eastern Yugur share many common loanwords, with either the same or similar pronunciations, e.g. *dem* [tem] ‘tea kettle; teapot’ < *tem* (Tibetan); *cham* [tʃ^ham] ‘sorcerer’s dance; religious dance performed by monks’ < *ɕam* (Tibetan) (Nugteren and Roos 1998).

Currently, Western Yugur is heavily influenced by Mandarin Chinese. There is a massive influx of Chinese loanwords, particularly in scientific and technological domains. Nowadays, every Western Yugur speaker can speak Chinese, and people frequently use Chinese words in their speech, both using established loanwords and by code-mixing. The loanwords originate not only from standard Mandarin Chinese but also from the local Chinese variety of the Northwestern Mandarin dialect (Lanyin dialect). They have been adapted to the Western Yugur phonemic system, and the Mandarin tones are not retained in Western Yugur.

Regional variants

There are significant regional variants in the Western Yugur language. The two most widely recognised variant groups can be characterised geographically as the Dahe and Minghua regions (but there are variant dialects also existing in the Lianhua and Minghai areas of the Minghua

4 The Tibetan borrowed words in both Western and Eastern Yugur are mostly derived from local Tibetan dialects which belong to Amdo Tibetan. Those loanwords are especially found from the Arik (Arik) Tibetan dialect spoken in Qilian County, Qinghai Province, which is close to the Yugur region (Nugteren and Roos 1998).

region). These two varieties are basically mutually intelligible; however, there are some differences between the two main dialects as shown in Table 17.2. There are also some significant pronunciation and grammatical differences between these two varieties, especially with respect to morphophonological variation in suffixes. For example, Minghua: *Sen nar be?* vs Dahe: *Sen nō bari?* (you+what+doing) ‘What are you doing?’.

Table 17.2: A selection of words that differ between the Dahe and Minghua dialect groups.

Meaning	Dahe	Minghua
‘elder brother’	<i>goga</i>	<i>agha</i>
‘elder sister’	<i>agha</i>	<i>ghəzagha</i>
‘grandmother’	<i>nana</i>	<i>aygha</i>
‘ant’	<i>shəyolzhen</i>	<i>soryochən</i>

Note: Examples in this chapter are based on the Minghua variant.

Word formation processes

Like other Turkic languages, the fundamental word formation mechanism in Western Yugur is suffixation. Suffixes are often used to form and modify words and meanings from existing stems. The meanings of the new forms may be transparently derived from the meanings of the stems and the meanings of the suffixes, or the meanings may be non-compositional, and not always apparent from the meanings of the stem and the suffix. In Western Yugur, most suffixes exhibit allomorphy, and the choice of allomorph usually depends on the vowel harmony rules. For example, one of the verbal suffixes has two forms, *-la* (as in *chə-la* ‘to be angry’) and *-le* (as in *kər-le* ‘to make dirty’), with only the vowel alternating. In the following subsections, we usually list the most common affixes first. Also, the most common allomorph will be used in the descriptions, and the other allomorphs will be pointed out. This chapter focuses on two broad lexical categories in Western Yugur – nominal and verbal.

Derivational affixes

In Western Yugur, suffixes are used to derive new words, including changing the word class from nominal to verb and vice versa, from noun to adjective or vice versa, from verb to adjective, or also from a noun to a new noun,

which does not change the word class. Three elements are significant when dealing with derivational affixes: a) allomorph; b) underlying form of a word stem; and c) the result of the new word. The following sections will illustrate the creation of verbs from nouns or adjectives (N/ADJ>V), the creation of nouns or adjectives from verbs (V>N/ADJ), the creation of other nouns from nouns (N>N) and the creation of adjectives from nouns (N>ADJ) or vice versa (ADJ>N), although the latter is very rare.

Derived verbs from nouns/adjectives

A derivational morpheme that attaches to a noun stem or an adjective stem can convert the new word into a verb. We can call this morpheme a verbal suffix or verbaliser (VBZ). Three verbalisers *-la*, *-(y)ar* and *-(a)l* will be analysed in this section.

1) *-la* is one of the most productive verbal suffixes. This verbaliser has allomorphs *-le*,⁵ *-da* and *-de*⁶ which follow the vowel harmony rules. The general rules are that the *-lV* form is added after vowel-final, or *-r* and *-l* final stems, whereas the *-dV* form is added after other consonant-final stems. The choice between *-a* and *-e* in the suffix is usually determined by the front/back vowel harmony, but there are some exceptions, such as *qhayji* ‘scissors’, *qhayji-la* ‘scissors-VBZ; to cut (with scissors)’. It is often attached after a noun stem or an adjective stem to form a verb that denotes an action, and its meaning is related to the noun or adjective stem.

(i) This suffix can form both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples of transitive verbs include *kər-le* ‘dirt-VBZ; to make dirty’ and *dəs-de* ‘tooth-VBZ; to bite (do something with the teeth)’, as used in the following examples (1) and (2):

- (1) *men bu gezgə-nə kər-le-wat-də.*
 1.SG DEM clothing-ACC dirt-VBZ-ASP.FINIT-PST
 ‘I made this dress dirty.’

- (2) *go mərsh men-nə bər dəs-de-də.*
 DEM cat 1.SG-ACC a/one tooth-VBZ-PST
 ‘That cat bit me.’

5 The form *-le* is also used as a Passive voice marker in Western Yugur.

6 The forms *-da/-de* are also homophonous with the Locative case marker in Western Yugur.

Examples of intransitive verbs include *chə-la* ‘anger-VBZ; to be angry’ and *rhəzaq-da* ‘nonsense-VBZ; to talk nonsense, to be troublesome’, as used in the following examples (3) and (4):

- (3) *go kəsi chə-la-ya.*
 DEM person anger-VBZ-CVB.NAR
 ‘That person is angry.’
- (4) *go kəsi rhəzaq-da-ya.*
 DEM person nonsense-VBZ-CVB.NAR
 ‘That person talks nonsense.’

