

THE EVOLUTION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS: A BRIEF SURVEY INTO CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN MODERN UIGHUR

Muzappar ABDURUSUL*

Abstract

Consonant clusters are two or three consonant letters in a syllable. In the native words of modern Uighur the occurrence of consonant clusters is very rare. They mostly occur in the copy words from other languages. Most consonant clusters in modern Uighur are the combination of two consonants. The combination of more than two consonants is never seen in native words. In modern Uighur, consonant clusters may appear in the initial, especially in the Russian copy words, or final position of a syllable. In the Arabic, Persian and native words they only appear in the final position. In this article I give, first, an explanation to the evolution of consonant clusters in modern Uighur; secondly, a list of most commonly used clustered words which are intelligible to the average Uighurs.

Key words: *Consonant clusters, Modern Uighur, copy words, actual pronunciation.*

Çağdaş Uygurcadaki Ünsüz Kümelerine Bir Bakış

Özet

Çift ünlüler bir hece içerisindeki iki veya üç ünlüyü gösteriyor. Çağdaş Uygur dilinde çift ünlüler öz Uygurca kelimelerde çok az görülür, çoğunlukla diğer dillerden giren kopya sözlerde gözükmektedir. Çağdaş Uygur dilindeki çift ünlülerin çoğunluğu iki ünlüden oluşmuş. Öz Uygurca kelimelerde hiçbir zaman ikiden fazla çift ünlü görülmemektedir. Çağdaş Uygurcada çift ünlüler hece önünde veya sonunda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Hece önündeki çift ünlüler özellikle Rusça kopya kelimelerde görülür.

* Dr., Çin Sosyal Bilimler Akademisi, muzappar@gmail.com.

Arapça, Farsça ve öz Uyğurca kelimelerde ise sadece hece sonunda ortaya çıkıyor. Bu yazıda Çağdaş Uyğurcadaki çift ünlülerin nereden geldiği anlatılacak, çok kullanılan çift ünlülü kelimelerin listesi verilecek ve onların asıl telaffuzu hakkındaki görüş ortaya koyulacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çift ünlüler, Çağdaş Uyğurca, kopya kelimeler, asıl telaffuz.

The consonant clusters are two or three consonant letters in a syllable which when combined together retain their individual sound value. The phenomenon of the occurrence of several consonants together in a syllable of native words is not common in Modern Uighur. Generally, most consonant clusters in Modern Uighur are the combination of two consonants. The combination of three or more consonants is hardly or never seen in native words.

In modern Uighur, consonant clusters may appear in the initial or final position of a syllable. But if we look back to the history of Uighur language, it will be turned out that genuine Uighur words rarely, especially in the onset, had consonant clusters.

Psychologically speaking, speakers avoid articulating consonant clusters in their speeches as much as possible due to the fact that the articulation of consonant clusters is harder than that of single consonants, and brings some misunderstandings to the speaker and hearer. That is why we couldn't hear so much real consonant clusters in the ordinary speech. It is also difficult to lay down a standard norm for the language users on how to articulate the consonant clusters.

In this article I give, first, an explanation to the evolution of consonant clusters in modern Uighur; secondly, a list of most commonly used clustered words which are intelligible to the average Uighurs.

I. Consonant Clusters in Old Turkic Period

If we take a look at the earliest Turkic inscriptions and successive Old Uighur documents, or the cognate modern Turkic languages, it can be figured out that few genuine Turkic words have consonant clusters; especially it never occurs at the initial position. Sometimes they pop up at the end of words, e.g. *üst* “above”, *ast* “below”, *ald* “front” etc. In addition, some consonant clustered suffixes as *-nč* formed consonant clustered words by being added in the end of the root words, e.g. *inanč* “belief”, *qilinč* “behaviour”, *yükünč* “worship” etc. The consonant clustered words which frequently appear in Turkic inscriptions and Old Uighur documents are: *alp* “hero; difficult”, *alq-* “to finish”, *ärinč* “according to, it is said that...”, *ärklig* “powerful”, *bulyanč* “disorder”, *känč*

“young”, *olurt-* “let..sit down”, *onunč* “tenth”, *ört* “fire”, *ötünč* “appeal”, *qırq* “forty”, *qorq-* “to fear”, *sanč-* “to stick”, *tarqinč* “lax”, *ulyart-* “reinforce”, *unč* “maybe”, *yinčgä* “thin”, *yont* “horse (one of the twelve zodiac months)”, *yurč* “wife’s younger brother”, *yurt* “homeland” etc.

