A Sample of Oral Literature of Xinjiang Salars

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(Kyoto/Urumchi)

0. Introduction
Salar, is one of the officially recognized Turkic speaking ethnic groups in P. R. China, mainly distributed in the Xunhua Salar Autonomous county, and Hualong, Haibei counties of Qinghai province. According to the official declaration in 1994, the total population of Salar is 3706 in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. They were mainly distributed in Ili (2452), Altay (431), Urumchi (200), Sanji (187), and in Tarbaghatay (164). Most of them are settled down in Salar, Dongxiang National Village (Sala Dongxiang Minzu cun 撒拉東鄉民族村, Sala, Dongxiang Milli Kánti) of Samiyüz Xiang (鄉), Ili county, where they have 1700 population and 280 families. Most of them are able to communicate both in the local dialect of Uyghur and Khazak languages in addition to their mother tongue Salar. Now some young generations hardly speak Salar, but fluency in Uyghur and Khazak. Different from Qinghai Salars, very few Salars in Xinjiang, excluding some Salars in the cities, are able to communicate in Chinese.

According to their oral history and the records of Yiningxian Difangzhi Bangongshi (the Office for Local History of Ili county), Salars came from Qinghai province to the Ili valley at the end of the last century because of the fighting between Laojiao (老教 old religious school) and Xinjiao (新教). For most detailed data about their distribution in other areas besides Xinjiang cf. Tenishev, 1976, p. 23; Hahn 1988, p. 237-238.

1 Records of population are taken from Zhongguo Minzu Renkou Tongji Ziliao (Materials on the National Population Statistics, China), Tongji Chubanshe 1995. Distribution of the Salars in Samiyüz were provided by local civil authorities of Salar village.

2 Concerning their migration I have consulted my own records of three texts that I am going to publish later; also cf. Yining Xianzhi (A Concise History of Ili County), Yiningxian Difangzhi Bangongshi, 1992 (unpublished manuscript).
New Religious school), which are two main religious school of Islam among Salars. Some of them came there in the 1930s with the troops of the Hui warlord Ma Zhongying and his uncle Ma Husan. The Salars who came in the 1930s built the first Salar mosques in Urumchi as well as in the Ili valley, and formed the first Salar village in Xinjiang. But the main part of the Salars now living in Ili valley came there during the Great Cultural Revolution and after the door-opening policy, from Xunhua Salar Autonomous county, Qinghai. This day Ili Salars not only have their own autonomous village in Ili, but also own their political seat in the local Ili government as well as in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. 30 years ago, they built a primary school for Salar children in the Ili valley, and recently began to train their first generation of university students at the Xinjiang University with the financial aid by the Dongxiang, Salar Autonomous Village, Ili county. Most Salars in the Ili valley are farmers, some of them are semi-nomads. Recently, among the Salars the merchants and businessmen have also begun to appear.

The language of Salars mainly was studied by G. N. Potanin (1893), Shibata Takeshi (1946), Nicholas Poppe (1953), Lin Lianyun and Han Jianye (1962), S. Kakuk (1961, 1962), A. R. Tenishev (1962, 1963, 1964, 1976), V. Drimba (1962, 1973), Lin Lianyun (1985, 1992) and by R. F. Hahn (1988). But all of them were concentrated on the language of Qinghai Salars. Concerning the language of Xinjiang Salars, in 1992 a research project was carried out by Hu Yi, Abdurishid Yakup and Zhang Dingjing. Recently, based on the materials collected during the field works in 1986 and in 1992, two papers were published in China by the present writer. According to our materials, the language of Xinjiang Salars share many similar phonological and morphological features with the language of Qinghai Salars: the eight vowel phonemes /i, ü, e, æ, ø, y, a, o, u/ found in the language of Qinghai Salar still exist in the language of Xinjiang Salars; most morphological suffixes found in Qinghai Salar also are active in the

4 Concerning the population and language situation of Salars in Xinjiang very little informations was given in Trippner, 1964, Hahn, 1988, and in some publications in China.
language of Xinjiang Salars. Meanwhile, the language of Xinjiang Salars was strongly influenced by the language of Uyghurs, including Khazaks in the Ili valley, and obtained some special phonological, lexical and morphological peculiarities different from the language of Qinghai Salars. For example, the consonants $[^t]$, $[^t\acute{s}]$ and $[^s]$ found in QS (the language of Qinghai Salars) were replaced by $[^d]\acute{s}$, $[^t]$, $[^\acute{s}]$ the most cases in XS (the language of Xinjiang Salars); Relatively, the variants $[^l]$, $[^i]$ of /i/ which appears after these consonants also do not exist in XS; diphthongs $[^ie]$, $[^ye]$, $[^iu]$ found in Qinghai Salar are in some words replaced by $[^e]/[^e]$, $[^\acute{e}]$, and $[^u]$ respectively (niepun $\rightarrow$ nenpun $\prec$ Chin. lianpen “washbasin”, yejo $\rightarrow$ jo $\prec$ Chin. xuexiao “school”, dumulux $\rightarrow$ dumulux “skylight”); as a result of Salar-Uyghur bilingualism a large amount of Uyghur vocabulary, including some Arabic, Persian loan words in Uyghur, such as samsa “meatpie”, polo “pillow”, saptul “peach” (tazi in QS), yzym “grape” (puto in QS), have been borrowed by XS; some cardinal numerals are different from QS, the following is a list of these words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XS</th>
<th>QS</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iki ~ ijki</td>
<td>igi</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ</td>
<td>udʒ</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jidi</td>
<td>yidʒi ~ yide</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellix</td>
<td>elli</td>
<td>fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atmiʃ</td>
<td>ellion ~ ahmuʃ</td>
<td>sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jidimiʃ</td>
<td>ellii jigerme ~ jemuʃ</td>
<td>seventy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doxsan</td>
<td>elli Ginx ~ toxsen</td>
<td>ninety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tymen</td>
<td>zanzi</td>
<td>ten thousand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another obvious morphological feature of XS is that for the 1st and 2nd person possessive endings there exist both singular and plural form in XS, but there is only one form for singular and plural in QS.

