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**Common Vocabulary of the Western and Eastern Yugur Languages
The Ethnonyms**

This is the third in a series of articles on etymologies of Western Yugur, a Turkic language, and Eastern Yugur, a Mongolic language, both spoken within the Yugur nationality in China's Gānsù Province. These two different linguistic groups of the Yugur, or Yellow Uygur, as they are traditionally known among western scholars, not only came to share a common history, but also a common ethnonym¹.

1. The Yugur's autonym, and names for the Yugur from neighbouring peoples

The nationality's official name is *Yugur*, or, in Chinese, *Yùgù* (lit. rich union), a euphonic coinage reflecting the pronunciation of the Yugur's autonym². The Turkic and the Mongolic speaking Yugur use a similar autonym: the Turkic speaking Yugur designate themselves as *yoğır* 'Yugur' [1] or *sariğ yoğır* 'Yellow Yugur' [2], and the Mongolic speaking Yugur likewise use either *yoğor* 'Yugur' [3] or *šëra yoğor* 'Yellow Yugur' [4]. In order to distinguish both groups and their languages, Chinese linguists coined the terms *Xībù Yùgù* (Western Yugur) and *Dōngbù Yùgù* (Eastern Yugur).

The ethnonyms *yoğır* and *yoğor* derive from Uygur, the name of a Turkic speaking people already attested in ancient Turkic documents³. A metathesis form *Iugures* for

¹ It is unclear to what extent exactly the two linguistic groups of the Yugur have blended into one people in the course of their history. At least since the last part of the 17th century, they have been separated geographically and administratively, the Mongolic speaking Yugur residing in the east in the mountains near Gānzhōu, and the Turkic speaking Yugur mainly in the west in the plains near Sùzhōu, except for a group who lived in the mountains near the Mongolic speaking Yugur. In some communities, especially the Yugur dwelling closest to Sùzhōu, the vernacular Yugur was displaced by Chinese.

² This official representation was agreed upon in 1953, an older one being *Yáohū'ěr* (Chén & Léi 1985: 1).

³ The meaning and ultimate origin of this ethnonym are unknown. The Yugur do not use the ethnonym *yoğır* or *yoğor* to denote the present-day Uygur of Xīnjiāng: in fact, the latter only adopted their present ethnonym

Uygur was noted as early as the 13th century by Wilhelm de Rubrouck, a Franciscan missionary and envoy to the Mongol khan (Ligeti 1934: 243).

From the 10th century onwards, Chinese historical documents have recorded the epithet Yellow as part of the ethnonym of the Turkic speaking peoples of the Gānsù area, either by translating its meaning, e.g. *Huángtóu Huíhe* ('Yellow-head Uygur')⁴, or by giving a phonetic rendering of it, e.g. *Sālī Wèiwù'ěr, Xīlǎgǔ'ěr*⁵.

It has been suggested that the epithet Yellow refers to the Buddhist-Lamaist faith, more specifically to the Yellow sect, that these peoples adhered to, but this is uncertain. Many Turkic as well as Mongolic speaking peoples employ colour names in their ethnonyms and clan names⁶.

During the Qīng dynasty, the Yugur people were also called *Huángfān* ('Yellow Barbarian') [5] by the Chinese, who hereby distinguished them from the Tibetans whom they called *Hēifān* ('Black Barbarian') [6]. These ethnonyms have been recorded by the earliest western explorers of the Yugur area. Potanin, who crossed the mountains inhabited by the Mongolic speaking Yugur in 1886, wrote: "The Chinese call all Yogur *xuan'fan*', that is, *Yellow Barbarian*" (1893: 440). Mannerheim briefly visited the Yugur in 1907 and observed: "[...] people who call themselves *Sarö Yögur* ('yellow Yögurs') and [are] called by the Chinese *Huang Fantzū* (*huang* 'yellow', *fan* 'barbarian'; 'the yellow barbarians') to distinguish them from the Tangutans⁷, who are called *Hei Fantzū* (*hei* 'black')" (1911: 5). The missionary Hermanns, who travelled the Amdo area in the 1930s, reported: "The Chinese call [the nomad clans in the mountains of the Nanshan] *Huan-fän*, yellow Fän, to distinguish them from the neighbouring *Hei-fän*, black Fän. The Chinese use the term *Fän-dse* [10] to denote the neighbouring Tibetan nomads. They apparently regard the *Huan-fän* as Tibetans" (1940–1941: 80). The linguists Malov and Léi recorded some variant terms [7–9].

