THE LOPNOR DIALECT OF UYGHUR

A descriptive analysis

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

In this corpus-based study, I have developed a comprehensive grammatical description of the Lopnor dialect of Uyghur, which is an endangered Turkic variety spoken in the northwestern part of China. This dissertation consists of a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Lopnor dialect.

This study is based on several field trips to the Lopnor region of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China. All examples in the dissertation are taken from the texts which I am going to publish on the online corpus. My intention to work on this topic is to document this endangered regional variety of Uyghur before it disappears and to provide reliable data for the scholars who are interested in the comparative study of Turkic languages. It might also give some interesting information for linguists who are working on endangered Turkic varieties and language contact issues. The texts collected in the Lopnor region may also contribute to the historical and cultural study of the region.

In chapter one, a discussion is initiated on the historical background of the region where the Lopnor dialect is spoken. Then, the previous studies on this dialect, current language situation and the reasons for further investigation are described. In the last section of this chapter, the sources of the data, and the methods employed in the fieldwork are provided.

Chapter two is the description of the phonological system of this dialect. It starts with the phonetic realization of the distinctive segments and their allophones. Then, the syllable structure of the Lopnor dialect is discussed very briefly. Vowel harmony, which is an important feature of the Lopnor dialect, is discussed in a separate section. The last section provides a description of the diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect.

Chapter three presents the morphological system of the Lopnor dialect, including a discussion of some special derivative suffixes in the Lopnor dialect. Then, the different categories of inflectional suffixes and their rules for suffixation in this dialect are distinguished.

Chapter four pertains to the syntactic structure of phrases, clauses and sentences in the Lopnor dialect. All examples in this chapter are glossed and translated into English.

In the last chapter, the unique and the shared linguistic features of the Lopnor dialect are discussed. This chapter ends with the author's conclusions and opinions on the position of the Lopnor dialect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Historical background

1.1.1. The Lopnor region

The Lopnor[1] region is located in the southeastern part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Today, the region includes Lopnor County, the northern parts of Charqiliq County including Miren farm, Soxu (Cǎohú 草湖 in Chinese; original name in Uyghur is Küdeylik) village in Bügür County and the Puxui (Pǔhuì 普惠 in Chinese) village of Korla city. The region is in the territory of Bayingholin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture. It has borders with Gansu and Qinghai Provinces in the east, Shayar and Kuchar Counties in the west, Cherchen County in the south, and Bügür, Korla, Turfan and Qomul in the north.[2]
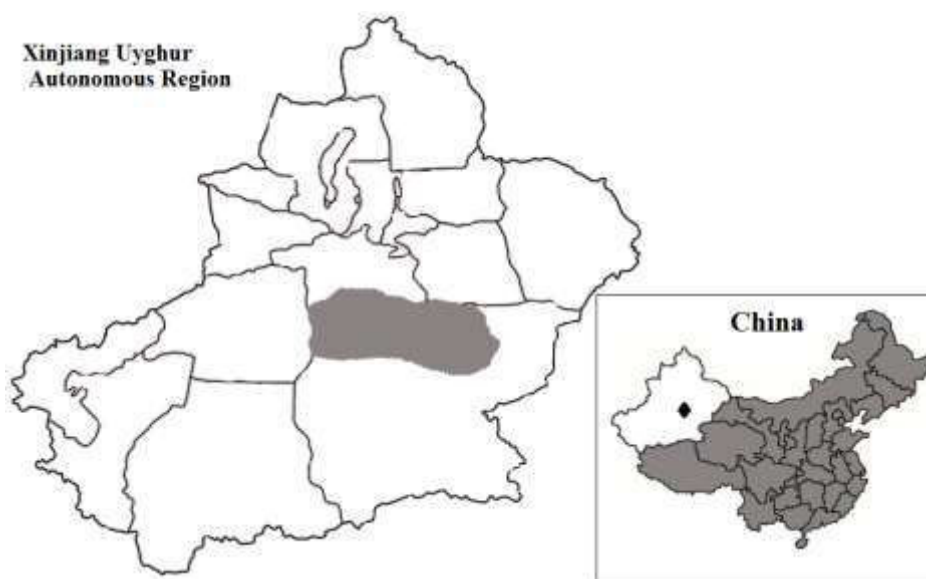
Map 1-1   Geographical location of the Lopnor region

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[1] Here in this work, I use the terms "Lopnor and Lopnor people" instead of "Lop and Lopluk", in order to differentiate "Lopnor" from Lop county of Khotan prefecture. Furthermore, the terms "Lopnor region" and "Lopnor people" is widely accepted by linguists.

[2] Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 1.

The Lopnor region of today is much smaller than its ancient territory. In historical documents in different languages, the names "Kroran, Nob, Lop, Lob Noor, Lopnor, Láolán (牢兰), Lóulán (楼兰), Shànshàn (鄯善), Chuòqiāng (婼羌), Nàfùbō (纳缚波), Nàzhí (纳职), Nǔzhī (弩支), Luóbǔ (罗卜), Luóbùnàoěr (罗布淖尔)" are used to refer to the part of the Lopnor region or the whole Lopnor region itself. In the territory of the Lopnor region, there had been ancient towns called Ishem (Yīxún 伊循), Gǔtún (古屯), Xiǎoshànshàn (小鄯善), Khani (Gǎnní 扞泥, later called Dàshànshàn 大鄯善), Kitik (also called Kadhak or Qiètái 怯台), Merdek, Washshehri, Sarmadan (Shémótuónà 折摩驮那, Qiěmò 且末), Endir (Xiǎowǎn 小宛) and Niren (Jīngjué 精绝).[3] Throughout history, this region has been one of the cultural exchange points of east and west in Central Asia. In the Lopnor Region, the Tocharian culture and an ancient oasis town Kroran (Krorayina in Russian, Lóulán 楼兰 or Shànshàn 鄯善 in Chinese) once flourished. We do not have enough historical data about the ancient history of the Lopnor region to make absolute and definitive conclusions. However, according to the available materials, in 400 CE, Buddhism had developed extensively when the Chinese pilgrim monk Fa Xian (法显) arrived in the Lopnor Region.[4] In 642, some of the old towns in the Lopnor region had been deserted due to the changing of river courses when the famous Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang (玄奘) passed through Cherchen on his return trip from India.[5] In 998, the region was in the territory of Zhongyun (zhòngyún 仲云).[6] In 1276, when Marco Polo had passed near the Lopnor region, there was an immense desert due to ever-declining water resources. Islam was introduced into the region around this time.[7] Historians assume that the oasis towns in the Lopnor region began to vanish in the 7th century, and totally disappeared in the middle of the 14th century. After the collapse of these towns,

[3] Barat, Ghalip 2008. Lopluqlarning itnik menbesi we ijtima'i ehwalliri heqqide [On the ethnic origin and social conditions of Lopluk]. *Charqiliq Tarix Materiyalliri*. Charqiliq. Volume 3. P 7.

[4] Fǎ Xiǎn 法显. *Fóguójì* 佛国记 [A record of Buddhist kingdoms]. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[5] Xuán Zàng 玄奘 & Biàn Jī 辩机 1985. Annotation by Jì Xiànlín 季羡林. *Dàtang xīyùjì* 大唐西域记 [Great Tang records on the western regions]. Volume I. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. P 418.

[6] Ōuyang Xiū 欧阳修. *Xīn wǔ dài shǐ* 新五代史 [New History of the Five Dynasties]. Volume 74. sì yí fù lù dì sān 四夷附录第三. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[7] Polo, Marco 1938. Translated and annotated by A. C. Moule & Paul Pelliot. *The description of the world*. London: George Routledge & Sons. P 148.

people living in these towns began to move out to other regions. However, some historians believe there were still some Lopnor people remaining in the villages near the lakes and rivers.[8]

Life in Lopnor has always been closely tied to the water resources in that region. From the 18th century onward, the water resources in the Lopnor region began to increase. This created improved living conditions in this region. After that, the name Lopnor began to reappear in Chinese historical documents again. Nevertheless, the Qing government had not paid much attention to those people who were living on the edges of rivers and lakes. In the middle of the 19th century, water in the Lopnor region began to decrease after water was diverted from the upper and middle stream of Tarim and Könchi Rivers for irrigation. This resulted in a minor decrease in the number of inhabitants.[9] Nikolay Przhevalsky, Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Folke Bergman and some other scholars, based on their personal explorations of the area, found that this group of people is ethnically and linguistically clearly distinct from other Uyghur communities. Thus, this region attracted the attention of several scholars from different countries. After the 1950s, there were some changes in the language, life style and ethnic component of people in the Lopnor region. However, they still kept some features which distinguished them from other Uyghur groups.

1.1.2. The people in Lopnor

The elder people in the Lopnor region call themselves "Loptuq" (*Lopluq* in Standard Uyghur) which means the 'Lop people'. This resembles the phenomenon where by Uyghur people in other regions refer to themselves according to their place of residence or origin, such as "Kashgarliq, Khotanlik, Turpanliq, Dolanliq" etc. The Lopnor people appear to have better preserved their unique culture, archaic language features, and rich folk literature until today.

Historically, the people in Lopnor mostly resided near the lakes and rivers formed from Tarim River, Könchi River and Cherchen River. At the end of West Han

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[8] Barat, Ghalip 2008. Lopluqlarning itnik menbesi we ijtima'i ehwalliri heqqide [On the ethnic origin and social conditions of Lopluk]. *Charqiliq Tarix Materiyalliri*. Charqiliq. Volume 3. P 10.

[9] Przhevalsky, Nikolay 1879. Translation by E. D Morgan & T. D Forsyth. *From Kulja, across the Tian Shan to Lop Nor*. London. Chapter 2.

dynasty, the population of Kroran (Shànshànguó 鄯善国) was about 14,100,[10] and the total population of the entire Lopnor region was 23,480.[11] When Fa Xian (法显) had passed through the Lopnor region in 400 CE, half of the population was practising Buddhism.[12] By 1276, the people in Lopnor had converted to Islam.[13] After the collapse of these towns in the middle of the 14th century, the people in Lopnor began to move out from that region. However, some historians assume that a small number of people might have remained on the riverbanks and lakesides.[14] There is a shortage of information about those people after the ancient cities in Lopnor became deserted. Moreover, we do not have enough evidence to absolutely conclude that the Lopnor people today are the direct descendants of the people who lived in this region before.

Information about the Lopnor people began to reappear in the historical documents from the 18th century, and later appeared in the diaries of western explorers who came to the Lopnor region after the end of the 19th century. According to the historical 18th century Chinese documents, the number of Lopnor people was around 5,000.[15] The people did not have any agriculture and pasturage and they made their living only by fishing and gathering.[16] By the end of 19th century, they had begun to do a limited amount of farming. At the beginning of 20th century, the number of Lopnor people was around 10,000 according to Sven Hedin's diary.[17] At that time,

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[10] Bāngù 班固. *Hànshū* 汉书, 卷 96 下 "西域传下" [History of the Former Han Dynasty. Traditions of the western region]. Second part, Volume 96. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[11] Barat, Ghalip 2009. Kroranning nopusi we Kroranliqlarning köchüshi [On the population of Krorain and their migration]. *Charqiliq Tarix Materiyalliri*. Charqiliq. Volume 4. P 226.

[12] Fǎ Xiǎn 法显. *Fóguójì* 佛国记 [A record of Buddhist kingdoms]. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[13] Polo, Marco 1938. Translated and annotated by A. C. Moule & Paul Pelliot. *The description of the world*. London: George Routledge & Sons. P 148.

[14] Barat, Ghalip 2008. Lopluqlarning itnik menbesi we ijtima'i ehwalliri heqqide [On the ethnic origin and social conditions of Lopluk]. *Charqiliq Tarix Materiyalliri*. Charqiliq. Volume 3. P 19.

[15] Xú Sōng 徐松. *Xīyù Shuǐdàojì* 西域水道记 [Recordings of the water resources in western regions].Volume 1. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[16] Yǒng Guì & Gù Shìhéng & Sūěrdé 永贵, 固世珩, 苏尔德 1772. *Huíjiāngzhì* 回疆志, Volume 1. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[17] Hedin, Sven 1905. *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia 1899-1902. Vol. II; Lop-Nor*. Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet. P. A. Norstedt & Söner. P 608.

fishing and animal husbandry were the main ways of life in Lopnor, and most people were illiterate.

The number of Lopnor people amounted to over 14,000 persons in 1957 as estimated by Uyghur dialectologist Mirsultan Osmanov.[18] It has been reported that the number of Lopnor people was more than 24,000 in 1982.[19] After the 1980s, big changes took place in the lifestyle of Lopnor people and gradually farming become the main way of life in Lopnor as in other parts of Southern Xinjiang. There were not enough lakes left for effective fishing. Hunting was not allowed. Therefore, the way of life of the Lopnor people began to be similar to the life of other Uyghur communities. The change in lifestyle also affected changes in the language. According to the current language situation in Lopnor, I assume that the number of the Lopnor dialect speakers in 1982 must have been less than 24,000 as this is the number of Uyghur people in the entire Lopnor region. Therefore, this number may include some speakers of the central dialect and migrant Uyghur people from other parts of Xinjiang.

Because of the lack of reliable historical data, there have been different hypotheses among the scholars about the origin of the Lopnor people. Some scholars believed that the Lopnor people are Kirghiz oriented[20] while some others held the opinion that they belonged to the Chumul tribe of Turkic people.[21] Some scholars considered that their ancestors are Western Yugur (Sariq Uyghur),[22] while others believed they are the offspring of Uyghur people who moved from Qarasheher in the beginning of the 18th century.[23] There is yet another opinion that Lopnor ancestors are ancient residents of Kroran.[24] Apart from these speculations, there are some legends among the Lopnor

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[18] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 4.

[19] Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 5.

[20] Malov, S. E. 1956. *Lopnorskij jazyk, Texty, perevody, slovar* [Lopnor language, texts, translations, vocabulary]. Frunze: Izdatelistvo An Kirgizskoi SSR. P 4.

[21] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. pp 17-24.

[22] Barat, Ghalip 2008. Lopluqlarning itnik menbesi we ijtima'i ehwalliri heqqide [On the ethnic origin and social conditions of Lopluk]. *Charqiliq Tarix Materiyalliri*. Charqiliq. Volume 3. P 41.

[23] Lǐ Yínpíng 李吟屏 & Lǐ Níng 李宁 1999. Luóbùrén láiyuánkǎo 罗布人来源考 [On the origin of Lopnor people]. *Kāshí shīfàn xuéyuàn xuébào (shèhuìkēxuébǎn)*. 12: P 51.

[24] Yáng Lián 杨镰 1999. *Zuìhòu de Luóbùrén* 最后的罗布人 [The last Lopnor man]. Beijing: Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe. P 113.

people which connect their ancestors with the Mongols. With the existing data, however, it is rather difficult to find reliable evidence about the origin of the Lopnor people.

1.1.3. Popular conceptions about the ethnic components of the Lopnor people

According to folk tales, which are prevalent among local people in Lopnor, the ethnic component of the Lopnor people contains the following subgroups.[25]

(1) *Qara Qoshulluqtar* (*Qara Qoshunluqlar* in SU). Qara Qoshun is a place name in the southeast of Lopnor Lake. The Lopnor people had lived there long ago. Then they moved northward along the Tarim River because of the decreasing amount of water in the downstream reaches of the river and because of an outbreak of an infectious disease in their town. They then settled down in their current position. *Qara Qoshulluqtar* is the biggest group in Lopnor. In fact, the Lopnor dialect is the dialect of those people who call themselves *Qara Qoshulluq*. There are different folk tales about *Qara Qoshulluq*.

In one story, the Mongol Khan, who is the father of the Mongol girl Khalot, attacked the Abdal[26] people with his troops after the Abdal people kidnapped his daughter. Two troops of soldiers met in Qaraday[27] and set up their bases. The Abdal troops were called "Qara Qoshun", which literally means the 'black troops' because they wear black clothes and put on a hat with black tassels on it.

In another story, the Karakhanids sent troops to Lopnor to protect their east border. Those troops called "Qara Qoshun" by local people. Later, this name became the name of the people who live in this region.

In the third version of the story about *Qara Qoshulluq*, there had been a lot of vegetation cover in this region called "Qara Qurchin". Therefore, the people who live in this area were called *Qara Qurchinliq*. As time went by, the name *Qara Qurchin* changed to the *Qara Qoshun*. Uyghur dialectologist Mirsultan Osmanov infers that

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[25] I documented most of these folk tales in the Döngqotan village of Lopnor County from Yaqup Haji in August 2007 and checked the content with the documentations by other scholars.

[26] Place name in the Lopnor region.

[27] The name of a place on the border of Lopnor County and Charqiliq County.

this is a reliable version based on information in "Kamûs-ül Â'lâm" by Shemseddin Sami (original name is Sami Frashëri).[28]

(2) *Yallar* (*Yanlar* in SU). In the Uyghur language, "Yan" refers to the 'adjoining, sideward' regions. Therefore, *Yallar* refers to the people who came from Turfan, Qomul, Aksu, Khotan and Kashgar for missionary purposes and for trade. Among them, the people from Turfan account for the majority. Recently, the number of people from Kashgar and Khotan immigrating to Lopnor are on the rise.

(3) *Qalmaqtar* (*Qalmaqlar* in SU): According to the sayings, two Mongol Kalmyks came to the Lopnor region from Ili with two children. They exchanged a child for a fishing net as they were having difficulty in making a living. That child was Chulumqulu. Chulumqulu grow up in Lopnor. Then he got married and had a child. He named the baby Eliqulu. Therefore, *Qalmaqtar* is the later generations of Chulumqulu, son of Tughlugh Timur in Ili.

There might have been some relation between the Lopnor people and the Mongols. Mongolic loan words in the Lopnor dialect may be the traces of this contact. However, Tughlugh Timur does not have a child called Chulumqulu and we do not have any information about anyone named Chulumqulu among Tughlugh Timur's later offspring. In historical documents, it has been written that Tughlugh Timur's son Khizr Khoja sheltered in Lopnor in order to avoid the slaughter of Mongol amir Qamar Un-Din.[29]

(5) *Judaqtar*. According to the folk tales in Lopnor, the Mongol girl Khalot was kidnapped by the people from Abdal when she was on a trip to Tibet. Her companions told their leader, who was the father of Khalot, about this incident when they escaped. Then, Mongols attacked the Abdal people five times, but never won. This battle stopped only after the prince of the Abdal people married Khalot and had two children. Khalot's relatives came to the vicinity of Könchi River after she had died. People call them *Judaqtar*, which means 'the people from Ju (Zhào 召)'.[30] Mirsultan Osmanov believes the Judaqtar are the people who came from Gansu and Qinghai provinces.[31]

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[28] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 11.

[29] Ibid, P 13.

[30] Zhao is the name of a petty kingdom Zhàoguó (召国) in the Western Zhou (Xīzhōu 西周) and the Spring and Autumn period (Chūnqiū shídài 春秋时代) of ancient China.

[31] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati.P 14.

(6) *Qaluchilar*. Khalot had several elder brothers. The later generations of her brothers came to the Lopnor region for a visit after they had heard that the offspring of Khalot had settled in the vicinity of the Könchi River. Then, some people among them liked the Lopnor region. Adding to the fact that they also had relatives in this place, they decided to live in the Lopnor region. Some years later those people became known as *Qaluchilar*, which means 'the people who stayed'.

In another version of the story about *Qaluchilar*, the wife of an ordinary commander in Oghuz Khan's army had given birth to a child during one of the long marches in the Lopnor region. Meanwhile, the commander went hunting to bring back something nutritious for his wife. Unfortunately, the troops of Oghuz Khan had already left when the commander came back from hunting. The commander caught up with the main troops with great difficulty. He had told his story to Oghuz Khan after being asked. Oghuz Khan was very angry and left him with a group of people in the Tarim valley. Those people who left with that commander were called *Qalach* by others. Later this name changed to *Qaluchi* and it became the name of their descendants.

The Uyghur scholar Moydin Sayit has the opinion that *Qalach* (may be the same as Khalaj) is a Turkic tribe. Some of them settled in the northwestern part of Iran. The main part of the tribe settled in the southwest area of Lopnor. Later the name evolved into *Qaluchi* and remains that name today.[32]

(7) *Kirghizzar* (*Kirghizlar* in SU). Some Lopnor people (including the one who personally told me this story) in Döngqotan village of Lopnor believe their ancestors are Kirghiz. According to folk tales, the name of the first Kirghiz man who came to the Lopnor was Durulgha. He came to Lopnor from Kashgar (west) side. Mirsultan Osmanov surmises the origin of those Kirghiz people might be Bay County of Aksu Prefecture.[33]

In 1980, the total number of *Qalmaqtar, Judaqtar*, and *Qaluchilar* was around five hundred. The number of *Kirghizzar* was around 250.[34] Solid statistical data about the number of these groups is not available. Even now, it is difficult to take the accurate census of those people because most of them do not want to be regarded as a member

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[32] Sayit, Moydin 2003. *Lopnor eslimiliri* [Memories of the Lopnor]. Kashgar: Kashgar Uyghur Neshriyati. P 207.

[33] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshiriyati. P 14.

[34] Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 4.

of other ethnic groups; as most of the people in this region are Uyghur. However, the old members of these communities confirmed the accuracy of this number at that time.

1.1.4. The name of "Lopnor"

The term "Lopnor", which we use today, refers to a county and some regions near to it, which is located in the Bayingholin Mongol Autonomous prefecture of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region. However, the local people in Lopnor County called their hometown "Könchi" until recent years. When they say "Lop", it refers to the whole Lopnor region. The famous Lake in Lopnor is called "Lop köli" or "Lop noor" (Lop Lake) by local people. Therefore, the term "Lop" had referred to the whole Lopnor region, not just to Lopnor County itself. The Chinese name Xīnpíng (新平) was given to Lopnor County in 1899, but changed to Yùlí (尉犁) in 1914. The name in Uyghur standardized as "Lopnor" only after 1958 and thereby replaced the name "Könchi". Therefore, before 1958, the term Lopnor referred only to Lopnor Lake. The Mongolic word "Noor", which means 'lake', was added to "Lop" in Qing Dynasty, and the name Lopnor only appeared in historical documents only during the Qing Dynasty or later. Therefore, it is obvious that "Lop" is the original name of this region, and the people in this region called themselves "Loptuq" according to their geographical location.

Lopnor Lake called Yōuzé (泑泽) in *Shānhǎijīng* (山海经).[35] It is called Yánzé (盐泽) in *Shǐjì* (史记), which means 'Saline Lake'.[36] In *Hànshū* (汉书) it has been documented as Púchānghǎi (蒲昌海).[37] Púchānghǎi is the transliteration (and translation) of the Uyghur name "Pichan Köl". "Pichan" is a kind of hay in Uyghur. Therefore, "Lop" might not be the original name of the Lopnor Lake. In *Hànshū* (汉书), it has been documented "when we travel from Yángguān (阳关), the first place

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[35] *Shānhǎijīng* 山海经 [Collection of Mountains and Seas]. Book three (卷 3). Běishānjīng (北山经). Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[36] Sīmǎ Qiān 司马迁. *Shǐjì* 史记 [The records of the grand historian] Book 123 (卷 123). Dàwǎnlièzhuàn 大宛列传. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[37] Bāngù 班固. *Hànshū: xīyùzhuàn shàng* 汉书: 西域传上 [History of the Former Han Dynasty: traditions of the western region]. First part. Volume 96. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

we arrive is Chuòqiāng (婼羌)…it borders with Shànshàn (鄯善) in the east…" However, there is no evidence showing that Chuòqiāng (婼羌) is the original name of Lopnor. Now, Ruòqiāng (若羌), which is very similar to the former by Chinese character, is the Chinese name for Charqiliq County. In his book compiled in 646, Xuan Zang (玄奘) stated that "Traveling from Zhémótuónà (折摩驮那) to the northeast more than 1000 miles, we could reach Nàfùbō (纳缚波), and this is the land of Lóulán (楼兰)".[38] Moreover, the name Nàfùbō (纳缚波) appeared also in *Xīntangshū* (新唐书).[39] In old 8th century Tibetan documents, the name of this region is documented as "Nop-chen-po" and "Nop chung".[40] In *Jiùtángshū* (旧唐书), which was compiled in 941, it has been written that people from Shànshàn (鄯善) built Nàzhí (纳职) in 630.[41] When Marco Polo passed the Lopnor region in 1276, he documented the name of this region as "Lop".[42] In *Yuánshǐ* (元史), it is documented as Luóbo (罗卜).[43] In *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, it appeared as "Lop".[44] In *Den Vandrande Sjön* (The Wandering Lake) by Sven Hedin, the author provided information on one map in 1561 by Jacopo Gastaldi that the region was called "Diserto de Lop" (Lop Desert), and on another map in 1733 by Gustaf Renat the lake is written as "Läp". In *Stielers Handatlas* (formally titled *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde und über das Weltgebäude* 'Handy atlas of all parts of

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[38] Xuán Zàng 玄奘 & Biàn Jī 辩机. *Dàtang xīyùjì* 大唐西域记 [Great Tang records on the western regions]. 卷第十二 Volume 12. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[39] Ouyáng Xiū 欧阳修 & Sòng Qí 宋祁 et al. *Xīntángshū* 新唐书 [New Book of Tang]. Lièzhuàn dìyībǎisìshíliù xià, Xīyù xià (列传第一百四十六下，西域下). Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[40] F.W.Thomas 2003. Translated and annotated by Liú Zhōng 刘忠 et al. *Dūnhuáng xīyù gǔzángwén shèhuì lìshǐ wénxiàn* 敦煌西域古藏文社会历史文献 [Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan] Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe. pp 127-128.

[41] Liúxù 刘昫. *Jiùtángshū* 旧唐书 [Old book of Tang] 志二十, 地理三. (In original, it is written 贞观四年，于鄯善胡所筑之城置纳职县). Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[42] Polo, Marco 1938. Translated and annotated by A. C. Moule & Paul Pelliot. *The description of the world*. London: George Routledge & Sons. P 148.

[43] Sòng Lián 宋濂 & Wáng Lián 王濂. *Yuánshǐ* 元史 [History of Yuan dynasty]. 本纪第十二, 世祖九. Volume 12, Part 9. Retrieved in April 2011 from Guóxué bǎodiǎn 国学宝典. [Classical Chinese Literature Database]. (http://www.gxbd.com/).

[44] Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat 1983. Annotation by Wáng Zhìlái 王治来. *Zhōngyà méng wūér shǐ - lāshīdéshǐ* 中亚蒙兀儿史-拉失德史 [Tarikh-i-Rashidi] (History of Rashid). Ürümqi: Xinjiang Xelq Neshriyati. P 159 & P 206.

the world and of the universe') in 1875, the lake is called "Lob-noor".[45] In *Xīyù shuǐdàojì* (西域水道记) which was finished around 1823, it is called Luóbùnàoěr (罗布淖尔).[46] According to Hedin's works, Jarring confirms that the name "Lob-noor" is by origin Mongolian. He also quotes from Hedin's diaries that the name "Lop-nor" is not at all in use among the natives.[47]

From the names that appeared in historical documents, we can speculate that the original name of the Lopnor might be *Lop, Lap, Nop* or *Nap*, and it is used after the Common Era. The name Lopnor began to appear in historical documents only after the 18th century. Thus, the Mongolic word "Nor << Noor ~ Naɣur" was added in the beginning period of Qing dynasty of China.

Scholars have interpreted the meaning of "Lop" differently. The Uyghur scholar Imin Tursun writes that he agrees with the opinion of F. W. Radloff that "Lop" means 'big, round'.[48] Some scholars believe the meaning of "Lop" in Tibetan is 'religion, belief' while others connect it with the Persian word "lab" which means 'sun' in Persian. Moreover, some others connect it with the Sogdian word "noc" which means 'new' by explaining that "nav" in Sanskrit, and "nob" in Tibetan have the same meaning as Sogdian word "noc".[49] According to his fieldwork among the Lopnor people, Abdurehim Hebibulla explained the meaning of "Lop" as 'jungle'.[50] In my fieldwork, the Lopnor people also explained the meaning of "Lop" as 'jungle'.

In the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, there are some other places that are closely related with the Lopnor by name, namely Lop County in Khotan, Lop Eriq in Korla city, Lop Kariz in Pichan County and Lapchuq in Qomul. Those places do not belong to the Lopnor region, but reveal the migration of the Lopnor people in history.

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[45] Hedin, Sven 1937. *Den Vandrande Sjön* [The Wandering Lake]. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag. P 315, P 319, P 321.

[46] Xú Sōng 徐松 2005. *Xīyù Shuǐdàojì* 西域水道记 [Recordings of the water resources in western regions]. Shanghai: Zhonghuashuju. P 345.

[47] Jarring, Gunnar 1997. *Central Asian Turkic Place-names. Lopnor and Tarim area.* An attempt at classification and explanation based on Sven Hedin's diaries and published works. Stockholm. P 280 & P 281.

[48] Tursun, Imin 2000. *Bulaqtin bir otlam* [A sip of water from a spring]. Kashgar: Uyghur Neshriyati. P 104.

[49] Ablimit, Qurbanjan & Paltaxun Awlxun 2001. *Xinjiang yer namlirining etimologiyisi* [The etymology of place names in Xinjiang]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Universititi Neshriyati. P 174.

[50] Hebibulla, Abdurehim 1987. Lopnor we Lopnor uyghurliri toghrisida [The study on Lopnor and Lopnor Uyghur]. *Xinjiang ijtima'i penler tetqiqati*. Volume 3. P 153.

1.2. The Lopnor dialect

1.2.1. The position of the Lopnor dialect among Uyghur dialects

The Lopnor dialect is considered one of the three regional varieties of Uyghur in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. It is spoken by approximately less than 0.5% of the Uyghur population. Nevertheless, it occupies a special position not only among the regional varieties of Uyghur, but also in comparative research on Turkic languages. It also provides a crucial data for language contact in this area. The Lopnor dialect displays a set of unique phonological, morphological and syntactic features alien to other varieties of Uyghur. Its lexicon contains exceptional items relating to fishing and some rare Old Turkic words and copies (loan words) from Mongolian. Thus, some scholars consider it as an independent language rather than a variety of Uyghur.

There have been different opinions on the classification of Uyghur dialects.[51] A few of these opinions are presented.

Nikolai Ivanovitch **Ilminsky** thinks that there are no dialectal differences in Uyghur.[52] G. **Jarring**, according to the "-miš" form, divides Uyghur into two dialects: (1) Southern dialect, spoken in Kashgar, Yengisar, Yarkand, Khotan and Aksu; and (2) Northern dialect, spoken in Kuchar-Turfan and Ili region. He does not tell anything about the Lopnor variety in his book and the Lopnor region is left blank in his map of Uyghur dialects.[53]

According to his fieldwork materials, S. E. **Malov** identifies eight dialects in Uyghur: (1) Kashgar dialect; (2) Turfan dialect; (3) Qomul dialect; (4) Kuchar dialect; (5) Aksu dialect; (6) Khotan dialect; (7) Taranchi dialect; and (8) Lopnor dialect.[54]

N. A. **Baskakov** suggests four dialect groups in Uyghur: (1) Southern dialects; a. Kashgar-Yarkand dialect and Yengisar vernacular; b. Khotan-Keriye dialect and Cherchen vernacular; c. Aksu dialect; (2) Northern dialects; a. Kuchar-Turfan dialect, including Qara Sheher, Kuchar, Turfan, Qomul and

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[51] For more detailed information about the parameters of classifying the Uyghur dialects and their features see Yakup 2004.

[52] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1990. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tili dialektliri* [The Modern Uyghur dialects]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshiriyati. P 12.

[53] Jarring, Gunnar 1933. *Studien zu einer ostturkischen Lautlehre*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. P 3.

[54] Malov, S. E. 1934. *Materialy po ujgurskim narečijam Cin'tszjana*, In: Sbornik S. F. Ol'denburgu. Moskva & Leningrad: Nauka. P 307-322.

other vernaculars in this region; b. Ili dialect, including the Uyghur varieties spoken in former Soviet Union; (3) Lopnor dialect; (4) Gansu dialects, including Salar and Sariq Uyghur (Western Yugur) dialects.[55]

Later on, the Soviet Turcologist E. R. **Tenishev** who was an active participant in the linguistic fieldwork organized by China during 1955-1957 introduced a more systematic classification of Uyghur dialects. He classifies Uyghur in three dialects: (1) North-Southern dialect or Central dialect, including Turfan, Kuchar, Aksu, Kashgar, Yarkand, Ili, Qomul, Qara Sheher, Korla; (2) Southern dialect or Khotan dialect, covering the regions from Guma to Charqiliq; (3) Eastern dialect or Lopnor dialect, from Charqiliq to Chongköl. [56]

This classification was widely accepted by scholars, but they tried to explain it in slightly different details. A. **Ghappar** also distinguishes Uyghur in three dialects as did Tenishev. However, she classifies the Uyghur variety spoken in Yarkand and Kargilik into the Kashgar sub-dialect.

Famous Uyghur dialectologist Mirsultan **Osmanov** also follows this three-dialect theory. However, his parameters for dividing the dialects and the division of subgroups are different from the ones suggested by Tenishev. He suggests dividing Uyghur into three dialects:

(1) Central dialect, including Ürümqi, Qomul, Turfan, Ili, Kashgar-Atush and Tarim sub-dialects. According to his classification, the central dialect is spoken by more than 90% of the Uyghur population.

(2) Khotan dialect, including Guma, Qaraqash, Ilchi, Lop, Keriya sub-dialects.

(3) Lopnor dialect.[57]

He also suggests that although the vernacular spoken in Kalpin displays the features of Khotan dialect with respect to his two parameters in dividing the Uyghur dialects, it is more like the Kashgar and Tarim varieties in Central dialect, and it possesses some other unique features, such as tense vowels (called pre-aspiration by some researchers), and the non-assimilation of "l" preceded by nasals.

Despite the controversy about the classification of Uyghur dialects among scholars, all of them unanimously agree that the Lopnor variety should be an

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[55] Baskakov, N. A. 1960. *Tjurkskie jazyki* [Turkic Languages]. Moskva: Nauka. Translation in Uyghur published 1986, *Türki tillar* [Turkic Languages]. Beijing: Milletler Neshriyati. P 332-333.

[56] Tenishev, E. R 1963. O dialectax ujgurskogo jazyka Sin'tszjana. *Turkologiceskie issledovanija*. P 136-151.

[57] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1990. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tili dialektliri* [The Modern Uyghur dialects]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 55 & P 191.

independent language or dialect of Uyghur because of its unique features that are different from other dialects of Uyghur.

1.2.2. Previous studies on the Lopnor dialect

Because of the linguistic importance of the Lopnor dialect, and the unique culture and complex ethnic component of the Lopnor people, many scholars have shown significant interest in the Lopnor people and their language. The research on Lopnor began in the last decades of 19th century. The starting point of the research was not about the language of the Lopnor people. Before the publishing of S. E. Malov's texts, the Russian explorer Nikolay Przhevalsky, the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin and the Hungarian archaeologist Aurel Stein had carried out geographical and archaeological expeditions to the Lopnor region.

The Soviet Turcologist S. E. Malov is the first scholar who did linguistic fieldwork in the Lopnor region. After his groundbreaking work, E. R. Tenishev, Mirsultan Osmanov and some other scholars from China have done linguistic fieldwork in this area and have published very valuable materials. The following review of some of these works is foundational to any study of the Lopnor dialect:

(1) S. E. Malov and his book *Lopnorskij jazyk, Texty, perevody, slovar'* [Lopnor language, texts, translations, vocabulary], (1956 in Russian)

Malov's materials on the Lopnor dialect were recorded during his visit to Charqiliq and Miren in summer and autumn of 1914 but were published only in 1956. This work contains a foreword (pp. 3-6) which includes some of his important opinions about the Lopnor people and their language, proverbs (pp. 9-10), riddles (pp. 11-15), short expressions (pp. 16-17), folk tales (pp. 17-38), folk songs (pp. 41-75) and some lexical items (pp. 79-195), with the translation of all data in Russian. Malov believed that the variety spoken in Lopnor was separate from other Uyghur dialects, and that it was a language related to Ancient Kirghiz rather than a dialect of Uyghur. He opined that in the long term, this variety would likely to be more closely aligned to Uyghur and would become a dialect of Uyghur language.[58]

This is the first scientific record of the Lopnor dialect known to us. Unfortunately, this work was based on his fieldwork only in Charqiliq and Miren, and these regions are much influenced by the Khotan dialect and cannot display the main linguistic

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[58] Malov, S. E. 1956. *Lopnorskij jazyk, Texty, perevody, slovar* [Lopnor language, texts, translations, vocabulary]. Frunze: Izdatelistvo An Kirgizskoi SSR. P 4.

features of the Lopnor dialect. Moreover, there are a large number of mistakes that have been found in his transcription of the texts.

(2) U. Asanaliev and his monograph *Lobnor tilinin grammatikalik kiskacha ocheriki* [A short grammatical summary of the Lopnor language] (1964 in Kirghiz, 1967 in Russian)

This monograph is based on S. E. Malov's texts from Charqiliq and Miren. The author introduced the phonetic, lexical and grammatical features of the Lopnor dialect by comparing it with Uyghur and Kirghiz languages. This work includes a foreword (1964: pp. 5-11), phonetics (pp. 12-69), lexicon (pp. 70-76), parts of speech (pp. 77-140) and a system of word changing (pp. 141-209). The author believes the origin of the Lopnor people might be the Kirghiz who came to this region in the 13th century to avoid being attacked by Mongol people.[59]

This book also cannot describe the real features of the Lopnor dialect, because it is based on the texts that are documented only in Charqiliq and Miren, and these regions are not the core regions of the Lopnor dialect and they are much influenced by the Khotan dialect as we have mentioned above. Moreover, the quality of the analysis is not very satisfactory in this book.

(3) Mirsultan Osmanov and his monograph *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur], (1999 in Chinese, 2006 in Uyghur)

This is the most comprehensive and deepest study of the Lopnor dialect until now. Mirsultan Osmanov participated in the General Survey in 1956. In 1960, he continued the fieldwork by himself and spent several months in various villages of Lopnor. However, his first report on this dialect was published only in 1983 because of the Cultural Revolution in China. Both the Chinese and Uyghur version of his monograph are based on the data from the 1960s which were recorded at Mirsali (including Döngqotan, Ghoday, Chara and Mirsali), Küzlek-Yengisu (including Küzlek, Tikenlik, Yengisu, and Oymanköl) and Miren. He believed that these regions have not received much influence from other dialects of Uyghur and preserved the original dialect features of the Lopnor dialect.[60] This work includes a preface (2006: pp. 1-25), phonetics (pp. 26-61), morphology (pp. 62-144), samples of the Lopnor folk literature (pp. 145-388), a dialect vocabulary (pp. 389-503), and two short appendices of popular personal and place names used in this region.

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[59] Asanaliev, U. 1964. *Lobnor tilinin grammatikalik kiskacha ocherki* [A short grammar of the Lopnor language]. Frunze: Kirgiz SSR Ilimder Akademiyasinin Basmasi. P 209.

[60] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 7.

In this work, the author argues against Malov's opinion about the origin of the Lopnor people. Osmanov claims that the Lopnor dialect is different from Kirghiz, Sariq Uyghur (Western Yugur) and other dialects of Uyghur with its labial vowel harmony and progressive assimilation of consonants, but it is close to the Tashkent dialect of modern Uzbek with its "/z/ + /l/, /l/ + /n/" assimilation and the convergence of the genitive and accusative case.[61] He connects the origin of the Lopnor people with the Chumul, a Turkic people who lived in Central Asia. Regrettably, his description of phonological features of the Lopnor dialect is rather short, and some phonological features have not been analyzed. Furthermore, the author did not treat the texts given in the book as the basis of his analysis, but used his own field notes. So the reliability of some grammatical forms in a natural speech cannot be proven with the given texts.

(4) Tenishev and his book *Ujgurskie teksty* [Uyghur texts] (1984 in Russian)

The Soviet Turcologist E. R. Tenishev was a scientific advisor of the General Survey organized by the State Committee for National Affairs of China and the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1956. His data in this book comes from fieldwork carried out between September and October of 1956. This book includes texts from Turfan, Kuchar, Aksu, Maralbeshi, Kashgar, Yarkand, Guma, Khotan, Lop, Cheriye, Keriye and Lopnor. The data collected in Lopnor consists of some historical narratives, personal life stories, stories about everyday life of the Lopnor people, folk tales and folk songs. These texts are also valuable for the study of the Lopnor dialect.

(5) Fu Maoji (Chief Editor), Hashim & Mehray & Song Zhengchun and *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur], (2000 in Chinese)

This work is based on the materials recorded by Hashim and Mehray in the beginning of 1980s. The sites include the villages of Chara, Qarchugha, Avangart, Yengisu, Soxu and Miren. This monograph consists of two volumes. Volume 1 includes general remarks (pp. 1-17), phonetics (pp. 18-66), lexicon (pp. 67-80) and a dictionary (pp. 81-752). Volume 2 includes a grammar guide (pp. 753-832) and the Arabic-based Uyghur-script version of the dictionary in volume one (pp. 833-1319).

The authors used, which they call, a narrow phonetic alphabet in their examples for phonetic analysis. This was composed of 55 vowel symbols and 98 consonant symbols. In this work, the authors do not use the common term Lopnor dialect (Chin: *Luóbù fāngyán* 罗布方言, SU: *Lopnor dialekti*), but use the term "Lopnor vernacular"

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[61] Ibid, P 16.

(Chin: *Luóbù huà* 罗布话, SU: *Lopnor teleppuzi*). Moreover, they divide the "vernacular" into two regional varieties (Chin: *Tǔyǔ* 土语):

a. The Lopnor variety, spoken by 13,000 Uyghur settlements in Lopnor County, Soxu village of Bügür County and Puxui village of Korla City.

b. Miren-Charqiliq variety, spoken by 6,000 Uyghur settlements in Ghalibiyet, Ittipaq villages and Miren farm in the territory of Charqiliq County.

The authors show the following as the reasons for this division:

a. /a/, /ä/, /i/ in the Lopnor variety mostly represent as front vowel. They have variants [A], [з], [ɘ], [ɨ] in some specific conditions. However, /a/ in the Miren-Charqiliq variety is a back vowel and it has a variant [A] in some specific conditions. /e/ and /i/ in Miren-Charqiliq variety is a medial vowel, it has variants [ʌ], [ɯ] under some specific conditions.

b. /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/, /k/, /ǰ/, /č/ are voiceless consonants in the Lopnor variety and they have aspirated and unaspirated variants.

c. Syllable-initial /b/, /v/, /č/ in Standard Uyghur corresponds to /m/, /g/, /t/ in the Lopnor variety. However, this phenomenon rarely occurs in the Miren-Charqiliq variety.

d. The /r/ phoneme in the initial position of the syllable in Standard Uyghur alternates with /y/ in the Miren-Charqiliq variety. In the Lopnor variety, a vowel is usually added before the /r/ in the initial position of the syllable.[62]

The phonetics and morphology chapters of this book are rather short such that some important phonological features were left undescribed, and the lexicon part only includes the structural study of some common derivational suffixes and main patterns of compounding. Moreover, their division of two varieties in the Lopnor dialect cannot be proven with the given analysis and examples.

(6) Mahire Haji'ekber and her thesis 'Uyghur edebi tilining Lopnor dialektigha bolghan tesiri' [Literary Uyghur influence on the Lopnor dialect], (1996 in Uyghur)

This is an unpublished MA thesis submitted to the Department of China's languages, Xinjiang University. This work is based on her interview with six male informants in Döngqotan in 1996, and it compares her findings with the data published by Mirsultan Osmanov. This work includes a foreword (pp. 9-15), introduction to the Lopnor dialect and her fieldwork (pp. 16-22), present features of the Lopnor dialect (pp. 23-92), conclusion (pp. 93-111) and a very short appendix

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[62] Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 6.

including 19 sentences (pp. 112-113). In this thesis, she illustrates the strong influence of Standard Uyghur on the Lopnor dialect with examples. According to her analysis, there has been a strong influence of Literary Uyghur on the Lopnor dialect in the phonology, morphology and lexicon. In the conclusion part, she also points out migration, changes in the ways of production, popularization of education and media as the key factors which are responsible for the changes in the Lopnor dialect.

Regrettably, her data is only from six informants in two villages of Döngqotan and thus it is not reliable in representing any aspect of the Lopnor dialect in the whole Lopnor region. Moreover, in the last part of the thesis, she mentioned that she had recorded some folk songs and folk literatures, but these texts are not published until today.

(7) Qurban Baqir & Ghoja Ehmet Sopi & Tohti Jamal & Hoshur Yaqup and the publication of folk literature: *Lopnor xeliq qoshaqliri* [Folk songs of Lopnor], *Lopnor xeliq chöchekliri* [Folk tales of Lopnor], *Lopnor xeliq maqal-temsilliri (dastanlarni öz ichige alidu)* [Proverbs and Epic poems of Lopnor] (1992 in Uyghur)

In 1987, the central government of China and local government of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region made a government decree about collecting the oral literature of ethnic minorities. This led to some intellectuals in Lopnor County being asked to collect the oral literature among the Lopnor people. Because of this government program, in 1992, folk songs of about 2500 stanzas were published in the book *Lopnor xeliq qoshaqliri* (400 pages), 40 folk tales were included in *Lopnor xeliq chöchekliri* (437 pages) and 400 proverbs and six epic poems were compiled in *Lopnor xeliq maqal-temsilliri (dastanlarni öz ichige alidu)* (160 pages). These books provide researchers with valuable information about the literature and folklore of the Lopnor people. However, it is unfortunate for linguists that the language of most of the folk literature in these books was changed to Standard Uyghur by authors.

Apart from these works, there were some papers published on the Lopnor dialect. Gāo Shìjié (高士杰) published an article 'The features of the Lopnor dialect from the aspects of phonetics' in 1985, and Mihray had published several articles about the phonetics and grammar of the Lopnor dialect (1984, 1991, 1993, and 1999). Recently, there were three MA theses written at Northwest University for Nationalities. Two of them (Alìrèhé 阿利热合 2006, Wūníěrqíqígé 乌尼尔其其格 2005) are about the special lexemes in the Lopnor dialect, and one of them (Abdukerim 2008) is the literary study of folk songs of Lopnor. There are also four dialect dictionaries of Uyghur (Ghupuri 1986, Tenishev 1990, Muhebbet Qasim 2006, Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences 2007).

However, all of these previous research results suffer from several shortcomings in fieldwork methods, transcription, reliability of the data and, most importantly, the quality of phonological and morphological analysis. More fieldwork and careful description are urgently needed in order to attain a good documentation of the still existing competence of the few full-fledged speakers.

1.2.3. Current language situation in Lopnor

The Lopnor dialect is now at the brink of linguistic extinction. The number of Uyghur people in Lopnor is around 38,000, and the Mandarin Chinese speakers are more than 90,000 in the region. Also it must be noted that most Uyghur people in the Lopnor region speak in the central dialect of Uyghur rather than in the Lopnor dialect. The number of fully fluent native speakers of the Lopnor dialect is rapidly decreasing. Based on the recent fieldwork, it is estimated that only a few speakers over 80 years of age have a good command of the dialect and are dialect-dominant. Individuals over the age of 50 speak in both the Lopnor dialect and Standard Uyghur. Speakers under 30 are multilingual (typically Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese) and they have kept only some traces of the Lopnor dialect. The transfer of the Lopnor dialect to the next generation has already essentially stopped. Today's children grow up using Standard Uyghur or Mandarin Chinese. The functional domain of Lopnor dialect is shrinking quickly because the influence of Standard Uyghur and Chinese is considerable. Among the Lopnor people there is a general indifference in the overall attitude to the probable extinction of the Lopnor dialect. Only a limited number of people in the community believe that the Lopnor dialect is a practical and more expressive way of speaking. While most Lopnorians do not see the Lopnor dialect as being useful in the environment in which that they are currently living. Some of the older people in Lopnor believe that Standard Uyghur cannot express some objects or actions in their living areas. Most of the dialect speakers live in the villages of Tarim, Döngqotan, Gülbagh and Aqsupi, where the original *Qara Qoshulluq* settled or emigrated. There are no longer any extant Lopnor-dialect speakers found in Soxu village of Bügür County and Puxui village of Korla city, even though those regions were regarded as belonging to the regions where the Lopnor dialect was historically distributed.

However, the reason for the endangerment of the Lopnor dialect is not the structural decay of the dialect itself. Rather, this near extinction within Lopnor is the result of the loss of social functioning, low prestige of the dialect, popularization of education in Standard Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese. In addition, migration of central

dialect speakers into Lopnor from other regions and resettlement of the Lopnor dialect speakers into new environments where Standard Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese are the dominating languages is also creating extinction pressure.

1.3. Data collection

1.3.1. Sites investigated

The data, which served as the basis of this work, come from three visits to the Lopnor region. The first visit to Lopnor in 2007 was a confirmation of the preliminary understanding about the geographical distribution and main linguistic features of this dialect. This first visit in the Lopnor region was very short in duration, thus only some dialect words and a few historical narratives were collected. In 2009, I spent almost three months in the Lopnor region and visited almost all the villages of the Lopnor County, Yengisu village of Charqiliq County, Miren farm that is in the administration of Bīngtuán (兵团),[63] Soxu village of Bügür County and Puxui village of Korla city. In 2010, two weeks follow-up fieldwork was conducted to clarify some unclear parts of the documentation. Therefore, the data served as the basis of this work is mainly from several parts of Tarim, Döngqotan, Gülbagh, Aqsupi, Qarchugha villages of Lopnor County and Yengisu, Miren villages of Charqiliq County. However, some texts were recorded from Yamanxuwa and Tikenlik villages of the Lopnor County, in order to understand the current situation of the Lopnor dialect in those regions.

To find a fluent dialect speaker in Lopnor is quite different from the other regions of Xinjiang. In order to find a good speaker of this dialect, I have also visited some herdsmen in remote areas of Qarchugha and Tikenlik villages, which are the farthest villages from the town of Lopnor. Nevertheless, it turned out that most of these herdsmen are speakers of the central dialect primarily because they spend their free time listening to radio or watching television using thermo-diode solar panels and self-made signal receivers. Thus, their language is much influenced by Standard Uyghur. The elder herdsmen in those regions have moved into the downtown of the Lopnor County or some villages near to it. Many years ago, they had left their children or grandchildren to raise the animals. Therefore, a large number of my texts

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[63] Bīngtuán 兵团 is the shortened form for Xīnjiāng Shēngchǎn Jiànshè Bīngtuán 新疆生产建设兵团 (Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps) which is a unique economic and semi-military governmental organization in Xinjiang.

are from Tarim and Gülbagh villages as these two villages are the main residential areas of *Qara Qoshulluq* now.
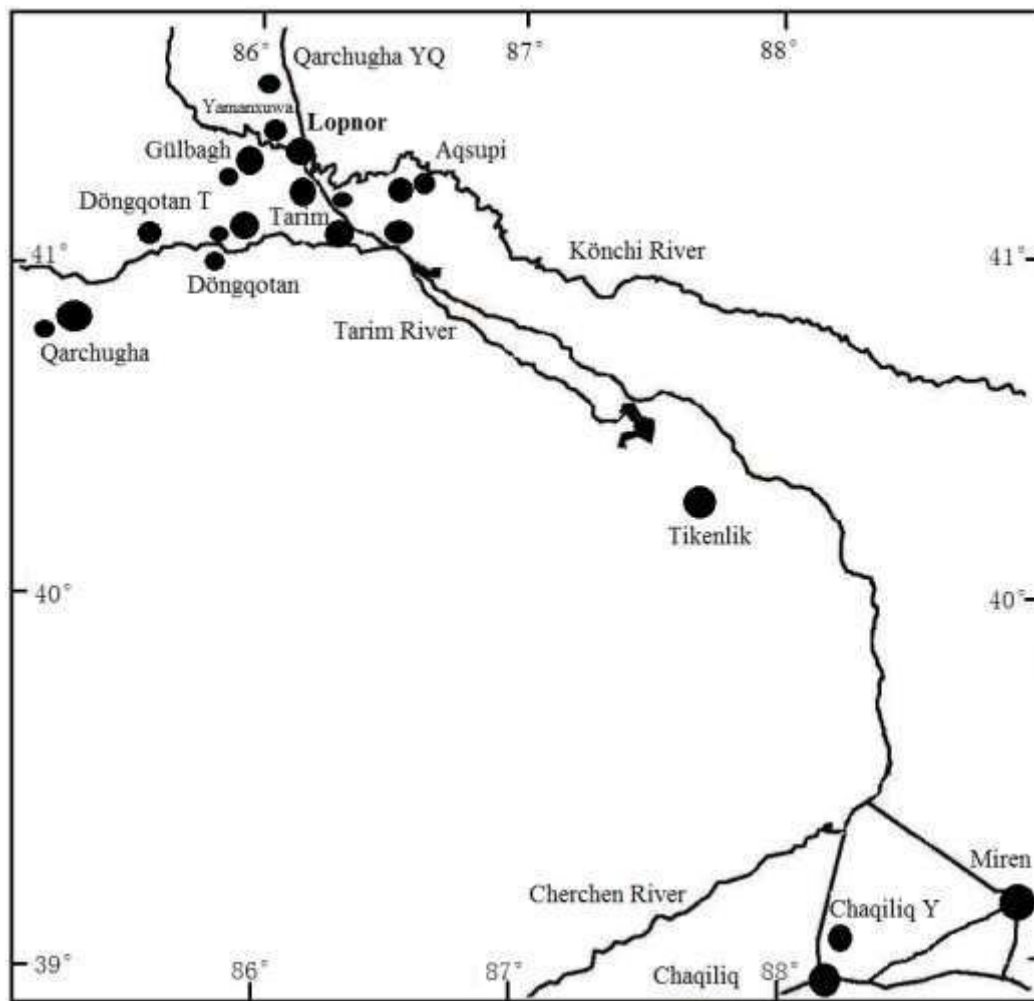
Map 1-2   *Investigated sites in Lopnor*

1.3.2. Informants

Among the Uyghur community in Lopnor today, apart from local Lopnor people, there are also various Uyghur immigrants from other parts of Xinjiang who speak in other dialects. However, the focus of this research is specifically on the Lopnor dialect-speaking people of the area.

