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On some Chinese Loan Words in Uighur*

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Up to the present day, many Chinese loan words in Uighur and in Karakhanid Turkic have been identified by various turkologists and sinologists. There are, however, quite a few Chinese loan words which have not yet been identified. The reason for this is that most of the scholars involved made use of mainly dictionaries from Chinese to modern European languages, in which the number of vocabulary items is significantly insufficient compared to the full vocabulary of Middle Chinese. These dictionaries also sometimes fail to give the full meanings of Middle Chinese words. Besides, scholars who studied the Chinese loan words in Turkic didn't have access to Middle Chinese materials.

Furthermore, apart from Middle Chinese materials, Sino-Korean glosses which have undergone very few phonetic changes and whose meanings have remained unchanged form a very useful resource for Sino-Turkic studies.

In the present paper, making use of Middle Chinese and Sino-Korean materials, I would like to add some more glosses to the Chinese loan words identified previously. The total sum of these newly identified Chinese loan words amounts to something just over sixty in Uighur manuscripts alone.

My studies dealing with Sino-Turkic glosses were made in the light of the Chinese loan words which entered into the Korean language from northern China in the 6th-7th centuries, and Chinese loan words which were borrowed by Japanese directly from south-eastern China in the 5th-6th centuries, and indirectly, i.e. via Korean, in the 7th and 8th centuries.¹

* Abbreviations see p. 168.

¹ B. Karlgren, *Philology and Ancient China*, 1926 pp. 76-77; B.C. Park,

Sino-Turkic, Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese comparative studies lead us to two obvious and striking conclusions:

1. The Ancient Chinese final *-t* becomes *-r* or *-l* in Sino-Turkic and Sino-Korean, but it remains unchanged in Sino-Japanese.
2. The Ancient Chinese final *-ng* is generally preserved in Sino-Korean, but it vanishes in Sino-Japanese; In Sino-Turkic, the loss of final *-ng* is as follows:² (a) After the Ancient Chinese *-ə* (*-əng*, *-iəng*), *-v* (*-vəng*), *-u* (*-uəng*, *-iəng*) and *-o* (*-iəng*), the Ancient Chinese final *-ng* remains unchanged. (b) After the Ancient Chinese *-ā* (*-āng*) and *-ia* (*-iāng*), final *-ng* becomes *-ang* or *-o*. (c) After the Ancient Chinese *-iāng*, *-iəng*, *-iəng*, *-iəng*, *-iəng* and *-iəng*, final *-ng* is dropped.

1. Uig. (Ht X 455) *bay* 'cover, wrap': *qamīs bay* 'a cover of rush'; *bayliγ* (Ht X 1061) 'covered, wrapped up' / **bay* - *liγ*.
/ chin.; Ach. *bak* [1] > M. *po*, C. *pok* 'a doorscreen of bamboo splints'; sino-jap. *baku*, *haku* id. (Giles 9351); sino-ko. *pak* 'a door-screen of bamboo or rush'.

2. Uig. (U II 35:26; BT XIII 1:113) *baqa* 'frog, tortoise'; MK (545) *baqa* 'frog': *müngüz baqa* 'turtle'; Chag. *baqa*, *baqa čanaq* 'tortoise'. cf. mo. *baxa* 'frog, toad' (Lessing).

Kodae kugō ūi yōn'gu (A Study On Ancient Sino-Korean), 1971 pp. 347-348: There are three primary studies which deal with the origins of Sino-Korean in view of their inner structures; A theory of the origin of Sino-Korean in the 10th century K'aifeng sounds by Hideyo Arisaka of Japan, a theory of the origin of Sino-Korean in the 6th-7th centuries of northern Chinese by Karlgren and a theory of the origin of Sino-Korean in the Ch'angan sounds of T'ang Chinese by Rokurō Kōno. B.C. Park of Korea, by applying the results of his analysis of the inner structures of the sounds of Sino-Korean to the original sounds of Chinese, came to the conclusion that what did play the utmost role at the foundational stratum in forming the sounds of Sino-Korean is the northern Chinese belonging to the Ch'ieh-yün sounds of Sui and early T'ang; although some elements of Wu dialects of the southern dynasty are also traced at the very bottom of Sino-Korean: Hideyo Arisaka, "Kanji no Chosen-on ni tsuite," *Hōgen*, 1936; Rokurō Kōno, "Chōsen Kanjion no Kenkyū," *Chōsengakuhō*, 1964-1965.

