

# Tehlikedeki Diller Dergisi

## Journal of Endangered Languages

e-ISSN 2148-130X

---

South Kirghiz dialect in China

**Cai Fu Ding Yishake & Aynur Abish**

This article appears in: *Journal of Endangered Languages*, Year 2023, Volume 13, Issue 23. *Language Documentation in Comparative Turkic Linguistics*. Guest Editors: Éva Á. Csató & Birsel Karakoç

**Cite this article:**

Yishake, Cai Fu Ding & Abish, Aynur (2023). South Kirghiz dialect in China. In: Csató, Éva Á. & Karakoç, Birsel (eds.), *Journal of Endangered Languages 13, Vol. 23: Language Documentation in Comparative Turkic Linguistics*. Ankara. 272–300.

**Link to this article:**

<http://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tdd/issue/82059>

This electronic version was first published in December 2023.



This article is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License CC-BY-NC. The licence permits users to use, reproduce, disseminate or display the article, provided that the author is attributed as the original creator and that the reuse is restricted to non-commercial purposes, such as research or educational use.

See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

---

**ETL Publishing articles and services**

Websites: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd>, <http://tehlikedekidiller.com/>

Policy of JofEL: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd/aim-and-scope>

Author guidelines: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd/writing-rules>

## ❑ Cai Fu Ding Yishake

Northwest Normal University, Lanzhou,  
P. R. of China

## ❑ Aynur Abish

Minzu University, Beijing, P. R. of China

### Southern Kirghiz in China

#### Abstract

This paper deals with the southern dialect of Kirghiz, also known as the Pamir dialect, spoken in China. The Kirghiz people living on the Pamir plateau have been in constant communication with other ethnic groups in the surrounding areas. Over the centuries, they have developed unique language and cultural characteristics. Due to the difficult geographical environment, the traditional language and culture have been well-preserved and deeply rooted in this region. One of the authors, Cai Fu Ding Yishake, grew up in a culturally rich Kirghiz-speaking village. The speaker, Uluxan-Ermat (1941–2022), is a 77 year old Kirghiz woman, who lived in the Pamirs her entire life and had little exposure to foreign cultures. She was familiar with various customs and habits of the local Kirghiz people, skilled in language, and engaged in Kirghiz traditional women's crafts. She tells about traditional Kirghiz wedding customs. The text, together with an audio file, is presented in the Turcological transcription of Johanson (2021) with morphological glosses and English translation. Some grammatical comments on the text are provided.

**Key words:** Southern dialect of Kirghiz, Pamir dialect of Kirghiz, China, linguistic analysis

### Çin'de konuşulan Güney Kırgızcası

#### Öz

Bu çalışma, Kırgızcanın, Çin'de konuşulan ve Pamir ağızı olarak da bilinen güney ağızını ele almaktadır. Pamir platosunda yaşayan Kırgızlar, çevre bölgelerdeki diğer etnik gruplarla sürekli iletişim halinde olmuşlar ve yüzyıllar boyunca kendilerine özgü dil ve kültürel özellikler geliştirmişlerdir. Zorlu coğrafi çevre şartları nedeniyle, geleneksel dil ve kültür bu bölgede iyi korunmuş ve kök salmıştır. Yazarlardan biri olan Cai Fu Ding Yishake, kültürel açıdan zengin bir Kırgız köyünde büyümüştür. Konuşmacı Uluxan-Ermat (1941–2022), bütün hayatı boyunca Pamirlerde yaşamış ve yabancı kültürlerle çok az maruz kalmış 77 yaşında bir Kırgız kadınıdır. Yerel Kırgız halkının çeşitli gelenek ve adetlerine aşina ve dil konusunda yetenekli olan Uluxan-Ermat, Kırgız geleneksel kadın el sanatlarıyla uğraşmakta idi. Ses kaydında, geleneksel Kırgız düğün geleneklerini anlatmaktadır. Kayıttaki anlatı, ses dosyası ile birlikte Johanson (2021)'de önerilen Türkolojik çevriyazı, satırarası morfolojik açıklamalar ve İngilizce çeviri ile birlikte sunulmaktadır. Metin üzerine bazı dilbilgisel yorumlar yapılmıştır.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Kırgızcanın güney ağızı, Kırgızcanın Pamir ağızı, Çin, dilbilimsel çözümleme

## The Southern Kirghiz language

The Kirghiz language belongs to the Northwest branch of the Turkic language family. It is a typical cross-border language. According to data from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as of 2021, the global population of Kirghiz speakers is approximately 6 million, with the vast majority distributed in Kyrgyzstan, and a small portion in China, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, and other countries.

The southern dialect of Kirghiz, also known as Pamir dialect (Dor 1981), is spoken in China. Over its long history, it has distinguished itself from the literary language under the influence of contact languages, and it has formed unique characteristics based on the internal dynamics of its evolution.

Junusaliev (1971) divides Kirghiz dialects into three parts: northern, southeastern, and southwestern or İčkilik tribal dialects. This article aims to present the southern dialect of China, which belongs to the southwestern dialects of Kirghiz. Its speakers mainly reside in the high mountainous areas south of the Kizilsu River with harsh natural conditions and inconvenient transportation, making a living mainly through animal husbandry. The southern dialect refers to the spoken language of the Kirghiz people at the foot of Kun-Lun Mountains. The Kirghiz groups here include people from the three districts of Ulučat county, Akto county, and Khotan prefecture. The southern dialect includes the spoken language of three districts of Ulučat county, the entire Akto county, the Kokžar Kirghiz township of Taškurgan Tajik Autonomous county in Kashghar prefecture, Şuķşu township of Karyalik county in Kashghar prefecture, and Keñķir Kirghiz Township of Guma county in Khotan. This vast area is bordered by Ulučat county in the north, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the west, Kashghar in the east, and in the south extends to the pastoral area in the snow-covered mountains in Guma County of Khotan Prefecture. This area is mainly located in the eastern part of Pamir and the frigid zone in the northwest part of Kun-Lun Mountains. The terrain is mainly composed of high mountains and several narrow and huge river valleys, and the plateau mountain climate is dry and cold. Therefore, people are nomadic and engaged in animal husbandry. Very few people live in or around cities and their residence is also scattered. The majority of speakers are members of the Kirghiz İčkilik tribe. It is a widely acknowledged fact that Kirghiz exhibit tribal characteristics, whereby each Kirghiz tribe has its own unique linguistic features. The Kirghiz dialect differences align with tribal divisions.

## Circumstances of the recording. The speaker

The Kirghiz people living on the Pamir plateau have been in constant communication with other ethnic groups in the surrounding areas. Over the centuries, they have developed unique language and cultural characteristics. Due to the difficult geographical environment and poor transportation, the traditional language and culture have been well-preserved and deeply rooted in this region. Cai Fu Ding Yishake grew up in such a Kirghiz-speaking and culturally rich village. Therefore, he is familiar with local life and has been interested in folk literature, folk language, ethnic customs, folk games, folk art, and other aspects since he was young. He is proud to call himself one of the Kirghiz of the Pamir Plateau.

When Cai Fu Ding Yishake began his master's studies in 2011, he started to read literature on Kirghiz and to collect and document many folklore materials from his home town through interviews and recordings, including customs, folk games, folk art, folk literature, various language materials, geography, history, genealogy, and so on. The short text in this paper was obtained through telephone interviews and recordings in August 2018. The interviewees were Uluřan-Ermat and Ŷeenbu Ŷumabay. In order to obtain authentic language data, Cai Fu Ding Yishake chose to conduct the interviews in a casual chat style.

Uluřan-Ermat (1941–2022) is a Kirghiz woman, who gave information on the Kirghiz language and culture of the Pamir region. The recording was made for more than an hour when she was 77

years old. She lived in the Pamirs her entire life and had little exposure to foreign cultures. She was familiar with the various customs and habits of the local Kirghiz people. She was skilled in the language, and engaged in Kirghiz traditional women's crafts.

