

The Jertpin¹

1. čertpīnde īške quḷaq par mī-dro².
 čertpeŋ-ti iškī q^huḷaq par-i-tī
 ghoul-LOC two ear present-COP-EV
 The jertpin happens to have two ears.

2. īške kūz < kōz par mī-dro.
 iškī kōz par-i-tī
 two eye present COP-EV
 He happens to have two eyes.

3. türt < tört azaq par mī-dro.
 tört azaq par-i-tī
 four foot present-COP-EV
 He happens to have four feet.

4. mīčkenā quzruq par mī-dro.
 miča-kīna quzīriq par-i-tī
 small-INT tail present-COP-EV
 He happens to have a very small tail.

5. čertpīnniŋ kūzōn < kōzūn šāčī wulīn qalaawatqaq³ pī-dro.
 če^hrtpēŋ-niŋ kōz-īn sač-ī ućin q^hala-wat-qaq-i-tī
 ghoul-GEN eye-POSSACC hair-POS3 with cover-FIN-HAB-COP-EV
 His hair happens to cover the jertpin's eyes.

6. qarağanda azaq wulīn pututqaš ~ putostergeš qarağaq pī-dro.
 qara-ganta azaq ućin p^hut-u^ht-ki p^hut-u^htīr-gi qara-gaq-i-tī
 look-CTMP foot with blow-COM-CNAR blow-COM-CNAR look-HAB-COP-EV
 When he looks [about], he looks [about] after whisking [it] away with [his] foot.

7. kīse tuq polsa čertpīnge yīgek pi-dro.
 kīsī t^huk po-sa čertpeŋ-ki yi-gik-i-tī
 person meet become-COND ghoul-DAT eat-HAB-COP-EV
 If a person meets with the jertpin, he eats [him].

8. čertpīn tağda sīğīr qazu yīgek pīdro.
 čertpeŋ t^hag-ta sogīr qaz-ō yi-gik-i-tī
 ghoul mountain-LOC marmot dig-CSIM eat-HAB-COP-EV
 The jertpin uses to dig up marmots in the mountains and eat them.

9. oīğa unmes mī-dro.
 oy-ga un-mis-i-tī
 homeland-DAT come.out-AORN-COP-EV
 He does not come out to dwelling places.

¹ Told by Asırma Pantī, 20 January 1911, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 36, № 53. The *jertpin* is regarded by Malov as a kind of hairy ghoul; the word ultimately derives from Tibetan *dred-moŋ* ‘bear’.

² The construction *nimi-tro* ‘it is a thing, the thing is’ (in some texts *mi-dro*, and currently obsolete), in the predicate occurs mostly at the introduction of tales. Possibly it serves as setting the stage for the narrative; it is tentatively translated as ‘happened to’.

³ Typo corrected following M50b (original text *qatan atqaq*). The function of *wul'in* is unclear: commonly, *q^hala-* takes a dative and accusative as a complement: ‘to cover something or someone (+DAT) with (+ACC)’.

10. yil qačan poğaq pi-dro yaxşı yil kelmes mī-dro.
 yil ?xaçaŋ po-gaq-i-tī ya^hş yil ki-mis-i-tī
 year bad become-HAB-COP-EV good year come-AORN-COP-EV
 [Only if] the year happens to be bad – he does not come [in] good years.
11. tağniŋ oïğa čertpīn kelmes mī-dro.
 t^hag-niŋ oy-ga čertpeŋ ki-mis-i-tī
 mountain-GEN homeland-DAT ghoul come-AORN-COP-EV
 The jertpin does not come to dwelling places of the mountains.
12. oïniŋğa⁴ taqqa parmas mī-dro.
 oy-niŋ-kī-ga t^haq-qa par-mas-i-tī
 homeland-GEN-REL-DAT mountain-DAT go-AORN-COP-EV
 He does not go to the mountains, to [someone's] dwelling place.
13. taqqa parsaxačan mī-dro.
 t^haq-qa par-sa xaçaŋ-i-tī
 mountain-DAT go-COND bad-COP-EV
 If he goes to the mountains, it is bad.
14. čertpīn ğunda su qazğaş iške lān bar mī-dro.
 čertpeŋ kon-ta su qaz-ga iškī ?liaŋ par-i-tī
 ghoul DEM-LOC water dig-CNAR two ?pole⁵ present-COP-EV
 After the jertpin dug water there – there happened to be two poles.
15. anī qoŋ wulīn čölağaş sīwadīp-tro.
 anī qoŋ ućin ćiula-ga suwat-iptī
 that/ACC arm with lift-CNAR break/FIN-PAST^{ev}
 With his arm he lifted those and broke them through.
16. andan soŋ kīseler qorqaq < qorqqaq pī-dro.
 an-tan soŋ kīsī-lir qorq-qaq-i-tī
 that-ABL after person-PL fear-HAB-COP-EV
 After that, the people have become afraid.
17. andan pīrīn qorqpīndro.
 an-tan p^horn qo^hrq-pintī
 that-ABL before fear-PAST^{ev}
 Before that, they were not afraid.

⁴ It is unclear whether this construction truly consists of a genitive case + dative case, or whether there was a crasis of the relative suffix +*Ki* and the dative +*GA*. Constructions with a locative case do comprise the relative suffix +*Ki*.

⁵ Meaning and form unclear, translation following Malov's interpretation.

The Teyran (1)⁶

1. teıran bosa ksege ustağaq-tro⁷.
teıran po-sa kısı-gi İsta-gaqtı
demon become-COND person-DAT resemble-HABev
As for the teıran, he resembles a human.
2. yañğis azaq par mī-dro.
yañqis azaq par-i-tı
single foot present-COP-EV
He happens to have a single foot.
3. kİse yoq čöl yerte olurğaq-tro.
kİsİ yoq č^höl yer-ti olir-gaqtı
person not.present desert land-LOC stay-HABev
He dwells in uninhabited desert land.
4. aİında per taİi qizil saz war mī-dro.
aİin-ta pİr talu qizil saz par-i-tı
forehead-LOC one tuft red hair present-COP-EV
On his forehead there happens to be one tuft of red hair.
5. kİse čöl yerge warğaş ala qağırmaq-tan⁸ qağırğaş saİğaş:
kİsİ č^höl yer-gi par-ga ala q^hagırmaq-tan q^hagır-ga sal-ga
person desert land-DAT go-CNAR spotted roasted.grain-ABL roast-CNAR put-CNAR
People go to desert land and roast [some] spotted roasted grain and put it down and
- pu senİnkİ wuğai pu menİnkİ wuğai andağ dİgek tİr.
pu seniŋkİ pol-ge pu meniŋkİ pol-ge an-tag ti-giktı
this you/GEN-REL become-OPT this me/GEN-REL become-OPT that-EQU say-HABev
use to say thus: ‘May this be yours, may this be mine.’
6. andaq qİsa yañğİsaq < yañğis azaq teıran kelgek-tro.
an-tag qİ-sa yañqis azaq teıran ki-giktı
that-EQU do-COND single foot demon come-HABev
If one does thus, the single-footed teıran comes.
7. čaŋ qağırmaq alu woğan tügete sačİn čümew aİğaq-tro.
čaŋ q^hagırmaq al-ô-gan tügi-ti saç-İn čümi-wal-gaqtı
just.as roasted.grain take-AUX-PP time-LOC hair-POS3ACC pluck-INC-HABev
Just as he takes the roasted grain, they use to pull out his hair.
8. andaq qİsa⁹ yİğİağaq-İr dİ-dro.
an-tag qİ-sa yilga-gaq-i ti-ytı
that-EQU do-COND cry-HAB-COP say-AORev
If one does thus, he cries, they say.
9. andaq qİsa⁹ sen mağa altİn kumusİn kegİr war men sağa perēn.
an-tag qİ-sa sen maga a^hİtin kumis-İn k^hegir par men saga per-in
that-EQU do-COND you me/DAT gold silver-POS3ACC bring ADH I you/DAT give-IMP1sg
If one does thus: ‘Do bring me its¹⁰ gold and silver [and then] I will give [the hair back] to you.’