² According to B. Csongor, the Ancient Chinese final *-ng* remains intact after the Ancient Chinese *-ə* (*-əng* and *-iəng*) and *-u* (*-uəng*, *-iəng*, *-uəng*) while in other cases it vanished: B. Csongor, "Some More Chinese Glosses In Uighur Script," *AOH* IV, 1955 p. 254.

/ chin.; compounded of Ach. *ma* [2] > M. *ma*, C. *ma* 'frog'; sino-jap. *ba* id. (Giles 7590); sino-ko. *ma* id., and Ach. *ya* [3] > M. *ha*, C. *ha* 'frog, toad'; sino-jap. *ka* id. (Kangxi., Giles 4199); sino-ko. *ha* id. cf. Chin. *ha* 'ma' [4] 'the common toad' (Giles p. 521).

3. Uig. (TT VIII A1) *bi* 'blade, edge'; normally used in the Hend. *bi bičäk* (H II 3) 'knife'; *bi bičyū* (U II 59, etc.) id.
/ chin.; Ach. *ʔji* [5] > M. *pi*, C. *pei* 'dagger, spoon, ladle' (Kangxi., Karl. 713); sino-jap. *hi* / *pi* id.; sino-ko. *pi* 'dagger, spoon, arrowhead'. cf. Ach. *ʔij* *šjəu* [6] 'dagger, spoon' (Giles p. 1079). The suggestion in Clauson, EDT p. 291 that this is a loan-word from Chinese *p'i* [7] 'to split' (Giles 9,018) is unconvincing.

4. Uig. (TT VII 42:2) *boq* 'green mould'; MK (499) *boq* 'greenness on mouldy bread'; *boqla-* (MK 572) 'defecate (animal)' / **boq-la-* cf. mo. *boy* 'sweeping, filth, refuse' (Lessing 110).
/ chin.; Ach. *p'uk* [8] > M. *p'u*, C. *p'ok* 'mould on liquids' (Kangxi., Giles 9475); sino-jap. *boku* id.; sino-ko. *pok* id.

5. Uig. (TT V A: 93, 102; Suv. 544:6) *bögdä* 'dagger, iron whip'; MK (210) *bögdä* 'dagger'; *bögdälä-* (MK 598) 'stab with a dagger' / **bögdä-lä-*; KB (810) *bögdä* 'dagger'.

/ chin.; compounded of Ach. *b'āk* [9] > M. *pau*, C. *pok* 'a thud or crash, as of a weapon striking' (Kangxi., Giles 8754); sino-ko. *pok* id., and Ach. *š'i* [10] > M. *š'i*, C. *š'i* 'beat (with the bamboo), thrash' (Giles 1958); sino-ko. *thai* id.

6. Uig. (Ht X 231) *bun* (? *bon*) 'basis, foundation'; *kün tängri bun sanī* (TT VII 9:13-4) 'the basic number of the sun'. cf. sog. *pwn* id. (Clauson, EDT p. 347), Middle Persian *bun* id. (S. Tezcan Ht X, p. 131).

/ chin.; Ach. *ʔpuən* [11] > M. *pen*, C. *pūn* 'root, foundation, origin'; sino-jap. *pon* (*hon*) id. (Karl. 707); sino-ko. *pon* id.

7. Uig. (TT VIII I:23; Suv. 601:9) *čoy* 'glowing heat' in the phrase *kün čoyi* 'the heat of the sun'; in the Hend. *čoy yalīn* (U III 71:12; Suv. 185:5, etc.) 'glitter, brightness, flame'; MK (499) *čoy* 'blaze'; *čoylan-* (MK 388) 'blaze' / **čoy-la-n-*.