(ii) As demonstrated in Table 17.3, this verbal suffix can be attached after different types of noun stems which reflect diverse semantic domains. For example, some stems may express abstract emotions, e.g. *chə-* ‘anger’, *chəla* ‘to be angry’; some stems may express concrete meanings, e.g. *qhayji-* ‘scissors’, *qhayjila* ‘to cut (use scissors)’; and some stems may express body parts, e.g. *dəs-* ‘tooth’, *dəsde* ‘to bite’. This verbaliser can also be attached to some adjective stems to express states.

Table 17.3: Verbs formed from noun/adjective stems by adding -la.

Noun/adj stem	Meaning of stem	Verb	Meaning of verb
<i>yer-</i>	‘song’	<i>yerla</i>	‘to sing’
<i>kər-</i>	‘dirt’	<i>kərle</i>	‘to be dirty’
<i>turgha-</i>	‘button; fastener’	<i>turghala</i>	‘to button up’
<i>gələk-</i>	‘lock’	<i>gələkde</i>	‘to lock’
<i>bash-</i>	‘head’	<i>bashda</i>	‘to start’
<i>zhas-</i>	‘light; sunshine’	<i>zhasda</i>	‘lightning (v), to light up, (of the sun) to shine’
<i>arya-</i>	‘lazy’	<i>aryala</i>	‘to be lazy’
<i>qhəsgha-</i>	‘short (in length)’	<i>qhəsghala</i>	‘to be short’
<i>toɣ-</i>	‘empty’	<i>toɣla</i>	‘to be hungry’

When creating new words, there may be some significant sound changes involved when adding the suffixes to the stems, e.g. *qhutghə* ‘throat’, *qburghə-la* ~ *qburghə-ra* ‘to snore’. There is another example, where the stem is *doghər-* ‘round’ and the verb formed is *doghə-la*, which can mean ‘to fall; to fall over oneself; to lie (on a bed casually)’, and it can also extend to an imperative metaphoric meaning ‘(to) go away’. The metaphoric meaning may be associated with the Mandarin Chinese word *gǔn* 滚 ‘to roll; (to) go away’.

(iii) In addition, the *-la* allomorph (but not other allomorphs) is productive and can be attached to loan words. Different to the previous rules, not only can it attach to a noun loan word, e.g. *gəda-* ‘lump’ (which is borrowed from Mandarin Chinese *gēda* 疙瘩), *gədala* ‘to roll into a ball’, but it can also attach to loan words which are verbs in the Mandarin language, as shown in examples (5) and (6):

- (5) (*sen*) *dəs-nə* *shua-la*.
 (2.SG) tooth-ACC brush-VBZ
 ‘Brush (your) teeth.’ (Here *shua* is a borrowed word from Mandarin Chinese *shuā* 刷 which means ‘to brush’.)
- (6) *men* *pudəy* *da-la-pbar*.
 1.SG word type-VBZ-CONT
 ‘I am typing words.’ (Here *da* is a borrowed word from Mandarin Chinese *dā* 打 which means ‘to type’.)

2) *-(y)ar* is a productive verbal suffix, which mostly forms intransitive verbs. This verbaliser has an allomorph *-(y)er*, and the choice between *-a-* and *-e-* is usually determined by the front/back vowel harmony. It is commonly attached to colour words to form intransitive verbs, expressing the meaning ‘to become COLOUR’; if the suffix is attached to other noun stems (rare), it may have an active meaning ‘to ACT in some way’. Its form changes as follows:

(i) For the colour words, the ending *-(y)ar* can follow monosyllabic morphemes directly (see Table 17.4). If a stem ends with the aspirated voiceless velar stop <k>, then <k> will change to the unaspirated velar fricative <ɣ> or uvular stop <gh>, such as *gük* ‘blue, green (‘grue’), *güyer-gügher* ‘to become blue or green (‘grue’), where *güyer-gügher* is a variant used by speakers in Lianhua community and perhaps elsewhere. If the colour words have more than one syllable, the final syllable will be replaced by the *-ar* suffix (e.g. *ghəzəl* ‘red’, *ghəzar* ‘to become red or to be roasted’); but if the onset consonant of the last syllable is an alveolar tap *-r-*, then *-yar* will be attached after *-r-*, such as *sarɣy* ‘yellow’, *saryar* ‘to become yellow’.

(ii) This suffix is productive for creating intransitive verbs by attaching it to a colour word, but exceptionally it can be added after a noun stem to form a transitive verb, such as *su* ‘water’, *suyar* ‘to give animals water’ (this is the only example I have found).

Table 17.4: Verbs formed from colour words by adding -(y)ar.

Colour word	Meaning of colour word	Verb	Meaning of verb
<i>aq</i>	'white'	<i>ayar~aghar</i>	'to become white'
<i>yasəl</i>	'green'	<i>yasar</i>	'to become green'
<i>ghonyar</i>	'purple or brown'	<i>ghonyar</i>	'to become purple or brown'
<i>ghara</i>	'black'	<i>gharyar</i>	'to become black'

(iii) The suffix *-yar* can be attached to loan words, especially colour words, but it does not follow vowel harmony. For example, sometimes speakers say *hui(se)* 灰(色) 'grey colour' in Chinese and add the suffix *-yar* to the word, *huiyar* 'to become grey'.

3) *-(a)l* is often added after an adjective to form an inchoative verb to express 'to become ...', which is especially common after a quantity adjective (see Table 17.5). This verbaliser has an allomorph *-(e)l*, and the choice between *-e-* and *-a-* is determined by the front/back vowel harmony. It usually appears after a monosyllabic stem with a consonant ending. The *-(a)l* suffix may be related to the *-(y)ar* suffix.

Table 17.5: Verbs formed from adjective stems by adding -al.

Adjective stem	Meaning of stem	Verb	Meaning of verb
<i>az</i>	'few'	<i>azal</i>	'to decrease (to become few)'
<i>göp</i>	'many'	<i>göpel</i>	'to increase (to become many)'

Derived nouns/adjectives from verbs

A derivational morpheme that attaches to a verb stem can convert a word into a noun or an adjective. We can call this morpheme a nominal suffix or nominaliser (NMZ). The nominalisers *-(e)k*, *-(ə)ɣ*, *-ɣə*, *-gəsh*, *-maq*, *-yaq*, *-(a)zhang* and *-t* will be examined successively in the following sections.