None of these Chinese terms discerns between the Turkic and the Mongolic speaking Yugur. The Tibetans, however, did make a distinction between the two Yugur groups according to Hermanns: "They [i.e. the Tibetans] call the eastern tribes [of the *Huan-fän*] *Hor ser*, yellow Hor, or *Hor gur ser* [12], and the western tribes *Hor nag*, black Hor, or *Hor gur nag* [13]. Apparently they regard these people as belonging to the Mongolians, since they denote the Mongolians as *Hor* [11]" (1940–1941: 80)⁸.

in the 20th century. The old ethnonym *Türk* or *Türük* did not survive in the Yugur languages, although some other old ethnonyms, such as *Kirgiz* and *Čonil*, do survive as Yugur 'bone' clan names.

⁴ This term was used during the Sòng dynasty, cf. Pinks 1968.

⁵ The former term prevailed during the Yuán and Míng dynasties, the latter during the Qīng dynasty; *sālī* reflects the Turkic word *sariğ*, and *xīlǎ* the Mongolic word *šera* (cf. Chén & Léi 1985: 1, and Saguchi 1986 for further historical names).

⁶ For instance the Western Yugur surnames or 'bone' clan names *Qizil* ('Red'), *Aq* ('White'), *Aq Yağlahqır* ('White Yaghlahqır'), and *Qara Yağlahqır* ('Black Yaghlahqır').

⁷ An older designation for the Tibetans.

⁸ The common Tibetan word for 'Mongol' is *Sog-po* (Jäschke 1958: 579a). As for the colour of the dwellings, most Yugur are sedentary, living in adobe houses, and when nomadising a black tent is used; a white tent is used in marriage ceremonies.

The Turkic speaking Yugur living in the plains (i.e. Míng huā District) designate themselves as *oy kisi* ('plains person') [14]; they designate the Yugur living in the mountains (i.e. Dàhé District) as *thaǵ kisi* ('mountain person') [15].

2. Yugur ethnonyms for neighbouring peoples

The Turkic speaking Yugur call the Tibetans *taht* [16], a Turkic word that originally meant 'stranger, alien'. Currently, *taht* is used by the Yugur of the plains to refer to the Mongolic speaking Yugur, who live in the mountains, as well. Malov recorded the word *potpa* [17] for Tibetan, but this may have been obsolescent, and Léi furthermore recorded the term *qaraliǵ* [18] in Dàhé speech. The Mongolic speaking Yugur call the Tibetans *thanqet* [19].

The Turkic speaking Yugur use the term *sart* [20] to denote the muslim Hui and modern Uygur. This ethnonym is already attested in ancient Turkic writings, meaning 'merchant' and later on 'town dweller', eventually perhaps referring to 'sedentary muslim'. The Mongolic speaking Yugur use a cognate term *saltuur* [21] for Hui. An obsolescent designation for the modern Uygur is *chanthou* [22], a loanword from Chinese *chántóu* (lit. 'wrap-head') that referred to the turban once worn by them. Mannerheim recorded this term among the Mongolic speaking Yugur as well [23].

The Russian turcologist Malov, and following him, Tenišev recorded a Yugur word *ariq* [24] 'Chinese, muslim, Turk'. This is a loanword from Tibetan that originally referred to the local Tibetan population.

The Mongolic speaking Yugur call the Mongols *monqul* [25]; this term does not comprise the Mongolic speaking Yugur themselves, nor the Monguor, who are called *tolto* [28]. The word *monqul* was borrowed by the Turkic speaking Yugur as *monil* [26]. Malov further mentions the Mongol tribal name *torgot* [27], one of the western Mongol tribes.

The Turkic speaking Yugur call the Chinese *qhiti* [29], a term that originally derives from Khitan or Khitay, the name of a non-Chinese people ruling China in the 10–11th centuries as the Liáo dynasty⁹. The Mongolic speaking Yugur use the cognate term *qhutat* [30]. The sources also mention some pejorative terms for the Chinese [31–34].

3. The problem of the ethnonym 'Qara Yugur'

According to several older sources, the Mongolic speaking Yugur called the Turkic speaking Yugur *xara yugur*, generally translated as 'Black Yugur' [35]. The Turkic speaking Yugur, however, are not aware of such a name.