/chin.; Ach. *tsiwok* [12] M. *tsu*, C. *tsuk* 'candle; illuminate'; sino-jap. *soku*, *soku* id. (Kangxi., Karl. 916); sino-ko. *chok* 'candlelight'.

8. Orkh., Uig. *čor* 'a title' / 'soldier', Orkh. (BK S 13) *kül čor*; Uig. (M II 7:1) *čor tegin* etc.
/chin.; Ach. *tsuət* [13] > M. *tsu*, C. *tsūt* 'soldier, lictor, servant'; sino-jap. *sotu* (*sotsu*) id. (Kangxi., Karl. 1105); sino-ko. *čor* 'soldier, servant'.

9. Uig. (Chin.-Uig. Dict.) *šünük* 'plane tree' (Ligeti, p. 199); MK (195) *čünük* id.; *šünük* (MK 196) id. / **čün-ük*. (-ük: Dim. ?).
/chin.; Ach. *šjuēn* [14] > M. *š'un*, C. *š'ün* 'Cedrela tree, symbol of longevity and parterinity' (Karl. 1268); sino-ko. *čun* 'Cedrela sinensis, a long-lived tree'.

10. Uig. (Ht X 533) *itsi* 'hearse'.
/chin.; compounded of Ach. *nži* [15] > M. *ər*, C. *i* 'hearse' (= [16]) (Kangxi., Giles 3350); sino-ko. *i* id., and Ach. *š'ia* [17] > M. *š'a*, C. *š'e* 'vehicle, carriage, cart' (Kangxi., Karl. 1189); sino-ko. *čha* id. cf. sino-ko. *ičha* [18] 'hearse'. The theory in S. Tezcan, Ht X not. 533 that this is compounded of Ach. *iwo* 'carry; carriage, vehicle' (Karl. 1330) and Ach. *š'ia* 'vehicle, carriage, cart' (Karl. 1189) is unconvincing.

11. Uig. (TT VII 28:4) *kön* 'row hide for tanning': *kön išläsärsän tavar qor bolur* 'if you work row hide, the goods produced are useless'; MK (504) *kôn* 'skin (horse)'; *könäk* (MK 197) 'leather bag' / **kön-äk*; *ol kônüg sayrıladi* (MK 598-599) 'he made the skin into hide or shagreen'; *könkä yāy türtti* (MK 628) 'he rubbed oil on the leather'; Chag. *kön* 'a kind of tanned leather'; Osm. *gön* 'raw hide, leather'.

/chin.; Ach. *kiwän* [19] 'tanned leather' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *kuən* id.

12. Orkh. (TI N 8) *kür* 'trick, device'; Uig. (M II 5:9; M III 9:12; U II 23:12, 77:26, etc.) *kür* id.; in the Hend. *täv kür* id. (Suv. 102:5; M II 5:9).

/chin.; Ach. *kiwet* [20] > C. *kwët*, *k'üt*, 'feign, delude, play the hypocrite' (Kangxi., Giles 3217); sino-jap. *ketu* (*ketsu*) id.; sino-ko. *kyər*, *hyur* 'feign; trick, device'.

13. Uig. *qabın* 'dowry' (Clouston, EDT p. 585); Osm. *kābın* id.; DD (863) *kābın* 'marriage'. cf. Persian *kābīn*, *kabīn*, *kābīn* 'dowry' (Doerfer, TMEN III 1614).

/ chin.; compound of Ach. *ka* [21] > M. *chia*, C. *ka* 'give a daughter in marriage'; sino-jap. *ka* id. (Kangxi., Giles, 141); sino-used in ancient times by brides to carry millet and dates to their husband' (Kangxi., Giles 3, 431); sino-ko. *pən* id.

14. Uig. (TT III 26: M IV 49:4; U III 76:14, etc.) *qal* 'wild, mad'; in the Hend. *qal tālvā* 'mad' (BT XIII 2:115); *qal it tartmāš kiši* 'a man bitten by a mad dog' (H 163:55); CC *qal* 'wild'; Tel. *qal* 'coarse, impudent' (R II 219).

/ chin.; Ach. *ḡat*, *xat* [23] > M. *xo*, C. *hot*, 'fierce dog; terrify' (Kangxi., Giles 4358); sino-ko. *kar* / **kal* id.