At the beginning of the research, I had planned not to restrict my research to NORMs (i.e., non-mobile, older and rural people). However, the situation in the Lopnor dialect forced me to change my previous plan. Because of the endangerment of the Lopnor dialect, my selection of informants owes more to traditional

dialectology methods than to recent developments. Therefore, I actually sought out NORMs. I had a limited pool of potential informants even though I searched through almost all the villages in the Lopnor region. I had several informants who were able to provide very valuable historical or sociocultural information, but I did not use their data as the basis for my linguistic analysis. Some of the informants, who claimed to have a good command of the dialect, actually could not provide me with much data during the course of the interview. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I found that the Lopnor dialect is best preserved in folk songs, because folksong singers have retained the original features of the Lopnor dialect in order to keep the rhythm and original shape of the folk songs. Therefore, I planned not to use wordlists, but record everything in daily life, including folk literature. However, because the major objective of this research is to document the dying dialect of the Lopnor people, it was crucial to locate as many informants as possible who still have some knowledge of the dialect. This proved to be perhaps the most difficult methodological problem I encountered at the beginning of my research. However, I also had the advantage of being a Uyghur researcher. In some villages I stayed with villagers so they get to know me better and I could have easier access to them and to their language. In general, the informants interviewed in this study are those who speak in the Lopnor dialect and are those I was able to find. I could not cover all ages or informants from different backgrounds. Therefore, most of my informants are monolingual. Women in Lopnor tend to be substantially less mobile than men, thus they are less likely to have their speech influenced by other dialects. However, among Uyghur communities, it is not very convenient for a male researcher to interview a female informant, especially to ask a female speaker to sing a folk song, because most of the folk songs in the Lopnor region are about love or other people's bad habits and behaviour. Therefore, out of 31 informants, only eight were women. All of the texts I transcribed were recorded in the informants' own villages and documented in Lopnor on the same day it is recorded.

Table 1-1   *List of informants*

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Place
Emet Qember	Male	93	Farmer	Tarim QK
Hashim Talip	Male	75	Farmer	Tarim QK
Memetniyaz Bekri	Male	89	Herdsman	Tarim B
Xelchemxan Niyaz	Female	97	Housewife	Tarim ChK
Yaqup Ali	Male	91	Farmer	Tarim YN

Zorem Jelil	Female	70	Farmer	Tarim YN
Sarixan Rozi	Female	86	Farmer	Tarim KK
Qasim Talip	Male	74	Herdsman	Tarim YN
Memmet Sopi	Male	67	Herdsman	Gülbagh Ach
Zorixan Baqi	Female	76	Farmer	Gülbagh BM
Emet Aznibaqi	Male	65	Retired worker	Gülbagh BM
Sarixan	Female	84	Farmer	Gülbagh Ach
Abla Tapqan	Male	72	Farmer	Gülbagh BM
Razaq Keldi	Male	80	Farmer	Gülbagh Ach
Ghojabdul Sopi	Male	71	Farmer	Gülbagh Ach
Turdi Musa	Male	73	Farmer	Gülbagh Ach
Patmixan Rozi	Female	84	Farmer	Aqsupi JB
Emet Qurban	Male	64	Retired accountant	Aqsupi AS
Allaquli Hesen	Male	84	Farmer	Yamanxuwa
Ayniyazxan Tash	Female	70	Housewife	Döngqotan X
Toxtixan Ibrayim	Female	48	Farmer	Döngqotan Ch K
Hamidin Barat	Male	51	Farmer	Döngqotan Ch K
Yasin Mömin	Male	52	Farmer	Döngqotan T
Islam Niyaz	Male	81	Retired worker	Tikenlik[64]
Emet Baqi	Male	57	Herdsman	Tikenlik
Mamut Sidiq	Male	95	Herdsman	Qarchugha A
Emet Mensur	Male	77	Farmer	Qarchugha
Nasir Abla	Male	78	Retired teacher	Qarchugha YQ
Osman Siyit	Male	75	Herdsman	Charqiliq Y
Memet Osman	Male	58	Cadre	Charqiliq Y
Turdi Tari	Male	67	Farmer	Miren

1.4. Methodological notes

In this work, the methods of language documentation and language archiving are used to map the present day Lopnor dialect. My research includes a complete description of the phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of the Lopnor dialect. I focus on the special phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the Lopnor dialect that made it unique compared to the other dialects of Uyghur. However, some common features are also discussed in order to show the internal relation of this dialect with Standard Uyghur and other Turkic languages.

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[64] Here "Tikenlik" refers to the villages that are in the administration of 34th Corps (Bīngtuán 兵团).

In fieldwork, my aim was to record as much natural discourse as possible. Therefore, I avoided speaking-quiz fieldwork, in case the informants are affected by my dialect. I did not use word lists or questionnaries. Rather, I asked them to tell me folk songs, folk tales, local costumes and their life stories. The words given in the analysis are words in a context, in a stream of speech, and not words in isolation.[65]

In describing the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Lopnor dialect, the data are analyzed using the methods of structural linguistics with the help of closed corpus. In accordance with the principles of structuralism, the analysis of phonemes and their allophones, the types of derivational and inflectional suffixes, the structural patterns of phrases, clauses and sentences are synchronic, which is aiming to establish the phonemic inventory, allophonic system, phonological rules, suffix and structure types in different texts. In the phonology part, I use Abdurishid Yakup's monograph *Turfan dialect of Uyghur* as a model for my work. While writing the morphology and syntax, I followed the descriptive model and common terms used by several Turkic linguists in writing the joint work *Turkic Languages*.[66]

The corpus that served as the basis of my analysis includes oral history, folk literature, local costumes and memories of the informants. The corpus which I used for this analysis is not the complete body of my field records. Some texts and short passages have been excluded from the corpus mainly due to their incomplete nature and problematic and illogical content and their linguistic similarity with the given texts, Standard Uyghur or Khotan dialect of Uyghur. I have also omitted some texts and sentences for ethical reasons, because some of them are politically sensitive and some of them are harmful for the reputation of the speaker if it is published. Nevertheless, I also included in the corpus some texts without many linguistic features of the Lopnor dialect to demonstrate the current situation of the Lopnor dialect to the readers. However, the texts in the corpus are the only material for the analysis. Obvious errors that were made during the first transcription were subsequently corrected. The texts have been kept as unchanged as possible from the first completed transcription. These texts will be published in the near future on the Internet along with the audio files to form an online corpus.

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[65] As Abdurishid Yakup mentioned in his monograph *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur* (2005: P2), in the previous research on Uyghur dialects (especially in the publications in China), the text materials were not treated as the basis of analysis, and much of the research was carried out through the analysis of isolated words which were collected by using the word lists and questionnaries.

[66] Johanson, Lars & Éva Á. Csató (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic Languages*. London and New York: Routledge.

For the archiving work of the Lopnor dialect, I prepared a collection of data comprised of folksongs, folktales, life stories of the informants or some other local famous people, place names in the Lopnor region, folklore materials about the Lopnor people. All data were recorded using the digital voice recorder in WAV format with the frequency of 48,000 Hz in 16-bit depth[67] and they were transcribed using the linguistic software "Transcriber". This resulted in hight quality data of that is in a convenient format for further processing and that is easily accessible to future researchers. While I was working on the phonology of the Lopnor dialect, I made a database of my texts by using Microsoft Access to ensure that every phonological feature could be easily located in the database. Interlinear glossing of some texts has already been done in Leipzig glossing rules with their English translation. For the interlinear glossing of the texts and their translation, I used the linguistic annotation software "Toolbox" to generat a vocabulary list at the end of the work. These data will also going to be published on the online corpus. Thus, the processing of the texts with the interlinear glossings and their English translation should rather be viewed as the archival work which is in progress.

1.5. Transcriptions, abbreviations and symbols

The transcription system in this dissertation is similar to the traditional "Turcological notation system" applied by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató in *The Turkic Languages*. However, in necessary cases, the International Phonetic Alphabet (2005 revised version) is also used in square brackets to show allophonic differences. Weak aspirations are left unmarked in the transcription, as they are phonologically irrelevant in the Lopnor dialect.

Uyghur personal names, toponyms and the Uyghur titles in the bibliography are transliterated with the Latin alphabet based on Uyghur ULY (*Uyghur Latin Yeziqi*),[68] and referred to the common terms accepted by western scholars.

Chinese personal names and toponyms are given in the Chinese Pinyin transcription system accompanied by the simplified Chinese characters in brackets.

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[67] Bowern, Claire 2008. *Linguistic Fieldwork: a Practical Guide.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. P 18.

[68] Duval, Jean Rahman & Waris Abdukerim Janbaz 2006. An Introduction to Latin-Script Uyghur, Salt Lake City: University of Utah.

For local toponyms prevalent in more than one language, the most widely known is given first (usually in Uyghur in the Lopnor region), followed by other variants. Uyghur toponyms in the Lopnor region, in order to keep consistency with other sources, are given in Standard Uyghur. However, in the fieldnotes, the toponyms that appeared in the speech of the informants were kept in the Lopnor dialect to show the language features of the speaker.

The following signs are used for the transcription of linguistic data in this thesis:

a = open, back, unrounded vowel [ɑ] or its variants

ä = open-mid, front, unrounded vowel [ɛ] or its variants

e = close-mid, front, unrounded vowel [e]

i = close, front, unrounded vowel [i] or its variants

o = close-mid, back, rounded vowel [o] or its variants

u = close, back, rounded vowel [u] or its variants

ö = close-mid, front, rounded vowel [ø] or its variants

ü = close, front, rounded vowel [y] or its variants

p = voiceless, bilabial, plosive [p]

b = voiced, bilabial, plosive [b]

t = voiceless, alveolar, plosive [t]

d = voiced, alveolar, plosive [d]

k = voiceless, velar, plosive [k]

g = voiced, velar, plosive [g]

q = voiceless, uvular, plosive [q]

v = voiced, labio-dental, fricative [v] or its variant [w]

s = voiceless, alveolar, fricative [s]

z = voiced, alveolar, fricative [z]

š = voiceless, palato-alveolar, fricative [ʃ]

ž = voiced, palato-alveolar, fricative [ʒ]

č = voiceless, palatal, affricative [tʃ]

ǰ = voiced, palatal, affricative [dʒ]

x = voiceless, velar, fricative [χ] or its variant [x]

ɣ = voiced, velar, fricative [ɣ] or its variant [ʁ]

h = voiced, glottal, fricative [ɦ] or its variant [h]

y = voiced, palatal, approximant [j]

r = voiced, alveolar, trill [r]

l = voiced, lateral approximant [l]

m = voiced, bilabial, nasal [m]

n = voiced, alveolar, nasal [n]

ŋ = voiced, velar, nasal [ŋ]

For morphophonemic variations, the following notational conventions are used:

{Ø} indicates a zero element

{C} indicates a consonant

{V} indicates a vowel

{I} indicates an alternation of high vowels

{U} indicates an alternation of high rounded vowels

{A₂} indicates an alternation of unrounded non-high vowels /a/ and /ä/

{A₄} indicates an alternation of non-high vowels /a/, /ä/, /o/ and /ö/

{X} indicates an alternation of high and non-high vowels

{D} indicates an alternation of /d/ and /t/

{K} indicates an alternation of /k/ and /q/

{G} indicates an alternation of /k/, /g/, /q/ and / ɣ/

{L} indicates an alternation of /l/, /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/

{N} indicates an alternation of /n/, /m/, /ŋ/, /l/, /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/, /č/, /s/ and /z/

For the linguistic terms appearing in this work, the following abbreviations are used:

1pl	1st person plural	COMP	comparative
1sg	1st person singular	CONV	converb
2pl	2nd person plural	COOP	cooperative-reciprocal
2sg	2nd person singular	COP	copula
3pl	3rd person plural	DAT	dative
3sg	3rd person singular	EVI	evidential
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	HaPST	habitual past
ADJ	adjective	COND	conditional
ADV	adverb	IMPER	imperative
AOR	aorist	INF	infinitive
AUX	auxiliary	LIM	limitative
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative

NEC	necessitative	PostP	postposition
NEG	negation	PostV	postverb
NOM	nominative	PRES	present/future tense
OPT	optative	PPRO	present progressive
Pple	participle	REFL	reflexive
PART	particle	SIM	similative
PASS	passive	SPRES	simple present/future tense
PST	past	SPST	simple past
PPST	past perfect	Q	interrogative
PER	personal suffix	QPART	interrogative particle
PL	plural	V	verb
POL	polite form	VBN	verbal noun
POSS	possessive	VOL	voluntative
POSB	possibility/ability marker		

For language or dialect names, the following abbreviations are used:

Chin	Chinese
Mong	Mongolian
OT	Old Turkic
SU	Standard Uyghur
LOP	Lopnor dialect

The following abbreviations are used for the toponyms:

Tarim QK	Tarim yezisi Qumköl kenti
Tarim B	Tarim yezisi Bostan kenti
Tarim ChK	Tarim yezisi Chongköl kenti
Tarim YN	Tarim yezisi Yenginur kenti
Tarim KK	Tarim yezisi Qurbanköl kenti
Gülbagh ACh	Gülbagh yezisi Aqchike kenti
Gülbagh BM	Gülbagh yezisi Bashmehelle kenti
Aqsupi JB	Aqsupi yezisi Jigdebagh kenti
Döngqotan X	Döngqotan yezisi Xorja kenti
Döngqotan Ch K	Döngqotan yezisi Chongköl kenti
Döngqotan T	Döngqotan yezisi Tatliq kenti
Qarchugha A	Qarchugha yezisi Awat kenti
Qarchugha YQ	Qarchugha yezisi Yengi Qarchugha kenti

Charqiliq Y   Charqiliq nahiyisi Yengisu Yezisi
Miren   Xinjiang ishlepchiqirish-qurulush bingtuani 36-tuan

The following symbols are used in the thesis:

.	syllable break	:	long vowel
/	minor break	~	nasalization
//	major break	॰	devoicing
‿	linking (no break)	<<	developed from
#	word boundary	>>	developed into
[ ]	phonetic form	~	alternation
/ /	phonemic form	→	derived as (synchronically)
{ }	morpheme	( )	occurs in some environments
-	morpheme boundary		

2. PHONOLOGY

The phonological system of the Lopnor dialect is rather different from Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur. In this chapter, the phonemic inventory of the Lopnor dialect, which is comprised of 8 vowels and 23 consonants, is established first. Then, the phonetic realization of distinctive segments and their allophones are discussed. The distributional restrictions on vowels and consonants, and the syllable types in the Lopnor dialect are also explained in section 2.1. Because of the special importance of vowel harmony in the Lopnor dialect, and because the vowel harmony rules apply both in morphemes and across morpheme boundaries, the separate section 2.2 is devoted to the discussion of this special phonological feature of the Lopnor dialect. Other diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect are examined in Section 2.3. In the last section, the sandhi rules in the Lopnor dialect are discussed.

2.1. Phonological system

2.1.1. Vowel phonemes

There are eight short segmental vowel phonemes /a, ä, e, i, o, u, ö, ü/ can be found in the Lopnor dialect as in Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur. The existence of phonemic /ï/ is a subject of much debate in Uyghur language studies. Thus, a clear differentiation of /i/ and /ï/ is also absent in the Lopnor dialect.

The vowel system of the Lopnor dialect is mainly distinguished by three groups of binary features, front and back, high and low, rounded and unrounded.

Table 2-1   *Distinctive features of the vowel phonemes in the Lopnor dialect*

	front		back	
	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded
high	ü	i	u	
middle	ö	e	o	
low		ä		a

All vowel phonemes in the Lopnor dialect are [+sonorant], [-consonantal], [+vocalic], [-coronal], [-anterior], [+continuant], [-nasal], [+voice].

There is no phonemic contrast between long and short vowels. In some words, long vowels emerge because of the deletion of the following consonant or consonant cluster, [69] e.g.

(1)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /aːpa/   /arpa/   'barely' (47: 37)
        /uːqu/   /uyqu/   'sleepiness' (36: 13)
        /qiːq/   /qirq/   'fourty' (54: 12)
        /qoːla-/   /qoɣla-/   'to run after' (1: 36)
        /qiːɣan/   /qilɣan/   'has done' (47: 59)

In the Lopnor dialect, the long vowels are relevant in a very limited number of lexemes, e.g.

(2)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /aːpa/   /arpa/   'barely' (47: 37)
        /apaː-/   /apar-/   'to carry, to bring' (19: 88)
        /yuːt/   /yurt/   'hometown' (2: 13)
        /yut-/   /yut-/   'to swallow, gulp down' (25: 56)

However, the long vowels in the Lopnor dialect still cannot be regarded as phonemic, because the deleted consonants or consonant clusters, from which emerged the long vowels in the syllable-final position, can retain their occurrences when the vowel-initial suffixes are attached to them, e.g.

(3)   /apaː-/ 'to carry' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /aparip/ 'carrying' (6: 15)
        /yuːt/ 'hometown" + {-(I)ŋ} '2sgPOSS' → /yurtuŋ/ 'your hometown" (26: 8)

Table 2-2   *Distribution of the vowel phonemes in the Lopnor dialect*

Phonemes	closed syllables	open syllables
/a/	/ay/ 'moon', /baɣ/ 'garden'	/taː/ 'narrow', /aɣa/ 'term used to express a respect (for a male)'
/ä/	/ä(r)/ 'man', /čäp/ 'left side'	/šäː/ 'city', /inä/ 'mother'
/e/	/eŋäk/ 'chin, lower jaw' /hečkim/ 'no one'	/kečä/ 'night, evening', /yekän/ 'cattail, a kind of reed'
/i/	/iš/ 'work', /tiš/ 'tooth'	/šiː/ 'lion', /daːši/ 'dry lake'

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[69] For the deletion of the consonants, see 2.3.10.

/o/	/on/ 'ten', /ɣol/ 'back and shoulders'	/tolo/ 'many, much', /topo/ 'dust, earth'
/u/	/uy/ 'bullock', /tuɣ/ 'flag'	/buruŋqu/ 'earlier, previous', /o:ɣu/ 'poison'
/ö/	/öŋ/ 'appearance, face', /töl/ 'young lamb'	/örö/ 'upright', /tögö/ 'camel'
/ü/	/üč/ 'three', /hüz/ 'face'	/özü/ 'himself, herself' /dürü/ 'whip'

In Standard Uyghur, the occurrences of phonemes /o, ö, ü/ in the coda position of the open syllables are very limited. However, in the Lopnor dialect, these phonemes can occur in both onset and coda position of open and closed syllables. The phoneme /e/ mostly occurs in the onset position of the open and closed syllables.

Asanliev believes that there are nine vowel phonemes in the Lopnor dialect.[70] In his opinion, there is a contrast between /i/ and /ï/ in the Lopnor dialect as in Old Turkic and some other Turkic languages. However, he has not given any minimal pairs as examples to prove his opinion. We found that [i] and [ï] suffer from a meaningful contrast in the Lopnor dialect. Therefore, they can only be the allophones of /i/.

Osmanov proposes that there are seven vowel phonemes in the Lopnor dialect, which does not include the vowel /e/.[71] He describes the [e] and [ä] as allophones of vowel /ä/. However, my data from Lopnor shows that phoneme /e/ and /ä/ can form minimal pairs in this dialect e.g. compare the /egär/ 'saddle' (72: 32) with /ägär/ 'if' (10: 44). In my data, the phoneme /e/ contrasts also with the phoneme /i/, e.g. compare the /teši/ 'outside' (19: 221) with /tiši/ 'female in animals' (33: 21), /yerim/ 'half' (54: 33) with /yirim/ 'my land' (54: 1).

The opposition between /a/ and /ä/, /o/ and /ö/, /u/ and /ü/ can be found very easily in the Table 2-2 and from the examples /al-/ 'to take' (26: 15) and /äl/ 'people, country' (78: 5), /ot/ 'fire, grass' (30: 5) and /öt-/ 'to pass' (34: 11), /uč-/ 'to fly' (64: 1) and /üč/ 'three' (47: 17).

2.1.2. Consonant phonemes

There are 23 consonant phonemes /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, ɣ, v, s, z, š, ž, č, ǰ, x, h, r, y, l, m, n, ŋ/ observed in the Lopnor dialect.

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[70] Asanaliev, U. 1964. *Lobnor tilinin grammatikalik kiskacha ocherki* [A short grammar of the Lopnor language]. Frunze: Kirgiz SSR Ilimder Akademiyasinin Basmasi. P 9.

[71] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2006. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 26.

Table 2-3   *Distinctive features of the consonant phonemes in the Lopnor dialect*

	LABIAL		CORONAL		DORSAL			LARYNGEAL
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	q	
Fricative		v	s z	š ž	č ǰ		x ɣ	h
Approximant					y			
Tap			r					
Lateral approximant			l					
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		

In the Lopnor dialect, nasals and glides are voiced. Plosives and fricatives occur in voiced and voiceless pairs. Initial voiceless stops preceding a vowel are aspirated as in Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur. The following table shows detailed features of the consonant phonemes in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 2-4   *Feature matrices of the consonant phonemes in the Lopnor dialect*

	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	ɣ	v	s	z	š	ž	č	ǰ	x	h	r	y	l	m	n	ŋ
Sonorant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Continuant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
Coronal	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
Anterior	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
Strident	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Voiced	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Back	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
High	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+

Compare to Standard Uyghur, there is no /f/ phoneme in the Lopnor dialect. The phoneme /f/ in loanwords is usually replaced by the phoneme /p/ in Lopnor. Moreover, the phoneme /ž/ has a limited distribution. In the Lopnor dialect, it only occurs in onomatopoetic words. It sometimes appears as an allophone of /y/ in syllable-initial position before high vowels /i, u, ü/. The occurrence of the phoneme /h/ is limited to the Persian and Arabic loanwords. It is usually omitted at the intervocalic and word-final positions, and the vowel preceding it is lengthened. The phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur in the word-initial position, and the phonemes /b, v/ and /ǰ/ do not occur in word-final positions in the Lopnor dialect. The consonant phoneme /b, d/ is usually devoiced in word-final

positions. The phoneme /v/ does not occur in word-final position. Moreover, the consonant phoneme /ǰ/ in word-final position is also not very common in Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur either. In the Lopnor dialect, the /ǰ/ in word-final position is usually substituted by /ž/. However, other consonant phonemes can occur in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 2-5   *Distribution of the consonant phonemes in the Lopnor dialect*

Phonemes	Word-initial	Intervocalic	Word-final
/p/	/pöšköl/ 'chapatti'	/kepäg/ 'husks of wheat'	/čäp/ 'left'
/b/	/baliq/ 'fish'	/xäbär/ 'news'	
/t/	/taxu/ 'chicken'	/yötöl/ 'cough'	/ayät/ 'Qur'anic verse'
/d/	/daru/ 'medicine'	/udum/ 'heredity'	
/k/	/könčü/ 'leather tanner'	/hakaya/ 'story'	/iläk/ 'branch of a river'
/g/	/gölmö/ 'fishing net'	/čegiläk/ 'hemp'	/bäg/ 'local ruler'
/q/	/qoton/ 'fold, animal pen'	/ataqa-/ 'to dedicate'	/ayiq/ 'bear'
/ɣ/	/ɣazaŋ/ 'withered leaves'	/aɣiz/ 'mouth'	/tuɣ/ 'dam'
/v/	/väzir/ 'vizier, prime minister'	/ava/ 'father'	
/s/	/soymo/ 'unripe, immature melon'	/hosul/ 'harvest'	/xalis/ 'unselfish'
/z/	/zäylig/ 'marsh, bog'	/qazuq/ 'stake, peg'	/toŋuz/ 'pig'
/š/	/šotaŋ/ 'salty area'	/qošuq/ 'folk song'	/qamuš/ 'reed'
/ž/	/žulɣun/ 'tamarisk'		/paž/ 'sizzle, hiss'
/č/	/čöčök/ 'wooden bowl'	/qaruču/ 'ordinary man, guard'	/qušqač/ 'sparrow'
/ǰ/	/ǰaŋŋäl/ 'jungle'	/uǰul/ 'yellow (eatable) flower in the upper part of a cattail'	
/x/	/xatun/ 'wife'	/bäxit/ 'happiness'	/šax/ 'branch of a tree'

/h/	/hökümät/ 'government'	/baha/ 'price'[72]	
/r/	/räŋ/ 'colour'	/ariq/ 'irrigation channel'	/tütür/ 'reverse, contrary'
/y/	/yiɣač/ 'piece of wood'	/ayiq/ 'bear'	/ögöy/ 'step-'
/l/	/lašin/ 'surveyor's pole'	/čoloq/ 'one-armed person'	/šol/ 'that'
/m/	/mögö/ 'desert date'	/demättik/ 'of the same age'	/gäräm/ 'cellar'
/n/	/namuna/ 'model, pattern'	/tanu/ 'traditional oven'	/tögümän/ 'mill'
/ŋ/		/aŋiz/ 'stubble'	/döŋ/ 'uphill'

2.1.3. Diphthongs

There are no true diphthongs found in the Lopnor dialect. Even the Chinese loanwords which contain diphthongs have been changed to the monophthongs in the Lopnor dialect, e.g. /ǰuŋgu/ (<< Chin. *Zhongguo* 中国) 'China' (61: 14), /lobän/ (<< Chin. *laoban* 老板) 'boss, employer' (52: 51), /zidoyän/ (<< Chin. *zhidaoyuan* 指导员) 'trainer, educator' (47: 14).

The only sonorant sequences sounding like diphthongs are diphthongal offglides. Diphthongal offglides are actually a VC structure, which are composed of a vowel and an offglide. The diphthongal offglide types in the Lopnor dialect include the following:

(4)   a. /ay/ type, e.g.
    /ay.diŋ/   'moonlight, moonlit'   (19: 100)
    /a.ɣay.nä/   'friend, buddy'   (43: 16)
    /qa.ra.vay/   'very dark, brown-skinned, tanned'   (34: 31)

    b. /äy/ type, e.g.
    /äy.na/[73]   'you see! look!'   (82: 15)
    /däy.ya/   'river, stream'   (5: 6)
    /xäy/   'cloth shoes'   (63: 7)

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[72] It occurs mostly in the speech of the younger people. The elder people in Lopnor delete the glottal /h/ in their speech and pronounce it as [baː], sometimes with an even longer vowel, like [baːː].

[73] This exclamatory word mostly used in the Charqiliq and Miren region, which is strongly influenced by the Khotan dialect.

c. /iy/ type, e.g.

/iy.lä-/	'to do'	(33: 3)
/kiy.pik/	'eyelash'	(31: 2)
/qa.qiy/	'bare, barren'	(81: 8)

d. /oy/ type, e.g.

/oy.mot/	'low-lying area, a hollow'	(30: 33)
/hoy.lu/	'courtyard, yard'	(19: 235)
/to.ɣoy/	'skylark'	(27: 8)

e. /uy/ type, e.g.

/uy/	'bullock'	(29: 2)
/quy.max/	'deep fried pancake'	(7: 47)
/qur.ɣuy/	'sparrow hawk'	(71: 31)

f. /öy/ type, e.g.

/öy/	'house, room'	(72: 18)
/köy.näk/	'shirt, blouse'	(46: 6)
/ö.göy/	'step-'	(30: 1)

g. /üy/ type, e.g.

| /güy.ǰäk/ | 'spade' | (9: 48) |
| /tä.räk.tüy/ | 'tractor' | (47: 59) |

2.1.4. Phonetic realizations and allophonic rules

2.1.4.1. Vowels

2.1.4.1.1. /a/

/a/ is an open back unrounded vowel in the Lopnor dialect.

In Lopnor dialect, /a/ is realized as an open front unrounded [a] in the following environments:

a. Before or after the voiced bilabial /b/, e.g. [balïq] 'fish' (50: 8), [abdan~amdan] 'good' (81: 31, 22: 1).

b. Before or after the palato-alveolar /š/, e.g. [šamal] 'wind' (17: 5), [taši-] 'to transport, to carry' (30: 33).

c. Before or after the palatal /y/, e.g. [yay-] 'to spread out, to spread open' (56: 35), [lay] 'mud' (75: 5).

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/a/ is represented as an open central unrounded [ɐ] after the voiceless bilabial /p/ and alveolars, e.g. [pɐqa] 'frog' (1: 29), [tɐrɐša] 'sliver, slice of wood' (11: 60), [ɐtɐxlïq] 'famous' (10: 10), [dɐlɐ] 'wilderness' (1: 1), [ɐdɐš] 'friend, companion' (17: 20).

In the following environments, the phoneme /a/ in the Lopnor dialect is realized as an open back unrounded [ɑ]:

a. Before or after velars /k, g, ŋ/, e.g. [kɑlɑ] 'cow' (79: 6), [ɑkä] 'elder brother' (1: 27), [ǰugɑ] 'coat of animal skin or fur' (2: 11), [zɑgɑl] 'sunset, twilight' (9: 53), [yɑŋŋɑq] 'walnut' (17: 3), [yɑŋŋi] 'new' (24: 1).

b. Before or after uvulars /q, x, ɣ/, e.g. [qɑɣun] 'melon' (17: 6), [yɑqïn] 'near' (8: 48), [xɑt] 'letter,mail' (32: 20), [sɑxči] 'police' (49: 40), [ɑɣɑ] 'term used to express respect (for a man)' (53: 4), [ɑɣïr] 'heavy' (33: 19).

c. Before or after the glottal phoneme /h/, e.g. [hɑyda-] 'to drive, to expel' (34: 51), [ǰɑhɑn] 'universe, life' (50: 5).

/a/ is realized as long [aː] in the following positions:

a. Before the phonemes /r, y, ɣ/ that are dropped in syllable-final positions, e.g.

(5)　　Lopnor　　　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　Gloss
　　　[aːqa]　　　　　　　/arqa/　　　　　　　'back, behind' (20: 90)
　　　[aːril]　　　　　　　/ayril/　　　　　　　'to leave, to separate' (3: 7)
　　　[ašundaː] ~ [ašundaɣ]　/ašundaq/　　　　　'that kind of' (50: 32)
　　　[qandaː] ~ [qandaɣ]　/qandaq/　　　　　'how' (67: 1)

b. Before or after the voiced labio-dental approximant /v/ in an open syllable, e.g. [kaːva] 'pumpkin' (71: 44), [davaː] 'treatment' (77: 4).

In some cases, the [aː] is used in final syllables to emphasize the concept expressed in an adjective, e.g. [astaː] 'very slowly' (21: 15).

2.1.4.1.2. /ä/

/ä/ represents a near open front unrounded vowel, mostly occurring in closed syllables in native Turkic words, e.g. [ombäš] 'fifteen' (4: 5), [kätmän] 'tool for digging, a mattock' (71: 46), [östäŋ] 'small water channel' (56: 12). However, its occurrence is not limited to the closed syllables, and can occur in open syllables in a word stem, e.g. [örä] 'upright' (61: 11), [kemä] 'boat' (71: 11).

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /ä/ is realized as a close middle central unrounded [ɜ] before or after the back consonants, e.g. [qɜlɜm] 'pen' (73: 5), [ɣɜm] 'anxiety' (77: 31), [gɜp] 'talk' (79:2).

The phoneme /ä/ is realized as [äː] before the deleted alveolar consonant /r/, e.g.

(6)　　Lopnor　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　Gloss
　　　[bäː-]　　　　/bär-/　　　　　　　'to give' (6: 17)
　　　[šäːt]　　　　/šärt/　　　　　　　'condition, promise' (17: 29)
　　　[yäː]　　　　/yär/　　　　　　　'earth' (19: 32)

2.1.4.1.3. /e/

/e/ is a close middle front unrounded vowel, usually appearing in onset position of an open syllable, e.g. [deŋiz] 'sea' (78: 15), [ɣerič] 'span of the hand' (75: 11), [meɣïz] 'kernel' (32: 22).

2.1.4.1.4. /i/

The phoneme /i/ usually appears as a close front unrounded [i] in the following environments:

a. Before or after the alveolar and the palatals, e.g. [siyaq] 'look, style' (79: 1), [čivinlïɣ] 'mosquito net' (9: 15), [ǰimbil] 'steam tray' (48: 3).

b. Before or after the velars, e.g. [kisäk] 'brick of baked mud' (36: 19), [girä] 'clasping position (of hand or foot)' (34: 53).

b. Before or after the nasals and the laterals, e.g. [mičit] 'mosque' (8: 41), [niyät] 'intention' (41: 2), [liŋiyčaq] 'harness saddle' (1: 38).

c. Before or after the approximant /y/, e.g. [yilɣa-] 'to cry' (28: 2), [haziy] 'now' (47: 6).

d. In a stressed open final syllables, e.g. [bayaqi] 'the (one) just earlier' (53: 11), [texi] 'yet, still' (77: 24), [yaŋŋi] 'new' (6: 29).

The phoneme /i/ in the Lopnor dialect is realized as close back unrounded [ï] before or after the uvulars, e.g. [inqïlap] 'revolution' (11: 4), [qïz] 'girl' (17: 30), [xïl] 'excellent, type' (1: 2), [ɣïza] 'food' (33: 2).

The phoneme /i/ is lowered to [ɪ] in word-final position, e.g. [narɪ] 'beyond' (57: 17), [ägrɪ] 'crooked' (74: 7), [oɣrɪ] 'thief' (1: 43).

The phoneme /i/ is realized as [iː] before the deleted alveolar trill /r/, e.g.

(7)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	[piːqïra-]	/pirqira-/	'to rotate' (7: 8)
	[čiːma]	/čirma/	'to wrap, to bind around' (30: 6)
	[qiːq]	/qirq/	'fourty' (47: 83)

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /i/ occurs as a devoiced [i̥] before the voiceless stops and the alveolar fricatives in initial syllables, e.g. [ši̥pa] 'treatment' (44: 7), [i̥p] 'thread' (7: 18), [či̥t] 'kind of cotton print cloth' (34: 1), [esi̥t] 'expression of a regret' (19: 104).

2.1.4.1.5. /o/

This phoneme is mostly represented as a close mid back rounded [o] in the Lopnor dialect. It mostly occurs in word-initial syllables, e.g. [šol] 'that' (32: 13), [doppu] 'Uyghur hat' (33: 13), [qošuq] 'folk song' (33: 24), [toŋŋuz] 'pig' (35: 4). However, it may also occur in word-final syllables if the previous syllable contains a back rounded /o/, e.g. [olɣoq]

'young goat' (21: 1), [qoton] 'animal pen' (44: 1), [rozo] 'Rozi [personal name for men]' (47: 10).

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /o/ is lowered to open-mid back rounded [ɔ] in word-final positions, e.g. [o:mɔ] 'harvest' (17: 32), [soymɔ] 'unripe, immature melon' (17: 33), [tolɔ] 'many, a lot' (28: 1).

The phoneme /o/ before the phoneme /r, v, y, ɣ/ is realized as [o:] when these phonemes are dropped in the syllable-final positions, e.g.

(8)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	[o:na-]	/orna-/	'to be situated' (11: 100)
	[so:ɣa]	/sovɣa/	'gift' (58: 7)
	[o:ɣan-]	/oyɣan-/	'wake up' (80: 6)
	[qo:la-]	/qoɣla-/	'to chase' (1: 36)

2.1.4.1.6. /u/

/u/ is a close back rounded vowel. It can be found in all positions of a word, e.g. [tuya] 'encampment, fort' (81: 16), [qaruna] 'osprey' (82: 1), [buruŋqu] 'previous' (4: 6), [čoruq] 'simple leather boots or shoes stitched up in one piece' (76: 9).

It occurs quite frequently after syllables which contain back vowels, e.g. [qaraŋŋu] 'dark, black' (4: 6), [doxmuš] 'corner, angle' (45: 8), [qurɣuy] 'sparrow hawk' (71: 31).

As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the phoneme /u/ occurs as a devoiced [u̥] before the voiceless consonants in initial syllables, e.g. [pu̥t] 'foot' (49: 3), [u̥č-] 'to fly' (19: 29), [tu̥t-] 'to hold, grasp' (75: 34), [tu̥qqan] 'relative' (8: 67).

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /u/ realized as [u:] before a dropped /r, y/ in syllable-final position, e.g.

(9)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	[čoqu:]	/čoqur/	'pockmarked person' (52: 31)
	[oɣu:la-]	/oɣurla-/	'to steal' (5: 23)
	[bu:ruɣ]	/buyruq/	'command, an order' (55: 5)
	[qu:ruɣ]	/quyruq/	'tail' (3: 7)

2.1.4.1.7. /ö/

/ö/ represents a close-mid front rounded vowel. It mainly occurs in word-initial syllables, e.g. [könčü] 'leather tanner, Könchi [old name of Lopnor County]' (11: 88), [yögümäč] 'climbing plant' (72: 29), [kölčülük] 'fishing' (10: 1).

However, the phoneme /ö/ may also occur in word-final syllables if the previous syllable contains a front rounded /ö/. When the preceding syllable contains the phoneme /ö/, the /ö/ in the following syllable is realized as an open-mid front rounded [œ], e.g. [čöčœk] 'wooden bowl' (20: 4), [yötœl] 'cough' (1: 30), [sörœm] 'rake' (9: 7).

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /ö/ in word-final position is realized as an open front rounded [œ], e.g. [bökmœ] 'ambush' (1: 44), [gölmœ] 'fishing net' (10: 28), [könœ] 'old' (11: 2)

Before or after the phoneme /h/ and /ŋ/, the phoneme /ö/ is pronounced as a close-mid central rounded [ɵ], e.g. [hɵl] 'wet, damp' (72: 1), [gɵhɵr] 'treasure, jewellery' (27: 5), [kɵŋlœk] 'shirt, blouse' (19: 81)

The phoneme /ö/ realized as [ö:] before the deleted alveolar trill /r/, e.g.

(10)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        [kö:-]   /kör/   'to see' (2: 9)
        [ö:dœk]   /ördäk/   'duck' (53: 36)
        [kö:pœ]   /körpä/   'mattress, bedroll' (15: 3)

2.1.4.1.8. /ü/

/ü/ is a close front rounded vowel. It mostly occurs in initial syllable after consonants, especially after velar and dental stops, affricates, e.g. [küzzäk] 'Küzlek [place name in Lopnor]' (1: 33), [güyǰäk] 'spade' (9: 48), [tüš] 'dream' (34: 43), [süpät] 'character, quality' (79: 10).

However, the phoneme /ü/ may also occur in word-final syllables, if the previous syllable contains a front rounded /ü/. When the preceding syllable contains the phoneme /ü/, the /ü/ in the following syllable is realized as a near-close near-front rounded [ʏ], e.g. [tülkʏ] 'fox' (1: 1), [šükrʏ] 'grateful, thanks' (26: 19), [dürʏ] 'whip' (25: 23).

Before or after the glottal /h/, the phoneme /ü/ is realized as a close central rounded [ʉ], e.g. [hʉz] 'face' (60: 2), [hʉsüp] 'Yusuf, [personal name for men]' (4: 4).

The phoneme /ü/ occurs as a devoiced [y̥] before the voiceless consonants in initial syllables, e.g. [y̥čy̥n] 'for, for the sake of' (5: 23), [sy̥pät] 'quality, nature' (79: 10), [sy̥t] 'milk' (20: 6), [py̥ty̥n] 'whole, complete' (49: 10).

The phoneme /ü/ is realized as [ü:] before the deleted alveolar trill /r/, e.g. [tömü:] (compare *tömür* in SU) 'iron' (19: 4).

The following table shows the full list of surface vowels in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 2-6   *Surface vowel inventory of the Lopnor dialect*

	Unrounded			Rounded		
	front	central	back	front	central	back
Close	i ~ [i:] ~ [i̥]		[ï]	ü ~ [y̥]	[ʉ]	u ~ [u:] ~ [u̥]
Near close		[ɪ]		ö ~ [ö:]	[ʏ]	
Middle	e	[ɜ]		[œ]	[ɵ]	o ~ [o:]

Near open	ä ~ [äː]			[œ]		[ɔ]
Open	[a]	[ɐ]	ɑ ~ [ɑː]			

2.1.4.2. Consonants

2.1.4.2.1. Plosives

2.1.4.2.1.1. The bilabials /p/ and /b/

/p/ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive, it can occur in all positions of a word, e.g. [ɣarip] 'alone' (64: 5), [ip] 'thread' (7: 19), [mapa] 'horse cart' (19: 172), [mustapir] 'stranger, alien' (22: 2), [paxlan] 'lamb' (26: 4), [pomčük] 'landlord' (47: 22).

/b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive that only occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions, e.g. [bädgupa] 'unfaithful' (12: 5), [bölök] 'part, another' (19: 184), [zämbil] 'stretcher' (49: 29), [mihriban] 'kind' (70: 4).

In some lexemes, the opposition between /p/ and /b/ is neutralized in word-initial position, e.g. [bütün] 'whole' (19: 196) ~ [pütün] 'whole' (20: 43).

2.1.4.2.1.2. The alveolars /t/ and /d/

/t/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar plosive that can occur in all positions of a word, e.g. [taqa] 'horse shoe' (1: 29), [tömüčü] 'blacksmith' (19: 20), [altini] 'below, lower' (6: 45), [kötög] '(tree) stump' (7: 30), [haŋŋit] 'swan goose' (11: 49), [sögöt] 'willow tree' (11: 92).

/d/ is a voiced alveolar plosive, it most frequently occurs in the syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, e.g. [daru] 'medicine' (34: 32), [dušman] 'enemy' (36: 17), [ǰadu] 'bewitching (eyes)' (5: 10), [ǰandar] 'animal, living thing' (8: 50).

The opposition between /t/ and /d/ is neutralized in intervocalic position and after laterals in some lexemes, e.g. [patiša] 'king' (19: 1) ~ [padiša] 'king' (23: 2), [yildiz] 'root' (48: 2) ~ [yiltiz] 'root' (6: 4), [yulduz] 'star' (53: 6) ~ [yultuz] 'star' (12: 1).

2.1.4.2.1.3. The velars /k/ and /g/

/k/ is a voiceless velar plosive. It usually occurs in all positions of a word, e.g. [kakkuk] 'cuckoo' (23: 3), [hakaya] 'story, tale' (19: 0), [kepäk] 'what remains in the sieve after flour has been sieved' (33: 4).

/g/ is a voiced velar plosive, it mostly occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions, e.g. [gäräm] 'basement, cellar' (34: 11), [mügüz] 'horn' (19: 123).

The opposition between /k/ and /g/ is neutralized in the word-final position of some lexemes, e.g. [kičig] 'small' (34: 16) ~ [kičik] 'small' (50: 10), [köyüg] 'fire of love' (73: 3) ~ [köyük] 'fire of love' (66: 3), [kürüg] 'kind of bush like a tamarisk' (48: 6) ~ [kürük] 'kind of bush like a tamarisk' (56: 1), [äːkäk] 'man, male' (25: 34) ~ [äːkäg] 'man, male' (54: 9).

2.1.4.2.1.4. The uvular /q/

/q/ is a voiceless uvular plosive, it mostly occurs in word-initial position, e.g. [qaručǔ] 'ordinary man, guard' (1: 10), [qïrčïn] 'kind of diversifolious poplar tree' (74: 1). Rarely, it also occurs in other positions of a word, e.g. [balïq] 'fish' (76: 13), [čoloq] 'one armed person' (2: 15), [talqan] 'wheat or bean flour - can be preserved a long time, and eaten cold' (6: 34).

2.1.4.2.2. The fricatives
2.1.4.2.2.1. The alveolars /s/ and /z/

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It may occur in any positions of a word, e.g. [sač] 'hair' (12: 8), [o:sa] 'pre-planting irrigation' (11: 47), [ätläs] 'special multicolored silk' (71: 41).

/z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative. It mostly appears in intervocalic and word-final positions, e.g. [boɣuz] 'fodder, throat' (34: 11), [azuɣ] 'food, nourishment' (7: 26).

The opposition between /s/ and /z/ is suspended in the word-final position of some disyllabic words, e.g. [ottus] 'thirty' (11: 65) ~ [ottuz] 'thirty' (19: 137), [yolvaz] 'tiger' (76: 2) ~ [yolvas] 'tiger' (76: 4), [miraz] 'inheritance' (47: 13) ~ [miras] 'inheritance' (62: 7).

2.1.4.2.2.2. The palato-alveolar /š/

/š/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant. It mostly occurs in intervocalic or word-final positions, e.g. [išig] 'door' (27: 5), [paša] 'mosquito' (10: 6), [mapakäš] 'wheeler, wagoner' (19: 183), [tüš-] 'to get off, descend' (20: 22).

2.1.4.2.2.3. The palatals /č/ and /ǰ/

/č/ is a voiceless palatal fricative. It can occur every position in a word, e.g. [čaručǔ] 'shepherd' (13: 1), [alča] 'groin, crotch' (35: 2), [yögümäč] 'vetch, a kind of climbing plant' (72: 29).

In the Lopnor dialect, /ǰ/ is a voiced palatal fricative. It mostly occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions. It does not occur in word-final positions, e.g. [ǰimbil] 'steam tray' (48: 3), [güyǰäk] 'spade' (9: 48), [uǰul] 'eatable yellow flower in the upper part of the stalk of a reed' (6: 29).

2.1.4.2.2.4. The uvulars /x/ and /ɣ/

/x/ is a voiceless uvular fricative. It can occur in all positions of a word, e.g. [xa:man] 'threshing floor, a threshing ground' (25: 50), [aχta:ma] 'fallow, left fallow (after ploughing)' (11: 103), [zïx] 'gold needles, a skewer' (52: 23).

The phoneme /x/ has two allophones that are slightly different from each other: [χ] and [x]. [χ] occurs in back vocalic syllables, e.g. [boχtoɣ] 'upper part of foreleg or hind leg' (8: 50), [χaχ] 'other people, bublic' (54: 25). Another allophone [x] occurs in front vocalic syllables, e.g. [xätmä] 'recitation of the Koran' (79: 9), [bäxit] 'happiness' (2: 1).

The default value of /ɣ/ is a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. This phoneme can be found in any positions of a word, e.g. [ʁalǰuŋ] 'rabid' (47: 9), [yilʁa-] 'to cry, to weep' (19: 117), [ariʁ] 'stream, irrigation channel' (36: 28).

The phoneme /ɣ/ has two allophones: [ɣ] and [ʁ]. [ɣ] usually occurs in front-vocalic syllables, e.g. [qäɣäz] 'paper' (71: 47), [läɣmän] 'lagmen, traditional noodle' (34: 56). And another allophone [ʁ] usually occurs in back-vocalic syllables, e.g. [boʁoltu] 'accountant' (51: 3), [oʁru] 'thief' (19: 68).

The opposition between /x/, /ɣ/ and /q/ is neutralized in word-final position of some words. However, their occurrence is rather free-form in that it cannot be predicted, e.g. [balïq] (23: 7) ~ [balïx] (26: 18) ~ [balïɣ] (76: 12) 'fish', [čiraq] (19: 42) ~ [čirax] (34: 22) ~ [čiraɣ] (30: 87) 'lamp, leader', [bulaq] (66: 1) ~ [bulax] (73: 6) ~ [bulaɣ] (10: 14) 'spring'.

2.1.4.2.3. The nasals
2.1.4.2.3.1. The bilabial nasal /m/
/m/ is represented as a voiced bilabial nasal. It may occur in all positions of a word, e.g. [malapa] 'gauze blouse of women' (26: 24), [mülkü-] 'to stagger' (6: 42), [ärmiyä] 'army' (36: 2), [tapišmaq] 'puzzle' (33: 5), [käm] 'time' (40: 15), [tulum] 'bag, a pouch, made from a whole animal skin' (13: 10).

2.1.4.2.3.2. The alveolar nasal /n/
/n/ is a voiced alveo-dental nasal in the Lopnor dialect. It can be found all positions of a word, e.g. [nišalla-] 'to aim at, to target' (51: 1), [qondoq] 'bird perch' (2: 15), [pütün] 'whole' (2: 17).

2.1.4.2.3.3. The velar nasal /ŋ/
/ŋ/ is realized as a voiced velar nasal. It usually occurs in intervocalic or word-final positions, e.g. [qïŋïr] 'winding, crooked' (17: 1), [kaŋ] 'heated brick platform' (30: 17), [ötöŋ] 'rest house, horse-changing post' (10: 14).

The phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur in word-initial position. But it can occur in syllable-initial position in the Lopnor dialect, e.g. [liŋiyčaq] 'harness saddle' (1: 38), [köŋül] 'heart, soul, feelings' (26: 10).

2.1.4.2.4. The approximants
2.1.4.2.4.1. The labio-dental approximant /v/
/v/ is a voiced labio-dental approximant. It may occur in word-initial or intervocalic position of a word, e.g. [vax] 'time, count' (49: 8), [vätän] 'motherland, home country' (80: 1), [ava] 'father' (1: 19), [alvan] 'forced labour, conscription' (82: 5).

The phoneme /v/ is realized as a bilabial approximant [w] when preceded or followed by rounded vowels, e.g. [qawuz] 'Jew's harp, mouthful' (5: 12), [qowuq] 'city gate' (77: 11), [sawut] 'armour, shielding' (14: 1).

2.1.4.2.4.2. The palatal approximant /y/

/y/ is represented as a voiced palatal approximant in the Lopnor dialect. It can occur in every position of a word, e.g. [uy] 'bullock' (29: 2), [torɣoy] 'skylark' (36: 15), [üyä] 'joint, finger joint' (31: 7), [ayla] 'term of respect for an older lady' (4: 9), [yayaq] 'on foot' (34: 41), [yilɣa-] 'to cry' (19: 117).

2.1.4.2.4.3. The glottal /h/

The phoneme /h/ is a voiced glottal approximant. It may occur in word-initial and intervocalic positions, e.g. [haša:] 'forced labour' (17: 15), [hayda-] 'to drive, to herd' (19: 149), [bähuš] 'unconscious' (80: 3), [göhör] 'treasure, jewelry' (27: 5).

2.1.4.2.5. The lateral approximant /l/

/l/ is a voiced lateral approximant. The position of this phoneme in a word is rather free, e.g. [laqam] 'nickname' (11: 21), [laquluɣ] 'Laquluq [place name in Lopnor]' (11: 8), [altini] 'lower, below' (11: 23), [čalma] (*umač* in SU) 'kind of porridge' (6: 8), [säl] 'little, somewhat' (6: 50), [zämbil] 'stretcher' (11: 54).

2.1.4.2.6. The trill /r/

In the Lopnor dialect, /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill. It can be found in all environments, e.g. [ram] 'frame, window' (19: 42), [rodupa] 'vampire, blood-sucker' (75: 10), [söröm] 'rake' (9: 7), [taraša] 'slice of wood, kindling' (7: 16), [qayir] 'compost or rotted things which are gathered after the flood' (1: 43).

The following table shows the phonetic realizations of the consonants in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 2-7   *Surface consonant inventory of the Lopnor dialect*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	q	
Fricative		v	s z	š ž	č ǰ	x ɣ	[χ] [ʁ]	h
Approximant		[w]			y			
Tap			r					
Lateral approximant			l					
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		

2.1.5. Phonotactics

2.1.5.1. Restrictions on the vowels

In the Lopnor dialect, all vowel phonemes may occur in word-initial positions. The occurrence of the phoneme /o/ and /u/ in the second syllable of a word is rather rare in Standard Uyghur. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the occurrence of the phoneme /o/ and /u/ in the second and even further syllables of a word is rather common, e.g.