In these words, consonant clusters never occur in the word-initials. What’s more, Old Turkic final clusters such as *-rt*, *-lt*, *-nt*, *-nč*, *-st*, *-rk* seem to be the result of secondary developments, e.g. Old Turkic *and* “oath” < Proto-Turkic *andä*.¹

The word types in Proto-Turkic were probably monosyllabic. The mostly found word types V and CV in the earliest Turkic documents also corroborate this point, e.g. *ī* “vegetation”, *tü* “body hair”. Therefore the existence of same structures in Proto-Turkic cannot be excluded. However, it can occasionally be proven that the additional vowel of CVCV was later dropped off. Therefore, the original types should have been CVCV̆ and CVCV. The reduced V̆ disappeared. e.g. Proto-Turkic **sagä-* > Old Turkic *say-* “to milk”, Proto-Turkic **kertī* > old Turkic *kert-* “cut a notch”. The non-reduced vowels remained. E.g. Proto-Turkic *teke* > old Turkic *teke* “goat, Proto-Turkic *kara* > old Turkic *qara* “black”.²

Old Uighur originally had no consonant clusters at the beginnings of words, affixes or even syllables. But we find onset consonant clusters in borrowed words such as *frišti* “angel”, *pra* “canopy”, *kšan* “a moment”, *trižul* “trident”, *dyan* “meditation”, *tsun* “inch”, *psak* “wreath, garland”, *stup* “Buddhist sanctuary” or *tsuy* “sin”.³

In Uighur Brahmi texts, some Turkic words without onset bisyllable were written as bisyllabic words. e.g. *kši* “man”, *yña* “and”, *kröp* “to see”, *trup* “to stand”, *pluñc* “something that is obtained”, *qlinñc* “behaviour”, *ptig* “book”.⁴ This may account for two facts: firstly, the vowel in the first syllable which is in harmony with the following can be dropped off. Secondly, the combinations of some consonants in Turkic gradually came to be tolerated.

1 András Róna Tas, *The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic and The Genetic Question*. In: Lars Johanson & Éva Á Csató ed., *The Turkic Languages*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp73

2 András Róna Tas, *The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic and The Genetic Question*. In: Lars Johanson & Éva Á Csató ed., *The Turkic Languages*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp72

3 Marcel Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, Brill Leiden. Boston, pp.105-107

4 A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, 耿世民译:《古突厥语语法》,内蒙古教育出版社, 2004年8月, p.4

In genuine Turkic words, consonant clusters also occur at the end or bordering positions of syllables. But in the final position they are only limited to *-nt* (e.g. *ant* “oath”), *rt* (e.g. *art* “mountain ridge”), *-lt* (e.g. *tölt* “pillow”), *-rp* (e.g. *sarp* “steil”), *-lp* (e.g. *alp* “hero, difficult”), *-rk* (e.g. *ärk* “power”), *-lk* (e.g. *alk-* “destroy”), *-nč* (e.g. *kanč* “child”), *-rč* (e.g. *yurč* “wife’s younger brother”), *-rs* (e.g. *tars* “askew”) etc. Notice that the first elements of them are also *l*, *r* and *n*.