1) The nominaliser *-(e)k* can be attached after a verb stem and sometimes makes a noun denoting a tool or another thing which is related to the verb stem; or it sometimes makes adjectives denoting states which are related to the verb stem (see Table 17.6). It has an allomorph *-(ə)k*, and the choice between *-e-* and *-ə-* is determined by front/back vowel harmony. The *-k* form is added after vowel-final stems, whereas the *-ek* and *-ək* forms are added after consonant-final stems. If a stem ends with the aspirated voiceless alveolar stop <ɬ>, then the <ɬ> will change to the unaspirated alveolar stop <d>, such as *yüat* 'to be shy', *yüadək* 'timid'.

Table 17.6: Nouns/adjectives formed from verb stems by adding -(e)k.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun/adj	Meaning of noun/adj
<i>ele-</i>	'to sift'	<i>elek</i>	'sieve'
<i>dara-</i>	'to comb'	<i>darak</i>	'comb'
<i>em-</i>	'to suck'	<i>emek</i> ⁷	'breast'
<i>ber-</i>	'to give'	<i>berek</i>	'gift'
<i>haza-</i>	'to limp'	<i>hazak</i>	'lame'
<i>yüat-</i>	'to be shy'	<i>yüadək</i>	'timid'
<i>ölü-</i>	'to kill'	<i>ölük</i>	'dead'
<i>bezə-</i>	'to became big; to grow up'	<i>bezək</i>	'big'

2) The nominaliser *-(ə)γ* can be added after some of the verb stems to form a noun or an adjective which indicates the result of an action or one of the actions (see Table 17.7). It sometimes makes nouns denoting tools, food or other things which are related to the meaning of the verb stem; or it sometimes forms an adjective denoting a state which is related to the verb stem. The suffix *-əγ* usually appears only with monosyllabic consonant-stems and forms disyllabic words, such as *dal* 'to plant', *daləγ* 'wheat', *sal* 'to put, to place', *saləγ* 'heavy'. If a stem ends with the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop <t>, then <t> will change to the unaspirated alveolar stop <d>, such as *sat* 'to sell', *sadəγ* 'trade; business', *dat* 'to taste', *dadəγ* 'tasty, delicious; sweet'.

Table 17.7: Nouns/adjectives formed from verb stems by adding -(ə)γ.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun/adj	Meaning of noun/adj
<i>yama-</i>	'to sew'	<i>yamay</i>	'patch'
<i>sat-</i>	'to sell'	<i>sadəγ</i>	'trade; business'
<i>dal-</i>	'to plant'	<i>daləγ</i>	'wheat'
<i>dəz-</i>	'to write'	<i>dəzəγ</i>	'pen'
<i>em-</i>	'to suck'	<i>eməγ</i>	'breast'
<i>dat-</i>	'to taste'	<i>dadəγ</i>	'tasty, delicious; sweet'
<i>sal-</i>	'to put, to place'	<i>saləγ</i>	'heavy'
<i>erle-</i>	'to stand'	<i>erləγ</i>	'tall; high'

⁷ Note: *emek* 'breast' also has a variant, *eməγ*.

3) The nominaliser *-ɣə* can be attached after monosyllabic and multisyllabic intransitive verb stems, but only if a stem ends with a vowel or the alveolar tap (see Table 17.8). The suffix *-ɣə* can also be attached to some of the verbs and forms a kind of meaning as an act or an ability of a behaviour, such as *angna-* ‘to listen’, *angnayə* ‘an act of listening’.

Table 17.8: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding *-ɣə*.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>bule-</i>	‘to grind’	<i>buleɣə</i>	‘grindstone’
<i>gör-</i>	‘to see’	<i>göryə</i>	‘sight’

4) The nominaliser *-gəsh* can be attached after some of the verb stems to form a noun which indicates the means of an action. This nominaliser has allomorphs *-sh* and *-ghəsh*. The suffix *-sh* appears after a vowel-final stem, and the suffix *-gəsh/ghəsh* appears after a consonant-final stem (see Table 17.9).

Table 17.9: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding *-(gə)sh*.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>yi-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>yish</i>	‘food’
<i>əsh-</i>	‘to drink; to eat’	<i>əshgəsh</i>	‘drink; beverage; food’
<i>yü-</i>	‘to wash’	<i>yüş</i>	‘dishcloth’
<i>pude-</i>	‘to blow’	<i>pudesh</i>	‘flute; harmonica’
<i>oyna-</i>	‘to play’	<i>oynash</i>	‘toy’
<i>borda-</i>	‘to feed’	<i>bordash</i>	‘animal fodder’
<i>tut-</i>	‘to hold’	<i>tutghəsh</i>	‘pot-holder’ (some people also use it to denote chopsticks)
<i>tart-</i>	‘to pull’	<i>tartghəsh</i>	‘steelyard balance’ (sometimes also refers to spring balance)

5) The nominaliser *-maq* is added after a verb stem to create a noun which often indicates the result of an action (see Table 17.10). It can also be placed after a noun stem to create another noun (see below for derived nouns from adjectives/nouns).

Table 17.10: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding *-maq*.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>yaz-</i>	‘to spread’	<i>yazmaq</i>	‘Yugur pancake’
<i>taz-</i>	‘to guess’	<i>tazmaq</i>	‘riddle’

6) The nominaliser *-yaq* is added after a verb stem to create a noun which often indicates a tool related to the action (see Table 17.11).

Table 17.11: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding *-yaq*.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>or-</i>	'to cut; to scythe; to harvest'	<i>oryaq</i>	'scythe; sickle'
<i>tamdər-</i>	'to light the fire'	<i>tamdəryaq</i>	'match'

7) The nominaliser *-(a)zhang* suffix changes a verb to create a noun meaning a person with a certain feature associated with that verb (see Table 17.12).