(11)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /čolpon/   /čolpan/   'star, Venus' (19: 100)
        /olɣoq/   /oɣlaq/   'young goat' (21: 1)
        /yoɣon/   /yoɣan/   'big, large' (39: 4)
        /čaruču/   /čarviči/   'shepherd, nomad' (13: 1)
        /moru/   /mora/   'chimney, smoke outlet' (79: 14)
        /buruŋqu/   /burunqi/   'previous' (4: 6)

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /e/ cannot occur in word-final positions. In my data, the only word with the phoneme /e/ in the word-final position is the Chinese loanword /šaŋye/ 'village chief' (56: 19).

Unlike Standard Uyghur, the occurrence of /ö/ and /ü/ in the second and further syllables is also quite common in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(12)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /mögö/   /ǰigdä/   'desert date' (6: 22)
        /tögö/   /tögä/   'camel' (11: 70)
        /bölök/   /böläk/   'another, different' (19: 184)
        /gölmü/   /tor/   'fishing net' (10: 13)
        /mörü/   /mürä/   'shoulder' (19: 140)

In Standard Uyghur, /o/ and /ö/ cannot occur as suffix vowels. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /o/ and /ö/ can occur in the variants of several suffixes, e.g. plural suffix {-lo(r)}/ {-lö(r)}, dative case suffix {-ɣo}/ {-qo}/ {-ŋo}/ {-kö}/ {-gö}/ {-ŋö}, locative case suffix {-do}/ {-dö}/ {-to}/ {-tö}, negative aorist suffix {-mös}/ {-mos}, infinitive suffix {-mök}/ {-moq}, participle suffix {-ɣon}/ {-qon}/ {-gön}/ {-kön}.

2.1.5.2. Consonant clusters in monosyllabic words

Like Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur, consonant clusters in the onset position are not permitted in the Lopnor dialect. The only permitted consonant clusters in

the coda position[74] are /-yt/, /-st/ and /-rt/, e.g. /ayt-/ 'to tell, to say' (25: 28), /üst/ 'above, over' (36: 6), /därt/ 'pain, suffering, distress' (70: 7), /šärt/ 'agreement, promise' (33: 15).

The consonant clusters in the coda position do not exist in the speech of elder people and are most often avoided by the deletion of a consonant, e.g.

(13)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/ras/	/rast/	'true, real' (47: 96)
	/dät/	/därt/	'pain, suffering' (51: 1)
	/ta:t-/	/tart-/	'pull, withdraw' (76: 9)
	/yu:t/	/yurt/	'hometown, native country' (43: 21)

However, those deleted consonants retain their occurrence in morpheme boundaries, especially when they are followed by a vowel-initial suffix, e.g. /yurtum/ 'yurt + (I)m' 'my hometown' (80: 1), /därdim/ 'därt + (I)m' 'my suffering' (26: 19).

In normal speech, some consonant clusters in the coda position are eliminated by the insertion of a vowel, e.g.

(14)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/qurut/	/qurt/	'worm, bug' (30: 130)
	/hayit/	/heyt/	'festival, celebration' (7: 41)

2.1.5.3. Consonant clusters at the syllable boundaries

In the Lopnor dialect, as in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the two consonants at the syllable boundary do not belong to the same syllable. The first one belongs to the coda of the previous syllable and the second one belongs to the onset of the following syllable. Thus, consonant clusters here refer to the adjacency of two or more consonants at the boundary of two separate syllables. The discussion of these consonant clusters is helpful to us to understand the distributional and combinational features of the Lopnor dialect more clearly.

In the Lopnor dialect, almost all consonant phonemes, except /ž/, may occur in the coda of the first syllable. Moreover, almost all consonant phonemes, except /ž/, may occur in the onset of the next syllable. However, the combination of these consonant phonemes follows some strict rules. These rules are discussed below in more detail.[75]

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[74] The consonant clusters in the coda position are only permitted in the speech of younger speakers.

[75] The tables and examples in this section show the systematic rules of the consonant clusters at the syllable boundary. The accidental occurrences are exempted from our discussion.

2.1.5.3.1. Sonorant-obstruent clusters

Sonorant-obstruent clusters are the most common consonant clusters in the Lopnor dialect. The table 2-8 shows the possible sonorant-obstruent clusters in syllable boundaries.[76]

Table 2-8   *Sonorant-obstruent clusters in the Lopnor dialect*

	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	v	s	z	š	č	ǰ	x	ɣ
r	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
y	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
l	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
m	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
n	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
ŋ	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

Examples:

r + obstruent:[77] /turpanliɣ/ 'person from Turfan' (47: 10), /turbu/ 'tube, pipe' (43: 1), /xartom/ 'trunk (animal's)' (13: 5), /ärkäk/ 'man' (13: 7), /yörgö-/ 'to wrap up, to cover' (1: 7), /arqa/ 'back' (36: 18), /čarva/ 'cattle, livestock' (83: 7), /qursaq/ 'stomach, belly' (34: 50), /arzula-/ 'to hope for, long for' (36: 30), /qarši/ 'against, in opposition to' (27: 5), /barčä/ 'all, every' (77: 2), /pärxut/ 'ship' (15: 3), /arɣumaq/ 'fine horse, steed' (34: 57).

y + obstruent: /kiypik/ 'eyelash' (31: 2), /baytal/ 'mare, female horse' (45: 12), /aydiŋ/ 'moonlight' (19: 100), /hayvan/ 'animal' (28: 9), /maysa/ 'seedling, young plant' (9: 9), /qoyču/ 'shepherd' (33: 9), /uyɣur/ 'Uyghur' (34: 27).

l + obstruent: /ɣulpu/ 'lock' (30: 73), /kalta/ 'short, brief' (55: 1), /ämälda/ 'official' (56: 14), /tülkü/ 'fox' (1: 1), /älgäg/ 'net, mesh' (11: 130), /alqan/ 'palm' (31: 8), /alvan/ 'forced labour, conscription' (82: 5), /paqalčäg/ 'lower leg' (31: 14), /olǰa/ 'booty, spoils' (25: 9), /gulxan/ 'bonfire' (58: 7), /tarilɣa/ 'ploughing and sowing' (10: 46).

m + obstruent: /kampaši/ 'tassel of a reed' (72: 3), /ambal/ 'governor in Qing dynasty period' (4: 3), /üzümtal/ 'vineyard' (72: 11), /ämdi/ 'just now, recently' (72: 17), /mumkin/ 'possible, likely' (19: 59), /tenimsiz/ 'busy, without rest' (54: 31), /yumšaq/ 'soft' (7: 3), /aɣamča/ 'rope' (20: 5), /čamɣu/ 'turnip' (25: 40).

n + obstruent: /yantaq/ 'camel-thorn' (6: 26), /ǰandar/ 'animal, living thing' (8: 50), /inqilap/ 'revolution' (11: 4), /mänsüp/ 'belonging to' (61: 14), /čanči-/ 'to pierce, to stab' (8: 62), /zänǰir/ 'chain' (32: 18).

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[76] + expresses the existence of this type of consonant cluster. − expresses the non-existence of this type of consonant cluster. The consonants in the vertical column are the consonants in the coda position of the preceding syllable. The consonants in the horizontal column are the consonants in the onset position of the following syllable.

[77] The phoneme /r/ in the coda position can be omitted when it is followed by velars and uvulars.

ŋ + obstruent: /čiŋda-/ 'to tamp down, to make firm' (7: 38), /haŋga/ 'male donkey' (79: 7), /moŋɣul/ 'Mongol' (1: 17).

2.1.5.3.2. Obstruent-sonorant clusters

When obstruents are in the coda position of the preceding syllable, the sonorants /y/ and /ŋ/ do not occur in the onset of the following syllable. When sonorants are in the onset of the following syllable, the voiced obstruents /b/, /d/, /g/ and the voiceless obstruent /č/ may occur in the coda of the preceding syllable in a very limited number of words only. The voiceless obstruent /q/ only occurs in the coda of the preceding syllable in very limited lexemes, and the consonant in the onset of the following syllable must be a lateral approximant /l/ in these type of obstruent-sonorant clusters.

Table 2-9   *Obstruent-sonorant clusters in the Lopnor dialect*

	r	y	l	m	n	ŋ
p	+	−	+	−	+	−
b	+	−	+	−	−	−
t	+	−	+	+	+	−
d	+	−	−	−	−	−
k	+	−	+	+	−	−
g	+	−	−	−	−	−
q	−	−	+	−	−	−
v	+	−	+	−	−	−
s	+	−	+	+	−	−
z	+	−	+	+	−	−
š	+	−	+	+	+	−
č	+	−	−	−	−	−
ǰ	+	−	−	+	+	−
x	+	−	+	+	−	−
ɣ	+	−	+	+	−	−

Examples:

p + sonorant: /säpra/ 'vomiting, irritable' (80: 9), /äplä-/ 'to deal with well, to do (smth.) carefully' (7: 10), /lopnor/ 'Lopnor' (20: 98).

b + sonorant: /täbriklä-/ 'to congratulate, celebrate' (47: 2), /xibli/ 'direction which Mecca located' (83: 1).

t + sonorant: /ätrap/ 'surrounding, nearby' (83: 10), /sätlä-/ 'to curse, to insult' (1: 22), /dätmän/ 'having suffered much, pitiable' (25: 48), /ötnä/ 'something borrowed, on loan' (79: 6).

d + sonorant: /qudrät/ 'power, strength' (26: 22).

k + sonorant: /šükrü/ 'grateful, thankful' (26: 26), /maräklä-/ 'to congratulate, celebrate' (8: 55), /čäkmän/ 'type of rough cloth (cotton or wool)' (55: 2).

g + sonorant: /ägri/ 'crooked, bent' (74: 7).

q + sonorant:[78] /aqla-/ 'to whitewash, to wash off' (32: 12), /yoqla-/ 'to visit, to call on' (79: 10).

v + sonorant: /kövrük/ 'bridge' (11: 22), /tavla-/ 'to train, refine' (43: 16).

s + sonorant: /häsrät/ 'regret, distress' (44: 6), /äsli/ 'originally, at first' (46: 7), /osma/ 'Osma, a plant whose leaves are used for making eye-shadow' (71: 2).

z + sonorant: /näzrä/ 'mourning ceremony' (39: 6), /izlä-/[79] 'to search for, to look for' (24: 5), /xizmät/ 'work, job' (47: 98).

š + sonorant: /mäšräp/ 'traditional song and dance performance' (72: 26), /xäšlä-/ 'to spend money' (79: 4), /tapišmaq/ 'riddle, puzzle' (33: 5), /ašna/ 'friend, mate, lover' (34: 56).

č + sonorant: /čačra-/ 'to scatter' (8: 19).

ǰ + sonorant: /aǰra-/ 'to split off, to separate' (30: 54), /üǰmä/ 'mulberry' (71: 45), /mäǰnun/ 'person madly in love' (59: 8).

x + sonorant: /puxra/ 'average person, citizen' (15: 1), /maxla-/ 'to praise, to compliment' (26: 27), /axmax/ 'fool' (56: 25).

ɣ + sonorant: /baɣraš/ 'Baghrash [name of a lake near Lopnor]' (7: 32), /yaɣlïq/ 'scarf' (28: 7), /läɣmän/ 'Leghmen, traditional noodle, meat and vegetable dish' (34: 56).

2.1.5.3.3. Sonorant-sonorant clusters

In the Lopnor dialect, sonorant-sonorant clusters are permitted at the syllable boundary. In this syllable pattern, the approximant /y/ occurs very frequently in the coda of the previous syllable and the lateral approximant /l/ occurs very frequently in the onset of the following syllable.

Table 2-10   *Sonorant-sonorant clusters in the Lopnor dialect.*

	r	y	l	m	n	ŋ
r	−	+	+	+	−	−
y	+	+	+	+	+	−
l	−	+	+	+	−	−
m	+	−	+	+	−	−

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[78] This feature belongs to the recent development of the Lopnor dialect. It does not exist in the speech of elder people. The elder people in Lopnor pronounces this type of words as /saqta-/ 'to keep, wait' (67: 9), /ǰiqta-/ 'to add, increase' (7: 44).

[79] z + l type is introduced to the Lopnor dialect very recently. It occurs as z + z in the speech of elder speakers, e.g. /aǰizza-/ 'to become weak, to get feeble' (47: 70), /boɣozza-/ 'to slaughter' (28: 1).

n	−	+	+	−	−	−
ŋ	−	−	+	−	−	+

Examples:

r + sonorants: /därya/ 'river, stream' (3: 4), /oɣurla-/ 'to steal, rob' (22: 1), /nurma/ 'norm, food ration' (48: 4).

y + sonorants: /sayra-/ 'to sing, call (of birds)' (60: 5), /täyya/ 'ready, prepared' (19: 99), /oyla-/ 'to think, to consider' (30: 95), /piyma/ 'felt boots' (17: 20), /čayna-/ 'to chew' (56: 25).

l + sonorants: /yolyoruq/ 'command' (61: 12), /golla-/ 'to deceive, trick' (33: 27), /gölmö/ 'fishing net' (43: 2).

m + sonorants: /sämri-/ 'to gain weight, be fat' (52: 12), /čidamliq/ 'patient, enduring' (11: 129), /hämmä/ 'all, every' (43: 5).

n + sonorants: /dunya/ 'world, wealth' (43: 11), /čivinliɣ/ 'mosquito net' (9: 15).

ŋ + sonorants: /daŋla-/ 'to praise, to boast about' (25: 56), /yaŋŋi/ 'new, fresh' (36: 1).

2.1.5.3.4. Obstruent-obstruent clusters

Obstruent-obstruent clusters are the most uncommon consonant clusters in the Lopnor dialect. The voiced obstruents /b, d, g, v, ǰ, ɣ/ occur in the coda position of the preceding syllable in very limited lexemes, only if the obstruents are in the onset of the following syllable. The voiced velar plosive /g/ does not occur in the onset of the following syllable, when the obstruents are in the coda of the previous syllable. Moreover, the obstruents /p, b, v, z, ǰ, x, ɣ/ only occurs in the onset of the following syllable in very limited lexemes, when the other obstruents are in the coda of the preceding syllable.

Table 2-11   *Obstruent-obstruent clusters in the Lopnor dialect*

	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	v	s	z	š	č	ǰ	x	ɣ
p	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
b	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
t	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
d	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
k	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
g	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
q	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
v	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
s	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
z	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
š	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
č	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
ǰ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

x	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
ɣ	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Examples:

p + obstruents: /doppu/ 'Uyghur hat' (33: 13), /čaptaš-/ 'to stick onto' (30: 24), /äpkäš/ 'shoulder pole, used for carrying water etc.' (19: 140), /apqač-/ 'to take away' (21: 5), /äpsiz/ 'unsuitable, inappropriate' (80: 5), /tapšu-/ 'to hand in, turn over' (26: 1), /opčä/ 'collectively, all together' (39: 3), /kitapxana/ 'book shop' (11: 91).

b + obstruents: /muhäbbät/ 'love, affection' (71: 46), /abdan/ 'good' (81: 31).

t + obstruents: /duttar/ 'Dutar, a two stringed musical instrument' (72: 27), /yötkö-/ 'to move' (30: 24), /yotqan/ 'quilt' (15: 3), /čitčä-/ 'to fence off' (10: 51), /bätxäš/ 'lavish, spendthrift' (79: 11).

d + obstruents: /mädda/ 'religious story-teller, talkative person' (2: 26).

k + obstruents: /täkti/ 'bottom, base' (57: 11), /yäkkä/ 'single, individual' (15: 2), /soksog/ 'bumpy, jolting (an animal)' (4: 3), /täkšur-/ 'to check, to examine' (19: 97), /lükčäg/ 'rogue, scoundrel' (49: 44).

g + obstruents: /tägdü-/ 'to cause to touch' (49: 27), /ögzö/ 'roof, ceiling' (10: 19).

q + obstruents: /boqtaq/ 'small slope or overhang' (31: 7), /čaqqan/ 'quickly, fast' (32: 21), /aqsupu/ 'Aqsupi [name of a village in Lopnor]' (2: 17), /quːɣaqčiliq/ 'drought' (11: 100).

v + obstruents: /düvvä/ 'mound, pile' (13: 5).

s + obstruents: /asta/ 'slowly' (36: 23), /äski/ 'bad' (11: 15), /dässä-/ 'to step on' (30: 118).

z + obstruents: /izdä-/ 'to look for' (77: 6), /aǰizza-/ 'to become weak' (47: 70), /tozɣoq/ 'cattail wool' (6: 29).

š + obstruents: /iläštür-/ 'to mix, to blend' (1: 11), /öškü/ 'goat' (20: 4), /qašqa/ 'blaze, white mark' (66: 6), /uššuq/ 'troublemaking, stirring up strife' (30: 132), /čališči/ 'wrestler' (49: 6), /ašxana/ 'kitchen' (11: 39).

č + obstruents: /ičkiri/ 'inside, inner' (7: 36), /qočqo/ 'ram' (8: 30), /aččiq/ 'sour, bitter' (40: 1).

ǰ + obstruents: /höǰǰät/ 'receipt, document' (4: 2).

x + obstruents: /paxta/ 'cotton' (20: 103), /taxsi/ 'dish, plate' (59: 2), /naxša/ 'song' (66: 6).

ɣ + obstruents: /pišiɣda-/ 'to process' (7: 18).

2.1.5.3.5. Geminates

There are some consonant clusters in the Lopnor dialect, which are composed by the repeated occurrence of the same phoneme (long consonants) at the syllable boundary. Most of them are can be found in Standard Uyghur, e.g. /täyyar/ 'ready, prepared' (28: 8), /illiq/ 'warm' (7: 26), /hamma/ 'all, whole' (9: 14), /aptappäräz/ 'sunflower' (45: 18) /qattiɣ/ 'hard' (5: 4), /addi/ 'ordinary, simple' (80: 8), /säkkiz/ 'eight' (83: 8), /tuqqan/

'relative' (8: 48), /ussa-/ 'to be thirsty' (32: 20), /uššaq/ 'small' (43: 12), /yiɣačči/ 'carpenter' (19: 3).

However, the /-ŋŋ-/ type is unique in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(15)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/yaŋŋaq/	/yaŋaq/	'walnut' (17: 3)
	/yaŋŋisu/	/yeŋisu/	'Yengisu' (81: 1)
	/eŋŋäk/	/eŋäk/	'lower jaw, chin' (31: 3)

In the Lopnor dialect, these types of consonant clusters can also be formed by sporadic intersyllabic regressive or progressive assimilation, e.g.

(16)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/däyya/	/därya/	'river' (45: 11)
	/ǰaŋŋäl/	/ǰaŋgal/	'jungle' (12: 7)
	/qaraŋŋu/	/qaraŋɣu/	'dark, black' (20: 22)
	/toŋŋuz/	/toŋguz/	'pig' (35: 4)
	/sözzö-/	/sözlä-/	'to speak' (17: 32)
	/boɣozza-/	/boɣozla-/	'to slaughter' (28: 1)

2.1.5.4. Consonant-vowel combinations

In Old Turkic and most of the Turkic languages, the front consonants /k/ and /g/ mostly occur with front vowels, and the back consonants /q/ and /ɣ/ mostly occur with back vowels. This phonotactic feature is maintained rather systematically in native words of Standard Uyghur. However, some words in Standard Uyghur violate this rule. This combinational feature of Turkic languages is maintained more systematically in the Lopnor dialect than in Standard Uyghur, e.g.

(17)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/könö/	/kona/	'old' (81: 28)
	/kö:lü/	/korla/	'Korla' (11: 91)
	/köčö/	/koča/	'street, road' (4: 10)

2.1.6. Syllable structure

A typical syllable in the Lopnor dialect consists of a vowel and a preceding or following consonant. The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C)(C). A single consonant between vowels is assigned to the following syllable; two consonants between vowels are split between the

two syllables. The syllable-initial consonant clusters are avoided. The syllable-final consonant clusters exist only in the speech of younger speakers.[80]

The syllable types in the Lopnor dialect include the following:

(18)   a. V type, e.g.
        /u/ 'he, she, it' (54: 7)
        /a.zina-/ 'to neigh, to whinny (horse)' (34: 33)
        /i.läk/ 'tributary, affluent' (11: 42)

        b. VC type, e.g.
        /än/ 'mark, brand, tab (on animals)' (47: 83)
        /öy/ 'house, home' (47: 92)
        /al.tin/ 'bottom, base' (6: 4)

        c. VCC type, e.g.
        /ayt-/ 'to tell, to say' (26: 9)
        /üst/ 'above, over' (56: 22)

        d. CV type, e.g.
        /su/ 'water' (62: 7)
        /šu/ 'that' (65: 2)
        /ba.ray/ 'beam, joist, purlin' (20: 53)

        e. CVC type, e.g.
        /čöl/ 'wilderness' (26: 25)
        /qoš/ 'plough' (9: 1)
        /kök/ 'blue' (55: 1)

        f. CVCC type, e.g.
        /šärt/ 'agreement, term, condition' (43: 21)
        /rast/ 'true, real' (19: 96)

Some consonant clusters in Standard Uyghur are restricted in the Lopnor dialect. In Lopnor dialect, the VCC and CVCC types occurs very rarely. Usually in this type of syllables, most of which are in loanwords, one of the consonants (usually stops) is deleted or a high vowel /i/ or /u/ is inserted between the two consonants, e.g.

(19)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /ras/   /rast/   'true, real' (30: 107)
        /qäs/   /qäst/   'conspiracy' (59: 9)

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[80] For the discussion on syllable-final consonant clusters, see 2.1.5.2.

/dos/	/dost/	'friend' (78: 1)
/xaliq/	/xälq/	'people, folk' (42: 1)
/bäxit/	/bäxt/	'happiness, Bext [village name]' (2: 1)

2.1.7. Morphophonological variations of the suffixes

The choice between the suffixes is usually decided by two factors. One is the front/back and rounded/unrounded value of the last syllable of a stem. Another is the voiced/unvoiced value of the last phoneme in the stem. However, the strong labial harmony and progressive assimilation rules in the Lopnor dialect causes the assimilation of the suffix to the features of the stem. This feature has emerged rather rich allomorphs of suffixes in the Lopnor dialect.[81]

The suffix vocalization that affected the choice between suffixes includes the front/back harmony (palatal harmony) and rounded/unrounded harmony (labial harmony).[82] Compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the strong labial harmony in the Lopnor dialect causes the rich multiformity of the suffixes than Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. For example, the plural suffix of the noun {-LA4(r)} expresses in {-la(r)} and {-lä(r)} forms in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, in wihich it affected only by the front/back value of the last syllable of a stem. However, affected by both the front/back and rounded/unrounded value of the last syllalbe of the stem, it occurs in {-la(r)}, {-lä(r)}, {-lo(r)}, {-lö(r)} and some other forms caused by the progressive assimilation of the consonants in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(20)	Stem	Gloss	Plural	
	/nadan/	'ignorant person'	/nadan-lar/	(78: 5)
	/yüräk/	'heart'	/ yüräk-lär/	(34: 7)
	/olɣoq/	'young goat'	/olɣoq-lor/	(34: 14)
	/söz/	'word'	/söz-lör/	(75: 24)

The progressive assimilation of consonants that affected the initial consonant in the suffixes includes both the assimilation with respect to the manner of articulaiton and the assimilation with respect to the place of articulation.[83] For example, the accusative case suffix in Standard Uyghur expresses only in {-ni} form. However, the genitive/accusative case suffix {-NI} in the Lopnor dialect is occurred in {-nI}, {-mI}, {-lI}, {-ŋI}, {-kI}, {-qI}, {-pI}, {-tI}, {-zI}, {-sI} and {-čI} forms. Thus, the {-mI} is caused by the

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[81] Gāo shìjié 高士杰 1985. Cóng yǔyīn kàn luóbù fāngyán de tèdiǎn 从语音看罗布方言的特点 [The features of the Lopnor dialect from the aspects of phonetics]. *Journal of Xinjiang University (Social Science Edition)* 1985(2), P 111.

[82] For the stem and suffix harmony, see 2.2.1.2.

[83] For the progressive assimilation of the consonants, see 2.3.14.1.

progressive labial assimilation of bilabial /m/, the {-lI} is caused by the progressive lateral assimilation of alveolar /l/, the {-ŋI} is caused by the progressive nasal assimilation of nasal /ŋ/, the {-kI} is caused by the progressive plosive assimilation of velar /k/, the {-qI} is caused by the progressive plosive assimilation of uvular /q/, the {-pI} is caused by the progressive plosive assimilation of bilabial /p/, the {-tI} is caused by the progressive plosive assimilation of alveolar /t/, the {-zI} is caused by the progressive frivative assimilation of alveolar /z/, e.g.

(21)   Stem   Gloss   GEN/ACC
        /kala/   'cow'   /kala-ni/   (9: 1)
        /ǰirim/   'young tree'   /ǰirim-mi/   (17: 6)
        /täškil/   'organization'   /täškil-li/   (54: 11)
        /räŋ/   'ink, paint'   /räŋ-ŋi/   (19: 73)
        /keyik/   'antelope'   /keyik-ki/   (54: 2)
        /čaxčaq/   'joke'   /čaxčaq-qi/   (36: 11)
        /ɣarip/   'solitary'   /ɣarip-pi/   (33: 1)
        /it/   'dog'   /it-ti/   (17: 2)
        /qiz/   'girl'   /qiz-zi/   (19: 65)
        /orus/   'Russian'   /orus-su/   (17: 6)
        /omač/   'porridge'   /omač-či/   (30: 22)

2.2. Sound harmony

2.2.1. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is one of the most important and striking features of the Lopnor dialect, which makes it distinct from Standard Uyghur and most other Turkic varieties. The vowel harmony in Turkic languages includes the palatal harmony and the labial harmony. Palatal harmony is applied in Standard Uyghur and all other dialects of Uyghur. However, in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, a very restricted labial harmony rule is applied in the stem and between stems and suffixes. Thus, the labial harmony does not apply to the low vowels in Standard Uyghur, in which are always unrounded in non-initial syllables. However, the vowel harmony in the Lopnor dialect is quite different. Specifically, a rather strong palatal (backness) and labial (roundness) harmony is applied in the Lopnor dialect. The labial harmony in Lopnor is not restricted to the high vowels. In the Lopnor dialect, vowel harmony in general, all vowels in a word must be [+back] or [−back], [+round] or [−round]. The vowel harmony applies within morphemes as well as across morpheme boundaries. Except for some compounds, loanwords and a limited number of disharmonic words, in most of the disyllabic and polysyllabic original Turkic

words and in some loanwords, all vowels obey this rule. The quality of a vowel in a suffix is also determined by the quality of a vowel in the last syllable of a stem.

Like many other Turkic language, in the Lopnor dialect, labial harmony conforms to the palatal harmony. Thus, both harmonic vowels are either back or front. Therefore, the /ü o/, /o ü/, /ö u/, /u ö/, /u ü/, /ü u/, /o ö/, /ö o/ types cannot be found in the Lopnor dialect, as they are regarded disharmonic in the sense of backness. For this reason, the labial harmony in the Lopnor dialect will be discussed under the title of harmonic front or back syllables.

2.2.1.1. Harmonic stems

2.2.1.1.1. The patterns of harmonic front syllables in the Lopnor dialect
As seen from the examples below, some Lopnor dialect patterns of harmonic front syllables, such as (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (k), (i), (l) can also be found in Standard Uyghur. The patterns (h) and (n) are existed in very limited words in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. The patterns (j) and (m) are unique to the Lopnor dialect.

a. /ä ä/: /čäpkän/ 'coat made of rough cloth (cotton or wool)' (1: 7), /järän/ 'antelope' (53: 37), /kätmän/ 'tool for digging, a mattock' (71: 46).

b. /ä i/: /ägri/ 'crooked, bent, windy' (2: 14), /bäzi/ 'some, a few' (30: 24), /härgiz/ 'never, not ever, certainly not' (34: 19).

c. /ä ü/: /yälpü-/ 'to fan, to cool with a fan' (71: 20), /kälkün/ 'flood' (26: 21), /täkšür-/ 'to check, to examine' (20: 91).

d. /e ä/: /čegä/ 'hemp, coarse fibre' (30: 53), /čekä/ 'embayment' (6: 45), /yekän/ 'cattail, a kind of reed' (48: 7).

e. /e i/: /egir-/ 'to spin, to wind' (53: 1), /čegiläk/ 'hemp' (66: 6), /yetim/ 'orphan, abandoned child' (3: 3).

f. /i ä/: /mirän/ 'Miren [place name in Lopnor region]' (83: 5), /činä/ 'bowl, a vessel' (20: 24), /inä/ 'mother' (22: 2).

g. /i i/: /yišil/ 'green' (75: 32), /igin/ 'clothes' (17: 2), /kigiz/ 'felt carpet, felt mat' (52: 42).

h. /i ü/: /bilgü/ 'news, message' (36: 14), /mindür-/ 'cause to ride' (73: 7), /kigüz-/ 'to import, to cause to enter' (19: 214).

i. /ö ä/: /ölkä/ 'irrigated field, province' (83: 6), /östäŋ/ 'stream, small water channel' (56: 12), /ötnä/ 'something borrowed, on loan' (79: 6).

j. /ö ö/: /ögöy/ 'step-' (3: 3), /sögöt/ 'willow tree' (10: 14), /könö/ 'old, well-used' (11: 2).

k. /ö ü/: /könčü/ 'leather tanner' (11: 88), /örük/ 'apricot' (19: 117), /ötmüš/ 'before, former, previous' (30: 45).

l. /ü ä/: /güyǰäk/ 'spade' (9: 48), /küzzäk/ 'Küzlek [place name in Lopnor]' (9: 67), /yüräk/ 'heart' (24: 1).

m. /ü i/: /büri/ 'wolf' (13: 2), /düri/ '(multilayered) heavy leather strap, whip' (25: 24).

n. /ü ü/: /tülkü/ 'fox' (1: 1), /tütür/ 'opposite, reverse, contrary' (9: 24), /kündüz/ 'daytime, daylight' (33: 3).

2.2.1.1.2. The patterns of harmonic back syllables in the Lopnor dialect

Most of the patterns of harmonic back syllables in the Lopnor dialect are similar to the patterns found in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, some patterns, i.e. (c), (f) and (h) are not very common in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. Moreover, the pattern (e) is unique in the Lopnor dialect.

a. /a a/: /satma/ 'shed, shack' (83: 14), /hayda-/ 'to drive, to herd' (34: 4), /ǰandar/ 'creature, animal' (53: 1).

b. /a o/: /almančox/ 'bird of prey' (82: 10), /yamanxovo/ 'Yamanxuva [name of a village]' (11: 971), /taššol/ 'stone road' (57: 3).

c. /a u/: /čaruču/ 'shepherd, hersman' (13: 1), /yapurɣu/ 'broom, brush' (9: 7), /tanu/ 'traditional oven' (40: 7).

d. /o a/: /o:sa/ 'pre-planting irrigation' (11: 47), /toɣač/ 'nectarine' (25: 6), /golla-/ 'to deceive, trick, cheat' (33: 27).

e. /o o/: /čoloq/ 'one-armed person' (47: 8), /qoton/ 'fold, animal pen' (50: 25), /olɣoq/ 'young goat' (34: 14).

f. /o u/: /oɣru/ 'thief, robber' (50: 18), /toŋŋuz/ 'pig, swine' (35: 4), /topu/ 'earth, dust, dirt' (25: 27).

g. /u a/: /dušman/ 'enemy, foe' (26: 8), /susman/ 'deflated, spiritless' (33: 26), /tuzaq/ 'trap, trick' (50: 11).

h. /u u/: /uǰul/ 'eatable yellow flower in the upper part of the stalk of a reed' (6: 33), /quttuɣ/ 'holy, special' (1: 12), /yulduz/ 'star' (53: 6).

Some harmonic stem patterns, which theoretically existed concerning the palatal harmony, such as /ä e/, /ä ö/, /e e/, /e ö/, /e ü/, /i e/, /i ö/, /ö e/, /ö i/ and /ü e/ cannot be found in the Lopnor dialect. Compared with the harmonic stem patterns in Standard Uyghur most of the harmonic stem patterns are the same in the Lopnor dialect. However, some sound patterns like /ö ö/, /ü i/ and /o o/ are specific to the Lopnor dialect.

In the labial harmony of Lopnor, depending on whether the vowels are back or front, both the trigger and the target can be either high or mid-high. Therefore, in the Lopnor dialect, unlike Standard Uyghur, there are /o o/, /u u/, /ü ü/ and /ö ö/ types. In the Lopnor dialect, when the vowels are back or front, if the trigger is mid-high, the target can be high, like /o u/ and /ö ü/. However, if the trigger is high, the target cannot be mid-high. Therefore, /u o/ and /ü ö/ types do not exist in the Lopnor dialect.

2.2.1.2. Stem and suffix harmony

In the Lopnor dialect, the front/back and rounded/unrounded value of the vowel in the last syllable of a stem determines the front/back and rounded/unrounded value of the suffixes. For example, the dative case suffix is marked with {-GA₄} in the Lopnor dialect. The unrounded back vocalic stem /baš/ 'head' only accepts the unrounded back vocalic dative suffix {-qa}, e.g. /baš-qa/ 'to the head' (78: 1). The rounded back vocalic stem /olɣoq/ 'young goat' only accepts the rounded back vocalic dative suffix {-qo}, e.g. /olɣoq-qo/ 'to the young goat' (21: 6). The unrounded front vocalic stem /päs/ 'bottom, below' only accepts the unrounded front vocalic suffix {-kä}, e.g. /päs-kä/ 'to the below' (19: 122). The rounded front vocalic stem /čöčök/ 'wooden bowl' only accepts the rounded front vocalic suffix {-kö}, e.g. /čöčök-kö/ 'to the wooden bowl' (20: 5). In addition, the voiced/unvoiced value of the last phoneme also affects the choice between suffixes.

The harmonic suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are divided into the low-vowel suffixes and the high-vowel suffixes. The following illustrate the stem and suffix harmony of the Lopnor dialect by discussing the two types of harmonic suffixes.

2.2.1.2.1. Low-vowel suffixes

In stem and suffix harmony, front low vowels usually occur with front consonants, and back low vowels occur with back consonants, e.g. the dative case suffixes in the surface form are {-ɣa}, {-ɣo}, {-qa}, {-qo}, {-gä}, {-gö}, {-kä}, {-kö}, {-ŋa}, {-ŋo}, {-ŋä} and {-ŋö} in the Lopnor dialect. The front low vowel /ä/ and /ö/ occurs with front consonants /g/ and /k/, and the back low vowels /a/ and /o/ occurs with back consonants /ɣ/ and /q/. Moreover, the alternations of /a/ or /ä/, /o/ or /ö/ are decided by the frontness or backness, rounded or unrounded value of the preceding syllable.

The low-vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect have more realizations than in Standard Uyghur. The low vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect includes the {A₂} class suffixes and {A₄} class suffixes. The {A₄} class suffixes keep both backness and roundness harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables in the Lopnor dialect. Thus, it has back vocalic variant /a/, /o/ and front vocalic variants /ä/, /ö/, e.g.

(22)	Stem	Gloss	Plural	
	/taɣ/	'mountain'	/taɣ-lar/	(59: 8)
	/är/	'man, male'	/är-lär/	(24: 1)
	/olɣoq/	'young goat'	/olɣoq-lor/	(34: 14)
	/tögö/	'camel'	/tögö-lör/	(17: 3)

The {A₂} class suffixes are much more stable than the {A₄} class suffixes. They keep backness harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables. They only have back vocalic variant /a/ and front vocalic variant /ä/, e.g.

(23)   Stem   Gloss   COMP
        /az/   'few, less'   /az-araq/   (30: 45)
        /egiz/   'tall'   /igiz-äräk/   (7: 25)
        /tolo/   'many, much'   /tolo-raq/   (53: 3)
        /mökköm/   'tight, firm'   /mökkömäräk/   (8: 18)

2.2.1.2.2. High vowel suffixes

These suffix vowels show rather systematic alternations due to the quality of the vowel in the preceding syllable. The high vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect divided into {U} class suffixes and {I} class suffixes. The {I} class suffixes keep both palatal and labial harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables in the Lopnor dialect. Thus, they have rounded or unrounded back vocalic variants and rounded or unrounded front vocalic variants, e.g.

(24)   Stem   Gloss   1sgPOSS
        /tiš/   'tooth'   /tiš-im/   (17: 23)
        /qulaq/   'ear'   /qulaɣ-im/   (1: 39)
        /pul/   'money'   /pul-um/   (32: 11)
        /söz/   'word'   /söz-üm/   (43: 15)

The {U} class suffixes are much more stable than the {I} class suffixes. They only keep front/back harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables, e.g.

(25)   Stem   Gloss   CAUS
        /bil-/   'to know, understand'   /bil-dür/   (55: 2)
        /käy-/   'to wear, put on'   /käy-dür/   (9: 5)
        /köy-/   'to love, burn'   /köy-dür/   (78: 14)
        /maŋ-/   'to walk'   /maŋ-dur/   (71: 4)
        /sun-/   'to break'   /sun-dur/   (43: 23)

If the preceding stem lacks front vs. back harmony, the choice between suffix variants are still derermined by the vowel quality of the last syllable, e.g, /malä-dä/ 'in the neighbourhood' (33: 24), /pomučük-lä/ 'landlords' (56: 21), /däyya-da/ 'in the river' (30: 48).

The stem and suffix harmony in the Lopnor dialect is quite different from Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. Many two-fold suffixes in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects realize as four-fold in the Lopnor dialect, and undergo both palatal and labial harmony. For example, most of the low-vowel suffixes like the plural suffix {-LA(r)}, the dative case suffix {-GA}, and the locative case suffix {-DA} are two-fold suffixes in Standard Uyghur. However, in the Lopnor dialect, they realize as four-fold suffixes.

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In stem and suffix harmony, unlike Standard Uyghur, the realizations of stem and suffixes obey very strict harmonic rules in the Lopnor dialect. The harmonic stem spreads to the fourth and sometimes even fifth syllables, e.g.

(26) Lopnor   Gloss   Standard Uyghur
     tükürüg-üŋ-üz-zü   spit-2sgPOSS-POL-GEN/ACC (57: 20)   *tükürük-iŋ-iz-ni*
     ögön-gön-üm-dün   learn-Pple-1sgPOSS-ABL (50: 14)   *ögän-gin-im-din*
     tögümün-ümüz   mill-1plPOSS (30: 61)   *tügmin-i-miz*
     oltur-uš-uŋ-uz   sit-VBN-2sgPOSS-POL (15: 3)   *oltur-uš-iŋ-iz*
     tašla-yala-yduɣan   throw-POSB-Pple (9: 39)   *tašli-yala-ydiɣan*

2.2.1.3. Vowel harmony in Chinese loanwords

In Standard Uyghur, the newly introduced loanwords, especially those from Chinese, are usually exempted from the harmonic rules of vowels. However, in the Lopnor dialect the rules of vowel harmony are also applied to the new words of foreign origin. The vowel harmony of Chinese loanwords in the Lopnor dialect is quite a rare phenomenon among Uyghur dialects, e.g.

(27) Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Chinese   Gloss
     /xansu/   xänzu   hanzu   'Han Chinese' (30: 75)
     /xuǰuŋto/   xuǰintav   Hu Jintao   'Chinese leader Hu Jintao' (61: 13)
     /ǰuŋgu/   ǰuŋgo   Zhongguo   'China' (61: 14)
     /šotaŋ/   šötaŋ   Xuetang   'Chinese schools in the past' (1: 38)
     /müŋgüy/   miŋgo   Minguo   'the republic of China' (47: 34)

2.2.2. Disharmony

As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, some systematic disharmonic stems and suffixes exist in some original Turkic words and quite a number of loanwords in the Lopnor dialect. However, compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the number of disharmonic stems and suffixes is relatively small in the Lopnor dialect.

2.2.2.1. Disharmonic stems

Some disharmonic stem patterns below, such as (a), (b), (c), (e), (f) and (g) are also frequent in Standard Uyghur. However, the disharmonic stem pattern (h) is rarely occurred only in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

    a. /a ä/: /akä/ 'father, dad' (21: 7), /altä/ 'six' (52: 24), /malä/ 'neighbourhood, vicinity' (1: 16).

    b. /a i/: /yaxši/ 'good, fine' (61: 9), /qayir/ 'compost or rotted things which are gathered after the flood' (1: 43), /alli/ 'front, fore' (9: 24).

    c. /o ä/: /xotän/ 'Khotan' (11: 70), /opčä/ 'together' (39: 3), /zomogä/ 'exploiter, petty tyrant' (11: 79).

    d. /u ä/: /šunčä/ 'so, that' (60: 5), /ɣunčä/ 'flower bud, bloom' (32: 21), /ruxsät/ 'permission' (34: 24).

    e. /ä a/: /ähval/ 'situation' (55: 3), /pälvan/ 'hero, strong man' (75: 1), /täyya/ 'ready, prepared' (19: 99).

    f. /ä u/: /mäxluq/ 'creature, living things' (26: 20), /mäsul/ 'responsible, in charge' (49: 15), /pärxut/ 'ship' (55: 12).

    g. /i a/: /yilɣa-/ 'to cry, to weep' (61: 2), /miman/ 'guest, visitor' (8: 48), /iras/ 'true, real' (33: 14).

    h. /ü a/: /düya/ 'stockade, encampment' (69: 1).

2.2.2.2. Disharmonic suffixes

Compared to the number of disharmonic suffixes in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, there are not many disharmonic suffixes in the Lopnor dialect. As in Standard Uyghur and some other dialects, the similative suffix {-Däk} in the Lopnor dialect violates the both palatal and labial harmony between the stem and suffix, e.g. /ay-däk/ 'like a moon' (71: 34), /qoɣun-däk/ 'like a watermelon' (9: 36), /bolut-täk/ 'like a cloud' (65: 8), /bulax-täk/ 'like a spring' (73: 6).

    Some disharmonic stem and suffix types, which are presented in Standard Uyghur, are preserved in the speech of the younger generation in the Lopnor region. However, they are not original features of the Lopnor dialect, rather they are features introduced into the Lopnor dialect very recently, e.g. /qolumdiki/ 'the one in my hand' (71: 22) compared to /qolumdaqi/ (63: 1 & 65: 6) in the Lopnor dialect, /unuŋdin/ 'from him/her' (82: 5) compared to /unuŋdun/ (8: 54 & 74: 8 & 82: 2) in the Lopnor dialect.

    Some disharmonic stems and suffixes are documented in my texts, e.g. /doslär/ 'friends' (77: 17), /yuqat-iŋlä/ 'eliminate-2plPOL' (19: 192), /ät-kän-da-qi/ 'do-Pple-LOC-KI' (25: 43). However, this reflects occasional variation and cannot be regarded as a general feature of the Lopnor dialect.

2.3. Diachronic processes

This section contains the full description of diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect. Some diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect occur both in intrasyllabic positions and word-suffix boundaries. They are discussed separately in the relevant sections. Some of the diachronic processes are unique to the Lopnor dialect; some of them exist in several other Uyghur dialects. However, in order to show the internal relation of these dialects and regional differences, both of the unique and common diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect are included in this description. Some of the diachronic processes, like the raising of low vowels /a/, /o/ and /ö/ are not the original features of the Lopnor dialect. However, these phenomena currently exist in the speech of younger speakers, and they were introduced into the Lopnor dialect very recently because of the influence of Standard Uyghur and the neighbouring dialects. Such features are also mentioned very briefly in the phonological descriptions of this section, in order to show these expanding features to the readers.

2.3.1. Rounding of vowels

One of the impressive phonological features of the Lopnor dialect, and which help make this dialect different from the other dialects of Uyghur, is the rounding of vowels.[84] The rounding of vowels can also be regarded as a labial assimilation process resulted from the progressive labial assimilation of unrounded vowels to rounded vowels in the previous syllables or suffixes.

2.3.1.1. Rounding and unrounding of open back vowel /a/

In the Lopnor dialect, the back low vowel /a/ in the second syllable of a word is rounded when the first syllable of those words are composed of rounded vowels, e.g.

(28)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/čoloq/	/čolaq/	'one-armed person' (2: 15)
	/hoylu/	/hoyla/	'courtyard' (19: 215)
	/yoɣon/	/yoɣan/	'big, large' (20: 4)
	/o:mo/	/orma/	'harvest' (17: 32)
	/soymo/	/soyma/	'unripe, immature melon' (17: 33)

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[84] The rounding of vowels can also be discussed in "vowel harmony". However, in order to emphasize the importance and uniqueness of this feature, it is placed in separate section and compared it with Standard Uyghur.

In Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialects, the Old Turkic /a/ in open first syllable usually rounded to /o/ due to the regressive assimilation of /u/ in the following syllable. However, the Lopnor dialect has not undergone this historical change, e.g.

(29)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /taxu/   /toxu/   'chicken' (47: 47)
        /qamuš/   /qomuš/   'reed' (56: 35)
        /qaɣun/   /qoɣun/   'melon' (4: 1)
        /xatun/   /xotun/   'wife' (7: 8)

2.3.1.2. Rounding of open front vowel /ä/

In the Lopnor dialect, the open front vowel /ä/ in the second syllable of a word is rounded when the first syllable of those words composed by rounded vowels, e.g.

(30)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /tülkü/   /tülkä/   'fox' (1: 1)
        /ögöy/   /ögäy/   'step-' (3: 3)
        /ötöŋ/   /ötäŋ/   'rest-house' (10: 14)
        /yötöl/   /yötäl/   'cough' (1: 30)
        /sögöt/   /sögät/   'willow tree' (11: 92)
        /köŋlök/   /köŋläk/   'shirt, blouse' (19: 81)

Rarely, the open front vowel /ä/ in the first syllable of a word is rounded when the second syllable of those words composed by rounded vowels, e.g.

(31)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /bölgülö-/   /bälgülä-/   'to determine' (36: 21)
        /tütür/   /tätür/   'opposite, reverse' (9: 24)

In Standard Uyghur the dative case marked with the suffix {-GA}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the dative case marked with the suffix {-GA4}. In Standard Uyghur, the vowel in the suffix appears in /a/ or /ä/ forms. However, due to the rounding rule of low vowels (labial harmony), this suffix appears in several different variants in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(32)   /öy/ 'home' + {-GA4} 'DAT' → /öygö/ 'to the home' (10: 42)
        /kövrük/ 'bridge' + {-GA4} 'DAT' → /kövrükkö/ 'to the bridge' (21: 25)
        /qondaq/ 'bird perch' + {-GA4} 'DAT' → /qondoqqo/ 'to the perch' (2: 15)
        /qošaq/ 'folk song' + {-GA4} 'DAT' → /qošuqqo/ 'to the folk song' (46: 1)

2.3.1.3. Rounding of the high front vowel /i/

The high front vowel /i/ in the last syllable of a word is rounded when one of the previous syllables of those words composed by rounded vowels, e.g.

(33)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /buruŋqu/   /buruŋqi/   'previous' (25: 28)
       /oɣru/   /oɣri/   'thief' (19: 68)
       /rozo/   /rozi/   'Rozi [personal name for men]' (47: 10)
       /tömü:ču/   /tömürči/   'blacksmith' (19: 20)
       /könču/   /könči/   'leather tanner, Könchi[85]' (57: 13)

The examples given above show the rounding of high front vowel /i/ in intersyllabic positions. However, because of the strict labial harmony in the Lopnor dialect, many suffixes that appear with the phoneme /i/ in Standard Uyghur appear with rounded vowels when the previous syllable contains a rounded vowel, e.g.

(34)   /öy/ 'house' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /öyü/ 'his/her house' (19: 70)
       /moyun/ 'neck' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /moynu/ 'his/her neck' (32: 18)
       /su/ 'water' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /sunu/ 'of the water' (11: 24)
       /göš/ 'meat' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /göšnü/ 'of the meat' (39: 4)
       /özi/ 'himself/herself' + {-DIn} 'ABL' → /özüdün/ 'from himself/herself' (8: 69)

As can be seen from the above examples, because of the lack of strict labial harmony in Standard Uyghur, the vowels in Standard Uyghur agree only in backness/frontness. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the vowels agree both in backness/frontness and in rounded/unrounded value. Thus, the unrounded back vowels round to /o/ or /u/, and the unrounded front vowel round to /ö/ or /ü/. Moreover, this kind of assimilation of vowels in two adjacent syllables occurs both in progressively (example 28 and 30) and regressively (example 31) in the Lopnor dialect.

2.3.2. Non-fronting of vowels

Unlike Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the open front vowel /ä/ in the first syllable of some Arabic or Persian loanwords and a limited number of native lexemes is non-fronted when it appears with uvular /q/, /x/, /ɣ/ or palatal /y/ in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(35)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /xat/   /xät/   'letter, mail' (17: 4)

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[85] Previous name of Lopnor County.

/xax/	/xäq/	'others, the public' (19: 202)
/xaliq/	/xälq/	'people, folk' (42: 1)
/ayni/	/äyni/	'actual, original' (8: 6)
/aynäk/	/äynäk/	'mirror, glass' (17: 34)

2.3.3. Raising of vowels

Vowel raising is one of the typical characteristics of Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialects. In other dialects of Uyghur except Lopnor, low and mid-low vowels are raised to the more closed vowels because of the regressive assimilation of the following high vowels. However, in the Lopnor dialect, only mid-low vowel /ä/ in closed monosyllabic words undergoes vowel raising. Therefore, compared to the other dialects of Uyghur, vowel raising is not very common in the Lopnor region. However, because of the strong influence of Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, there is a growing tendency of vowel raising in the speech of the younger generations in the Lopnor region.

2.3.3.1. Raising of the open front vowel /ä/

As in most of the Uyghur dialects, the open front vowel /ä/ in closed monosyllabic words rises to close front vowel /i/ when it is followed by the suffixes initiating with a high vowel /i/, e.g.

(36)　/täš-/ 'to pierce' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /tišip/ 'piercing' (10: 21)
　　　/käs-/ 'to cut' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /kisip/ 'cutting' (75: 43)
　　　/yäš-/ 'to unravel' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /yišip/ 'unraveling' (81: 23)
　　　/ät-/ 'to make' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /itip/ 'making' (56: 33)
　　　/käl-/ 'to come' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /kilip/ 'coming' (75: 32)
　　　/kät-/ 'to leave' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /kitip/ 'leaving' (4: 10)

　　The open front vowel /ä/ in monosyllabic words may also rise to middle-high vowel /e/ followed by the suffixes initiating with a high vowel /i/, e.g.

(37)　/dä-/ 'to say' + {-GIn} 'IMPER' → /degin/ 'say' (17: 25)
　　　/bäg/ 'ruler, lord' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /begim/ 'my lord' (1: 5)
　　　/är/ 'husband' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' → /eriŋ/ 'your husband' (32: 12)

　　The above-mentioned raising of low vowel /ä/ in closed monosyllabic words is uniform in the entire Lopnor region in all different age groups. However, only in the speech of young people do we see the open front vowel /ä/ in closed disyllabic words raises to close front vowel /i/ followed by the suffixes initiating with a high vowel /i/, e.g.

(38)　/yüräk/ 'heart' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /yürikim/ 'my heart' (58: 4) compare to /yürägim/ (3: 7)

/biläk/ 'arm' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' → /bilikiŋ/ 'your arm' (58: 4) compare to /bilägini/ (17: 30)

/dölät/ 'country, fortune, luck'+ {(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /döliti/ 'his/her fortune' (77: 1) compare to /dölätidä/ (11: 33)

2.3.3.2. Raising of the open back vowel /a/

The open back vowel /a/ in some closed monosyllabic words raise to the middle-high /e/ followed by the suffixes initiating with high front vowel /i/ only in the speech of young people. However, in the speech of older people, the low vowel /a/ does not undergo a raising process, e.g.

(39)　/bar-/ 'to go' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /berip/ 'going' (39: 3) compare with /barip/ (17: 37)

/as-/ 'to hang' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /esip/ 'hanging' (9: 42) compare with /asip/ (30: 65)

/al-/ 'to take' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /elip/ 'taking' (27: 4) compare with /alip/ (33: 4)

/yaš/ 'tear(s)' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /yešim/ 'my tears' (69: 5) compare with /yašim/ (41: 9)

/ǰan/ 'soul' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /ǰenim/ 'my soul' (71: 14) compare with /ǰanim/ (53: 2)

/baš/ 'head' + {(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /beši/ 'his/her head' (72: 8) compare with /bašim/ (73: 5)

In the speech of the younger generation, the open back vowel /a/ in some words may also rise to the close front vowel /i/ followed by the suffixes containing the high close back vowel /i/, e.g.