Ĵeenbu Źumabay is a Kirghiz woman and herder who is familiar with the local way of life, customs, and culture. When Cai Fu Ding Yishake needed to contact Uluxan-Ermat, Ĵeenbu Źumabay helped to establish the contact and participated as the interviewer. She kept questioning Uluxan-Ermat to ensure that she should continue to speak and give plenty information. Because of Cai Fu Ding Yishake's close relationship to the two interviewees, they were very generous speaking about everything they knew. At that time, Ĵeenbu Źumabay explained that Uluxan-Ermat knew a lot about folk materials, had rich life experiences, was good at expressing herself, had a mild temperament, clear speech, and had a good relationship to her. She knew a lot, especially about traditional Kirghiz weddings. Therefore, Cai Fu Ding Yishake chose to make recordings with her. At that time, he recorded over an hour of audio, and she basically spoke about everything she knew about the folk customs. Now, Uluxan-Ermat has left us forever, leaving us with valuable materials. Cai Fu Ding Yishake is very grateful to her and misses her. He also hopes that the language and culture of the Pamir highlands will receive attention from scholars and be protected and studied accordingly.

### Annotated text with audio

LINK: [Kirghiz Audio](#)

This text is a recording with Uluxan-Ermat about the traditional wedding customs of the Pamir Kirghiz people. There are also other participants in the recording. The utterances belonging to Uluxan-Ermat are specifically indicated. Cai Fu Ding Yishake selected a 10-minute audio clip and transcribed it. The morphological analysis and translation were made in co-operation with Aynur Abish.

1. *Bay-din*    *ķiz-dar-i-nin*                      *ķaliņ-i*                      *ũĉ-toyuz*  
 rich-ABL    girl-PL-POSS3-GEN                      bridal.trousseau-POSS3    three.nine  
*de-y-t*                      *e-de.*  
 say-INTRA-3SG    COP-TERM3SG

'They said that the bride's fee of a rich girl is *ũĉtoyuz*.'

2. *ũĉ-toyuz*    *de-gen*    *ne-si*                      *ol?*  
 three.nine    say-PN    what-POSS3    It

'What is the so-called *ũĉtoyuz*?'

3. *ũĉ-toyuz*    *de-gen*    *hārbir*    *mal-dan*                      *toyuz-dan*    *ķaliņ*  
 three.nine    say-PN    each    livestock-ABL    nine-ABL    bridal.trousseau  
*al-at*                      *e-de*                      *bay-din*                      *ķiz-dar-i-ya.*  
 take-INTRA    COP-TERM3SG    rich man-ABL    girl-PL-POSS3-DAT

'The so-called *ũĉtoyuz* means nine for each type of livestock for a rich man's daughter.'

4. *Äz... anan ol kız küyö baldir süylö-ş-üp on-doy*  
 uh then that girl groom early talk-REC-CONV that-SIM  
*pütüş-pö-y-t e-de.*  
 agree-NEG-INTRA-3SG COP-TERM3SG  
 'Uh... Then the girl and boy did not talk with each other and they did not come to an agreement like that in advance.'
5. *Ene ata-lar-i pütüş-üp kudalaş-a-t e-de.*  
 mother father-PL-POSS3 engage-CONV betrothed-INTRA-3SG COP-TERM3SG  
 'It was up to their parents to decide the marriage and make the engagement.'
6. *Azır-yi-day on-doy kız menen bala pütüş-ötıyan*  
 now-GI-SIM that-SIM girl with boy agree-PN  
*zaman o kām-dä jök e-de.*  
 time that less-LOC non.existing COP-TERM3SG  
 'There was no opportunity for the bride and the groom to fall in love like now.'
7. *Anan, emi, şol üç-toyuz-dun iç-in-de uwl-dun*  
 then now that three.nine-GEN inside-POSS3-LOC groom-GEN  
*egin ayay-ı, kız-dın egin ayay-ı, juwrtkan töşök,*  
 wedding.garment-POSS3 girl-GEN wedding.garment-POSS3 bedding  
*bu-lar şo üç-toyuz sıy-dın ara-sı-da bol-o-t.*  
 this-PL that three.nine present-GEN between-POSS3-LOC be(come)-INTRA-3SG  
 'Then, that *üçtoyuz* includes the bridegroom's wedding garment, the bride's wedding dress, and the bedding, these are among the *üçtoyuz* presents.'
8. *Anan ol toy kıl-yan çaķ-ta anan şo janyıday...*  
 then X wedding do-PN time-LOC then that just.like.before  
 'Then when she holds the wedding, then, as mentioned...'
9. *Bay-dın kız-dar-i şon-doy toy kıl-a-t e-de.*  
 rich.man-GEN girl-PL-POSS3 that-SIM wedding make-INTRA-3SG COP-TERM3SG  
 'Rich men's daughters hold weddings like that.'
10. *Mäyli bay bol-sun mäyli kāmbaçal bol-sun*  
 whether rich be(come)-VOL3SG whether poor be(come)-VOL3SG

*o-lor-γo mın-day neme-ler-i bar e-de,*  
 they-DAT this-SIM something-PL-POSS3 existing COP-TERM3SG  
*İRİM-dar-İ bar e-de.*  
 custom-PL-POSS3 existing COP-TERM3SG

'Whether rich or poor, they have such things, they have customs.'

11. *Kanday İRİM-dar-i bar e-de?*  
 what custom-PL-POSS3 existing COP-TERM3SG

'What customs do they have?'

12. *Ƙız, Ƙız-dın toy-γa kel-ip tüş-köndö*  
 girl girl-GEN wedding-DAT come-CONV AUX-CONV  
*at-Ƙarma:r, Ƙoy-Ƙarma:r, ä:..... köşö-gö bo:,*  
 catch.the.horse catch.the.sheep uh curtain-DAT Rope  
*ä:... küyö-taη-dİ, ešik-bas-tİ, kämpir-öl-dü*  
 uh... bind.the.groom blocking.the.door the.old.lady die-TERM3SG  
*de-gen altİ İRİM bar.*  
 say-PN six custom existing

'When the girl, when (the groom's side) has arrived to the wedding of bride's side, there are six customs called *Atkarmar* 'Catch the horse', *Ƙoy karmar* 'Catch the sheep', Uh... *Köşögö bo:* 'Rope to the curtain', Uh... *Küyö taηdİ* 'Bind the groom', *Ešik bastİ* 'Blocking the door', *Kämpir öldü* 'The old lady has died'.

13. *Bu-lar Ƙanday Ƙanday neme-ler?*  
 this-PL what.kind what.kind thing-PL

'What kind of customs are these?'

14. *Anan täpsili wir äyt-pä-y-siz bi, bir-den bir-den?*  
 then concrete one tell-NEG-INTRA-2SG Q one-ABL one-ABL

'Then, don't you describe one by one?'

15. *At-Ƙarma:r de-gen-i at-tİN bar-sİ-γa*  
 catch.the.horse say-PN-POSS3 horse-GEN price-POSS3-DAT

*ķara-t-a*            *al-a-t.*

look-CAUS-CONV    take-INTRA-3SG

‘What is called as ‘Catching the horse’ is to ask for (something) depending on the price of the horse.’

16. *At-tin*        *ba:s-i*            *üstün*    *bol-so*                    *üstün,*    *ķiz*  
 horse-GEN    price-POSS3    high    be(come)-HYP3SG    high    girl  
*täräp-kä*    *ber-e-t.*  
 side-DAT    give-INTRA-3SG

‘If the price of the horse is high, it gives high price to the bride’s side.’

17. *Ä;*    *eki*    *miñ*        *köy-lük*    *at*        *bol-so*                    *emi*    *šo*  
 uh    two    thousand    yuan-DER    horse    be(come)-HYP3SG    now    that  
*beš*    *ķüz*        *köy-lük*    *ätiräp-tä*    *bir-är*        *ķoy*        *ber-e-t.*  
 five    hundred    yuan-DER    around-LOC    one-DISTR    sheep    give-INTRA-3SG

‘If the price of a horse is 2000 yuan, then give a sheep for each with a price of about 500 yuan.’