Table 17.12: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding *-zhang*.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>qhorq-</i>	'to be frightened; to be scared; to fear'	<i>qhorghazhang</i>	'coward'
<i>yüat-</i>	'to be shy'	<i>yüatazhang</i>	'shy/timid person'
<i>lodəla-</i>	'to chatter'	<i>lodəzhang</i>	'chatterbox'

8) The nominaliser *-t* is added after a verb stem to form a noun which indicates the result of an action, e.g. *yoyur-* 'to knead; to thicken', *yoyurt* 'yoghurt'. Only one or two examples have been found to create a noun which indicates a state or a result of the action.

Derived nouns (phrases) from verbs (phrases)

In the previous section, we discussed suffixes that create nouns from verbs. However, in addition, a deverbal suffix *-ma* can attach to a verb stem or verb phrase and change it to a noun or noun phrase. It has an allomorph *-me*, and the choice between *-a* and *-e* is generally, but not always, determined by the front/back vowel harmony. This suffix makes a noun which denotes a tool or something related to the verb phrase or verb stem (see Table 17.13), or a noun phrase which often denotes an occupation or a tool. The expressions created this way are colloquial.

Table 17.13: Nouns formed from verb stems by adding -ma.

Verb stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>qhala-</i>	'to cover'	<i>qhalama</i>	'cover' (can refer to <i>qhabaq</i> 'lid')
<i>choghə-</i>	'to sit'	<i>choghəma</i> ⁸	'something you can sit on' (can refer to a chair)
<i>pude-</i>	'to blow'	<i>pudema</i>	'something you can blow through' (can refer to <i>pudesh</i> 'flute or harmonica')
<i>soyü-</i>	'to peel'	<i>soyüme</i>	'peeler'
<i>xör-</i>	'to sweep'	<i>xörme</i> ⁹	'broom'
<i>gəldəle-</i>	'to flash or glint'	<i>gəldəleme</i>	'flashlight'

Often, a phrase consists of a noun followed by a verb, and the plural form can be attached after the *-ma* suffix. The pattern is (Noun)+Verb+ma+(PL). For example:

- (7) *ghoy hhoghar-ma* (sheep herd-NMZ) = *ghoyzhi* 'shepherd'
sharh qhayji-la-ma (hair scissors-VBZ-NMZ) = 'barber'
gem ghala-ma-lar (disease look-NMZ-PL) = 'doctors'
semen qhandər-ma-lar (meal cook-NMZ-PL) = 'chefs'
yər xör-me (earth/ground sweep-NMZ) = *xörme* 'broom'

The following example sentences (8), (9) and (10) demonstrate the usages of the *-ma* construction:

- (8) *bu gem ghala-ma-do.*
 DEM disease look-NMZ-EV
 'This is a doctor (informal).'
- (9) *sharh qhayji-la-ma-lar gel-əp-də.*
 hair scissors-VBZ-NMZ-PL come-PST-EV
 'The barbers have come (informal).'

⁸ *choghə* has a variant form, *choghey* 'to sit', *chogheyima* 'chair'. The counterpart in Eastern Yugur is *zhoghey-* 'to sit', *zhogheyima* 'chair'.

⁹ The counterpart in Eastern Yugur is *xür-* 'to sweep', *xürme* 'broom'.

- (10) *ma-ya qhala-ma-dan bər ber.*
1.SG-DAT cover-NMZ-ABL one/a give
‘Give me a cover (depending on the context, ‘cover’ here may refer to a blanket, a lid, or something else) (informal).’

The *-ma* suffix can also be placed after a borrowed noun and/or verb to express someone’s related work. For example: *teryen kai-la-ma* (vehicle drive-VBZ-NMZ) = ‘driver’ (*kai* > *kāi* 开 ‘to drive’ in Chinese); *dianno xiu-la-ma-lar* (computer repair-VBZ-NMZ-PL) = ‘people who can repair a computer or computer repair people’ (*diaono* > *diànnǎo* 电脑 ‘computer’ in Chinese; *xiu* > *xiū* 修 ‘to repair’ in Chinese).

In both cases above, *-la* is a verbaliser in Western Yugur used to create verbs from loanwords (even though these loanwords are already verbs in the original language), and is usually used with the nominaliser *-ma* on loanwords.

Derived nouns from adjectives/nouns

1) The deadjectival suffix *-maq* can be added after an adjective stem to create a noun expressing a certain feature associated with that adjective (see Table 17.14). There are some words which appear to have *-maq* as a frozen affix, where the meaning of the first part is no longer recognisable for modern speakers, e.g. *lomaq* ‘story’ and *zhəmaq* ‘wooden stick’. As previously seen for derived nouns/adjectives from verbs, *-maq* can also be added after a verb stem to create a noun.

Table 17.14: Nouns formed from adjective stems by adding *-maq*.

Adj stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>ghara-</i>	‘black’	<i>gharamaq</i>	‘fruit (with black colour) from a type of nitre bush’
<i>ghəzəl-</i>	‘red’	<i>ghəzəlmaq</i>	‘fruit (with red colour) from a type of nitre bush’
<i>hati-</i>	‘little, small’	<i>hatimaq</i>	‘little finger’

2) There is also a derivational affix that does not change word class. The denominal suffix *-zhi* [ʈʂɪ] can be used after a noun stem to create another noun. The *-zhi* suffix changes a noun, sometimes even an adjective (but is not productive), to create another noun meaning a person with the practice or occupation associated with that stem (see Table 17.15). For example, the noun *yolzhi* ‘traveller’ derives from the noun *yol* ‘road’.

Note that the suffix *-zhi* can only attach to the singular form of a noun stem. However, the plural form *-ler* can be placed after the suffix *-zhi*, so that *mal* ‘livestock’ forms *malzhi* ‘herdsman’, and the plural form is *malzhiler* ‘herdsmen’.

Table 17.15: Nouns formed from noun or adjective stems by adding -zhi.