(40)　/ayaɣ/ 'lower part, end' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /ayiɣi/ 'its lower part' (74: 2) compare with /ayaɣi/ (81: 27)

/arqa/ 'back' + {(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /aːqisi/ 'his/her back' (25: 25) compare with /aːqasi/ (19: 176)

In Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialects, the Old Turkic /a/ in an open first syllable usually is raised to /e/ due to the /i/ in the following syllable. However, this kind of historical change does not exist in the speech of elder speakers of the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(41)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/ayit-/	/eyit-/	'to tell' (19: 10)
	/ayiq/	/eyiq/	'bear' (17: 1)
	/aɣiz/	/eɣiz/	'mouth' (26: 17)
	/aɣir/	/eɣir/	'heavy' (33: 19)
	/ɣarip/	/ɣerib/	'lonely, poor' (33: 28)

2.3.3.3. Raising of the middle-low rounded vowels /o/ and /ö/

The middle-low rounded vowels /o/ and /ö/ are raised to the high rounded vowels /u/ and /ü/ followed by the suffixes initiating with high vowel /i/ only in the speech of young people. However, they are not raised in the speech of older, dialect-dominant language speakers, e.g.

(42) /qol/ 'hand'+ {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /quli/ 'his/her hands' (62: 5) compare with /qolu/ (2: 26)

/yol/ 'way' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /yuli/ 'his/her way' (71: 19) compare with /yolu/ (51: 1)

/söz/ 'word' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /süzi/ 'his/her words' (79: 0) compare with /sözü/ (77: 5)

/öz/ 'self' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /üzi/ 'himself/herself' (1: 38) compare with /özü/ (8: 21)

/öy/ 'house' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /üyi/ 'his/her house' (23: 7) compare with /öyü/ (34: 1)

2.3.4. Reduction of low vowels

In most of the dialects of Uyghur, including the central dialect, the low vowels are reduced due to the shifting of the primary accent to the following syllable. However, this phenomenon is not common in the Lopnor dialect, but exists in the speech of younger people only, e.g.

(43) /arqa/ 'back'+ {-GA$_4$} 'DAT' → /a:qiɣa/ 'to the back' (19: 227) compare to /a:qasi/ (64: 3)

/naxša/ 'song'+ {-GA$_4$} 'DAT' → /naxšiɣa/ 'to the song' (59: 2) compare to /naxšasi/ (66: 6)

/malä/ 'neighbourhood'+ {-DA$_4$} 'LOC' → /malidä/ 'in the neighbourhood' (56: 31) compare to /malädä/ (33: 24)

This process can also be found at the morpheme boundary of compound words and at the word boundary in some phrases, e.g.

(44)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /yantiɣaɣuč/   /yantaq alɣuč/   'Yantaq Alghuch' (82: 4)
       /alti‿šähär/   /altä šähär/   'six city' (17: 16)
       /yetti‿yaš/   /yättä/ + /yaš/   'seven years old' (47: 89)
       /nemi‿qip/   /nemä/ + /qilip/   'doing what' (50: 23)

The reduction of low vowels in Uyghur is usually considered to be the same process as the raising of vowels. Moreover, this reduction of low vowels, together with the raising of vowels, usually called "umlauting" or "weakening" (*aǰizlišiš* in SU). However, Abdurishid Yakup proposes that the reduction of low vowels has to be treated differently from the raising of vowels in Uyghur. The raising is an assimilation process resulting from the regressive assimilation of low vowels to high vowels in the following suffixes, while the reduction process does not condition the following suffix to initiate with a high vowel. The reduction is the result of the shift of primary or secondary accent in a word.[86] Therefore, the reduction of low vowels is discussed in a separate section.

2.3.5. Deletion of vowels

As in Standard Uyghur and many other Turkic languages, the vowel in the second syllable (instable second vowel) of some disyllabic words may be dropped when the possessive suffixes are added, e.g.

(45)   /köŋül/ 'heart, feelings' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /köŋlüm/ 'my feelings, my soul, my heart' (27: 7)
       /oɣul/ 'son, boy' + {-(I)m(I)z} '1pl POSS' → /oɣlumuz/ 'our son' (19: 45)
       /ömür/ 'life, life span' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' → /ömrüŋ/ 'our son' (1: 37)
       /moyun/ 'neck' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /moynu/ 'his/her/its neck' (17: 8)
       /ottura/ 'middle' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /ottursi/ 'his/her/its middle' (11: 113)

2.3.6. Nasalization and denasalization of vowels

In the Lopnor dialect, the open front vowel /ä/ in copula {-ikän} is nasalized after the nasal /n/ in word-final position is deleted, e.g.

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[86] Abdurishid Yakup 2009. "Uyghur umlauting": Characteristics, diachronic aspects, consequences and triggers. *Turkic Languaes* 13. P 36.

(46) /čiq/ 'come out' + {-(A)Du(r)} 'COP' + {-(i)kä(n)} 'COP' → /čiqadikæ̃/
      '(he/she/it/they) come out' (19: 21)
      /uč/ 'fly' + {-(A)Du(r)} 'COP' + {-(i)kä(n)} 'COP' → /učadikæ̃/ '(he/she/it/they)
      fly' (19: 22)
      /qal/ 'stay' + {-(A)Du(r)} 'COP' + {-(i)kä(n)} 'COP' → /qaladikæ̃/
      '(he/she/it/they) stay' (30: 57)
      /oxšaš/ 'same' + {-(i)kä(n)} 'COP' → /oxšaškæ̃/ '(he/she/it/they) was the same'
      (19: 23)
      /yigit/ 'young man' + {-(i)kä(n)} 'COP' → /yigitkæ̃/ '(he/they) was a young man'
      (75: 14)

It is important to mention here that the nasalization of /ä/ in word-final position exists
not only in the eastern part of Lopnor which is near to Turfan, but also in Qarchugha,
Döngqotan and Gülbagh villages which are located in the western or northwestern parts of
Lopnor. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as a recent influence of the Turfan dialect.

In the verbal personal suffixes {-män} and {-sän}, the nasalized vowel /ä/ may also be
denasalized. It means, first the vowel /ä/ is nasalized after the /n/ is dropped, then the
nasalized /ä/ is denasalized. In other words, it will be pronounced as its original after the
nasal /n/ is dropped, e.g.

(47) /yä-/ 'to eat' + {(i/y)män} 'PER' → /yäymæ̃/ → /yäymä/ 'I (will) eat' (19: 168)
      /al-/ 'to take' + {(i/y)män} 'PER' → /alimæ̃/ → /alimä/ 'I (will) buy' (19: 223)
      /talla-/ 'to choose' + {(i/y)män} 'PER' → /tallaymæ̃/ → /tallaymä/ 'I (will)
      choose' (62: 5)
      /yat-/ 'to lie down'+ {(i/y)sän} 'PER' → /yatisæ̃/ → /yatisä/ 'You (will) lie down'
      (19: 28)
      /qil-/ 'to do'+ {(i/y)sän} 'PER' → /qilisæ̃/ → /qilisä/ 'You (will) do' (20: 41)

2.3.7. Voicing and devoicing of consonants

In disyllabic or polysyllabic words, a syllable-initial /t/ preceded by lateral approximant /l/
and the word-final voiceless fricative /s/ is voiced in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(48) | Lopnor | Standard Uyghur | Gloss |
      |---|---|---|
      | /yulduz/ | /yultuz/ | 'star' (53: 6) |
      | /yildiz/ | /yiltiz/ | 'root' (53: 6) |
      | /yolvaz/ | /yolvas/ | 'tiger' (76: 2) |
      | /aptappäräz/ | /aptappäräs/ | 'sunflower' (45: 18) |

The syllable-final voiceless velar /k/ in disyllabic or polysyllabic words is voiced when
the suffixes initiated with high vowels are attached, e.g.

(49) /yüräk/ 'heart' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /yürügüm/ 'my heart' (58: 2)

/örük/ 'apricot' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /örügüm/ 'my apricot' (19: 157)

/kirpik/ 'eyelash' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' → /kirpigiŋ/ 'your eyelash' (78: 10)

/išik/ 'door' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /išigi/ 'his/her/its door' (19: 227)

/ǰäynäk/ 'elbow' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /ǰäynigi/ 'his/her elbow' (31: 7)

/sizik/ 'pregnancy symptoms' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /sizigi/ 'her symptoms of pregnancy' (34: 23)

Compared to the devoicing process, the voicing of consonants is more common in the Lopnor dialect. However, the devoicing of consonants is also observed in our texts. The word-final voiced alveolar /z/ in numerals is devoiced in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(50)

Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
/säkkis/	/säkkiz/	'eight' (26: 29)
/toqqus/	/toqquz/	'nine' (32: 11)
/ottus/	/ottuz/	'thirty' (75: 45)

In Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the the word-final voiced velar /g/ is devoiced in disyllabic or polysyllabic words. However, it keeps the original form in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(51)

Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
/ällig/	/ällik/	'fifty' (19: 152)
/zäylig/	/zäylik/	'marsh' (1: 43)
/älgäg/	/älgäk/	'sieve' (11: 130)
/köyüg/	/köyük/	'ardour, passion' (73: 3)
/lükčäg/	/lükčäk/	'miscreant' (49: 44)

The word-final voiced uvular /ɣ/ in disyllabic or polysyllabic words is devoiced to uvular /q/ in Standard Uyghur. However, the voiced uvular /ɣ/ is still preserved in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(52)

Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
/qoruɣ/	/quruq/	'dry, empty' (4: 4)
/pišiɣ/	/piššiq/	'ripe, mature' (7: 5)
/qattiɣ/	/qattiq/	'hard' (9: 19)
/čirayliɣ/	/čirayliq/	'beautiful, pretty' (66: 4)

2.3.8. The strengthening of /v/

In the Lopnor dialect, the strengthening of /v/ is not common, whereas it is common in the Turfan dialect.[87] In my data, it only occurs at the word-initial (53a) and intervocalic (53b) position of some words, e.g.

(53)　a. Lopnor　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　　Gloss
　　　/gaŋ/　　　　　　/vaŋ/ ~ /padiša/　　　'king, local ruler' (23: 5)
　　　/gözüpä/　　　　/väzipä/　　　　　　'task, duty' (17: 40)
　　　/gupa/　　　　　/vapa/　　　　　　　'loyalty' (73: 12)

　　　b. Lopnor　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　　Gloss
　　　/ugal/　　　　　/uval/　　　　　　　'grievance' (17: 25)
　　　/ǰuga/　　　　　/ǰuva/　　　　　　　'coat of animal skin or fur' (2: 11)
　　　/zagal/　　　　　/zaval/　　　　　　'sunset' (9: 53)
　　　/ugula-/　　　　/uvula-/　　　　　　'to massage' (30: 96)

The strengthening of /v/ is one of the most impressive phonological features of the Turfan dialect. However, in the Lopnor dialect, this phenomenon exists in not only the border regions of Turfan and Qomul, but also in the regions that are rather far from the Turfan and Qomul region. This phenomenon is also existed in the Khotan dialect.[88] Therefore, it may have been introduced to the Lopnor dialect by people who moved to the Lopnor region from Turfan and spread further to the west.[89]

2.3.9. Fricativization

2.3.9.1. Fricativization of bilabials

The bilabial /p/ and /b/ in syllable-initial and syllable-final position are fricativized to labiodental fricative /v/.

In some words, the voiceless bilabial /p/ in intervocalic position is fricativized to /v/, e.g.

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[87] Yakup, Abdurishid 2005. *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Turcologica 63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 67.

[88] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2004. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Xoten dialekti* [The Khotan dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Xelq Neshriyati. P 87.

[89] For the discussion on the Turfan people in the Lopnor region see "Yallar" in 1.1.3.

(54)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /tavan/   /tapan/   'sole of a foot' (17: 4)
        /süvüründü/   /süpüründi/   'rubbish' (24: 1)

The bilabial /p/ in the converb suffix {-(I)p} is fricativized to /v/ in word-final position, e.g.

(55)   /oɣurla-/ 'to steal' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /oɣu:lav/ 'stealing' (1: 1)
        /tut-/ 'to hold' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /tutuv/ 'holding' (6: 5)
        /qil-/ 'to do' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /qiliv/ 'doing' (8: 51)
        /käl/ 'to come' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /kiliv/ 'coming' (30: 8)
        /oltur-/ 'to sit' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /olturuv/ 'sitting' (43: 9)

In the Lopnor dialect, the voiced bilabial /b/ is fricativized to /v/ in syllable-initial position of some words, e.g.

(56)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /šärvät/ ~ /šä:vät/ /šärbät/   'juice' (64: 4)
        /qilvä/   /qiblä/   'the side pointing to Mecca' (45: 10)
        /ivät/   /ibärt-/   'to send' (46: 4)
        /quvan/   /qurban/   'Qurban [personal name]' (47: 33)

2.3.9.2. Fricativization of uvular /q/

The word-final voiceless uvular /q/ in disyllabic or polysyllabic words is fricativized to /x/ in the Lopnor dialect，e.g.

(57)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /qax/   /qaq/   'dried fruit' (6: 5)
        /tavax/   /tavaq/   'clay bowl' (6: 14)
        /quymax/   /quymaq/   'deep fried pancake' (7: 47)
        /dimax/   /dimaq/   'arrogance' (34: 2)

The voiceless uvular /q/ in some disyllabic or polysyllabic words is fricativized to /x/ when it is followed by the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, e.g.

(58)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /axsupu/   /aqsupi/   'Aqsupi' (47: 37)
        /axsaray/   /aqsaray/   'palace' (65: 8)
        /suxsur/   /suqsur/   'mandarin duck' (69: 7)

When it is followed by the alveolar approximant /l/, the uvular /q/ in some disyllabic or polysyllabic words is fricativized to /x/, e.g.

(59)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /qučaxla-/   /qučaqla-/   'to embrace, hug' (17: 31)
        /paxlan/   /paqlan/   'lamb, young sheep' (50: 22)
        /yoxla-/   /yoqla-/   'to visit, to drop by' (15: 3)

The uvular /q/ in word-final position is fricativized to /x/ when the suffixes initiated with voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ is added, e.g.

(60)   /baq-/ 'to take care, to look at' + {-DI} 'PST' → /baxti/ 'took care of' (77: 31)
        /aq-/ 'to flow, to drip' + {-DI} 'PST' → /axti/ 'flowed' (17: 3)
        /čiq-/ 'to come out' + {-DI} 'PST' → /čixti/ 'came out' (34: 3)
        /araliq/ 'interval' + {-DA$_4$} 'LOC' → /aralixta/ 'between' (20: 33)
        /yoq/ 'no, absent' + {-Du(r)} 'COP' → /yoxtu/ 'no, is not' (33: 16)

The uvular /q/ in word-final position is also fricativized to /x/ when a suffix beginning with the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is attached, e.g.

(61)   /čiq-/ 'come out' + {-sUn} 'IMPER' → /čixsun/ 'let him/her/it come out' (29: 4)
        /al + (I)p + čiq-/ 'carry out' + {-sA$_4$} 'COND' → /ačixsa/ 'if he/she/it carries out' (9: 78)
        /baq-/ 'to take care, to look at' + {-sA$_4$} 'COND' → /baxsa/ 'if he/she takes care' (53: 29)
        /soq-/ 'to hit, to strike' + {-sA$_4$} 'COND' → /soxsa/ 'if he/she/it strikes' (25: 55)

2.3.9.3. Fricativization of palatal /č/

In the Lopnor dialect, the palatal /č/ is fricativized to the palato-alveolar /š/ in word-final positions, e.g.

(62)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /yaɣaš/   /yaɣač/   'piece of wood' (6: 9)
        /käš/   /käč/   'evening, nightfall' (30: 125)
        /umaš/   /umač/   'kind of porridge' (56: 25)

When it is followed by voiceless plosives, the palatal /č/ in syllable-final position is fricativized to the palato-alveolar /š/, e.g.

(63)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/heškim/	/hečkim/	'nobody' (61: 2)
	/öškü/	/öčkä/	'goat' (20: 4)
	/hešqandaq/	/hečqandaq/	'not any, none' (50: 1)
	/qišqir-/	/qičqir-/	'to call, to invite' (69: 3)

2.3.10. Deletion of consonants

2.3.10.1. Deletion of the palatal approximant /y/

In the Lopnor dialect, the palatal approximant /y/ preceding a high vowel in word-initial position is deleted in certain words. However, in Standard Uyghur the /y/ in word-initial position is preserved. In the Kashgar sub-dialect, it is mostly replaced by /ž/ before high vowel /i/ and replaced by /h/ before rounded high vowel /ü/, e.g.

(64)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Kashgar	Gloss
	/ip/	/yip/	/žip/	'thread' (7: 18)
	/ilan/	/yilan/	/žilan/	'snake' (36: 28)
	/irax/	/yiraq/	/žiraq/	'far away' (10: 39)
	/il/	/yil/	/žil/	'year' (48: 10)
	/üz/	/yüz/	/hüz/	'face' (1: 29)
	/üsüp/	/yüsüp/	/hüsüp/	'Yusuf' (12: 9)

In some disyllabic words, the palatal approximant /y/ followed by a sonorant is deleted in syllable-final position of the first syllable, and then the previous vowel is lengthened, e.g.

(65)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/a:ril-/	/ayril-/	'to separate' (23: 3)
	/sa:ra-/	/sayra-/	'to sing (of birds)' (24: 6)
	/qu:ruq/	/quyruq/	'tail of an animal' (34: 57)
	/a:rim/	/ayrim/	'separate, individual' (9: 63)
	/a:maɣ/	/aymaq/	'county, tribe, clan' (81: 10)

2.3.10.2. Deletion of the uvular /ɣ/

The deletion of uvular /ɣ/ does not exist in Standard Uyghur and most other Uyghur dialects. However, in the Lopnor dialect, attested /ɣ/ in syllable-final position preceded by a sonorant is deleted in some disyllabic words, e.g.

89

(66) Lopnor Standard Uyghur Gloss
/to:raq/ /toɣraq/ 'diversifolious poplar tree' (34: 48)
/qo:la-/ /qoɣla-/ 'to run after' (1: 36)
/to:ra-/ /toɣra-/ 'to chop' (17: 12)

In some words, the /ɣ/ in the intervocalic position is deleted together with the following vowel in this syllable, e.g.

(67) Lopnor Standard Uyghur Gloss
/soq/ /soɣuq/ 'cold' (17: 2)
/su:rup/ /suɣur + (I)p/ 'taking out' (7: 12)

2.3.10.3. Deletion of the lateral approximant /l/

In the Lopnor dialect, the lateral approximant /l/ in the syllable-final position of monosyllabic words is deleted when the participle suffix {-GA₄n} is attached. Because of this deletion, the vowel before the lateral approximant /l/ is lengthened, e.g.

(68) /al-/ 'to take' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /a:ɣan/ 'token' (63: 7)
/qal-/ 'to leave' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /qa:ɣan/ 'left' (83: 13)
/bol-/ 'to happen' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /bo:ɣan/ 'happened' (83: 4)
/käl-/ 'to come' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /kä:gän/ 'come' (75: 46)
/qil-/ 'to do' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /qi:ɣan/ 'done' (30: 86)

The lateral approximant /l/ in the syllable-final position of monosyllabic words may also be deleted when the conditional suffix {-sA₄} is added in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(69) /bol-/ 'to happen' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /bo:sa/ 'if it happens' (22: 1)
/qal-/ 'to leave' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /qa:sa/ 'if he/she/it leaves' (32: 20)
/al-/ 'to buy' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /a:sa/ 'if he/she buys' (57: 20)
/käl-/ 'to come' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /kä:sä/ 'if he/she comes' (17: 7)

In some monosyllabic words, the lateral /l/ is deleted together with the following high vowel when the converb suffix {-(I)p} is attached, e.g.

(70) /al-/ 'to take' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /ap/ 'taking' (76: 18)
/sal-/ 'to put, to place' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /sap/ 'putting, placing' (63: 5)
/qal-/ 'to stay' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /qap/ 'staying' (72: 5)
/käl-/ 'to come' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /käp/ 'coming' (30: 96)
/qil-/ 'to do, to make' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /qip/ 'doing, making' (7: 5)

/bol-/ 'to be, to happen' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' → /bop/ 'being, happening' (43: 6)

2.3.10.4. Deletion of the alveolar /r/

As in the most Uyghur dialects, the alveolar trill /r/ in the syllable-final position is deleted in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(71)　Lopnor　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　Gloss
　　　/käptä:/　　　　/käptär/　　　　　　'pigeon' (5: 15)
　　　/tömü:/　　　　/tömür/　　　　　　'iron' (1: 35)
　　　/ǰanda:/　　　　/ǰandar/　　　　　　'animal, living thing' (6: 45)
　　　/kö:pä/　　　　/körpä/　　　　　　'mattress, bedroll' (15: 3)
　　　/ba:/　　　　　/bar/　　　　　　　'has, existing' (18: 2)

In the Lopnor dialect, the alveolar trill /r/ in the final position of the plural suffix {-LA4(r)} can also be deleted, e.g.

(72)　/bala/ 'child' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /balla/ 'children' (30: 104)
　　　/yär/ 'land' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /yä:lä/ 'lands' (47: 45)
　　　/yol/ 'road' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /yollo/ 'roads' (30: 5)
　　　/mögö/ 'desert date' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /mögölö/ 'desert dates' (6: 22)
　　　/čaraliq/ 'man/woman from Chara' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /čaraliqta/ 'people from Chara' (1: 20)

However, the deleted /r/ in word-final position retain their occurrence when they followed by vowel-initial suffixes, e.g.

(73)　/bazar/ 'market, bazaar' ~ /baza/ (11: 88) + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /bazari/ (35: 1)
　　　/tuqqan/ 'relative' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /tuqqanla/ (47: 16) + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /tuqqanlarim/ (47: 12)
　　　/qošaq/ 'folk song' + {-LA4(r)} 'PL' → /qušuqla/ (43: 12) + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' → /qušuqlari/ (47: 106)

2.3.10.5. Deletion of the glottal /h/

In the Lopnor dialect, the glottal /h/ in word-initial position is deleted in certain words, e.g.

(74)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/äyran/	/häyran/	'surprised, astonished' (5: 23)
	/arava/	/harava/	'two or four wheeled cart' (11: 15)
	/amaqät/	/hamaqät/	'foolish, stupid' (12: 11)
	/azazul/	/hazazul/	'aggressive person' (78: 14)

The glottal /h/ in the syllable-final position of some loanwords is also subjet to the deletion, e.g.

(75)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/zora/	/zöhrä/	'Zöhre [personal name]' (23: 5)
	/minät/	/mehnät/	'effort, contribution' (30: 30)
	/meriban/	/mehriban/	'kind, affectionate' (5: 3)
	/rämätlik/	/rähmätlik/	'deceased' (9: 65)
	/miman/	/mihman/	'guest, visitor' (18: 8)
	/qäbrigaliq/	/qäbrigahliq/	'cemetery, graveyard' (11: 74)

In some disyllabic or multisyllabic words, the glottal /h/ in the intervocalic position is deleted with the whole syllable, e.g

(76)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/sä:/	/sähär/	'morning' (17: 12)
	/šä:/	/šähär/	'city' (19: 47)
	/nayiti/	/nahayiti/	'very, extremely' (19: 188)
	/mäpizät/	/muhapizät/	'safety, protection' (19: 198)
	/na:ya/	/nahiyä/	'county' (49: 4)

2.3.10.6. Deletion of the alveolar plosive /t/

The syllable-final alveolar plosive /t/ preceded by the fricative consonant /s/ or nasal /n/ in a syllable is deleted in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(77)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/dos/	/dost/	'friend' (75: 8)
	/ras/	/rast/	'true, real' (8: 3)
	/qäs/	/qäst/	'conspiracy' (59: 9)

2.3.11. Epenthesis of consonants

In the Lopnor dialect, the glottal /h/ is added to the word-initial position of some words that begin with a low vowel, e.g.

(78)　Lopnor　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　　Gloss
　　　/haǰiz/　　　　/aǰiz/　　　　　　　'weak, feeble' (33: 1)
　　　/häǰäp/　　　　/äǰäp/　　　　　　'very, really' (44: 7)
　　　/habdal/　　　/abdal/　　　　　　'Abdal[90]' (69: 2)

If two adjacent vowels appear in the syllable boundaries, the fricative consonant /v/ is inserted in some loanwords, e.g.

(79)　Lopnor　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　　Gloss
　　　/soval/　　　　/soal/　　　　　　　'question' (8: 25)
　　　/duva/　　　　/dua/　　　　　　　'prayer, petition' (27: 2)
　　　/šuvar/　　　　/šuar/　　　　　　 'slogan' (36: 3)

2.3.12. Gemination of nasal /ŋ/

In the Lopnor dialect, the nasal /ŋ/ in an intervocalic position undergoes a gemination (lengthening) process, e.g.

(80)　Lopnor　　　　　Standard Uyghur　　　　Gloss
　　　/yaŋŋi/　　　　/yeŋi/　　　　　　　'new' (62: 10)
　　　/eŋŋäk/　　　　/eŋäk/　　　　　　'chin' (31: 3)
　　　/yaŋŋaq/　　　/yaŋaq/　　　　　　'walnut' (17: 3)
　　　/šoŋŋu/　　　　/šuŋa/　　　　　　'therefore' (49: 39)
　　　/maŋŋa/　　　　/maŋa/　　　　　　'to me' (43: 10)
　　　/saŋŋa/　　　　/saŋa/　　　　　　'to you' (47: 94)

2.3.13. Palatalization

2.3.13.1. Palatalization of alveolar trill /r/

In the Lopnor dialect, the alveolar trill /r/ in the syllable-final position is palatalized in some words, e.g.

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[90] The name of a place in the Lopnor region.

(81)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/yigiymä/	/yigirmä/	'twenty' (1: 15)
	/liŋiyčaq/	/liŋirčaq/	'harness saddle' (1: 38)
	/güyǰäk/	/gürǰäk/	'spade' (11: 55)
	/čayviči/	/čarviči/	'shepherd, nomad' (81: 3)
	/haziy/	/hazir/	'now' (47: 30)
	/qiyčin/	/qirčin/	'type of a poplar tree' (82: 11)

Palatalization of /r/ in the syllable-final position is very common among the Lopnor dialect speakers in Charqiliq County and Miren farm. In those regions, the alveolar trill /r/ in syllable-initial position can also be palatalized, e.g.

(82)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/ayan/	/aran/	'with difficulty' (81: 2)
	/käŋyi/	/käŋri/	'wide' (81: 4)
	/siyit/	/sirit/	'outside' (81: 12)

The palatalization of alveolar trill /r/ in the syllable-initial position is only attested in the Charqiliq and Miren regions. As it is not seen in the other parts of the Lopnor region, and the Charqiliq and Miren regions are located at the border of the Lopnor and Khotan dialects, the palatalization of alveolar trill /r/ in the syllable-initial position might be due to the influence of the Khotan dialect.

2.3.13.2. Palatalization of glottal /h/

In the Lopnor dialect, the glottal /h/ in intervocalic position is palatalized to the /y/ in some loanwords, e.g.

(83)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/šiyit/	/šihit/	'martyr' (11: 44)
	/sayipǰamal/	/sahipǰamal/	'gorgeous (a woman)' (75: 12)
	/ayim/	/ahim/	'my groan' (58: 1)

2.3.13.3. Non-palatalization of alveolar plosive /t/

The Old Turkic /t/ in word-initial position is palatalized to /č/ in Standard Uyghur and most other Uyghur dialects. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it preserved the original form, e.g.

(84)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/tiš/	/čiš/	'tooth' (7: 20)
	/tüš/	/čüš/	'dream' (34: 43)
	/tüšür-/	/čüšür-/	'to lower' (8: 32)

2.3.14. Assimilation

Assimilation is one of the main diachronic processes in Lopnor phonology. Compared to the other dialects of Uyghur, the assimilation of consonants is rather strong in the Lopnor dialect. The main assimilation type in Standard Uyghur,[91] Khotan dialect,[92] Kashgar,[93] Qomul[94] and Ili[95] varieties, is the regressive assimilation. However, in the Lopnor dialect, progressive assimilation is the main type of assimilation.

2.3.14.1. Progressive assimilation

2.3.14.1.1. Nasal assimilation
In the Lopnor dialect, the velar /g/ and /ɣ/ in syllable-initial position is assimilated to the preceding nasal /ŋ/ in syllable-final position, e.g.

(85)	Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
	/ǰaŋŋäl/	/ǰaŋgal/	'jungle, wilderness' (12: 7)
	/haŋŋit/	/haŋgirt/	'swan goose' (11: 49)
	/toŋŋuz/	/toŋguz/	'pig' (1: 5)
	/qaraŋŋu/	/qaraŋɣu/	'darkness' (20: 22)

This kind of nasal assimilation of /g/ and /ɣ/ to the preceding nasal /ŋ/ is also observed in the stem and suffix boundaries, e.g.

[91] Abdulla, Arsilan & Yari Ebeydulla & Abdurehim Raxman 2010. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tili* [Contemporary Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Xelq Neshriyati. P 799.

[92] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2004. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Xoten dialekti* [The Khotan dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Xelq Neshriyati. P 94 .

[93] Mehray 米海力 1997. *Wéiwúěryǔ kāshíhuà yánjiū* 维吾尔语喀什话研究 [A study of the Kashgar vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 58.

[94] Qumul shevisini tekshürüsh mexsus guruppisi 1997. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Qumul Shevisi* [The Qumul vernacular of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Pen-texnika Sehiye Neshriyati. P 60.

[95] Sopi, Nijat 2010. Uyghur tili Ili eghizi heqqide tetqiqat [Research on the Ili dialect of Uyghur]. PhD thesis. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue. P 58.

(86)   /maŋ-/ 'to walk' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /maŋŋan/ 'walked' (55: 11)

/döŋ/ 'hill' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /döŋŋö/ 'to the hill' (17: 39)

/qoy/ 'sheep' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /qoyuŋŋa/ 'to your sheep' (73: 3)

/yan/ 'side' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /yaniŋŋa/ 'to your side' (59: 7)

/ögzä/ 'roof' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /ögzäŋŋä/ 'to your roof' (64: 6)

The alveolar nasal /n/ in the syllable-initial position of genitive/accusative suffix can also be assimilated to the preceding velar nasal /ŋ/, e.g.

(87)   /ǰuga/ 'fur coat' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ǰugaŋŋi/ 'of/to your fur coat' (2: 11)

/ǰamal/ 'appearance' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ǰamaliŋŋi/ 'of/to your face' (55: 13)

/ün/ 'voice' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ünüŋŋü/ 'your voice' (1: 39)

/qoy/ 'sheep' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /qoyuŋŋu/ 'your sheep' (20: 33)

/qiz/ 'daughter, girl' + {-(I)ŋ} '2sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /qiziŋŋi/ 'your daughter' (25: 15)

2.3.14.1.2. Fricative assimilation

The lateral approximant /l/ in the syllable-initial position is assimilated to the preceding fricative /z/ in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(88)

Lopnor	Standard Uyghur	Gloss
/küzzäk/	/küzläk/	'Küzlek' (9: 67)
/tüzzä-/	/tüzlä-/	'to straighten' (2: 14)
/aǰizza-/	/aǰizla-/	'to become weak' (47: 70)
/boɣozzo-/	/boɣozla-/	'to slaughter' (28: 1)
/sözzö-/	/sözlä-/	'to speak' (17: 32)

The nasal /n/ in syllable-initial position of genitive/accusative suffix is assimilated to preceding voiced fricative /z/, e.g.

(89)   /biz/ 'we' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /bizzi/ 'our/to us' (30: 75)

/yiltiz/ 'root' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /yildizzi/ 'of the root' (6: 26)

/yolvas/ 'tiger' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /yolvazzi/ 'of the tiger' (76: 3)

/semiz/ 'fat, overweight' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /semizzi/ 'of the fat' (13: 6)

/qaš/ 'eyebrow' + {-(I)ŋIz} '2sg POL POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /qašiŋizzi/ 'of your eyebrow' (66: 1)

The voiceless fricative /s/ in syllable-final position assimilates the following voiceless plosive /t/ and lateral /l/ in some words, e.g.

(90) Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
     /assa/   /asta/   'slowly' (53: 27)
     /assin/   /astin/   'lower, below' (69: 1)
     /pässä-/   /päslä-/   'to come down' (19: 37)
     /issam/   /islam/   'Islam [personal name]' (1: 34)

2.3.14.1.3. Plosive assimilation
In the Lopnor dialect, the nasal /n/ in syllable-initial position of genitive/accusative suffix assimilates to the preceding voiceless plosive /k/, e.g.

(91)   /küyük/ 'love, passion' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /küyükkü/ 'of love' (2: 10)
        /čegiläk/ 'hemp' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /čegiläkki/ 'of the hemp' (48: 2)
        /keyik/ 'deer' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /keyikki/ 'of a deer' (53: 37)
        /döŋlük/ 'slope, hill' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /döŋlükkü/ 'of the hill' (36: 12)
        /köŋlök/ 'shirt, blouse' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /köŋlökkü/ 'of the shirt' (52: 40)

The nasal /n/ in syllable-initial position of genitive/accusative suffix assimilates to the preceding voiceless plosive /q/, e.g.

(92)   /yašliq/ 'youth' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /yašliqqi/ 'of the youth' (17: 21)
        /ariq/ 'stream' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ariqqi/ 'of the stream' (2: 17)
        /baliq/ 'fish' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /baliqqi/ 'of the fish' (10: 50)
        /quduq/ 'well' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /quduqqu/ 'of the well' (53: 25)
        /olɣoq/ 'young goat, goat tussle' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /olɣoqqu/ 'of the goat tussle' (21: 1)

The voiceless plosive /t/ in syllable-final position assimilates the following nasal /n/ in the initial position of genitive/accusative suffixes, e.g.

(93)   /hökümät/ 'government'+ {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /hökümätti/ 'of the government' (47: 2)
        /sögüt/ 'willow' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /sögüttü/ 'of the willow' (12: 3)
        /süt/ 'milk' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /süttü/ 'of the milk' (20: 7)
        /yurt/ 'hometown' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /yu:ttu/ 'of the hometown' (2: 12)
        /it/ 'dog' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /itti/ 'of the dog' (17: 18)

The lateral /l/ in syllable-initial position assimilates to the preceding voiceless plosive /t/ in syllable-final position of some derived words, e.g.

(94)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /tattiɣ/   /tatliq/   'sweet' (64: 4)
        /quttuɣ/   /qutluq/   'blessing, special' (1: 12)
        /attiɣ/   /atliq/   'mounted, on horse' (21: 10)

In the Lopnor dialect, the nasal /n/ in syllable-initial position of genitive/accusative suffix is also assimilated to the preceding voiceless plosive /p/, e.g.

(95)   /ip/ 'thread' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ippi/ 'of the thread' (7: 18)
        /ɣarip/ 'lonely, poor' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ɣarippi/ 'of the lonely person' (33: 1)

2.3.14.1.4. Labial assimilation
The bilabial nasal /m/ in syllable-final position assimilates the following alveolar nasal /n/ in the initial position of the genitive/accusative suffix, e.g.

(96)   /čapan/ 'coat' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /čapanimmi/ 'of my coat' (54: 8)
        /sim/ 'wire' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /simmi/ 'of the wire' (9: 73)
        /qum/ 'sand' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /qummu/ 'of the sand' (11: 44)
        /inä/ 'mother' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /inämmi/ 'my mother's / to my mother ' (7: 49)
        /gül/ 'flower' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /güllürümmü/ 'of my flowers' (64: 4)

2.3.14.1.5. Lateral assimilation
The alveolar nasal /n/ in the initial position of the genitive/accusative suffix assimilates to the preceding lateral approximant /l/ in, e.g.

(97)   /yol/ 'road' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /yollu/ 'of the road' (19: 117)
        /gül/ 'flower' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /güllü/ 'of the flower' (36: 7)
        /täškil/ 'organization' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /täškilli/ 'of the organization' (54: 11)
        /pöšköl/ 'chupatti' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /pöšköllü/ 'of the chupatti' (7: 48)
        /ismayil/ 'Ismayil [personal name]' + {-NI} 'GEN/ACC' → /ismayilli/ 'Ismayil's' (21: 15)

2.3.14.2. Regressive assimilation

2.3.14.2.1. Nasal assimilation
In the Lopnor dialect, the lateral /l/ in syllable-final position is assimilated by the following bilabial nasal /m/ syllable-initial position of the verbal negation suffix {-mX}, e.g.

(98)   /qal-/ 'to leave' + {-mX} 'NEG' → /qamma/ 'don't leave' (64: 2)
        /käl-/ 'to come' + {-mX} 'NEG' → /kämmä/ 'don't come' (79: 8)
        /qil-/ 'to do' + {-mX} 'NEG' → /qimma/ 'don't do' (10: 5)
        /bol-/ 'to be' + {-mX} 'NEG' + {-sUn} 'IMPER' → /bommusun/ 'don't let it be' (46: 7)
        /tap-/ 'to find' + {-(y)A₂l-} 'POSB' + {-mX} 'NEG' → /tapamma/ 'not be able to find' (33: 2)

In the Turfan dialect, the lateral /l/ in the same position is deleted.[96] In the Kelpin variety, the lateral /l/ in the same position does not undergo any deletion or assimilation processes.[97]

2.3.14.2.2. Lateral assimilation
In the Lopnor dialect, like many other dialects of Uyghur, the nasal /n/ in syllable-final position is assimilated to the following lateral approximant /l/ in syllable-initial position, e.g.

(99)   Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
        /yamalliq/   /yamanliq/   'harm, wrongdoing' (36: 19)
        /tämilläš/   /täminläš/   'providing necessities' (47: 77)
        /qaɣulluq/   /qoɣunluq/   'melon field' (4: 7)
        /samalliq/   /samanliq/   'straw pile' (36: 19)
        /tikällik/   /tikänlik/   'Tikenlik' (39: 8)

This lateral assimilation of nasal /n/ to the preceding lateral /l/ is also observed at the stem and suffix boundary, e.g.

(100)   /ǰuvan/ 'young married woman' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' → /ǰuvalla/ 'young married women' (32: 14)
        /bäzän/ 'some' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' → /bäzällä/ 'some people' (50: 21)

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[96] Yakup, Abdurishid 2005. *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Turcologica 63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 79.

[97] Qadir, Tursun 2011. wéiwúěryǔ kēpíng tǔyǔ yánjiū 维吾尔语柯坪土语研究 [A study on the Kelpin vernacular of Uyghur]. PhD thesis. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue. P 46.

/dä-/ 'to say' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' → /degällä/ 'those people who said' (7: 25)

/qil-/ 'to do' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' → /qilɣalla/ 'those people who have done' (7: 26)

/käl-/ 'to come' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' → /kä:gällär/ 'those people who came' (34: 44)

2.3.14.2.3. Voice assimilation

The voiced consonants /g/ and /ɣ/ in syllable-final position are assimilated to the following suffix-initial voiceless consonants, e.g.

(101) /bäg/ 'Beg, local ruler' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /bäkkä/ 'to the Beg' (16: 2)

/täg-/ -/ 'to marry' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' → /täkkän/ 'married with' (19: 210)

/taɣ/ 'mountain' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /taqqa/ 'to the mountain' (17: 1)

/yaɣ/ 'oil' + {-GA₄} 'DAT' → /yaqqa/ 'to the oil' (59: 9)

/boɣ-/ 'to tie up' + {-GIn} 'IMPER' → /boqqun/ 'tie up' (8: 18)

2.3.14.2.4. Fricative assimilation

The plosive /t/ in syllable-final position is assimilated by the following fricative /s/ in the initial position of the conditional suffix {-sA₄}, e.g.

(102) /kät-/ 'to leave' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /kässä/ 'if he/she leaves' (77: 12)

/qat-/ 'to add' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /qassä/ 'if he/she adds' (34: 51)

/unut-/ 'to forget' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /unussa/ 'if he/she forgets' (5: 9)

/ät-/ 'to make' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /ässä/ 'if he/she makes' (43: 4)

/at-/ 'to shoot' + {-sA₄} 'COND' → /assa/ 'if he/she shoots' (47: 78)

2.3.14.2.5. Labial assimilation

The alveolar nasal /n/ in syllable-final position is assimilated to the following bilabial nasal /m/ in syllable-initial position, e.g.

(103) /qoš-/ 'to add, to compose' + {-A₂r} 'AOR' + {-män} '1sg PER' + {-mu} 'QPART' → /qošarmämmu/ 'shall I add?' (1: 5)

/kät-/ 'to leave' +{-A₂r} 'AOR' +{-män} '1sg PER' + {-mu} 'QPART' → /kitärmämmu/ 'shall I leave?' (2: 9)

/män/ 'I' + {-mu} 'PART' → /mämmu/ 'me too' (30: 42)

/dä-/ 'to say' + {-GA₄n} 'Pple' + {-mu} 'QPART' → /degämmu/ 'did (I/you/he/she) tell?' (71: 10)

In some words, the alveolar nasal /n/ in syllable-final position is assimilated to the following bilabial plosive /b/ in the syllable-initial position, and changed to bilabial /m/, e.g.

(104) Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /ombäš/   /onbäš/   'fifteen' (53: 13)
       /ombir/   /onbir/   'eleven' (17: 3)
       /ämbär/   /änbär/   'ambergris' (32: 21)

2.3.15. Metathesis of consonants

In the Lopnor dialect, the metathesis of consonants is more common than the other dialects of Uyghur. In some words, especially in the speech of elder people, the two adjacent consonants switch their positions, e.g.

(105) Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /yilɣa-/   /yiɣla-/   'to cry' (19: 117)
       /olɣoq/   /oɣlaq/   'young goat' (21: 1)
       /qilvi/   /qiblä/   'side pointing to the Mecca' (45: 10)
       /irvayim/   /ibrayim/   'Ibrahim [personal name]' (16: 3)
       /čäpkän/   /čäkmän/   'coat made of rough cloth' (1: 8)

2.3.16. Nasalization of bilabial /b/

In very limited number of words ended in a nasal consonant, the bilabial plosive /b/ is nasalized due to the regressive assimilation of the nasal in the following syllable, e.g.

(106) Lopnor   Standard Uyghur   Gloss
       /moyun/   /boyun/   'neck' (40: 11)
       /amdan/   /obdan/   'good' (22: 1)
       /modun/   /bodun/   'people, folk' (45: 6)

2.4. Sandhi and connected speech

Some phonological processes in the Lopnor dialect can occur within syllables and within morpheme and word boundaries, while some of them occur only in word boundaries. Those phonological processes that occur in word boundaries, such as vowel coalescence,

reduction of vowels, and deletion of initial vowels, voicing and devoicing of consonants, assimilation of consonants and consonant deletion are discussed in this section.

2.4.1. Vowel coalescence

In the Lopnor dialect, two different vowels in word boundaries may coalesce to one vowel in some words. In this process, usually the word-final vowel of the previous word coalesces to the word-initial vowel of the following word. Consequently, the pause between them is deleted and the the accent on the first word is reduced.

The word-final back vowel /a/ of the previous word coalesces to the word-initial vowel of the following words, e.g.

(107)   /zora/ 'Zöhre [personal name for female]' + /ayla/ 'term of respect for an elder female relative' → /zor‿ayla/ 'auntie Zöhre' (17: 17)

/qoyuš/ 'deceive' + {GA₄} 'DAT' + /usta/ 'good at' → /qoyušq‿usta/ 'good at to deceive others' (1: 44)

/quš/ 'bird' + {GA₄} 'DAT' + /oxšaš/ 'like' → /qušq‿oxšaš/ 'like a bird' (34: 37)

In the phrases composed of a numeral plus the word /ay/ 'month', the word-final vowel of the previous word coalesces to the word-initial back vowel /a/ of the word /ay/ in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(108)   /toqquzunči/ 'ninth'+ /ay/ 'month' → /toqquzunč‿ay/ 'ninth month, September' (6: 21)

/oninči/ 'tenth' + /ay/ 'month' → /oninč‿ay/ 'tenth month, October' (6: 21)

/yättinči/ 'seventh' + /ay/ 'month' → /yättinč‿ay/ 'seventh month, July' (49: 8)

/onikki/ 'twelve' + /ay/ 'month' → /onišikk‿ay/ 'twelve month' (65: 3)

/näččä/ 'how many, several' + /ay/ 'month' → /näčč‿ay/ 'several months' (45: 4)

In "nominal + copula" structure, the word-final vowels in the nominals coalesce with the word-initial high vowel of the copulas, e.g.

(109)   /bala/ 'boy, child' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' + /idi/ 'COP' → /balasidi/ 'was his/her child' (47: 55)

/bala/ 'boy, child' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /balikän/ 'is a boy' (54: 9)

/adäm/ 'person, human' + {-LA₄(r)} 'PL' + {-(s)I} '3sg/pl POSS' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /adämlirikän/ 'was a people of …' (30: 103)

2.4.2. Reduction of vowels

In the Lopnor dialect, the word-final near open vowel /ä/ of the previous open syllabic word is reduced to the high vowel when there is a palatal /y/ in the initial position of the following word, e.g.

(110)   /qančä/ 'how many' + /yil/ 'year' → /qanči‿yil/ 'how many years' (47: 42)
         /altä/ 'six' + /yaš/ 'age' → /alti‿yaš/ 'six years old' (17: 9)
         /yättä/ 'seven' + /yil/ 'year' → /yätti‿yil/ 'seven years' (24: 2)

2.4.3. Deletion of initial vowels

In "nominal + copula" structure, the high vowel /i/ in the initial position of the copula can be deleted if the preceding word ends in a closed syllable, e.g.

(111)   /lopluq/ 'person from Lopnor' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /lopluɣkän/ 'was from Lopnor' (49: 38)
         /bälän/ 'good, well' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /bälänkän/ 'is good' (52: 50)
         /iš/ 'work, business, thing' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /iškän/ 'is a thing like…' (81: 24)
         /atim/ 'my horse' + /ikän/ 'COP' → /atimkän/ 'is/was my horse' (19: 174)

2.4.4. Voicing of consonants

In the Lopnor dialect, the-word-final voiceless plosives of the previous word are voiced in word boundaries if it is followed by the words beginning with vowels or voiced consonants, e.g.

(112)   a. /q/ →/ɣ/
         /siliq/ 'smooth' + /yaɣač/ 'piece of wood' → /siliɣ yiɣač/ 'smooth plank' (7: 19)
         /suyuq/ 'watery, fluid' + /aš/ 'food, meal' → /suyuɣ‿aš/ 'Suyuq Ash [soup with noodle pieces]' (36: 20)
         /ašliq/ 'grain, staple' + /idarisi/ '(work) unit' → /ašliɣ idarisi/ 'Food Bureau' (6: 59)

         b. /k/ →/g/
         /išik/ 'door' + /aldi/ 'in front of' → /išig‿aldi/ 'in front of the door' (36: 1)
         /kövrük/ 'bridge' + /bolidiɣan/ 'good for' → /kövrüg voloduɣan/ 'good for a bridge' (11: 92)

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/kičik/ 'small, young' + /üčün/ 'because of' → /kičig üčün/ 'because he/she is young' (35: 1)

c. /p/ →/v/
/äyip/ 'blame, mistake' + /al-/ 'to take' → /äyiv al/ 'regard something as a mistake' (69: 3)
(/taŋlar/ 'dawn, sunrise' +) /äǰäp/ 'very, really' + /atmay/ 'do not come' → / (taŋlar) häǰäv atmay/ '(the dawn) hardly comes' (38: 1)
/maxtap/ 'praising, complimenting' + /atim/ 'my name' → /maxtav atim/ 'praising me' (69: 1)

2.4.5. Devoicing of consonants

In the converb plus postverb structure, the word-initial voiced consonant /b/ in the postverbs is devoiced because of the syllable-final /p/ in the converb suffix {-(I)p}, e.g.

(113)   /dä-/ 'to say' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' + /bä(r)-/ 'PostV' → /däppä-/ 'to tell' (56: 6)
/taya-/ 'to row (boat)' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' + /baq-/ 'PostV' → /tayappaq-/ 'try to row' (19: 20)
/čörü-/ 'to turn' + {-(I)p} 'CONV' + /baq-/ 'PostV' → /čürüppax-/ 'try to turn' (19: 37)

2.4.6. Fricativization of consonants

In the Lopnor dialect, the voiced bilabial /b/ in syllable-initial position is fricativized to /v/ at morpheme boundaries of compound words and at word boundaries, e.g.

(114)   /bulla + bay/ → /bulla vay/ 'Mr. Bulla' (17: 11)
/täsälli + bär + (I)p/ → /täsälli virip/ 'to comfort' (47: 27)
/musapir + bol-/ → /mustapir vol-/ 'to be homeless' (3: 2)
/yigit + bilän/ → /yigit vilän/ 'with a boy' (75: 5)

2.4.7. Assimilation of consonants

In word boundaries, the word-initial palatal approximant /y/ in the second word is assimilated to the word-final fricative /š/ or /č/ of the previous word, e.g.

(115) /taš/ 'stone' + /yol/ 'road' → /taššol/ 'stone road' (57: 3)
/heč/ 'none, not any' + /yär/ 'point, land' + {-(I)m} '1sg POSS' → /heččirim/ 'no point in my body' (28: 6)

The word-final consonant of the previous word may also assimilate to the word-initial consonant of the following words in some phrases, e.g.

(116) /namaz/ 'namaz, muslim ritual prayer' + /šam/ 'dusk' → /namaš‿šam/ 'evening namaz (4th of the day)' (60: 5)
/mämät/ 'Memet [personal name]' + /niyaz/ 'Niyaz [personal name]' → /mamän niyaz/ 'Memet Niyaz' (1: 4)

2.4.8. Consonant deletion

The nasal /n/ in syllable-final position of the ablative case suffix {-Din} is deleted when the adverb /keyin/ 'after' is added to form "after…" construction, e.g.

(117) /piš-/ 'to be ripe, to be cooked' + {-GA4n} 'Pple' + {-DIn} 'ABL' + /keyin/ 'after, later' → /pišqandikin/ 'after it cooked' (6: 22)
/yiɣil-/ 'gather' + {-GA4n} 'Pple' + {-DIn} 'ABL' + /keyin/ 'after, later' → /yiɣilɣandikin / 'after gathered' (81: 2)
/dä-/ 'to say' + {-GA4n} 'Pple' + {-DIn} 'ABL' + /keyin/ 'after, later' → /degändikin/ 'after it has been/he/she said' (21: 24)

2.4.9. Complex processes

In the construction of "this/that + place", the final vowel /u/ of the adverb "ašu/mošu" is deleted and the word-initial palatal approximant /y/ and word-final alveolar /r/ in the word "yär" are deleted, e.g.

(118) /ašu/ 'that' + /yär/ 'place' → /ašä/ 'that place' (83: 10)
/mošu/ 'this' + /yär/ 'place' → /mašä/ 'this place' (19: 97)

3. MORPHOLOGY

Like that of any other Turkic language, the morphology of the Lopnor dialect is mainly based on agglutination by means of suffixes. Because of the strict vowel harmony and the progressive assimilation rules, the realizations of suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are more complex than Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. This chapter examines the special derivative suffixes in the Lopnor dialect first. Then, it deals with the classification of different categories of inflectional suffixes and their rules for suffixation.

3.1. Derivational Morphology

In general, the different variants of derivational and inflectional suffixes in the Lopnor dialect occur in one of the harmonic forms with the last syllable of the previous stem with respect to frontness or backness, roundness or unroundness. The voiced or unvoiced feature of the last phoneme of a stem also affects the choices between variants. In some cases, the derivational and inflectional suffixes undergo progressive assimilation, which is a special feature of the Lopnor dialect. Therefore, they exhibit rather different phonological shapes than that of Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. In this section, we shall not discuss all the derivational suffixes existing in the Lopnor dialect. We mainly focus on some special derivational suffixes, which are different from Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

3.1.1. Nominal derivation

3.1.1.1. Denominal noun suffixes

In Standard Uyghur, the denominal noun suffix {-LIG} occurs in {-liq}, {-lik}, {luq} and {-lük} forms. However, because of the vowel harmony, progressive assimilation and voicing of the final consonants, it occurrs in {-liq}, {-lik}, {luq}, {-lük}, {-tiq}, {-lig}, {-lüg}, {-liɣ}, {-luɣ}, {-ziq} forms in the Lopnor dialect. The semantic function of this suffix is very wide that it can denote a place what grows or is produced there.[98] It can also indicate a thing that is used for the object expressed by the noun. Futher more, it can indicate a person who was born and grew up in the place expressed by that noun, e.g.

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[98] Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic Word Formation: A functional approach to the lexicon.* Vol. I-II. (Turcologica 7). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 127.

(119) *saman* 'wheat straw' + {-liq} → *samalliq* 'straw pile' (61: 5)

keväz 'cotton' + {-lik} → *keväzlik* 'cotton filed' (72: 22)

qum 'sand' + {-luq} → *qumluq* 'desert' (71: 19)

döŋ 'hill' + {-lük} → *döŋlük* 'earth mound' (34: 1)

qiš 'winter' + {-tiq} → *qištiq* 'food or other items prepared for winter' (7: 39)

zäy 'damp' + {-lig} → *zäylig* 'drainage ditch' (1: 43)

kün 'day' + {-lüg} → *künlüg* 'daily wage' (6: 55)

čivin 'mosquito' [99] + {-liɣ} → *čivinliɣ* 'mosquito net' (9: 15)

lop 'Lopnor' + {-luɣ} → *lopluɣ* 'someone from Lopnor' (49: 38)

atiz 'field' + {-ziq} → *atizziq* 'field, farmland' (36: 6)

Derivative suffix {-či} is one of the oldest and most productive denominal suffixes in Turkic languages. In Standard Uyghur, it occurs only in one form. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in the forms {-ču} and {-čü} as well. It denotes humans, whom it characterizes through their fixed, habitual and professional activities,[100] and e.g.