18. *Bu-lar*        *uwl bala-nin*    *ķiz*        *täräp-kä*    *ber-e-tiyan*    *neme-ler.*  
 this-PL    boy.child-GEN    girl    side-DAT    give-PN        thing-PL

‘These are some of the things that the husband’s side gives to the bride’s side.’

19. *At-ķarma:r-i-ya*                    *čoñ*    *ķoy*    *ber-e-t,*                    *ķoy-ķarma:r-i-ya*  
 catch.the.horse-POSS3-DAT    big    sheep    give-INTRA-3SG    catch.the.sheep-POSS3-DAT  
*o-non*    *pas-ira:k*    *ber-e-t.*  
 it-ABL    low-COMP    give-INTRA-3SG

‘For *atķarma:r* one gives a big sheep, for *ķoyķarma:r* one gives something cheaper.’

20. *ķoy-dun*        *ba:s-i-ya*                    *ķara-wira:k*    *ber-e-t.*  
 sheep-GEN    price-POSS3-DAT    look-CONV        give-INTRA-3SG

‘One gives according to the price of the sheep.’

21. *Anan*    *ķüyö-taņ-di,*            *ešik basti*                    *de-gen-der-ge,*    *o-yo*        *šo*  
 then    bind.the.groom    blocking.the.door    say-PN-PL-DAT    that-DAT    that

*mun-day-ya al-sa-ķ o-käm-dä ħarit ber-et e-de.*  
this-SIM-DAT take-HYP-1PL that-TIME-LOC cloth give-INTRA COP-TERM3SG

Then, for the customs called as *küyötañdi* ‘bind the groom’, *eşik bastı* ‘blocking the door’, for that, in other words, at that time, one gave cloths.’

22. *Azır-yi-ya salyaštır-sa-ķ šo ellik köy-dön pul*  
current-REL-DAT compare-HYP-1PL that fifty yuan-ABL money  
*ber-e-wi eke? Ćapan ber-e-t.*  
give-INTRA-Q INDIR coat give-INTRA-3SG

‘Compared to now, does one give fifty yuan, as I can perceive? And one gives a coat.’

23. *Pul ber-e-t, ä;, šon-doy bol-o-t.*  
money give-INTRA-3SG uh that-SIM be(come)-INTRA-3SG

‘One gives money, uh, it will be like that.’

24. *Uwl bala-ya toyuz tawaķ de-gen-i bar.*  
boy.child-DAT nine plate say-PN-POSS3 existing

‘For the groom, there is a custom called *toyuz tawaķ* ‘nine plate’

25. *Toyuz tawaķ-tin baş-ı koy bol-o-t,*  
nine plate-GEN beginning-POSS3 sheep be(come)-INTRA-3SG  
*ķoy soy-o-t.*  
sheep slaughter-INTRA-3SG

‘The beginning of *toyuz tawaķ* is a sheep, one slaughters a sheep.’

26. *Onon bir ķarın may ķil-a-t, may sal-a-t.*  
then one stomach butter make-INTRA-3SG butter put-INTRA-3SG

‘And then one prepares a (sheep) stomach full of butter, put the butter (into it for the groom).’

27. *Onon ķal-yan tawaķ-tar-ya ĵaķši tamaķ ķil-a-t.*  
then remain-PN plate-PL-DAT good food make-INTRA-3SG

‘Then one makes delicious dishes for the rest of the plates.’

28. *Ƙattama, awati, polo;, onon ƙal-yan tamaƙ-tar-di ƙil-a-t.*  
kattama chawati pilaf then remain-PN food-PL-ACC make-INTRA-3SG  
'One makes *kattama* (several layers of flat cake), *chawati* (thin flat cake), *pilaf* (rice with meat), and the rest of the dishes.'
29. *O:nan, manti, awati de-gen.*  
then manti chawati say-PN  
'Then, what is called *manti* and *chawati*.'
30. *Ä;, olor-yo ol bayayï, ƙoy tawaƙ-tin baš-i*  
uh they-DAT that just sheep plate-GEN head-POSS3  
*gilem bol-o-t.*  
carpet be(come)-INTRA-3SG  
'Uh... For them, that, just... the beginning of sheep plate (ceremony) is a carpet.'
31. *May, may-iwiz, irodiyol, diyanshi bol-o-t.*  
butter butter-POSS1PL radio television be(come)-INTRA-3SG  
'It is the butter, our butter, the radio, and the television.'
32. *A-nan ƙaldi-si-ya min-day ƙatar-i-ya sal-a-t.*  
X-ABL rest-POSS3-DAT such row-POSS3-DAT put-INTRA-3SG  
'Besides, one puts (them) in such order.'
33. *Anan küyö bala-si-ya, ä u bir siyra egin ƙil-a-t,*  
then groom-POSS3-DAT uh this one set clothes make-INTRA-3SG  
*küyö bala-nin egin-i baš-i-ya miñ beš jüz*  
groom-GEN clothes-POSS3 head-POSS3-DAT thousand five hundred  
*köy-lük tumaƙ ƙil-a-t.*  
yuan tumak.hat make-INTRA-3SG  
'Then (the bride's side) prepare a set of clothes for the groom. To the head of groom's clothes, one buys a *tumak* (pointed hat) for 1500 yuan.'
34. *Baldir-tan beri ol ƙa:yda bar.*  
old.times-ABL since that custom existing  
'There has been this custom since old times.'

35. *Taḳiya* *ḳil-a-t*, *köynök* *kiy-giz-e-t*  
takhiya make-INTRA-3SG shirt wear-CAUS-INTRA-3SG  
*onun* *jaḳa-si-ni* *ḳayı-y-t*.  
it.GEN collar-POSS3-ACC embroider-INTRA-3SG  
'One gets a *takhiya* (embellished cap), makes the groom wear a shirt, and embroiders the collar of the shirt.'
36. *Kämzir* *kiy-giz-e-t*, *piyäzi* *čepken* *kiy-giz-e-t*,  
coat wear-CAUS-INTRA-3SG white robes wear-CAUS-INTRA-3SG  
*put-u-ya* *ötük* *kiy-giz-e-t*.  
foot-POSS3-DAT boots wear-CAUS-INTRA-3SG  
'One makes him wear a (three quarter) coat, white robes, a pair of boots for his feet.'
37. *İčkir* *püčü* *de-y-biz*.  
belt small.tie say-INTRA-1PL  
'We call it *ičkir püčü* (a small tie).'
38. *Paytama* *de-y-biz*.  
footcloths say-INTRA-1PL  
'We call it footcloths.'
39. *Ämmä* *egin-i-ni* *ḳil-a-t*.  
all clothes-POSS3-ACC make-INTRA-3SG  
'One prepares all the groom's clothes.'
40. *Ämmä* *zädi* *kiy-etıyan* *egin-nin* *bär-i-ni* *ḳil-a-t*.  
all anyway wear-PN clothes-GEN all-POSS3-ACC make-INTRA-3SG  
'In any case, one prepares all the clothes that the groom wears.'
41. *Paypaḳ-tan* *tart-ıp* *ä:....* *küyö bala-ya* *ḳil-atıyan*, *ḳiz-din*  
socks-ABL pull-CONV uh... groom-DAT make-PN girl-GEN  
*ḳil-atıyan* *egin-i* *šo* *wol-o-t*.  
make-PN clothes-GEN that COP-INTRA-3SG  
'From the socks, uh-huh..... what is to be made for the groom, these are the clothes that have to be prepared by the bride's side.'

42. *Bayayï üç-toyuz sïy-lar-dan šon-doy kayri-p šo-lor-γo*  
 recent three.nine present-PL-ABL this-SIM return-CONV that-PL-DAT  
*šon-doy kïl-a-t.*  
 that-SIM make-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘One returns the recent *üçtoyuz* presents so, so that one prepares these in return.’