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8 In this paper b, d, g, stands for [p], [t], [k], and p, t, k, q, tʃ stands for [p'], [t'], [k'], [q'], [tʃ'] respectively.
9 Only can be found a new words, naşi “matchmakers”, toşi “celebration”.

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Besides above features, in XS there are some Auxiliary verbs, such as bil- (dişna bil- "able to listen"), Gal- (uxla Gal- "sleep down"), vax- (yferde vax- "please try and read"), and some conjections, such as dem "if", hem "also", etc. which we could not find in the materials of QS. Not all of these features of XS are traced back to Uyghur, but most possibly to the earlier period of Salar language, especially the some cardinal numbers and Auxiliary verbs (for example, bil-).

Like the Qinghai Salars the Salars in Ili also have no script of their own (children take Uyghur or Chinese school), they use Modern Uyghur as a literary medium. However, they have preserved many folk tales and folk songs in their own language, and have developed their oral literature to some level. Most folk tales and songs are about their migration from Samarkhand to the east some centuries ago and about some heroic people among the Salars, they also have some love stories and love songs, as well as some poetry concerning the new phenomena that appeared in modern Salar society. In the summer of 1986, with the aid of Xinjiang University I visited Xinjiang Salars with a research group led by professors Cheng Shiliang and Turdi Ahmad and collected some primary materials from this variant of Salar language. Five years later, from October to November of 1992, I was able to do some field-work on Xinjiang Salars again, and arranged to stay with the family of Abduqadir Galamanov, who is the most well known intellectual among the Xinjiang Salars. He has invented some excellent poetry in oral Salar language and is poetry is recited by some Salar speakers in the Ili valley. jaŋkina gular "new wives" which I am going to edit here is one of his poems. This poem was invented during his visit to Qinghai Salars on February 1992. In this poetry, from the point of traditional Salar view, he criticizes the commercial marriage as well as other moral problems found in Salar society. It is very obvious that this poetry is not only important as a sample of Salar oral literature and an original source of Xinjiang Salar language, but also as a very valuable material for understanding the present
situation of Salar society and the social problems found in Qinghai Salars.

Here first the whole text of this poem will be presented in IPA characters along with an English translation (only a very literal translation), then an analytic list of the words appearing in this text will be provided. Here, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Abduqadir Galamanop for his generous help during my whole field work and giving me permission to publish this poetry. Thanks are due to Dr. Mehmet Ölmez and Dr. Sugahara Mutsumi, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, for their detailed suggestions concerning this paper, too.

**I Text in Transcription**

jaŋkinagular

1  gyʒ giʃ vosa doj iʃtine doj etba
    soðʃilar gala dese ana jetba
    bar kiʃler geriğali labı vursa
    joxmaʃuşı uslağali ana jetba

2  dojlarda baʃında saðʃı ʃaji
    giʃiini giʃil sari uzun dai
    galı varsar bir jımax jaŋkinagu
    armda erişgeni jeŋgu aji

3  baʃina uzun şadʃı ʃtyngali
    to:laʃwa xisdaʃı oturgalı
    galı bir-birini toşı iți
    jeŋysi çıdax kala ködyr galı

4  jeŋkinagu jaxʃuxlıʃı ʃiʃex ıra
    bəɾ iʃinde ʃiʃexgende jaxʃux ıra
    jaʃları bir-birinden kiʃa tʃile
    bulardın kɔɾ jarkimi gauʃı ıra

5  doj etgende galabanın jiʃalmaʃa
    ardiʃi iʃ niʃle vosur bıʃalmaʃa
    sumurlasa biri kiʃler tʃili
    tebdirmiği bu iʃinden gaʃalmaʃa

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6 doj töride jərkənilər bozı jıba
yşaj oğy hene qıny tışıyax jıba
ğujsiniği jandıyuku dol əğənde
jərkınagu{jıba{jıba qınya giba

7 jərməgende qatıçası jaxtıuxarı
vara vara kırdağuşu atuxarı
nax essede ornaşmaqan etgen ifi
işgenler göz jəfları qur juxarı

8 bırsılar iriştirən ifki bala
sen əşərse aşkaratzığ jıtım bala
men sumurlap bu iğ eqlim jetmyr
jışadaşax gəjsiniği goğnu ala

9 jaxşi ana akutşi naşı tra
silənda ałsana andan daşı tra
əszinda şımın jıfa doldurbatşı
den rəzi jyrgytşynığı başı tra

10 naşı dese anaları gəlaŞ ba
banfa isde sodılları tʃalaŞ ba
doj iğli işki jılur otku da:İ
analarr oje gele jılaŞ ba