⁶ Told by Anjaŋ Sanıřkap, 22 January 1911, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx uıgurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 35-36, № 52. The *teıran* is a demon of riches, cf. Literary Mongolian *teıreng*.

⁷ Commonly, the verb *İsta-* ‘to resemble’ has an accusative case as a complement.

⁸ An indication of quantity, expected to follow the ablative, is lacking here.

⁹ This *i* is spelled with an additional breve.

¹⁰ The referent of the possessive is unclear.

10. ałtın kumīs kegīrgek īr dī-dro.
a^hltın kumīs k^hegīr-gik-i ti-ytī
gold silver bring-HAB-COP say-AORev
They say he brings gold and silver.
11. kumīsın ałıtqaš sačın bergeš
kumīs-ın al-it-qa saç-ın per-gi
silver-POS3ACC take-QUI-CNAR hair-POS3ACC give-CNAR
After having quickly taken his silver, and given [back] his hair,
- paštī xorağaš yatup qałğaq-tro.
paş-tī hora-ga ya^ht-īp q^hal-gaqtī
head-ACC wrap-CNAR lie-CON fall-HABev
he wraps [his] head and lies down.
12. anīj¹¹ sözın aınap polmas mī-dro.
anīj sözın aına-p pol-mas-i-tī
that/GEN word-POS3ACC hear-CON become-AORN-COP-EV
One must not hear his words.
13. aınağandan soı kīse yulq qałğaq-tro.
aına-gan-tan soı kīsī yül-īp q^hal-gaqtī
hear-PP-ABL after person die-CON fall-HABev
After hearing [these], people use to die.
14. aınamasa yaxşı er dī-dro.
aına-ma-sa ya^hş-i ti-ytī
hear-NEG-COND good-COP say-AORev
If one does not hear [these], it is good, they say.

¹¹ Typo corrected (original text *anı*).

The Teyran (2)¹²

1. teıran kelse men ğoanlaĝımes ~ ğoannaĝımes.
teyran ki-si men kuanna-gımis
demon come-COND I concern-FUTN
If the Teyran comes, I won't care.
2. teke kelse yuluru yiĝu¹³.
t^heke ki-si yülür-ô yi-gô
buck come-COND kill-CSIM eat-AOR
If a buck comes, I kill and eat it.
3. pěr közden su aqço pěr közden qan aqço.
pır köz-tin su a^hq-qô pır köz-tin q^han a^hq-qô
one eye-ABL water flow-AOR one eye-ABL blood flow-AOR
From one eye water flows, from one eye blood flows.
4. xarwa dariĝ uş xur bış-şin ırarı maĝaş ülisına¹⁴.
harwa tarıĝ uş xor pis şın narı maĝ-qa ulis-inı
barley wheat three times five grain.measure yonder walk-CNAR divide-IMP1pl
Let's walk yonder and divide three times five measures of barley and wheat.

¹² Told by Anjan Sanişkap, December 1910 in Süzhōu, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 35, № 51.

¹³ According to Malov, a formula introducing a tale.

¹⁴ Malov suggests: in order to lure away the demon.

The Changshinko¹⁵

1. men fanjurğa¹⁶ wart'e.
 men fanǰur-ga par-^htī
 I fanǰur-DAT go-PAST
 I went to Fangjur.

2. qt'eǝlar andaǰ dīdro uzuler k'ört'e
 q^hiti-lir an-tag ti-ytī uzī-lir kör-^htī
 chinese-PL that-EQU say-AORev self-PL see-PAST
 The Chinese say thus: they saw it themselves,
 č'aŋšīnǰo andaq k'ise k'ört'e dīdro.
 č'aŋšinko an-tag kīsī kör-^htī ti-ytī
 č'aŋšinko that-EQU person see-PAST say-AORev
 they say they saw the changshinko, such people.

3. men aǝtt'e č'aŋšīnǰo dīr nī-ur k'ise tro.
 men ayt-tī č'aŋšinko-tī niyor kīsī-tī
 I inquire-PAST č'aŋšinko-EV what.sort person-EV
 I inquired: 'The changshinko – what sort of people are they?'

4. andaǰ qt'eǝ dīdro yürek'ınt'e t'e'ǝ'ik tro.
 an-tag q^hiti ti-ytī yürek-ın-ti t^helk-tī
 that-EQU chinese say-AORev heart-POS3-LOC hole-EV
 The Chinese say thus: [they have] a hole in their heart.

5. ot'urīndan art'īnǰa tuŋnalūdno.
 u^htīr-ın-tan art-ın-qa tuŋnal-ōtī
 frontside-POS3-ABL backside-POS3-DAT show.through-PROGev
 It is showing through from the front to the back.

6. andaq k'ise k'ört'e dep dīdro.
 an-tag kīsī kör-^htī ti-p ti-ytī
 that-EQU person see-PAST say-CON say-AORev
 They say that they have seen such people.

7. anīŋ aǰa čomaqtan čuanlaǰaš teǝlaǰaš xanīdro dīdro¹⁷.
 anīŋ aga čīmaq-tan č^huanna-ga t^hayla-ga han-itī ti-ytī
 that/GEN that/DAT stick-ABL pass.through-CNAR carry-CNAR go-AORev say-AORev
 They say, that after they pass that [hole] of them through with a stick, they go carrying them around.

8. munī men fanjurda qteidan aŋnaǰan söz dro.
 mīni men fanǰur-ta q^hiti-tan aŋna-gan söz-tī
 this.now I fanǰur-LOC chinese-ABL hear-PP word-EV
 These are the words I heard from the Chinese in Fangjur.

¹⁵ Told by Anjaŋ Saniškup, November 1910, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 9, № 9. The *changshinko* are a legendary people with a hole in their chest.

¹⁶ A locality between Sūzhōu and MíngHuā District.

¹⁷ According to Malov, it is the parents who carry around their children in this way.

The Soul¹⁸

1. kse qorqsa ewerī azğaq tro.
kīsī qo^hrq-sa ewer-ī az-gaq^{tī}
person fear-COND soul-POS3 lose.the.way-HABev
If a person gets afraid, his soul loses its way.

2. ewerī azsa qaqırğaq tro.
ewer-ī az-sa qı^hqır-gaq^{tī}
soul-POS3 lose.the.way-COND invite-HABev
If his soul loses its way, they use to invite it [back].

3. nağī qaqırğaq tro dese,
nagô qı^hqır-gaq^{tī} ti-si
how invite-HABev say-COND
If one says, how do they invite it [back]: [it is]

4. mlanıñ kezgusın çönnegeş çin wujın çinnağaş
mıla-nıñ kizkī-sın ?çuañna-ga ç^hıñ uçin ç^hıñna-ga
child-GEN clothes-POS3ACC ?roll up-CNAR steelyard with weigh-CNAR
by rolling up the clothes of a child, weighing [them] with a steelyard, and

kemza telik aškaş andağ qılğaş ewerın qaqırğaqtro.
k^hemzī t^helk a^hş-qa an-tag qıl-ga ewer-ın qı^hqır-gaq^{tī}
bun hole open-CNAR that-EQU do-CNAR soul-POS3ACC invite-HABev
making a hole [in] a bun, by doing thus they invite his soul [back].

5. per kse yüte tıste yürlewoğaqtro.
pır kīsī yü-ti iş-ti yörlī-ô-gaq^{tī}
one person house-LOC inside-LOC walk.around-AUX-HABev
One person keeps walking around inside in the house.

6. per kse kezgulerın alıñğaş < alıngaş kdegektro¹⁹.
pır kīsī kizkī-lir-ın al-ın-qa qiti-giktī
one person clothes-PL-POS3ACC take-RFL-CNAR call-HABev
Another person takes along his clothes and calls [outside].

7. nī ksenıñ ewerī assa < azsa nınıñ a^xtın dıgektro.
ni kīsī-nıñ ewer-ī az-sa ni-nıñ at-ın ti-giktī
what person-GEN soul-POS3 lose.the.way-COND what-GEN name-POS3ACC say-HABev
Whichever person's soul has lost its way, [it is] his name he calls.

8. andağ qılğaş ewerī wosa qaıdan kel, sikten kerek kel.
an-tag qıl-ga ewer-ī po-sa qaytan ki sik-tin k^hır-ıp ki
that-EQU do-CNAR soul-POS3 become-COND whence come door-ABL enter-CON come
By doing thus, as for his soul, 'Come from wherever, come in through the door.'