II. Consonant Clusters in Dīwān

11th century scholar Mahmūd al-Kāšyari gave some information about the combination rule of consonants in Dīwān Luḡāt at-Türk (DLT). According to incomplete statistics, there are 182 consonant clustered words in Dīwān. These combinations can be classified as liquids+other consonants, nasals+other consonants, laterals+other consonants and fricatives+other consonants. Among them, liquids+other consonants appear more frequently, e.g. *yarp* “firm”, *yurt* “homeland”, *gorqluq* “coward”, *yurč* “wife’s younger brother”. 39 words are of nasal+other consonants, and the nasal is only limited to *n*, e.g. *känd* “city, village”, *birinč* “first”. There are 19 consonant clustered words of lateral+other sounds. e.g. *alp* “hero”, *yalt* “vertical”, *silkdi* “be thrown off”, *alqti* “extinguish, overthrow”, *kölf* “[onomatopoeic] tinkle”, *čaldradi* “[onomatopoeic] tinkle”. These consonant clusters located in the weakening or final position.⁵

We also can see another noteworthy phenomenon in DLT. According to Dankoff, in the original manuscript of Dīwān Luḡāt at-Türk, some consonant clusters were intentionally broken by inserting a vowel in-between and were suited to Turkic spelling system. Besides that, the later hand, who probably lived in Damascus or Cairo in the late fourteenth century, filled out the vocalization of the Arabic and Turkic texts, and made emendation to both Arabic and Turkic.⁶ These later hands may be the copyists or owners of the book, also these emendations may reflect their dialectal characteristics. For he did not have another text of the Diwan before his eyes, he added to and emended the text out of his head-e.g. on the basis of his own dialect.⁷

He tended to break up consonant clusters, thus restoring the lost vowel in aorist forms (e.g. reading *ötnür* as *ötünür*). This tendency resulted in a

5 张洋：从《突厥语大词典》看维语复辅音的发展，语言与翻译(汉文，2001年)第3期，11~13

6 Mahmūd al-Kāšyari, *Compendium Of The Turkic Dialects (Dīwān-u Luḡāt at-Turk)*, part I, edited and translated with an introduction by Robert Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly, Harvard university printing office, 1982. p.11

7 Ibid., p.11

distortion on the morphological level as well.⁸ He also added an extra vowel. E.g. at *sawhur* he wrote a *u* over the *w*, ignoring Kāšyari's point that the aorist of this word has unvowelled middle radical⁹.

Why were these alterations made by these later Turkic hands? From these emendations it can be conjectured that the articulation of consonant clusters were very awful and felt unbearable to accustom to such a rule for Turkic speakers.

Generally speaking, there are no big differences between the dialects of Old Turkic and 11th century Uighur. The *Dīwān* and other non-Islamic Uighur documents could corroborate this argument.

III. The Consequence of Language Contact

From the above-mentioned descriptions we could see that apart from a few genuine Turkic words most consonant clustered words in old Uighur were copy words. Consonant clustered words entered into Uighur lexicon with the influx of copy words and in some extent were fully integrated.

Linguists believe that there is no completely isolated language in the world, therefore all languages are connected together, and none of them could keep its own pure status. The cultural exchange among peoples left its trace in the languages. But the degrees and features of the contact can be different. Some people influence each other due to living in the same territory, but the distance of some people is so long that they couldn't influence each other directly by learning language or cultural exchange. But same religious belief could solve this problem. That's to say that one can learn and be influenced by another's language due to the religious belief. Especially when a language were taken as a religiously prestigious language, it could strongly influence the believer's language no matter where and what nationality they are. Arabic of Islam, Latin of Christianity and Sanskrit of Buddhism belong to such languages.

The areas Uighurs live include a large part of the Eurasian Silk Road, so the communication and interchange with other people are inevitable. This, on the contrary, accelerated the influx of foreign words into Uighur. Among them, Arabic and Persian came as first, then Russian. There are also many Chinese copy words. These languages typologically belong to Sino-Tibetan language family as Chinese, Semitic Language family as Arabic and Indo-European language family as Sanskrit, Persian and Russian.

8 Ibid., p.12

9 Ibid., p.14

Although the foreign words may increase in the borrower's lexicon as time goes by, however, the numbers of copy words are not always unchangeable. Despite the contact with other languages started since very early times, and various languages left their traces in Uighur, the percentage of copy words had not been stable during different times and most of them dropped off and gave way to other vocabularies, especially when the speakers converted to new religions. So the lost words mostly belong to religious words, eg. *pra*, *kšan*, *trižul*, *dyan*, *tsun*, *psak*, *stup*.