11 jəʃ jigitler sen sumurla eql vosa
jaxʃaro balalarıŋ jıtım vosa
birni alt birni jyri adət ete
əşən tra gadın kişler guaf vosa

12 biriları naşılara kıjni vomif
yʃ ʒil dolmij palmırına gele vomiʃ
bala-vaxı okaŋ telle qanqiltşana
jəŋyusiniği xatışini jiji niini vomiʃ

13 biri əjje sədxı bolar qılış juxa
sədxı gelse gedən galt veriʃ joxa

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o’tsax síxla oturkanının unuttıjan
naşılarmız golakanın bilis joxa

14 birilari sódji gelse giril bari
sütşen vütşen helliğe deril bari
sødji bolar renlamatlyğ yanbaàanda
eşirukun dep jyreğ bari ezil bari

15 guafulari hajvan emes bir kiş idir
bularını helliğe satıp nañ iş idir
sødji gelse sütşen vütşen tjiğişi
sumurlasa eleş satın bari iş idir

16 guafularda tşyelli bidça vararo
ani goñünde nañ sumurla ba bilgaro
helliğe volo ani şıde beğlese
netje vosla kem jigenen bilgaro

17 birisiniği tʃıggan gujsi beşe jemisfy
jogosından helle ali naña jemisfy
hellene gujsundanda ulu gørö
ardi gurkı zasañändan gurugalmış

18 erden tʃıxsə ezleri d[Math]ına bari
xandolarda kiş şijere gumna bari
biri vaxta dantsudç jur göringenende
jyzine bula oøründan fañna bari

19 erden ere tʃıggutşılar galaşma
jahtarın birne erişgalı tʃalaşma
aqrı vosalı sumurla jarğınagı
namıñ sat ez-eziını galama

20 hemme kişçe aqirlar var bilgysyr var
go tʃıggutşılar saxtʃux vosalı jangusur var
ńʃo méñi sumurlașal bu išłami
netje karla dikenese dırgusur var

http://www.turkdilleri.org/
21 axun bolar zerin nəndir bişal joxa
dən dəşəna salar sözün jişal joxa
loxman hakim vaxindaşın dəşəna bəţi
əbilərda nəş voşan bişal joxa

22 sen sumurla bu günəhi kimdə vara
nefsi-şajən irişgəşdi şəjədə vara
biri şəjədə otşax sıxla otursuştı
birtuşğ emes işki emes yştə vara

23 er qadın qış sumurləşəl uzal qalı
jurmeğəl nefsini dep jykyr qalı
goğnlardan şəgaro jaxşi kişlər
jitim balan şəjəx jisə şələ qalı

24 atanəba jişəkəl işki akiz
nesiəht gtəl oxul giza yş-dət akiz
men vaxṣa oxnaləba bu işlərinə
dənməsə aşmakı indye akiz

II Text in Translation

Title: New Wives
1 celebrate weddings autumn and winter one after another,
Matchmakers appear at every weddings if they are invited. Rich people are always full of brag,
poor people suffer from poverty.

2 wearing silk towels at the weddings
and putting red or yellow long coats
every where there are many married ladies
who are followed by their aunt

3 covering heads with long scarves,
sitting on the crowded tractor
they are happy and congratulate each other,
their aunt followed them with a big basket.
beauty of married ladies resembles flower,
even more beautiful than the flowers in the garden.
their age is younger than one another,
however most of them are widowed.

It is difficult to describe their happiness when they were married,
But they do not know what will happen after that.
Some people can imagine if they think about it,
it is hard to escape from the arrangement of the God.

married ladies eat meat bun at the weddings,
and eat stick without passing three months.
they will come back to mothers home by crying,
when their husbands pocket has filled with money.

husbands talk so sweet when they just married,
but some days later they find various excuse for beating.
they could not accept every thing what were done by their wife
the tears of their wife are never ending.

Some ladies lead two children,
in the case they are orphans if you look carefully.
I could not find an answer whatever how much I think,
please tell me which one’s heart is doubtful?

the best girls are married with businessmen,
regardless of their husbands have marriage in Xining.
they talk the law of religion on the mouth,
in the case they are chieftains of divorcing.

the girls are happy when heard they are businessman,
and try to close them via matchmakers as possible.
without passing two years after married,
girls will come home with the tears.

young gentleman think about it if you have intelligence,
is it good if your children be orphans?
you accustomed to marry with one and divorce with another, it is so hard for women if they are widowed.

12 some of them who married with businessmen, returned back to their mothers home without having three years. They take care of children and warm the kang-beds and listen to the curse of their aunts.

13 To some families there are no boy friends coming, even they come, [the parents] do not give their girls to them. forgetting how long they have waited in front the fire place, never mind sending away by the businessmen.

14 some families are so cheeky when matchmakers came, and become crazy for the money about four or five thousands. when the matchmakers returned without saying anything, they frustrate and their heart will be broken.

15 widowed ladies are mankind, but not animal, what is this to sell them for the money? bargain for four or five thousands with the matchmakers, what is the difference from selling a donkey, think about it.

16 Do they, the widow, have any powers? Do you know what they are thinking about? if you lock them at the home because of you have paid, Do you know how they are distressed because of it?