(120) *yiɣač* 'wood' + {-či} → *yiɣačči* 'carpenter' (19: 3)

čaru 'cattle' + {-ču} → *čaruču* 'shepherd' (13: 1)

kön 'tanned leather' + {-čü} → *könčü* 'leather tanner, Könchi [old name of Lopnor county]' (57: 14)

The derivative suffix {-čIlIG} appears in {-čilik} and {-čiliq} forms in Standard Uyghur. In the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in the forms {-čilik}, {-čiliq}, {-čuluq} and {-čülük}, and expresses an occupation or a condition, e.g.

(121) *yetim* 'orphan' + {-čilik} → *yetimčilik* 'solitariness' (24: 1)

dušxa 'difficulty' + {-čiliq} → *dušxačiliq* 'difficultness' (56: 5)

qoy 'sheep' + {-čuluq} → *qoyčuluq* 'sheep raising, shepherding' (33: 9)

köl 'lake' + {-čülük} → *kölčülük* 'fishery' (10: 1)

In Standard Uyghur, the derivative suffix {-daš} occurs in only one form. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it has a variant {-doš}. It indicates a person who possesses the object expressed by that noun together, e.g.

(122) *qarin* 'abdomen' + {-daš} → *qarindaš* 'relative' (53: 9)

yol 'road' + {-doš} → *yoldoš* 'companion, comrade' (17: 31)

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[99] In Lopnor region, the elder people use "čivin" to refer to the "mosquito" and "qara siŋŋäk" to refer to the "fly". However, because of the infulence of Standard Uyghur, the younger people use the word "čivin" to refer to the "fly" and "paša" to refer to the "mosquito".

[100] Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic Word Formation: A functional approach to the lexicon.* Vol. I-II. (Turcologica 7). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 111.

3.1.1.2. Deverbal noun suffixes

When the suffix {-mA₄} attaches to the verbs, it derives a noun which indicates the action or object resulted by that verb. In Standard Uyghur, it occurs in two variants {-ma} and {-mä}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in {-ma}, {-mä}, {-mo} and {-mö} forms, e.g.

(123) *čal* 'mix, stir' + {-ma} → *čalma* 'porridge' (6: 8)
   or 'cut, harvest' + {-mo} → *ormo* 'harvest' (17: 33)
   bök 'hide oneself' + {-mö} → *bökmö* 'ambush' (1: 44)

3.1.1.3. Denominal adjective suffixes

The denominal adjective suffix {-lIG} in Standard Uyghur occurs in {-liq}, {-lik}, {luq} and {-lük} forms. However, because of the vowel harmony, progressive assimilation and voicing of the final consonants, {-LIG} occurred in the forms {-liq}, {-lik}, {luq}, {-lük}, {-lig}, {-liɣ}, {-luɣ}, {-tiq}, {-tük}, {-tiɣ} and {-tuɣ} in the Lopnor dialect. When the suffix {-LIG} derives the adjectives from nominals, it denotes the existence or abundance of the object or feeling expressed by that nominal, e.g.

(124) *čidam* 'endurance' + {-liq} → *čidamliq* 'enduring, resistant' (11: 129)
   hašamät 'luxury' + {-lik} → *hašamätlik* 'luxurious' (39: 1)
   tuz 'salt' + {-luq} → *tuzluq* 'salty' (35: 4)
   ömür 'life' + {-lük} → *ömürlük* 'lifelong' (71: 17)
   čäm 'sole' + {-lig} → *čämlig* 'having soles' (9: 78)
   čiray 'face' + {-liɣ} → *čirayliɣ* 'beautiful' (66: 4)
   muŋ 'deep feeling, sorrow' + {-luɣ} → *muŋluɣ* 'plaintive, mournful' (66: 6)
   qiš 'winter' + {-tiq} → *qištiq* 'wintery, winter' (7: 39)
   küš 'power' + {-tük} → *küštük* 'powerful' (6: 62)
   at 'horse' + {-tiɣ} → *attiɣ* 'having horses' (21: 10)
   qut 'fortune' + {-tuɣ} → *quttuɣ* 'fortunate, blessed' (1: 12)

3.1.2. Verbal derivation

In Standard Uyghur, the derivative suffix {-lA} and {-dA} derive verbs from nominals, and appear in {-la}, {-lä}, {-da} and {-dä} forms. In the Lopnor dialect, {-LA₄} and

{-DA₄}[101] are occurred in the forms {-la}, {-lä}, {-lo}, {-lö}, {-da}, {-dä}, {-za}, {-zä}, {-zö}, {-sä}, {-ta}, {-tä}, e.g.

(125) *oy* 'thought' + {-la} → *oyla* 'to think' (30: 95)
     äs 'memory' + {-lä} → *äslä* 'to remember' (80: 7)
     toŋ 'frozen earth' + {-lo} → *toŋlo* 'to be frozen' (19: 93)
     öy 'home' + {-lö} → *öylö* 'to arrange marriage' (30: 28)
     pišiɣ 'cooked, ripe' + {-da} → *pišiɣda* 'to get ready' (7: 18)
     mürü 'shoulder' + {-dä} → *mürüdä* 'to shoulder' (9: 77)
     aǰïz 'weak' + {-za} → *aǰïzza* 'to become weak' (47: 70)
     iz 'trace' + {-zä} → *izzä* 'to look for' (17: 31)
     söz 'word' + {-zö} → *sözzö* 'to speak' (17: 32)
     päs 'low, down' + {-sä} → *pässä* 'to come down' (19: 37)
     ǰïq 'many' + {-ta} → *ǰïqta* 'to increase' (7: 44)
     iš 'work' + {-tä} → *ištä* 'to work' (17: 36)

3.2. Nominal Morphology

3.2.1. Nouns

In the Lopnor dialect, nouns can be inflected for number, possession and case. The order of the suffixation is stem + number suffix + possessive suffix + case suffix, e.g.

(126) *qol-lur[102]-umuz-zi*
    hand-PL-1plPOSS-GEN/ACC
    'Our hands' or to our hands'   (30: 65)

    baš-tar-i-ɣa
    head-PL-3plPOSS-DAT
    'to their heads'   (6: 56)

    qaravul-lar-i-din
    guard-PL-3plPOSS-ABL
    'from his/her/their guards'   (19: 186)

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[101] The {-DA₄} is an unproductive suffix in the Lopnor dialect. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, it is irregularly occurred in the limited number of words. Sometimes, both {-LA₄} and {-DA₄} forms are coexisted for the same stem.

[102] The {-lur} in this example is caused by the regressive assimilation of the {-umuz}.

3.2.1.1. Number

The Lopnor dialect, just like the any other Turkic language, distinguishes singularity and plurality. The singular nouns are not marked, and the plurality is marked with the suffix {-LA₄(r)}. According to the backness and roundness value of the preceding syllable and the voiced or voiceless feature of the last phoneme, the plural suffix {-LA₄(r)} can take the forms {-la(r)}, {-lä(r)}, {-lo(r)}, {-lö(r)}, {-ta(r)} and {-tä(r)}. In Standard Uyghur, the vowel in the plural suffixes undergoes only palatal harmony, and express as {-lar} or {-lär}. However in the Lopnor dialect, the plural suffix undergoes both palatal and labial harmony, and is manifested as {-lar}, {-lär}, {-lor} and {-lör}. The voiced or voiceless feature of the last phoneme also affects the choice between different variants of plural suffixes in the Lopnor dialect. Thus, unlike Standard Uyghur and many other Uyghur dialects, the Lopnor dialect exhibits two sets of plural suffixes. The phoneme /r/ in the syllable-final position may also be deleted, as in most dialects of Uyghur.

If the nominal stem ends with a voiced segment, according to the backness and roundness value of the vowel in the last syllable, the nominal stem can take the plural markers {-la(r)}, {-lä(r)}, {-lo(r)} and {-lö(r)}, e.g.

(127) a. {-la(r)}
   taɣ-lar   mountain-PL   'mountains'   (59: 8)
   bala-lar   child-PL   'children'   (24: 1)

   b. {-lä(r)}
   kečä-lär   night-PL   'nights'   (55: 2)
   är-lär   man-PL   'men'   (24: 1)

   c. {-lo(r)}
   olɣoq-lor   young goat-PL   'young goats'   (34: 14)
   qol-lor   hand-PL   'hands'   (62: 3)

   d. {-lö(r)}
   tögö-lör   camel-PL   'camels'   (17: 3)
   öy-lör   house-PL   'houses'   (33: 7)

If the nominal stem ends with a voiceless phoneme, according to the backness value of the vowel in the last syllable, the nominal stem can take the plural marker {- ta(r)} or {-tä(r)}, e.g.

(128) a. {-ta(r)}
   qušuq-tar   *folk* song-PL   'folk songs'   (1: 11)
   baš-tar   head-PL   'heads'   (6: 56)

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b. {-tä(r)}

siŋŋäk-tär   fly-PL   'flies'   (44: 1)

It is been claimed that the forms {-to(r)}, {-tö(r)}, {-sa(r)}, {-sä(r)}, {-so(r)}, {-sö(r)}, {-za(r)}, {-zä(r)}, {-zo(r)} and {-zö(r)} are also attested in the Lopnor dialect. [103] However, I have not found these forms in my data. Because of the influence of Standard Uyghur, there is a tendency to decrease the multiformity of number suffixes in the Lopnor dialect. Even the {-ta(r)} and {-tä(r)} forms are not commonly used in recent times.

As in other Turkic languages, the plurality of the noun is not always expressed morphologically in the Lopnor dialect. When the noun has numeral modifiers, the plural marker does not attach to the nouns that are modified, e.g.

(129)   *yättä oɣul*   'seven sons'   (20: 68)
        toqquz baliq   'nine fish'   (76: 13)
        qiriq kün   'fourty days'   (75: 7)

3.2.1.2. Possession

The possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are shown in Table 3-1. The nouns ending in a vowel receive consonant-initial possessive suffixes, while the nouns ending in consonants receive vowel-initial possessive suffixes, and both undergo vowel harmony. Therefore, (I) means that the segment is not expressed if the noun stem ends in a vowel, and (s) means that this segment is not expressed after a stem-final consonant.

Table 3-1   *The possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect*

	Singular	Plural
1p	{-(I)m}	{-(I)mIz}
2p (ordinary)	{-(I)ŋ}	{-(I)ŋlA$_2$(r)}
2p (polite)	{-(I)ŋIz}	{-(I)ŋlA$_2$(r)}
3p	{-(s)I}	{-(s)I}

Because of the vowel harmony rules in the Lopnor dialect, the first person singular possessive suffix {-(I)m} has following realizations, e.g.

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[103] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1999 in Chinese, 2006 in Uyghur. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 73 & Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 753.

(130) a. {-m}
   inä-m   mother-1sgPOSS   'my mother'   (47: 11)
   nävrä-m   grandchild-1sgPOSS   'my grandchild'   (47: 99)

   b. {-im}
   qulaɣ-im   ear-1sgPOSS   'my ear'   (1: 39)
   tiš-im   tooth-1sgPOSS   'my tooth'   (17: 23)

   c. {-um}
   quːruɣ-um   tail-1sgPOSS   'my tail'   (3: 7)
   yurt-um   hometown-1sgPOSS   'my hometown'   (80: 1)

   d. {-üm}
   yürüg-üm   heart-1sgPOSS   'my heart'   (30: 110)
   köz-üm   eye-1sgPOSS   'my eye'   (3: 4)

In Standard Uyghur, the first person plural possessive suffix occurs in {-miz} and {-imiz} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the first person plural possessive suffix {-(I)mIz} appears in the following six forms, e.g.

(131) a. {-miz}
   kemä-miz   boat-1plPOSS   'our boat'   (22: 2)
   harava-miz   car-1plPOSS   'our cart'   (7: 30)

   b. {-imiz}
   iš-imiz   work-1plPOSS   'our work'   (6: 59)
   yer-imiz   land-1plPOSS   'our land'   (47: 58)

   c. {-umuz}
   azuɣ-umuz   food-1plPOSS   'our food'   (7: 39)
   put-umuz   foot-1plPOSS   'our feet'   (30: 2)

   d. {-ümüz}
   tögümün-ümüz   mill-1plPOSS   'our mill'   (30: 61)
   köz-ümüz   eye-1plPOSS   'our eyes'   (34: 32)

   e. {-muz}
   omru-muz   life span-1plPOSS   'our life span'   (61: 7)
   oɣlu-muz   son-1plPOSS   'our son'   (19: 45)

   f. {-müz}
   ölkü-müz   province-1plPOSS   'our province'   (33: 1)

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Osmanov and Fu Maoji claimed that the allomorphs of first person plural form in the Lopnor dialect include the {-miz}, {-imiz} {-umiz} and {-ümiz}.[104] My data shows that, because of the strict palatal and labial vowel harmony rules in the Lopnor dialect, there are no forms like {-umiz} and {-ümiz} in this dialect. Instead, there are {-umuz} and {-ümüz} as in the above examples. Moreover, some other forms like {-muz} and {-müz} also exist in the Lopnor dialect, as these forms are attached to the nouns ended with vowel phonemes.

In the Lopnor dialect, like many other dialects of Uyghur, there is a difference between the second person singular ordinary form and the second person polite form possessive suffixes. The second person singular ordinary form {-(I)ŋ} appears in the following forms.

(132) a. {-ŋ}
       xalta-ŋ sack-2sgPOSS 'your sack' (71: 16)
       sayä-ŋ shadow-2sgPOSS 'your shadow' (73: 1)

       b. {-iŋ}
       ulaɣ-iŋ draught animal-2sgPOSS 'your draught animal' (1: 39)
       xat-iŋ letter-2sgPOSS 'your letter' (30: 108)

       c. {-uŋ}
       pul-uŋ money-2sgPOSS 'your money' (78: 12)
       qoy-uŋ sheep-2sgPOSS 'your sheep' (17: 9)

       d. {-üŋ}
       köz-üŋ eye-2sgPOSS 'your eye' (26: 23)
       hünür-üŋ skill-2sgPOSS 'your skill' (19: 8)

The second person singular polite form in Standard Uyghur is marked by the suffixes {-ŋiz} and {-iŋiz}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the second person singular marker {-(I)ŋIz} appears in the following forms.

(133) a. {-ŋiz}
       kürä-ŋiz courtyard-2sgPOSS POL 'your courtyard' (17: 19)
       aɣa-ŋiz brother[105]-2sgPOSS POL 'your brother' (47: 33)

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[104] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1999 in Chinese, 2006 in Uyghur. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 75 & Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 764.

[105] In the Lopnor dialect, "aɣa" has a different meaning than that of Standard Uyghur. In the Lopnor region, it is mostly used as a respectful form of address to a man..

b. {-iŋiz}
qaš-iŋiz   eyebrow-2sgPOSS POL   'your eyebrow'   (66: 1)
qiz-iŋiz   daughter-2sgPOSS POL   'your daughter'   (19: 68)

c. {-uŋuz}
ot-uŋuz   love-2sgPOSS POL   'your love'   (64: 5)
yol-uŋuz   way-2sgPOSS POL   'your way'   (72: 7)

d. {-üŋüz}
öy-üŋüz   house-2sgPOSS POL   'your house'   (64: 3)
tükürüg-üŋüz   spit-2sgPOSS POL   'your spit'   (57: 20)

The second person plural form suffixes are the same in both ordinary form and the polite form. The second person plural possessive suffix {-(I)ŋlA₂(r)} appears in the following forms in the Lopnor dialect.

(134)   a. {-ŋla(r)}
ata-ŋlar   father-2plPOSS   'your father'   (34: 21)

b. {-ŋlä(r)}
inä-ŋlär   mother-2plPOSS   'your mother'   (16: 1)

c. {-iŋla(r)}
tavan-iŋlar   sole of a foot-2plPOSS   'sole of your feet'   (17: 4)

d. {-iŋlä(r)}
išig-iŋlä   door-2plPOSS   'your door'   (70: 6)

e. {-uŋla(r)}
qoy-uŋla   sheep-2plPOSS   'your sheep'   (55: 14)

f) {-üŋlä(r)}
köŋl-üŋlär   feeling-2plPOSS   'your feelings'   (70: 6)

For the third person, the possessive suffixes for singular and plural forms are the same. In Standard Uyghur and most Uyghur dialects, the third person singular and plural suffix occurs in {-i} or {-si} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the third person possessive suffix {-(s)I} appears in the following six forms.

(135)   a. {-i}
　　　šax-i　　branch of a tree-3sg/plPOSS　　'its/their branch'　　(72: 20)
　　　torošin-i　piglet-3sg/plPOSS　　'its/their piglet'　　(1: 5)

　　　b. {-si}
　　　üyä-si　　finger joint-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their finger joint'　(31: 7)
　　　naxša-si　song-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their song'　　(66: 6)

　　　c. {-u}
　　　qonduɣ-u　perch-3sg/plPOSS　　'its/their perch'　　(1: 36)
　　　qošuɣ-u　folksong-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their folk song'　　(47: 107)

　　　d. {-su}
　　　hoylu-su　yard-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their yard'　　(19: 235)
　　　dalu-su　shoulder-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their shoulder'　　(8: 50)

　　　e. {-ü}
　　　kün-ü　day-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their day'　　(20: 31)
　　　söz-ü　word-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their word'　　(60: 4)

　　　f. {-sü}
　　　gölmö-sü　fishing net-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their fishing net'　　(10: 41)
　　　mökö-sü　desert date-3sg/plPOSS　　'his/her/their desert date'　　(7: 19)

The underlying morphological forms of the possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are quite similar to the forms in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, because of the strict palatal and labial vowel harmony, the possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect appear in more forms at the surface compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

3.2.1.3. Case

Case suffixes in the Lopnor dialect play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of nouns. The nominative case in the Lopnor dialect is unmarked. The other four types of case suffixes, which are genitive/accusative, ablative, dative and locative are distinguished morphologically in the Lopnor dialect.

3.2.1.3.1. Genitive/Accusative case

In Standard Uyghur, the genitive case is marked by the suffix {-niŋ}, and the accusative case is expressed with the suffix marker {-ni}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the genitive and accusative case is marked with the same suffix {-NI}. In the Lopnor dialect, because of the vowel harmony and the progressive assimilation of consonants, the genitive/accusative suffix {-NI} appears in quite different forms than the forms in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

When the nominal stem ends with the vowel or voiced consonants, the genitive/accusative suffix can take the following forms:

(136)　a. {-ni}
　　　　talqan-ni　Talqan[106]-GEN/ACC　'of Talqan/Talqan'　(21: 21)
　　　　buɣday-ni　wheat-GEN/ACC　'of wheat/wheat'　(34: 35)

　　　　b. {-nu}
　　　　qamuš-nu　reed-GEN/ACC　'of reed/ reed'　(56: 35)
　　　　toŋŋuz-nu　pig-GEN/ACC　'pig's/ pig'　(35: 4)

　　　　c. {-nü}
　　　　göš-nü　meat-GEN/ACC　'of meat/meat'　(10: 48)
　　　　tülkü-nü　fox-GEN/ACC　'of fox/fox'　(1: 1)

If the nominal stem ends with /m/, the genitive/accusative case suffixes appear in the following forms:

(137)　a. {-mi}
　　　　sim-mi　wire-GEN/ACC　'of wire/wire'　(9: 73)
　　　　adäm-mi　person-GEN/ACC　'of a person/person'　(21: 1)

　　　　b. {-mu}
　　　　qum-mu　sand-GEN/ACC　'of the sand/sand'　(52: 42)
　　　　moyn[107]*-um-mu*　neck-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC　'of my neck/my neck' (17: 1)

　　　　c. {-mü}
　　　　köŋl[108]*-üm-mü* feeling-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC 'of my feeling/my feeling' (12: 6)
　　　　gül-üm-mü　flower-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC　'of my flower/my flower'　(17: 30)

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[106] "talqan" is fried balls of millet, wheat or bean flour. It can be preserved a long time, and eaten cold.

[107] Original form is "moyun", for the deletion of vowels, please see 2.3.5.

[108] Original form is "köŋül", for the deletion of vowels, please see 2.3.5.

If the nominal stem ends with /l/, the genitive/accusative case suffixes can take the following forms:

(138)   a. {-li}
   šal-li   board-GEN/ACC   'of a board/board'   (9: 78)
   täškil-li   organization-GEN/ACC   'of the organization/organization' (54: 11)

   b. {-lu}
   yol-lu   road-GEN/ACC   'of a road/road'   (30: 76)
   uǰul-lu   Uzhul[109]-GEN/ACC   'of the Uzhul/Uzhul'   (6: 33)

   c. {-lü}
   köl-lü   lake-GEN/ACC   'of the lake/lake'   (10: 32)
   pöšköl-lü   chupatty-GEN/ACC   'of the chupatty/chupatty'   (7: 48)

When the nominal stem ends with /ŋ/, the genitive/accusative suffix appears in the following forms:

(139)   a. {-ŋi}
   qa:n-iŋ-ŋi   stomach-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your stomach/your stomach' (1: 33)
   ǰuga-ŋ-ŋi   a coat of animal skin of fur-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your coat/your coat'   (2: 11)

   b. {-ŋu}
   uy-uŋ-ŋu   cow-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your cow/your cow'   (4: 2)
   šum-uŋ-ŋu   unlucky child-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your unlucky child/your unlucky child' (4: 2)

   c. {-ŋü}
   ün-üŋ-ŋü   voice-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your voice/your voice'   (1: 39)
   örüg-üŋ-ŋü   apricot-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   'of your apricot/your apricot'   (19: 156)

If the nominal stem ends with /k/, the genitive/accusative case suffixes can take the following forms:

(140)   a. {-ki}
   čegiläk-ki   hemp-GEN/ACC   'of the hemp/hemp'   (48: 2)
   keyik-ki   deer-GEN/ACC   'of a deer/deer'   (54: 2)

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[109] Yellow (edible) flower in the upper part of a cattail.

b. {-kü}

örük-kü   apricot-GEN/ACC   'of the apricot/apricot' (19: 121)

köyük-kü   love-GEN/ACC   'of the love/love'   (66: 3)

When the nominal stem ends with /q/, the genitive/accusative suffix can take the following forms:

(141)   a. {-qi}

yantaq-qi   camel-thorn-GEN/ACC   'of the camel-thorn/camel thorn' (6: 26)

baliq-qi   fish-GEN/ACC   'of a fish/fish'   (10: 50)

b. {-qu}

quduq-qu   well-GEN/ACC   'of a well/well'   (53: 25)

qošuq-qu   folk song-GEN/ACC   'of a folk song/folk song'   (16: 1)

When the nominal stem ends with /t/ or /š/, the genitive/accusative suffix appears in the following forms:

(142)   a. {-ti}

mäčit-ti   mosque-GEN/ACC   'of a mosque/mosque'   (19: 82)

ǰallat-ti   executioner-GEN/ACC   'executioner's/executioner' (19: 89)

baɣraš-ti   Baghrash lake-GEN/ACC   'of Baghrash lake/Baghrash lake' (10: 14)

mapakäš-ti   carriage driver-GEN/ACC   'carriage driver's/carriage driver' (19: 185)

b. {-tü}

sögöt-tü   willow tree-GEN/ACC   'of the willow/willow'   (12: 3)

süt-tü   milk-GEN/ACC   'of the milk/milk'   (20: 7)

If the nominal stem ends with /p/, the genitive/accusative case suffixes can take the following form:

(143)   {-pi}

ip-pi   thread-GEN/ACC   'of the milk/milk'   (7: 18)

ɣarip-pi   lonely person-GEN/ACC   'of a lonely person/lonely person' (33: 1)

If the nominal stem ends with /z/, the genitive/accusative case suffixes appear in the following forms:

(144) a. {-zi}

yildiz-zi root-GEN/ACC 'of the root/root' (6: 26)

yolvaz-zi tiger-GEN/ACC 'of a tiger/tiger' (76: 7)

b. {-zu}

qoy-uŋuz-zu sheep-2sgPOSS POL 'of your sheep/your sheep' (53: 29)

c. {-zü}

öy-üŋüz-zü house-2sgPOSS POL 'of your house/your house' (64: 3)

köl-üŋüz-zü lake-2sgPOSS POL 'of your lake/your lake' (64: 3)

In my data, I also found that the genitive/accusative suffix {-sI} is used if the nominal stem ends with /s/ and the {-čI} is used when the nominal stem ends with /č/, e.g.

(145) a. {-su}

orus-su Russian-GEN/ACC 'Russian person's/Russian' (17: 6)

b. {-či}

omač-či porridge-GEN/ACC 'of the porridge/porridge' (30: 22)

According to rules for vowel harmony and the progressive assimilation of consonants in the Lopnor dialect, we can deduce that {-nI} is the underlying form, and the other variants are surface forms. However, because of the influence of Standard Uyghur, there is a decreasing tendency of surface forms, especially in the speech of younger generations.

Even though the multiformity of surface forms is decreasing in the speech of younger people, the convergence of genitive and accusative case suffixes is still remains in their speech. We found that even the schoolchildren who are receiving their education in Standard Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese in the Lopnor region quite often use same suffix for both the genitive and the accusative case.

The convergence of genitive and accusative case can also be found rarely in the Qomul[110] and Turfan[111] regions, and occasionally in Paxpu village in the Qarghiliq[112] County. In those regions, the genitive case suffix {-nIŋ} in Standard Uyghur is also very common. However, in Lopnor region, the suffix {-nIŋ} occasionally occurs in limited

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[110] Qumul shevisini tekshürüsh mexsus guruppisi 1997. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Qumul Shevisi* [The Qumul vernacular of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Pen-texnika Sehiye Neshriyati. P 64.

[111] Yakup, Abdurishid 2005. *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Turcologica 63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 96.

[112] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1999 in Chinese, 2006 in Uyghur. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Lopnor dialekti* [The Lopnor dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 62.

number of declension of personal and demonstrative pronouns. Moreover, they do not express the genitive meaning in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(146) *täŋ   vo-sa-ŋ   men-iŋ   vilän yaqup qoy-ɣun   at-iŋ-ŋi.*
        equal is-COND-2sg 1sg-{-nIŋ} with Yaqup put-IMPER name-2sg-GEN/ACC
        'If you are strong as I, please call yourself Yaqup.' (25: 43)

        siz-ziŋ   üčün bol-du   men-i   mäydä-m yaɣir.
        2sgPOL-{-nIŋ}   for   is-SPST 1sg-GEN/ACC chest-1sg wounded
        'Because of you, my heart is wounded.' (5: 22)

        bu-nuŋ-däk   qan   basim   dä-yduɣan lišiŋ   yoq.
        this-{-nIŋ}-SIM blood pressure say-Pple   thing   not
        'There were no such things as blood pressure.' (40: 4)

The convergence of genitive and accusative case is not very rare among the Turkic languages. It has been claimed by the researchers that this phenomena also exists in Uzbek, Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar dialects and in Chaghatay.[113] According to his observations on several Ural-Altaic languages, Janhunen points out that the convergence of genitive and accusative case is a common and recurring typological trend in the several languages of the Ural-Altaic type.[114]

Yakup believes that, in the case of Uyghur dialects, the genitive case suffix {-nI} in some regions is resulted from the deletion of the final nasal in genitive case suffix {-nIŋ}.[115] However, Osmanov believes that this phenomenon might be a trace of some archaic feature.[116] I think, the nasal "ŋ" would have retained its occurrence in some conditions, if the genitive case suffix {-NI} in the Lopnor dialect resulted from the deletion of the final nasal or if it is typologically important. Because the final nasal "ŋ" has not retained its occurrence in the declension of most of the personal pronouns or other conditions in the Lopnor dialect, and the convergence of the genitive and accusative case is also existed in other Turkic and Ural-Altaic languages, I agree that it might be a trace of some archaic feature.

[113] Yakup, Abdurishid 2005. *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Turcologica 63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 98.

[114] Janhunen, Juha 2005. On the convergence of the genitive and accusative cases in languages of the Ural-Altaic type. In: *The Uralic languages today: A linguistic and cognitive approach*. P 143.

[115] Yakup, Abdurishid 2005. *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Turcologica 63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 99.

[116] Qumul shevisini tekshürüsh mexsus guruppisi 1997. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Qumul Shevisi* [The Qumul vernacular of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Pen-texnika Sehiye neshriyati. P 65.

3.2.1.3.2. Ablative case

The ablative case suffix in the Lopnor dialect is {-DIn}, which has other phonologically conditioned variants. In Standard Uyghur, the ablative case suffix appears in {-din} and {-tin} forms. In the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in the f six forms described below.

 If the nominal stem ends with voiceless consonants, the ablative case suffix {-DIn} can take the following forms according to the value of the vowel in the last syllable:

(147) a. {-tin}
   yiɣaš-tin wood-ABL 'by using the wood' (19: 14)
   yüräk-tin hear-ABL 'by heart' (71: 50)

   b. {-tun}
   laquluq-tun Laqaluq-ABL 'from Laqaluq' (11: 9)
   quduq-tun well-ABL 'from a well' (17: 33)

   c. {-tün}
   töšük-tün hole-ABL 'from the hole' (6: 62)
   tüŋlük-tün skylight-ABL 'from the skylight' (34: 22)

 When the nominal stem ends with a vowel or a voiced consonant, based on the value of the vowel in the last syllable, the ablative case suffix appears in the following forms:

(148) a. {-din}
   tam-din wall-ABL 'from the wall' (46: 2)
   däyya-din river-ABL 'from the river' (75: 8)

   b. {-dun}
   su-dun   water-ABL 'from the water' (76: 18)
   axsupu-dun Aqsupi-ABL 'from Aqsupi' (47: 37)

   c. {-dün}
   tömür-dün iron-ABL 'with iron' (77: 27)
   ögzü-dün roof-ABL 'from the roof' (52: 27)

3.2.1.3.3. Dative case
As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the dative case is marked with the suffix {-GA} in the Lopnor dialect. In Standard Uyghur, the dative case suffix {-GA} occurs in {-ɣa}, {-qa}, {-gä} and {-kä} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, {-GA$_4$} appears in the twelve forms described below.

If the nominal stem ends with voiceless phoneme and the vowel in the last syllable is a back vowel, the nominal stem can take the following forms:

(149)   a. {-qa}
       qamuš-qa   reed-DAT   'to the reed' (6: 3)
       qiyaq-qa   sedge grass-DA 'to the sedge grass' (23: 2)

       b. {-qo}
       čoloq-qo one armed person-DAT 'to a one armed person' (2: 15)
       toroq-qo   poplar tree-DAT   'to a poplar tree'   (36: 23)

If the nominal stem ends with voiced phoneme and the vowel in the last syllable is a back vowel, the nominal stem can take the following forms:

(150)   a. {-ɣa}
       moru-ɣa   chimney-DAT   'to the chimney' (79: 14)
       baxši-ɣa   witch doctor-DAT 'to the witch doctor' (3: 6)

       b. {-ɣo}
       qoy-ɣo sheep-DAT   'to a sheep'   (13: 10)
       to-ɣo   net-DAT   'to a net' (10: 29)

If the nominal stem ends with voiceless phoneme and the vowel in the last syllable is a front vowel, the nominal stem can take the following forms:

(151)   a. {-kä}
       iläk-kä   branch of a river-DAT 'to the branch of a river' (22: 2)
       bäk-kä   local ruler-DAT   'to the local ruler'   (1: 11)

       b. {-kö}
       čöčök-kö wooden bowl-DAT   'to the wooden bowl' (20: 6)

If the nominal stem ends with voiced phoneme and the vowel in the last syllable is a front vowel, the nominal stem can take the following forms:

(152)   a. {-gä}
       täŋli-gä   wooden flour bowl-DAT 'to the wooden flour bowl' (6: 16)
       aptappäräz-gä sunflower-DAT   'to the sunflower' (45: 18)

b. {-gö}
öy-gö   home-DAT   'to the home'   (30: 65)
köl-gö   lake-DAT   'to the lake'   (50: 16)

If the nominal stem ends with the nasal /n/ or/ŋ/ and the vowel in the last syllable is a back vowel, the nominal stem can take the forms {-ŋa} or {-ŋo}. The nasal /n/ in the stem will be changed to /ŋ/ because of the regressive assimilation of /ŋ/ in the suffix, e.g.

(153)   a. {-ŋa}
        šäytan + {-GA₄} 'Satan-DAT' → *šäytaŋ-ŋa* 'to the Satan'   (55: 9)
        yan + {-GA₄} 'side-DAT' → *yaŋ-ŋa* 'to a side'   (11: 112)

        b. {-ŋo}
        qoton + {-GA₄} 'fold-DAT' → *qotoŋ-ŋo* 'to a fold'   (7: 8)
        yol + oŋ + {-GA₄} way-2sgPOSS-DAT → *yol-oŋ-ŋo* 'to your way'   (28: 9)

If the nominal stem ends with the nasal /n/ or/ŋ/ and the vowel in the last syllable is a front vowel, the nominal stem can take the forms {-ŋä} or {-ŋö}. The nasal /n/ in the stem will be changed to /ŋ/ because of the regressive assimilation of /ŋ/ in the suffix, e.g.

(154)   a. {-ŋä}
        räŋ + {-GA₄} 'colour-DAT' → *räŋ-ŋä* 'to a colour'   (19: 77)
        ǰärän + {-GA₄} 'antelope-DAT' → *ǰäräŋ-ŋä* 'to an antelope'   (76: 17)

        b. {-ŋö}
        döŋ + {-GA₄} 'hill-DAT' → *döŋ-ŋö* 'to a hill'   (3: 1)
        öy + öŋ + {-GA₄} 'house-2sgPOSS-DAT' → *öy-öŋ-ŋö* 'to your house' (19: 80)

3.2.1.3.4. Locative case

In the Lopnor dialect, the locative case is marked by the suffix {-DA₄}. In Standard Uyghur, it appears in {-da}, {-dä}, {-ta} and {-tä} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it has allomorphs that are described below.

When the nominal stem ends with voiceless phoneme, the nominal stem can take the following forms, and they undergo both palatal and labial harmony, e.g.

(155)   a. {-ta}
        qat-ta   side-LOC   'on a side'   (9: 72)
        žut-ta   hometown-LOC   'in a hometown'   (26: 16)

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b. {-tä}

tüŋlük-tä   skylight-LOC   'in a skylight'   (75: 32)

piläk-tä   stem-LOC   'on a stem'   (71: 44)

c. {-to}

otox-to   tent used by shepherds-LOC   'in a tent'   (20: 13)

d. {-tö}

čöčök-tö   wooden bowl-LOC   'in a wooden bowl' (21: 19)

When the nominal stem ends with voiced phoneme, the nominal stem can take the following forms, and they undergo both palatal and labial harmony, e.g.

(156)   a. {-da}

harava-da   cart-LOC   'on a cart'   (7: 30)

oqu-da   feeding trough-LOC   'in a trough'   (17: 12)

b. {-dä}

ǰaŋŋäl-dä   jungle-LOC   'in a jungle'   (20: 1)

tüš-üm-dä   dream-1sgPOSS-LOC   'in my dream' (71: 26)

c. {-do}

toqoy-do   bush-LOC   'in a bush'   (30: 24)

qoton-do   fold-LOC   'in a fold'   (17: 13)

d. {-dö}

öy-dö   home-LOC   'at home'   (30: 120)

köl-dö   lake-LOC   'in a lake'   (10: 38)

There are some other suffix combinations in the Lopnor dialect, like {-DA₂KI} and {-GIčä}.[117] They add an attributive or adverbial function to a nominal stem. These forms may conditionally be substantivized and the plural, possessive and case suffixes can be attached to them.

The suffix combination {-DA₂KI} consists of locative case suffix {-DA₄} and the syntactic nominalizer {-KI}.[118] The syntactic nominalizer {-KI} adds adjectival function

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[117] The classification of the suffixes {-Diki}, {-Gičä}, {-Däk}, {-čä/-čilik} in the Uyghur language is a topic of much debate. In this work, I still follow the more accepted classifications.

[118] Luutonen, Jorma 2011. *Chuvash Syntactic Nominalizers: On *-ki and its Counterparts in Ural-Altaic Languages*. Turcologica 88. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 120.

to the nouns which it attached.[119] In the Lopnor dialect, the suffix combination {-DA₂KI} occurs in the forms described below.

If the noun ends with a voiced phoneme, according to the value of the vowel in the last syllable, the noun can take the following forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(157)   a. {-daqi}
        hava-da-qi   air-LOC-KI   'the one in the air' (26: 5)
        yaŋŋisu-da-qi Yengisu-LOC-KI 'the one in Yengisu' (30: 3)

        b. {-däki}
        yä-dä-ki   ground-LOC-KI   'the one on the ground' (11: 9)
        käm-dä-ki   time-LOC-KI   'the one at that times' (56: 21)

If the noun ends with a voiceless phoneme, according to the value of the vowel in the last syllable, the noun can take the following forms:

(158)   a. {-taqi}
        qaɣulluq-ta-qi melon filed-LOC-KI 'the one in the melon filed' (4: 8)
        ätrap-ta-qi   nearby-LOC-KI   'the one in the nearby' (30: 100)

        b. {-täki}
        dimätlik-tä-ki same age-LOC-KI   'the one with the same age' (41: 2)

However, because of the strict vowel harmony and the regressive assimilation of the high vowel in the syntactic nominalizer {-KI}, the suffix combination {-DA₂KI} in my data is also occurred in the following forms.

(159)   a. {-dükü}
        čöl-dü-kü   wilderness-LOC-KI 'the one in the wilderness' (5: 5)
        köl-dü-kü   lake-LOC-KI   'the one in the lake' (6: 2)

        b. {-diki}
        ič-im-di-ki   inside-1sgPOSS-LOC-KI 'the one inside of me' (26: 6)

        c. {-tiki}
        išik-ti-ki   door-LOC-KI   'the one in front of the door' (62: 1)

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[119] The syntactic nominalizer {-KI} can also be attached to the nouns in genitive/accusative case suffix, and allows the attributive use of this kind of nouns. Such an attributive noun can be used independently as well.

My data shows that because of the influence of Standard Uyghur, the {-tiki} and {-diki} forms are more common now, e.g.

(160)　a. {-tiki}
　　　　ötmüš-ti-ki　　past--LOC-KI　　'the one in the past'　(14: 4)
　　　　išik-tiki　　　door-LOC-KI　　'the one in the door'　(62: 1)

　　　　b. {-diki}
　　　　mäydä-ŋ-di-ki　chest-2sgPOSS-LOC-KI　'the one on your chest'　(34: 8)
　　　　öy-di-ki　　　　house-LOC-KI　　　　'the one in the house'　(46: 6)

The limitative suffix {-GIčä} adds an adverbial function to the nouns which it is attached. In the Lopnor dialect, the limitative suffix {-GIčä} occurrs in the following forms:

(161)　a. {-ɣičä}
　　　　ayaɣ-i-ɣičä　　bottom-3sgPOSS-LIM　'until the last'　(10: 23)

　　　　b. {-qičä}
　　　　čaq-qičä　　time-LIM　　'until the time'　(50: 31)

　　　　c. {-kičä}
　　　　käč-kičä　　evening-LIM　　'until the evening'　(20: 11)

　　　　d. {-güčä}
　　　　küz-güčä　　autumn-LIM　　'until the autumn'　(55: 7)

3.2.2. Adjectives

As in the other Turkic languages and dialects, adjectives in the Lopnor dialect are not clearly distinguished from nouns in some morphological respects. In the Lopnor dialect, adjectives can also be inflected for case and number just as nouns. However, only adjectives can be inflected for degree. Therefore, adjectival degree suffixes need to be discussed in the frame of adjective suffixes.

In the Lopnor dialect, the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives are formed both in an analytic and a synthetic way. Synthetically, the comparative degree is marked by comparative suffix {-(A2)rA2K}. In Standard Uyghur, it has two allomorphs {-raq} and {-räk}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in {-raq}, {-araq}, {-räk} and {-äräk} forms, e.g.

(162) a. {-raq}
       yaxša-raq good-COMP 'better' (30: 110)
       tolo-raq many-COMP 'more' (53: 3)

       b. {-araq}
       az-araq few-COMP 'fewer' (50: 2)
       uzun-araq long-COMP 'longer' (6: 40)

       c. {-äräk}
       igiz-äräk tall-COMP 'taller' (7: 25)
       kičig-äräk small-COMP 'smaller' (49: 13)

In comparative construction which the thing compared is in ablative case, the comparative suffix can be omitted, e.g.

(163) *qizil gül-dün* *čirayliɣ*
       rose-ABL beautiful
       'more beautiful than the rose' (5: 1)

       su-dun *süzük*
       water-ABL clear
       'more clear than the water' (65: 8)

The intensive form in the Lopnor dialect is (C)Vp-reduplication, which consists of the repetition of the initial (C)V of the stem plus /p/, then the prefixation of this form to the stem. However, this method is semantically limited to certain colour terms and descriptive modifiers, e.g.

(164) *qizil* 'red' compare with *qipqizil* 'bright red' (9: 45)
       sariq 'yellow' compare with *sa:psariq*[120] 'bright yellow' (6: 30)
       aq 'white' compare with *appax* 'snow white' (30: 119)

3.2.3. Pronouns

In the Lopnor dialect, the nominative forms of pronouns are the same with their counterparts in Standard Uyghur. However, the declension of some personal and

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[120] Note the long vowel mark here. In the Lopnor dialect, like Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the lengthening of the pronunciation of the main vowel in an adjective also has the function of intensive form.

demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect is quite unique compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

3.2.3.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns in the Lopnor dialect can be declined for all cases, like with other nominals. However, a few historical irregularities have resulted in the process of declension, such that the formation of the genitive/accusative of the first and second person singular is with the addition of a single /n/ instead of a double /n/. Table 3-2 shows the full declension of personal pronouns in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 3-2   *Declension of personal pronouns in the Lopnor dialect*

	Nominative	Genitive/Accusative	Ablative	Dative	Locative
1 sg	män	mäni ~ meni	mändin ~ meniŋdin	maŋŋa	mändä
1 pl	biz	bizzi	bizzin ~ bizdin	bizgä	bizdä
2 sg	sän	säni ~ seni	sändin ~ seniŋdin	saŋŋa	sändä
2 sg POL	siz	sizzi	sizzin ~ sizdin ~ sizniŋdin	sizgä	sizdä
2 pl	silä(r)	silä(r)ni	silädin	silägä	silädä
3 sg	o ~ u	onu ~ unu	undun ~ unuŋdun	uŋŋa ~ unuŋŋa	unda ~ unuŋda
3 pl	olo ~ ula(r)	olo(r)nu ~ ulunu	uludun	uluɣa	uluda

As we can see from Table 3-2, the first person plural and second person polite forms of personal pronouns in the Lopnor dialect undergo progressive assimilation of the final /z/ when the genitive/accusative and ablative case suffixes are attached to them. Moreover, the first, second and third person singular dative forms undergo the progressive or regressive assimilation caused by adding the nasal /ŋ/. Those features are quite different from the other dialects of Uyghur. The existence of genitive/accusative based ablative froms of the singualar froms (including the second person singular polite form *siz*) is common to all Uyghur diaelcts.

3.2.3.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The most common demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect include the "bu", "šu", "u", "mošu", "ašu", "avu" and "mavu", e.g.

(165) *bu   öy-nü   iči-dä*
      this   house-GEN/ACC   inside-LOC
      'inside of this house' (30: 88)

      šu   kölčü-lä
      that   fisherman-PL
      'that lakers (fishermen)' (11: 55)

      u   at-ti   alli-din
      that   horse-GEN/ACC   in front-ABL
      'from the in front of that horse' (21: 14)

The demonstrative pronoun "šol", which is quite rare in Uyghur dialects, also exists in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(166) *šol xanim*   'that lady'   (27: 8)

The demonstrative pronouns can be declined for number and case. Table 3-3 shows the full case suffix declension of demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect.

Table 3-3   *Declension of demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect*

Nominative	Genitive/Accusative	Ablative	Dative	Locative
bu	bunu ~ monu	bundun ~ mondun ~ bunuŋdun	buŋŋa ~ muŋŋa ~ bunuŋŋa	bunda ~ munda~ bunuŋda
šu	šunu	šundun ~ šunuŋdun	šuŋŋa ~ šunuŋŋa	šunda ~ šunuŋda
o ~ u	onu ~ unu	undun ~ unuŋdun	uŋŋa ~ unuŋŋa	unda ~ unuŋda
mošu ~ mušu	mošunu	mušunuŋdun	mušuŋŋa ~ mušunuŋŋa	mušunuŋda
ašu	ašunu	ašunuŋdun	ašuŋŋa ~ ašunuŋŋa	ašunuŋda
mavu	mavunu	mavunuŋdun	mavunuŋŋa	mavunuŋda
avu	avunu	avunuŋdun	avunuŋŋa	avunuŋda

When we compare the declension of demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect with their counterparts in Standard Uyghur, we identify the strict labial harmony rules in this dialect. In Standard Uyghur, the demonstrative pronouns undergo palatal harmony when they are followed by case suffix. However, in the Lopnor dialect, they undergo both the palatal and labial harmony. Moreover, there have been some historical changes in the ablative, dative and locative case forms of the demonstrative pronouns "bu", "šu", "u" and the dative case form of the demonstrative pronouns "mušu", "u" and "ašu". In present day Lopnor, the forms like "bundun", "buŋŋa", "bunda" occurs mostly in the speech of elder speakers; the forms like "bunuŋdun", "bunuŋŋa" and "bunuŋda" occurs mostly in the speech of younger speakers.

3.2.3.3. Reflexive pronouns

Like Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the reflexive pronouns in the Lopnor dialect are formed by adding the personal suffixes to the "öz" 'self'. The reflexive pronouns can take the number, possession and case suffixes, e.g.

(167) *bu-ŋŋa   siy-sä   bal-lar-i,   bu-nda   öz-ü-nü*
       this-DAT urinate-COND   child-PL-3sg/pl   this-LOV   self-3sg-GEN/ACC
       on-u-da   yat-quz-up   qoy-uv,   öz-ü   mušu
       place-3sg/Pl-LOC   lie-CAUS-CONV   PostV-CONV   self-3sg   this
       südük-tä   yat-atti.
       urine-LOC   lie-HaPST
       'If her children wet the bed, she would put her children to her own bed, and she would sleep on that wet bed.' (52: 45)

       öz-üŋüz   dä-p   ber-iŋ.
       self-3sgPOL   tell-CONV   PostV-IMPER
       'Please tell me, yourself.' (18: 10)

       örüg-üm-mü   yandur-up   ber-iŋ-lä,   öz-üm   yä-y-mä.
       apricot-1sg-GEN/ACC   return-CONV   give-IMPER-PL   self-1sg   eat-PRES-1sg
       'Please return my apricot to me. I will have them myself.' (19: 168)

3.2.4. Numerals and quantifiers

Except for the cardinal number one, the shape of other cardinal numerals in the Lopnor dialect is the same with Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. The cardinal number 'one' in the Lopnor dialect appears as "bir ~ bi ~ biy" in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

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(168) *bir öy*   'one house'   (1: 16)
    biy köŋlök   'one shirt'   (19: 83)
    biy topoq   'one bullock'   (54: 14)
    bi adäm   'one man'   (1: 3)

My data shows that it is wrong to claim that the cardinal number one appears as "biy" in only the Miren and Charqiliq regions.[121] In fact, it can be found in all age groups throughout the Lopnor region. The occurrence of the cardinal number "bir" is not restricted to the educated or younger people. It also occurs in the speech of some elder speakers. I also found that the occurrences of "bir ~ bi ~ biy" is very free that it is impossible to determine the conditions for their occurrences.

Ordinal numerals are derived by adding the suffix {-(I)nč(I)} to the cardinal numerals. In Standard Uyghur, the ordinal numeral suffix appears in {-nči} and {-inči} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it has {-nči}, {-inči}, {-ünčü} and {-unču} forms, e.g.

(169) a. {-nči}
    ikki-nči   'second'   (47: 85)
    alti-nči   'sixth'   (30: 134)

    b. {-inči}
    säksän-inči   'eightieth'   (30: 27)
    bäš-inči   'fifth'   (41: 4)

    c. {-ünčü}
    töt-ünčü   'fourth'   (47: 34)
    üč-ünčü   'third'   (43: 7)

    d. {-unču}
    toqquz-unču   'ninth'   (6: 21)
    on-unču   'tenth'   (6: 21)

Most of the quantifiers in Standard Uyghur also occur in the Lopnor dialect. However, there are some region specific quantifiers in the Lopnor dialect, like "qavuz", "kötürüm", "qoyum", "än", "üyä", e.g.

(170) *bir qavuz nan*   'a mouthful of Nan'   (5: 12)
    üč kötürüm otun   'a handful of firewood'   (30: 48)
    biy kötürüm daru   'a handful of medicine'   (40: 3)

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[121] Fù Màojì 傅懋勣 (ed.), Hashim & Mehray & Sòng Zhèngchún 宋正纯 2000. *Xiàndài wéiwúěryǔ luóbùhuà yánjiū* 现代维吾尔语罗布话研究 [A study of the Lopnor vernacular of Uyghur]. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe. P 773.

biy qoyum osma 'a little bit of Osma[122] which is enough to dye the eyebrows only once' (32: 2)

töt än taɣa 'a sack made of four span wide cloth' (7: 24)

biy üyä göš 'a piece of meat which includes the calf and ham' (8: 50)

3.3. Verbal Morphology

The verbs in the Lopnor dialect have rich inflectional suffixes that reflect the voice, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person and number. However, many of these grammatical categories can combine with each other. The general order of the verbal suffixes in the Lopnor dialect is verb stem + voice + possibility + negation + mood + tense/aspect + person + number.

3.3.1. Voice

In the Lopnor dialect, voice is expressed by active (original), causative, passive, reflexive and cooperative-reciprocal suffixes. The meaning and usage of these voice forms are the same with Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, they are formed with somewhat different suffixes in the Lopnor dialect.

3.3.1.1. Causative voice

The causative voice form of the verb is formed by the attaching of the suffix {-DU(r)}, {-GUz}, {-t}, or {-(X)r} to the verb stem.

In most cases, the suffix {-DU(r)} is added to the verb stems ending in fricative, lateral or nasal consonants. If they are not followed by other vowel-initial suffixes, the suffix-final /r/ can be deleted, e.g.

(171)   a. {-du(r)}
      dämätlik-lär   *iči-dä*   *tašli-vät-mä-ŋ*   *sin-dur-up.*
      of the same age-PL   among-LOC   reject-PostV-NEG-2sg   hurt-CAUS-CONV
      'Don't reject and hurt me among my friends.' (66: 2)

      b. {-tu(r)}
      qal-ɣan   *yä-lä-dä*   *buɣday* *tari-y-dikän,*   *u-nu*
      leave-Pple   place-PL-LOC   wheat   grow-PRES-COP   that-GEN/ACC

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[122] A plant whose leaves are used to colour eyebrows.

ux-tur-up　　　　　　*tur-adu.*
know-CAUS-CONV　PostV-SPST
'In other places, the wheat was growed. They were informing us about this.' (9: 82)

c. {-dü(r)}
bu-nu　　　　*män*　*tap-al-ma-di-m,*　　　　*öz-üŋüz*
this-GEN/ACC　1sg　find-POSB-NEG-SPST-1sg　self-2sgPOL
ma-ŋa　　*čüšän-dür-üp*　　　　*qoy-uŋ.*
1sg-DAT　understand-CAUS-CONV　　PostV-IMPER
'I could not find this. Please let me know.' (18: 4)

d. {-tü(r)}
bir　ǰanda　öl-tür-üp,　　*qazaŋ-ŋa*　*göš-nü*
one　animal　die-CAUS-CONV　pot-DAT　meat-GEN/ACC
sa-p[123]　　*qoy-du-q.*
put-CONV　PostV-SPST-1pl
'We killed an animal, and put its meat to the pot.' (30: 82)

Normally, the suffix {-GUz} is attached to the verb stems ending in plosives and trill, e.g.