15. Uig. (BT XIII 5:19; R II 254; Ligeti 161) *qalqan* 'shield', in the phrase *kūmūšlūg qalqan tāg* 'like a silver shield' (BT XIII 5:19); MK (221-222) *qalqan* 'shield': *qalqan sūngūn čomšalīm* 'we'll thrust with them with spear and shield'; *qalqang* (MK 612) 'shield'; BK (3288, 4263, etc.) *qalqan* id.

/ chin.; compounded of Ach. *kāt* [24] 'set up a shield' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *kar* / **kal* id., and Ach. *kān* [25] > M. *kan*, C. *kon* 'shield, buckler'; sino-jap. *kan* id. (Karl. 296); sino-ko. *kan* id.

16. Uig. (BT XIII 46:16) *qudaš* 'friend, comrade'; in the Hend. *adaš qudaš* (Chuas. L. 198) id. / **qu-daš*.

/ chin.; Ach. *g'īzu* [26] > M. *kiu*, C. *kau* 'friend; old'; sino-jap. *kiū* id. (Kangxi., Karl. 403); sino-ko. *ku* id.

17. Orkh. (KT S5, BK N4) *qutay* 'white silk girdle' in the phrase *qiryaylıy quatayın* 'bordered white silk girdle'.

/ chin.; compounded of Ach. *g'īzu* [27] 'a sort of silk' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *ku* 'white silk', and Ach. *tāi* [28] > M. *tai*, C. *tāi* 'girdle, sash, belt'; sino-jap. *tai* id. (Karl. 962); sino-ko. *tai* id.

18. Uig. (Ht X 1018, 1087, etc.) *qra* 'corpse, funeral, funeral carriage, coffin'; in the phrase *qra tāgürgü törü* (Ht X 1072) 'funeral ceremony'; *qra tāgür-* (Ht X 1084) 'hold a funeral'. / sog. *grēw* id. (S. Tezcan Ht X p. 148).

/chin.; compounded of Ach. *g'iəu* [29] > M. *kiu*, C. *kau* 'coffin'; sino-jap. *kiū* id. (Karl. 402); sino-ko. *ku* id., and Ach. *'liəu* [30] > M. *liu*, C. *lau* 'the covering of a hearse' (Giles 7252); sino-ko. *ryu* id.

19. Uig. (M III 18:7, 13; Suv. 619:13; BT XIII 16:3, etc.) *sin* 'the human body'; in the phrase *sinin bodin qirtisin* (Suv. 593:20-1) 'his body, stature and complexion'; MK (504) *sin* 'stature, height'; *bodluq sinliq kiši* (MK 504) 'a tall man'; KB (1618, 1849, etc.) *sin* 'stature, appearance'; Tuv. *sin* 'stature'.
/chin.; Ach. *šien* [31] > M. *šan*, C. *šen* 'body'; sino-jap. *šin* (*sin*) id. (Karl. 869); sino-ko. *sin* id.

20. Uig. (BT XIII 43:6, 40:22, 40:1, etc.) *süü* 'the title of a ruler'.
/chin.; Ach. *ts'ui* [32] > M. *ts'uei*, C. *ts'ü* 'the title of a government official, a deputy; added after the Ach. *šäng*' [33] (family name) of a sub-Prefect and of an assistant sub-Prefect' (Kangxi., Giles 11,924); sino-jap. *soe* id.; sino-ko. *sui* 'deputy, minister of a country'.

21. Orkh. (TI N 11) *tang* 'dawn'; Uig. (TT II 8:61; TT VII 1:24, 35:1, 8, etc.; Ht X 493, etc.) *tang* id.; MK (600) *tang* id.; KB (3289, 3954, etc.) *tang* id.

/chin.; Ach. *tân* [34] > M. *tan*, C. *tan* 'dawn, morning'; sino-jap. *tan* id. (Karl. 966); sino-ko. *tan* id.