17 some of them have married for five times, what they get from receiving money from husbands? considering money more important than their husbands, at the end they lost their home and family.

18 they become daring after divorced with husbands, search for a male in the streets secretly. if they found a familiar person in some cases they look at them secretly covering the face and eyes.
the husband changers, do not be so happy, 
don’t go fashion following some people. 
think about it if you have intelligence, oh, married ladies, 
don’t burn yourself by selling your privilege.

everybody has both intelligence and knowledge, 
every tourist will return if he or she is healthy. 
everybody now think about these things, 
you need to stop even you can jump how high.

Axuns don’t know what is their own responsibility, 
even can not speak in Salar when they teach the law of religion. 
they talk about the things in Loqman Hakims time, 
but they don’t know what is happening in their own village.

who’s sin is it, please think about it, 
there are the followers of passion and Satan at your home. 
some families there are the fire-place-keepers 
not only one or two, but also three.

ladies and gentleman, let’s think about it when we went to the bed, 
let us not run after the passion. 
could you accept it, oh, good people, 
if your children have beaten after they became orphans?

lets talk to the parents some words, 
please give some lectures for your son and daughter. 
I think your case is not acceptable, 
I will not speak more if you don’t listen to me.

III Word List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adet</td>
<td>&lt; Ar. عادت ‘adat, custom, habit; adet et- 11:3 to accustom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agu</td>
<td>&lt; Chin. 姑 gu, lady, girl, title: jankaŋinagular &lt; jankaŋ “new” + diminutive -kina + agu “wife” + pl. -lar “new wives”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axıl</td>
<td>village, a.-larda 22:4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
akiz  mouthful 24:1, 2, 4; \(akizda < akiz + -m + -da\) “on his mouth” 9:3

aŋa  to him/to them 1:2,4

aj  month, (OT ay) yf a. 6:2 “three months”

aji  aunt, jengu a. 2:4 (< Chin. 阿姨 ayi “aunt, nanny”)

axun  < Per. أخون ~ أخوند, Ahun, teacher 22:1

al-  to take, to buy a.-kan + a 9:2; a.-r 11:3, 18:2; a.-a 8:3

alḵutʃi  buyer, married one 9:1 (< al- “to buy” + -deverb. -butʃi)

ant  their 16:2 (Genitive); them 17:3 (objective)

ana  girl, lady 9:1; a.-lart 10:1,4

andan  than her 9:2 (Ablative)

aqıl  < Ar. عقل, intelligence, a. vosa “if (you) have intelligence” 20:3; a.-ur “intelligence and related things” 21:1

ard  back (side) a.-i ğurki 17:4 “finally”; a.-mda 2:4 “at last”

ardbaš later 5:2 (ard “back” + -i POS. + func. -bi)

atana  father and mother, parents; a.-ba 24:1 “to parents (< ata “father” + ana “mother”)

atux  many, atwari 7:2 “there are many”

af-  to open, a.-maki 24:4 “do not open” (af- + neg. -ma + fut. -bi)

aʃkaratʃuğ  openly, publicly 8:2 (< aʃkara < Per. اشکار “openly” + func. -tʃuʃ)

ämes  is not, not 22:4, neg. partic. of er-/er- “to be”

eqil  v. aqıl; eqlim 11:1 (< eqil < Ar. ‘aqıl +1POS. -im 8:3) “my intelligence”

ba-  Aux. V. (Pre. Prog.)

doj ejtba-1:1 “(they) are holding the weddings”

jetba- 6:2,4 “(they) are arriving”

jiba- 6:1,2 “(they) are eating”

giba- 6:4 “(they) are coming”;

galaʃba- 10:1 “(they) are being happy”,

tʃalaʃba- 10:2 “(they) are searching”,

jiwlaʃba- 10:4 “(they) are crying”,

sumurlaba 16:2 “(they) are thinking”
A SAMPLE OF ORAL LITERATURE OF XINJIANG SALARS

bas < Per. ℓר bâs “garden” 4:2
bas(r)er liver, jyreğ basrî 14:4 “his heart”
bal child 8:1:2; b. + 12 23:4 “your child”; b. + la + 12 11:2 “your children”; b. - va r 12:3 “children, family”
banfa < Chin. 办法 banfa, way; means 10:2
bar all 1:3
bar- Aux. V. (Pre. Con., Int.)
   gi:rif bar-ı 14:1, deril bar-ı 14:2, ežil bar-ı 14:4, đöyna
   bar-ı 18:1, gumna bar-ı 18:2, fâyna bar-ı 18:4
bas head b. - in dâr 2:1 “at the head”, b. - in - a 3:1 “to the
   head”, b. 3POS. - r9:4 “their head”
beğle- to wait (OT bäklâ-), b. - se 13:3 “if (they) wait”
bej five, b. - e 17:1 “to five”
bidja a little 16:1 (< bir+tje), Turfan dialect of MU bizâ, Kirg.
bicie10
bil- to know, b. - if 13:4
bilgar- do know, b. - o 16:2,4 “do (they) know?”
bilgy wisdom (OT bilgâ), b. - sy - r 20:1 “their wisdom”
bir one, 2:3, 15:1,4
   b. - birinden 4:3 “one than another one”
   b. - bîr-î-ni 3:3 “each-other, mutually”
   b. - i 5:3, 13:1, 18:3, 22:3 “some one”
   b. - i - lari 12:1, 14:1 “some of them”
   b. - isî - niği 17:1 “some one’s”
   b. - ne < bîr - in - e 19:2 “to some one”
   b. - ni 11:3 “some one (obj.)”
birtgug only one, 22:4 (bir “one” + func. - tğu)
bişal- to be able to know 21:1,4; b. - ma - ba 5:2 “will not able to
   know”
bola- to cover 18:4 (< Chin. 包 bao+la-)
bolar they 13:1, 14:3, 21:1
bozi < Chin. 包子 baozi “steamed stuffed bun”
bu this, these 5:4, 8:3, 20:3, 22:1, 24:3