Noun/adjective stem	Meaning of stem	Noun	Meaning of noun
<i>sut-</i>	‘milk’	<i>sutzhi</i>	‘milkman’
<i>satəy-</i>	‘business’	<i>satəyzhi</i>	‘merchant’
<i>ghoy-</i>	‘sheep’	<i>ghoyzhi</i>	‘shepherd’
<i>sholbaq-</i>	‘mud’	<i>sholbaqzhi</i>	‘bricklayer’
<i>yiγash-</i>	‘wood’	<i>yiγashzhi</i>	‘carpenter’
<i>dəs-</i>	‘tooth’	<i>dəszhi</i>	‘dentist’
<i>pudəy-</i>	‘book’	<i>pudəyzhi</i>	‘scholar; teacher’
<i>bash-</i>	‘head’	<i>bashzhi</i>	‘leader’
<i>chəmək-</i>	‘sneak; in a sneaky way’	<i>chəməkzhi</i>	‘thief’
<i>uzuq-</i>	‘lie’	<i>uzuqzhi</i>	‘liar’
<i>qholghə-</i>	‘beg’	<i>qholghəzhi</i>	‘beggar’
<i>arγa-</i>	‘lazy’	<i>arγazhi</i>	‘lazy person’
<i>ara</i>	‘middle; in-between’	<i>arazhi</i>	‘matchmaker’
<i>göryə-</i>	‘sight’	<i>göryəzhi</i>	‘witness’
<i>angnayə-</i>	‘an act of listening’	<i>angnayəzhi</i>	‘listener; audience’

Another example is *yorəmzhi* ‘spider’, which is derived from *yorəm* ‘weaving product’ ← *yor* ‘to weave’. In addition, the *-zhi* suffix is productive and it can be attached to a borrowed word. For example, *diannozhi* (diaono > diànnǎo ‘computer’ in Chinese) means ‘an IT person or someone very good with computers’ or sometimes may refer to a ‘computer repair person’; *pozhi* (*po* > *pào* ‘gun’ in Chinese) ‘hunter’.

It is clear from this section that some suffixes can attach to more than one word class to create new words: *-maq* can create nouns from verbs and, marginally, adjectives; and *-zhi* can create new nouns from nouns and, marginally, adjectives.

Derived adjectives from nouns

The suffix *-ləy* can be added after certain noun stems to form adjectives which indicate a state related to that particular noun stem. It has allomorphs *-lək*, *-dəy* and *-nəy*, and the general rules are:

- (i) the suffix *-ləy* appears after a vowel-final stem, as well as a consonant-final stem (except for plosives and fricatives), e.g. *ayəy-* ‘destiny; fate’, *ayəyləy* ‘lucky; fortunate’; *kəsi-* ‘person’, *kəsiləy* ‘inhabited’;
- (ii) the suffix *-lək* is a variant of *-ləy*, e.g. *mula-* ‘child’, *mulələk* ‘childish’;
- (iii) the suffix *-dəy* form appears after a plosive-final stem and a fricative-final stem, e.g. *ad-* ‘name’, *addəy* ‘famous’; *ghəsh-* ‘colour’, *ghəshdəy* ‘coloured; with strong colour’;
- (iv) the suffix *-nəy* form appears after a nasal-final stem, e.g. *zhan-* ‘life’, *zhannəy* ‘alive’.

However, synchronically the reasons for the choice of the form of suffixes are less clear and the form *-ləy* appears to be taking over for some speakers, e.g. the rules presented above predict that the form for ‘stony’ (*tas* ‘stone’) should be *tasdəy*, but some speakers say *tasləy* instead. Table 17.16 shows more examples of adjectives which are derived from nouns.

Table 17.16: Adjectives formed from noun stems by adding *-ləy*.

Noun stem	Meaning of stem	Adjective	Meaning of adjective
<i>qhum-</i>	‘sand’	<i>qhumləy</i>	‘sandy’
<i>telək-</i>	‘hole’	<i>teləkləy</i>	‘holey’
<i>boz-</i>	‘body’	<i>bozdəy</i>	‘tall’ (as in a person’s height)

Compounds

Compounding is a productive word formation procedure in Western Yugur. Syntactically, there are nominal compounds and verbal compounds. Semantically, compounds can be classified as endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds.

Nominal compound

Nominal compounds can be derived from Western Yugur words (see example a)) or originate from calques (see example b)). For example: a) *baghaqhayaq* ‘algae or algae layer’ is formed from *bagha* ‘frog’ and *qhayaq* ‘skin from the surface of boiled milk’; *aghənə* ‘brothers’ is formed from *agha* ‘elder brother’ and *ənə* ‘younger brother’ (for details on usage, see semantic classification of compounds below). If the two independent words end up with two vowels connecting to each other, then one of the vowels is elided; b) *deməryol* ‘railway’

is formed from two independent nouns, *demər* ‘iron’ and *yol* ‘road’. This is a calque from Chinese *tiělù* 铁路, which literally means ‘iron road’. Some other calques are: *od teryen* ‘train’ is formed from *od* ‘fire’ and *teryen* ‘vehicle’ (a calque from Chinese *huǒchē* 火车, literally ‘fire vehicle’); *qhuraqhe dəs* ‘tooth with a cavity/cavities’ is formed from *qhuraqhe* ‘worm’ and *dəs* ‘tooth’ (a calque from Chinese *chóngyá* 虫牙, literally ‘worm tooth’).¹⁰

The distinction between derivation and compounding is not always easy to determine in Western Yugur. The clearest cases of derivation involve suffixes, which cannot be used as a single word, such as *-zhi*.

The main types of compounding include noun-noun compounds, adjective-noun compounds and noun-adjective compounds. The most common are [A+N] n, the second most common are [N+N] n, and the least common is [N+A] n. Adjective-noun compounds ([A+N] n) are usually very transparent in meaning, such as *gharasar* ‘a type of eagle with black feathers’, composed of the adjective *ghara* ‘black’ and noun *sar* ‘eagle’. Noun-noun ([N+N] n) compounds included *gözqhala* ‘eyelid’, composed of *göz* ‘eye’ and *qhala* ‘cover’, and *bradəmsəy* ‘mosquito’, composed of *bra* ‘horn’ and *dəmsəy* ‘mouth’. Noun-adjective compounds ([N+A] n) are less common, and their meanings often cannot be transparently guessed, such as *bashaq* ‘ear of (grain)’, composed of the noun *bash* ‘head’ and adjective *aq* ‘white’, while *aqbash* can mean ‘grey hair’.