9. yütekī kse kerik kelte²⁰ dıgektro.
yü-ti-kī kīsī k^hır-ıp kel-^htī ti-giktī
house-LOC-REL person enter-CON come-PAST say-HABev
The person in the house says: 'I have come in.'

¹⁸ Told by Anjañ Sanıřkap, 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 24, № 35.

¹⁹ According to Malov, he calls outside of the house.

²⁰ The subject may be a third person whose action is witnessed by the speaker ('it has come in'), or a first person, in which one person of the dialogue personifies the soul, as Malov's translation suggests.

10. qaqırğan kse keltim surağaqtro²¹.
 q^hqır-gan kīsī kel-^htī-m sura-gaqtī
 invite-PP person come-PAST-Q ask-HABev
 The person who has invited [it], asks: ‘Have you come [back]?’
11. yūtekī kse keltī dīgektro.
 yū-ti-kī kīsī kel-^htī ti-giktī
 house-LOC-REL person come-PAST say-HABev
 The person in the house says: ‘I have come [back].’
12. qaıda wosa qaıdan keļ, sikten kerek keļ.
 qayta po-sa qaytan kel sik-tin k^hır-ık kel
 where become-COND whence come door-ABL enter-CON come
 ‘Come from wherever you are, come in through the door.’
13. yūtekī kse kerik kelte dīgektro.
 yū-ti-kī kīsī k^hır-ık kel-^htī ti-giktī
 house-LOC-REL person enter-CON come-PAST say-HABev
 The person in the house says: ‘I have come in.’
14. ča iškele keļ dīgektro.
 č^ha iš-kīla kel ti-giktī
 tea drink-PUR come say-HABev
 ‘Come [in] to drink tea,’ [the one outside] says.
15. ča iškele keltī dīgektro.
 č^ha iš-kīla kel-^htī ti-giktī
 tea drink-PUR come-PAST say-HABev
 ‘I have come to drink tea,’ [the one inside] says.
16. am wosa čin wujin činnap qapağaqtro.
 am po-sa č^hıñ ucin č^hıñna-p ?-gaqtī
 now become-COND steelyard with weigh-CON ?-HABev
 So now they weigh [the clothes] with the steelyard.
17. činnasa köwegektro.
 č^hıñna-sa köwi-giktī
 weigh-COND be.more-HABev
 As they weigh it, it is more.
18. telik-tiq kemza ağırgan ksege yidirgektro.
 t^helik-tiq k^hemzī ağır-gan kīsī-gi yitir-giktī
 hole-ADJ bun be.ill-PP person-DAT feed-HABev
 They feed the bun with the hole to the sick person.
19. yidirse ewerī kergek tro.
 yitir-si ewer-ī k^hır-giktī
 feed-COND soul-POS3 enter-HABev
 As they feed [him], his soul enters.

²¹ Typo corrected (original text *surağatro*).

Giving Birth²²

1. q'iz ič'ik'isī agirgaš mlasin t'uğu almağaš
 qiz i^hčikī-sī agir-ga mīla-sin tog-al-ma-ga
 girl belly-POS3 hurt-CNAR child-POS3ACC give.birth-POT-NEG-CNAR
 As a girl's belly hurt and she could not give birth to her child,
- men²³ bargāš q'oī yulurgeš q'arnin²⁴ qizdīŋ p'eŋge sa't'e.
 men par-ga qoy yülir-gi q^harn-in qiz-tiŋ pel-iŋ-ki sal-^htī
 I go-CNAR sheep kill-CNAR stomach-POS3ACC girl-GEN waist-POS3-DAT put-PAST
 I went and killed a sheep and put its stomach on the girl's waist.
2. t'erīnī yaq'inğaš andaq q'ilğaš t'ertk'eš
 t^herī-nī yaqin-qa an-tag qil-ga t^herit-ki
 skin-ACC cover-CNAR that-EQU do-CNAR make.sweat-CNAR
 I covered [her with] the skin and by doing thus made her sweat and
- p'ozundan su unuptro.
 poz-in-tan su un-iptī
 body-POS3-ABL water come.out-PASTev
 water came out from her body.
3. andaq q'ilğaš am t'uğiptro.
 an-tag qil-ga am tog-iptī
 that-EQU do-CNAR now give.birth-PASTev
 By doing thus, at that moment she gave birth.

²² Told by Anjaŋ Kserščap Serin (Misir), 25 January 1911, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 20, № 27.

²³ Typo corrected (original text *mon*).

²⁴ Typo corrected (original text *q'arnij*).

Charm against Cataract (1)²⁵

1. pīreī pīreī čīḡam bireī²⁶
pīrey pīrey č^hīḡan pīrey
cataract cataract white cataract
Cataract, cataract, white cataract!
2. torwaqtan kelgen, torwaqqa köš
turwaq-tan ki-gin turwaq-qa köş
soil-ABL come-PNAR soil-DAT move
Coming from the soil, move away to the soil
3. tariḡdan kelgen, tariqqa köš
tarīḡ-tan ki-gin tarīq-qa köş
grain-ABL come-PNAR grain-DAT move
Coming from the grain, move away to the grain
4. ottan gelgen, otqa köš
o^ht-tan ki-gin o^ht-qa köş
grass-ABL come-PNAR grass-DAT move
Coming from the grass, move away to the grass
5. taḡdan kelgen, taqqa köš
t^hag-tan ki-gin t^haq-qa köş
mountain-ABL come-PNAR mountain-DAT move
Coming from the mountain, move away to the mountain
6. sutan kelgen, suḡa köš
su-tan ki-gin su-qa köş
water-ABL come-PNAR water-DAT move
Coming from the water, move away to the water
7. ottan gelgen, otqa köš
ot-tan ki-gin ot-qa köş
fire-ABL come-PNAR fire-DAT move
Coming from the fire, move away to the fire
8. qaīdan gelgen qaṇa köš
qaytan ki-gin qaga köş
whence come-PNAR whither move
Move away to where you came from

²⁵ Told by Erkisku, November 1913, in Dōnghāizi (Míngāi), and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 25, № 39. Cataract is a disease of the eye in which a white clouding covers the eye lense; formerly called ‘pearl-eye’.

²⁶ Of unclear etymology; the adjective č^hīḡan ‘white’ is Mongolic, perhaps occurring only in this collocation? This formula is repeated after every phrase.

Charm against Cataract (2)²⁷

1. čīgam bireī čīgam bireī²⁶
 ç^higan pīrey ç^higan pīrey
 white cataract white cataract
 White cataract, white cataract!

2. ała gerniŋ xarğa²⁸ tūs
 ala ker-niŋ xuar-ga tus
 multicoloured bowl-GEN flower-DAT fall
 Fall on the pattern of the multicoloured bowl

3. qara sīniŋ < suniŋ qayaqqa tūs
 qara su-niŋ q^hayaq-qa tus
 black water-GEN cream-DAT fall
 Fall on the cream of the black water

4. aq azğırniŋ ĩlwīge tūs
 aq azğır-niŋ yilwu-gi tus
 white stallion-GEN horse.manes-DAT fall
 Fall on the horse manes of the white stallion

5. aq ĩnektiŋ sūtke küš
 aq enik-tiŋ sut-ki küš
 white cow-GEN milk-DAT move
 Move away to the milk of the white cow

6. aq qužğarniŋ moŋus²⁹ küš
 aq qožgar-niŋ mos küš
 white ram-GEN horn move
 Move away [to] the horn of the white ram

7. qara yerniŋ pağırğa küš
 qara yer-niŋ pağır-ga küš
 black earth-GEN slope-DAT move
 Move away to the slope of black earth

8. qara tastiŋ pağırğa küš
 qara tas-tiŋ pağır-ga küš
 black stone-GEN slope-DAT move
 Move away to the slope of black stone

9. kük teŋirniŋ paqırğa³⁰ küš
 kük tiŋir-niŋ pağır-ga küš
 blue sky-GEN slope-DAT move
 Move away to the slope of the blue sky

10. qara yerniŋ saqatqa³¹ küš
 qara yer-niŋ ?-qa küš
 black earth-GEN ?-DAT move
 Move away to the [mirage] of the black earth

²⁷ Told by a monk near the lamasery of Peyran (Chánggōusi, situated in Dàhé District), 2 October 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujurow. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 26, № 40.