43. *Ƙuda-lar kel-gen-de Ƙuda-lar-dï jaqšï küt-ö-t, Ƙuda*  
 in-law-PL come-CONV in-law-PL-ACC good treat-INTRA-3SG in-law  
*tawaƘ de-y-t, kïz dayï Ƙuda tawaƘ*  
 plate say-INTRA-3SG girl also in-law plate  
*de-p, koy soy-up küt-ö-t.*  
 say-CONV sheep slaughter-CONV treat-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘When the in-laws come over, one treats them well, this is called *kuda tawak* (a meal prepared by the groom’s side for the reception of the in-laws) and the bride’s side also slaughters a sheep and treats them.’

44. *Uwl täräp-tän dä Ƙuda tawaƘ de-p koy soy-up,*  
 boy side-ABL also in-law plate say-CONV sheep slaughter-CONV  
*ayrim koy soy-up bir-bir-i-ni küt-ö-t.*  
 separate sheep slaughter-CONV one.another-POSS3-ACC treat-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘The groom side also slaughters a sheep for the *kuda tawak*, slaughters a separate sheep, and they treat each other.’

45. *Tätti čäy bar-be-de?*  
 sweet tea existing-Q-DIST.COP  
 ‘Was there any sweet tea?’

46. *Uluxan:*  
*Bar e-de tätti čäy, tätti čäy ber-e-t.*  
 existing COP-TERM3SG sweet tea sweet tea give-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘There was sweet tea. One serves sweet tea.’

47. *Äzir tätti čäy ber-e-t, baldir Ƙurtap ber-et*  
 now sweet tea give-INTRA-3SG old.times kurtap give-INTRA.VN

*e-de.*

COP-TERM3SG

'Now one serves sweet tea, earlier one gave *kurtap* (sort of soup made with milk and egg noodles).'

48. *Šo jaŋi ƣuda-lar tüš-kön ƣaƣ-ta ber-etıyan neme-wi?*  
 that former in-law-PL get.down-PN time-LOC give-PN thing-Q  
 'As it is just mentioned, when the in-laws arrived, what was served?'

49. *Uluƣan:*

*Ä, ƣuda-lar tüš-kön-dö ƣız täräp jaƣši*  
 a-ha, in-law-PL get.down-CONV girl side good  
*neme ƣil-ıp tur-up, ƣurtap ber-e-t.*  
 something make-CONV AUX-CONV kurtap.soup give-INTRA-3SG  
 'A-ha, when the in-laws arrive, the girl's side is preparing a good dish, they serve *kurtap*.'

50. *Onon ƣız ber-ıp bol-ƣon-non kiyin, uwl täräp*  
 then girl give-CONV be(come)-CONV boy side  
*ƣuda-lar-dı bašta-p ƣoy soy-up a-nan kiyin*  
 in-law-PL-ACC lead-CONV sheep slaughter-CONV that-ABL after  
*küt-ö-t.*

treat-INTRA-3SG

'Then, after the bride's side has served (the meal), the groom's side invites the in-laws, slaughters a sheep, and then treats (them).'

51. *Azır-ƣı-day ele emi-dä emi šo, anan ƣız-ƣa emi.....*  
 now-REL-SIM PTCL now-PTCL now that then girl-DAT now  
*bir üç-toyuz sıy ber-gen ƣız-dın ƣäčkäw-i*  
 one three.nine present give-PN girl-GEN chachkep.hat-POSS3  
*bol-o-t.*

be(come)-INTRA-3SG

'It's the same as now, the same now, and then for the bride.... The girl who gave the *üčtoyuz* betrothal present wears a *chachkep* (traditional hat for Kirghiz women).'

52. *Käläg-i bol-o-t.*  
*kalak.hat-POSS3 be(come)-INTRA-3SG*  
 'It is her *kalak* (traditional hat for Kirghiz women).'
53. *Ämmä neme-ni, at-i-ni jabdi-y-t.*  
*all thing-ACC horse-POSS3-ACC harness-INTRA-3SG*  
 'One (prepares) everything, one harnesses the horses.'
54. *At-ti šol bayayi ...*  
*horses-ACC that just*  
 'One (decorates) the horse, just before...'
55. *Toḡum, terlik jasa-y-t, at-i-ni jasa-y-t.*  
*saddle.pad felt.pad decorate-INTRA-3SG horse-POSS3-ACC decorate-INTRA-3SG*  
 'One decorates saddle pad, and felt pad, and decorates his horse.'
56. *O kız-di jasa-y-t, anan köč-ür-ö-t.*  
*that girl-ACC decorate-INTRA-3SG then move-CAUS-INTRA-3SG*  
 'One decorates the bride, and then moves her (to another place).'
57. *At-i-ni kaday jasa-y-t anan?*  
*horse-POSS3-ACC how decorate-INTRA-3SG then*  
 'How do they decorate her horse?'
58. *Uluḡan:*  
*Toḡum, šälčä, terlik, ämmä-si-ni šol manday*  
*saddle.pad saddle.blanket felt.pad all-POSS3-ACC that like.this*  
*neme-ler-i-ni ḡadim-gi-ler kümüş kıl-ip, päpik-tär-i-ni*  
*thing-PL-POSS3-ACC ancient-REL-PL silver make-CONV ornament-PL-POSS3-ACC*  
*šon-doy jasa-y-t kız miñ-gen at-ti.*  
*that-SIM decorate-INTRA-3SG girl mount-PN horse-ACC*  
 'Saddle pad, saddle blanket, felt pad all such things, previously these things were made of silver, and one decorated the horse that the girl mounts with (beautiful harness) ornaments.'

59. *Ol at ƙanday at bol-uš kerek?*  
that horse what.kind horse be(come)-VN necessary  
'What kind of horse should that horse be?'
60. Uluxan:  
*Ol at emi, ol at emi ŝo...*  
that horse now that horse now that  
'That horse, uh, that horse, uh, should be ....'
61. *ƙoryo bol-uš kerek pi?*  
ƙoryo be(come)-VN necessary Q  
'Should it be a ƙoryo (trotting horse, a horse that walks fast and steadily, and runs well)?'
62. Uluxan:  
*ƙoryo bol-uš kerek.*  
ƙoryo be(come)-VN necessary  
'It should be a zhorgho.'
63. *At-i-ni likin ber-be-y-t.*  
horses-POSS3-ACC but give-NEG-INTRA-3SG  
'But (the bride's side) doesn't give her horse.'
64. *At-ti ŝon-doy ƙasa-p bar-a-t, toƙum,*  
horse-ACC that-SIM decorate-CONV go-INTRA-3SG saddle.pad  
*terlik-ti ber-e-t.*  
felt.pad-ACC give-INTRA-3SG  
'(The bride) goes (to the groom's house) so with the decorated horse, and gives (the groom's side) the saddle pad and felt pad.'
65. *ƙasaday-i-ni al-ïp ƙal-a-t.*  
harness-POSS3-ACC take-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG  
'(The groom's side) take the decorated harness.'

66. Uluxan:

Ä...

Uh

'Uh...'

67. *Ol at-ti šo uwl täräp täyärlä-y bi*  
that horse-ACC that boy side prepare-INTRA Q  
*ķiz täräp täyärlä-y bi?*  
girl side prepare-INTRA Q

'Does the groom prepare the horse or the bride side takes care of it?'

68. Uluxan:

*ķiz täräp miñ-giz-ip bar-a-t, täyärlä-p.*  
girl side ride-CAUS-CONV go-INTRA-3SG prepare-CONV

'The bride's side let the bride ride the horse after it has been prepared.'

69. *ķiz täräp šo at-ti ĵasa-p, miñ-giz-ip bar-ïp*  
girl side that horse-ACC decorate-CONV ride-CAUS-CONV go-CONV  
*anan toķum terlig-i-ni täštä-y-t.*  
then saddle.pad felt.pad-POSS3-ACC deposit-INTRA-3SG

'The bride side decorates the horse, gets the bride mount the horse and goes and then deposits the saddle pad and the felt pad.'

70. *At-ti al-ïp kel-e-t anan?*  
horse-ACC take-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG then

'Then one brings the horse back?'