10 On the etymology of this word Kakuk provides a Turkish etymology bir+če in
Kakuk, 1962, p. 177a. However a Mongolian etymology was given in Räsänen:
*bieč < Mo. biči, bičiqan, cf. Räsänen p. 75a, Lessing bičixan (= bičiqan) p.
102a (recommended by Dr. Mehmet Ölmez).
bular
v. bolar
b.:dm 14:4 “from them”
b.:nt 15:2 “them” (obj.)

danıșudyr
acquaintance, familiar person 8:3, (< danı- “to recognize”
+udyr+r)

dași
outside, besides 9:2 (< daʃ + 3POS. +i)
daği
< Chin. 大衣 dayi “overcoat; top-coat” 2:2
den
just right 9:4, 21:2; MU däl.
de-
to speak, d.-p 23:2 “saying; for”
de-
v. de-; d.-se 1:2 “if they say”; d.-p 14:4 v. de-p; de-se
10:1 v. de-se
deril-
to be crazy, go crazy 14:2
dikene-
to jump, d.-se 20:4 “if jump”
dın-
< Chin. 停 ting “to stop”, d.-gu-sur 20:4 “stopping”
dınne-
< Chin. 听 ting “to listen” +ne- “to listen”, d.-me-se 24:4
“if do not listen”
dol-
to fill 6:3, 9:3, d.-mij 12:2
doldurbatʃi
filler, yifa d. 9:3 “speaker in full”
doj
wedding 1:1, 5:1, 6:1, 10:3; d.-lar-da 2:1 “at the
weddings”
dot
four (OT tört), yʃ-d. 24:2 “three or four, about four”

dadaʃ
< Chin. 壯大 zhuangda “big” 3:4
dana-
< Chin. 讲 jiang, +na- “to talk” 21:3; ʃy-sa 21:2 “if (they)
talk”
dideʃ
flower 4:1 (OT čačak), ʃy.+de 4:2 “more than
flower”
donna-
< Chin. 壯 zhuàng +na- “to become daring” 18:1
domin
< Chin. 教門 jiaomen “religion, religious sect” 9:3
ever
man, husband
e.-den tʃiʃsa 18:1 “if (they) divorced”
e.-den e.-e 19:1 “from husband to husband”
e. gadm 23:1 “husband and wife, man and wife”
etʃ-
to gain, to obtain, e.-gali 19:2 “in order to obtain” e.-gen-i

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2:4 “obtained one, one which has obtained”

et-  to do, do ej e. ba 1:1 “have been holding a wedding” es-se-de (< et-se-de )7:3 “even if (they) do”
adet e.-e 11:3 “to accustom to ...”
dej e.-gen-de 5:1 “when (they) hold wedding”

ejeğ  donkey 15:4
ejgen  pitiful, poor 11:4
ejirukün  pity (Part.)
ez  yourself (OT öz), e.-e.-iğ-ni 18:4 you yourself (obj.)
ezil-  to crush, to oppress ej bart 14:4 “have been oppressed”
ezleri  they themselves 18:1

fağna- < Chin. 防 fang+na- “to prevent” 18:4

gala-  to be happy, g.-ban-m 5:1

galaj-  V. Coop. of gala-; galaj-i 13:3, g. ba 10:1, g.-ma 19:1

gatfa  < Amdo dialect of Tib. kaç’a, kaç’a “talk, conversation, speech, word”11, g. 3POS. -st 7:1 “his word”

gededjn  to bluster, to be proud, g. galı 13:2

gel- (1)  to come, g.-e 10:4, g.-se 12:2, 13:2, 14:1, 15:3 “if (they) come”

gel- (2)  Aux. V. dol g.-ğen-de 6:3 “when became full”
geril-  stretch oneself, g.-galı 1:3

gi- (1)  to put on (a clothe), g.-sin-i 2:1 “what they put on”

gi- (2)  v. gel(l)1; g.-ba 6:4 “(they) are coming back”
giril-  14:1, v. geril-
gil-  v. gel(l); g.-iʃ 13:1(Noun V.)
goğnut  heart, feeling 8:4, g.-n-lar-dan 23:3 “from your heart”; g.-n-de 16:2 “in the heart”

gor-  to see, to consider, g.-φ 17:3 (Ger.)
görin-  to appear, g.-gen-de 18:3 “when appeared”
göz  eye (OT köz), g. jafları 7:3 “tears”
guafu  < Chin. 寡妇 guafu “widow” 4:4, 11:4, g.-lar-i 15:1 “widows”; g.-lar-da 16:1 “at widows”
gumna-  to look around, g. bart 18:2 “have been looking around”