The nominal compound is very productive and some speakers may make up new compounds which can be colloquial, e.g. *yerdogul* (*yər* ‘earth’, *dogul* ‘round’¹¹) or *jıyın dægər* (*jıyın* ‘donkey’, *dægər* ‘testis’) for ‘potato’, *gükdogul* ‘watermelon’ (*gük* ‘grue’, *dogul* ‘round’). Comparison pairs are found, e.g. *hhosərəq arakə* ‘beer’ (*hhosərəq* ‘fart’, *arakə* ‘alcohol’), *taghayə hhosərəq* ‘egg’ (*taghayə* ‘chicken’, *hhosərəq* ‘fart’).

Unlike Turkish and some other Turkic languages, Western Yugur compounds generally do not require a compound marker. Compare Western Yugur *su lonha* ‘water bottle’ (*su* ‘water’, *lonha* ‘bottle’) with Turkish *su şişesi* ‘water bottle’ (*su* ‘water’, *şişe* ‘bottle’ + compound marker *-si* (*-(s)i/l/ü/ü* is the third person singular possessive suffix in Turkish) (Müller et al. 2015).

10 For these types of compounding words, words which have the same shape as their independent counterparts can be written together, e.g. *deməryol* ‘railway’, or separately, e.g. *demər yol*. However, if the forms are different, then the compound is written as a single word, e.g. the compound word *aghəno* cannot be separated because of the vowel change.

11 Note: *dogul* ‘round’ also has a variant, *doghər*.

The Western Yugur counterpart of *su şişesi* ‘water bottle’ is *su lonha-sə* (*-(s)* *ə* does not follow vowel harmony rules), but this is a phrasal construction indicating that the water bottle belongs to someone, and it can only be used in a sentence as in example (11):

- (11) *bu go-nəŋ su lonha-sə-də.*
DEM 3.SG-GEN water bottle-3.POS-EV
‘This is his/her water bottle.’

Verbal compound

Verbal compounding also exists in Western Yugur. The most common type of verbal compounding is [N+V] v (see Table 17.17).

Table 17.17: Examples of verbal compounds I [N+V].

<i>kelən al</i>	<i>kelən</i> ‘wife’, <i>al</i> ‘to take; to get’	‘to take a wife, to marry’
<i>ol al</i>	<i>ol</i> ‘air’, <i>al</i> ‘to take; to get’	‘to breathe’

There are some examples of [V+V] v where the first verb is usually a primary verb denoting motion, and the second verb denotes direction, whether to or away from the speaker or to a person. The words *gel* ‘to come’, *bar* ‘to go’, *kel* ‘to bring’ and *ber* ‘to give’ are often used in [V+V] v verbal compounding as the second verb. When *gel* and *kel* are used as the second verb, then the suffix *-ək* is attached to the first verb; when *bar* and *ber* are used as the second verb, then the suffix *-əp* is attached to the first verb (see Table 17.18). These examples could be considered as compounds or as lexicalised directionals.

Table 17.18: Examples of verbal compounds II [V+V].

Verb stem	Verbal compound	Meaning of the verbal compound
<i>kər</i> ‘to enter’	<i>kəək gel</i>	‘to come into, to enter’ (towards the speaker)
	<i>kəəp bar</i>	‘to go in, to enter’ (away from the speaker)
<i>yoz</i> ‘to pass through; to cross over’	<i>yozək gel</i>	‘to cross over to here’ (towards the speaker)
	<i>yozəp bar</i>	‘to cross over to there’ (away from the speaker)
<i>düs</i> ‘to get off; to come down’	<i>düsək gel</i>	‘to get off or come down to here’ (towards the speaker)
	<i>düsəp bar</i>	‘to get off or come down over there’ (away from the speaker)
<i>al</i> ‘to take; to get’	<i>alək kel</i>	‘to take (something)’ (towards the speaker)
	<i>aləp ber</i>	‘to take or pass (something to someone)’ (towards the speaker or a third person)
	<i>aləp bar</i>	‘to take (something) away’ (away from the speaker)

Compare this '[N+V]=verb phrase' structure with [(N)+V]-ma=noun phrase (see above for derived nouns from verbs), where the former does not require a suffix, but the suffix *-ma* is necessary for the latter.

Semantic classification of compounds

In categorising compounds by semantic classification, there are at least three types of compounds in Western Yugur: endocentric, exocentric and copulative.

The endocentric compounds are the most common and productive compounds in Western Yugur, and most of them are right-headed. They are usually stressed on their second component stem (head), and the first component stem is a modifier (see Table 17.19).

Table 17.19: Examples of endocentric compounds.

<i>ghara sar</i>	<i>ghara</i> 'black', <i>sar</i> 'eagle'	'a type of eagle with black feathers'
<i>göz qhala</i>	<i>göz</i> 'eye', <i>qhala</i> 'cover'	'eyelid'
<i>su lonha</i>	<i>su</i> 'water', <i>lonha</i> 'bottle'	'water bottle'
<i>bezək ana</i>	<i>bezək</i> 'big', <i>ana</i> 'mother'	'aunt' (father's elder brother's wife)
<i>aqdək gük</i>	<i>aqdək</i> 'whitish', <i>gük</i> 'blue'	'light blue'
<i>talghan bash</i>	<i>talghan</i> 'roasted flour in a fry-pan', <i>bash</i> 'head'	'fool, simpleton'

Exocentric compounds also exist in Western Yugur, although they are not common. For example, *bashaq* (*bash* 'head', *aq* 'white') 'ear of (grain)' is an exocentric compound and it contrasts with the word *aqbash* 'white hair'. The meaning of this type of compound often cannot be transparently figured out from its component parts.

Copulative compounds (or double-headed compounds) also can be found in Western Yugur. For example, *aghəṇə* is made up of *agha* 'elder brother' and *ənə* 'younger brother', which together express 'brothers, especially elder and younger brothers'; *azha'ana* is made up of *azha* 'father' and *ana* 'mother' to express 'parents'. The grammatical number of this type of compound form is often dual or plural.