Hermanns reported thus: "The eastern tribes call themselves *šara yugur*, yellow Yugur. They call their western neighbours *xara yugur*, black Yugur. The latter denote themselves, as well as their eastern neighbours, as Yugur" (1940–41: 80).

⁹ This is also the source of the name 'Cathay'.

This inconsistency of names led to the speculation among explorers and linguists that the ethnonym *xara yugur* was an *ad hoc* coinage by the Mongolic speaking Yugur, to distinguish themselves clearly from their Turkic speaking neighbours for the sake of their visitors, hereby inspired perhaps by the existing Chinese ethnonyms that referred to yellow and black.

Mannerheim reported somewhat bewildered the following: "It is a strange fact that this little mountain tribe who not only consider themselves, but, without doubt, are, Mongolian, say that in spite of the difference of language they belong to the same tribe as the Sarö Yögurs, whom they, at the same time, consider to be *Tshantu*, that is to say *Sarts*, and whose name they say ought to be *Kara* (black) *Yögür* not *Sarö Yögur*" (1911: 32). Mannerheim further stated: "Potanin also calls them *Kara Yögur* in the statements he makes in his book regarding these people but I consider it altogether impossible that I should mistake K. for S. It is however possible that the Sarö Yögur themselves have replaced *Kara* with *Sarö* – that is, the Chinese *huang* 'yellow' translated in to their own language" (1911: 32, footnote 1).

In his review of Mannerheim's article, Malov suggested: "And if the Shera Yugur call their neighbours the Saryg Yugur *chantu* and Sart, then this is merely an *ad hoc* device to explain to the traveller G. Mannerheim that in their opinion, the language of the Saryg Yugur resembles the language of the *chantu* or Sart and differs from their own language Shera Yugur, a Mongolic language [...]. G.N. Potanin also calls the Turkic speaking Yugur *kara*, that is, Black Yugur. And this is, in my opinion, because of the fact that he speaks about them in the words of the Shera Yugur. Apparently one must assume that the name *kara* arose among the Shera Yugur as the result of a deliberate distinction among these two sections of one and the same tribe" (1912: 216-217).

Finally, Malov recalls the following incident: "I remember well that the Saryg Yugur called the Tibetan tribes *Kara Yugur*, that is Black Yugur, to me, but later on I was able to find out that they only called them by this name *to me*, as an answer to my question whether or not there were red or white Yugur too. It was only afterwards that I found out that the Saryg Yugur called the Tibetans not at all *Kara Yugur*, but *tat*" (1912: 217).

The fact that the name *qara yugur* or *xara yoğor* was recorded over a period of about 50 years by several researchers independently strongly suggests, however, that it is indeed an existing Mongolic Yugur ethnonym and not a term merely coined for the convenience of the visitors¹⁰. Although the meaning 'Black Yugur' was inferred by most authors, except for Potanin (who did not give a translation), there is no evidence in any of the sources that the meaning 'black' was provided by the informants.

Another interpretation of the term is the following. The phonetic shape of the Mongolic Yugur word *qara* or *xara* not only represents Common Mongolic **kara* 'black', but it is also an (irregular) reflex of the etymon **kari* 'strange, unfamiliar, stranger, unrelated

¹⁰ Hahn's suggestion that the Turkic speaking Yugur call the Mongolic speaking Yugur 'Xara Yoghör' instead of the reverse (1998: 387) must be, in view of the phonetic shape of the cited form, an unfortunate editorial mistake.

(person)' [36]. The regular development *xarə* is also attested among the Mongolic speaking Yugur. This word is well documented in the Secret History and the Huá-Yí Yiyü, and it further occurs in Khalkha, Buryat, and Kalmuck. If this etymon is indeed the first element of the ethnonym *xara yoğor*, it would simply mean 'alien Yugur' or 'strange Yugur', and not be an ethnonym in the strictest sense.

In view of this it is not surprising that none of the visitors of the Turkic speaking Yugur ever recorded a self-designation **qara yoğır* from them.

4. Language designations discerning between the two linguistic groups of the Yugur

Although the Turkic and Mongolic speaking Yugur share a common autonym, they are aware of the different languages they speak and the affiliations of these languages. According to Hermanns, the Turkic speaking Yugur "admit that they can understand the Salars (in Tsing hai, China) and the Shan tou (in Kan su and Sin kiang) to a certain extent [..]. The Angars say that they can understand the Daide-Mongols (Kan su, Tsing hai), the Tzaidam-Mongols (Tsing hai) as well as the Ala shan-Mongols (Ning hia). They claim however a still closer connection with the Mongor or Tu jen (Kan su, Tsing hai) as the Chinese called them, an old Mongolian tribe" (1951: 192)¹¹.