11 Tenishev, 1975, p. 373.
ABDURISHID YAKUP

**gunah**  
< Per. گناه gunāh "sin", bu g.-i 22:1 “this sins’”

**guj**  
husband, g. 3Pos. -si 17:1 “her husband”; g.-si-nilgi 6:3 “her husband’s”; g.-su-n-dan-da < guj-si-n-dan-da 17:3 “even than her husband”

**gyn**  
day (OT kün), hene g.-y 6:2 “everyday”

**gyz**  
autumn (OT küz) 1:1

**zarla-**  
v. garla-, 20:4

**łem**  
< Ar. گام gam “grief, sorrow” 16:4

**Gadın**  
wife (OT qatun), 11:3, 23:1

**Gajsi**  
which, g.-nilgi 8:4 “which one’s”

**Gala**  
< Bao. Gala ? “where” 1:2

**Gala-**  
to burn, g.-ma 19:4 “do not burn”

**Gali**  
2:3, v. Gala

**Gali-**  
Aux. V. 1:3,4, 3:1,2,4, 13:2, 19:2, 23:1,2,4

**Gaj-**  
to escape, g.-al-ma-sa 5:4 “will not be able to escape”

**GIL-**  
to do, nesihet g.- 24:2 “to give advise”

**Gif**  
winter 1:1

**Giz**  
girl, osul g.-a 24:2 “to the sons and daughters”

**Gizil**  
red 2:2

**Go**  
door 20:2

**Gola-**  
drive, gola-san-m 13:4 “driven (obj.)”

**Gur-**  
to dry 7:4

**Gursi**  
finally 17:4

**Guru**  
dry, guru gol-mış 17:4 “dried down”

**hajvan**  
< Ar. حیوان hayvān “beast, animal” 15:1

**hakim**  
< Ar. حکим ḥakīm doctor, loxman h. 21:3 (personal name)

**hemme**  
< Per. همه hama “all” 20:1

**hene**  
< Per. هر har “every”, h. gyny 6:2 “everyday”

**helle**  
money, 17:2, h.-ne 17:3 “the money (obj.)” h.-ğe 14:2, 15:2, 16:3 “to the money”

**idir**  
is, are (< i-dir < er + tur-ur/dur-ur) 15:1,2,4

**ij-**  
to hold (< it- “to do”), doj i.-ti 10:3 “held wedding”

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indye now (OT inçä), at present 24:4
indo 20:3 cf. indye
ira to be, 4:1,2,4, 9:1,2,4, 11:4
irışgydi follower 22:2
irıştir- to lead, 8:1 i.-gen (Past Partic.)
ısdə- to search 10:2
ıt- to do, ı-t 3:3 (Ger.)
ısfo all 20:3
ıf (1) work, effort 5:2, 15:2,4, 21:4, i.-inden 5:4; etgen i.-i 7:3; i.-e 8:3; bu i.-lar-mi 20:3; i.-lar-ı ı 24:3
ıf (2) inside (OT ič), bas i.-inde 4:2 “in the garden”
işgen poor, i.-gen-ler 7:4 poor people
ıski two (OT iki) 8:1, 10:3, 22:4, 24:1
ıstri above, upper side, doj i.-n-e doj 1:1 “wedding after the wedding”
ı:z v. ez, ı-ı 9:4 “themselves”

janğıl- to return, j.-tfana 12:3 (Ger.)
janğinagu new wife, title, 2:3, 6:4, 19:3
janğini short form for janğinagu. j.-lar 6:1, 44 “new wives”
jaxși good 9:1, 23:3, jaxʃaro < jaxʃi-aro 11:2 “is it good?”
jaxʃux beautiful 4:1, j.-arı 7:1
jaxʃuxlıx beauty, j.-ı 4:1 “their beauty”
jan- to return, j.-ba-kan-da 14:3 “when (they) returned”
jançu- returning, j.-su-r 20:2 “(their) returning”
jandʃux pocket, jandʃux-u (< jandʃux-u 6:3 ) “(their) pocket”
jarmım half, j.-ı 4:4 “half of (them)”
jabñana strange 19:2. MU jatiñ ~ jatilañ “strange”
jaʃ young, age 11:1, j.-lar-ı 4:3 “their ages”
jaʃ tear, göz j.-lar-ı 7:4 “tears”
jenagy aunt, j.-si 3:4 “their aunts”; j.-si-niği 12:4 “their aunt’s”
jenğinagu 4:1, cf. janğinagu
jet- to reach, eqlim j.-my-r 8:3 “I could not imagine”
jenğu 2:4 cf. jenagy
jet- v. jet-, j.-ba 1:2,4 “have been reaching”, bese j.-miʃ 17:1 “reached to five”, naŋa jet-miʃ 17:2 “what (they) have obtained?”
ji- to eat, j.-ba 6:1,2 “have been eating”, bem j.-gen-en 16:4 “(what) be worried about”, j.-ji 12:4 (Ger.), j.-se 23:4 “if they eat”

jigit lad, young boy, j.-ler 11:1 “young boys”

jııla- to cry 6:4, 23:4, jıblaʃ ba- 10:4 “(they) are crying”

jil year, j.-ur 10:3 “years”

jımax round, circular; group 2:3 (Classif.). OT yumyaq.