²⁸ Malov suggests ‘pattern, design’, cf. Chinese *huā* ‘flower; pattern’.

²⁹ The expected dative is lacking.

³⁰ The plosive *q* is inexplicable, unless *paqır* ‘copper’ is meant.

³¹ Only here? M98b suggests ‘dawn; mirage’.

11. otti suğa küş
 ot-ti su-ga küş
 fire-AND water-DAT move
 Move away to fire and water
12. yaşıl otqa küş
 ya^hsil o^ht-qa küş
 green grass-DAT move
 Move away to the green grass
13. qara yığaşqa küş
 qara yığaş-qa küş
 black wood-DAT move
 Move away to the black wood³²
14. aq sağıqtıñ sütkä küş
 aq saq-tiñ sut-ki küş
 white ewe-GEN milk-DAT move
 Move away to the white ewe's milk

³² Also the name of a species of plant, cf. WYu *qara yığaş* L190a, EYu *xara mu:tèn* B47 ‘Cotoneaster’ [Chinese *xūnzi*], both lit. ‘black wood’.

What the Old People Say³³

1. yā q'arī k'iseler³⁴ andağ dīgektro.
 ya q^harī kīsī-lir an-tag ti-giktī
 yes old person-PL that-EQU say-HABev
 Yes, the old people use to say thus.

2. t'injandan o't q'alsa uzaqt'an yaq'in yariqt'an³⁵ k'ise k'elgek t'ir dīgektro³⁶.
 tīnčan-tan ot q^hal-sa uzaq-tan ya^hqin ?-tan kīsī ki-giktī ti-giktī
 lamp-ABL fire fall-COND far-ABL near ?-ABL people come-HABev say-HABev
 If fire falls from the lamp, people will come from far and near, they use to say.

3. t'aṅğar saq'isq'an ene'tse uruğ darıxt'an k'eç'in k'elgek t'ir dīgektro³⁷.
 tañqar saqisqan ene^ht-si oriğ-tarig-tan k^heç^hin ki-giktī ti-giktī
 in.the.morning magpie sound-COND kinsfolk-ABL guest come-HABev say-HABev
 If a magpie makes a sound in the morning, a guest from the kinsmen will come, they use to say.

4. oł č'a mle < moła yījer dīdro.
 o ça mo-la yijir ti-ytī
 that just.so then.too-PCL1 evening say-AORev
 That is just so in the evening, they say.

5. at'ī mla šörginī ałiṅğaš yerne šörse
 a^hti mīla šorgī-nī al-īn-qa yer-nī šor-si
 small child broom-ACC take-RFL-CNAR floor-ACC sweep-COND
 If a small child takes the broom and sweeps the floor,

 mo la k'eç'in k'elgektro.
 mo-la k^heç^hin ki-giktī
 then.too-PCL1 guest come-HABev
 then too a guest will come.

³³ Told by Anjañ Saniškap, 5 December 1910, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujgurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 23, № 32.

³⁴ Typo corrected (original text *k'issler*).

³⁵ The form *yariq*, translated 'side' by Malov, is of unclear etymology.

³⁶ The Chinese of east Mongolia have a similar expression about wicks: *teng-hua lao, ch'ieh lai-tao* 'If the wick of the lamp falls down, a guest will arrive' (Serruys, P. (ed.). 1947. *Folklore Contributions in Sino-Mongolica. Notes on customs, legends, proverbs and riddles of the province of Jehol. Folklore Studies* 6: 2. 1-128. Peiping. 70).

Compare also the Monguor saying: *šdeliedži sadžeğē xēlasa ndžuwa rem, xara olidži džila čidžağliesa ndžuwa rem* 'if the magpie shouts in the morning, a guest will come; if the lamp catches fire in the evening, a guest will come' (Todaeva, B. X. 1973. *Mongorskij jazyk*. Moscow. 184: 45)

³⁷ The Chinese of southwest Mongolia have a similar expression about magpies: *yě quèzi jiào jīntiān yǒu kèrén dào* 'if the wild magpie shouts, a visitor will come today' (Oost, J. van. 1918. *Dictons et proverbes des Chinois habitant la Mongolie sud-ouest*. Variétés sinologiques 50. Zi-ka-wei près Chang-hai. 333, № 951), as do the Monguor: a guest will come if a magpie is heard chirping (Stuart, K., & Limusishiden. 1994. *China's Monguor Minority: Ethnography and Folktales (Sino-Platonic Papers 59)*. Philadelphia. 46A).

6. mīš yuzunyusa mo ła yuč'in³⁸ k'ełgektro³⁹.
 mīš yüz-ın yū-sa mo-la ?yoč'in ki-giktī
 cat face-POS3ACC wash-COND this.too-PCL1 guest come-HABev
 If a cat washes its face, then too a guest will come.
7. q'armingīlar ürčī p'atsa êr'k⁴⁰ q'aratq'aqtro.
 q^harmaŋqī-lar örčī pa^ht-sa i^hrq qara-t-qaqtī
 ancestor-PL things get.lost-COND omen look-CAUS-HABev
 If things get lost, the old people have the omens consulted.
8. oğurč'ī oğur itse a'qağa êr'k⁴⁰ qaratq'o.
 oğırčī ogır it-si a^hka-ga i^hrq qara-t-qô
 thief theft do-COND monk-DAT omen look-CAUS-AOR
 If a thief commits a theft, they have a monk consult the omens.
9. q'ağa manğan q'aıta olurğan anī p'ılgektro.
 qaga maŋ-qan qayta olır-gan anī pıl-giktī
 whither walk-PNAR where stay-PNAR that/ACC know-HABev
 Whither he went, where he stayed – he will know that.
10. ürčī p'atsa⁴¹ êr'k⁴⁰ qaratq'o, ım unšitq'o, manja salğo⁴².
 örčī pa^ht-sa i^hrq qara-t-qô lom oŋşı-t-qô mança sal-gô
 things get.lost-COND omen look-CAUS-AOR scripture read-CAUS-AOR remuneration put-AOR
 If things get lost, they have the omens consulted, have scriptures read, they offer remunerations.
11. yol oŋırılağaqtro.
 yol oŋarlı-gaqtī
 way be.put.right-HABev
 [This] way [it] uses to be put right.

³⁸ Only here? Ultimately LM *jočin* Les1066a; the common WYu word for guest is *k^hec^hin*. Note the alliteration.

³⁹ The Chinese of southwest Mongolia have a similar expression about cats: *māor xī lián jīntiān yǒu kèrén dào* 'if the cat washes its face, a guest will come today' (Oost, J. van. 1918. *Dictions et proverbes des Chinois habitant la Mongolie sud-ouest*. Variétés sinologiques 50. Zi-ka-wei près Chang-hai. 155, № 357), and cf. also the Chinese of east Mongolia: *hsiao-mao 'rh hsi-lien, pi-yao lai ch'ieh* 'when the cat washes itself, guests will arrive' (Serruys, P. (ed.). 1947. *Folklore Contributions in Sino-Mongolica*. Notes on customs, legends, proverbs and riddles of the province of Jehol. *Folklore Studies* 6: 2. 1-128. Peiping. 97).

The Tibetans too have a similar belief about cats: 'Sometimes we notice a cat washing its face by licking its paws and running it over the face, sometimes just the face and other times right behind the ears. This behaviour is believed to be the harbinger of a visitor to the owner of the cat or to the house where the cat commits the act. If the cat washes from right behind its ears, the visitor will be from a far off place, but if it washes just the face, the visitor will be from a closely place' (Norbu Chophel. 1993. *Folk Culture of Tibet*. Dharamsala. 24).

Also in Iranian speaking areas, this idea occurs: A cat licking its paws while in the company of the members of a household or facing the door is a sign the guests are about to arrive (Encyclopædia Iranica, s.v. Cat).

⁴⁰ In the original text this word is spelled with a cyrillic ə with additional breve.

⁴¹ Typo corrected (original text *p'aısa*).