The Turkic speaking Yugur denote their own language by the term *yoğır lar* or *yoğır söz*¹². The Mongolic speaking Yugur call their language *ŋkar lar* (lit. Ngkar language, Ngkar speech) [37], which is of unclear etymology. The Turkic speaking Yugur call the language of the Mongolic speaking Yugur *inkar lar* or *inkar söz*, which apparently reflects the Mongolic Yugur form, although the Turkic Yugur word *inkar* [38] has several other meanings not shared by the Mongolic Yugur equivalent. The Mongolic Yugur sources do not mention a term for the Western Yugur language.

Like other parts of the lexicon, the Yugur ethnonyms present an amalgam of Turkic, Mongolic, Chinese, and Tibetan etymons, as well as etymons of unclear or unknown origin. The only recurrent theme is the concept of 'alien, stranger, other'.

List of Yugur ethnonyms¹³

[1] WYu *yoğır* 'Yugur', cf. T184b, *yoğur* L271b, CL164b, T184b, M41b, *yüğur* L279b, *yuğur* M43a 'id', *yugur* Her80 'Turkic speaking Yugur' <CT **uygur*.

¹¹ The Deed Mongols are West Mongolic speakers, the Alašan Mongols speak a form of East Mongolic with western elements. The character of the dialect of the Caydam Mongols is unknown to us.

¹² The Turkic speaking Yugur use the words *söz* and *lar* for 'language, speech', not Turkic **tıl* 'tongue, language', and the Mongolic speaking Yugur use *lar* as well, not Mongolic **kélén* 'tongue, language'.

¹³ The transcription used here for Western Yugur is the traditional one, except for the graphemes *ç* and *ş*, which represent retroflexes, and *ć* and *ś*, which represent alveolo-palatals. In the transcription of Eastern Yugur *é* represents a central mid-vowel; the graphemes *č* and *š* are palatals.

[2] EYu *yoğor* B155, BJ225, *yuğur* J36 ‘Yugur’ ← WYu [1].

[3] WYu *sariğ yoğır* ‘Yellow Yugur’, cf. *sariğ yoğur* L271b, L319b, CL2, *sariğ yuğur* M43a, M100b, T3, TT7, *sarö yögur* Man1.

[4] EYu *šira-yogur* PotI:440, *šera yögur* Man1, *šera yuğur* Kot440, *šara yugur* Her80, *šira yuğur* T3, TT7 ‘Yellow Yugur’.

[5] WYu *xuanfan* L181a ‘older name of the Yugur’, *xuan’fan* PotI:440 ‘Yugur’, *huang-fan* Man1 ‘common name for the Sarö and Shera Yögurs’, *huang fantzũ* Man5 [Yugur], *huan-fän* Her80 ‘yellow Fän [nomads between Kan-chow and Su-chow]’ ← Ch *huángfān* ‘yellow barbarian’; the last element in Mannerheim’s term is ← Ch *zú* ‘clan, nationality’.

[6] WYu *xīfan* L179a ‘older name of the Tibetans’, *xī fan* M134a, *xī fän* M134a, *hei fantzũ* Man5 ‘Tangut’, *hei-fän* Her80 ‘black Fän [Tibetan nomad]’ ← Ch *hēifān* ‘black barbarian’.

[7] WYu *šifan* L241b ‘older name for the Yugur’, *sifan* M102b ‘name by which the Chinese call the Yugur’ ← Ch *xīfān* ‘western barbarian’.

[8] WYu *xuan šifan* M1912a:96 ‘name by which the Chinese call the Yugur’ ← Ch *huáng xīfān* ‘yellow western barbarian’.

[9] WYu *xī-šifan* M114a, M1912:217, M1912a:96 ‘name by which the Chinese call the Tangut’ ← Ch *hēi xīfān* ‘black western barbarian’.

[10] Ch *fän-dse* Her80 ‘Chinese term for the Tibetan nomads’ ← Ch *fānzú* ‘barbarian nationality’.