jitim < Ar. بنين yatım “orphan” 8:2, 11:2, 23:4

jiça- to speak 9:3, j.-l-ma-sa 5:1 “will not able to speak”, j.-da-vax 8:4 “try to speak”, j.-l joxa 21:2 “could not speak”, j.-bal 24:1 “lets to speak”

jogosi < Chin. 有個 youge “some one, everybody” + 3POS. -si; j.-ndan 17:2

joxa no, not, verif j. 13:2; bilif j. 13:4; bisal j. 21:1,4; jısal j. 21:2

joxmaʃudfi poor people 1:4

jör- to divorce, j.-me-gen-de 7:1 “when were not divorce”

juxa v. joxa, gilif j. 13:1; Gur j.-rI 7:4

jykyr- to run, j. Galı 23:2 “running”

jayeg heart, j. baʃr 14:4 “heart”

jırgytyʃi divorcer, jırgytʃı-nıği (< jırgytyʃı-nıği) 9:4 “divorcer’s”

jyr-ı cf. jør-, j.-i 11:3, j.-me-ğal 23:2 “let’s do not divorce”

jyz face, j.-i-ne 18:4 “to (their) face”

kala < Chin. 框框 kuanglan “basket” 3:4

krıdąpGu reason, excuse (< kix +dap-gu), k.-st 7:2 “their reason”

kijni wife (< *kälin)12 12:1

kim who, k.-de 22:1

kitʃa young, 4:3

kif person 15:1, 18:2, er gadım k. 23:1 “husband and wife”, k.-e 20:1 “to a person”, k.-ler 1:3, 5:3, 11:4 “persons”

kıdıyr- to carry, to lift, k.-Galı 3:4 “carrying, lifting”

kıp many, most 4:4

12 Tenishev, 1976 p. 377-8. in Tenishev, 1976 this word was given in several forms: keyn, keyne, keynü, ke$m, ke$n, kin, kiyn, kiynı, kiyne, kiynü, as kine in Lin 1992.
lab  

\(<\text{Per. لف} \ lāf\) praise (Steingass 1112 a) boast, \(l.-ni\ vur-1:3\) "to boast". MU lap ur.-\(^{13}\)

loxman  

personal name, \(l.\ hakim\) 21:3

men  

I, 8:2

men  

v. \(men,\) 24:3

naŋ  

what (\(OT\ nāng\)) 7:3, 15:2, 16:2, 21:4, n.-a 17:2 "to what", \(naŋ\ dir\) 21:1 "what is"

nam  

name, n.-\(ti\) 19:4 "your name"

naśli  

\(<\text{Chin. 拿手} nashou?\) "Master", some one who undertakes to do a job until it is completed 9:1, 10:1, n.-\(lar-a\) 12:1; n.-\(lar-\(na\)\) 13:4

nefs  

\(<\text{Ar. نفس} nafs\) "passion", n.-\(ifajtan\) 22:2 "breath, passion of Satan", n.-\(ini\ dep\) 23:2 "because of passion"

nesihet  

\(<\text{Ar. نصيحة} naštihat\) "counsel, admonition, lecture, advise" 24:2

netže  

how, how much 16:4, 20:4

ni:nu  

\(<\text{Chin. 奶奶} nainai\) "old lady, old woman" 12:4

nifle  

what, how 5:2

oₕrmadan  

stealthily, secretly (\(<\text{o布里} "thief" +n-\(\text{dan}\)\)) 18:4

ozul  

son, boy, o. \(giza\) 24:2 "to the sons and daughters"

okan  

\(<\text{Chin. 炕} kang\) "a heatable brick bed", o. \(telle\)- 12:3 "to warm the (heatable brick) bed"

ornas-  

to accept, o.-\(ma-ba\) 7:3 "unaccepted", o.-\(ma-ba\) 24:3 "will not be accepted"

otfax  

fire-place 13:3, 22:3

otur-  

to seat, o. \(galt\) 3:2, o.-\(van-m\) 13:3

otursutji  

sitter, some one who is sitting 22:3

øj  

home, house, \(ø.-e\) 6:4, 10:4, 13:1 (\(øj-je\)) "to home", \(ø.-de\) 16:3, 22:2,3 "at home"

øt-  

to pass, \(ø.-gy\) 6:2 "passing", \(ø.-ku\) 10:3 v. \(ø-gy\) "passing", \(ø.-ga-ro\) 23:3

\(^{13}\) Jarring, 1964 p. 181.

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øtyn- to cover, to put on, φ.- galı 3:1
øser- to look, φ.-se 18:2 “if (you) look”, φ.-e 18:2 (Ger.)

palmuŋ < Tib. p’amın “relatives from the side of parent, ‘parents’ home”,14 p.-i-na 12:2 “to the parents’ home”

renla- < Chin. 認 ren + -la “to admit”, r.-mır tʃyğ 14:3 “not admitting” (Ger.)