Note that *aghəṇə* is a compound that neutralises distinctions of age, and it refers to two brothers, whether older or younger. The numeral word *shəgə* 'two' is often used with *aghəṇə*. It can be placed either before or after *aghəṇə* where the meanings are different. For example, (*men*) *shəgə aghəṇə*, '(my) two brothers'; (*go*) *aghəṇə shəgə* '(those) two brothers', where the

latter is a general reference to two brothers but not necessarily the speaker's brothers. To express that there are 'more than two brothers', the plural suffix *-lar* can be attached to *aghəno* to form *aghənlər*.

Reduplication

Reduplication, especially partial reduplication, is a productive process in Western Yugur. Nominal reduplication and ideophone reduplication will be examined in the following sections. They are formed by partially reduplicating the stem (usually a nominal), and the meaning of the stem is often changed. There are constraints on what the stem can be, including a strong preference for disyllabic or monosyllabic (usually only with CVC structure) stems.

Nominal reduplication

The following two types of nominal reduplications are productive in Western Yugur: 1) N+N with infix *-m-*; 2) A+A with infix *-p-*.

1) N+N with infix *-m-*: If the stem is a noun, then often the partial reduplication component follows the stem noun (like a suffix). Reduplication only occurs with either the last syllable or last consonant, with a change of the first consonant to *m* and following the vowel *ə*, e.g. *ɣiyash* 'wood', *ɣiyash-məɣash* 'wood-like things and probably includes wood'. So the meaning of the stem often changes to 'noun-stem-like things and probably includes that noun' (see Table 17.20). This is sometimes called expressive reduplication.

Table 17.20: Examples of partial reduplication with noun stems.

Noun stem	Meaning of stem	Partial reduplication	Meaning of the nominal reduplication
<i>gus</i>	'ox'	<i>gus-məs</i>	'ox-like things and probably includes oxen'
<i>gezgə</i>	'clothing'	<i>gezgə-məzgə</i>	'clothing-like things and probably includes clothing'
<i>zona</i>	'wasp'	<i>zona-məna</i>	'wasp-like things and probably includes wasps'

2) A+A with infix *-p-*: If the stem is an adjective, then often the partial reduplication component precedes a disyllabic stem (like a prefix) or follows a monosyllabic stem (like a suffix). This partial duplication is the only regular use of prefixation in Western Yugur, and semantically, its function is to intensify the meaning of adjectives. If the adjective stem is disyllabic, in

contrast to the previous noun compounds, reduplication only occurs either with the first syllable, with a change of the second consonant to *-p*¹² and removing the second syllable, e.g. *ghəzəl* ‘red’, *ghəp-ghəzəl* ‘very red’. If the adjective stem is monosyllabic, it seems that the entire stem is reduplicated and *-p* is added to the beginning of the stem, e.g. *aq* ‘white’, *aq-paq* ‘very white’. The meaning of the stem often changes to describe an intense state of something (see Table 17.21).

Table 17.21: Examples of partial reduplication with adjective stems.

Adj stem	Meaning of stem	Partial reduplication	Meaning of the nominal reduplication
<i>ala</i>	‘multi-colour’	<i>alp-ala</i>	‘very colourful’
<i>ghara</i>	‘black’	<i>ghap-ghara</i>	‘pitch black’
<i>sarəy</i>	‘yellow’	<i>sap-sarəy</i>	‘very yellow’
<i>yangə</i>	‘new’	<i>yap-yangə</i>	‘brand new’
<i>qhadəy</i>	‘hard’	<i>qhəp-qhadəy</i>	‘very hard’
<i>uzun</i>	‘long’	<i>up-uzun</i>	‘very long’
<i>qhoyuy</i>	‘thick’ (of a liquid or semi-liquid)	<i>qhəp-qhoyuy</i>	‘thickness of a liquid or a semi-liquid’ (very thick)

Ideophone reduplication

Another type of reduplication resembles the ideophones in form and meaning. The term ‘ideophone’ is used for words whose sound is felt by speakers to relate to the idea that the word expresses, whether it is a sound that imitates another sound (onomatopoeia), or a sound that expresses sensory states, manner, movement, appearance, shape, colour or feelings (mimetics). Ideophones are commonly used in Western Yugur and have both onomatopoeic words (which mostly have monosyllabic stems) and mimetic words (which mostly have disyllabic stems). The reduplications create new words similar to the base but often with different meanings, especially for mimetic words.

To form ideophones, Western Yugur has a preference for either total monosyllabic reduplication,¹³ e.g. *pər-pər*, *tərs-tərs*, or a very strong preference for partial reduplication with a change of vowel between the first syllable of

12 *p* can be varied as *q* or *w*, e.g. *ghap-ghara* in Table 17.21 can variably also occur as *ghaq-ghara* or *ghaw-ghara*.

13 Traditionally, total disyllabic reduplication was rarely used. Modern examples of total disyllabic reduplication could be due to language change.

each part of the reduplication, which is much more common, e.g. *yɪʔ-yɪʔ*, *zengər-zangər*, *chəmək-chamək*, *pordən-pardən*, *sərdən-sardən*, *tabər-tubər* and *telək-talək* (see Table 17.22 and 17.23 for meanings). In addition to the reduplicated forms, mimetic words can consist of an antonymic pair, but these are not as common, e.g. *erley-poghəs* ‘high-low’ describes something which is both high and low, or uneven in height or ground.

Table 17.22: Examples of reduplication in onomatopoeia.

Bound stem	Meaning of stem	Reduplicated onomatopoeia	Meaning of reduplicated onomatopoeia	Verb form	Meaning of verb
<i>pər-</i>	‘bubbling’	<i>pər-par; pər-pər; par-par</i>	a. bubbling or boiling sound made by water or other liquids; b. launching sound of an engine of a vehicle, especially an old vehicle; c. sound made by a blocked nose	<i>pəryəla-parghəla</i>	‘to bubble’
<i>tərs-</i>	‘crackling’	<i>tərs-tars; tərs-tərs</i>	describes a crackling sound, especially successive sounds of crackling	<i>tərsəla</i>	‘to make a crackling sound’
<i>zengər-</i>	‘whining sound’	<i>zengər-zangər</i>	describes a whining or whimpering sound; sometimes also describes a buzzing sound made by a wasp or bee	<i>zengəla</i>	‘to whine’

Some base forms can act as verbs but only through the addition of the suffix *-lA* or *-dA* (also the allomorph *-(ʔ)əla*), which is used very productively to create verbs from the base forms. In contrast with onomatopoeic words, most mimetic words have disyllabic stems. The pattern $[[\sigma\sigma]w [\sigma\sigma]w]$, where σ stands for ‘syllable’ and w for ‘word’, is a marker of mimetic words. Some of their form changes are similar to those of onomatopoeic words.