[11] WYu *xor* M137a ‘name of a Yugur bone clan’, EYu *xor* B159 ‘Yugur clan name’ ← LT *Hor* Jä598a ‘a Mongol’, Amdo *xor* Roe157 ‘Turk of Central Asia, Mongol’, *hor* MG486 ‘Monguor’¹⁴.

[12] Tib *hor ser* Her80 ‘yellow Hor, the Eastern clans [of the *huan-fän*]’, *hor gur ser* Her80 [yellow tent Hor], WYu *xorser* M137b ‘name of a Yugur bone clan’ ← LT *Hor* [11] + LT *ser-po* Jä577b ‘yellow’ (+ LT *gur* Jä69b ‘tent’).

[13] Tib *hor nag* Her80 ‘black Hor, the Western clans [of the *huan-fän*]’, *hor gur nag* Her80 [black tent Hor] ← LT *Hor* [11] + LT *nag-pa* Jä300b ‘black’ (+ LT *gur* Jä69b ‘tent’).

[14] WYu *oy kisi* ‘steppe person, Yugur living in the plains’, cf. further *oyliğ* L37a ‘plains-; plainsman (Yugur of Mínghuā District)’, T3, TT7 ‘autonym of the Yellow Yugur living in the steppes’, *oyliğ* M81a ‘plain, living in the plains’, *oyliğ yuğur* M81a ‘plains Yugur’ <CT **o.y* ‘hole, cavity; valley’ (cf. EDPT 265b) + adjective suffix.

[15] WYu *thağ kisi* ‘mountain person, Yugur living in the mountains’, *thağliğ* L120a ‘mountainous; mountainous region; mountain-man, inhabitant of a mountainous region (especially a Yugur from Dàhé District)’, *tağliğ* T3, TT7, ‘autonym of the inhabitants of the mountains’ <CT **ta:g* (cf. EDPT 463a) + adjective suffix.

[16] WYu *taht* ‘Tibetan; Eastern Yugur’, cf. L94b, CL164b ‘Tibetan’, T212a, *tarht* T212a, *tat* T3, M114a, M1912:96 ‘Tangut, Tibetan’, PotII:436b ‘Tangut’ <CT **tat* ‘stranger, alien’ (cf. EDPT 449a). Unlike Salar *thiut* Lín48a ‘Tibetan’, the WYu form is not a contracted form of Turkic **tüpiüt* or Mongolic **töbéd* (as proposed by Dwyer 2000: 426); these older

¹⁴ For further instances of this etymon, see Nugteren & Roos 1998: 85.

ethnonyms have not been attested in the Yugur languages. A contraction of **tanut* mentioned under [19] is also unlikely, in view of the WYu form and the historical developments.

[17] WYu *potpa* M94a ‘Tangut’ ←LT *bod-pa* Jä372a ‘the Tibetans’, Arik *po-pæ* TB166 ‘Tibetan’.

[18] WYu *qaraliğ* L190b:Da ‘Tibetan’, *qaraliq* M53b ‘name of a Yugur bone clan’, apparently from *qara* ‘black’ + adjective suffix; Malov’s -*q* is unexpected; for the semantics see [6]. A similar formation is attested in the Yugur bone clan name *čigallıq* M148a, derived from the EYu colour name *č^hēgaan* ‘white’. In *qizilliğ* L195b and *çunilliğ* L291b the adjective suffix functions as a collective of the bone clan names *qizil* (also ‘red’) and *çunil* ~ *çoñil*, cf. also [14] and [15].

[19] EYu *thañqāt* B114, *thañqet* J74 ‘Tibetan’, *tangēt* PotII:420b ‘Tangut’, cf. LM *tangyud* Les777a ‘Tangut inhabitant of northwestern China, sometimes referring to the Tibetans or their country’, cognate to the older Turkic form **tanut* (cf. Räs462a).

[20] WYu *sart* ‘muslim; Hui; Uygur’, cf. T205b, M100b ‘Dungan’, L320a, CL164b ‘Hui’ <CT **sart* ‘merchant; town dweller’ (cf. EDPT 846a ←Sanskrit).

[21] EYu *sal^huur* B98 ‘Hui’, cf. LM *sartayul* Les677a ‘ancient name of Bukhara’.

[22] WYu *ç^hanth^hou* (speech of older people) ‘Uygur’, cf. *ç^hanth^hiu* L292b ‘id’, *čantu* M140b, *shan tou* Her192 ‘Turk, muslim of Chinese Turkestan, that is Xīnjiāng’ ←Ch *chán* ‘to wrap’ + *tóu* ‘head’.