71. Uluxan:

*Terlik, toķum, šalča, dikäk de-gen-der-di.*  
felt.pad saddle.pad saddle.blanket dikäk say-PN-PL-ACC

'(Deposit) the so-called felt pad, saddle pad, saddle blanket and *dikäk* (decorated horse-cloth with felt lining).'

72. *Anan mana wil kömöldürük, kuwškan de-gen-der-i-n*  
then this this horse.breast-strap crupper say-PN-PL-POSS3-ACC

*dä kümüş-tön, bay-din kız-dar-i-ya šo kümüş-tön*  
 also silver-ABL rich man-GEN girl-PL-POSS3-DAT that silver-ABL  
*ķil-dir-ip kel-e-t.*  
 make-CAUS-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG

'Then the horse breast-strap, the crupper are also from silver, these have been made of silver for the daughters of rich men.'

73. *Anan kămbayal-din kız-dar-i-ni-ķi on-doy*  
 then poor.man-GEN girl-PL-POSS3-GEN-REL it-SIM  
*bol-bo-y-t, emi.*  
 be(come)-NEG-INTRA-3SG now

'Then those of poor men's daughters are not like that, you know.'

74. *Bay-di-ķi šon-doy bol-o-t e-de*  
 rich man-GEN-REL that-SIM be(come)-INTRA-3SG COP-TERM3SG  
*baldir-yi zaman-da.*  
 old-REL time-LOC

'Those of rich people have been like that in old times.'

75. *Anan köč-ür-üp bar-di.*  
 then move-CAUS-CONV AUX-TERM3SG

'Then (the bride) is moved over.'

76. *Köč-ür-üp bar-yan-nan kiyin ĵälčimän*  
 relocate-CAUS-CONV AUX-CONV zhalchiman.dish  
*ķil-ip kız-ya ĵeje-ler-i al-ip kel-e-t.*  
 make-CONV girl-DAT sister.in.law-PL-POSS3 take-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG

'After moving the bride over, the sisters-in-law prepare the zhalchiman dish and bring it.'

77. *Ķiz-di tüš-ür-ö-t.*  
 girl-ACC get.down-CAUS-INTRA-3SG

'They make the bride dismount.'

78. *Tüš-ür-gön-nön kiyin anan, it-ten küčük*  
 get.down-CAUS-CONV after then dog-ABL puppy

*ber-e-m de-y-t.*

give-INTRA-1SG say-INTRA-3SG

'After they made her dismount, one says "I'll give a puppy from the dog"'

79. *Tištayaq de-gen-i bar.*

*tishtayak say-PN-POSS3 existing*

'There is (a custom) called *tishtayak*.'

80. *Uwl täräp-tän bir uwl bala-ya bir at-ti*

boy side-ABL one boy-DAT one horse-ACC

*miñ-giz-ip tištayaq sura-y-t.*

ride-CAUS-CONV tishtayak ask-INTRA-3SG

'The groom side let a boy mount a horse and asks *tishtayak*.'

81. *"It-ten küçük ber-e-m, tö:-dön taylaq ber-e-m,*

dog-ABL puppy give-INTRA-1SG camel-ABL camel.foal give-INTRA-1SG

*qoy-don qozu ber-e-m, ečki-den ulaq ber-e-m"*

sheep-ABL lamb give-INTRA-1SG goat-ABL kid give-INTRA-1SG

*de-dir-t-ip, üç tort qatim kelin menen*

say-CAUS-CAUS-CONV three four times daughter-in-law with

*şol qaynata-si-nin üy-ü-gö kel-ip ket-e-t.*

that father-in-law-POSS3-GEN home-POSS3-DAT come-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG

'They let him say three or four times: "I give you a puppy from the dog, I give you a camel foal from the camel, I give you a lamb from the sheep, I give you a kid from the goat" when they have arrived with the daughter-in-law at the house of her father-in-law.'

82. *Qaynata-si şon-doy de-y-t.*

father-in-law that-SIM say-INTRA-3SG

'The father-in-law says so.'

83. *Anan kelin üy-gö kir-e-t, säläm*

then daughter-in-law home-DAT enter-INTRA-3SG greeting

*äyt-ip, säläm qil-ip kir-e-t.*

say-CONV greeting do-CONV enter-INTRA-3SG

'Then the daughter-in-law enters the house, passes her greetings, greets the people and enters.'

84. *Ol jaŋyï arkan tos-otïyan iš-ter-i ču anan?*  
 that mentioned rope block-PN things-PL-POSS3 PTCL then  
 ‘And then what about the mentioned custom of stopping with a rope?’
85. *Uluŋan:*  
*Säläm kil-ïp kir-gen-nen kiyin, anan ol*  
 greeting do-CONV enter-CONV then that  
*kel-giče uwl täräp čömüč bulŋar de-gen-di kil-a-t.*  
 come-CONV boy side chomuch bulghar say-PN-ACC make-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘After she passed her greetings and entered the house, before she becomes (a wife) the groom side prepares *chomuch bulghar*.’
86. *Čömüč bulŋar de-gen-i polo: bol-o-t.*  
 chomuch bulghar say-PN-POSS3 pilaf be(come)-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘The so-called *čömüč bulghar* is pilaf (rice with meat).’
87. *Ä, ol kelin-di al-ïp čïy-ïp, šol*  
 uh that daughter-in-law-ACC take-CONV AUX-CONV that  
*ķazan-da-yï polo-nu aralaš-tir-ïp čömüč-tün saw-ï-ya*  
 wok-LOC-REL pilaf-ACC stir-CAUS-CONV stir.fry.spoon-ABL handle-POSS3-DAT  
*jüzdük bäylä-y-t.*  
 ring tie-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘Uh, one brings the bride and let her stir the pilaf in the wok, and tie a ring to the handle of the spoon.’
88. *Uwl dä jüzdük bäylä-y-t.*  
 boy also ring tie-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘The groom also ties a ring.’
89. *Uwl eki-ni bäylä-y-t, ķiz bir-di bäylä-y-t.*  
 boy two-ACC tie-INTRA-3SG girl one-ACC tie-INTRA-3SG  
 ‘The groom ties two rings and the bride ties one ring.’
90. *Aralaš-tir-ïp tur-up aš-tï sal-ïp jeŋe-ler-i*  
 stir-CAUS-CONV AUX-CONV meal-ACC put-CONV sister-in-law-PL-POSS3SG

*menen* *je-y-t.*

with eat-INTRA-3SG

‘She keeps stirring it, and then serves the meal, then eats it with her sisters-in-law.’

91. *Ä;* *kız-din* *bel-i-ni* *nan,* *may*  
 uh girl-GEN waist-POSS3-ACC bread butter

*(menen)* *kurça-y-t,* *baya* *joluk-ka* *sal-ip.*

with tie.up-INTRA-3SG FORMER.FILL handkerchief-DAT put-CONV

‘(The handkerchief that is) covered with bread, butter in it and tied up on the bride's waist, just put into a handkerchief.’

92. *O-nu* *kayni-si* *čeč-ip* *al-a-t.*

it-ACC brother-in-law-POSS3 untie-conv take-INTRA-3

‘The brother-in-law unties it and takes it out.’

93. *Qayni-si* *čeč-ip* *anan* *kayni-ler-i* *je-y-t.*

brother-in-law-POSS3 untie-CONV then brother-in-law-PL-POSS3 eat-INTRA-3SG

‘Brother-in-law untied it and brothers-in-law eat it.’

94. *O-nu* *ne* *de-y-t?*

that-ACC what say-INTRA-3SG

‘What is it called?’

95. *Uluḡan:*

*Kiryiz-din* *kayda-si-da* *šo-ndoy.*

Kirghiz-GEN rules-POSS3-LOC that-SIM

‘It is like that in the tradition of the Kirghiz people.’

96. *Ol* *irim-nin* *at-i* *nimne,* *bel-i-ge* *bäylä-gän?*

that custom-GEN name-POSS3 what waist-POSS3-DAT tie up-POST3

‘What is the name of that custom of being tied up to waist?’