The dominance of Arabic language is due to the religious belief of Uighurs. In Islamic world, Arabic is regarded as a sacred language because of its being the official language of Qur'an and Islam. After being converted to Islam, many Uighur intellectuals began to be educated in Arabic language and were encouraged to write in Arabic. Arabic literature was welcomed in many fields of science and widely flourished. In order to deeply understand everyday religious terminologies which were connected to the believer's this worldly and after worldly life, common Uighurs learned Arabic so zealously that Arabic was quickly disseminated among them. Besides, learning Arabic was religiously encouraged. As a result, it led to the displacement of many original Turkic words. What's more interesting was that many Uighur intellectuals thought Turkic is inappropriate for writing literary or philosophical works. This view paved the way for the triumph of Arabic.

The situation of Persian copy words was a little different from Arabic. Persian is not sacred language and not as prestigious as Arabic. But it still has its own grounds. Even in the early Old Uighur documents, we can see some middle Iranic copy words. The main reason of Persian influence can be summarized as following: 1. it's the result of Uighur's living together with Iranian, or more precisely Persian, stocks in the adjacent regions. The two peoples lived together in the same environment through centuries and just as Alishir Nawai said in his *Muhakämätul Luḡätäyin*: "the Turks and Persians live together no matter young or old, and they can speak and communicate with each other". 2. In the Middle Ages Persian literature greatly flourished and many literature giants wrote their *Magnum Opuses* in Persian. Persian came to be the representative of eloquence and standard literary language. The admiration for and mimicking them deeply influenced Uighurs once more, as a result, Uighur became a mixed language which succeeded Old Uighur, but at the same time was enriched by Persian and Arabic words. This was the so-called Chagatay language, more precisely speaking, it was Classical Uighur.

The third wave came from north—a Slavic language—Russian. Arabic and Persian, with the passage of time, lost their hold. Russian words began to enter into Uighur vocabulary since the end of 19th century. After the occupation of

Ili valley by Tsarist Russian Empire, Uighurs came into contact with Russians directly. In the beginning of 20th century some Russians migrated to northern Xinjiang region and lived in the adjacent places of local Uighurs. Besides, in the thirties of 20th century, the despotic tyrant Sheng shicai, the chairman of Xinjiang, disguised to be Soviet-oriented, and established economical, cultural and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. Under this political requirement, some people went to Soviet Central Asia to study. After coming back, they introduced some Russian terminologies into Uighur language.

In the eve of 1944, before the breaking out of Three Districts Revolution (TDR, Üç Wilayät Inqilabi) in Ili, some intellectuals still kept going to Soviet Central Asia to study. During the TDR, Uighur newspapers and magazines were full of various kinds of works which praise and admire the Soviet Union, and the political terminologies of Communism, Socialism and Proletariat Revolution made its influx into Uighur. In the 1950s Russian copy words reached its peak. At that time, learning Russian had been fashionable all over in China, of course including Xinjiang. Average intellectuals felt proud of adding Russian words in their speech. Translators felt like accepting the idea of October Revolution by using Russian terminologies in their translations. These fueled the entering of hundreds of words into Uighur.

Consonant clustered words increased through copying from the above-mentioned languages. After entering into Uighur, some of them kept their original spellings, and some of them were adapted to Uighur pronunciation rules.

IV. The Type of Consonant Clusters in Modern Uighur

Although many foreign words have been absorbed into Uighur language, only Russian copy words have consonant clusters in the initial position. Arabic and Persian copy words don't have these characteristics. Persian also displays some characteristics which are similar to Uighur. Modern Persian, certainly in the Standard dialect, and in the major known local dialects of Iran, is generally stated to have no initial consonant clusters. Persian speakers learning foreign languages have difficulty pronouncing initial clusters. Thus, they pronounce E sport as /ʒespórt/; F platine as /pelatín/; F Français as /færansé/; etc.¹⁰ This is also true for Uighur.