[23] EYu *tshantu* Man32 ‘Sart’ ←Ch *chán* ‘to wrap’ + *tóu* ‘head’.

[24] WYu *ariq* M18a ‘Chinese citizen, muslim-Turk (Chinese: *čañ-tou*)’, T3 ‘Turki (not Yugur)’ ←LT *A-rig* Das1364a ‘n. of a country of nomad herdsmen situated to the west of Amdo’¹⁵.

[25] EYu *monqul* B93, *monqol* J102b ‘Mongol’, cf. LM *mongyul* Les542b ‘Mongol, Mongolian’.

[26] WYu *monıl* L86b, CL164b, *monıl* M78a, *monıl* M77b, T192a, *monıl* M77b, T192a, *munıl* L87b, *munıl* T192a, *miñıl* L82a, *miñıl* M78b, *monğol* M77b ‘Mongol’, ultimately Mongolic, either ←EYu [25], or < older Turkic **monul* (cf. Räs340b) ←LM *mongyul*.

[27] WYu *torgot* M122b ‘Torgut Mongol’ ←Mongolic, cf. LM *toryud* Les826b.

[28] EYu *tolto* B130 ‘Monguor’, cf. Amdo *dordō* Roe131, *tordō* Roe126 ‘name of a tribe’¹⁶, LT (according to Roerich) *Dol-rdo*, *Do-rdo*. In view of the ethnonym and banner name *Daldy* recorded by Prževal’skij (1875: 128, 225), and the Ordos name *dalat* ‘one of the seven Ordos banners’, *dolo:t* ‘clan name’, recorded by Mostaert (1941–1944: 115a, 151a), the name may be rather of Mongolic origin.

[29] WYu *q^hiti* ‘Chinese’, cf. *q^hitey* L210b, CL164b, *kitey* T201b, M64b, *qtey* M59a, *xitey* L179a, T219b, *kitay* PotII:435b, *q^hetey* L212b <CT **kitañ* (cf. Räs268b), cognate to LM *kitad*¹⁷.

¹⁵ For further instances of this etymon, see Nugteren & Roos 1998: 46, footnote 7.

¹⁶ In the text of his introduction, Roerich identifies this tribe (alternatively named – apparently in Mongolian – *Dalāt*, *Dolōt*) with the Monguor (1958: 2–3), but on the accompanying map, Monguor and *Dalāt* are indicated separately.

¹⁷ For further instances of this etymon, see Nugteren & Roos 1996: 19.

[30] EYu *q^hut^hat* B65, *q^hutat* J61 ‘Chinese’, cf. LM *kitad* Les473b, cognate to CT **kitañ*.

[31] WYu *söyri* L336b, *söyeri* L336b:Da, *süyer* L334b ‘Chinese (derogatory)’, *süyer* M107a ‘id, used so that the Chinese will not know who is talked about’, of unknown etymology.

[32] WYu *t^hog azaq* L129a:Da ‘Chinese (derogatory)’ (lit. short foot).

[33] WYu *qara q^hulaq* L190a ‘Chinese (derogatory)’ (lit. black ear), but cf. *qara qulaq* M60b ‘female sex organs’.

[34] WYu *māqayan* M74b ‘Chinese woman (derogatory)’.

[35] EYu *xara yogur* PotI:440 ‘[name of] the two western clans [of the Yugur] speaking a Turkic language’, *kara yögur* Man32, *xara yugur* Her80 ‘Black Yugur’, a compound consisting of EYu *xara* [36] + *yöğor* [2].

[36] EYu *xara* B48, *xarè* J90 ‘place far away from home, strange land’, cf. LM *xari* Les937a ‘foreign, strange, stranger’, and further the EYu collocations *xara ht^hoq* B48 ‘external tribe’, *xaratè sakla-* B48 ‘to give away (one’s daughter in marriage)’, *xarètè ök-* J90 ‘of a woman to get married’. The EYu terms *xara anka* B46 ‘paternal great-grandmother’, *xara aβa* B46 ‘paternal great-grandfather’ may derive from **kari* as well. This etymon is attested from the earliest documents in various meanings: Secret History *qari(n)* Haenisch62 ‘state; foreigner; tribe’, Huá-Yí Yiyü *qaritan* Mos88 ‘nations; princes’. It further occurs in Khalkha *xar* Han624a ‘foreign; alien; strange; family of another’, *xar’d ök-* Han624a ‘to give away the bride’, *xar’tan* Han624a ‘guests’, Buryat *xari* Čer555a, and Kalmuck *xäri* Ram177b ‘strange, stranger’, *xärd ġar-* Mun589b ‘to get married (of a woman) (i.e. to go away in an unknown direction)’.