97. *Uluḡan:*

*Jañil* *sal-iw-al-yan* *gürüč-tü* *jeñe-ler-i* *menen*

just put-CONV-TAKE-PN rice-ACC sister-in-law-PL-POSS3 with

*köşögö-nün iç-i-n-de ä, kız-ķırķın, šo kayinsıñdı-si,*  
 curtain-ABL inside-POSS3-LOC uh girls that brother-in-law-POSS3  
*je-ne-si je-y-t, kelin je-y-t.*  
 sister-in-law-POSS3 eat-INTRA-3SG daughter-in-law eat-INTRA-3SG

'The rice just served was (eaten) with her sisters-in-law behind the curtain, uh girls, her sister-in-law, her sister-in-law (husband's sister) eat, and the bride eats.'

98. *ķiz-dı köč-ür-üp kel-gen-de šon-doy bol-o-t.*  
 girl-ACC move-CAUS-CONV AUX-CONV that-SIM be(come)-INTRA-3SG

'When (the groom's side) moves the bride here it is so.'

99. *Onon tüyşük-kö öt-kör-dü de-y-t.*  
 then kitchen-DAT pass-CAUS-TERM3 say-INTRA-3SG

'Then, it is called "The kitchen is passed over to her" (the custom of mother-in-law leaving housework to her daughter-in-law).'

100. *ķaynene-si tamaķ ķil-ıp ayıl dayı*  
 mother-in-law-POSS3 meal make-CONV ayıl PTCL  
*aķsaķal-dar-dı ķičir-ıp kelin-di körsöt-ö-t.*  
 old.people-PL-ACC call-CONV daughter in law-ACC show-INTRA-3SG

'The mother-in-law prepares the food and the *ayıl*, the Kirghiz community, calls the elderly people to show them the bride.'

101. *Kelin sālām ķil-ıp čiy-a-t,*  
 daughter-in-law greeting do-CONV AUX-INTRA-3SG  
*"ālik" de-y-t Ä... keliñ-ge jaķšı bir*  
 accept say-INTRA-3SG uh... daughter-in-law-DAT good one  
*ķatar egin kiy-giz-e-t ķaynene-si.*  
 set clothes put on-CAUS-INTRA-3SG mother-in-law-POSS3

'The bride greets one by one (the elders), and the elders says "Accepted". The mother-in-law dresses her daughter-in-law in a set of good clothes.'

102. *Tüyşük-kö öt-köz-dü-m de-p tüyşüg-ü-gö el-din*  
 kitchen-DAT pass-CAUS-TERM-1SG say-CONV kitchen-POSS3-DAT people-ABL  
*ald-ın-da öt-köz-üp, emi ma: tüyşüg-ün*  
 front-POSS3-LOC pass-CAUS-CONV now this kitchen-POSS2SG

*de-p bil-dir-e-t.*

say-CONV know-CAUS-INTRA-3SG

'By saying "I let the bride pass to the kitchen" and bringing the bride to the kitchen in front of people, (the mother-in-law) claims and shows that "now, this is your kitchen".'

103. *Könö-lör-dö-gü šon-doy kayda-si bar.*

ancestor-PL-DAT-REL that-SIM tradition-POSS3 existing

'The ancestors had that tradition.'

104. *Ä.*

uh

'I see.'

105. *Uluxan:*

*Emi dayi kaysi kal-di?*

now more which remain-TERM3SG

'What else is left?'

## Specific characteristics of the variety illustrated by examples from the text

### Sound system

The distinctive phonetic features of the southern dialect are as follows: there are 38 phonemes with 9 vowels, 7 long vowels, and 22 consonants; there are two vowels, *ä* and *ä:* which are not used in the literary language. Although the number of consonants is consistent with the literary language, there are certain differences in their distribution and phonetic changes in words. In the following, we sort out the vowels and consonants of the southern dialect and analyze their characteristics.

### Vowels

The vowel corresponding to *a/e* in the literary language is *ä* in the southern dialect, for example: *äyt* 'to tell', *mäyli* 'regardless of', *täštä-* 'to leave behind', *dä* 'too', *säläm* 'hello'. The vowel *ä* appears in both loanwords and inherited words.

The literary language does not have a long vowel *ä:*, which exists in loan words in the southern dialect, for example the particle *ä:* indicating that the listener understands or comprehends the speaker's words in a conversation. It can link sentences and indicate that the speaker will continue to speak. Another example: *birä:r* 'one or two'.

The inflected forms of the demonstrative pronoun *al* corresponds to *o* in the southern dialect. For example: *o* 'it', S27 *onon* ablative, but S21 *anan*, *ol* 'it', *oyo* dative, S35 *onun* genitive, *olor* plural. The phenomenon that the vowel *a* corresponds to *o* as in Kazakh can be a contact influence.

The word *mınday* 'like this' in the literary language corresponds to S58 *manday* 'like this' in the southern dialect.

In certain words, the *u* in literary language corresponds to *i* in the southern dialect, for instance, *mana bul* 'this' in the literary language is *mana wıl* in the southern dialect. Another example is *tosoturyan* 'block' pronounced in the dialect as *tosotıyan*. The consonant *r* is dropped.

In the southern dialect *uw* corresponds to a long *u:* in the literary language. Examples include *uwl* 'boy', *kuwşkan* 'crupper', *suwk* 'cold'.

Vowel deletion occurs in the southern dialect. Compare the form in the literary language *janayıday* 'just like before' with the dialect form *janıyiday*.

### Consonant types

Some words beginning with the voiced consonant *b* in the literary language are pronounced with the voiceless consonant *p*, such as *bütüş* and *pütüş* 'agreement', *butuna* and *putuya* 'foot', *büçü* and *püçü* 'fringe of belt', *baypaq* and *paypaq* 'socks', *bapik* and *papik* 'tassel', etc.

The voiced consonant *b* changes to *w* due to the influence of the following vowel. For example, the literary language *tabağ* is *tawağ* 'plate', *mayibiz* is *mayiwiz* 'our butter', *nemebi* is *nemewi* 'is a something'. Similarly, the literary language *čačkebi* is *čäčkäwi* 'cap', *mana bul* becomes *mana wıl* 'this', and *sabına* becomes *sawıya* 'to its handle'.

In the southern dialect certain sound sequences are simplified, such as *andan* > *anan* or *onon* 'from it', *janayı* > *janı* 'the one just now', *kelgenče* > *kelgiče* 'until X comes', and *mına* > *ma:* 'this'.

Copied words are accommodated, e.g. *irodiyol* 'radio'.

### Morphology

#### Case suffixes

The ablative suffix {-DAn} is assimilated when the stem ends with a vowel or a nasal *n*, *ŋ*, or *m*. For example, *anan* 'from it', *bolyonnon* 'after finishing', and *tüşürgönnön* 'after getting off'.

The genitive case suffix does not dissimilate as in the literary language in words ending in vowels or consonants *n*, *ŋ*, and *m*. For example, *irim-nin* 'customary' and *egin-nin* 'of clothing'.

Persian *i* is copied in some compounds, such as in the phrase *piyäzi čepken* 'coat made of camel hair'.

The dative in the southern dialect is {-GA}, e.g. *o-lor-ɣo* 'to them'. However, after a third person possessive marker such as *toy-u-ɣa* 'to his/her wedding' the pronominal *n-* is not used. The loss of the pronominal *n-* of the POSS3 suffix must be due to the influence of Uyghur. See also *ara-si-da* in sentence 7.

The accusative case is {-nI} and not {-n} after the possessive of the third person, e.g. literary form *ba:rin* is *bärini* 'all' in the southern dialect. Similarly, *jaqasin* corresponds to S35 *jaqasini* 'its collar' in the southern dialect. This can also be viewed as a case of Uyghur influence.