22. Uig. (Ht X 1017; BT I B 203, D 230; Suv. 613:21) *tar* 'raft, boat' in the Hend. *tar kâmi*; MK (508-509) *tar* id.; Kip. *tar* 'a raft of skins'; AH *tar* 'raft, boat'.

/chin.; Ach. [35] *d'ât* 'war-boat' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *tar* id.

23. Uig. (PP 34:1; Kuan. 149) *täng* 'sort, kind' in the Hend. *täng adinčiy*; Uig. (U II 77:25; TT IV 10:4; TT V 26:106, etc.) *täng* 'equal, equivalent'; *täng ülüslüg* (USp. 11:5) 'in equal shares'; *tängkär* (BT I B:240) 'compare, equate' / **täng-kär*-; *tängkäš*- (Ht X 232) / **täng-kä-š*-; MK (600) *täng* 'equal, like' in the Hend. *täng täš*; *tänglä*- (MK 619) 'balance'; *tänggär*- (MK 617) id. / **täng-gär*-; *tängäš*- (MK 615) 'level' / **täng-ä-š*-. cf. mo. *teng* 'equilibrium; equally'; *tengce*- 'be equal, match' (Lessing 801) / **teng-ce*-.

/ chin.; Ach. *dāng* [36] > M. *tên*, C. *tēng* 'equal; sort, class, rank' (Giles 10,877); sino-ko. *tīng* 'compare; equal; sort, grade, class'.

24. Uig. (TT 197) *tīng* 'precious stone, jade' in the phrase *qas tīng tāg* 'like the jade (of the *qas* 'precious stone')'.
/ chin.; Ach. *tāng* [37] 'precious stone' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *tīng* id.

25. Uig. (MI 5:13, 8:14; U II 15:13; TT I 149; BT III 558; BT I B20, etc.) *ton* 'garment, clothing'; in the Hend. *ton kādim* (U II 42:32, etc.); MK (503, etc.) *ton* 'garment', *tonluq* (MK 269) 'clothing allowance' / **ton-luq*, *tonat-* (MK 421) 'put on a garment' / **ton-a-t-*; Chuv. *tum* 'clothing, garment'.

/ chin.; Ach. *t'ung* [38] > M. *t'ung*, C. *t'ung* 'skirt, clothing of a foreigner (barbarian)' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *tong* 'clothing of a barbarian'.

26. Uig. (TT II 8:65, etc.) *toy* 'camp' in the phrase *toy qapynga tāgi* 'as far as the gate of the camp'; Uig. (TT VIII G5 p. 49) *toy* 'community' in the phrase *toytin toyqa* 'from community to community'; in the Hend. *toy quvrayliq* (BT XIII 28:10, etc.) 'community, gathering'; MK 260) *toy* 'camp' in the phrase *toydin anī köcürgān* '(death) drives them from their camp'.

/ chin.; Ach. *tuo* [39] > M. *tu*, C. *tou* 'capital city, centrum, the whole, altogether'; sino-jap. *tu* id. (Kangxi., Karl. 1189); sino-ko. *to* id.

27. Uig. (Ht X 205, 1076; BT XIII 13:78, 31:84) *tūū* (*tūō*) 'many, much, great (in amount)' in the phrase *tūū törlüg*.

/ chin.; Ach. *tuo* [40] 'many, much' (Kangxi.); sino-ko. *to* id.

28. Uig. (BT III 982; Ht II 2105; ETS 20E:129, 133, etc.) *yūul* 'spring, brook'; MK (507) *yūl* 'spring of water', *yulaq* (MK 452) 'a very small spring of water' / **yul-aq*; KB (973, etc.) *yul* 'spring'; Chuv. *śāl* id.

/ chin.; Ach. *liēt* [41] > M. *li*, C. *lut* 'a small stream in Kiangsu' (Kangxi., Giles 6978, Karl 531); sino-ko. *yur* / **yul* 'stream'.