⁴² From *mança* 'alms, remuneration given to a monk for reciting scriptures' + *sal-* 'to put', *mança sal-* L77b 'to invite a lama to read scriptures to expiate the sins of the dead', *manja sal-* M75a 'to offer tea to the Buddhist clergy after the prayers'.

12. yuğur k'ise mengese⁴³ p'urq'anğa šoğdor⁴⁴ t'utq'o, menjä sağo.
 yogir kisi ?menke-si pi^hrqaŋ-qā šogtor tu^ht-qô mança sal-gô
 yugur person offer-COND deity-DAT oblation hold-AOR remuneration put-AOR
 If the Yugur people [make offerings], they offer oblations to the deities, they offer remunerations.
13. andaq qilğaqtro.
 an-tag qil-gaqtî
 that-EQU do-HABev
 They use to do thus.

⁴³ Only here? Meaning unclear, Malov suggests 'to make an offering to express gratitude'.

⁴⁴ Cf. perhaps Literary Tibetan *γtor-ma* Ja210 'strewn oblation, an offering brought to malignant demons, either as a kind of exorcism or as an appeasing gift, in order to prevent their evil influences upon man'. Malov suggests 'an offering of candles'.

Folk Wisdom⁴⁵

1. ker yer-gi q^hal-sa qara tus-kış
cup ground-DAT fall-COND black descend-FUT
If a cup falls on the floor, bad luck will occur⁴⁶.

2. kīsi-niñ köz-ti mal-nī sana-ma
person-GEN eye-LOC livestock-ACC count-NEG
Do not count the livestock in the presence of a[nother] person⁴⁷.

3. k^huayzi-nī tīw-īn-ti tu^ht-sa ya^hqin-qa per-iş,
chopstick-ACC base-POS3-LOC hold-COND near-DAT give-FUT
If [a woman] holds [her] chopsticks at the lower end, [her parents] will give [her into marriage] nearby,

pa^hç-īn-ta tu^ht-sa uzaq-qa per-iş
top-POS3-LOC hold-COND far-DAT give-FUT
if she holds them at the top, they will give [her into marriage] far away.

4. k^hempiş yi^hp-ti hapta-mas:
woman rope-ACC step-AORN
A woman should not step on a rope:

mīla toq-qanta k^hintik moyn-ta hora-q q^ha-ş
child be.born-CTMP umbilical.cord neck-LOC coil-CON fall-FUT
[for] when [her] child is born, the umbilical cord will strangle around [his] neck.

5. mīla ay-nī çor-sa, q^hulaq q^hal-xan-iş⁴⁸
child moon-ACC point-COND ear fall-TER-FUT
If a child points to the moon, [his] ears will fall off.

6. mīla til yi-mis, yi-si söz kö^hp
child tongue eat-AORN eat-COND word many
A child should not eat tongue, if he eats [it], [his] words [will be] many.

7. miş yüz yū-sa k^heç^hin ki-ş
cat face wash-COND guest come-FUT
If the cat washes its face, a guest will come.

8. yüş yer-gi q^hal-sa k^heç^hin ki-ş
towel ground-DAT fall-COND guest come-FUT
If a towel falls on the floor, a guest will come.

9. şigan tuz yise sutanq^henat^hqa pannelgek^htir⁴⁹
şigan tuz yi-si sutan q^hanat-qa piänne-l-giktī
mouse salt eat-COND bat-DAT change.into-RFL/PASS-HABev
If a mouse eats salt, it changes into a bat.

⁴⁵ № 1-8 collected by Zhōng Jīnwén in 1992 in Míngguā District, noted down August 1994 in Leiden; № 9 excerpted from Léi Xuānchūn (proofread by Chén Zōngzhèn). 1992. *Xībù Yùgù Hàncídiǎn* [Western Yugur – Chinese dictionary]. Chéngdū. 57b.

⁴⁶ To be prevented by drawing a cross on the floor.

⁴⁷ For the livestock will decrease.

⁴⁸ Cf. NUyg *ay tohun bolsa āligi imlāmās* ‘when the moon is full, one does not point one’s hand to it’ (Brockelmann, C. 1920. Alturkestanische Volksweisheit. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8. 50-73. Berlin. 52: 3).

⁴⁹ Cf. Chinese: *yen-pien-fu*, the bat. At Lao-hu-kou it is said that the rats which have eaten too much salted vegetable (*hsien-ts’ai*), get wings and become bats (Serruys, P. (ed.). 1947. Folklore Contributions in Sino-Mongolica. Notes on customs, legends, proverbs and riddles of the province of Jehol. *Folklore Studies* 6: 2. 1-128. Peiping. 5).

Getting Rich by a Snake⁵⁰

1. yılan yīq'in⁵¹ ~ yīg'in soqq'aqtro⁵².
 yılan yīg'in soq-qaqtī
 snake coil strike-HABev
 Snakes use to strike a coil.
2. yīk'in soqp'a nī t'ir⁹ dese:
 yīg'in soq-pa ni-tī ti-si
 coil strike-VN what-EV say-COND
 If one says, what is “striking a coil”: [this means]
3. yılan č'op'aqt'alīq q'alğaqtro.
 yılan ç^hopaqta-l-īp q^hal-qaqtī
 snake coil.up-PAS/RFL-CON fall-HABev
 snakes use to lie coiled up.
4. p'elgek kse anīj yūzige yīzten⁵³ p'ēr axs q'alawatsa
 pīl-gik kīsī anīj ūzi-gi yiz-tin pīr a^hs q^hala-wat-sa
 know-PHAB person that/GEN upside-DAT cloth-ABL one foot cover-FIN-COND
 If a person who knows [this] covers a foot of cloth over it –
- qaš qonğan tügete o yīzi yemen yağ wasiq-qałğaqtro.
 qa^hš q^hon-gan tügi-ti o yiz-ī emin yag pas-īp q^hal-gaqtī
 few stay.the.night-PP time-LOC that cloth-POS3 all.over grease press-CON fall-HABev
 when it has remained [there] some nights, that cloth of his will be stained with grease all over.
5. anī aqkegırgeš ğāyanoqqa⁵⁴ poğwatsa
 anī akk^her-gi īgyaŋ o^hq-qa p^hog-īwat-sa
 that/ACC bring-CNAR god.of.wealth arrow-DAT tie-FIN-COND
 After he has brought that along and tied it to the arrow of the deity of wealth,
- kse unī paığaqtro.
 kīsī oŋey pay-gaqtī
 person fast become.rich-HABev
 a person becomes rich soon.

⁵⁰ Told by Anjaŋ Sanıŋkap, 20 September 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 22, № 31.

⁵¹ The form with plosive *q* is inexplicable.

⁵² The verb *soq-* ‘to strike’ is used in such expressions as *temir soq-* ‘to forge’ (lit. strike iron), *yiz soq-* ‘to weave cloth’ (lit. strike cloth).

⁵³ Typo corrected (original text *yizpen*).

⁵⁴ Cf. *īgyaŋ o^hq^h* L22a ‘arrow-shaped magical implement to implore to the god of wealth’.

Pigs⁵⁵

1. q‘awan asrasa q‘oranıñ išk‘e p‘ak‘asa q‘oiğa qodur wołğaqtro.
 q^hawan asıra-sa q^hora-nıñ iş-ki p^haq-a-sa qoy-ga q^hotır pol-gaqtı
 pig raise-COND pen-GEN inside-DAT shit-COND sheep-DAT scab become-HABev
 If one raises pigs and if they shit in the pen, the sheep get the scab.
2. mıs yuğur kse wosa q‘awan asrasa
 mız yogır kisi po-sa q^hawan asıra-sa
 we yugur person become-COND pig raise-COND
 If we, Yugur people, [would] raise pigs,
- q‘an t‘eñir⁵⁶ sōčığaq tro.
 q^han tiñir soçı-gaqtı
 khan heaven become.startled-HABev
 the Heavenly Khan will be provoked⁵⁷.
3. andaq q‘aš-la⁵⁸ q‘awan asramīndrusa.
 antaq-aš-la q^hawan asıra-mintı-sa
 thus-PCL1 pig raise-PASTNev-PCL5
 Therefore we never raised pigs.