#### Pronouns

Some pronouns in the southern dialect are the same as in Kazakh, such as *o* 'it', *ol* 'it', *šo* 'that', *šol* 'that'. The inflected forms of these pronouns are also different from the standard Kirghiz forms, that is, they observe the vowel harmony rule. For example, *o(l)* 'it', *o-lor* plural, *o-lor-ɣo* plural + dative, *o-lor-du* plural + accusative, *o-lor-do* plural + locative, *o-lor-dun* plural + genitive, *on-doy* 'like that'; *šo(l)* 'that', *šo-lor* plural, *šo-lor-ɣo* plural + dative, *šo-lor-du/šo-lor-do* plural + accusative, *šo-lor-dun* plural + genitive, *šon-doy* 'like that'.

The forms of the interrogative pronouns *ne* and *nimne* 'what' are also different from the literary language, where they are both *emne* 'what'. This is one of the most notable features of the southern

dialect. The southern dialect has a reduplicated form of the interrogative pronoun *ḡanday* 'how', which appears in interrogative sentences asking for more specific information. For example, S13 *ḡanday ḡanday nemeler?* 'What kind of things are they?'

### Numerals

*Birbirlep* 'one by one' is used only in the southern dialect.

### Classifiers

The classifiers in the southern dialect are partly different from those in the literary language, for example, literary *bir ḡur kiyim* refers to a set of clothes, while in the southern dialect it is *bir sïyra egin* or *bir ḡatar egin*. The expression *üç jolu* is used in the literary language in the meaning 'three times', while in the southern dialect it is *üç ḡatim*.

### Verbal nouns

In the southern dialect, the verbal noun *tïyan* corresponds to *turyan* in the literary language. It generally appears in postverbal constructions, such as *ḡilaturyan* in literary language, while in the southern dialect it is *ḡilatïyan* 'done', and *kiye turyan* in literary language is *kiyetïyan* 'worn' in the southern dialect.

### Causative verbs

Some causative verb forms differ from the literary language, e.g. *degizip* in literary language is *dedirt-* 'to make someone speak' in the southern dialect, and *ötköz* in literary language is *öt-kör-* 'to have someone pass', etc.

### Converbs

In the southern dialect, instead of the copula {-GANČA}, the adapted form of the Uyghur copula {-Giče} is used. Thus, *kelgenče* in literary language is *kelgiče* 'until X comes' in the southern dialect.

### Interrogatives

In this dialect, the interrogative suffix {-BI} appears as {-wI} when there is an indirect clitic *eke* right after it, just as in sentence 22, *ber-e-wi eke* (GIVE-INTRA-Q INDIR). See more similar usages: *Ol kelewı eken?* 'If X comes?', *Ol barawı eken?* 'If X goes?'

### Particles

In Kirghiz, there are many particles formed with *ä*. In the text, the particle *ä:*; see above.

The distant copula particle is *ede* in contrast to the literary form *ele* and *bolču*. The southern dialect does not have *bolču*. This is similar to Kazakh and Uyghur. For example, S47 *Baldır ḡurtap beret ede* is translated into the literary language as *Murda kurutčay beret ele* or *Murda kurutčay beret bolču* 'X gave *kurutčay* in the old times'.

### Lexicon

The vocabulary of the southern dialect of the Kirghiz language is very rich. It is the language of majestic folk literature, such as the epic poem *Manas*, *Olong* songs, folk stories, myths, proverbs, riddles, folk songs, etc. This vocabulary inherited archaic items and also copied words from Arabic, Persian, Russian, Chinese, and other languages. We believe that the southern dialect has a higher proportion of copied lexemes than the literary language, for instance many loanwords from Arabic and Persian occur in the text.

The southern dialect of Kirghiz has some special words differing from corresponding expressions in literary Kirghiz such as *üstün* 'high' cf. literary Kirghiz *joyoru*, Uyghur and Uzbek *üstün*, *kayı*- 'to embroider' cf. literary Kirghiz *sayat*,  *куртap* 'a kind of soup' cf. literary Kirghiz *kurutçay* or *kurutap*. *Ayıl* is the name of the traditional social organization of the Kirghiz people consisting of a group of tents.

See below a list of thematically ordered terms. A selection of them is illustrated with pictures in the Appendix.

### Wedding customs:

*Arkan tostu*: on the way to the groom's house the bride is stopped with ropes or by the children in the groom's family. After having given them an item of value the bride is allowed to continue walking.

*Atkarma:r*: the literal meaning of *atkarma:r* is 'to catch a horse'. In traditional Kirghiz weddings when the groom brings to the bride's village horses, sheep, or cows as a part of the wedding preparations, if someone from the bride's side catches one of the horses and says that he wants to have it, the groom has to offer some property in exchange to keep the horse.

*Čömüč bulyar*: a few days after the bride arrives at the groom's house the mother-in-law invites the people in the village for a meal. At this time, the mother-in-law calls the daughter-in-law to come over and hand her the pots and dishes, indicating that cooking in the household is now the responsibility of the bride.

*Eşik bastı*: during the groom's arrival at the bride's house several girls block the doorway, preventing the groom from entering. The groom must offer a certain item of value in exchange for permission to enter. This is called *eşik bastı*, which directly translates as 'blocking the doorway'.

*Қалиј* is the name of the wedding gifts that the groom gives to the bride's family. These wedding gifts can be some animals, such as cows and sheep, gold and silver jewelry, cash, goods, or other types of valuables.

*Kämpir öldü* means 'the old woman has passed away'. During the wedding, the bride's family says "An old woman in our family is feeling unwell or sick". The guests are supposed to express their sympathy. The groom's family will then offer a certain item of value to the bride's family.

*Köşögö bo:* *köşögö* is a type of rectangular decorative fabric, similar to a curtain, that typically hangs in the middle of a wall or in the corner window of the home where the bride and groom will reside. *Bo:* is the thread used to hang up the *köşögö*. *Köşögö bo:* refers to the property that the bride's family asks for from the groom's family when they bring the bride to the groom's home.

*Қой қарма:r* has the literal meaning 'to catch a sheep'. When the groom brings horses, sheep, or cows as part of the wedding preparations to the bride's village, if someone from the bride's side catches one of the sheep and says that he wants to have it, the groom has to offer some property in exchange to keep the sheep.

*Küyötaңdı* has the literal meaning 'tying the groom'. This is a humorous custom. The groom and bride are tied together face-to-face during a certain stage of the wedding ceremony. They are then instructed to step on each other's feet, and the first person to step on the other's foot is considered the winner. This tradition symbolizes the harmony, love, and happiness between the newly-weds in their future married life. The bride's family asks for some property from the groom's family in the name of the fabric used to tie the groom.

*Tištayaқ* is a custom that is done when bringing the bride to the groom's house. When the bridal party is about to reach the groom's house (about a kilometer away from the groom's house), they send a boy on horseback to the groom's house to announce that they are approaching. The bride's

father answers in some words. Then the boy goes back to convey his answer to the bridal party. This act is repeated several times before the bridal party arrives at the groom's house.

*Toyuz tawaq* 'nine plates' of delicacies that the bride's family prepares for the groom and his groomsmen during the wedding. This includes nine plates of delicacies, as well as some gifts such as clothes and other items that the bride's family delivers for the groom and his groomsmen during the wedding.

*Tüyşükkö ötkördü* is the name of the custom that the mother-in-law hands over the housework to her daughter-in-law.

*Üçtoyuz* is a manifestation of *kalıñ*, which refers to the wedding gifts that the groom gives to the bride's family. For example, in Kirghiz culture, the number 'nine' is considered auspicious, so the groom may give nine sheep, nine yaks, or nine horses as part of the *kalıñ*. This set of three nines is called *üçtoyuz*.

### **Dishes served during the wedding:**

*Çawatı* is a dish prepared of noodles with fresh ghee and then frying the thin rolled out dough in a pan. After steaming the dough is divided into several pieces with a knife. The name and recipe of this dish is similar to *chapati* in Pakistan.

*Ĵälçimän* is a delicacy made by mixing pancakes and butter, part of traditional cuisine in the Pamir region.