29. Uig. (PP 2:2-4) *yung* 'cotton': *amarī tīnliylar ēyay āngirār yung āngirār kāntir āngirār* 'some people spin wild hemp(?) or

cotton or hemp' (Clauson EDT p. 941); MK (602) *yung* 'wool, cotton', *yungla-* (MK 619) 'shear' / **yung-la-*; CC *yun* 'wool, feathers', cf. mo. *nungyasun* / **nung-ya-sun* id. (see Clauson EDT p. 941).
 / chin.; Ach. *nyung* [42] > M. *yung*, C. *yung* 'silk floss, wool' (Giles 5751); sino-ko. *yung* id.

[1] 笛	[15] 輻	[29] 柩
[2] 蟻	[16] 輻	[30] 輻
[3] 蝦	[17] 車	[31] 身
[4] 蝦蟇	[18] 輻車	[32] 倅
[5] 匕	[19] 輻	[33] 姓
[6] 匕首	[20] 桶	[34] 旦
[7] 劈	[21] 嫁	[35] 臚
[8] 醜	[22] 筭	[36] 等
[9] 撮	[23] 獨	[37] 璫
[10] 笞	[24] 馭	[38] 峒
[11] 本	[25] 干	[39] 都
[12] 燭	[26] 舊	[40] 督
[13] 卒	[27] 紂	[41] 漂
[14] 椿	[28] 帶	[42] 絨

Abbreviations

Ach.:	Ancient Chinese.
AH:	A. Caferoglu, <i>Abu-Hayyan: Kitāb al-Idrak li-lisan al Atrak</i> (1931).
BT I:	G. Hazai / P. Zieme, <i>Berliner Turfantexte I</i> (1971).
BT III:	S. Tezcan, <i>Berliner Turfantexte III</i> (1974).
BT XIII:	P. Zieme, <i>Berliner Turfantexte XIII</i> (1985).

- C.: Canton dialect.
 CC: Codex Cumanicus.
 Chag.: Chagatay.
 chin.: Chinese.
 Chin.-Uig. Dict.: *Chinese-Uighur Dictionary*, see Ligeti.
 Chuas.: A. von LE COQ, *Chuastuanist, ein Sündenbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores* (1911).
 DTS: *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'* (1969).
 EDT: Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (1972).
 ET\$: R. R. Arat, *Eski Türk Şiiri* (1965).
 Giles: H. A. Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary* (1912).
 H: R. R. Arat, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren I* (1930).
 Ht VII: A. von Gabain, *Briefe der uigurischen Hsüan-Tsang-Biographie* (1938).
 Ht X: S. Tezcan, *Eski Uyğurca Hsüan Tsang Biyografisi X. Bölüm* (1975).
 Kangxi.: *Kangxi zidian*. (= K'ang-hi tsü-tien.).
 Karl.: B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1923).
 KB: R. R. Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig I* (1947).
 Kip.: Kipchak.
 Lessing: F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (1960).
 Ligeti: L. Ligeti, *Un Vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming, le Kao-tch'ang-kouan Yi-chou du Bureau des Traducteurs* (1966).
 M.: Mandarin dialect.
 M I, II, III: A. von LE COQ, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I, II, III* (1912-1922).
 Mal.: S. Y. Malov, *Yeniseiskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov* (1952).
 MK: B. Atalay, *MAHMÜD EL-KAŞGARİ: Divanü lûgat-it-türk* (1940-1943).
 mo.: Mongolian.
 Orkh.: T. Tekin, *A Grammar Of Orkhon Turkic* (1968).
 Osm.: Ottoman Turkish.
 PP: P. Pelliot, *La Version ouigour de l'histoire des princes Kalyānamkara et Pāpamkara* (1914).
 R I-IV: W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (1893-1911).
 sino-ko.: Sino-Korean: See *Hongja Okpyōn* (Sino-Korean Character Dictionary) and *Sinjahae* (Sino-Korean Character Dictionary with Sino-Japanese).
 sino-jap.: Sino-Japanese.
 Suv.: W. Radloff / S. Y. Malov, *Suvarnaprabhāsa-sūtra* (1913-1917).
 TMEN: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen I-IV* (1963-1975).
 TT I-X: *Türkische Turfan-Texte* (1929-1959).
 Tuv.: Tuvinian.
 U I-III: F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* (1911-1922).
 Uig.: Uighur.
 USp.: W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (1928).