⁵⁵ Told by Anjañ Saniškap, 19 September 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 21, № 28.

⁵⁶ Typo corrected (original text *t‘eñip*).

⁵⁷ The meaning ‘to be provoked’ is suggested by Malov.

⁵⁸ Typo corrected (original text *andaq q‘ašRla*).

Sun and Moon⁵⁹

1. aĩnĩj ĩšte pĩčĩn bar er dĩ-dĩr na.
ay-nĩj ĩŝ-ti pičĩn par-i ti-ytĩ-nĩ
moon-GEN inside-LOC monkey present-COP say-AORev-INT
Inside the moon is a monkey, they say.

2. maŋǵĩs par er dĩdĩr na.
maŋqĩs par-i ti-ytĩ-nĩ
ogress present-COP say-AORev-INT
There is an ogress, they say.

3. kunĩj ĩšte pĩčĩn war er dĩ-dĩr na.
k^hun-nĩj ĩŝ-ti pičĩn par-i ti-ytĩ-nĩ
sun-GEN inside-LOC monkey present-COP say-AORev-INT
Inside the sun is a monkey, they say.

⁵⁹ Noted down September 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujgurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 35, № 50.

The Magpie⁶⁰

1. tuıto pěr çouqaŋ šänsin maŋan-dro.
 tüyt^hi pİR çôkaŋ šänsİN maŋ-qantİ
 once one çôkaŋ doctor walk-PNARev
 Once a certain doctor Choukang was traveling.
2. maŋō pěr çölge yetkeš ũ^xsqaš < ousqaš
 maŋ-ō pİR ç^höl-gi i^ht-ki o^hs-qa
 walk-CSIM one desert-DAT arrive-CNAR become.thirsty-CNAR
 While traveling, he arrived at a desert, and he became thirsty, and
- maŋsa pěr su aqūğan-dro.
 maŋ-sa pİR su aq-ō-gantİ
 walk-COND one water flow-AUX-PNARev
 as he walked, suddenly [he noticed that] water was flowing.
3. aİ, mİnda yaxşı wolte!
 ay mİnta ya^hş pol-^htİ
 EXCL here good become-PAST
 ‘Ay, here it is good!’
4. pěr sutan pěr işse
 pİR su-tan pİR İş-si
 one water-ABL one drink-COND
 As he drank once from the water,
- iške tez wučin çükkeš moİNİ sİnğaš sunİ⁶¹ işker tese
 İşkİ tİz uçİN ç^hük-ki moyn-İ sİN-qa su-nİ İş-kİ tİ-si
 two knee with kneel-CNAR neck-POS3 stretch-CNAR water-ACC drink-VNFUT say-COND
 as he was about to drink the water, having knelt down on both his knees and having stretched his neck,
- pěr saqİsqan kelgeš sunİŋ işke paqaw-adİp-tro.
 pİR saqİsqan ki-gi su-nİŋ İş-ki p^haqaw-wat-İptİ
 one magpie come-CNAR water-GEN inside-DAT shit-FIN-PASTev
 a magpie came and shitted into the water.
5. andaq qİlğan tügete aİ mağa su ičernİŋ ayİğ ma yoq-tro.
 an-tag qİl-gan tügi-ti ay maga su i^hč-ir-nİŋ ayİğ-ma yoq-tİ
 that-EQU do-PP time-LOC EXCL me/DAT water drink-PFUT-GEN luck-PCL3 not.present-EV
 When it did thus did thus [he said]: ‘Ay, there is no chance for me of drinking water!’
6. čİlağaš saqİsqannİ funnus tİp-tro⁶²:
 ç^hİla-ga saqİsqan-nİ ?fİnn-u^ht-İptİ
 become.angry-CNAR magpie-ACC ?curse-COM-PASTev
 Angrily, he cursed the magpie:

⁶⁰ Told by Anjaŋ Sanİškap, 14 February 1911, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugrov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 114, № 113.

⁶¹ Emended by Malov from the genitive *sunİŋ*.

⁶² Noted in M134b as *fİnnust-* ‘to curse’. The last element represents the completive *-u^ht-*; the base is possibly from a Chinese noun like e.g. *fèn* ‘anger, indignation’ or *fèng* ‘insane’, or from derived verbs of these + verbalizer *-LA*.

7. saqisqanğa altınjı aınıñ pěr aıǵa su işmege ~ işmegeı
 saqisqan-qa a^hltı-nçı ay-nıñ pır ay-ga su iş-mi-ge
 magpie-DAT six-ORD month-GEN one month-DAT water drink-NEG-OPT
 May the magpie not drink water for one month during the sixth month!

~ işmes woǵaı
 iş-mis pol-ge
 drink-PN become-OPT
 may it not drink!

8. saqisqan pır aı ũ^xsu woǵaı andağ dep-tro.
 saqisqan pır ay o^hs-ô pol-ge an-tag tıptı
 magpie one month become.thirsty-CSIM become-OPT that-EQU say-PASTev
 May the magpie remain thirsty for one month!' thus he said.

The Story of Flour Flowing from Heaven⁶³

1. teñjirtan men aq^hqan lomaq^h.
 tiñjir-tin men a^hq-qan lomaq
 heaven-ABL flour flow-PP story
 The story of flour flowing from heaven.

2. k^hismī ko tey tarlat^hqanta la
 kīsi-nī kô tey tarla-t-qanta-la
 person-ACC DEM just develop-CAUS-CTMP-PCL1
 When he had just created man,

 ko teñjirtan la men aq^hqaq^hqey ti to.
 kô tiñjir-tin-la men a^hq-qaq-i ti-ytī
 DEM heaven-ABL-PCL1 flour flow-HAB-COP say-AORev
 flour used to flow from this heaven they say.

3. q^har la men ey ti tī.
 q^har-la men-i ti-ytī
 snow-PCL1 flour-COP say-AORev
 They say snow was flour.

4. yamir ya yag e ti tī.
 yagmir-ya yag-e ti-ytī
 rain-PCL2 butter-COP say-AORev
 They say rain was butter.

5. antan la pīr k^hempeş la lanç^hañ ey ti tī.
 an-tan-la pīr k^hempiş-la lanç^hañ-e ti-ytī
 that-ABL-PCL1 one woman-PCL1 lazy-COP say-AORev
 Thereupon a woman was lazy they say.

6. pu mīla p^haq^hiwat^hqanta la
 pu mīla p^haq^ha-wat-qanta-la
 this child shit-FIN-CTMP-PCL1
 When this child had pooped,

 pu you pinzi ućin pu mīlanīñ qoñqirīn art^hqan ti to.
 pu yôpinzī ućin pu mīla-nīñ qoñqir-īn art-qan ti-ytī
 this oil.cake with this child-GEN buttocks-POS3ACC whipe-PNAR say-AORev
 she wiped this child's buttocks with an oil-cake, they say.

7. antaq^hqanta la pu teñjir mīnī şoulot^hqan ti to.
 antaqanta-la pu tiñjir mīnī şôl-u^ht-qan ti-ytī
 then-PCL1 this heaven this/ACC retake-COM-PNAR say-AORev
 Then this Heaven revoked this [gift of flour from heaven], they say.

8. antaq^hqanta la pu işt^h la pīr tīp^h arq^h p^haqagan ti to.
 antaqanta-la pu işt-la pīr tīp a^hrq p^haq^ha-gan ti-ytī
 then-PCL1 this dog-PCL1 one pad shit shit-PNAR say-AORev
 Then this dog shitted a turd they say.

⁶³ Told by K^horlo (Bái Mùlán), a herdsman of 57 years old, recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén on 26 July 1997 in Shēnjīngzi Village in Liánhuā Township in Míngguā District, and published in Zhōng Jīnwén. 2009. *Xībù Yùgùyǔ Miáoxiě Yánjiū* [Descriptive Study of the Western Yugur language]. Peking. 278-279, № 7.