(172)　a. {-ɣuz}
käyin-dä　*qa-p-sän*　　*dä-p*　*tu-ɣuz-up*　　*qoy-ɣon.*
behind-LOC　leave–CONV-2sg　say-CONV　stand-CAUS-CONV　PostV-PPST
'They said I was late. So they have asked me to stand.' (30: 26)

b. {-quz}
bu-ŋŋa　*siy-sä*　　　　*bal-lar-i,*　　　*bu-nda*　*öz-ü-nü*
this-DAT　urinate- COND　child-PL-3sg/pl　this-LOV　self-3sg-GEN/ACC
on-u-da　　　　*yat-quz-up*　　*qoy-uv,*　　*öz-ü*　*mušu südük-tä*
place-3sg/Pl-LOC　lie-CAUS-CONV　PostV-CONV　self-3sg this　urine-LOC
yat-atti.
lie-HaPST
'If her children wet the bed, she would put her children to her own bed, and she would sleep on that wet bed.' (52: 45)

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[123] This is the clipped converbal form of "sal-ip". For the clipped converbal form, please see 3.3.13.

c. {-güz}

u-ni   šu   baɣla-p, zämbil kötö-güz-üp   išlit-ip,
3sg-GEN/ACC that tie-CONV stretcher carry-CAUS-CONV use-CONV

ǰen-i-ni   az   quy-up-tikän.
strength-3sg-GEN/ACC less leave-CONV-COP

'They tied him up, and made him carry the stretcher and work. So he did not have much strength left.' (49: 42)

d. {-küz}

tömürči-gä   ät-küz-üp,   qol-um-ɣa   sapa   tut-ay.
blacksmith-DAT make-CAUS-CONV   hand-1sg-DAT hand   hold-VOL

'Let me ask a blacksmith to make a handle for me and hold it.' (24: 5)

The suffix {-t} is added to the verb stems ending in vowels, e.g.

(173) *patqaq iči-dä   yat-tu-q,   ašim   šaŋye-gä   aŋla-t.*
mud   inside-LOC lie-SPST-1pl Hashim village chief-DAT listen-CAUS

'We have lain in the mud. Tell this to the village chief Hashim.' (17: 40)

ǰanda išlä-t-idiɣan   adäm-ma   yoq hazir.
animal work-CAUS-Pple people-PART no   now

'There is no one that uses the animals (for agriculture) now.' (6: 58)

The suffix {-Ur} is attached to the single syllable verbs ending in /č/ or /š/, e.g.

(174) a. {-ur}

adättä mäŋz-im-gä   paša   qon-su-ma,   šu-nu
usually cheek-1sg-DAT mosquito land- COND-PART that-GEN/ACC

öl-tü-möy   uč-ur-v-at-atti-m.
kill-CAUS-NEG   fly-CAUS-CONV-PostV-HaPST-1sg

'Usually, if there was a mosquito on my cheek, I never killed it. I would let it fly.' (10: 6)

b. {-ür}

xudaytala asman-din bir kök qočqo-nu   čüš-ür-üp   ber-idikän.
Allah   sky-ABL   one blue ram-GEN/ACC descend-CAUS-CONV give-COP

'Allah let a blue ram come down from the sky and give it to him.' (8: 30)

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3.3.1.2. Passive voice

The passive voice of the verb is formed by the attaching the suffix {-(I)n} or {-(I)l} to the verb stem. The suffix {-(I)n} is added when the final syllable of a verb includes the phoneme /l/. In other cases the suffix {-(I)l} is attached, e.g.

(175)   a. {-l}
   ara-miz bir künčülük,   sa-ŋa kät-ti-mu
   between-1pl one distance for one day 2sg-DAT PostV-SPST-QPART
   čanči-l-ip?
   prick-PASS-CONV
   'The distance between us is as far as the distance of a one day walk. Did it prick to you?' (35: 3)

   b. {-il}
   ot köyük-tä ĭigär baɣr-im iz-il-di.
   fire passion-LOC liver hear-1sg broke-PASS-SPST
   'Because of the love of passion, my heart is broken.' (58: 5)

   c. {-ul}
   tut-ul-up   qa:-sa-q   me-ni
   catch-PASS-CONV PostV-COND-1pl 1sg-GEN/ACC
   öl-tür-üv-at-udila.
   die-CAUS-CONV-PostV-3pl
   'If we were to be captured, they would kill me.' (19: 110)

   d. {-ül}
   šal-li   töpü-sü-gä buɣday tök-ül-sä,   tayil-ip,
   board-GEN/ACC on-3sg/pl-DAT wheat spill-PASS-COND slide-CONV
   yiqil-ip,   šunda qil-aduɣan.
   fall down-CONV in that way do-HaPST
   'If the wheat spilled out on the board, we would have slid and fallen down.' (9: 78-79)

   e. {-n}
   häĭäp bälän sayla-n-ip   bašquruš häyät-lir-i.
   really good   elect-PASS-CONV administrative   committee
   'The election of the administrative committee is really good.' (36: 12)

f. {-in}

seniŋčä   häq bol-du-mu   yol-do   qil-in-ɣan   suraq.
In your opinion right is-SPST-QPART road-LOC do-PASS-Pple   investigation
'Do you think the investigation on a road is correct?' (34: 41)

3.3.1.3. Reflexive voice

The reflexive form of the verb is formed by the attaching the suffix {-(I)n} to the verb stem. It means that there is a coincidence of suffixes in passive voice and reflexive voice. It occurs in the following forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(176)   a. {-n}
šu käm-dä   šu yä-gä   pačila-n-ip,   šu   yä-gä
that time-LOC that place-DAT divide-REFL-CONV that place-DAT
ona-p   kät-kän.
situate-CONV PostV-PPST
'At that time, we were separated and settled down in that place.' (11: 100)

b. {-in}
küy-üp   piš-qan-im   bil-in-är   čiray-im-din.
love-CONV get ready-Pple-1sg know-REFL-AOR face-1sg-ABL
'My love is easy to be known by my face.' (68: 3)

c. {-ün}
xaq-qa   mundaq aškara kör-ün-sä-m,   namaram bol-u-du.
others-DAT like that   openly see-REFL-COND-1sg exposed   is-PRES-3sg
'If I show myself openly to the public, it will be a shame for me.' (19: 212)

3.3.1.4. Cooperative-reciprocal voice

The cooperative-reciprocal voice form of the verb is formed by the attaching the suffix {-(I)š} to the verb stem. According to the value of the vowel in the last syllable, the suffix {-(I)š} appears in {-š}, {-iš}, {-uš} and {-üš} forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(177)   a. {-š}
pütün xäliq unuŋ-ɣa zaŋliq et-ip   qara-š-ti.
whole people 3sg-DAT mocking make-CONV look-COOP-SPST
'All the people looked at him satirically.' (62: 7)

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b. {-iš}

tirik   tor-up   ayril-iš-tu-q,   xuda-yim.
alive stand-CONV leave-COOP-SPST-1pl   god-1sg
'Oh my god, we were separated while we were still alive.' (70: 1)

c. {-uš}

aran   billä   qošul-uš-up   käl-gän-dä,   qaysi   düšmän
hardly together join-COOP-CONV come-Pple-LOC which   enemy
ayri-v-at-ti   ara-ni?
separate-CONV-PostV-SPST between-GEN/ACC
'When we came together with difficulty, which enemy separated us?' (65: 6)

d. {-üš}

män   degän   här   yaŋza   qušuɣ   ayt-ip   ber-ät-ti-m
1sg   PostP   every kind   folk song   tell-CONV   give-PostV-SPST-1sg
de-sä-m   kül-üš-tü-lä.
say-COND-1sg   laugh-COOP-SPST-PL
'When I told them that I would have sung every kind of folksongs, they all laughed.' (51: 6)

3.3.2. Possibility/ability Marker

In the Lopnor dialect, the possibility/ability marker is formed with the suffix {-(y)A₂lA₂-}. It undergoes palatal harmony and appears in {-(y)ala-} and {-(y)älä-} forms, e.g.

(178)   a. {-(y)ala}
         yi-yala-y-miz   eat-POSB-SPRES-1pl   'we can eat'   (6: 61)
         tašla-yala-yduɣan throw-POSB-Pple   'can throw'   (9: 39)

         b. {-(y)älä}
         kürüš-älä-y-sä   meet-POSB-SPRES-2sg   'you can meet'   (19: 61)

When the verbal negation suffix is attached to the possibility/ability marker to produce the negative form of it, the suffix-final /a/ or /ä/ is deleted. Then, in the negative form of possibility/ability marker {-(y)A₂l+mA₂}, due to the regressive assimilation of the verbal negation suffix {-mX}, the possibility/ability marker appears in {-(y)A₂m} forms, e.g.

(179)   a. {-(y)am+ma}
         orunlaštur-am-ma-di-m   arrange-POSB-NEG-SPST-1sg   'I couldn't arrange' (20: 100)
         čiq-am-ma-y-män   go out-POSB-NEG-SPRES-1sg   'I cannot go out'   (26: 30)

b. {-(y)äm+mä}
kir-äm-mä-y-män   get in-POSB-NEG-SPRES-1sg   'I cannot get in'   (45: 15)

3.3.3. Negation

The verbal negation[124] indicates the action expressed by a verb is negated. In Standard Uyghur, verbal negation is expressed by the suffix {-mi}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it is marked with the suffix {-mX}. In the Lopnor dialect, this suffix mostly contains a vowel that is subject to the rules of vowel harmony. Hence, the suffix is often represented as {-ma}, {-mä}, {-mo}, {-mö}, {-mi}, {-mu} or {-mü} forms. The parameters front or back, rounded or unrounded determine the form of the negation suffixes, e.g.

(180)   a. {-ma}
        qil-ma   do-NEG   'don't do'   (34: 54)
        qop-al-ma-di   stand up-POSB-NEG-SPST   '(he/she/they) could not stand up' (19: 124)

        b. {-mä}
        käs-mä   cut-NEG   'don't cut'   (8: 27)
        käl-mä-di   come-NEG-SPST   '(he/she/they) didn't come'   (20: 22)

        c. {-mo}
        qoy-mo-do   allow-NEG-SPST   '(he/she/they) didn't allow'   (69: 6)
        bol-mo-ɣon   be-NEG-Pple   'not having been'   (30: 113)

        d. {-mö}
        ötköz-mö-sö-ŋ   pass through-NEG-COND-2sg   'If you don't let him/her to pass through' (5: 19)
        öl-mö-yvat-amän   die-NEG-PPRO-1sg   'I am not dying'   (47: 78)

        e. {-mi}
        bil-mi-di   know-NEG-SPST   '(he/she/they) didn't know'   (29: 2)
        de-mi-di   say-NEG-SPST   '(he/she/they) didn't say'   (30: 92)

        f. {-mu}
        ux-mu-du-q   know-NEG-SPST-1pl   'We didn't know'   (19: 69)
        yoqu-mu-du   disappear-NEG-SPST   'didn't disappear'   (50: 24)

_____

[124] Two other types of negation, nominal negation and existencial negation will be discussed in 4.3.5.

g. {-mü}

öl-mü-dü   die-NEG-SPST '(he/she/they) didn't die'   (47: 93)

kör-mü-dü-ŋ   see-NEG-SPST-2sg 'you didn't see'   (77: 1)

3.3.4. Tense and aspect

Most of the tense and aspect suffixes in the Lopnor dialect have more than one function, and may simultaneously mark tense and aspect. The two tense, past and present/future, are distinguished in the Lopnor dialect. A basic aspectual distinction in the Lopnor dialect is that between perfective and imperfective aspects. The imperfective aspect can be further distinguished in indefinite, habitual and progressive aspects. In the Lopnor dialect, together with the aspect, the tense is marked by a rather complex system. The past tense includes the simple past tense, past perfect tense and habitual past tense. The present/future tense includes the simple present/future tense and present/future progressive tense.

3.3.4.1. Simple past tense

The simple past tense is formed by attaching the suffix {-DI} to the verb and followed by the respective personal possessive marker. It indicates an action or state that is occurred before the time of speaking. According to the value of the vowel and consonant in the last syllable, the past tense suffix {-DI} appears in the following forms in the Lopnor dialect:

(181)   a. {-di}

     käl-di   come-SPST 'came'   (71: 46)

     al-di   take-SPST 'took'   (77: 7)

     b. {-du}

     u:-du   hit-SPST 'hit'   (4: 1)

     qoy-du   put-SPST 'put'   (5: 19)

     c. {-dü}

     öl-dü   die-SPST 'died'   (69: 5)

     čüšü:-dü   unload-SPST 'unloaded'   (19: 200)

     d. {-ti}

     kät-ti   leave-SPST 'left'   (20: 33)

     čäk-ti   strike-SPST 'stoke'   (19: 74)

e. {-tu}
tut-tu   hold-SPST   'hold'   (17: 16)
yut-tu   swallow-SPST   'swallowed'   (73: 7)

f. {-tü}
tüš-tü   get off-SPST   'got off'   (37: 7)
öš-tü   disappear-SPST   'disappeared'   (58: 4)

However in Standard Uyghur, the past tense suffix is marked by {-Di}, and appears only in {-di} or {-ti} forms.

3.3.4.2. Past perfect tense

In the Lopnor dialect, the past perfect tense is formed with the converb suffix {-(I)p} or participle suffix {-GA₄n} plus copular suffixes.[125] The past perfect tense indicates that the acion or state expressed by the verb was completed in the past. The focus of this form is the present the result of that action, e.g.

(182)   {-(I)p}/{-GA₄n} + copula
    bar-iv-idi   to go-CONV-COP   'has gone'   (19: 99)
    ič-iv-idi   drink-CONV-COP   'has drunk'   (40: 13)
    yür-üp-tikän   roam around-CONV-COP   'has roamed around'   (6: 47)
    dä-p-tikä   say-CONV-COP   'has said'   (49: 34)
    qi:-ɣan-idi   do-PART-COP   'has done'   (47: 59)
    tap-qan-ikän   find-PART-COP   'has found'   (19: 49)
    kä:-gän-ikän   come-PART-COP   'has come'   (75: 46)

Another type of past perfect tense is expressed by means of the participle suffix {-GA₄n}, which is used to express the perfective aspect. In this type of past perfect tense, the copula suffix {-(i)Di} can be regarded as hidden, e.g.

(183)   *mo-nu*   *čaraliq-ta*   *čiqa-ɣan.*
    this-GEN/ACC   people from Chara-PL   cause to appear-PPST
    'This (folk song) was created by Chara people.' (1: 20)

    mušundaq   *ǰapa-la-ni*   *män* *köp*   *tat-qan.*
    like this   difficulty-PL-GEN/ACC   1sg   many   suffer-PPST
    'I have suffered a lot by this kind of difficulties.' (50: 27)

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[125] In this structure, the copula suffixes usually take some extra meanings. This will be discussed in 3.3.10.

šon-dun   ma   yä-gä   köč-üp   kä:-gän.
that-ABL   this   place-DAT   move-CONV   come-PPST
'We have moved from that place to this place.' (11: 3)

3.3.4.3. Habitual past tense

In the Lopnor dialect, the habitual past tense is indicated by adding the suffix {-A$_4$tti}/{-yitti} to the verbs. It expresses an action or state that occurred habitually or repeatedly in the past, e.g.

(184)   a. {-atti}
    sat-atti   sell-HaPST   'were sold' (8: 66)
    učqiš-atti   meet-HaPST   'were met' (81: 26)

    b. {-ätti}
    it-ätti   make-HaPST   'were made' (39: 44)
    ič-ätti   drink-HaPST   'were drunk' (6: 17)

    c. {-yitti}
    ula-yitti   hunt-HaPST   'were hunt' (1: 13)
    išlä-yitti   work-HaPST   'were worked' (47: 68)

Because of the strict vowel harmony in the Lopnor dialect, the habitual past tense suffix {-A$_4$tti} occasionally occurred as {-otti} in my data, e.g.

(185)   {-otti}
    bol-otti   be-HaPST   'were being' (11: 25)
    qoy-otti   put-HaPST   'were put' (9: 51)

The second type of habitual past tense is marked by attaching the suffix {-(A$_2$/y)duɣan-} to the verbs, e.g.

(186)   *ata-m   rämätlik tin-may   šondoq qil-aduɣan.*
father-1sg deceased pause-NEGCONV like that do-HaPST
'My deceased father had done something like this without stopping.' (9: 65)

    u   käm-lä-dä   az-rax-la   bir   daru-la-ni
that time-PL-LOC less-COMP-PART one   medicine-PL-GEN/ACC
qaynat-ip-la   bä-sä,   saqiy-ip-la   qal-aduɣan.
boil-CONV-PART give-COND recover-CONV-PART PostV-HaPST

'At that time, one could recover from an illness very quickly by taking a few kinds of medicine.' (40: 15)

bunuŋ-däk   tanu-ɣa   nan   yaq-iv   ye-mä-yduɣan.
this-SIM   traditional oven-DAT bread bake-CONV   eat-NEG-HaPST
'We have not baked Nan in traditional ovens like this (at that time).' (40: 7)

3.3.4.4. Simple present/future tense

In the Lopnor dialect, the simple present/future tense is formed with the suffix {-y-}/{-I-} and followed by the respective personal suffixes of the predicative type. The simple present/future tense indicates an action or state that always occurs or will occur later. In Standard Uyghur, it only appears in {-i-} form. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the simple present/future suffix {-I-} can take the {-i-}, {-u-} and {-ü-} forms, e.g.

(187)   a. {-y}
        yä-y-mä   eat-SPRES-1sgPER 'I eat/will eat' (19: 168)
        tölä-y-miz   pay-SPRES-1plPER 'We pay/will pay' (43: 6)

        b. {-i-}
        al-i-mä   take-SPRES-1sgPER 'I take/will take' (19: 223)
        akit-i-miz   take away-SPRES-1plPER 'We take away/will take away' (19: 180)

        c. {-u-}
        qop-u-män   get up-SPRES-1sgPER 'I get up/will get up' (20: 61)
        qoy-u-muz   put-SPRES-1plPER 'We put/will put' (7: 40)

        d. {-ü-}
        kötür-ü-män   lift-SPRES-1sgPER 'I lift/will lift' (30: 16)
        ötküz-ü-müz   take over-SPRES-1plPER 'We take over/will take over' (7: 14)

Another type of simple present/future tense is expressed by attaching the grammaticalized postverb {-(y/A₂)di}[126] plus personal suffixes of the predicative type. This type of simple present/future tense can only be used in the first person singular and plural forms, e.g.

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[126] The suffix {-(y/A)di} in the Lopnor dialect is a form developed from postverb {(y/A)Duru(r)}.

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(188)   a. {-adi}
        bar-adi-män   go-SPRES-PER 'I go/will go' (17: 27)
        yat-adi-män   lie down-SPRES-PER 'I lie down/will lie down' (55: 10)

        b. {-ädi}
        kit-ädi-män   leave-SPRES-PER 'I leave/will leave' (34: 11)
        bil-ädi-män   know-SPRES-PER 'I know/will know' (41: 2)

        c. {-ydi}
        oyna-ydi-män   play-SPRES-PER 'I play/will play' (36: 25)
        yiɣla-y-di-män   cry-SPRES-PER 'I cry/will cry' (67: 2)

This suffix form has not been found in the other dialects of Uyghur. Thus, it has been regarded as one of the parameters to divide the Uyghur dialects.[127]

3.3.4.5. Present/future progressive tense

The present/future progressive tense expresses an ongoing action. In the Lopnor dialect, the present/future progressive tense is formed with the converb suffix {-(I)p} plus postverb "yat". The phoneme /p/ in converb suffix {-(I)p} usually fricativized to the phoneme /v/ in normal speech, e.g.

(189)   {-(I)p} + yat
        men-i   *bala-m*   *toy*   *qil-ip*   *kil-iv*   *yat-a-du.*
        1sg-GEN/ACC child-1sg wedding do-CONV come-CONV PostV-SPRES-3sg
        'My child is coming after his/her wedding.' (19: 197)

        ana-m   *nemä kün kör-öv*   *yat-a-du*   *üš*   *bala belän*
        mother-1sg what day see-CONV PostV-SPRES-3sg three child with
        de-mä-y-du.
        say-NEG-SPRES-3sg
        'They never think of how their mother is spending the days with three children.'
        (30: 21)

        täkšür-äv   *yat-a-miz.*
        investigate-CONV   PostV-SPRES-1pl
        'We are investigating the case.' (20: 91)

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[127] Osmanov, Mirsultan 1990. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tili dialektliri* [The Modern Uyghur dialects]. Ürümqi: Yashlar-ösmürler Neshriyati. P 51.

However, because of the influence of Standard Uyghur and some other Uyghur dialects, the present/future progressive form {-(I)p} + *yat* in the Lopnor dialect is changing to the synthetic form {-(I)vat-} as in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, e.g.

(190) *hämmi-si* *kil-ip* *baq-ivat-idu.*
       all-3sg/pl come-CONV take care-PPRO-3sg/pl
       'All are coming regularly and taking care of me.' (47: 57)

       hazir-ma-qu *yama ämäs, šunčilik* *tur-uvat-amiz.*
       now-PART-PART bad not like this stay-PPRO-1pl
       'It is not bad now, we are living just like this.' (47: 405)

       qali-sa *bir* *sayipǰamal* *yigit* *kil-ivat-qudäk.*
       look-COND one gorgeous young man come-PPRO-EVI
       'When he/she look, a handsome young man was coming.' (75: 12)

3.3.5. Mood

In the Lopnor dialect, the suffixally marked moods include to the optative, voluntative, imperative, conditional and necessitative.[128]

3.3.5.1. Optative

In the Lopnor dialect, the optative mood is formed by attaching the suffix {-GA₂y} to the verbs. According to the value of the vowel and the consonant in the last syllable, it occurs with the allomorphs {-ɣay}, {-qay}, {-gäy} and {-käy}, e.g.

(191) a. {-ɣay}
       axirättä *ugal-im* *šun-da* *bol-ɣay.*
       next world grievance-1sg that-LOC is-OPT
       'I wish my grievance would be at that place in the next world.' (23: 6)

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[128] Johanson, Lars 2009. Modals in Turkic. In: Hansen, Bjoern & de Haan, Ferdinand (eds.) *Modals in the languages of Europe: A reference work.* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 44.) Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. P 491.

b. {-qay}

mušu bal-la   qurux-ta   yat-qay.
this   child-PL   dry-LOC   lie-OPT
'I wish those children to lie on a dry place.' (52: 46)

c. {-gäy}

aldi-din   tiš-ip   kät-mä-gäy.
front-ABL   dig through-CONV   PostV-NEG-OPT
'I wish it would not dig through from the front.' (54: 8)

3.3.5.2. Voluntative

In the Lopnor dialect, the first person singular voluntative is expressed by the suffix {-(A₂)y}, and the first person plural voluntative is marked with {-(A₂)(y)li}. They occur in the following forms in the Lopnor dialect.

(192)   a. {-y}

ma qax-tin   ikki sevät-kä   qačila-y.
this dried fruit-ABL   two basket-DAT   pack-VOL
'Let me take that dried fruit and put it into these two baskets.' (19: 139)

b. {-ay}

biz-ni   köy-dür-gän   juvan-la-ni
1pl-GEN/ACC love-CAUS-Pple   young married woman-PL-GEN/ACC
yüräg-i-gä   ot-nu   yaq-ay.
heart-3sg/pl-DAT   fire-GEN/ACC   light-VOL
'Let me light the flame of love in the hearts of young lady who has made my heart to love her.' (32: 18)

c. {-äy}

män hazir bahala-p   qoy-up   ket-äy.
1sg now   judge the price-CONV PostV-CONV go-VOL
'Let me first give a price and then I will leave.' (54: 24)

d. {-ayli}

biz man-da ziyapät-tin   čiq-ip   bar-ayli
1pl that-LOC banquet-ABL   come out-CONV   go-VOL
'Let us finish the banquet, then we will go.' (19: 206)

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e. {-yli}

yava čegä-ni soy-up xirajät-kä xäšlä-yli.
wild hemp-GEN/ACC peel-CONV expenses-DAT spend-VOL
'Let us peel the wild hemp, (then sell it), and spend this money for our daily expenses.' (14: 4)

The first person plural voluntative suffix after consonant occasionally occurrs in the forms of {-ali} and {-äli} in the speech of elder speakers, e.g.

(193) a. {-ali}

čolpon čiq-qan čaɣ-da, at-ti min-ip qač-ali.
morning star go out-Pple time-LOC horse-GEN/ACC ride-CONV escape-VOL
'Let us ride the horse and escape when there is a morning star.' (19: 100)

b. {-äli}

yär-lär-ni hayda-p qoy-up payit oyno-p kil-äli.
land-PL-GEN/ACC plough-CONV PostV-CONV time play-CONV come-VOL
'Let us plough the lands, and then we will choose the right time to play.' (36: 12)

3.3.5.3. Imperative

Second person singular normal imperative form is expressed by the zero form of a verb in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(194) *yaz-ɣan xät-ni äy yar-im abdan oqu.*
write-Pple mail-GEN/ACC oh lover-1sg good read-Ø.
'Oh my lover, please read my mail carefully.' (33: 13)

köz-üŋ-ŋü ač.
eye-3sgPOSS-GEN/ACC open-Ø.
'Open your eyes.' (75: 33)

Another type of second person ordinary imperative mood is marked by the suffix {-GIn} and expresses a friendly command or request. In Standard Uyghur, it occurs in {-ɣin}, {-qin}, {-gin} and {-kin} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in the following eight phonological shapes:

(195) a. {-ɣin}

aptap-ta   o:mo   o:-moy   ämdi öy-öŋ-ŋä   yan-ɣin.
sunny-LOC harvest reap-NEG-CONV now home-2sg-DAT back-IMPER
'Don't do the harvesting on this very sunny day. Go back to your home now.'
(17: 32)

b. {-ɣun}

ǰen-im   ata   me-ni   ämdi   tos-mu-ɣun.
dear-1sg father 1sg-GEN/ACC now   block-NEG-IMPER
'My dear father, don't prevent me (from doing this).' (36: 26)

c. {-qin}

oyla-p   baq-qin.
think-CONV   PostV-IMPER
'Try to think.' (36: 29)

d. {-qun}

put   qul-um-nu   mökköm   boq-qun.
foot   hand-1sg-GEN/ACC tightly   tie up-IMPER
 'Tie up my feet and hands tightly.' (8: 18)

e. {-gin}

häy   yigit,   me-ni   šän-im-gä   bir   biyit
Oh   young man 1sg-GEN/ACC honour-1sg-DAT one   poem
eyt-ip   bä-gin.
tell-CONV   give-IMPER
'Oh young man, please tell me a poem for my honour.' (75: 18)

f. {-gün}

čiray eč-ip   bir   kül-gün.
be happy-CONV   one   laugh-IMPER
'Be happy and laugh once (at least).' (44: 7)

g. {-kin}

ɣat-qan öy-öŋ-ŋö   kät-kin.
lie-Pple home-2sg-DAT   go back-IMPER
'Go back to your home.' (19: 80)

The second person singular polite form is expressed by attaching the suffix {-(I)ŋ}. The corresponding plural form is formed by attaching the suffix {-(I)ŋlA$_2$(r)} in both ordinary and polite forms, e.g.

(196) a. {-iŋ}
     ata,   siz   alli-m-da   maŋ-iŋ.
     father 2sgPOL before-1sg-LOC walk-IMPER
     'Father, you walk in front of me, please.' (8: 11)

     b. {-uŋ}
     öz-üŋ-üz   ma-ŋa   čüšän-dür-üp   qoy-uŋ.
     self-2sgPOL 1sg-DAT understand-CAUS-CONV PostV-IMPER
     'Please, let me understand.' (18: 4)

     c. {-ŋla}
     me-ni   kečik de-sä-ŋla   toyraq-qa   sep[129]   sozu-ŋla.
     1sg-GEN/ACC young say-COND-2pl poplar tree-DAT put   stretch-IMPER
     'If you think I am young (short). Please put me between two poplar tree and stretch.' (45: 11)

     d. {-uŋla}
     bu   mapakäš-ti   hazir mapa-din   yuqut-uŋla.
     this horse cart driver-GEN/ACC now   horse cart-ABL   wipe out-IMPER
     'Let that horse cart driver to leave from the horse cart.' (19: 185)

     e. {-üŋlä}
     uyan-buyal-la-ya   räŋ   sür-üŋlä.
     that side and this side-PL-DAT   colour   wipe-IMPER
     'Please colour all sides.' (19: 70)

    The third person singular and plural imperative is indicated by the suffix {-sUn} in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(197) a. {-sun}
     ma tala-da-qi   davizi-ni   birsi bax-sun.
     this outside-LOC-KI door-GEN/ACC one   guard-IMPER
     'Let someone guard the outside door.' (19: 217)

     ikki-miz ašina bul-ali, öy-di-ki-lä   tuy-mu-sun.
     two-1pl   lover is-VOL home-LOC-KI-PL notice-NEG-IMPER
     'Let us be the lovers, and don't let the people in our family notice that.' (46: 6)

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[129] This is the clipped converbal form of "sal-ip".

b. {-sün}

šunuŋ vilä kät-sün.
that   with go-IMPER
'Let him/her/it to go with that.' (19: 145)

qan-im   siz-gä   čačra-p   kät-mä-sün.
blood-1sg 2sg-DAT   splash-CONV PostV-NEG-IMPER
'Don't let my blood splash on you.' (8: 19)

3.3.5.4. Conditional

The conditional mood in the Lopnor dialect is marked by the suffix {-sA₄}. According to the value of the vowel in the last syllable, it occurs in the {-sa}, {-sä}, {-so} and {-sö} forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(198)   a. {-sa}
        kali-sa   dig out-COND   'if he/she/they dig out' (81: 5)
        maŋ-sa   walk-COND   'if he/she/they walk'   (78: 7)

        b. {-sä}
        kät-sä   depart-COND   'if he/she/they depart' (65: 1)
        käl-sä   come-COND   'if he/she/they come'   (9: 18)

In Standard Uyghur, the conditional suffix occurs only in {-sa} and {-sä} forms. However, because of the strong labial harmony in the Lopnor dialect, the conditional suffix {-sA₄} in the Lopnor dialect has the allomorphs {-so} and {-sö} as well, e.g.

(199)   a. {-so}
        bäzi-lä aš-ip-taš-ip   öz-ü-dün   tu-su-ma,
        some-PL excess-CONV-overflow-CONV self-3sg-ABL PostV-COND-PART
        yana öz-üm-gü   bol-so   dä-p-la   tur-adu.
        again self-1sg-DAT be-COND say-CONV-PART PostV-SPST
        'Some people always want to have something for their own interest, even if they have more than their needs.' (8: 69)

        šu-nu   sal-ip   qoy-so,   ätä-si   taŋ atti bar-ip
        that-GEN/ACC put-CONV PostV-COND next day-3sgPOSS sunrise go-CONV
        gölmü-nü   toru-y-muz.
        fishing net-GEN/ACC   block-SPRES-1pl
        'If the fishing net has been put (in the water), we will go there tomorrow morning and block the fish in the streamwith a fishing net.' (10: 35)

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b. {-sö}

yan-ɣan-da   bar-ip   yan-iŋ-ŋa   tüš-sö-m.
back-Pple-LOC go-CONV   side-2sg-DAT   stop over-COND-1sg
'I hope I can stop over at your side when I go back.' (59: 7)

näččä därya-ni   kes-ip   öt-sö-k,   undaq süzük su   yoq
several river-GEN/ACC cross-CONV pass-COND-1pl like that clear water not
adäm   ič-äduɣan.
person drink-Pple
'When we looked at several rivers, there was no clean water for people to drink.'
(11: 127)

3.3.5.5. Necessitative

The necessitative mood is formed with the suffix {-GUlUK}. According to the value of the vowel and consonants in the last syllable of a word, it appears in {-ɣuluq}, {-quluq}, {-gülük} and {-külük} forms, e.g.

(200) *män yetim bičarä   bol-up,   tam-din   qarala-p   yan-ɣuluq.*
      1sg orphan helpless be-CONV wall-ABL aim-CONV back-NEC
      'As I am a helpless orphan, I have to look at you only over the wall and then I have to go back.' (46: 2)

ay   üz-üŋ-nü   kör-gülü   bir kün-dä   miŋ   saɣa-ɣuluq.
mood face-2sg-GEN/ACC see-CONV one day-LOC thousand be consumed-NEC
'In order to see your beautiful face, I have to be consumed thousand times in a day.' (5: 17)

In Standard Uyghur, unlike the Lopnor dialect and Khotan dialect, the necessitative meaning is mostly expressed in an analytic way by adding the nominal predicates "lazim" or "keräk". In the Lopnor dialect, the usages of necessitative suffixes are not as common as in the Khotan dialect. [130] However, in my texts, it mainly occurrs in the speech of elder speakers or in the folk songs.

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[130] Osmanov, Mirsultan 2004. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur tilining Xoten dialekti* [The Khotan dialect of Modern Uyghur]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang Xelq Neshriyati. P 130.

3.3.6. Aorist[131]

In the Lopnor dialect, the aorist is marked by the suffix {-(A₂)r}. It undergoes front/back vowel harmony, and expresses in {-ar}, {-är} and {-r} forms, e.g.

(201) a. {-ar}
      pärvaz qil-ip   kök-tä   uč-ar   lačin bala-si.
      soar   PostV-CONV sky-LOC fly-AOR falcon child-3sg
      'A falcon's offspring flies and soars in the sky.' (27: 5)

      b. {-är}
      här   bir kiši därd-i-ni   üz-ü   bil-är.
      every one person hardship-3sg/pl-GEN/ACC self-3sg know-AOR
      'Everyone knows his/her own hardships.' (77: 12)

      c. {-r}
      xälqi aläm   nemi‿dä-r?
      people world what say-AOR
      'How might other people think?' (72: 22)

The old form of the aorist suffix {-Ur}, which is mostly used in disyllabic or polysyllabic words, also occurs rarely in my data, e.g.

(202) *baq-ip   yäm-gä   ögöt-sä,   tušqan al-ur   qačuɣa.*
      take care-CONV animal food-DAT teach-COND rabbit catch-AOR golden eagle
      'If you take good care of it and teach it, the golden eagle will catch a rabbit.' (25: 47)

      zärričä mänpät üz-ül-üp   qaːsa   bädär   qač-ur.
      tiny   advantage cut-PASS-CONV PostV-COND in a rush run away-AOR
      'Some people will leave if you stop providing any kind of small benefits.' (78: 13)

The negative form of the aorist is indicated by the suffix {-mA₄s} in the Lopnor dialect, and it mostly appears in {-mas} and {-mäs} forms, e.g.

(203) a. {-mas}
      čin yüräk-tin soy-gän yar öl-mü-güčä   ayril-mas.
      true heart-ABL love-Pple lover die-NEG-CONV leave-AOR
      'A sincere lover will not leave you until he/she dies.' (71: 50)

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[131] The aorist in the finite position is discussed in this section. For the discussion on aorist participles, see 3.3.14.

b. {-mäs}

boɣuz-um-dun   ɣiza   öt-mäs.
throat-3sg-ABL   food   pass-AOR
'I am unable to eat.' (34: 11)

However, because of the strong progressive assimilation of vowels in the Lopnor dialect, the negative aorist suffix in my data occasionally occurrs in {-mös} form, e.g.

(204) *här   nemä qil-ɣan bilän yiqil-ɣan   taɣ   yölö-n-mös.*
       every what do-Pple with collapse-Pple mountain lift up-PASS-AOR.
       'Whatever you do, a collapsed mountain cannot be lifted up.' (3: 1)

3.3.7. Person

In the Lopnor dialect, the personal suffixes appear in somewhat different forms compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, personal suffixes are divided into two types in the Lopnor dialect: personal suffixes of the predicative type and personal suffixes in possessive type.

3.3.7.1. Personal suffixes of the predicative type

In the Lopnor dialect, the personal suffix of the predicative type includes the following:

Table 3-4   *Personal suffixes of the predicative type in the Lopnor dialect*

Person		Singular	Plural
First person		{-mä} / {-män}	{-mIz}
Second person	Normal	{-sä} / {-sän}	{-silä(r)}
	Polite	{-sIz}	{-sizzä}
Third person		{-du}	{-du}

The personal suffixes of the predicative type mainly occur after present/future tense and optative mood suffixes, e.g.

(205) a. {-mä} / {-män}
       to:ra-y-mä   chop-SPRES-1sg 'I (will) chop' (19: 97)
       ka:la-y-män   dig-SPRES-1sg 'I (will) dig' (47: 50)

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b. {-mIz}
yä-y-miz   eat-SPRES-1pl   'We (will) eat'   (48: 11)
öt-ü-müz   pass-SPRES-1pl   'We (will) pass'   (11: 44)

c. {-sä} / {-sän}
hayda-y-sä   drive-SPRES-2sg   'you (will) drive'   (19: 194)
bar-i-sän   go-SPRES-2sg   'you (will) go'   (63: 3)

d. {-silä(r)}
qil-i-silä   do-SPRES-2pl   'you (will) do'   (20: 93)
qil-ip-silär   do-CONV-2pl   '(I heard) you did'   (41: 2)

e. {-sIz}
bil-i-siz   know-SPRES-2sgPOL   'you (will) know'   (47: 68)
tur-u-suz   stay-SPRES-2sgPOL   'you (will) stay'   (72: 24)

f. {-sizzä}
bil-mä-y-sizzä   know-NEG-SPRES-2plPOL   'you don't/will not know'   (47: 18)

g. {-du}
aɣri-y-du   hurt-SPRES-3sg/pl   'It (will) hurts'   (30: 107)
bil-i-du   know-SPRES-3sg/pl   'he/she (will) knows'   (81: 31)

3.3.7.2. Personal suffixes of the possessive type

In the Lopnor dialect, the personal suffix of the possessive type includes the following:

Table 3-5   *Personal suffixes of the possessive type in the Lopnor dialect*

Person		Singular	Plural
First person		{-m}	{-q}
Second person	Normal	{-ŋ}	{-ŋla(r)}
	Polite	{-ŋIz}	{-ŋIzzA₂}
Third person		∅	∅

The personal suffixes of the possessive type mainly used after simple past tense, habitual past tense, conditional mood suffixes and after the copula "idi", e.g.

(206)   a. {-m}
   sat-ti-m sell-SPST-1sg 'I sold' (55: 11)
   oltu-sa-m sit-COND-1sg 'if I sit' (54: 20)

   b. {-q}
   kör-du-q see-SPST-1pl 'we saw' (77: 13)
   bax-sa-q take care-COND-1pl 'if we take care' (53: 29)

   c. {-ŋ}
   käl-di-ŋ come-SPST-2sg 'you came' (17: 2)
   bä-sä-ŋ give-COND-2sg 'if you give' (56: 16)

   d. {-ŋla(r)}
   baɣla-ŋla tie up (IMPER)-2pl 'Tie up!' (65: 1)
   bar-sa-ŋlar go-COND-2pl 'if you go' (71: 4)

   e. {-ŋiz}
   täg-di-ŋiz marry-SPST-2sgpOL 'you married with' (72: 25)
   bä-sä-ŋiz give-COND-2sgPOL 'if you give' (52: 14)

   f. {-ŋIzzA₂}
   ba-di-ŋizza go-SPST-2pl 'you went' (47: 18)

3.3.8. Postverbs[132]

The postverbial construction in the Lopnor dialect is formed by the combination of a verbal lexeme, which appeared in a converbial form, with a following grammaticalized verb whose function is extremely generalized.[133] These postverbial constructions usually denote the development and change of the event in the course of time.[134] The postverbial constructions in the Lopnor dialect are somewhat different than the ones in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects in phonetic shapes and functions.

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[132] The auxiliaries in the Lopnor dialect include the postverbs and the auxiliaries (also known as light verbs or linking auxiliaries by some researchers). The postverbs add functional and grammatical meaning to the converbs, and the light verbs are used to add grammatical meaning to the nominals.

[133] Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts.* London: Curzon Press. P 92.

[134] Rentzsch, Julian 2005. *Aspekt im Neuuigurischen.* Turcologica 65. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 13-14.

In the following sections, we will discuss the main postverb types used in the Lopnor dialect.

3.3.8.1. {-(I)p} + al-

When used independently, the lexical meaning of "al-" is 'to take, to get'. When it is used in a postverbial construction, it expresses an action which is carried out in the interest of the actant, e.g.

(207) *keyim-iŋ   yit-il-ip   kät-sä   yama-p   al-ɣin.*
       clothes-1sg tear-PASS-CONV PostV-COND mend-CONV PostV-IMPER
       'If your clothes were torn, mend them yourself.' (62: 10)

       sämärxan   alma-si-däk   sel-ip   al-ɣin   aɣz-iŋ-ŋa.
       Samarkand apple-3sg/pl-SIM put-CONV PostV-IMPER mouth-2sg-DAT
       'Like the apple of Samarkand, put it in your mouth.' (34: 38)

Sometimes, this construction gives a meaning of insistence, stubbornness or unexpected action, e.g.

(208) *ǰudaliq   vujud-um-ni   čirma-p   al-di.*
       separation body and soul-1sg-GEN/ACC grip-CONV PostV-SPST
       'My whole body is gripped by separation.' (77: 7)

       saqal-im-ɣa   aq   čal-may   tur-uv-al-di.
       beard-1sg-DAT white cause-CONV keep-CONV-PostV-SPST
       'My beard is not white yet.' (17: 27)

In this construction, the last phoneme /p/ in a converb mostly fricativized into /v/ and the postverb appears in the grammaticalized form, e.g.

(209) *baš-tar-i-ɣa   iliktir-ni   yarut-uv-al-ip,*
       head-PL-3sg/pl-DAT   flash light-GEN/ACC   light-CONV-PostV-CONV
       šu-nu   taŋ-iv-al-ip   keči-si-mu   oru-duɣan.
       that-GEN/ACC bind-CONV-PostV-CONV evening-3sg/pl-PART harvest-HaPST
       'They have tied flash lights to their heads, and done the harvesting even at night.'
       (6: 56)

       ismayil   olɣoq-qu   tut-uv-al-di.
       Ismayil   young goat-GEN/ACC catch-CONV-PostV-SPST
       'Ismayil caught the young goat.' (21: 15)

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3.3.8.2. {-(I)p} + ät-

The lexical meaning of "ät-" is 'to make, to build'. The postverbial construction {-(I)p} + *ät-* indicates an immediate or complete action in the Lopnor dialect. The last phoneme /p/ in a converb is usually fricativized into /v/ in this construction. Thus, it is totally grammaticalized in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(210) *qizil   gul-nu   xäbär-i-ni   ayt-iv-ät.*
        red   flower-GEN/ACC   news-3sg-GEN/ACC   tell-CONV-PostV
        'Please tell me what is happening regarding my rose.' (33: 17)

        išik-ni   käŋ   eč-iv-ät-ti.
        door-GEN/ACC   wide   open-CONV-PostV-SPST
        'He/She/They opened the door widely.' (61: 9)

3.3.8.3. {-(I)p} + baq-

The independent meaning of the verb "baq-" is 'to look, to raise, to support'. However, in the combination of the verb in a converbial form, it indicates an attempted, tentative or temporary action, e.g.

(211) *säm-ma   at-iŋ-ŋi   min-ip,   bir   uč-up   baq.*
        2sg-PART   horse-2sg-GEN/ACC   ride-CONV   one   fly-CONV   PostV
        'You ride your horse and try to fly, too.' (19: 18)

        čapsan   bar-ip,   duyǰaŋ-iŋ-din   sora-p   baq.
        quickly   go-CONV   team leader-2sg-ABL   ask-CONV   PostV
        'Please go quickly and try to ask from your team leader.' (34: 24)

In this construction, unless the speaker wants to stress the attempted, tentative or temporary meanings, the initial consonant /b/ in the postverb "baq-" could be assimilated into the /p/ in the converb suffix, and pronounced as one unit, e.g.

(212) *kemä-ŋ-ŋi   ma däyya-ɣa sal-ip   taya-p-paq.*
        boat-2sg-GEN/ACC   this   river-DAT   put-CONV   steer-CONV-PostV
        'Put your boat into this river and try to steer it.' (19: 20)

3.3.8.4. {-(I)p} + ba(r)-

When it is used independently, the lexical meaning of "bar-" is 'to go'. The combination of the verb in a converbial form and the postverb "bar-" indicates the direction of an ongoing action, e.g.

(213) *ata-ŋ   öl-tü-gülü   akit-ip   bar-a-du   sen-i.*
father-2sg die-CAUS-CONV take-CONV PostV-SPRES-3sg 2sg-GEN/ACC
'Your father is taking you with him to kill you.' (8: 14)

avu   mapači   hayda-p   ket-ip   bar-a-du.
that   driver of a carriage drive-CONV go-CONV   PostV-SPRES-3sg
'That person is driving the carriage.' (19: 175)

3.3.8.5. {-(I)p} + bä(r)-

The lexical meaning of "bä(r)-" is 'to give' in the Lopnor dialect. It is one of the commonly used postverbs. The combination of a verb + {-(I)p} with the postverb "bä(r)-" expresses an action which is carried out in the interest of someone else, e.g.

(214) *Osman čamɣu   šu   ayt-ip   bä-di.*
Osman turnip[135] that tell-CONV PostV-SPST
'Osman Chamghu himself told me this.' (25: 40)

xudaytala sa-ŋa   hal qil-ip   bä-di.
Allah   2sg-DAT   solve-CONV PostV-SPST
'Allah solved your problem.' (8: 33)

In this postverbial construction, the initial consonant /b/ in the postverb "bä(r)-" occasionally assimilates into the /p/ in the converb, and pronounces it as one unit, e.g.

(215) *haliqi   dä-p-pä-gin-im-däk   yekän-ni*
that just now tell-CONV-PostV-Pple-1sg-SIM   cattail-GEN/ACC
yaqali-ɣal-la ...   aɣzi-ɣa   sariq   su   kel-ip   öl-üdükän.
gather-Pple-PL …   mouth-DAT   yellow water come-CONV die-COP
'As I have told you, those who have eaten the cattail would die as their mouth filled with a kind of yellow water.' (56: 6-7)

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[135] In this sentence, "čamɣu" 'turnip' is a nickname.

3.3.8.6. {-(I)p} + bol-

As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, 'bol-' is one of the commonly used postverbs in the Lopnor dialect. The lexical meaning of "bol-" is 'to exist, to be'. The postverbial construction {-(I)p} + *bol-* usually shows the completion of an action, e.g.

(216) *yä-p   bol-up,   päs-kä   čüš-üp,*
eat-CONV   PostV-CONV   below-DAT   come down-CONV
örük-kü   sayi-si-dä   yat-ip   uxla-di.
apricot-GEN/ACC   shadow-3sg/pl-LOC   lie-CONV   sleep-SPST
'After he had eaten, he climbed down from the tree, lied down in the shadow of the apricot tree and slept.' (19: 122)

boruŋqu   dosluq-nu   untul-up   bol-di.
previous   friendship-GEN/ACC   forget-CONV   PostV-SPST
'He/She/They had forgotten the previous friendship.' (78: 1)

3.3.8.7. {-(I)p} + čiq-

When it is used independently, the lexical meaning of "čiq-" is 'to go out'. When it is used in a postverbial construction, it indicates the thoroughness of an action, e.g.

(217) *šo-lo-nu   hämmi-s-ni   alli-ɣa   qoy-up   čiq-a-miz.*
that-PL-GEN/ACC all-3sg/pl-GEN/ACC front-DAT put-CONV PostV-SPRES-1pl
'We usually put these in front of all of them.' (7: 51)

ašu-la-ni   hayit-i-ni   maräklä-p,
that-PL-GEN/ACC   Eid-3sg/pl-GEN/ACC   celebrate-CONV
pata oqu-p   čiq-attuq.
visit-CONV   PostV-HaPST
'We celebrated their Eid festival and visited them.' (8: 55)

3.3.8.8. {-(I)p} + käl-

The lexical meaning of the verb "käl-" is 'to come'. However, the combination of a verb in a converbial form and the postverb "käl-" indicates the newly started and gradually increasing actions or developing statements, e.g.

(218) *me-ni   kö-gön   kün-üm-mü,   dä-p   käl-sä*
1sg-GEN/ACC   see-Pple   day-1sg-GEN/ACC   say-CONV   PostV-COND

tügü-mä-y-du.
finish-NEG-SPRES-3sg/pl
'If I tell you about the days which I have experienced, it will be a long story.' (50: 19)

ayt-ip   käl-sä-m,   tula idi qušuq-la.
tell-CONV PostV-COND-1sg many COP folk song-PL
'If I sang, there would be a lot of folk songs.' (43: 12)

3.3.8.9. {-(I)p} + kät-

The independent meaning of the verb "kät -" is 'to leave'. However, in the combination of the verb in a converbial form, it expresses suddenness, abruptness and exhaustiveness of an action, e.g.

(219) *mana muš-daq aǰizza-p   kät-ti-m.*
       look   this-SIM   become weak-CONV PostV-SPST-1sg
       'You see, I become weak like this.' (47: 70)

       sin-ip   kät-kän   paltu-nu   qämbär ussa
       broke-CONV   PostV-Pple axe-GEN/ACC Qember master craftsman
       yasa-y-du.
       repair-SPRES-3sg
       'Master craftsman Qember fixes the broken axe.' (36: 9)

3.3.8.10. {-(I)p} + oltu(r)-

The independent meaning of the verb "oltu*(r)-*" is 'to sit'. When it is combined with the verb plus converb suffix {-(I)p}, it indicates a brief and/or frequent action, e.g.

(220) *ayan   qusaq-qi   baq-ip   oltu-ɣan.*
       hardly   stomach-GEN/ACC   take care-CONV   PostV-PPST
       'We have barely/hardly supported ourselves.' (81: 1)

       sän ma yä-dä   qazaŋ-ŋa baš q-ip,   tayya qil-iv   oltu.
       2sg this place-LOC   pot-DAT head do-CONV ready do-CONV PostV
       'Be responsible for the cooking in here, and make sure the food is ready.' (50: 15)

3.3.8.11. {-(I)p} + öt-

When it is used independently, the lexical meaning of "öt-" is 'to pass through, to go through'. When it is used in a postverbial construction, it expresses a singular occurrence of an action, e.g.

(221) *čara-ɣa   šaŋye   vol-up,   soro-v   öt-tü-ŋ   ombir   ay.*
Chara-DAT village chief be-CONV rule-CONV PostV-SPST-2sg eleven   month
'You have been the village chief of the Chara, and governed this village for eleven months.' (17: 3)

boptu bäzi   yiɣla-p,   bäzi   kül-üp   öt-öy.
fine   sometimes cry-CONV sometimes laugh-CONV PostV-VOL
'Fine, let me cry sometimes and laugh sometimes.' (30: 111)

3.3.8.12. {-(I)p} + qal-

The lexical meaning of the verb "qal-" is 'to stay, to remain'. In postverbial construction it indicates an unexpected or naturally completed action, e.g.

(222) *bir-i   kam yüz   yaš-qa   kiy-gän   čaɣ-da   ül-üp   qal-di.*
one-3sg less   hundred age-DAT enter-Pple time-LOC die-CONV   PostV-SPST
'When he was at the age of one less than one hundred (ninety-nine), he died.' (47: 44)

ata-m   kör-üp   qal-sa   öl-tür-v-at-a-du
father-1sg see-CONV   PostV-COND   die-CAUS-CONV-PostV-SPRES-3sg/pl
se-ni.
2sg-GEN/ACC
'If my father sees, he will kill you.' (19: 67)

3.3.8.13. {-(I)p} + qoy-

When it is used independently, the lexical meaning of "qoy-" is 'to put'. However, the combination of a verb in a converbial form and the postverb "qoy-" expresses the momentary or carelessly action, exhaustiveness and finality, e.g.

(223) *öz-üŋ-üz   ma-ŋa   čüšän-dür-üp   qoy-uŋ.*
self-2sgPOL 1sg-DAT   understand-CAUS-CONV PostV-IMPER
'Please, let me understand yourself.' (18: 4)

abu siyit dada-m öz-ü yolvaz-zi öl-tür-üp qoy-ɣin⌣ikän.
Abu Siyit father-1sg self-3sg tiger-GEN/ACC kill-CAUS-CONV PostV-Pple COP
'Father Abu Siyit has killed the tiger himself.' (76: 3)

3.3.8.14. {-(I)p} + tur-

The lexical meaning of the verb "tu(r)-" is 'to stay'. The postverbial construction verb + {-(I)p} + *tu(r)-* indicates continuous or repetitive actions taking place in a constant time period, e.g.

(224) *qal-ɣan yä-lä-dä buɣday tari-y-dikän, u-nu*
       leave-Pple place-PL-LOC wheat grow-PRES-COP that-GEN/ACC
       ux-tur-up tur-adu.
       know-CAUS-CONV PostV-SPST
       'The wheat was planted in other places. They were informing us about this.' (9: 82)

       išlä-p tur-up yär-din al-du-q mol hosul.
       word-CONV PostV-CONV land-ABL take-SPST-1pl bumper harvest
       'We made a bumper harvest by working tirelessly.' (61: 1)

3.3.8.15. {-(I)p} + yat-

The lexical meaning of "yat-" is 'to lie down'. In Standard Uyghur and most other Uyghur dialects, the postverb construction {-(I)p} + *yat* is grammaticalized and occurs in *-(I)vat* form. However, in the Lopnor dialect, this construction is not fully grammaticalized. Like *-(I)vat* in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the {-(I)p} + *yat* construction in the Lopnor dialect marks the progressive aspect and express the continuity and progression, e.g.