*Ĵattama* is a dish prepared by smearing rolled out dough with fresh ghee, then rolling it up and baking it in a pan. It is very nutritious and is generally eaten in summer.

*Ĵoy tawaq* means sheep plate, is one type of the dishes in *Toyuz tawaq* "nine plates".

*Ĵurtap* is one of the traditional dishes made from the water of sour yogurt curds and butter. *Ĵurt* means sour yogurt curd and *ap* probably comes from the Persian word آب 'water'. The whole word means 'yogurt pimple water'.

*Mantı* is a dish usually made of shredded meat which is placed in rolled out round noodles, then wrapped and steamed on top of the steamer.

*O:nan* is a dish prepared of noodles with fresh ghee, rolled up and steamed in a pot. After steaming, it is divided into several pieces with a knife.

*Polo:* is a dish made with rice, meat, various vegetables, and raisins. It is made in the same way as *pilaf*.

### **Dress items:**

*Čäčkäp* is a hat worn by Kirghiz women, usually worn inside a *käläk*.

*İčkir / püčü* is fringe of belt.

*Ĵüzdük* means ring.

*Käläk* is a traditional hat of Kyrgyz women.

*Ötük* is traditional boots.

*Paypaq* is traditional socks, usually made of wool or camel hair.

*Paytama* is foot wraps.

*Piyäzi / čepken* is a traditional coat of the Kirghiz people, made of camel wool.

*Taқыya* is a traditional Kirghiz hat. The hat on the boy's head in the picture.

*Tumaq* is a traditional Kirghiz hat, typically made from black wool or sheepskin. It has a rounded crown that resembles a pot lid and earflaps that cover the ears. This hat provides warmth to the head during cold winters.

#### **Horse equipments/decorations:**

*Dikäk* is a type of saddle blanket which is specially decorated and placed on top of a saddle blanket.

*Ĵasadaq* is used for all decorated horse equipment.

*Ĵoryo at* is used for trotting horses, a horse that walks fast and steadily, and is good at running.

*Kömöldürük* is a horse breast-strap.

*Ĵuwsqan* means crupper.

*Päpik* is an ornament on the edge of a *dikäk* or *šälčä*.

*Šälčä* is a saddle blanket, saddle blanket placed over the saddle pad, typically used for.

*Terlik* is a felt pad placed under the saddle pad.

*Toqum* is saddle pad.

#### **Examples of vocabulary of foreign origin:**

The text contains Arabic words such as *xadim* 'ancient times', *ka:yda* 'etiquette', *säläm* 'greeting', *älik* 'accept greetings', *likin* 'but', *täpsili* 'concrete', *täräp* 'direction or side', *ätiräp* 'around or around', and *äzir* 'now'.

The text contains Persian words such as *ämmä* 'all', *ba:* 'price', *pas* 'low', *xarit* 'fabric', *pul* 'many', *gilem* 'carpet', *zädi* 'exactly', *piyöz* 'onion', *čawatı* 'One of the traditional dishes of the Kirghiz people is made from baked bread and butter', *ärbir* 'each', and *qurtap* 'One of the traditional dishes of the Kirghiz people is made from the water of sour yogurt curds and butter'. The latter two words are somewhat special because they are a combination of Persian and Kirghiz. For example, in the word *ärbir*, *är* 'each' is Persian and *bir* 'one' is Kirghiz, while in the word *qurtap*, *qurt* 'sour yogurt curds' is Kirghiz and *ap* 'water' is Persian.

The text contains Russian words such as *irodiyol* and *kämzir*. These two words come from the Russian words *radio* 'radio' and *kamzol* 'coat' respectively. In Turkic the vowel *i* or another vowel is added. For example, *Rusiya* becomes *Orusiya* 'Russia' and *Rim* becomes *Irim* 'Greece'.

The text contains the Chinese word *diyanši*, which means 'television'.

#### **References and readings**

Ahmatov, Toktosun C. M. (1978). *Azirki Kıryız tili* [Modern Kirghiz language]. Frunze.

Baytur, Anıvar (1986). *Kyrgyz taryxy leksyjalary* [Lectures on Kirghiz history]. Artish: Kizilsu Kirghiz Publishing House.

Cüneyt, Akın (2014). *Kırgızcanın ağızları* [Kirghiz dialects]. Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi.

Dor, Remy (1981). Le dialecte kirghiz du Pamir afghan [The Kirghiz dialect of Afghan Pamir]. In: Imart, Guy *Le Kirghiz (Turk d'Asie Centrale Soviétique). Description d'une langue de littérisation récent 1–2*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence. Volume 2 (no page numbers).

Hu, Yi (1999). Zhōngguó kērkèzī yǔ nánbù fāngyán jíqí tèzhēng [Southern Kirghiz dialect in China and its characteristics]. *Minority Languages in China* 4, 69.

Johanson, Lars (2021). *Turkic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Judaxin, Konstantin K. (1985). *Kırgızsko-russkij slovar'* 1 [Kirghiz-Russian dictionary 1]. Frunze.

Junusaliev, Bolot M. (1971). *Kirgiz dialektologiyası* [Kirghiz dialectology]. Frunze: Mekpet Publishing House.

Kasapoğlu Çengel, Hülya (2005). *Kirgiz Türkçesi grameri. Ses ve şekil bilgisi* [Kirghiz grammar. Phonetics and morphology]. Ankara: Akçağ Basım Publication.

Mukambaev, Žeembai (2009). *Kyrgyz tilinin dialektologiyalyk sözdüğü* [Dialect dictionary of Kirghiz]. Frunze: Ilim Publishing House.

Sartbaev, Kalkabay K. & Kudaybergenov, Sarıbay & Akmatov, Toktosun K. et al. (1980). *Kiryiz adabiy tiliniñ grammatikası* [Grammar of the Kirghiz literary language]. Frunze: Ilim Publishing House.

Sidikova, Tolgonai (2013<sup>2</sup>). *Kyrgyz tilinin dialektologiyasy* [Dialectology of the Kirghiz language]. Bishkek: I. Arabaev Kyrgyz State University Publishing House.

Washington, Jonathan (2019). An investigation of the articulatory correlates of vowel anteriority in Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Turkish using ultrasound tongue imaging. *University of Washington Working Papers* 25/1. Article 24. Available at: <https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol25/iss1/24>

Yishake, Cai Fu Ding & Wu, Heping (2019). Jǐěrjǐsǐ yǔ yīnsù xìtǒng fēnxī. [Analysis of Kirghiz phoneme system]. *Journal of Language and Literature Studies* 6, 87–94.

Yishake, Cai Fu Ding & Wang, Manling & Maiyituohuo, Mariya & Ma, Shaoqing (2022). On the phonetic features of the southern Kirghiz dialect in China. *Turkic Languages* 26, 8–30.

### About the authors

Cai Fu Ding Yishake, born in China, a male of Kirghiz ethnicity, holds a PhD in language and literature. He is currently teaching at Northwest Normal University in Lanzhou, China. His primary research interests include Kirghiz language and culture, as well as teaching Chinese as a foreign language. He has published over thirty academic articles in various domestic and international journals, and has led or participated in several national research projects. Additionally, he has authored two academic works and translated two works.

Aynur Abish, Ph.D., associate professor. From September 2001 to July 2009, she studied in the Department of Kazakh Language and Literature at Minzu University of China for her bachelor's degree and a master's degree. From January 2010 to May 2014, she studied at Uppsala University in Sweden and obtained a PhD in Turkic languages. Since 2014, she has been working in the Institution of Chinese Ethnic Languages and Linguistics at Minzu University of China. She has published a monograph and over ten papers.

### Appendix. Pictures illustrating special Kirghiz lexical items

čäčkäp



*čawati*



*jalčimän*



*jüzdük*



*käläk*



*qattama*



*kömöldürük*



*ķurtap*



*ķuwŝķan*



*mantĭ*



*o:nan*



*ġtġk*



*pġpĭk*



*paypaķ*



*piyġzi ķepken*



*polo:*



*šälčä*



*taķiya*



*tumaķ*