In Russian copy words two or three consonants could appear in any position of a syllable. But after having entered into Uighur, some of them

10 Mohammad Ali Jazayery, *Western Influence in Contemporary Persian: A General View*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1966), pp. 79-96

were altered by inserting appropriate vowels between the consonants. Mostly *i* is inserted between the consonants, especially in the initial position. But it is not always the case, and there is not a regular rule. Thus, single syllabic word in the source language becomes bisyllabic in Uighur. To this phenomenon, the Language and Script Committee of Xinjiang (Šinjang Til-Yeziq Komiteti) had laid down different orthographic rules in different times. For instance, the word *statistika* can be written as in source language, but sometimes written *istatistika*, and sometimes *sitatistika*. To these, dictionary compilers hold different methods. But it is not likely that all Uighur writers comply with these methods.

According to Uighur-Chinese Dictionary (Uyğurčä-Xänzüčä Luyät 《维汉词典》), edited by Chinese Language and Literature Department of Xinjiang University, 1982) published by Xinjiang People’s Publishing House, I have chosen most frequently used consonant clustered words, and classified them according to their structural types.

The syllable types in modern Uighur can be V, VC, VCC, CV, CVC, CCVC and CCVCC. Among them VCC, CVCC, CCV, CCVC, CCVCC, and sometimes abruptly appearing CVCCC are consonant clusters.

(i) VCC type

This type appears not only in Arabic, Persian and Russian copy words but also in original Uighur words. For example:

<i>ast</i> below < uy	<i>ant</i> oath < uy	<i>ahl</i> people < ar
<i>änt</i> reward < uy	<i>ärk</i> freedom < uy	<i>äwǰ</i> upsurge < ar
<i>äks</i> reverse side < ar	<i>üst</i> above < uy	<i>äyş</i> comfort < ar
<i>äm̄r</i> command < ar	<i>işq</i> love < ar	

(ii) CVCC type

Except copy words, most onomatopoeic words in Uighur belong to this type. Since they are randomly combined, I don’t exemplify them here.

<i>bäxt</i> luck < per	<i>bärq</i> outpouring < ar	<i>bäxş</i> vouchsafe < per
<i>bäst</i> body < ar	<i>turq</i> figure < uy	<i>bärg</i> leaf < per
<i>burč</i> mission < uy	<i>pärz</i> obligation < ar	<i>bänd</i> quad < ar
<i>päzl</i> virtue < ar	<i>pänd</i> counsel < per	<i>burj</i> constellation < ar
<i>päyz</i> beautiful, good < ar	<i>päyt</i> opportunity < per	<i>pars</i> persian < uy
<i>pärq</i> difference < ar	<i>pänt</i> stratagem < per	<i>päyl</i> appearance < ar
<i>port</i> dock < ru	<i>post</i> guard < ru	<i>post</i> skin, surface < per

<i>tart-</i> to pull < uy	<i>tärz</i> style < ar	<i>pušt</i> offspring < per
<i>säwr</i> patience < ar	<i>tärk</i> abandon < ar	<i>täxt</i> throne < per
<i>sürt-</i> to rub < uy	<i>serk</i> circus < ru	<i>šäxs</i> character < ar
<i>šärq</i> east < ar	<i>šärh</i> comment < ar	<i>sort</i> sort < ru
<i>γärb</i> west < ar	<i>fund</i> fund < ru	<i>sülh</i> reconcile < ar
<i>qärt</i> poker card < ar	<i>qäst</i> animus < ar	<i>sirt</i> outside < uy
<i>qänt</i> sugar cube < per	<i>qäyt</i> record < ar	<i>šärt</i> requirement < ar
<i>qorq-</i> to fear < uy	<i>qäwm</i> clan < ar	<i>šärm</i> shame < ar
<i>qurt</i> worm < uy	<i>käšp</i> create < ar	<i>šäyx</i> sheikh < ar
<i>kurs</i> course < ru	<i>köks</i> chest < uy	<i>γärq</i> drown < ar
<i>gerb</i> icon < ru	<i>lutp</i> bounty < ar	<i>qätl</i> to kill < ar
<i>marš</i> march < ru	<i>märd</i> generous, man < per	<i>qärz</i> debt < ar
<i>mäwj</i> surge < ar	<i>mušt</i> fist < per	<i>qälb</i> heart < ar
<i>näsr</i> prose < ar	<i>häyz</i> menstruation < ar	<i>qähr</i> anger < ar
<i>yurt</i> hometown < uy	<i>türt-</i> to push < uy	<i>qayt-</i> to go back < uy
<i>jäzb</i> attractiveness < ar	<i>xälg</i> people < ar	<i>qonč</i> boot's leg < uy
<i>jälp</i> attractiveness < ar	<i>därs</i> class < ar	<i>qurb</i> power < ar
<i>daŋq</i> reputation < uy	<i>däwr</i> time < per	<i>känt</i> village < uy
<i>rast</i> actual, true < per	<i>räšk</i> jealous < ar	<i>käyp</i> getting drunk < ar
<i>räyd</i> mood < ar	<i>zärb</i> fierce < ar	<i>käyn</i> behind < uy
<i>jild</i> volume < ar	<i>xäyr</i> good < ar	<i>golf</i> golf < eng
<i>därd</i> pain < per	<i>mäst</i> drunkard < per	<i>gips</i> gypsum < ru
<i>däšt</i> desert < per	<i>mäyl</i> desire < ar	<i>mart</i> march < ru
<i>dost</i> friend < per	<i>närx</i> price < per	<i>mars</i> mars < ru
<i>räxt</i> cloth < per	<i>tinč</i> peace < uy	<i>härp</i> letter (of alphabet) < ar
<i>räqs</i> dance < ar	<i>jäzm</i> must < ar	<i>heyt</i> muslim festival < ar
<i>ränj</i> feel wronged < ar	<i>türk</i> turk < uy	