[37] EYu *ŋkar* J9 ‘Ngkar’¹⁸, *ŋkar lar* S72 ‘Ngkar language, Ngkar speech’, *angar* Her40:80, Her193 [language of the Mongolic speaking Yugur]. Both the velar *k* and the initial cluster suggest a Tibetan origin, but there is no convincing etymology. A phonetically possible origin might be LT *mgar-ba* Jä90a ‘smith’, Das282a ‘id, someone of a low cast’. However, the EYu clan name *ŋqwara* B159 matches the local Amdo pronunciation of LT *mgar-ba* better. An equally uncertain alternative might be *mGar*, the name of a prominent Tibetan family, cf. LT *mgar* Jä90a ‘n. of a noted crafty vizier of the king Srontsangampo’, Amdo *Gar* Roe113 ‘counsellor of Srong-tsen gam-po, exiled in Kuku-nor’. Note that *ŋkar* is only used as the name of the language, not as an ethnonym, although Hermanns speaks of ‘the Angar’.

[38] WYu *iŋkar söz* ‘Mongolic Yugur language’, *iŋkar lar* L141a ‘id’ ← EYu *ŋkar lar* [37]; note that *iŋkar*, too, is only used as the name of the language, not as an ethnonym. This WYu form is also attested in the meaning *iŋkar* L22a ‘muddled, confused’, ZT448, ZT3822 ‘fool, idiot; clumsy, stupid’, *iŋġar* M154a ‘other, different’. A homonym is *iŋkar* ‘pianniu (offspring of a bull and a yak-cow)’, cf. L22a:Da ‘calf of a pianniu’ ← LT **gar-ba* Jä93a ‘a mixed breed of cattle, of a *mdzo* [mongrel-breed of the yak-bull and common cow] and a common cow, or a bull and a *mdzo-mo* [female *mdzo*]', although the loss of the last element in WYu is unusual. This word may have inspired formations like WYu *iŋkarwa*

¹⁸ Chinese spellings: *Ēngé’ěr*, *Āngé’ěr* BJ4.

L22a, ZT3823 ‘fool, idiot, simpleton’, ZT448 ‘id; clumsy, stupid’, *iŋgarwa* M154a ‘stupid, slow-witted’, and *iŋkarwaſ* ‘stupid person, fool’, cf. CL172b, *iŋkar paſ* L22a, ZT3823 ‘fool, idiot, simpleton’, in which the last element can be identified with *paſ* ‘head’. The Salar word *karba* Lín91a ‘yak (hybrid); mixed speech; bastard (term of abuse)’ combines several of the meanings found in WYu. The transference of an ethnic name to the meaning of ‘incomprehensible speech’ is not uncommon, cf. Koeterwaals, Kauderwelsch, or (reversely) Barbarian, Nemec, Hottentot. It is, however, unlikely that the Mongolic speaking Yugur’s designation for their own language would be of the same origin as the that of the WYu word *iŋkar* ‘pianniu; stupid’.

Abbreviations

B	Bolčuluu	Jä	Jäschke	Pot	Potanin
BJ	Bolčuluu & Jalsan	Kot	Kotwicz	Ram	Ramstedt
Ch	Chinese	L	Léi	Räs	Räsänen
Čer	Čeremisov	L:Da	Dàhé speech	Roe	Roerich
CL	Chén & Léi	Les	Lessing	RT	Róna-Tas
CM	Common Mongolic	LM	Literary Mongolian	S	Sūn Zhú
CT	Common Turkic	LT	Literary Tibetan	T	Tenišev
EDPT	Clauson 1972	M	Malov	TT	Tenišev & Todaeva
EYu	Eastern Yugu	Man	Mannerheim	TB	Huáng Bùfán
Han	Hangin	MG	Mīn & Gěng	Tib	Tibetan
Her	Hermanns	Mos	Mostaert 1977	WYu	Western Yugur
J	Juunast	Mun	Muniev	ZT	Nurbek

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