9. qīnqīlaga uzi t^horlaş tī tige qīnqīlagaş la
 qīnqīla-ga uzi t^horla-ş tī ti-gi qīnqīla-gaş-la
 wail-CNAR self starve-FUTev say-CNAR wail-CNAR-PCL1
 She wailed, because she was starving, she wailed and

ışt^h arq^htīŋ haltırınqa q^haş çonzi yalawat^hqan e tito.
 ışt a^hrq-tīŋ a^hltır-īŋ-qa qa^hş çuŋzi yala-wat-qan-i ti-ytī
 dog shit-GEN underside-POS3-DAT some seed press-FIN-PNAR-COP say-AORev
 she pressed some seeds underneath the dog shit, they say.

10. k^hīsı am pu şıgen azıq^h la, pu ışt^htīŋ tarīg⁶⁴ tī.
 kīsı am pu ış-kin azıq-la pu ışt-tīŋ tarīg-tī
 person now this drink-PP food-PCL1 this dog-GEN grain-EV
 This food that people eat now, is this dog's grain.

⁶⁴ The name *ışt^htīŋ tarīg* is not recorded elsewhere in Yugur, but compare the name *ışt^h quzuruq^h* L23b ‘common millet, broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*)’, *şit^h quzuruq^h* L304b ‘foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*)’, *ışt^h quzuruq^h* C479b ‘common millet, foxtail millet’, (lit. dog tail), calqued from Chinese *gōuweīcǎo* ‘wild millet, green bristlegrass (*Setaria viridis*)’ (lit. dog tail grass).

Divination by Means of a Cord (1)⁶⁵

1. aq tas: yerliq tas yerinde orunuq tro, kelgimes-tro, putpın-dro.
 aq tas yerlik tas yer-ın-ti ornıq-tı ki-gımistı pı^ht-pintı
 white stone tomb.stone stone ground-POS3-LOC firm-EV come-FUT_{Nev} suffice-PAST_{Nev}
 [The] white stone: It is a tomb stone, firm on its ground. It will not come, it did not suffice.

2. çoli: jowalan pezık-tro, yawtał putpın-dro.
 ç^holı çowalaŋ pezık-tı yotal pı^ht-pintı
 strainer trouble big-EV matter suffice-PAST_{Nev}
 [The] strainer: troubles are big. The matter did not suffice.

3. qus: qus tüsse yus-tro.
 qus qus tus-si yüs-tı
 bird bird fall-COND bad-EV
 [The] bird: if the bird [omen] falls, it is bad.

4. qızıł tas: qızıł tas tüsse, kse perısu-dro.
 qıził tas qıził tas tus-si kisi p^her-is-otı
 red stone red stone fall-COND person beat-REC-PROG_{Ev}
 [The] red stone: if the red stone [omen] falls, people are fighting.

5. temir: temir tüsse jowalan pezık-tro, yol-tro.
 temir temir tus-si çowalaŋ pezık-tı yol-tı
 iron iron fall-COND trouble big-EV journey-EV
 Iron: if the iron [omen] falls, troubles are big. It is a journey.

⁶⁵ Told by Erkisku, November 1913, in Dōnghāizi (Míngħāi), and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugrov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 25, № 36. Divination by means of a cord is practised by the old woman in the folktale *Story about a Cow*.

Divination by Means of a Cord (2)⁶⁶

1. čēm čēm⁶⁷
2. ayığčiniñ⁶⁸ aq yotağ
ayığçı-niñ aq yotag
oracle-GEN white cord
The [male] oracle's white cord
3. körumčiniñ⁶⁸ kök yotağ
körimçi-niñ kük yotag
oracle-GEN blue cord
The [female] oracle's blue cord
4. aılatpas⁶⁹ to^xqisti aılat
aylat-pas to^hqis-ti aylat
foretell-PN nine-ACC foretell
Foretell the nine that won't be foretold
5. surnamasa meniñ yus
surna-ma-sa meniñ yüs
consult-NEG-COND my-GEN bad
If I don't consult [the omen], it is my fault
6. aılatpasa irqtiñ yus
aylat-pa-sa irq-tiñ yüs
foretell-NEG-COND omen-GEN bad
If I don't foretell, it is the omen's fault

⁶⁶ Told by Erkisku, 1913, in Dönghäizi (Míngghäi), and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujgurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 25, № 37.

⁶⁷ A shamanist exclamation, whose meaning is not specified. Perhaps to be translated as 'hail!'?

⁶⁸ According to Malov, the *ayığçı* is divining deity, thought of as an old man, the *körimçi* a divining deity thought of as a woman. Note the alliteration.

⁶⁹ Malov's translation 'if I don't foretell, foretell the nine' suggests a conditional *aylatpasa*.

Divination by Means of Copper Money⁷⁰

0. čēm čēm⁶⁷
- to^xqus mīnīk ~ šare urjat⁷¹ aīlat!
 to^hqīs minīk ? aīlat
 nine money ? foretell
 Foretell [using] the nine [coins of] money!
1. tağ-dro. tağ tüšüp tro. yáxši.
 t^hag-tī t^hag tus-iptī ya^hš
 mountain-EV mountain fall-PASTev good
 It is a mountain. The mountain [omen] has fallen. Good.
- 2-4. semī išt a't. yaxši.
 semi išt a^ht ya^hš
 lamasery dog horse good
 The lamasery, dog, horse. Good.
5. suniŋ üzetekī čuan-dro. ağırğan kīse qoppas-tro. yusīrk tüsīdro.
 su-niŋ üzi-ti-kī ç^huan-tī agır-gan kīsī qo^hp-pastī yūs i^hrq tus-itī
 water-GEN upside-LOC-REL boot-EV become.ill-PP person rise-AORNeV bad omen fall-AORev
 It is a boat on the water. An ill person will not get up. A bad omen falls.
6. kūn. yus-tro. ağırğan kse qoppas-tro.
 k^hun yūs-tī agır-gan kīsī qo^hp-pastī
 sun bad-EV become.ill-PP person rise-AORNeV
 The sun. It is bad. An ill person will not get up.
7. qus. qus-tiŋ oriŋo qurug dro. yus-tro.
 qus qus-tiŋ oriŋ-i q^hurig-tī yūs-tī
 bird bird-GEN nest-POS3 empty-EV bad-EV
 The bird. The nest of the bird is empty. It is bad.
8. aī. aīnī kunnīŋ jowaŋan pezik-tro. yus-tro.
 ay ay-nī k^hun-niŋ çowalaŋ pezik-tī yūs-tī
 moon moon-AND sun-GEN trouble big-EV bad-EV
 The moon: the troubles of the moon and sun [omen] are big. It is bad.
9. pumba-dro. purqanniŋ oturīda čuŋağan⁷² pumbadağ yaxši-dro.
 pīmpa-tī pi^hrqan-niŋ u^htir-ta ?-gan pīmpa-tag ya^hš-tī
 ritual.jar-EV deity-GEN front-LOC ?-PP ritual.jar-EQU good-EV
 It is a ritual jar. It is as good as a ritual jar [offered] in front of a deity [image].

⁷⁰ Told by Erkisku, November 1913, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 25, № 38.

⁷¹ Meaning not specified.

⁷² Meaning unclear, M146a suggests ‘to offer, to propose, to put’.

Portents From a Dream (1)⁷³

1. tūne uzuğaš teġ tūsigeš⁷⁴ yağılasqan⁷⁵.
 t^huni uzī-ga tīl tusi-gi yagīla-s-qan
 at.night sleep-CNAR dream dream-CNAR do.battle-REC-PNAR
 When sleeping at night and having a dream, they battled one another.

2. qan unse yus tro, qan unmese yaxši tro.
 q^han un-si yūs-tī q^han un-mi-si ya^hš-tī
 blood come.out-COND bad-EV blood come.out-NEG-COND good-EV
 If blood comes out, it is bad, if no blood comes out, it is good.

3. men pêr teġ tutte.
 men pīr tīl tu^ht-tī
 I one dream hold-PAST
 I had a dream.

4. men at mīnde, pêr čī mīnde, pêr jīgen mīnde.
 men a^ht mīn-tī pīr č^hi mīn-tī pīr čigin mīn-tī
 I horse mount-PAST one camel mount-PAST one donkey mount-PAST
 I mounted a horse, I mounted a camel, I mounted a donkey.