Some words which originally belong to this type such as *däräxt* “tree”, *päst* “below” were distorted in the colloquial pronunciation and written as *däräx*, *päs*. Another example *mäšq* “exercise” is written *mäšiq*, and *xälg* “people” is written *xäliq*.

This cluster type also exists in genuine Uighur words and Arabic, Persian, Russian polysyllabic copy words.

<i>abstract</i> abstract < ru	<i>börtmä</i> raised < uy	<i>aport</i> a sort of apple < ru
<i>asfalt</i> asphalt < ru	<i>patent</i> patent < ru	<i>awyust</i> august < ru

<i>balans</i> balance < ru	<i>partla</i> -to explode < uy	<i>balnist</i> sickroom < ru
<i>brilyant</i> diamond < ru	<i>pasport</i> passport < ru	<i>buddist</i> buddhist < ru
<i>pirsänt</i> percent < ru	<i>pärzänt</i> children < per	<i>bilyart</i> billiard < ru
<i>talant</i> genius < ru	<i>sekunt</i> second < ru	<i>partkom</i> party committee < ru
<i>tännärx</i> cost < per	<i>tayanč</i> dependence < uy	<i>parlament</i> parliament < ru
<i>masštab</i> proportion < ru	<i>tekst</i> text < ru	<i>paytäxt</i> capital < per
<i>zärdüšt</i> zoroastrian < per	<i>remont</i> repair < ru	<i>powest</i> novella < ru
<i>süyiqäst</i> conspiracy < ar	<i>särgüzäšt</i> experience < per	<i>pisänt</i> goal < per
<i>fašizm</i> fascism < ru	<i>subyekt</i> subject < ru	<i>šagirt</i> apprentice < per
<i>qorqunč</i> fear < uy	<i>eksport</i> export < ru	<i>fašist</i> fascist < ru
<i>kapitalist</i> capitalist < ru	<i>išanč</i> belief < uy	<i>quwanč</i> rejoice < uy
<i>terrorist</i> terrorist < en	<i>oblast</i> prefecture < ru	<i>kommunist</i> communist < ru
<i>kwant</i> quantum < ru	<i>ökünč</i> regret < uy	<i>konsert</i> concert < ru
<i>gigant</i> gigantic < ru	<i>ispirt</i> alcohol < ru	<i>güngürt</i> sulfur < uy
<i>obyekt</i> object < ru	<i>import</i> import < ru	<i>natsist</i> Nazis < ru

(iii) CCVC type

This type only appears in Russian copy words.