sađı < Chin. 沙巾 shajin “scarf” 2:1 3:1
saxtʃux healthy 20:2
salar Salar (ethnic name), s. şəz-i-n 21:2 “Salar language (obj.)”
sarţs yellow 2:2
sat- to sell 19:4, s.-ıp 15:2 (Ger.)
satıx business, trade 15:4
sen you 11:1, 22:1
sen v. sen 8:2
sişla- to wait 13:3, 22:3
sileŋ < Chin. 西凉 xiliang, a city name in Qinghai province, China, which is called Xining at present, š.-da 9:2 “in Xining”15

srţjen < Chin. 四千 sicopter “four thousand” 14:2, 15:3
sőşı matchmaker (< OT sabći or savor)16 13:1,2, 14:1,3, 15:3, s.-lar 1:2 “matchmakers”, s.-lar-nı 10:2
søz word, salar s.-in 21:2 “Salar language (obj.)
sumurla- < Chin. 思谋 simou “to think” + -la17, to think 11:1, 16:2, 19:3, 22:1, s.-sa 5:3, 15:4 “if think”, s.-p 8:3 (Ger.), s.-kal 20:3, 23:1 “let’s think”

14 Given as p’amın in Kakuk, 1962, p. 185, and as palmuŋ, palmuŋ and pamin in Tenishev, 1976 p. 436. We followed the etymology given by Tenishev.
15 silı in Tenishev, 1976, p. 482.
16 Concerning the other forms and etymology cf. Tenishev, 1976 p. 484.
17 cf. Tenishev, 1976 p. 488. but 思慕 simu “to think of somebody with respect” also is possible. simula- in Kakuk, 1962, p. 190 is very close to the Chinese word phonetically.

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A SAMPLE OF ORAL LITERATURE OF XINJIANG SALARS

Saji
< Chin. 纱衣 shāyi “silk” 2:1
Sajtan
< Ar. شیطان šayṭān “Satan, devil”, nefsi-ʃ. 22:2
tesdir
luck, fortune, t.-niği 5:4 “God’s”
telle-
to:ladgį
< Chin. 拖拉机 tuolaji “tractor”, t.-ka 3:2 “to tractor”
toşi
< ?, “celebration, to attend a banquet”18 t. ụt 3:3 “to celebrate”
tör
the place of honour, t.-i-de 6:1 “at the place of honour”
tjalaʃ-
to be near, to close, tf. ba 10:2 “have been closing”, tf.-ma 19:2 “do not go fashion”
tjiğiʃ-
to bargain, tf.-i 15:3 “bargaining”
tjix-
go outside, er-den tf.-sa 18:1 “if (they) divorce”
tjijax
steak (OT tayaq) 6:2, 23:4
tjile
some what, in some degree 4:3
tjili
v. tjile 5:3
tjiG-
v. tjix-. tf.-Gan 17:1 (Past Partic.); tf.-Gufʃi some one who leaves, erden ere tf.-Gufʃlar 19:1 “husband changers”, go tf.-Gufʃlar 20:2 “some one who go out of the door, tourist”
tjyelli
< Chin. 权利 quanli “power, right” 6:1
ulu
big, great (OT uluγ) 17:3
usla-
to suffer, u. galt 1:4 “to have suffering”
uzal-
to sleep, u. galt 3:1 “sleep down”
uzun
long 2:2, 3:1
yʃ	hree, y. aj 6:2 “three months”, y. ẓil 12:2 “three years”, y.-te 22:4 “even three”, y. dọt 24:2 “three and four”
vax
time, biri v.-ta 18:3 “at one time, once”, v.-in-dakʃ-n 21:3 “from the time (of)”
vax-
to see, v.-sa 24:3 “if (I) see”

18 May be also connects with tov ši, tuši- etc. “rumble, thunder” in Tenishev, 1976, p. 517, 525.

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vaxı  word-building element, *bala-*v. “children, family” 12:3
var  have, 20:1,2,4, *var-*a 22:1,2,4, *var-*a -ro 16:1 “
var-  to go, v.-sa 2:3 “if go”, v.-a v.-a 7:2 “gradually”, *verif*
  joxa 13:2 “do not give”
vo(l)-
  1. to be, become, v.-sa 1:1, 11:1,2,4, 19:3, 20:2 “if
  become”; v.-*bur* 5:2 “will become”; v.-*miš* 12:1,4
  “became”; v.-*san* 21:4 (Past Prtic.); *helliğe* vol-o 16:3
  “seek money”; vosla < vol-sa-la “if become” 16:4; 2.
  vo(l)-  Aux. v. *gele vomif* 12:2 “finished coming”
vutji  < Chin. 五千 *wuqian* “five thousand” 14:2, 15:3
vur-  to beat, *labni* v.-sa 1:3 “to boast”
xisda-  to jostle, squeeze, x.-*f* 13:2 “squeezing each other”
xaŋdo  < Chin. 巷道 *xiangdao* street, x.-*lar-da* 18:2 “at the
  streets”
xatși  humiliation, *xatși-si-ni* 12:4 “her humiliation”
3il  12:2, cf. *jil*, Kashghar dialect of MU 3il
zasaŋ  family (< Tib.?)19, *zasan*-*m*-dan 17:4 “from their family”
zerin  < Chin. 責任 *zeren* “responsibility” 21:1

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19  *zahsay* in Lin, 1992, p. 64a. May be Tibetan, but I have no clear etymology.
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**Abbreviations**

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<td>AOH</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</td>
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<td>Ar.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<td>Aux. V.</td>
<td>Auxiliary Verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bao.</td>
<td>Bao’an language (Chinese)</td>
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<td>CAJ</td>
<td>Central Asiatic Journal</td>
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<td>Chin.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
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<td>fut.</td>
<td>future participle</td>
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<td>Ger.</td>
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<td>MU</td>
<td>Modern Uyghur</td>
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<td>neg.</td>
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