5. at mīngen yaxši tro, čī mīngen yus tro.
 a^ht mīn-kin ya^hš-tī č^hi mīn-kin yūs-tī
 horse mount-PP good-EV camel mount-PP bad-EV
 Mounting a horse is good, mounting a camel is bad.

⁷³ Told by Asırma Pantī, recorded on wax roll 19 November 1910, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujuurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 23, № 33.

⁷⁴ The collocation *tīl tusi-* ‘to dream a dream’, attested in Malov only, is currently replaced by the metathesis form *tīlisti-* ‘to dream’. The collocation *tīl tu^ht-* ‘to hold a dream’ is used as well.

⁷⁵ Perhaps for *yagīlasqanta* ‘when they battle(d)’?

Portents From a Dream (2)⁷⁶

1. kīče men tel tutte.
kiči men tīl tu^ht-tī
last.evening I dream hold-PAST
Last evening I had a dream.

2. men pēr ğu yaxqağa asarğa barğan dro.
men pīr kō ya^hqa-ga asar-ga par-gantī
I one DEM upward-DAT village-DAT go-PNARev
I went up to that one village.

3. asardan berī mañip⁷⁷ qum īške yetiptro.
asar-tan perī mañ-ō q^hom īš-ki i^ht-iptī
village-ABL hither walk-CSIM sand inside-DAT arrive-PASTev
While walking from the village hither, I arrived in a desert.

4. mīsīr⁷⁸ pīrinda xaniptro, men soñda mañudīr⁷⁹.
mīsīr p^horn-ta hanī-ptī, men soñ-ta mañ-ōtī
mīsīr before-LOC go-PASTev I after-LOC walk-PROGev
Mysyr went ahead, I am walking after.

5. qum īške yetse semī ma közütüdir, yū ma közutudīr.
q^hom īš-ki i^ht-si semi-ma közti-ōtī yū-ma közti-ōtī
sand inside-DAT arrive-COND lamasery-PCL3 appear-PROGev hous-PCL3 appear-PROGev
As we arrived in the desert, a lamasery was coming in sight, and a house was coming in sight.

6. e! qaıda qum başta mī^xken īške kīse yīrlasıptro.
e qayta q^hom pa^hš-ta mi^hkin īškī kīsī yerla-s-iptī
EXCL where sand top-LOC PROB two person sing-REC-PASTev
Eh! Where is it, on top of a sand [hill] – two people sang together.

7. larīmo⁸⁰ yīrlasıp⁷⁴ neme qañğrasudro me⁸¹.
larimo yerlasō nimi q^hañqıra-s-ōtī-ma
larimo sing-REC-CSIM thing sing.loudly-REC-PROGev-PCL3
They are singing together Larimo, singing something in a loud voice.

8. anī tīnnī tīnnī⁸² mañsadīr⁸³.
anī tīñn-i tīñn-i mañ-īs-atī
that/ACC listen-CREP listen-CREP walk-REC-AORev
Listening and listening to it, we walk on together.

9. mañsa mañsa yene nupjannīñ⁸⁴ yüge yetiptīr.
mañ-īs-a mañ-īs-a eni nurćan-nīñ yū-gi i^ht-iptī
walk-REC-CREP walk-REC-CREP again nurćan-GEN house-DAT arrive-PASTev
As we walk on and on together, [we] then arrived at the house of Nurjan.

⁷⁶ Told by Anjañ Sanīškap, 26 November 1910, and published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 23, № 34.

⁷⁷ Note the converb *-ip* in free syntactic use, currently replaced by the simultaneous converb *-ō*.

⁷⁸ Mīsīr is the son of Anjang Sanīškap.

⁷⁹ Note the disjunct used in this telling of a dream.

⁸⁰ Name of a Tibetan song, popular among the Yugur.

⁸¹ The function of the particle is unclear here.

⁸² Raised from *tīñnay*, from *tīñna-* ‘to listen’ + repetitive converb *-y*.

⁸³ Not included in Malov 1957, but most likely a reciprocal *mañis-* ‘to walk together’. Malov translates the form as ‘to walk’.

⁸⁴ Most likely a typo for *nurjan*.

10. kīseler as eçudır, maga yırła dīder⁸⁵ kīsiler.
 kīsī-lir as i^hç-ôti, maga yerla ?ti-yti kīsī-lir
 person-PL banquet drink-PROG_{ev} me/DAT sing ?say-AOR_{ev} person-PL
 The people are having a banquet, they tell me to sing, [these] people.
11. men ma yırhıdır, örligeş yırhıdır.
 men-ma yerl-itī örlī-gī yerl-itī
 I-PCL3 sing-AOR_{ev} stand-CNAR sing-AOR_{ev}
 So I sing, standing, I sing.
12. andağ pēr teł tutte.
 an-tag pīr tīl tu^ht-tī
 that-EQU one dream hold-PAST
 Such a dream I dreamt.
13. yırłasq’an teł yus.
 yerla-s-qan tīl yūs
 sing-REC-PP dream bad
 A dream about singing together is bad.

⁸⁵ Structure uncertain.

Slaughtering a Sheep⁸⁶

1. qoï üzüğış-tro:
qoy üzi-gıştı
sheep slaughter.by.ripping.the.big.artery-FUTev
[They] will slaughter a sheep by ripping its big artery.
2. tusten yuğurğış-tro ~ yuğurğış-tro.
tös-tin yülir-gıştı
chest-ABL kill-FUTev
They will kill it from the chest.
3. örekti ağış-tro.
yürik-ti al-gıştı
heart-ACC take-FUTev
[They] will take the heart.
4. andaq qısa qoï yuğış-tro.
an-tag qı-sa qoy yül-gıştı
that-EQU do-COND sheep die-FUTev
As they do thus, the sheep will die.

⁸⁶ Published in Malov, S. E. 1967. *Jazyk želyx ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*. Moscow. 152, № 142.

Milk Tea and Baked Buns⁸⁷

1. sut ç^ha-nī nagô horgī-t-qaq-i?
 milk tea-ACC how boil-CAUS-HAB-COP
 How to cook milk tea?
- su-nī horgī-t-qa ç^ha-nī sal-ga
 water-ACC boil-CAUS-CNAR tea-ACC put-CNAR
 Boil water and put in the tea, and
- eni mića horgī-ga ç^ha tus-kinti sut-tī quz.
 again little boil-CNAR tea descend-CTMP milk-ACC pour
 when it again boils a bit and the tea [leaves] have sunk, pour in the milk.
- eni mića horgī-ga sut pīs-kinti-ya
 again little boil-CNAR milk cook-CTMP-PCL1
 When it again boils a bit and the milk has cooked,
- ker iṣ-ki t^haqan-nī sal ç^hörmi-nī sal
 bowl inside-DAT parched.flour-ACC put dried.cheese-ACC put
 put parched flour, put dried cheese into a bowl,
- ta^hqī cōti⁸⁸ yag q^hayaq
 also silverberry butter cream
 and also silverberries, butter, and cream.
- antaqanta sut ç^ha-nī quz.
 then milk tea-ACC pour
 Then pour the milk tea out.

2. sógīl-gin k^henzi.
 bake-PP bun
 Baked buns
- tīs-tī zin uzin sógīl-gi qīzar-ganta
 cauldron-ACC sheep.dung with heat.up-CNAR be.red-CTMP
 Heat up the cauldron with sheep dung and when it is red hot,
- k^henzi-nī et-ki i^śç-iñ-ki sal-ga
 bun-ACC make-CNAR inside-POS3-DAT put-CNAR
 make the buns and put them in it,
- tīs-tiñ q^hapaq-i q^hala-ga zin uzin k^höm-iwat-qa
 cauldron-GEN lid-POS3 cover-CNAR sheep.dung with bury-FIN-CNAR
 cover [it with] the lid of the cauldron and bury [it] well with sheep dung
- ṣī fin çuñ pol-ganta k^henzi pīs-kīṣtī.
 ten minutes clock become-CTMP bun cook-FUTev
 and when ten minutes have passed, the buns will be done.

⁸⁷ Cooked by Xuéliǎn, and noted down September 1995 in Běijīng.

⁸⁸ These are the berries (also called Russian olives or Trebizond dates) of the *Elaeagnus angustifolia*, called *shāzǎo* (lit. sand date) in Chinese.