<i>abstrakt</i> abstract < ru	<i>drama</i> drama < ru	<i>astronomiyä</i> astronomy < ru
<i>brak mal</i> defective production < uy	<i>konkret</i> concrete < ru	<i>brašura</i> brochure < ru
<i>brom</i> bromine < ru	<i>gradus Celsius degree</i> < ru	<i>bronzä</i> bronze < ru
<i>bronewik</i> armored car < ru	<i>gram</i> gram < ru	<i>britwa</i> blade < ru
<i>brigada</i> brigade < ru	<i>granat</i> grenade < ru	<i>brilyant</i> diamond < ru
<i>byuro</i> bureau < ru	<i>globus</i> globe < ru	<i>byurokrat</i> bureaucracy < ru
<i>patrol</i> patrol < ru	<i>istrategiyä</i> strategy < ru	<i>paragraf</i> paragraph < ru
<i>praktika</i> practices < ru	<i>demokratiyä</i> democracy < ru	<i>probirka</i> test tube < ru
<i>programma</i> program ru	<i>kwant</i> quantum < ru	<i>proletariyat</i> proletariat < ru
<i>prikazčik</i> salesperson < ru	<i>graždan</i> citizen < ru>	<i>prinsip</i> Principe < ru
<i>pingwin</i> penguin < ru	<i>grammatika</i> grammar < ru	<i>stata</i> citation < ru
<i>statistika</i> statistics < ru	<i>grelka</i> hot-water bottle < ru	<i>studiyä</i> studio < ru
<i>sxema</i> scheme < ru	<i>wrač</i> qualified doctor < ru	<i>subyekt</i> subject < ru
<i>špiris</i> syringe < ru	<i>plan</i> plan < ru	<i>front</i> front line < ru
<i>krist</i> christ < ru	<i>tragediyä</i> tragedy < ru	<i>kran</i> crane < ru

<i>kreslo</i> armchair < ru	<i>tropic</i> tropical line < ru	<i>krizis</i> crisis < ru
<i>klassik</i> classical < ru	<i>transport</i> transpost < ru	<i>krystal</i> crystal < ru
<i>kontrol</i> control < ru	<i>xristos</i> jesus christ < ru	<i>traktor</i> tractor < ru

V. Actual Pronunciation of Consonant Clustered Words

These given examples amply corroborate the fact that consonant clusters in Uighur phonology came into being through language contact and increased through globalization. This trend is still continuing today and it is taken for granted that English has become main source language. This is also true for other languages. While we are exploring the situation of consonant clusters in Uighur, there pops up a noteworthy phenomenon: Even though the Language and Script Committee of Xinjiang had laid down a rule for CCVC, CVCC syllable types such as *kran*, *traktor*, *därt* and *xälq*, their pronunciation nonetheless were accustomed to Uighur phonological system, and increased a vowel between consonants, sometimes the consonants in final syllable can be dropped off. This makes one come to the conclusion that there is no real consonant clusters in standard Uighur. However, it's not true:

(i) A vowel can be inserted between initial clusters when the consonants are at stress increasing position. e.g: *gradus*, *gram*, *kran*, *krist* are read as /gīradus/, /gīram/, /kīran/, /kīrist/. But the length of the inserted vowel is too short that it couldn't be felt.

(ii) A vowel couldn't be inserted when the consonants are at stress decreasing position. E.g. *talant*, *oblast*, *post*. If the consonants are at stress decreasing position, the consonants which are at the end of the syllable can't be dropped off in such circumstances:

- a. If the clusters are the combination of *n* and *t*. E.g. *sekont*, *parlament*, *änt*.
- b. If the clusters are the combination of *y* and *t*. E.g. *heytt*, *taraytt*, *qaytt*.

(iii) If the clusters are the combination of *s*, *š*, *x* and *t*, *t* can be dropped off. E.g. *krist*, *oblast*, *post*, *däräxt*, *päst*, *mušt* can be pronounced *kris*, *oblas pos*, *däräx*, *päs* and *muš*.

(iv). If the clusters are the combination of *r* and *t*, in actual pronunciation *r* can, or in some words can't, be dropped off. For instance, in *šärt* and *sort*, *r* can't be dropped off, but it can be in *qorq-* and *tart-*.

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