Table 17.23: Examples of reduplication in mimetics.

Stem	Meaning of stem	Mimetics	Meaning of mimetics	Verb form	Meaning of verb
<i>yiy-</i>	(adj) 'raw'	<i>yiy-yay</i>	describes the state of food or a dish which is not cooked properly	–	–
<i>chəmək-</i>	(n) 'sneak'	<i>chəmək-chəmək</i>	describes someone's sneaky or surreptitious behaviour	<i>chəməkde</i>	'to steal'
<i>pordən-</i>	(adj) 'squishy or squashy'	<i>pordən-pordən</i>	describes a surface being squishy when touching it, e.g. describing the texture of a marsh when walking on it	<i>pordəla</i>	'to be squishy or squashy'
<i>sərdən-</i>	(adj) 'a sudden shock (heart); taken aback'	<i>sərdən-sərdən</i>	describes a rickety or shaky state or feeling when walking on a soft and unsafe object (e.g. on a rope bridge)	<i>sərdəla</i>	'to be shaky'
<i>tabər-</i>	(v) 'move around'	<i>tabər-tubər</i>	a. describes the state of moving in a hurried and confused manner; all in a fluster; b. describes the state of moving around (a lot)	<i>tabəla</i>	'to move around'
<i>telək-</i>	(n) 'hole'	<i>telək-talək</i>	a. describes something cratered or with holes on an object; b. describes poor eyesight	–	–

Onomatopoeic words usually function as adverbials. Example (12) shows that an onomatopoeic word can occur on its own as an independent word and function as a complement of the copula verb. It usually directly precedes a copula verb:

- (12) *go yü-sh-de nōmi-sə shabər-shubər bol-o-də?*
 DEM room-INE-LOC what-3.POS rustling sound become-CONT-EV
 'What is making the rustling sound in that room?'

Most mimetics also function as adverbials (usually also with a copula verb) and directly precede the verb. Example (13) shows the mimetic word being used to describe the manner of running.

- (13) *go mula tabər-tubər ghayl-et-də.*
 DEM child all in a fluster run-ASP,RAP-PST
 ‘That child ran away in a fluster.’

However, a few mimetics can function as nouns and have the Accusative case marker *-nə*, which shows that the mimetic word can be used as a noun, e.g. *hardək-bordək*, *saman-soman*. Example (14) shows an Accusative case marker, which shows that the mimetic word can be used as a noun:

- (14) *saman- naghə yü-sh-ghe diat-yam, buyən keqen gel-o-də.*
soman-nə
 clutter-ACC that room- send-PREC, today guest come-
 INE-DAT CONT-EV
 ‘Put away the clutter in that room, and we have visitors coming today.’

Mimetics and onomatopoeic words behave alike with respect to word formation and phonological features. There are some vowel or consonant alternations appearing in the formation of ideophones. These are relatively regular, particularly for vowel alternation. However, some speakers nowadays in the community are using partial reduplication less frequently, instead using full reduplication for some onomatopoeic words, e.g. some speakers may say *shabər-shabər* rather than *shabər-shubər* (Zhong 2019). In addition, a number of onomatopoeic words have varied in form since at least the 1950s (Chen and Lei 1985), e.g. *pər-par*, *pər-pər* and *par-par* are all attested.

Conclusion

Word formation in Western Yugur is relatively unexplored, although general reflections have been provided by Roos (2000), Chen (2004) and Zhong (2009). This chapter tries to further fill the gap, especially by investigating the main features and strategies of word formation, including analysing words formed from internal processes which include derivational affixes, compounding and reduplications. It explores not only the different types of word formation in Western Yugur, but also some of their semantic features, morphology and phonological processes.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing Rules: FINIT Finitive aspect; NAR Narrative converb; RAP Rapid aspect.

Appendix: Western Yugur vowels and consonants in IPA and the proposed practical orthography

Table A17.1: Vowels in IPA and the proposed practical orthography.

IPA	i	y	e	ø	a	ɯ	u	o
Practical orthography	i	ü	e	ö	a	ə	u	o

Table A17.2: Consonants in IPA.

Place		Labial		Coronal			Dorsal		Laryngeal		
		Bilabial	Labiodental	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal		
Manner											
Stop	Unaspirated	p	–	t	–	–	k	q	–	–	
	Aspirated	p ^h	–	t ^h	–	–	k ^h	q ^h	–	–	
Affricate	Unaspirated	–	–	–	tʂ	tɕ	–	–	–	–	
	Aspirated	–	–	–	tʂ ^h	tɕ ^h	–	–	–	–	
Nasal		m	–	n	–	–	ŋ	–	–	–	
Fricative	Voiced	–	–	z	ʐ	–	ɣ	–	–	–	
	Voiceless	–	(f)	s	ʂ	ɕ	x	–	–	h	
Approximant		–	ʋ	–	–	j	–	–	–	–	
Trill		–	–	r	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Lateral approximant		–	–	l	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Table A17.3: Consonants in the proposed practical orthography.

Place		Labial			Coronal			Dorsal		Laryngeal	
		Bilabial	Labiodental	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal		
Manner											
Stop	Unaspirated	b	-		d		-		g	gh	-
	Aspirated	p	-		t		-		k	qh	-
Affricate	Unaspirated	-	-		-		zh		-	-	-
	Aspirated	-	-		-		ch		-	-	-
Nasal		m	-		n		-		ng	-	-
Fricative	Voiced	-	-		z		rh		ɣ	-	-
	Voiceless	-	(f)		s		sh		hh	-	h
Approximant		-	w		-		-		-	-	-
Trill		-	-		r		-		-	-	-
Lateral approximant		-	-		l		-		-	-	-

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