(225) *ämdi tala-ɣa čiq-ip, at-qa min-äy dä-p*
       just now outside-DAT go out-CONV horse-DAT ride-VOL PostV-CONV
       yat-iš-i-ɣa, ǰallat-ta kel-ip u qiz-zi
       PostV-*VBN*-3sg/pl-DAT executioner-PL come-CONV that girl-GEN/ACC
       tut-uv-al-di.
       catch-CONV-PostV-SPST
       'When she was going out to ride the horse, the executioners came and caught the girl.' (19: 112)

In the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /p/ in a converb suffix mostly fricativized into /v/ in normal speech, e.g.

(226) *täkšür-äv*   *yat-a-miz.*   *hazir*   *bir täräp qil-a-miz.*
check-CONV   PostV-PRES-1pl   now   handle-SPRES-1pl
'We are inspecting it. We will handle it soon.' (20: 91)

bu   *örük-kü*   *bir munčä-si*   *piš-ip,*   *tüš-üv*   *yat-iptu.*
this   apricot-GEN/ACC   so many-3sg/pl   ripe-CONV   fall-CONV   PostV-EVI
'So many of these apricots were/are falling.' (19: 118)

In the Lopnor dialect, a number of combinations of verb "al-" + {-(I)p} with a following postverb constructions are lexicalized as verbs, e.g.

(227) *al + ip + bar → apa(r)* 'to carry, to take' (19: 88)
al + ip + käl → akä(l) 'to bring' (30: 84)
al + ip + kät → akät 'to take away' (47: 47)
al + ip + kir → aki(r) 'to bring in' (19: 213)
al + ip + čiq → ačiq 'to take out' (7: 18)

3.3.9. Evidential suffixes

Morphologically, evidentiality is realised by inflectional markers or copulas in Turkic languages.[136] The evidentiality in the Lopnor dialect is expressed by a rather complex system. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, one of the important ways of expressing evidentiality in the Lopnor dialect is by adding inflectional markers to the verbs. In this section, the indirect past suffix {-(I)ptu} and the indirect reportive suffix {-GIdäk} is going to be discussed.[137]

The indirect past suffix {-(I)ptu} is attached to the verbs to express an event which is inferred or perceived. It occurs in the following phonetic forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(228) a. {-ptu}
bu-ma   *ämdi tömü-dün bir*   *kemä*   *yasa-ptu.*
this-PART   now   iron-ABL   one   boat   make-EVI
'He too made a boat of iron.' (19: 21)

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[136] Johanson, Lars 2003. Evidentiality in Turkic. In: Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Dixon, M. W. (eds.) *Studies in evidentiality.* (Typological Studies in Language 54.) Amsterdam *&* Philadelphia: John Benjamins, P 276.

[137] Copular suffixes and copular particles that function as evidential marker in the Lopnor dialect will be discussed in the next section.

b. {-iptu}

bu   ikki-si   patiša-ni   alli-ɣa   bar-iptu.
this   two-3sg/pl   king-GEN/ACC   in front-DAT   go-EVI
'The two of them went to the king.' (19: 3)

c. {-uptu}

oŋ   qulaɣ-i-ɣa   bir   nimi-ni   bikit-ip   qoy-uptu.
right   ear-3sg-DAT   one   thing-GEN/ACC   fix-CONV   PostV-EVi
'He attached a thing to its right ear.' (19: 15)

d. {-üptu}

maŋ-iv   yür-üp   yä-pti-män,   ye-sä-m   yä-gä
walk-CONV   PostV-CONV   eat-EVI   eat-COND-1sg   ground-DAT
uvaq   čüš-üptu.
crumb   fall-EVI
'I ate it while I was walking. When I was eating, its crumbs fell down on the ground.' (30: 71)

In the Lopnor dialect, the indirect reportive suffix {-GUdäk}[138] is attached to the verbs to express an indirect, reportive and unattested statement. It occurs in the following phonetic forms, e.g.

(229)   a. {-ɣudäk}

asman-ni   qar-i-da,   bir   yä:-dä   bir   näsä
sky-GEN/ACC   depth-3sg/pl-LOC   one   place-LOC   one   thing
paqira-p   tu-ɣudäk.
glitter-CONV   PostV-EVI
'In the depth of the sky, a thing was glittering.' (19: 52)

b. {-qudäk}

u-nu   u-yz-u-ɣä   tolɣu-su-mu   asmaŋ-ŋa uč-qudäk,
3sg-GEN/ACC   that-side-3sg-DAT   twist-COND-PART   sky-DAT   fly-EVI
bu-yz-u-ɣä   tolɣu-su-mu   asmaŋ-ŋa   uč-qudäk.
this-side-3sg-DAT   twist-COND-PART   sky-DAT   fly-EVI
'When he had turned it to this side, it was flying. And he turn it to the other side, it was still flying.' (19: 33)

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[138] Yakup, Abdurishid 2011. Tūjuéyǔ chuánjù de jīběn lèixíng jí biāojì de zhǔyào gōngnéng 突厥语传据的基本类型及标记的主要功能 [The basic types of evidential markers in the Turkic languages and their functions]. *Minzu Yuwen* 2011(5). P 10.

c. {-güdäk}

xänǰär-ni   *sür-ädikän,*   *sü-sä*   *päqät*   *öt-mö-güdäk.*
sword-GEN/ACC   chop-EVI   chop-COND   only   cut through-NEG-EVI
'He struck it with a sword, but the sword could not cut through it.' (8: 22)

d. {-küdäk}

ačč̌iɣ-i-da   *där-ɣazap bol-up,*   *mušundaɣ čap-sa,*   *ašu qorom taš-la,*
anger-3sg-LOC rage   be-CONV   like this   chop-COND   that large rock-PL
xamiy-däk,   *taš-ti*   *kis-ip*   *yä-gä*   *ona-p*
dough-SIM   rock-GEN/ACC   cut-CONV   ground-DAT   sink-CONV
kät-küdäk,   *näč̌čä*   *gäz*   *xänǰär.*
PostV-EVI   several   two feet   sword
'With great anger, he chopped the large rocks with a sword that was several feet long. The sword cut through the rocks just like cutting the soft dough, and the sword sank to the ground.' (8: 23)

3.3.10. Copulas

In the Lopnor dialect, as in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the functions of copulas are different from that of other suffixes and particles. In the Lopnor dialect, the copulas can be added to the verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs to form copular construction and usually function as predicates. The most often used copulas in the Lopnor dialect include the {-(A₂)Du(r)}, {-(i)Di}/"idi", {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)", {-(i)miš}/"imiš' and their complex forms {-(A₂)rmiš}, {-A₂/yDikä(n)}, {-(I)ptikä(n)} and {-Dikänmiš}, e.g.

(230)   a. {-(A₂)Du(r)}

     öz   *yayr-i-ni*   *tašli-maq,*   *qiz-oɣul-ɣa*   *guna-dur.*
     self   lover-3sg-GEN/ACC   abandon-INF   girl and boy-DAT   sin-COP
     'It is a sin for girls and boys to abandon his or her love.' (72: 20)

     b. {-(i)Di} / *idi*

     yekän   *dä-y-miz*   *bir*   *šundaɣ*   *sü-yü*   *va*   *yä-gä*
     cattail   say-SPRES-1pl   one   like that   water-3sg   has   land-DAT
     ün-äduɣan   *bir*   *nemä*   *bar*   *idi.*
     sprout-Pple   one   thing   has   COP
     'There was a thing called a cattail, which sprouted in the wetland.' (6: 2)

c. {-(i)kä(n)} / *ikä(n)*

ötmüš-tä   bir   patiša   öt-kön   ikän.
past-LOC   one   king   live-PPST   COP
'There was a king in the past.' (19: 1)

d. {-(A₂)(r)miš}

häy   bädgupa   yat-amiš,   šu   saɣin-may.
Hmm   unreliable   lie-COP   just   miss-NEG
'Hmm! the unreliable one was lying and did not miss me.' (36: 18)

e. {-Dikä(n)}

bu   kün-dä-ki   täräktür   biy   nemi-lä   tütür   maŋ-adikän.
this   day-LOC-KI   tractor   one   thing-PL   reverse   walk-COP
'Nowadays, things like tractors run the wrong way.' (9: 25)

In the Lopnor dialect, as in Standard Uyghur and some other Uyghur dialects, the copula {-(A₂)Du(r)} mostly occurs after nominal predicates. However, it can occasionally occur after verbals, e.g.

(231)   *išik   aldi   čina-dur,   čix-sa-m   šax-i   sin-adur.*
door   in front   parasol tree-COP   climb up-COND-1sg   branch-3sg   break-COP
'There is a parasol tree in front of the door. Its branches would break if I climb up.'
(72: 20)

The copulas "idi", "ikä(n)" and "imiš" sometimes occur as suffixes, and sometimes they occur as particles in various phonetic forms like {-ti}, {-di}, {-ikä}, {-kä}, {-miš}, "idi", "ikä", "ikän", "imiš". However, their occurrences as a suffix or a particle are not predictable. Therefore, it is clear that the copulas "idi, ikän, imiš" are in the process of suffixation as in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, e.g.

(232)   a. {-ti}

bodaq   qoy-nu   göš-u-nu   ǰiŋ-i,   ikki yerim močän,
fattened   sheep-GEN/ACC   meat-3sg-GEN/ACC Jin[139]-3sg   two half   mao
üš   močän   ašundax-ti.
three   mao   like that-COP
'A half kilogram of mutton was two and half mao[140] or three mao.' (54: 33)

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[139] "jin" is a Chinese unit of measurement, equals to half a kilo (500g).
[140] "mao" is a unit in Chinese monetary system, equals to ten Chinese cents.

b. {-di}

mandaq padänǰi-däk   bir nemi-lär-i   var-di.
like this   electric generator-SIM   one   thing-PL-3sg/pl   has-COP.
'They have had some stuff like the electric generator today.' (30: 79)

c. {-ikä}

bir oltu-ɣan-i-da   abu ǰapär   dada toqquz baliɣ yi-gin-ikä.
one sit-Pple-3sg-LOC Abu Zhappar   father nine   fish   eat-Pple-COP
'Father Abu Zhappar had nine fish once before.' (76: 12)

d. {-kä}

bu ikki-ŋ-ŋi   hünür-ü   ohšaš-kä.
this two-2sg-GEN/ACC   skill-3sg   same-COP
'The skill of you two is the same.' (19: 23)

e. {ikä}

här qandaq   adäm-mi,   bir oɣul vala-si   vom-mu-sa
any   people-GEN/ACC   one boy child-3sg   be-NEG-COND
kün-ü   täs   ikä.
day-3sg   hard   COP
'If anyone doesn't have a son, his/her days are difficult.' (52: 49)

As in the other Turkic languages, the copulas can function as an evidential marker in the Lopnor dialect.[141] The copula {-(A₂)Du(r)} expresses the direct, firsthand and attested information. The {-(i)Di}/"idi" expresses the direct, discovered or recognized information in the past. The {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)" expresses the indirect, discovered and attested (or reliable) information. The {-(i)miš}/"imiš' expresses the indirect, reportive and unattested information. The {-(A₂)rmiš} expresses the indirect, reportive, inferential and unattested statement about the present or future. The {-A₂/yDikä(n)} expresses the indirect, reportive and attested (or reliable) information in the past. The {-(I)ptikä(n)} expresses the indirect, inferred or perceived information. The {-Dikänmiš} expresses indirect, reportive and unattested statement in the past. Among these copulas, the {-(A₂)Du(r)}, {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)" and {-(i)miš}/"imiš' mostly occur after nominals.

3.3.11. Infinitives

In the Lopnor dialect, the infinitive is indicated by adding the suffix {-mA₄G} and expresses an action, event, state or process. The suffix {-mAG} is a twofold suffix in Standard Uyghur. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it appears in {-maq}, {-mäk}, {-moq}

[141] Schönig, Claus. 1998. Turkmen. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998. P 265.

and {-mök} forms. In the Uyghur language, the infinitive is the form of verb which is used as lexical entry in most of the dictionaries. In the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in poems, sayings, proverbs and fixed constructions, e.g.

(233) a. {-maq}
    öz   yayr-i-ni   tašli-maq,   qiz-oyul-ya   guna-dur.
    self lover-3sg-GEN/ACC abandon-INF   girl and boy-DAT   sin-COP
    'It is a sin for girls and boys to abandon his or her love.' (72: 20)

    b. {-mäk}
    yar-im   yol-ya   čiq-iptu,   kürüš-mäk-kä   az   qal-di.
    lover-1sg   way-DAT   set out-EVI   meet-INF-DAT   less   leave-SPST
    'My lover has set out on his way. It is a short time until we meet.' (71: 2)

    c. {-mök}
    siz-gä   köy-mök ähti ma-ŋa   iradä.
    2sgPOL-DAT love-INF oath   1sg-DAT   will
    'To love you is my oath and my will.' (5: 13)

3.3.12. Verbal nouns

The verbal nouns[142] are grammatical forms of verbs which receive characteristics of nouns by means of inflection. In the Lopnor dialect, the indefinite verbal noun is formed by attaching the suffix {-(I)š} to the verb and occurs in the following forms:.

(234) a. {-š}
    mäm-ma   ba-di-m   oqu-š-qa.
    1sg-PART   go-SPST-1sg   study-VBN-DAT
    'I too went to the study.' (33: 14)

    b. {-iš}
    u-nu   išig-i   vilä čiq-iš   mumkin ämäs.
    3sg-GEN/ACC   door-3sg   with   go out-VBN   possible   not
    'It is not possible to go out through the door.' (19: 59)

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[142] Csató, Éva Ágnes & Lars Johanson 1998. Turkish. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998. P 216.

c. {-uš}

on tuzaɣ al-ip,   tuzaq-qi   qur-uš-šu   ögön-dü-m.
ten trap buy-CONV trap-GEN/ACC set up-VBN-GEN/ACC learn-SPST-1sg
'I bought ten traps, and I studied how to set up a trap.' (50: 11)

d. {-üš}

yirax-ta-qi   quda-m-mi   bir
far away-LOC-KI   relatives by marriage-1sg-GEN/ACC   one
kör-üš-kä   zar vol-du-q.
see-VBN-DAT   longing for-SPST-1pl
'We are longing to see our relatives by marriage.' (27: 3)

Another type of verbal noun is marked by the suffix {-GU-}. This form usually occurs with the personal suffixes in possessive type, and expresses the hope or desire. It occurs in the forms {-ɣu-}, {-qu-}, {-gü-} and {-kü-}, e.g.

(235)   a. {-ɣu-}

yan-dur-up   al-ɣu-m-mu   bar.
return-CAUS-CONV   PostV-VBN-1sg-PART   has
'I also want to give it back.' (71: 29)

b. {-qu-}

adäm-mi   qoq-qu-su   kel-äduɣan   ayal   idi.
person-GEN/ACC   afraid-VBN-3sg   come-Pple   lady   COP
'She was a frightening lady.' (1: 32)

c. {-gü-}

qučaq-im-ɣa   al-ip   söy-gü-m   kel-ädu.
bosom-1sg-DAT   take-CONV   kiss-VBN-1sg   come-COP
'I want to take her in my arms and kiss her.' (5: 2)

d. {-kü-}

bir   sayan   kät-kü-m-mu   bar.
one   side   leave-VBN-1sg-PART   has
'I also want to go to some other places.' (71: 29)

3.3.13. Converbs

Converbs are adverbial forms of verbs. In the Lopnor dialect, the main type of converb is marked by adding the suffix {-(I)p} to the verbs. It expresses various relationships of an action with other actions in the sentence, e.g.

(236)   a. {-p}

       säm-ma   bir   näsä yasa-p   akä.

       2sg-PART one thing make-CONV bring

       'You also should make something and bring it.' (19: 8)

       b. {-ip}

       yiɣač at-qa   min-ip   qaš-ti.

       wood horse-DAT ride-CONV escape-SPST

       'They rode the wooden horse and escaped.' (19: 103)

       c. {-up}

       u   adäm a harva-ni   qoŋ-ŋu-da   oltur-up hayda-di.

       that person that cart-GEN/ACC bottom-3sg-LOC sit-CONV drive-SPST

       'That man sat on the bottom of the cart and drove the cart.' (19: 189)

       d. {-üp}

       maŋ-a   čüšün-üp   evät-ip   ber-iŋ.

       1sg-DAT   understand-CONV send-CONV PostV-IMPER

       'Please figure it out and send it to me.' (18: 3)

In some frequently used {-(I)p} converb structure, the stem-final consonant, usually a liquid, is omitted to form a truncated converbial form, e.g.

(237)   *käl + ip → käp* 'coming' (30: 96)

      akäl + ip → akäp 'bringing' (56: 29)

      bol + up → bop 'being' (43: 6)

      qal + ip → qap 'staying' (19: 107)

      sal + ip → sap 'putting' (63: 5)

      qil + ip → qip 'doing' (21: 6)

The negative form of the {-(I)p} converb is marked by the suffix {-mA₄y}. In Standard Uyghur, it occurs in {-may} and {-mäy} forms. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it occurs in the {-may}, {-mäy}, {-moy} and {-möy} forms, e.g.

(238)   a. {-may}

       aɣriš qil-may   maŋ-iŋla.

       blame-CONV   go-IMPER

       'Do not blame each other and just go.' (17: 38)

b. {-mäy}

äšä-dä   tävi-mäy   oltu.
that place-LOC   shake-CONV   sit
'Sit there and do not move.' (19: 181)

c. {-moy}

aptap-ta   o:mo   o:-moy   ämdi öy-öŋ-ŋä   yan-ɣin.
sunshine-LOC   harvest   do-CONV   now   home-2sg-DAT   back-IMPER
'Do not do the harvesting in the sunshine, go back to your home.' (17: 32)

d. {-möy}

ye-sä-m-mu   tiš-im   öt-möy,   ye-di-m
eat-COND-1sg-PART   tooth-1sg   cut through-CONV   eat-SPST-1sg
paltu-da   yanči-p.
axe-LOC   smash-CONV
'I could not cut through it with my teeth. So I chopped it up with the axe and ate
it.' (17: 23)

The limitative-terminal converb[143] is composed by adding the suffix {-GIčä} and it
indicates the action which occurred before or during the action which is expressed by the
converbs. The limitative-terminal converb suffix {-GIčä} occurrs in the following forms
in my data.

(239)   a. {-gičä}

olo-nu   tamaq-qi   alli-ɣa   akäl-gičä,   olo
they-GEN/ACC   food-GEN/ACC   in front-DAT   bring-CONV   they
baza-ɣa   yet-ip   ba-di.
bazaar-DAT   arrive-CONV   PostV-SPST
'Before they were brought to the front of the food, they arrived at the bazaar.'
(19: 208)

b. {-ɣučä}

silä tuɣul-ɣučä   ül-üp   qal-di.
2pl   born-CONV   die-CONV   PostV-SPST
'Before you were born, he had passed away.' (49: 2)

c. {-qučä}

taŋ at-qučä   töpü-sü-gü   tašla-p   qoy-u-män.
sunrise-CONV   top-3sg-DAT   throw-CONV   PostV-SPRES-1sg

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[143] Menges, Karl H. 1995. *The Turkic Languages and Peoples: an introduction to Turkic Studies*. (Second revised edition). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. P 137.

'Before the sunrise, I usually throw them on the top of it.' (47: 51)

d. {-küčä}
sän   me-ni   nan-im-mi   yä-p   bol-u-dukän-sän
2sg   1sg-GEN/ACC bread-1sg-GEN/ACC eat-CONV PostV-SPRES-COP-2sg
haša-din   kät-küčä.
forced labour-ABL back-CONV
'It seems you are going to eat all of my bread before we get back from this forced labour.' (56: 30)

e. {-güčä}
yar   käl-güčä   čida-ma-y-du   yüräk-lär.
lover come-CONV endure-NEG-SPRES-3sg/pl   heart-PL
'Before our lovers come, our hearts cannot endure.' (72: 3)

Another usage of the limitative-terminal converbial form is to add a personal suffix and a locative case marker to the converbs composed of {-GIčä}. This usage is specific to the Lopnor dialect, and it mainly expresses the meaning of "while…" or "until…", e.g.

(240) *oyno-ydi-män   öl-güčä-m-dä   aril-may.*
       play-SPRES-1sg   die-CONV-1sg-LOC   leave-CONV
       'I will be a friend of her/him until to die.' (36: 18)

       qozuq or-up   bo-ɣučä-ŋ-dä,   näččä üssü-p, ...   mušundaq
       stake   hit-CONV be-CONV-2sg-LOC, several gore-CONV ... like that
       kün-lä-dä   čoŋ vo-p   kel-iv-idu-q.
       day-PL-LOC big be-CONV PostV-CONV-COP-1pl
       'While you were making the stake, it would gore you. ... We have experienced those days.' (30: 11)

The purposive converb composed by {-GA₂li} expresses the purpose or intention of an action in the Lopnor dialect. As in the other Turkic languages, it may also have abtemporal meaning ('since').[144] It occurrs in the following phonetic shapes in my data.

(241)   a. {-qali}
        namaz-ɣa   azan ayit-qali   kil-iv-idi,   biy ištan,   biy čapan,
        prayer-DAT call for prayer-CONV come-CONV-COP one pants   one coat
        biy köŋlök   tu-du.
        one   shirt   be-SPST

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[144] Boeschoten, Hendrik & Marc Vandamme 1998. Chaghatay. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998. P 177.

'He came to call for the prayer. He found that there were pants, a coat and a shirt.' (19: 83)

b. {-ɣali}
bir patiša-ni oɣl-u u qiz-zi al-ɣali käl-di.
one king-GEN/ACC son-3sg that girl-GEN/ACC marry-CONV come-SPST
'A king's son came to get marred to her.' (19: 142)

c. {-käli}
siz kät-käli näččä kün bol-du?
2sgPOL leave-CONV how many day be-SPST
'How many days has it been since you left?' (36: 18)

d. {-gäli}
ay-da-yil-da bir kil-i-män ay üz-üŋ-ŋü
month-LOC year-LOC one come-SPRES-1sg moon face-2sg-GEN/ACC
kör-gäli.
see-CONV
'I come to see your beautiful face only once in a month or a year.' (5: 15)

e. {- gülü}
bu öy-nü ič-i-dä o-nu kö-gülü
this house-GEN/ACC inside-3sg-LOC that-GEN/ACC see-CONV
vom-ma-y-du.
be-NEG-SPRES-3sg
'The inside of this house cannot be seen.' (30: 88)

3.3.14. Participles

Participles are adjectival forms of verbs. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the participles can take case, possessive and number suffixes. In the Lopnor dialect, the perfective participles are formed with the suffix {-GA₄n} and expresses an action which is experienced or which has happened, e.g.

(242) a. {-ɣan}
qoyči-la-ni qoy-ɣan isim-i
shepherd-PL-GEN/ACC put-Pple name-3sg/pl
'name given by shepherds' (57: 18)

b. {-qan}
čarva   baq-qan   yä
livestock   raise-Pple   place
'place used to raise the livestock' (83: 7)

c. {-gän}
tötünčü   doxturxana   de-gän   yä
fourth   hospital   say-Pple   place
'place called the fourth hospital' (11: 122)

d. {-kän}
har-ip   kät-kän   at
tire-CONV   PostV-Pple   horse
'tired horse' (21: 14)

Because of the strict vowel harmony and progressive assimilation, the suffix {-GA₄n} in the Lopnor dialect also occurs in {-ɣon}, {-qon}, {-gön}, {-kön} and {-ŋan} forms. These forms do not exist in Standard Uyghur, e.g.

(243)   a. {-ɣon}
        baɣla-p   qoy-ɣon   išäk
        tie-CONV   PostV-Pple   donkey
        'donkey that has been tied up' (30: 77)

        b. {-qon}
        yol-lo   tos-qon   ismayil
        road-GEN/ACC   block-Pple   Ismayil
        'Ismayil who blocked the road' (17: 39)

        c. {-gön}
        kö-gön   kün
        see-Pple   day
        'experienced days' (50: 19)

        d. {-kön}
        öt-kön   äl
        pass-Pple   people
        'people who passed by' (17: 8)

e. {-ŋan}
kölü-gä   maŋ-ŋan   čoŋyol
Korla-DAT   walk-Pple   main road
'main road which connects to Korla city' (11: 96)

Imperfective participles in the Lopnor dialect are composed by attaching the suffix {-A₂/yduɣan}. In the Lopnor dialect, it expresses an action that has to be done or that is going to be done in the future. The suffix {-A₂/yduɣan} occurrs in the following forms in my data.

(244)   a. {-duɣan}
qol-da   čürü-duɣan   čax
hand-LOC   spin-Pple   wheel
'hand operated spinning wheel' (7: 4)

b. {-aduɣan}
baliq   tut-aduɣan   köl
fish   catch-Pple   lake
'lake for fishing' (11: 10)

c. {-äduɣan}
yä-gä   ün-äduɣan   bir   nemä
soil-DAT   grow-Pple   one   thing
'a plant which grows in the soil' (6: 2)

In the Lopnor dialect, the prospective participles are formed by the suffix {-(A₄)r} and its negative form {-mA₄s}. It is used to express the characteristics of the modified nominal, e.g.

(245)   a. {-ar}
gul   ačil-ar   vaxt-i
flower   blossom-Pple   time-3sg/pl
'time for the blossoming of flowers' (59: 2)

b.{-är}
köy-är   ot
burn-Pple   fire
'burning fire' (5: 1)

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c. {-mas}
maŋ-mas   *išäk*
walk-NEGPple   donkey
'lazy donkey' (6: 60)

The projective participles[145] in the Lopnor dialect are marked with the suffix {-GUdäk} and express the quality, quantity or degree which is suitable for an action. It occurs in {-ɣudäk}, {-qudäk}, {-güdäk} and {-küdäk} forms in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(246)   a. {-ɣudäk}
qusaɣ   *toy-ɣudäk*   *ot*
stomach   full-Pple   grass
'enough grass to eat' (81: 7)

b. {-qudäk}
oltur-up   *qop-qudäk* *hal*
sit-CONV   stand-Pple   circumstance
'a little energy' (75: 12)

3.4. Indeclinable word classes

3.4.1. Adverbs

Adverbs usually modify the action expressed by verbs, the quality expressed by adjectives or the manner expressed by other adverbs. Semantically, adverbs in the Lopnor dialect are the same as the adverbs in Standard Uyghur. However, in the Lopnor dialect, some adverbs appear in different that are different from their shapes in Standard Uyghur. Compare the "nari" and "altin" in the following examples with the "neri" and "asti/astin" in Standard Uyghur, e.g.

(247) *könü mali-din*   *nari* *ba:-sa-q*   *yumulaq toroɣ* *dä-y-miz.*
       old neighbourhood-ABL beyond go-COND-1pl Yumulaq Toghraq say-SPRES-1pl
       'If we go beyond our old neighbourhood, we call it Yumulaq Toghraq.' (11: 6)

       u   *kövrük-kü*   *töpü-si-dä-ki*   *su,*   *altin-i*   *vilän*
       that bridge-GEN/ACC top-3sg/pl-LOC-KI water under-3sg with

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[145] Erdal, Marcel 2004. *A Grammar of Old Turkic.* (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section eight Central Asia Volume 3). Leiden. Boston: Brill. P 305.

aq-aduɣan   bol-otti.
flow-Pple   PostV-HaPST
'The water that was on the bridge has changed to now flow beneath the bridge.'
(11: 25)

3.4.2. Postpositions

Postpositions are added to the nominals to express various relationships between words and phrases. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the postpositions require their nominal complements to appear in certain cases. In the Lopnor dialect, some postpositions are different from their counterparts in Standard Uyghur by usages or phonetic shapes, e.g.

(248) *on altä koy-ɣa   a:-ɣan   män,   u   käm-dä   pul   yoɣ   üčün.*
       sixteen Yuan-DAT marry-Pple 1sg   that   time-LOC money absent   for
       'I spent only sixteen Yuan when I married him because we didn't have much money at the time.' (63: 7)

       ašundaq   nan-ɣa   oxšoš-lo   piš-idikä.
       like that   bread-DAT   like-PART   cook-COP.
       'I found out that it should be cooked like the bread.' (48: 4)

Some expressions in Standard Uyghur which are formed by using postpositions usually are expressed with the help of suffixes in the Lopnor dialect. For example, in order to express the reason and intention, the postposition "üčün" is used after the substantive form of verbs in Standard Uyghur. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it is mostly expressed with the help of dative case suffixes, e.g.

(249) *u-nu-ma   sätlä-p   ašunda,   qošuq*
       3sg-GEN/ACC-PART   abuse-CONV   like that   folksong
       čiqar-ip   bä:-gäŋ-ŋä.
       make-CONV   PostV-Pple-DAT.
       'He/she had been aboused because he/she wrote a folk song (about someone's bad behaviour).' (2: 40)

       čaɣli-maq-qa, bo-nu   xudaytala-ɣa išänči-si ba-mu   yaq.
       test-INF-DAT   this-GEN/ACC   Allah-DAT   trust-3sg   have-PART   no
       'In order to test someone to see if he/she really trust Allah.' (8: 4)

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3.4.3. Particles

Particles usually express additional meaning by attaching to words, phrases or sentences. They usually can be attached freely to any constituents of a sentence. This section describes some particles in the Lopnor dialect that are different from their counterparts in Standard Uyghur by phonetic shape or usage.

3.4.3.1. The focal particle {-qu} /{ -ɣu}

In the Lopnor dialect, when the focal particle {-qu} attached to a part of a sentence, it emphasizes the meaning expressed in that part. In Standard Uyghur, focal particles mostly occur in the {-ɣu} form. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it also occurs in {-qu} form when it is attached to the syllables composed of back vowels, e.g.

(250)   *me-ni-ma-qu*   *quš-uptu,   čara-da   baqir hašim.*
        1sg-GEN/ACC-PART-PART   add-EVI   Chara-LOC   Baqir Hashim
        'Baqir Hashim from Chara composed a folk song and added my name too.' (1: 44)

        xapa bol-up   ir-im-ma-qu   ur-ma-y-du.
        angry-CONV   husband-1sg-PART-PART   beat-NEG-SPRES-3sg
        'My husband doesn't beat me in anger, either.' (36: 4)

        hazir-ma-qu   yama ämäs, šunčilik   tur-uv-at-a-miz.
        now-PART-PART   bad   not   like this   stay-CONV-PostV-SPRES-1pl
        'It is also not too bad now. We are just living like this.' (47: 105)

3.4.3.2. The interrogative particle –m(I)

The interrogative particle {-mu} in Standard Uyghur precedes the personal marker when it is added to the predicates in present/future tense. When it is attached to the verb stem in this construction, it usually undergoes phonological change and changes to {-(A)m-} in Standard Uyghur, e.g. *bazar-ɣa bar-am-sän?* 'Will you go to the market?'. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the interrogative particle {-m(I)} does not undergo this phonological change when the second person singular or plural suffixes are attached, e.g.

(251)   *hoǰura-ŋ-ŋa   miman   käl-di,   tala-ɣa*
        girl's *room*-2sg-DAT   guest   come-PST   outside-DAT
        čix-ma-y-mu-sän?
        go out -NEG-SPRES -PART-2sg
        'There is a guest coming to your room. Aren't you coming out?' (37: 2)

öl-üv   it-ip   kät-sä-k-mu   yiɣla-y-mu-siz
die-CONV   PostV-CONV   PostV-COND-1pl-PART   cry-SPRES-PART-2sgPOL
baš-im-ɣa?
tomb-1sg-DAT
'If I die, will you cry in front of my tomb?' (41: 9)

män härgiz kur-al-mi-di-m   yürü-y-mi-siz   salamät?
1sg   never   see-POSB-NEG-SPST-1sg   go-SPRES-PART-2sgPOL   safe.
'I have not seen you recently. Are you safe?' (26: 19)

3.4.3.3. The limitative particle {-la} / {-ta}

The limitative particle is expressed as {-la} in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the limitative particle {-la} occurs as {-ta} when it is attached to the words ended with voiceless consonants, and indicates an action occurs immediately after the action expressed by the verb (mostly in a converbial form), e.g.

(252) *sapsariq   piš-qan   čilgi-lä-ni*
bright yellow   ripe-Pple   early ripening melon-PL-GEN/ACC
apar-ip-ta,   šonuŋ vilän čät   yat-quz-up   qoy-otti.
take-CONV-PART with   edge make-CAUS-CONV PostV-HaPST
'He would take the bright yellow early ripened melons, and make edge outlines with them.' (9: 51)

qan-i-ni   al-iv-at-ip-ta   qoy-sa,
internal part-3sg-GEN/ACC take-CONV-PostV-CONV-PART   PostV-COND
anikin qalmaq-la, moŋɣul-la   kil-iv   al-aduɣan.
then   Kalmyk-PL Mongol-PL   come-CONV buy-SPST.
'When the internal parts of the wild pig were taken out, the Mongol people would come to buy them.' (1: 17)

3.4.4. Conjunctions

Conjunctions usually connect two or more words, phrases or sentences together and express coordinative, subordinative or contrastive relationships between constituents of phrases or sentences. Semantics and usage of conjunctions in the Lopnor dialect are the same with the ones in Standard Uyghur. However, the phonetic shapes of some conjunctions are slightly different from their counterparts in Standard Uyghur, e.g.

(253) *šoŋŋa a qoyči-la-ni qoy-ɣan isim-i bol-sa keräk.*
so   that shepherd-PL-GEN/ACC put-Pple name-3sg/pl be-COND must
'So it must be a name given by shepherds.' (57: 18)

lopnur vilän šiŋxa-ni ariliɣ-i bäk-mu yiraq.
Lopnor and Shingxa-GEN/ACC distance-3sg/pl very-PART far
'The distance between Lopnor and Shingxa is too far.' (62: 10)

šunuŋda, dät muŋ-ɣa čidi-may, buruŋqu-la bir
because of, grief sadness-DAT suffer-NEG past-PL one
qušuq čiqir-ipt-ikä.
folksong make-EVI-COP
'Because the people in the past suffered from their grief and sadness, they composed a folksong.' (13: 4)

4. SYNTAX

The syntactic structure of the Lopnor dialect is very similar to the structure of other Turkic languages and dialects. Therefore, compared to the description of phonology and morphology of the Lopnor dialect, the description of the syntactic features of the Lopnor dialect in this chapter is very brief here. This chapter introduces the structure of the nominal, verbal and postpositional phrases. This is followed by a discussion of the different types of clauses in the Lopnor dialect. In the last section, the types of sentences, and the order of elements in a sentence are discussed.

4.1. Phrase

4.1.1. Noun phrase

As in the other Turkic languages, the noun phrase in the Lopnor dialect contains an obligatory noun and one or more modifiers. The modifiers may be expressed by a noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral or participle. The main syntactic structure of a noun phrase is organized according to the principle that the modifier precedes the modified. There is no agreement in number and case between modifiers and the modified, e.g.

(254)   a. *čayviči*   *yazi*   (modifier expressed by a noun)
             shepherd   village
             'village of animal husbandry' (81: 3)

         b. *mošu*   *ǰaŋŋäl*   (modifier expressed by a pronoun)
            this   jungle
            'this jungle' (20: 1)

         c. *qattiɣ*   *yä:*   (modifier expressed by an adjective)
            hard   ground
            'hard ground' (9: 19)

         d. *ombäš*   *kün*   (modifier expressed by a numeral)
            fifteen   day
            'fifteen days' (17: 37)

e. *söy-gön*   *ya:*   (modifier expressed by a participle)
love-Pple   lover
'loved one' (27: 7)

The general order of parts of speech in the noun phrase is the demonstrative pronoun + numerals + quantifiers + adjectival attribute + head, e.g.

(255) *šu*   *birä* *ikki* *yüz*   *atliq*   *adäm*
        that one two hundred horse riding man
        'that is one or two hundred mounted men' (76: 5)

        bu *ikki* *räkät*   *ayit*   *namaz-i*
        this two part of a prayer festival   Muslim ritual prayer
        'the two parts of the Muslim festival prayers' (8: 41)

4.1.1.1. Genitive-possessive construction

The genitive-possessive construction includes a possessor, which is composed of a noun plus a genitive/accusative case suffix, and a possessed, which is composed of a noun plus a possessive suffix, e.g.

(256) *qol-um-mu*   *sala-si*
        hand-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC finger-3sg/plPOSS
        'finger of my hand' (31: 1)

        köl-lü   *yaqa-si*
        lake-GEN/ACC   side-3sg/plPOSS
        'side of the lake' (10: 32)

In genitive-possessive construction, the agreement in person or number between possessor and possessed is not always necessary in the Lopnor dialect. And sometimes, the head lacks a possessive suffix, e.g.

(257) *dixan-la:-ni*   *yer-i*
        peasant-PL-GEN/ACC land-3sg/pl
        'land of peasants' (57: 2)

        biz-zi   *öy*
        1pl-GEN/ACC house
        'our house' (30: 120)

In some cases, the genitive/accusative case marker which is attached to the possessor can also be omitted in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(258) *däyya yaqa-si*   compare with *däyya-ni   yaqa-si*
      river   side-3sg/plPOSS   river-GEN/ACC side-3sg/plPOSS
      'bank of the river' (11: 64)   'bank of the river' (6: 45)

     ravaq   töpü-sü   compare with *ravaq-qi   töpü-sü*
      pavilion top-3sg/plPOSS   pavilion-GEN/ACC top-3sg/plPOSS
      'top of the pavilion' (19: 63)   'top of the pavilion' (19: 60)

4.1.1.2. Other types of noun construction

Apart from the genitive-possessive construction, noun compounds can also be formed in the pattern of noun plus noun, and noun plus noun with the third person possessive suffix. In this construction, no element can be inserted between nouns, e.g.

(259) *čit   köŋläk*
     cotton print cloth   blouse
     'cotton print blouse' (34: 1)

     yiɣač   at
     wood   horse
     'wooden horse' (19: 174)

     qošaš   bälgü-si
     plus   sign-3sg/plPOSS
     'addition sign' (30: 93)

     soda   idari-si
     business   bureau-3sg/plPOSS
     'marketing cooperation' (47: 83)

We need to pay attention to the compound constructions which are formed by noun plus noun in the third person suffix, which are different from the omitted genitive/accusative case marker form of genitive-possessive construction. Thus, in the noun plus noun with the third person suffix form, the genitive/accusative case marker cannot be added to the modifier.

4.1.1.3. Adjectival constructions

In adjectival constructions, adjectivals can be used as attributes and can modify the nouns or noun phrases. In this construction, they usually precede the noun or noun phrases. In the Lopnor dialect, one type of noun phrase in adjectival construction is the combination of adjective plus a noun, e.g.

(260) *quttuɣ   daru*
      holy   medicine
      'holy medicine' (1: 12)

      qari   sögöt
      old   willow tree
      'old willow' (11: 92)

A second type of adjectival construction is the combination of a participal attribute plus a noun, e.g.

(261) *yiqil-ɣan   taɣ*
      fall down-Pple   mountain
      'collapsed mountain' (3: 1)

      olto-ɣon   öy
      sit-Pple   house
      'house in which they are living/lived' (19: 70)

A third type of adjectival construction is the combination of a noun with the locative case suffix {-DA₄} and the syntactic nominalizer {-KI} with a noun, e.g.

(262) *yaqi-da-qi   qiyaq*
      side-LOC-KI   sedge grass
      'sedge grass on the side/bank' (1: 35)

      asman-da-qi   bulut
      sky-LOC-KI   cloud
      'cloud in the sky' (73: 7)

A fourth type of adjectival construction is the combination of an attributive noun or noun phrase with the similative suffix {-Däk} with a noun, e.g.

(263) *umaš-täk   lay*
       porridge-SIM   mud
       'thin mud' (11: 128)

       kätmän   sapi-däk   yaɣač
       mattock   handle-SIM   wood
       'wood like the handle of a mattock' (7: 7)

An additional type of adjectival construction is the possessive-marked adjectival construction, e.g.

(264) *at-i   va   adäm-lä*
       horse-3sg/plPOSS   has   man-PL
       'people who have horses' (1: 13)

       sayi-si   yox   čöl
       shadow-3sg/plPOSS   no   wilderness
       'wilderness where there is no place to cool off' (33: 27)

4.1.2. Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase in the Lopnor dialect is a group of two or more words where the headword of which is an adjective. In an adjective phrase, the adjective is usually modified by a preceding adverbial, e.g.

(265) *taza   pišiɣ*
       really   ripe
       'very ripe' (7: 5)

       häǰäp   susman
       strange   spiritless
       'really spiritless' (33: 26)

       nayiti   siliq
       very   smooth
       'very smooth' (19: 190)

The adjectives in the adjective phrase can also appear in the comparative form and can be modified by the pronouns or nouns, e.g.

(266) *ma:-niŋ-din*   *yoɣon-roq*
　　 this-GEN/ACC-ABL   big-COMP
　　 'bigger than this' (20: 55)

　　 bu-nuŋ-dun   *kičig-äräk*
　　 this-GEN/ACC-ABL   small-COMP
　　 'smaller than this' (49: 13)

　　 In comparative adjective phrase construction, the modifier usually occurs in ablative case. However, the comparative degree suffixes of adjectives are not compulsory, e.g.

(267) *laysu-dun*   *nari*
　　 Laysu-ABL   beyond
　　 'farther than Laysu' (11: 130)

　　 qizil gül-dün   *čirayliɣ*
　　 red flower-ABL   beautiful
　　 'more beautiful than a rose' (5: 1)

　　 Adjective phrases can also be formed by the combination of a noun or pronoun with the dative case suffix and an adjective, e.g.

(268) *to:-ɣo*   *oxšoš*
　　 net-DAT   like
　　 'like a net' (10: 29)

　　 siz-gä   *layiq*
　　 2sgPOL-DAT   suitable
　　 'suitable for you' (27: 9)

4.1.3. Postposition phrase

In postposition phrases, the postpositions that act as the head of the phrase usually follow their complements. The main function of the postpositional phrase in a sentence is adverbial. However, some postposition phrases function as attributes or predicates, e.g.

(269) *partiyä kä:-gän-di-kin*   *birä totän*   *yä-gä*   *qonox*
　　 party   come-Pple-ABL-PostP   one ploughed land   land-DAT   maize
　　 tari-ymiz,   *kalliktip*   *boyunčä.*
　　 grow-1plPER   collective   PostP

'After the party (CCP) came, we all, by working together, planted maize on one or two pieces of ploughed land.' (6: 53)

su toɤruluq qošuq köp idi.
water PostP folksong many COP
'There were many folksongs about water.' (14: 21)

eziz qädäm el-ip kä:-gän quad-m üčün.
honoured step take-CONV come-Pple relative in law-1sg PostP
'For my relative-in-law and for his/her honoured presence' (27: 4)

In the Lopnor dialect, the postpositions require different case markers on their complements. One type of postpositional construction in the Lopnor dialect is the postpositional phrase taking non-case marked complement, e.g.

(270) *ögöy ana toɤruluq*
step-mother about
'about my/his/her step-mother' (30: 1)

kalliktip boyunčä
collective according to
'according to the group' (6: 53)

Another type of postpositional construction, which is used quite rarely, is the postpositional phrase taking a genitive/accusative-marked complement, e.g.

(271) *seni üčün*
2sg-GEN/ACC[146] for
'for you' (30: 98)

meni vilän
1sg-GEN/ACC with
'with me' (2: 11)

In this type of postpositional construction, the complement of the postposition may also be in the nominative form (compare with the example 271), e.g.

(272) *sän üčün*
2sg for
'for you' (80: 8)

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[146] For the declention of personal pronouns see 3.2.3.1.

män   vilän
1sg   with
'with me' (71: 26)

A third type of postpositional construction in the Lopnor dialect is the postpositional phrase taking an ablative marked complement, e.g.

(273) *bova-lar-miz-din*   *tatip*
grandfather-PL-1plPOSS-ABL   from
'from our ancestors' (49: 37)

ögön-gön-öm-dün   *keyin*
learn-Pple-1sgPOSS-ABL   after
'after I had learned' (50: 14)

4.1.4. Verb phrase

Verb phrases contain one verb which usually needs to be inflected in a sentence, and its complements or adverbials that modify the verb. In general, the complements or adverbials precede the verb, e.g.

(274) *oymot-qa   taši-*
hollow-DAT   transport
'transport to the hollow' (30: 33)

mähkäm   baɣla-
tightly   tie
'tie firmly' (5: 18)

The complement of a verb phrase can be formed by nouns or numerals and quantifiers, e.g.

(275) *qošuq   čiqar-*
folk song   make
'compose a folk song' (2: 19)

bir   pädä   maŋ-
one   short time   walk
'walk for a while' (11: 62)

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In the Lopnor dialect, the verb in the verb phrases can also be modified by adverbs, adjectives and converbs, e.g.

(276) *ǰim   tur-*
      silent   stay
      'stay quiet' (31: 7)

      ǰiq   al-
      many   take
      'receive a lot' (52: 9)

      ägidä-p   oltu-
      surround-CONV   sit
      'sit around' (30: 38)

4.2. Clause

4.2.1. Complement clause

The complement clause[147] is a subordinate clause that serves to complete the meaning of a noun or verb in a sentence. A complement clause can be a subject, direct object, indirect object or the object of a postposition, e.g.

(277) *biy däm   aril-iš-qa   čidi-ma-y-män.*
      one short time leave-VBN-DAT   endure-NEG-SPRES-1sgPER
      'I cannot stand to leave for a moment.' (53: 5)

      didar-iŋ-ni   kör-üš   üčün köz-üm   oyna-p ...
      appearance-2sg-GEN/ACC   see-VBN PostP eye-1sgPOSS   play-CONV
      ǰen-im   ana   ǰen-im   ata   käl-sä-ŋ   yen-ip.
      soul-1sgPOSS mother soul-1sgPOSS father come-COND-2sg   back-CONV
      'In order to see your appearance, my eyes looked for you everywhere … my dear parents, I really wish for you to come back.' (77: 10)

A complement clause that functions as a subject will be in the initial position of the main clause. A complement clause that functions as an object will be between the main subject and the verb, e.g.

(278) *qišin-yazin,   yat-i-š-im   išig aldi   sim karvat.*
       winter or summer   lie-VBN-1sgPOSS door in font of   bed with a wire mattress
       'Whether it is winter or summer, the place where I sleep is on a bed in front of the door.' (36: 1)

       vapasiz   yar   köy-gän-im-mi   bil-mä-di.
       disloyal   lover   love-Pple-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   know-NEG-SPST
       'My disloyal lover didn't feel my true love.' (34: 65)

The subject of a complement clause is usually indicated by a possessive suffix attached to the verbal noun or participle. In a genitive marked noun phrase, the subject may also be indicated more explicitly, e.g.

(279) *utturluɣ   yä-yduɣan-imiz-zi   aškara   qoy-u-muz.*
       immediately   eat-Pple-1plPOSS-GEN/ACC   open   put-SPRES-1plPER.
       'We opened the ones that we will eat immediately.' (7: 40)

       siz-zi   tuɣul-ɣan-iŋiz-zi   bil-i-män.
       2sg-GEN/ACC   born-Pple-1pl-GEN/ACC   know-SPRES-1sgPER.
       'I know when you were born.' (47: 34)

In the Lopnor dialect, complement clauses are divided into the non-factive complement clause and the factive complement clause.[148]

4.2.1.1. Non-factive complement clause

In the Lopnor dialect, the non-factive complement clauses are formed by attaching the infinitive suffixes or verbal noun suffixes.

The first type of non-factive complement clauses is formed by attaching the infinitive suffix "-mA$_4$G", e.g.

(280) *mon-dun qutul-maq-i   müškül   qiyamät.*
       this-ABL   escape-INF-3sg/plPOSS   difficult   last day judgment.
       'To avoid this is as difficult avoiding the last day of judgement.' (75: 19)

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[148] Johanson, Lars 1998a. Structure of Turkic. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998, pp 33-66. P 60.

siz-gä　　　*köy-mök ähti ma-ŋa*　　*iradä.*
2sgPOL-DAT　love-INF　oath　1sg-DAT　will.
'To love you is my oath and will.' (5: 13)

The second type of non-factive complement clauses is formed by attaching the verbal noun suffix "-(I)š", e.g.

(281)　*u*　*käm-dä*　*yä*　*tari-š-ni-ma*　　　*bil-mä-yduɣan.*
　　　　that　time-LOC　land　grow-GEN/ACC-PART　know-NEG-HaPST.
　　　　'At that time, we did not know how to do the farming.' (6: 25)

　　　　qizil gül-nü ye-yiš-i　　　*läɣmän*　　　*bilän piŋtoza.*
　　　　red　flower　eat-VBN-3sg/plPOSS　traditional noodle　with　vermicelli.
　　　　'What my rose (lover) likes to eat is traditional noodle and vermicelli.' (45: 8)

The last type of non-factive complement clause is formed by attaching the verbal noun suffix "-GU-" and the personal suffix of the possessive type. In this construction, the complement clause usually expresses the desire and wish of the subject, e.g.

(282)　*xät-ni*　　　*yaz-ɣu-m*　　　*kel-i-du.*
　　　　letter-GEN/ACC　write-VBN-1sgPOSS　　PostV-SPRES-3sg/plPER
　　　　'I want to write a love letter.' (71: 15)

　　　　yan-dur-up　　　*al-ɣu-m-mu*　　　　*bar.*
　　　　back-CAUS-CONV　take-VBN-1sgPOSS-PART　existent.
　　　　'I want to return it.' (71: 29)

4.2.1.2. Factive complement clause

Factive complement clauses in the Lopnor dialect are formed by attaching the suffixes {-GA4n} or {-lIK} with a possessive personal marker.
　　The first type of factive complement clause in the Lopnor dialect is formed by attaching the personal suffix of the possessive type to the participle suffix {-GA4n}, e.g.

(283)　*köy-gün[149]-üm-nü*　　　*bil-mä-y-du*　　　　*biz-ni*　　　*yar*
　　　　love-Pple-1sg-GEN/ACC　know-NEG-SPRES-3sgPER　1pl-GEN/ACC　lover
　　　　kičik　bala.
　　　　small　child
　　　　'My lover is so naïve that he/she cannot feel my true love.' (34: 54)

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[149] "-gün" is caused by the regressive assimilation of the 1sg possessive suffix "-üm".

altini-ɣa   *čüš-kän-i,*   *qaɣ*   *vol-up*
below-DAT   fall-Pple-3sg/plPOSS   dried fruit   AUX-CONV
ket-ip-tu.
PostV-CONC-SPST.
'The ones which have fallen down have already become dried fruit.' (19: 119)

The second type of factive complement clause is formed by attaching the personal suffix of the possessive type to the suffix {-lIK}, e.g.

(284) *män   u-nu*   *ata-si-ni*
1sg   3sg-GEN/ACC   father-3sgPOSS-GEN/ACC
kölčü-lüg-ü-nü   *aŋla-ɣan.*
fisherman-COP-3sg-GEN/ACC   listen-Pple
'I have heard that his/her father is a fisherman.' (6: 94)

män qaysi-ŋ-ŋi   *usta   ikän-lig-i-gä*   *baha*   *ayt-ip,*
1sg   which-2sg-GEN/ACC skillful COP-COP-3sg-DAT comment say-CONV
selä-ni   *ma'ašliq*   *qil-ip*   *baq-i-mä.*
2pl-GEN/ACC   salaried   AUX-CONV   take care-SPRES-1sgPER
'I will tell you which of you is more skillful. Then I will make you a paid worker and I will take care of you.' (19: 10)

4.2.2. Relative clause

Relative clauses are complex adjectival constructions that modify the noun phrases. They usually precede the head noun, which they modify. Relative clauses are usually based on participles, e.g.

(285) *bu   siz-zi*   *čaq-qan*   *paša.*
this 2sgPOL-GEN/ACC bite-Pple   mosquito
'It is a mosquito that bites you.' (18: 11)

buɣday tari-ɣan   *yä-lä-gä*   *su*   *apar-aduɣan*   *ariq-qi*
wheat   grow-Pple land-PL-DAT water lead-Pple   stream-GEN/ACC
uzun   *ariɣ*   *dä-ytuq.*
long   stream   say-HaPST
'We have named the stream which is used for channeling water to the wheat field 'Uzun Arigh'.' (11: 43)

Usually, it is not possible to determine the tense and aspect of the relative clause without context. For example, "ya:ni tu:ɣan öyü" refers to the "house in which the lover is

living" or "house in which the lover has lived before". If the tense needs to be emphasized, an appropriate adverb expressing the tense will be added, or a construction expressing the perfective or ongoing aspect will be employed, e.g.

(286) *burun   čarva   baq-qan   yä   äsli   u.*
before livestock raise-Pple land original that
'It was a place where we have raised livestock before.' (83: 7)

ič-imiz-dä   qal-ma-di   ötmüš-tä tat-qan   dät-lä.
inside-1plPOSS-LOC   leave-NEG-SPST   past-LOC   suffer-Pple   grief-PL
'We forgot the distress which we suffered in the past.' (51: 1)

In headless relative clause constructions, the head noun that is modified by the relative clause can be omitted, e.g.

(287) *hazir   ba-ɣan-la-ma   šu   taš   at-adu   šäytaŋ-ŋa.*
now   go-Pple-PL-PART   that   stone throw-COP   Satan-DAT
'These days, the people who go there also throw stones to at Satan.' (8: 13)

šu-nu   tut-qan-la   tut-uv-al-ip,   šo-nu
that-GEN/ACC   catch-Pple-PL   catch-CONV-PostV-CONV   that-GEN/ACC
soy-up   yä-p,   ǰan baq-ip   yür-üp-tikän.
kill-CONV   eat-CONV   life support-CONV   PostV-CONV-COP
'Those who have caught them have killed and eaten them. They have made a living by doing that.' (6: 46)

4.2.2.1. Types of relative clause in the Lopnor dialect

The relative clause types in the Lopnor dialect include the nominative relative construction and the genitive-possessive relative construction.

In nominative relative construction, the subject of the relative clause appears in the nominative case, e.g.

(288) *qiz   čiq-qan   mapa*
girl   get on-Pple   horse cart
'the horse cart that the girl got on' (19: 160)

män   qoš-qan   qošuq
1sg   make-Pple   folk song
'the folk song which I composed' (23: 1)

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In genitive-possessive relative construction, the subject of the relative clause appears in the genitive case and the possessive marker is attached to the head noun. That is to say, in genitive-possessive relative construction, the agreement morphology has to be applied to the subject and the head noun, e.g.

(289) *kala-ni*   *maŋ-aduɣan*   *yer-i*
cow-GEN/ACC   walk-Pple   ground-3sg/plPOSS
'the ground on which the cow is walking/going to walk' (9: 28)

     me-ni   *oltu-ɣan*   *öy-üm*
1sg-GEN/ACC   sit-Pple   house-1sgPOSS
'the house where I am living/lived' (19: 222)

In the examples above, the genitive-possessive relative construction and the nominative relative construction can be interchanged. However, the genitive-possessive relative construction cannot be used if the subject of the relative clause is non-specific, e.g.

(290) *gölmö*   *sal-ɣan*   *täräp*
fishing net   put-Pple   side
'side where the fishing net was put' (10: 40)

     baliq   *tut-aduɣan*   *köl*
fish   catch-Pple   lake
'lake where people go fishing' (11: 10)

4.2.2.2. Participles used in the relative clause

The participle suffix {-GA₄n} is mostly used to express a post-terminal viewpoint in the relative clauses, e.g.

(291) *baɣla-p qoy-ɣon*   *išäk*   *qoy-ul-up*   *ket-ip,*   *piyadä kä-ptu.*
tie-CONV PostV-Pple donkey put-PASS-CONV PostV-CONV   on foot come-EVI
'The donkey which was hitched up was set free, so he had to come on foot.' (30: 77)

     kölü-gä   *maŋ-ŋan*   *čoŋyol-lo-nu*   *on-u-ma*
Korla-DAT   walk-Pple   road-PL-GEN/ACC   position-3sg/plPOSS-PART
qävrigaliɣ   *idi.*
cemetery   COP

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'The original location of the roads which connects to the Korla (city) was a cemetery.' (11: 96)

The participle suffix form {-(I)p/v yatqan}/{-(I)vatqan}[150] is mostly used to express an ongoing event or situation in a relative clause, e.g.

(292) *bayaqi santuryä, qari-la-ni baq-iv yat-qan*
just now sanatorium old-PL-GEN/ACC take care-CONV PostV-Pple
yä-lä qäbrigaliɣ idi.
place-PL cemetery COP
'The sanatorium now, which is now where they are taking care of the old was originally a cemetery.' (11: 106)

The participle suffix form {-IdIɣan} is mostly used to indicate an ongoing or prospective event in a relative clause, e.g.

(293) *ǰanda: išlät-idiɣan adäm-ma yoq hazir.*
animal use-Pple people-PART non-existent now
'No one uses the animals (for farming).' (6: 58)

abu ǰapär dada baliq tut-uduɣan kiši-kä.
Abu Jappar father fish catch-Pple man-COP
'Father Abu Jappar was the man who did the fishing.' (76: 17)

The participle suffix {-GUdäk} is used to express the ability or probability in a relative clause, e.g.

(294) *oltur-up qop-qudäk hal-im qam-ma-di.*
sit-CONV stand-PART situation-1sgPOSS leave-NEG-SPST
'I didn't have any energy (to sit and stand up again).' (64: 2)

qusaɣ toy-ɣudäk ot vom-mi-ɣan-dikin, bika u.
stomach enough-PART grass PostV-NEG-Pple-PostP, useless that
'It is useless because there is not enough grass for the cattle to eat.' (81: 7)

The aorist suffixes {-(A₂)r} and {-mA₄s} are also used to form relative clauses. However, they are not very common compared to the relative clauses formed with the other participle markers. In the Lopnor dialect, the function and meaning of the aorist suffixes in the relative clause are the same as that of the suffix {-IdIɣan}. However, the

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[150] In the Lopnor dialect, the {-(I)p/v yatqan} mostly occurs in the speech of elder speakers, and the {-(I)vatqan} mostly occurs in the speech of younger speakers.

aorist suffixes are mostly used in fixed constructions like poems, proverbs and sayings, and the suffix {-IdIɣan} is mostly used in everyday communications, e.g.

(295) *näː-gä   kät-ti-ŋ   gul   ačil-ar   vaxt-i-da?*
where-DAT go-SPST-2sgPER flower blossom-AOR time-3sg/plPOSS-LOC
'Where did you go when it became time for the blossom to emerge?' (59: 2)

biz tuɣ-ul-mas   vax-la-da,   šundaq ačačiliq dušxačiliq-qa učqaš-qan.
1pl born-PASS-AOR time-PL-LOC like that famine   hardship-DAT meet-PPST
'Before we were born, they had experienced this kind of famine and hardship.' (56: 5)

Relative clauses can also be formed without a participle. The null-participle relative clause does not contain any verbal predicate. Rather, it is relativized by adjectives, e.g.

(296) *qaši   qara   mälikä*
eyebrow   black   princess
'princess with black eyebrows' (45: 1)

baɣri   qattiɣ yar
heart   hard   lover
'hard-hearted lover' (5: 4)

4.2.3. Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses which function as an adverb in a sentence or in another clause. The adverbial clause contains a subject that is either explicit or implied, and a predicate, and it usually modifies verbs, adjectives or other adverbs,[151] e.g.

(297) *ata-ŋ   öl-tü-gülü   akit-ip   bar-adu se-ni.*
father-2sgPOSS die-CAUS-CONV take-CONV go-COP 2sg-GEN/ACC
'Your father is going to kill you.' (8: 14)

zämbil   kötö-güz-üp   išlit-ip,   jen-i-ni
stretcher carry-CAUS-CONV work-CONV   life-3sg/plPOSS-GEN/ACC
az   quy-up-tikän.
less   put-CONV-COP

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[151] Conditional clauses that are different from the other adverbial clauses in structure will be discussed in the next section.

'He was forced to carry the stretcher, so he is now almost at the point of death.' (49: 42)

In the Lopnor dialect, the adverbial clause usually contains a subordinating converb. In some instances, the converb is also followed by a postposition or noun phrase.

The adverbial clause constructions which are marked by adding the converb suffix {-(I)p} or its negative form {-mA₄y} indicates the state of the action expressed by the verb, e.g.

(298) *andikin ätrap-ta-qi   xošni-la   yügür-üp   ka-ptu.*
      then   nearby-LOC-KI neighbour-PL run-CONV come-EVI
      'Then, the nearby neighbours came running (arrived by running).' (30: 100)

      adättä   mäŋz-im-gä   paša   qon-su-ma,
      usually   cheek-1sgPOSS-DAT   mosquito   land-COND-PART
      šu-nu   öl-tü-möy   uč-ur-vat-attim.
      that-GEN/ACC kill-CAUS-CONV fly-CAUS-PostV-HaPST
      'I usually don't kill a mosquito if it lands on my cheek. I let it fly away.' (10: 6)

The adverbial clause constructions which are formed with the converb suffix {-GA₂li} expresses the purpose of the action, e.g.

(299) *bir   patiša-ni   oγl-u   u   qiz-zi*
      one   king-GEN/ACC   son-3sg/plPOSS   that   girl-GEN/ACC
      al-γali   käl-di.
      marry-CONV   come-SPST
      'The son of a king (prince) came to marry with the girl.' (19: 142)

      qoy-nu   män baq-qali   käl-di-m.
      sheep-GEN/ACC   1sg   raise-CONV   come-SPST-1sgPER
      'I came to take care of the sheep.' (20: 37)

The adverbial clause construction composed by the converb suffix {-GIčä} expresses the limitation of action in time or space, e.g.

(300) *haša   tügü-güčä   saxči   aγa-m-mi*
      forced labour   finish-CONV   police   uncle-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC
      quš-ap   baq-adikän.
      add-CONV   guard-COP
      'Until the forced labour ended, the police had guarded my father.' (49: 40)

haliqi   qax-tin   qosaɣ-i   toy-ɣučä   ye-di.
that   dried fruit-ABL   stomach-3sg/plPOSS   full-CONV   eat-SPST
'He ate the dried fruit until he was full.' (19: 134)

The adverbial clause construction formed by the attachment of similative suffix {-Däk} or postpositional construction formed by the dative case suffix plus the postposition "oxšoš" expresses the similarity of the action expressed by the verb, e.g.

(301) *čališči-la   bir   säp   bol-up   härbi-däk   tiz-il-iptu.*
wrestler-PL   one   line   be-CONV   solder-SIM   queue-PASS-EVI
'The wrestlers lined up in a line like soldiers.' (49: 11)

hazirqi   to:-ɣo   oxšoš   qil-ip   toqu-y-miz.
up to date   net-DAT   like   make-CONV   weave-PRES-1plPER
'We wove it like the net that we use today.' (10: 29)

The adverbial clause construction formed by the suffix {-GA₄n + dA₄} or {-GA₄n + dIn} plus the adverb "keyin, ilgiri, ta:tip, beri, burun…" expresses the various time of the action that is expressed in the clause, e.g.

(302) *bu   yolyoruq-nu   aŋli-ɣan-da   orn-uŋuz-dun*
this   command-GEN/ACC   listen-Pple-LOC   seat-2sgPOSS-ABL
däs   qop-uŋ.
straight   stand-IMPER
'When you hear this command, please stand upright.' (61: 12)

akä:-gän-din   keyin, sän   nälik   balaŋza   dä-ptu.
bring-Pple-ABL   later   2sg   where   child   say-EVI
'After (they) brought him, (he) said 'child, where are you from?'' (49: 35)

In the adverbial clauses formed by the above mentioned rules, a personal suffix of the possessive type can be added between the participle suffix {-GA₄n} and the locative or ablative case suffixes, e.g.

(303) *qari-ɣan-iŋ-da   bil-i-sä.*
get old-Pple-2sgPER-LOC   know-SPRES-2sgPER
'You will know when you get old.' (47: 94)

ä:-gä   *täk-kin-im-din*   *keyin, män*   *alayitän-dä*

husband-DAT   marry-Pple-1sgPER-ABL   later   1sg   special-LOC

bir   *mälikä*   *vol-du-m.*

one   princess be-SPST-1sgPER

'After I got married, I became a princess.' (19: 211)

4.2.4. Conditional clause

Conditional clauses also function as adverbial clauses. However, their structure is different from the adverbial clauses, in which the subordinating verb forms appear in finite verb forms and the personal suffixes are attached to the finite verb forms. In the Lopnor dialect, the conditional clauses are usually formed by the conditional suffixes plus personal markers of the possessive type, e.g.

(304) *guna* *qil-sa-m*   *zänǰir* *bilän* *bayla-ŋla.*

        sin   make-COND-1sgPER chain with   tie-2plPER

        'If I sin, tie me up with the chain.' (65: 1)

        quduq *kali-sa*   *su*   *aččiq.*

        well   dig-COND   water bitter

        'If (someone) digs a well here, the water (from the well) will be salty.' (81: 5)

The use of the conditional conjunctions "ägär, navada", which are of Persian origin, is optional. However, in some instances, they are added to emphasize the conditional meanings only in the speech of educated and young speakers, e.g.

(305) *ägär* *bil-sä-ŋ*   *qa:čuya*   *bir* *ǰännät.*

        if   know-COND-2sgPER Qarchugha one heaven

        'If you only knew that, Qarchugha is like heaven.' (80: 9)

        maŋ-yan   *iz-iŋ-ni*   *tavap*   *qil-ay*

        walk-Pple   footprint-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC worship make-VOL

        käl-sä-ŋ   *navada.*

        come-COND-2sgPER   if

        'If only you could come to me, I will pray for your footprints to be on safe ground.' (77: 26)

4.2.5. Finite clause

As in the other Turkic languages and dialects, the predicate of a finite clause in the Lopnor dialect can be verbal or nominal. The verbal finite clauses usually carry tense and aspect or mood in a sentence. If the predicate of a finite clause is verbal, it agrees with the subject in person, e.g.

(306) *bu-nu*   *män*   *tap-al-ma-di-m.*
       this-GEN/ACC   1sg   find-POSB-NEG-SPST-1sgPER
       'I couldn't find this.' (18: 4)

       ata-m   *ämdi* *se-ni*   *tap-a-du.*
       father-1sgPOSS   now   2sg-GEN/ACC   find-SPRES-3sg/plPER
       'My father will find you.' (19: 101)

If the predicate of a finite clause is nominal, unlike some other Turkic languages, it usually will not occur with copula suffixes, e.g.

(307) *yerim-miz*   *čaruču.*
       half-1plPOSS   shepherd
       'Half of us are shepherds.' (13: 1)

       ägär *bil-sä-ŋ*   *qa:čuɣa*   *bir*   *jännät.*
       if   know-COND-2sgPER   Qarchugha   one   heaven
       'If you know, Qarchugha is a heaven.' (80: 9)

However, the occurrence with a copula is also possible in order to stress the meaning expressed in the predicate, e.g.

(308) *män* *ɣarip*   *bičari-män.*
       1sg   lonely   helpless-COP
       'I am a lonely and helpless person.' (64: 5)

       qizil *gul-um*   *äxl[152]-i*   *kičik* *nadan-dur.*
       red   flower-1sgPOSS   intelligence-3sgPOSS   small   naïve-COP
       'My rose (lover) is a less experienced and naive person.' (45: 2)

In finite clauses, the object that is immediately preceding the verb, depending on whether they are specific or not, can appear in the nominative or the accusative, e.g.

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[152] For the deletion of the vowels see 2.3.5.

(309) *abu siyit dada-m   özü yolvaz öl-tür-üp   qoy-ɣin‿ikän.*
       Abu Siyit father-1sgPOSS self tiger   kill-CAUS-CONV PostV-Pple COP.
       'Father Abu Siyit himself has killed a tiger.' (76: 3)

       abu siyit dada näyzi-si-ni   tiq-ip
       Abu Siyit father spear-3sgPOSS-GEN/ACC pierce-CONV
       yolvaz-zi   öl-tür-üp   qoy-ɣon-ikä.
       tiger-GEN/ACC   kill-CAUS-CONV   PostV-Pple-COP.
       'Father Abu Siyit has killed the tiger by piercing the tiger with his spear.' (76: 7)

4.3. Sentence

From the structural point of view, sentences are usually divided into simple sentences and complex sentences. Simple sentences contain only one main clause, while the complex sentences contain a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. The Lopnor dialect shows a tendency to use less complex sentences than Standard Uyghur.

4.3.1. The constituents of a sentence

As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the predicate in a finite clause can be verbal, nominal or adverbial. In a verbal sentence, the predicates are composed of finite verbs. In a nominal sentence, the predicate does not contain a verb or its verb can be one of the forms of copulas. However, the occurrences of the copulas are not compulsory. When the verb is one of the forms of the copula, a suffixed or immediately following copular marker is used, e.g.

(310) *u   aqil   quš-kä.*
       3sg   clever   bird-COP
       'It was a clever bird.' (75: 43)

       yol   mošu   idi.
       road   this   COP
       'This was a road.' (47: 48)

   When the predicate does not contain any form of a verb, a subject complement serves as the predicate. The subject complement may be an adjectival, a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase, e.g.

(311) *öy-üŋüz*   *yiraq.*
house-2sgPOSSPOL   far
'Your house is far away.' (71: 1)

nadan-ni   *zair-i*   *išit-qa*   *oxšaš.*
naive-GEN/ACC   appearance-3sgPOSS dog-DAT   like
'The appearance of a naive person is like that of a dog.' (78: 9)

The predicates in the nominal sentences can also take the person and number suffixes, e.g.

(312) *u*   *mä-ni*   *nadanliɣ-im.*
3sg   1sg-GEN/ACC   ignorance
'It is my ignorance.' (36: 8)

hazir ešu mamän niyaz haǰim-la:-ni   *buva-lar-i.*
now   that Mamen Niyaz Haji[153]-PL-GEN/ACC grandfather-PL-3sg/plPOSS
'They were the grandparents of Mamen Niyaz Haji.' (1: 4)

The predicate usually shows agreement with the subject in terms of person and number, e.g.

(313) *män bäk šäytan   xatun idi-m.*
1sg   very naughty   lady   COP-1sgPER
'I was a naughty lady.' (47: 4)

biz uruɣ-tuqqan   ikän-miz.
1pl relative   COP-1plPER
'We were relatives.' (47: 90)

The subject of a sentence is not always expressed in a sentence. If the subject is expressed, it always contains a pronoun or a noun modified by determiners, numerals or adjectives, e.g.

(314) *siz   bilän biz toqquz baliq-ni   yä-m-mä-y-miz.*
2sgPOL with 1pl nine   fish-GEN/ACC   eat-POSS-NEG-SPRES-1plPER
'We cannot eat nine fish.' (76: 13)

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[153] a person who has returned from the pilgirimage to Mecca.

>*ombäš-täk* *ǰandar-im* *bar* *idi.*
>fifteen-SIM livestock-1sgPOSS have COP
>'I have had around fifteen head of cattle.' (53: 13)

The subject of a simple sentence or main clause is always in the non-case marked form. However, the subjects of some relative clauses and the noun clauses can take genitive/accusative case marking, e.g.

(315) *me-ni* *pikr-im* *mušä-dä* *toxta-y-du.*
    1sg-GEN/ACC opinion-1sgPOSS this place-LOC stop-SPRES-3sg/plPER
    'My suggestions will stop here.' (60: 1)

    inä *täräp-im-mi*   *tuqqan-uruɣ-um* *ba.*
    mother side-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC relative-1sgPOSS have
    'I have some relatives who are connected through mother.' (50: 1)

A complex sentence contains one main clause and at least one subordinate clause. The predicate of the subordinate clause is mainly non-finite. However, it can also be a finite verb, e.g.

(316) *ašu tur-ɣan* *duŋzu-nu* *üz-üm* *sal-ip,*
    that stand-Pple building-GEN/ACC self-1sgPOSS built-CONV
    bal-lir-im-mi   *ägidä-p* *oltu-du-m.*
    child-PL-1sgPOSS-GEN/ACC surround-CONV sit-SPST-1sgPER
    'I built that building by myself, and lived near my children.' (30: 38)

    šo-nu *et-i* *aɣri-y-du* *dä-p* *tüzü-mä-gän* *ikän.*
    that-GEN/ACC flesh hurt-SPRES-3sgPER say-CONV cure-NEG-Pple COP
    'Thinking of that it will hurt the flesh, the wound was not healed.' (49: 9)

4.3.2. Constituent order

Like any other Turkic languages, the basic constituent order within a sentence is subject-object-predicate (SOV) in the Lopnor dialect. The expression of time and place are often placed sentence-initially or immediately after the subject. In general, the verb that functions as a predicate is placed at the end of the sentence and the verbal complements will precede the verbal predicate. In an "unmarked sentence", the subject comes first and it will be followed by the indirect and direct objects, e.g.

(317) *män   un   uɣuli-ma-di-m.*
       1sg   flour   steal-NEG-SPST-1sgPER
       'I didn't steal the flour.' (30: 68)

       inqilap   vaxt-i-da   teŋ-imiz   köč-üp   käl-du-q.
       revolution time-3sg/plPOSS-LOC half-1plPOSS move-CONV come-SPST-1pl
       'When there was a revolution, half of us moved here.' (11: 4)

       yerim-miz   čaruču.
       half-1plPOSS   shepherd
       'Half of us are shepherds.' (13: 1)

However, in the Lopnor dialect, the order of constituents in a sentence is freer than Standard Uyghur. As it is a spoken language, it is not restricted to the above-mentioned rules. In order to emphasize a particular constituent in a sentence, these constituents of the sentence can be placed after the verbal predicate, e.g.

(318) *tömü:ču   bir   kemä   yasa-ptu   tömü:-dün.*
       blacksmith one boat   make-EVI   iron-ABL
       'The blacksmith made an iron boat.' (19: 11)

       šundax-ma   isil   qiz-im   idi,   öl-üp   qal-di
       so-PART   excellent daughter-1sgPOSS COP   die-CONV PostV-SPST
       tuyuqsuz-la.
       sudden-PART
       'She was an excellent daughter of mine. Unfortunately, she passed away suddenly.' (47: 101)

In the Lopnor dialect, it is common for an object to also be placed before the subject, e.g.

(319) *bu-nu   män   čüšün-am-ma-di-m.*
       this-GEN/ACC   1sg   understand-POSS-NEG-SPST-1sgPER
       'I could not understand this.' (18: 10)

       xäx-ni   alqiš-i-ni   män bäk   ǰiq   al-ɣan.
       others-GEN/ACC   applause-3sg/plPOSS-GEN/ACC 1sg very much receive-PPST
       'I have received much applause from the others.' (52: 9)

4.3.3. Coordination

The coordination in the Lopnor dialect can be in implicit form or explicit form. In the implicit form, the coordination of phrases, clauses and sentences can be expressed by juxtaposition of shared elements, e.g.

(320) *bir   kün-ü,   bir tömü:čü,   bir yiɣačči   muǰaŋ,   bu*
      one day-3sgPOSS one blacksmith one carpenter carpenter this
      ikki-si   patiša-ni   aldi-ɣa   bar-iptu.
      two-3sgPOSS   king-GEN/ACC   front-DAT   go-EVI
      'One day, a blacksmith and a carpenter went to the king.' (19: 3)

      quvanliq   qil-am-ma-yduɣan,   ǰandar-i   yoq,
      sacrifice   do-POSS-NEG-Pple   livestock-3sg/plPOSS   non-existent
      šundaq   ɣarip-miskil,   tul xatun,   yetim   oɣul,
      like that   alone homeless   widow   orphan   boy
      yetim-yesiy-lä-gä   šu-nu   biy üyä-din   taqat-ip   ber-iduɣan.
      orphan-lonely-PL-DAT that-DAT one piece-ABL distribute-CONV PostV-PPST
      'To each person who doesn't have any livestock, or who is lonely or divorced or orphaned, one piece of food will be distributed.' (8: 50-51)

Another important means of coordination in the Lopnor dialect is indicated by using the converb forms, e.g.

(321) *ot-qa   qaxla-p   quru-t-up   kiy-ival-ip*
      fire-DAT   dry out-CONV   dry-CAUS-CONV   wear-PostV-CONV
      iš-qa   var-attim.
      work-DAT   go-HaPST
      'I went to work after I dried them out in front of the fire and put them on.' (30: 116)

      bar-ip   öškü-dün biy-ni   saɣ-ip   äkil-ip
      go-CONV   goat-ABL   one-GEN/ACC   squeeze-CONV bring-CONV
      ma   nan-ni   čila-v   yä.
      this   bread-GEN/ACC dip into-CONV eat
      'Please go and milk a goat and then bring the milk here so we can dip the bread into the milk and eat it.' (20: 14)

In the explicit form, the phrases, clauses and sentences can be coordinated by means of conjunctions. In the Lopnor dialect, the different types of coordination are expressed by using different conjunctions. For example, the conjunction "vilän/bilän" expresses the

additive meaning ('and'), the conjunction "ya" expresses the alternative meaning ('or') and the conjunction "šoŋŋa" expresses the resultative meaning ('so, therefore'), e.g.

(322) *šu-nu ya bäš-tin,   ya alti-din,   ya üš-tün-töt-tün   hesapla-p …*
    that   or   five-ABL   or six-ABL   or three-ABL-four-ABL   calculate…
    ǰamaät-ti   qičir-a-miz.
    local community-GEN/ACC   invite-SPRES-1plPER
    'We calculate that five or six, or perhaps only three or four, of every local people will come if they are invited.' (7: 50)

    lopnur   vilän   šiŋxa-ni   ariliɣ-i   bäkmu   yiraq.
    Lopnor   and   Toqsu-GEN/ACC   distance-3sgPOSS   very   far
    'The distance between the Lopnor and Toqsu is very far.' (62: 10)

Contrastive coordination can also be expressed by the postposition "vilän/bilän". In this construction, the postposition "bilän" is usually preceded by the participles, e.g.

(323) *a   yä-dä   ot   köy-üp   tu-ɣan   bilän, bu öy-nü*
    that place-LOC fire burn-CONV PostV-Pple PostP   this   house-GEN/ACC
    ič-i-dä   o-nu   kö-gülü   vom-ma-y-du.
    inside-3sg/plPOSS-LOC that-GEN/ACC see-CONV be-NEG-SPRES-3sg/plPER
    'Though there is a fire burning, it cannot be seen from the inside of the house.' (30: 88)

    ǰahan   käŋyi   vo-ɣan   bilän, yaylaɣ   yoq.
    world   wide   be-Pple PostP grassland   not-existent
    'Though the land is expansive, there is no grassland.' (81: 4)

4.3.4. Expression of existence

The existence is expressed by the adjective "ba(r)" ('existent'), and its negation is expressed by the adjective "yoq" ('non-existent').[154] In the Lopnor dialect, the possessive existence is expressed by the possessed item plus possessive suffix followed by the adjective "ba(r)" ('existent') or "yoq" ('non-existent'), e.g.

(324) *išäk   kala   qoy-lar-im   ba.*
    donkey cow   sheep-PL-1sgPOSS existent
    'I have donkeys, cows and sheep.' (30: 23)

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[154] For the negation of existence see 4.3.6.3.

qil-aduɣan   iš-im   ba.
do-Pple   work-1sgPOSS   existent
'I have work to do.' (20: 34)

The alienable possessive existence[155] is expressed by the possessor plus locative case
and the adjective "ba(r)" ('existent') or "yoq" ('non-existent'), e.g.

(325)   *bu   tuɣa   de-gän   künčiqiš-ti-ma   ba.*
        this   watch tower   say-Pple   east-LOC-PART   existent
        'There are watch towers in the east, too.' (81: 22)

        qoy-din   bayi-ɣan   adäm-lä   ba   yaŋŋisu-da.
        sheep-ABL   to be rich-Pple   person-PL   existent   Yengisu-LOC
        'There are some people who have gotten rich by (from) animal husbandry in
        Yengisu.' (81: 1)

4.3.5. Interrogation

In the Lopnor dialect, the main type of interrogation is indicated by attaching the
interrogative particle -m(I) to the predicate to form yes/no questions or tag questions, e.g.

(326)   *hämmi-lir-i   öy-lir-i-gä*   *kir-ip*
        all-PL-3sg/plPOSS   house-PL-3sg/plPOSS-DAT   enter-CONV
        kät-ti-mu?
        PostV-SPST-QPART
        'Did all of them go into their houses?' (19: 226)

        me-ni   tani-di-ŋ-mu?
        1sg-GEN/ACC   recognize-SPST-2sgPER-QPART
        'Did you recognize me?' (30: 106)

When the interrogative particle -m(I) is attached to the predicates in present/future
tense preceded by personal suffixes, it usually undergoes phonetic change and is realized
as {-(A)m-} in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(327)   *baliɣ yaɣ-i-ni-ma*   *kiši   yä-m-du?*
        fish   oil-3sg/plPOSS-GEN/ACC-PART   person   eat-QPART-3sg/plPER
        'Will somebody eat fish oil?' (6: 37)

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[155] Boeschoten, Hendrik 1998b. Uzbek. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998, P 372; Kornfilt,
Jaklin 1997. *Turkish, Descriptive Grammars*. London and New York: Rout ledge. P 186.

örüg-üŋ-ŋü   *biz-gä*   *sat-am-sän?*
apricot-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   1pl-DAT   sell-QPART-2sgPER
'Are you selling your apricots to us?' (19: 156)

Apart from the interrogative particle "-m(I)", the particles "-ču, -ɣu, -du, hä" can form interrogative sentences in the Lopnor dialect. However, their occurrence is not as common as in Standard Uyghur, e.g.

(328)   *likin*   *qiz*   *vala-ču*   *yana?*
        but   girl   child-QPART   again
        'But how about the girls again?' (52: 50)

        heliqi   *ürümči-gä*   *apa-ɣal-la-da-qi*   *qušuq-lar-i*
        that   Urumchi-DAT   take-Pple-PL-LOC-KI   folksong-PL-3sg/plPOSS
        čix-ma-pti-ɣu?
        go out-NEG-EVI-QPART
        'Why didn't the folksongs that were recorded when they were taken to Urumchi get published?' (47: 108)

        u-nu   *qušuq-lar-i*   *qušuq-qa*   *čiq-qan-du?*
        3sg-GEN/ACC   folksong-PL-3sg/plPOSS   folksong-DAT   go out-Pple-QPART
        'His/her folksongs were published, right?' (47: 106)

        qoq-up   *kät-ti-ŋ*   *hä?*
        afraid-CONV   PostV-SPST-2sgPER   QPART
        'You are shocked, aren't you?' (30: 83)

This type of yes/no question or tag question can also be expressed without adding the interrogative particle, but simply with rising intonation, e.g.

(329)   *quvan*   *päyyi-ni*   *bala-si?*
        Qurban   translator-GEN/ACC   child-3sg/plPOSS
        'Translator Qurban's child?' (47: 33)

        öy-üŋ-dä   *keyik-ki*   *bala-si-däk*
        house-2sgPOSS-LOC   deer-GEN/ACC   child-3sg/plPOSS-SIM
        biy   *nemä*   *mörö-y-du?*
        one   something   bleat-SPRES-3sg/plPER
        'Something like the fawn of a deer is bleating in your house?' (54: 17)

Another type of interrogation is formed by using the interrogative pronouns to form wh- questions. In the Lopnor dialect, it is not compulsory for the interrogative pronouns to start the sentence or precede the predicates, e.g.

(330) *qapax-ta-qi   su   qani?*
gourd-LOC-KI   water   where
'Where has the water in the gourd gone?' (25: 51)

bu-nu   kim   ayit-ti?
this-GEN/ACC   who   say-SPST
'Who said this?' (25: 40)

In the Lopnor dialect, the interrogative pronoun "qäyä(r)" is not used as much as in Standard Uyghur. Instead, the interrogative pronoun "nä" is used more often in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(331) *bu   un-nu   nä-din   akäl-di-ŋ?*
this   flour-GEN/ACC   where-ABL   bring-SPST-2sgPER
'Where did you bring this flour from?' (30: 65)

sän mašu birä   yüz   qoy-uŋ-ŋu   me-ni
2sg this   around one hundred sheep-2sgPOSS-GEN/ACC   1sg-GEN/ACC
bala-m-ɣa   tašli-v-at-ip   nä   kät-ti-ŋ?
child-1sgPOSS-DAT   leave-CONV-PostV-CONV   where   go-SPST-2sgPER
'Where did you go when you left about one hundred of your sheep with my child?' (20: 33)

4.3.6. Negation

The Lopnor dialect has three different ways to express the negation: a verbal suffix {-mX} that has been discussed in 3.3.3; And two particles for nominal negation and existential negation.

4.3.6.1. Verbal negation

Verbal negations are formed by attaching the negative suffix {-mX}. In verbal negations, the suffix {-mX} is attached before the tense suffixes, e.g.

(332) *biz u-nu*   *isim-i-ni*   *ux-ma-y-miz.*
       1pl 3sg-GEN/ACC   name-3sg/pl-GEN/ACC   know-NEG-SPRES-1pl
       'We don't know his/her/its name.' (83: 4)

       quvanšaŋ-ŋi   *kö-mü-dü-ŋ-mu?*
       Qurbanshang-GEN/ACC   see-NEG-SPST-2sgPER-QPART
       'Didn't you see the Qurbanshang?' (40: 11)

In converb plus postverb constructions, the negative marker {-mX} is attached to the postverbs, e.g.

(333) *me-niŋ-däk*   *bir adäm-mi*   *xalq-im*   *tüzlä-p*
       1sg-GEN/ACC-SIM   one   people-GEN/ACC folk-1sgPOSS   educate-CONV
       al-ma-m-du?
       PostV-NEG-QPART-3sg/plPER
       'Won't our people educate a person like me?' (25: 34)

       qan-im   *siz-gä*   *čačra-p*   *kät-mä-sün.*
       blood-1sgPOSS 2sgPOL-DAT   splash-CONV   PostV-NEG-IMPER
       'Let not my blood splash on you.' (8: 19)

4.3.6.2. Nominal negation

In the Lopnor dialect, "ämäs" is used for the negation for the non-verbal predicative expression. It functions as an auxiliary and various suffixes for tense, mood and person can be attached, e.g.

(334) *u-mu*   *tolo čoŋ adäm*   *ämäs-ti.*
       3sg-PART   very big   person   NEG-SPST
       'He was not a very big person, either.' (49: 13)

       abu siyit-ni   *aldi-da*   *yolvaz di-gän*   *it*   *ämäs.*
       Abu Siyit-GEN/ACC   front-LOC   tiger   say-Pple   dog   NEG
       'For Abu Siyit, taming a tiger is as easy as taming a dog.' (76: 2)

4.3.6.3. Existential negation

In the Lopnor dialect, existential negation is expressed by the adjective "yoq". As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the copula marker {-Dur} is lacking in the Lopnor dialect, e.g.

(335) *ǰanda:*   *išlät-idiɣan*   *adäm-ma*   *yoq*   *hazir.*
       livestock   use-Pple   person-PART   NEG   now
       'No one uses the animals (for farming).' (6: 58)

       astin-da   *salinči*   *yoq,*   *üstü*   *yapunču*   *yoq.*
       under-LOC   cushion   NEG,   over   cover   NEG
       'There is no cushion under us and there is no cover over us.' (30: 15)

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5. CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this dissertation is the documentation of the phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the Lopnor dialect of Uyghur. With the description and analysis of the Lopnor dialect, I provide useful information for the researchers in the areas of Uyghur dialectology and the comparative study of Turkic languages. By comparing the Lopnor dialect with Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, this dissertation presents information about the relationship of the Lopnor dialect with the other Uyghur dialects. Some special features in the Lopnor dialect may provide the examples of language contact in this region. In this chapter, I sum up the key characteristic features of the Lopnor dialect of Uyghur and their existence or non-existence in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

This dissertation begins with the introduction to the historical background of the Lopnor region. The lack of historical data about the history and origin of this group of people and the different opinions on the position of the Lopnor dialect further prove the need for this linguistic research. The folk tales which I collected in the fieldwork shows that the ethnic component of the Lopnor people contains the subgroups which are called "Qara Qoshulluqtar, Yallar, Qalmaqtar, Judaqtar, Qaluchilar and Kirghizzar". Even though the number in this group of people is very small, it may provide some helpful information for the study of language contact in this region and for the study of the ethnic component of the Lopnor people. Based on the fieldwork in the Lopnor region, I found that the Lopnor dialect is the dialect of the "Qara Qoshulluq". Now, the Lopnor dialect is highly endangered. It is almost certain that the Lopnor dialect is going to be extinct in the next twenty to thirty years. The language of the Lopnor people is going to be very close to Standard Uyghur with some traces of the Lopnor dialect.

Based on the phonological analysis of the texts, eight short segmental vowels and twenty-three consonant phonemes are observed in the Lopnor dialect. The clear differentiation of phonemic /i/ and /ï/ is absent in this dialect. In the phonological system, there is no phonemic opposition between short and long vowels. In Standard Uyghur, the occurrence of phoneme /o, ö, ü/ in the coda position of the open syllables is very limited. However, in the Lopnor dialect, these phonemes can occur in both onset and coda position of open and closed syllables. In Standard Uyghur, /o/ and /ö/ cannot occur as suffix vowels. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the phoneme /o/ and /ö/ can occur in the variants of several suffixes. The phoneme /e/ mostly occurs in the onset position of the open and closed syllables. The plosives and fricatives in this dialect occur in voiced and voiceless pairs. Initial voiceless stops preceding a vowel are aspirated as in Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur. Compared to Standard Uyghur, there is no /f/ phoneme in the Lopnor dialect. The phoneme /f/ in loanwords is usually replaced by the phoneme /p/. Moreover, the phoneme /ž/ has a limited distribution. It only occurs in onomatopoetic words. The occurrence of the phoneme /h/ is limited to the Persian and Arabic loanwords. The phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur in word-initial position, and the phonemes /b, v/ and /ǰ/ do

not occur in word-final positions. The phoneme /v/ does not occur in word-final position. Moreover, the consonant phoneme /ǰ/ in word-final position is also not very common as in Standard Uyghur and other dialects of Uyghur. There are no true diphthongs found in the Lopnor dialect.

A typical syllable in the Lopnor dialect consists of a vowel and a preceding or following consonant. The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C)(C). A single consonant between vowels is assigned to the following syllable; two consonants between vowels are split between the two syllables. The syllable-initial consonant clusters are avoided. The syllable-final consonant clusters are existed only in the speech of younger speakers. In the speech of elder speakers, the consonant clusters in the syllable-final position are most often avoided by the deletion of a consonant or by the insertion of a vowel. However, these deleted consonants retain their occurrence in morpheme boundaries, especially when they are followed by a vowel initial suffix. There are quite a few consonant clusters in the Lopnor dialect. These clusters are composed by the repeated occurrence of the same phoneme (gemination or long consonants) at the syllable boundary. Most of them are can be found in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, the /-ŋŋ-/ type is unique in the Lopnor dialect. In the Lopnor dialect, /-ŋŋ-/ type of consonant clusters can also be formed by sporadic inter-syllabic regressive or progressive assimilation.

Vowel harmony is one of the most important and striking features of the Lopnor dialect. In Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, a very restricted labial harmony rule is applied in the stem and between stem and suffixes. Thus, the labial harmony does not apply to the low vowels in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, in which they are always unrounded in non-initial syllables. However, the vowel harmony in the Lopnor dialect is quite different from them. Thus, a rather strong palatal (backness) and labial (roundness) harmony is applied. The labial harmony in the Lopnor dialect is not restricted to the high vowels. Compared with the harmonic stem patterns in Standard Uyghur, most of the harmonic stem patterns are the same in the Lopnor dialect. However, some sound patterns like /ö ö/, /ü i/ and /o o/ are specific to the Lopnor dialect. In this dialect, when the vowels are back or front and if the trigger is mid-high, the target can be high, like /o u/ and /ö ü/. However, if the trigger is high, the target cannot be mid-high. Therefore, /u o/ and /ü ö/ types do not exist.

The harmonic suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are divided into the low-vowel suffixes and the high-vowel suffixes. The low-vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect have more realizations than that of Standard Uyghur. The low vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect includes the $\{A_2\}$ class suffixes and $\{A_4\}$ class suffixes. The $\{A_4\}$ class suffixes keep both backness and roundness harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables. The $\{A_2\}$ class suffixes are much more stable than the $\{A_4\}$ class suffixes. Thus, they keep only backness harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables. The high vowel suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are divided into $\{U\}$ class suffixes and $\{I\}$ class suffixes. The $\{I\}$ class suffixes keep both palatal and labial harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables. The $\{U\}$ class suffixes keep only front/back harmony with the vowels in the preceding syllables. In stem and suffix harmony, the realizations of stem and suffixes in the Lopnor

dialect obey more strict harmonic rules than Standard Uyghur and other dialects. The harmonic stem spreads to the fourth and sometimes even to the fifth syllables. As in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, some systematic disharmonic stems and suffixes exist in some original Turkic words and a quite number of loanwords in the Lopnor dialect. However, compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, the number of disharmonic stems and suffixes is relatively small in this dialect.

The diachronic processes in the Lopnor dialect, in general, are more complex than that of Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. Thus, some diachronic processes, like the deletion of the vowel in the second syllable of some dissyllabic words (instable second vowel), are common in most Turkic languages. Some diachronic processes, like the voicing of the velar /k/, the fricativization of the uvular /q/, the deletion of the lateral approximant /l/ and the deletion of the syllable-final /y/, can also be found in Standard Uyghur. The Lopnor dialect shares or partly shares some diachronic processes with the other dialects of Uyghur, but not with Standard Uyghur. Namely, the nasalization of /ä/ in word-final position and the strengthening of /v/ at the word initial and intervocalic position are common to the Turfan and Lopnor dialects. The palatalization of the /r/ in syllable-initial position, which is the typical feature of the Khotan dialect, existed only in Charqiliq and Miren areas of the Lopnor region. However, there are a number of features which are unique to the Lopnor dialect. For example, the rounding of the vowels /a/, /ä/ and /i/, the non-fronting of front vowel /ä/, the deletion of /ɣ/, the gemination of nasal /ŋ/ and the progressive assimilation of some consonants exist only in the Lopnor dialect.

Assimilation is one of the main diachronic processes in the Lopnor phonology. Compared to the other dialects of Uyghur, the assimilation of consonants is rather strong in the Lopnor dialect. The main assimilation type in Standard Uyghur, Khotan, Kashgar, Qomul and Ili varieties is regressive assimilation. However, the main assimilation type in the Lopnor dialect is progressive assimilation. The regressive assimilation of the laterals, fricatives and labials are attested in most of the Uyghur dialects. The regressive assimilation of nasals in the Lopnor dialect also exists in the Kashgar dialect, but it is absent in the Turfan dialect and the Kelpin vernacular. However, the progressive assimilation of nasals, fricatives, plosives, labials and the laterals are unique in the Lopnor dialect.

Vowel raising is one of the typical characteristics of Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialects. In other dialects of Uyghur except Lopnor, low and mid-low vowels are raised to the more closed vowels because of the regressive assimilation of the following high vowels. However, in the Lopnor dialect, only mid-low vowel /ä/ in closed monosyllabic words undergoes vowel raising. Therefore, compared to the other dialects of Uyghur, vowel raising is not very common in the Lopnor region. However, because of the strong influence of Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects, there is a growing tendency of vowel raising in the speech of younger speakers in the Lopnor region.

Another important feature of the Lopnor dialect is that it has kept some archaic features of Turkic languages better than the other Uyghur dialects. For example,

(1) In Old Turkic and most of the Turkic languages, the front consonants /k/ and /g/ mostly occur with front vowels, and the back consonants /q/ and /ɣ/ mostly occur with back vowels. This phonotactic feature is kept rather systematically in some native words of Standard Uyghur. However, some words in Standard Uyghur violate this rule. This combinational feature of Turkic languages is kept more systematically in the Lopnor dialect than Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

(2) In Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialects, the Old Turkic /a/ in open first syllables is usually rounded to /o/ due to the regressive assimilation of /u/ in the following syllable. However, the Lopnor dialect has not undergone this historical change.

(3) In Standard Uyghur and most of the Uyghur dialect, the Old Turkic /a/ in open first syllables is usually raised to /e/ due to the /i/ in the following syllable. However, this kind of historical change does not exist in the speech of elder speakers of the Lopnor dialect.

(4) The Old Turkic /t/ in word-initial position is palatalized to /č/ in Standard Uyghur and some other Uyghur dialects. However, in the Lopnor dialect, it does not palatalize to /č/.

The morphology of the Lopnor dialect is mainly based on agglutination by means of suffixes. In the morphological system, the suffixes (derivational or inflectional) and enclitics are added to the root. Because of the strict vowel harmony and the progressive assimilation rules, there are some different derivational and inflectional suffixes in the Lopnor dialect.

Nouns can be inflected for the number, possession and the case. The plurality is marked with the suffix {-lA₄(r)}. The underlying morphological forms of the possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect are quite similar to the forms in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. However, because of the strict palatal and labial vowel harmony, the possessive suffixes in the Lopnor dialect appear in more forms at the surface compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. The case system in the Lopnor dialect includes the nominative, genitive/accusative, ablative, dative and locative cases. In Standard Uyghur, the genitive case is marked by the suffix {-niŋ}, and the accusative case is expressed with the suffix marker {-ni}. However, in the Lopnor dialect, the genitive and accusative case is marked with the same suffix {-NI}, and because of the vowel harmony and the progressive assimilation of consonants, it appears in the forms {-ni}, {-nu}, {-nü}, {-mi}, {-mu}, {-mü}, {-li}, {-lu}, {-lü}, {-ŋi}, {-ŋu}, {-ŋü}, {-ki}, {-kü}, {-qi}, {-qu}, {-ti}, {-tü}, {-pi}, {-zi}, {-zü} and {-zü}. The ablative case suffix in the Lopnor dialect is {-DIn}, which has other phonologically conditioned variants. The dative case is marked with the suffix {-GA₄}, and it has the variants subject to the nasal assimilation. The locative case is marked with the suffix {-DA₄}.

In the Lopnor dialect, the nominative forms of pronouns are the same with their counterparts in Standard Uyghur. However, the declension of some personal and demonstrative pronouns in the Lopnor dialect is quite unique compared to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. The demonstrative pronoun "šol", which is quite rare in Uyghur dialects, also exists in this dialect.

The cardinal number 'one' in the Lopnor dialect appears as "bir ~ bi ~ biy". The occurrences of "bir ~ bi ~ biy" is rather free such that it is impossible to detemine the

conditions for their occurrences. There are some region specific quantifiers that exist in the Lopnor dialect.

Verbs in the Lopnor dialect have rich inflectional suffixes that reflect the voice, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person and number. In the Lopnor dialect, voice is expressed by active (original), causative, passive, reflexive and cooperative-reciprocal suffixes. The past and present/future tenses are distinguished in the Lopnor dialect. In the Lopnor dialect, together with the aspect, the tense is marked by a rather complex system. The past tense includes the simple past tense, past perfect tense and habitual past tense. The present/future tense includes the simple present/future tense and present/future progressive tense. Unique tense types in the Lopnor dialect are the simple present/future tense, which is expressed by attaching the grammaticalized postverb {-(y/A$_2$)di} plus personal suffixes of the predicative type, and the present/future progressive tense which is formed with the converb suffix {-(I)p} plus postverb "yat". In the Lopnor dialect, the suffixally marked moods include the optative, voluntative, imperative, conditional and necessitative. The person is marked by two sets of suffixes: personal suffixes of the predicative type and personal suffixes in the possessive type. The postverbial construction in the Lopnor dialect is formed by the combination of a verbal lexeme, which appeared in a converbial form, with a following grammaticalized verb whose function is extremely generalized.

One of the important ways of expressing evidentiality in the Lopnor dialect is by adding inflectional markers to the verbs. The evidential suffixes includes the indirect past suffix {-(I)ptu} and the indirect reportive suffix {-GIdäk}.

The copulas can be added to the verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs to form copular construction and usually function as predicates. The most commonly used copulas in the Lopnor dialect include the {-(A$_2$)Du(r)}, {-(i)Di}/"idi", {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)", {-(i)miš}/"imiš' and their complex forms {-(A$_2$)rmiš}, {-A$_2$/yDikä(n)}, {-(I)ptikä(n)} and {-Dikänmiš}. Copulas can function as evidential markers in the Lopnor dialect. The copula {-(A$_2$)Du(r)} expresses the direct, firsthand and attested information. The {-(i)Di}/"idi" expresses the direct, discovered or recognized information in the past. The {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)" expresses the indirect, discovered and attested (or reliable) information. The {-(i)miš}/"imiš' expresses the indirect, reportive and unattested information. The {-(A$_2$)rmiš} expresses the indirect, reportive, inferential and unattested statement about the present or future. The {-A$_2$/yDikä(n)} expresses the indirect, reportive and attested (or reliable) information in the past. The {-(I)ptikä(n)}expresses the indirect, inferred or perceived information. The {-Dikänmiš} expresses indirect, reportive and unattested statement in the past. Among these copulas, the {-(A$_2$)Du(r)}, {-(i)kä(n)}/"ikä(n)" and {-(i)miš}/"imiš' mostly occur after nominal, and their complex form occur after verbals.

With regard to the area of syntax, the differences in Turkic languages are very small. Thus, the Lopnor dialect is very similar to the other Uyghur dialects. The noun phrase in the Lopnor dialect contains an obligatory noun and one or more modifiers. The modifiers may be expressed by a noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral or participle. The main syntactic

structure of a noun phrase is organized according to the principle that the modifier precedes the modified. In an adjective phrase, the adjective is usually modified by a preceding adverbial. Adjective phrases can also be formed by the combination of a noun or pronoun in dative case with the adjective. In postposition phrases, the postpositions that act as the head of the phrase usually follow their complements. The main function of the postpositional phrase in a sentence is adverbial. However, some postpositional phrases function as attributes or predicates. In the postpositional phrases, the postpositions require different case markers on their complements. Verb phrases in the Lopnor dialect contain one verb which usually needs to be inflected in a sentence, and its complements or adverbials that modify the verb. In general, the complements or adverbials precede the verb.

In the Lopnor dialect, complement clauses are divided into the non-factive complement clauses which are formed by attaching the infinitive suffixes or verbal noun suffixes, and the factive complement clause which are formed by attaching the suffixes {-GA₄n} or {-lIK} with a possessive personal marker. The relative clauses are usually based on participles. The adverbial clause usually contains a subordinating converb. In some instances, the converb is also followed by a postposition or noun phrase. The conditional clause is usually formed by the conditional suffix {-sA₄}. The predicate of a finite clause in the Lopnor dialect can be verbal or nominal. If the predicate of a finite clause is nominal, unlike some other Turkic languages, it usually will not occur with copula suffixes. However, the occurrence with a copula is also possible in order to stress the meaning expressed in the predicate.

Coordination in the Lopnor dialect can be made by juxtaposition of shared elements or by using the converb forms. Existence is expressed by the adjective "ba(r)" ('existent'), and its negation is expressed by the adjective "yoq" ('non-existent'). In the Lopnor dialect, "ämäs" is used for the negation for non-verbal predicative expression. Apart from the interrogative particle "-m(I)", the particles "-ču, -ɣu, -du, hä" can form interrogative sentences in the Lopnor dialect. However, their occurrence is not as common as in Standard Uyghur.

In conclusion, the description of phonology, morphology and syntax of the Lopnor dialect provides the clear evidence of its relationship with the other Uyghur dialects. As has been discussed in the first chapter, some researchers have hypothesized a close relationship between Lopnor and Kirghiz people. As we know, modern Kirghiz is a Kipchak (Northwestern Turkic)[156] language, and the Old Kirghiz may be related to the Altay Turkic in the South Siberian (Northeastern) group.[157] However, according to the traditional classification criteria of Turkic languages, we have enough evidence to say that the Lopnor dialect belongs to the eastern branch of the Southeastern Turkic. For example,

[156] Kirghiz is classified in a Kirghiz-Kipchak sub-branch of Central Turkic by Schönig. See Schönig, Claus. 1997. A new attempt to classify the Turkic languages I-III. *Turkic Languages* 1.1: 123.

[157] Johanson, Lars 1998b. History of Turkic. In: Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998. P 83.

the intervocalic consonant in the word 'foot' is "ayaq", but not "adaq" as in the languages in the Siberian group; the suffix final "-G" in the Lopnor dialect is not dropped as in the Kipchak Turkic (LOP: taɣliɣ ~ taɣliq, Tatar: tawlï, Kirghiz tōlū).[158]

However, the description in this dissertation also shows some unique characteristics of the Lopnor dialect. The features which make it different from other Uyghur dialects include the strict vowel harmony, progressive assimilation of consonants, the different realizations of some derivational and inflectional suffixes caused by the vowel harmony and progressive assimilation, the convergence of genitive and accusative case, the simple present/future tense formed by attaching the grammaticalized postverb {-(y/A$_2$)di} and the present/future progressive tense formed with the converb suffix {-(I)p} plus postverb "yat". I assume that the progressive assimilation of consonants is a result of the contact of Turkic languages in this area, and the other features belong to the inner development of the Lopnor dialect. Thus, because of its unique features, there have been suggestions by others about classifying the language of the Lopnor people as an independent language, rather than a dialect of Uyghur. As we know, there is no universally accepted criterion for distinguishing a language from a dialect. In the case of some languages it has been proved almost impossible to determine language or dialect boundaries on linguistic evidence alone. However, based mainly on the linguistic criteria with the help of social, cultural and political criteria, I propose that the language spoken in the Lopnor region cannot be regarded as an independent language; rather it is a dialect of Uyghur.

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[158] Ibid, P 83.

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